CHARLES UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE
PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL FACULTY

UNIVERSITY OF LAUSANNE
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STUDIES

Doctoral dissertation

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

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Programme of study P6141 Theology
Subject of study Biblical theology

Prague 2012

Declaration

I hereby declare that I completed this dissertation independently, using exclusively the listed references.
Permission is granted for the publication of the dissertation for purposes of research and private study.

In Prague, 15th August 2012   Jan Rückl

Anotace

Práce se zabývá dynastickým slibem Davidovi v knihách Samuelových; v závěrečném výhledu zběžně probírá také výskyty slibu v knihách Královských a v postskriptu komentuje tzv. zákon pro krále v Dt 17,14-20, jehož poslední verš pravděpodobně naráží na téma davidovského slibu. Práce se zapojuje do nedávné diskuse o dějinách textu 2S 7. V podrobném textologickém komentáři probírá všechna různočtení mezi hlavními textovými svědky kapitoly a kromě hodnocení jednotlivých variant se snaží odpovědět na otázku, zda rozdíly mezi svědky jsou dány procesem tradování, nebo zda jsou literárního charakteru. Zvláštní pozornost je věnována hodnotě 1Pa 17 pro rekonstrukci 2S 7; autor doufá, že závěry této části mohou mít jistý význam pro obecné zkoumání recepce knih Samuelových v knihách Paralipomenon. Následující literární rozbor 2S 7 a všech ostatních zmínek dynastického slibu v knihách Samuelových vede ke dvojímu alternativnímu datování Nátanova výroku a potažmo ke dvěma redakčním hypotézám, které se pokouší vysvětlit vznik zkoumaných pasáží. V závěrečném výhledu je funkce slibu v knihách Samuelových srovnána s výskyty tohoto motivu v knihách Královských; toto srovnání umožňuje formulovat některé závěry ohledně vývoje vztahu knih Samuelových a Královských.

Klíčová slova

Knihy Samuelovy, davidovská dynastie, dynastický slib, judská královská ideologie, Deuteronomistická dějeprava

Summary

The dissertation studies the texts mentioning or alluding to the dynastic promise to David in the books of Samuel; in the concluding further perspectives it also overviews the occurrences of the promise in the books of Kings; in the appendix, it comments on the "Law of the King" in Deut 17,14-20, the last verse of which may contain an allusion to the Davidic

promise. The study engages with recent discussion on the history of the text of 2 Sam 7. In a detailed textual commentary, it treats with all the differences between the main textual witnesses of the chapter, and apart from the evaluation of the individual variants, it attempts to answer the question whether the differences are due exclusively to the process of transmission, or they are of literary character. Special attention is paid to the value of 1 Chr 17 for the reconstruction of the oldest text of 2 Sam 7; the author hopes that the conclusions of this part of the dissertation may prove to be of some importance for a more general study of the reception of Samuel in Chronicles. The subsequent literary analysis of 2 Sam 7 and the other passages referring to the dynastic promise to David leads to two alternative datings of Nathan's oracle and consequently two alternative redactional hypotheses trying to give account of the emergence of the examined passages. In the concluding perspectives, the function of the promise in Samuel is compared with the occurrences of the motif in Kings; this comparison leads to tentative conclusions concerning the development of the relation of the two books.

Keywords

Acknowledgments

Contents

Introduction

There is a large amount of secondary literature regarding the topic of this thesis, and the dynastic promise of 2 Sam 7,1-17 itself is probably one of "the most discussed and most disputed" texts of the Hebrew Bible."[1] Despite a great variety of prominent voices in the academic debate, the historico-critical research on these texts could be divided into two groups according to whether scholars date the dynastic promise (or its basis) to the pre-exilic period or later. The issue is not only the date of composition itself, since the presumed original intention of the text (or its function in the primary context) may vary in relation to the postulated date of origin. It also seems that scholars attribute the texts related to the dynastic promise to different types of discourse in respect of their dating of these texts before or after 587 B.C.E. Consequently, the texts' assumed date of origin is to some extent related even to the method of analysis applied to the texts. The scholars that date the formulation of the dynastic promise to the monarchic period understand it, with good reasons, as very close to the institution of kingship and as a type of political propaganda that defends concrete political interests in a more or less clearly definable socio-political situation. For instance, F. M. Cross considered the dynastic promise one of the cornerstones of the composition of the pre-exilic Dtr history that formed "a propaganda work of the Josianic reformation and imperial program."[2] A more recent example is Schniedewind's monograph *Society and the Promise to David*, where, in the chapter concerning 2 Sam 7,1-17, the author, on the basis of archaeological findings and social anthropological models of the state formation, first describes the emergence of the so-called United monarchy at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E., and then characterizes Nathan's prophecy as "*a common ideology on which the legitimacy of the rulers could be based*" (emphasis by W. M. S.).[3] Among the scholars that locate 2 Sam 7 or other instances of the dynastic promise to a period after 587, a tendency may be observed to seek the origin of these texts rather in some kind of learned reflection than in a discourse of power. T. Veijola believed "*dass die Entfaltung der Davidtradition zu ihrem vollen*

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[1] So already Dietrich - Naumann, Samuelbücher; similarly Nelson, Redaction, p. 105. – An overview of the main lines of the history of research on 2 Sam 7 will be provided in the first chapter.

[2] Cross, Myth, p. 284.

[3] Schniedewind, Society, p. 17–39, the quotation from p. 28.

theologischen Format erst eine Leistung der dtr Reflexion ist" (emphasis by T. V.).[4] Similarly, S. L. McKenzie regards the dynastic promise as an aetiology that explains the long duration of the kingdom of Judah and its ruling dynasty.[5] These differences in understanding 2 Sam 7 in connection to its presumed date of origin are quite comprehensible and they *cannot* be simply reduced to *a priori* differences in epistemological approaches of individual scholars towards Biblical texts, as we may see from the fact that a single scholar is able to understand a redactional layer as a direct royal propaganda dictated by the needs of the palace and another layer as a result of a more "detached" historiographical consideration. The Hebrew Bible contains both types of texts – those that, in their original form, directly defended concrete political interests, as well as those of a more "learned" character – and both mentioned types of interpretation of the dynastic promise are plausible from the methodological point of view.

In case of Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7, most current scholars probably tend to accept a pre-exilic origin of its variously delimited core. The oracle is, then, regarded as an act of political discourse. The connection of 2 Sam 7 with pre-exilic Judean royal ideology should not be reduced to the intuition that the basic text for the issue of the eternal character of the Davidic dynasty must have originated in the monarchic period, when the dynasty indeed was in power. We should rather ask whether the *specific* form of the dynastic ideology in Nathan's oracle corresponds to the time of the emerging monarchy (as Schniedewind suggests) or the time of prosperity during the period of Josiah (as many believe) or a different period. Actually, as we will see in the overview of the research on 2 Sam 7, many scholars acknowledge that some elements of Nathan's oracle do not correspond to usual forms of the royal ideology in the ancient Near East, and this occasionally leads to speculative reconstructions of an older text which would be more suitable to the assumed historical context.

The society is constructed with help of force and discourse, and the "monarchic" discourse, like any other discourse of the ruling classes, usually serves to transform "simple power into 'legitimate' authority."[6] Both the actors of a conservative and a subversive discourse always have some extent

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[4] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 135–136.
[5] McKenzie, David, p. 216. – For more on McKenzie's interpretation, see the overview of the research on 2 Sam 7.
[6] Lincoln, Discourse, p. 4–5.

of actual *force* (i.e. a possibility to exercise physical violence) and there are reasons to believe that the specific form of a discourse is in some way related to the force of its actor. The actual force, however, need not correspond to the pretensions of the discourse. It is precisely in the situations of a lack of force that the actor of the discourse may realize that his success relies more on the persuasive power of the discourse than on his actual force. This also applies to royal ideologies, since a king or an entire dynasty may be dethroned and then, using various means, attempt to regain power. Even a "royal" discourse is not necessarily accompanied by actual reign.

The possibility that 2 Sam 7,1-7 comes from a period after 587 B.C.E., but advocates for the political interests of the living Davidides has been relatively neglected in the research on 2 Sam 7,1-17 until recently. Now W. Oswald described Nathan's oracle in this manner and I believe his argument is persuasive.[7] In the first chapter of the thesis, I provide additional arguments in favour of this interpretation and I offer two possibilities of a more precise dating of the text (one of them is very similar to Oswald's proposal). Further chapters focus on the mentions of the Davidic promise in the books of Samuel and, towards the end, I shall also attend to the mentions of the promise in the books of Kings. For obvious reasons, the dynastic promise to David does not appear in any other book of the traditionally delimited Dtr history, with the exception of one possible reference in the last verse of what is known as the Law of the King (Deut 17,14-20), a reference I shall deal with in the appendix. Building on the results of the analysis of 2 Sam 7,1-17, we may ask whether the mentions of the dynastic promise in these books had the identical legitimizing function as Nathan's oracle or the dynastic promise is somehow reinterpreted in them. J. Vermeylen, for instance, believes that the "house" of David becomes a metaphor of "Israel" (i.e. the people gathered around the temple of Jerusalem in the Persian period) as early as in 2 Sam 7,18-29, and he interprets 2 Sam 22 and 23,1-7 in a similar manner.[8] The coherence or incompatibility of the functions of various occurrences of the dynastic promise may have some importance for our notion of the formation and the history of the transmission of the books of Samuel and Kings.

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[7] Oswald, Nathan, passim.
[8] Vermeylen, Symbolique, p. 475, 479, 481.

Since 2 Sam 7 is the basic formulation of the dynastic promise in these books, the analysis of this text forms the content of the first chapter. Other examined passages from Samuel are then analysed in the order of their appearance in the text. I deal, at least briefly, with all the texts of the so-called Dtr history where the issue of an eternal Davidic dynasty appears in some form, yet I choose to ignore the passages that refer to 2 Sam 7 merely as a prediction of the building of the temple by a descendant of David, with no mention of the dynastic promise (1 Kgs 5,17-19; 6,11-13MT[?]; 8,15-21).

Some of the discussed passages display considerable textual differences in various witnesses, and in many cases scholars largely disagree in their attempts to determine the oldest text. The history of the text of the books of Samuel is complicated and our understanding of this history has developed rapidly over the past decades.[9] Already some of the most prominent scholars of the 19th century[10] have recognized that the Hebrew model of the Old Greek translation of Samuel represented a text largely different from MT. During the 20th century, however, a great deal of exegetical work on Samuel was characterized by lack of deeper interest in Septuagintal textual variants, as scholars frequently assumed that LXX's variants against MT have to a large extent resulted from the work of the translators.[11] This approach to the text of Samuel has been challenged by the discovery and publication of the fragments of Samuel found in Qumran (1QSam, 4QSam[a], 4QSam[b], 4QSam[c]). When it turned out that the readings of 4QSam[a] and 4QSam[b] frequently agree with those of LXX, it was no more possible to consider these Greek variants a result of the work of the translators. These discoveries rekindled interest in the Greek text of Samuel, and even before the final publication of all Samuel scrolls in DJD, numerous works were published where LXX's witness was taken seriously again. In his important commentary, P. K. McCarter presented an

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[9] For a more complete survey of research and a more detailed presentation of contemporary issues, see Hugo, History, p. 1-19.

[10] Most importantly Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels; Wellhausen, Text; Driver, Notes.

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

impressive attempt to reconstruct an eclectic text of the whole book, often preferring the readings of LXX or 4QSamª over MT.[12]

Scholars are not entirely unanimous in their assessment of the degree of literalness of the Old Greek translation of Samuel, and it seems that 2 Reigns is more literal than 1 Reigns. Nevertheless, it is clear that, though not always totally concordant, the translation of both 1 and 2 Samuel is enough literal and isomorphic to be useful for the reconstruction of its underlining Hebrew text. LXX's variants against MT in Samuel reflect in most cases a different Hebrew *Vorlage* than MT.[13]

The discovery of 4QSamª also provoked a new appraisal of the synoptic passages in Chronicles as a witness to Samuel's text. Previously, scholars most often supposed that the book of Samuel used by the Chronicler was practically identical to MT of Samuel. In consequence, the differences between MT of Samuel and MT of Chronicles in the synoptic passages have mainly been explained as resulting from the Chronicler's revising activity. But 4QSamª repeatedly agrees with Chronicles against MT of Samuel (it should be noted that the reading of Chronicles often corresponds to the reading of LXX of Samuel, but little attention was paid to this fact before the emergence of the scrolls). This finding lead to a re-evaluation of the relationship of Chronicles to the textual witnesses of Samuel, and to the conclusion that the Chronicler did not work with a kind of text that would be identical to MT Samuel, but rather a text close to LXX and 4QSamª. This led some scholars to a conclusion that the Chronicler, when copying from older sources, worked with the text in a less free manner than it was thought until the discovery of the scrolls, and we have to pay attention to the witness of Chronicles when seeking the oldest text of Samuel (for references and a more detailed discussion, see the last section of the ch. 1.1.2).

The present-day research on the books of Samuel is thus confronted with a number of textual witnesses, since it has to consider most seriously MT, LXX, the Qumran texts, and with many passages the witness of 1 Chronicles, both in their Masoretic and Greek versions[14].[15] Contrary to

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[12] McCarter, I Samuel and II Samuel.

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

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

that, the Peshitta, the Targum and the Vulgata are less important for the oldest history of the text of Samuel because the type of text they present is close to MT.

There is a general agreement in the contemporary research that during the greater part of the Second temple period, the Books of Samuel existed in several, at least 2 or 3, forms of the text. Traditionally, the differences between the textual traditions have been understood as created mainly by the process of transmission. In recent times, however, several scholars have suggested that the textual differences among the textual traditions of Samuel (or at least of some passages) have not emerged exclusively through the process of scribal transmission, but have been created also by "deliberate interventions of a literary nature",[16] so that the different textual types may be understood as different "editions" of the book.[17]

Two texts that are analyzed in this study also played a major role in the discussion on the history of text of Samuel. The texts are 1 Sam 2,27-36 (as a part of 1 Sam 1-2) and 2 Sam 7. In case of the former, I find it likely that one or more textual witnesses attest a deliberate, ideologically motivated editorial activity; as far as 2 Sam 7 is concerned, the literary nature of the differences between textual witnesses is uncertain. It is clear from the history of research on both texts that even an identification of a coherent set of differences between individual textual witnesses may not lead to an unambiguous recognition of an older form of the text. On the contrary, as P. Hugo remarks, „de telles différences littéraires peuvent souvent être interprétées dans les deux sens".[18] Serious differences between the textual witnesses were indeed recently interpreted in both directions in 2 Sam 7 (see below). Since the chapter has a very different meaning in various witnesses, the results of a literary analysis and a search of the original context of 2 Sam 7 are largely dependent on what available version of the text we find most original. Certain text-critical decisions are therefore decisive for the interpretation of Nathan's oracle. Consequently, I found it

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

[16] Hugo, History, p. 1.

[17] For this trend in the research, see e. g. several contributions in Hugo – Schenker, *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel: The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010.

[18] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 189.

important to provide a thorough text-critical commentary on 2 Sam 7. This textual study might contribute to a more general characterization of some of the textual witnesses in this chapter and to the determination of the value of witnesses for the reconstruction of the oldest text of the chapter. At the end of the text-critical sub-chapter I attend to the problem of 1 Chr 17 as a witness of 2 Sam 7, and I hope my conclusions might have some importance for a more general research into the relation between Samuel and 1 Chronicles. Somewhat extended treatment of text-critical issues was also necessary in cases of 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 2 Sam 23,1-7, but I do not treat all the textual differences present in the main witnesses to these texts in a manner identical to the textual commentary of 2 Sam 7.

Let me make a final remark regarding terminology. While M. Noth believed 2 Sam 7 cannot be a dtr text[19], D. J. McCarthy proposed an inclusion of the chapter among the key dtr passages that the Deuteronomist used in order to structure his work.[20] During the course of time, the mainstream of the research has shown a more positive stance towards McCarthy's suggestion, and most of the research on the dynastic promise in Samuel and Kings has taken place within the hypothesis of Dtr history. This theory is one of the most successful "grand hypotheses" in the study of the Hebrew Bible[21], yet we currently find it in several very different variants, some very far from Noth's original idea.[22] Due to this diversification of the hypothesis, the term "deuteronomistic" has become inconveniently ambivalent.[23] Traditionally, i.e. within Noth's theory and its two most renowned reformulations within what is known as the Cross and Göttingen schools, this term has been used to ascribe texts to the author of Dtr history (or to one of its authors). The Deuteronomist being influenced by Deuteronomy, the texts labelled as dtr were the texts of the Former Prophets that were close to Deuteronomy in terms of language and ideology, as well as texts clearly linked to the texts regarded as dtr by the

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[19] Noth, History, p. 55-56, 126.

[20] McCarthy, II Samuel 7, p. 131-138. For more about McCarthy's suggestion see the overview of the research on 2 Sam 7.

[21] For the term "grand hypothesis" see Ben Zvi, Hypothèse, p. 386-392.

[22] There is no need to discuss the history of the hypothesis. For a thorough introduction see Römer - Pury, Historiography, p. 24-141; more recent, yet briefer accounts: Römer, So-Called, p. 13-43; *Id.*, L'histoire deutéronomiste, p. 315-331.

[23] For details see primarily Nihan, Deutéronomiste, p. 409-441.

first criterion, although these latter texts do not contain (or contain little of) the issues and phraseology of Deuteronomy. Today, the use of the term "dtr" for the texts of the second category is often criticised. 1 Sam 25, analyzed in this study, is one of these questionable cases. As it is well known, T. Veijola in his seminal study *Die Ewige Dynastie* reached the conclusion that the topic of eternal Davidic dynasty was fully developed only by the exilic Deuteronomist (DtrG), and, in connection to this hypothesis, he regarded vv. 21-22.23b.24b-26.28-34.39a in 1 Sam 25 as dtr. M. Peetz, in a recent monograph on 1 Sam 25, answers that the chapter is not similar to Deuteronomy in terms of language and content, therefore it cannot be claimed that it passed through a dtr redaction.[24] Peetz obviously uses the term "deuternomistic" differently than Veijola. Within Noth's model and its first developments, e.g. in case of the classics of the Göttingen school, the use of "deuteronomistic" was legitimate even for texts that lack a parallel in Deuteronomy. In the basic versions of the theory, the "Deuteronomist" was not *essentially* connected to (Ur–)Deuteronomy, which was only one of his sources, albeit perhaps the most important one in respect of its supposed ideological influence on the historian. "Deuteronomistic" were the texts written by the Deuteronomist. Once the scholars like T. Veijola started to believe that the Deuteronomist was more active in the Former Prophets than M. Noth supposed,[25] even the phrases and themes with no parallels in Deuteronomy, e.g. the theme of eternal Davidic dynasty in 1 Sam 25 and elsewhere, had to be considered dtr.

It is now widely accepted that some texts in Deuteronomy and Former Prophets labelled as „dtr" were in development already in the pre-exilic period and the dtr scribal activity continued in the Babylonian exile and the Persian period, either in Babylon or in Judah. Bringing together the hitherto research, T. Römer has recently presented a comprehensive model of Dtr history in this spirit.[26] Similarly C. Nihan, building on older studies that found in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets shorter proto-forms of the traditionally delimited Dtr history, recently emphasised that the coherence of the large composition Exod-Kgs, rather than being the work

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[24] Peetz, Abigajil, esp. p. 229-231, 242.

[25] The goal of Veijola's study was precisely to determine whether the deuteronomistic redaction was indeed present in Samuel only to such a limited extent as M. Noth believed – see Veijola, Dynastie, p. 5-6.

[26] Römer, So-Called.

of one author, is the final result of a complex process during which various literary materials got gradually nearer each other.[27] A long-term dtr activity in various parts of the Hebrew Bible is then ascribed to a "dtr school", understood primarily as a school of thought[28], even though some scholars attempt to explain in what institutional framework such a school might have emerged[29].

This account of the origin of Dtr history is very far from Noth's original theory and its development in the Cross and Göttingen schools, but the term "dtr" will probably be used in both of the above mentioned meanings for some time to come. As long as scholars continue to think in the terms of "dtr" *redactions*, even the passages dealing with topics and using the phraseology without parallels in Deuteronomy will probably be ascribed to these redactions. This practice may seem confusing in terms of terminology, but I believe it is not due exclusively to the history of reception of the hypothesis of Dtr history, but also to the nature of the books of Former Prophets. On the other hand, it must be admitted that there has been a considerable "depletion" of the term "dtr" due to a loss of popularity of the traditional models of Dtr history, and this term itself is insufficient for expressing historical and social context of a text labelled in this manner.

The following study of the dynastic promise in the books of Samuel is inspired primarily by the scholars that ascribed a major role in the development of this theme to the "dtr" redaction of the Former Prophets (for the references, see the research overview preceding the analysis of 2 Sam 7). But aside from the mention of the duration of royal dynasty in Deut 17,20, the issue is not present in Deuteronomy; therefore I will use the term "dtr" in my analysis only sparsely and mainly concerning the phrases or concepts that are generally understood in this manner and are present in Deuteronomy. I believe that the presented description of the political interests linked to the composition of 2 Sam 7 (and, probably, also other examined passages) and the delimitation of the probable time of origin of these texts enable us to locate them in a socio-historical context

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[27] Nihan, Deutéronomiste, esp. p. 418–435.
[28] E. g. Römer, So-Called, p. 47.
[29] We should mention above all the thesis that in the 7th – 6th century B.C.E., both the Deuteronomic Code and the "Dtr history" became a basis of the educational curriculum of the Judean scribes. See Carr, Writing, esp. p. 134-42, 166-67; Nihan, Deutéronomiste, esp. p. 429-435.

that is not as definite as we might hope for, but clearly more concrete than a mere designation "dtr".

1. 2 Samuel 7

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

1.1 The text of 2 Samuel 7

As recently emphasized by A. Schenker and P. Hugo, Nathan's oracle has different meanings in 2 Sam 7MT, 2 Sam 7LXX, 1 Chr 17MT and 1 Chr 17LXX, and these differences may have been created by sets of interconnected changes in some of the witnesses.[30] In the following commentary, I will first note and discuss the textual problems which do not seem to be intrinsically linked to a larger literary editing of the text. The variants which can be construed as components of larger literary interventions into the text in one or several witnesses will be mentioned in the corresponding verse, but their detailed discussion will be deferred towards the end of the chapter.

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

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[30] Schenker, Verheissung; Hugo, History. As a matter of fact, the difference between MT and LXX of 1 Chr 17 may be somewhat exaggerated, as it mainly depends on the short reading καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σε κύριος, attested in *Vaticanus*, *Sinaiticus* and the Minuscule 127 (cf. also *Alexandrinus*, *Venetus* and other minuscules reading καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος). If, however, together with Rahlfs, Allen and Pisano we accept as more original the longer reading καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος attested in ms f, the meaning of LXX's and MT's texts will not be so much dissimilar. See below for a more comprehensive discussion of this problem.

whenever it differs from MT of 1 Chr 17, even when 1 Chr 17LXX is in accord with MT of 2 Sam 7. In other cases, the list of variants is mostly negative, with the exception of 4QSamᵃ, which I mention even when it is in accord with MT, so that it is obvious that the discussed text has been preserved in this Qumran scroll.

I chose a special approach regarding the variants of the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint. I mostly do not mention the readings of LXX^L when they are in accord with MT against LXX^B (the reading of which is mostly identified with OG in 2 Sam 7)[31]. I do mention it when it differs from MT and LXX^B and is likely to mirror a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. Especially important are the passages where LXX^L provides a reading different from both MT and LXX^B but identical to 1 Chr 17; in these passages, LXX^L may be giving the so-called proto-lucianic readings, resulting from an early revision of OG toward a Hebrew text apparently close to the text of Samuel used by the Chronicler. In these passages, the variants of 1 Chr 17 against 2 Sam 7 MT and LXX^B were probably a part of the Chronicler's text of Samuel and are not the work of the Chronicler.

The variants collected by B. Kennicott and J. B. de Rossi from the medieval Hebrew manuscripts mostly emerged in the Middle Ages and have little value for the reconstruction of the old text.[32] I adduce them only according to BHS, including its information on the frequency of the variant.

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

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

[32] Tov, Criticism, p. 37–39, 299.

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

Usually I try not to merely provide a list of variants, but rather to present arguments for the reading I consider to be the best. In this respect, an exception is constituted by the variant readings according to the S ≠ C[33] pattern (i. e. the passages where the main witnesses of 2 Sam 7 stand against the main witnesses of 1 Chr 17). The readings of 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17 are often synonymous in these places, and it is impossible to argue in favour of one of them only in the context of the given passage. The evaluation of such types of textual differences depends to a large extent on a scholar's overall opinion on the relation between the texts of the books of Samuel and 1 Chronicles or, more carefully said, his notion of the relation between the texts of 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17. Towards the end of the chapter I try to show that the readings of 2 Sam 7 should be *a priori* preferred in such passages.

1.1.1 Textual commentary of 2 Samuel 7

Verse 1:
כַּאֲשֶׁר 1 Chr 17,1 – כִּי.
S≠C (i)

הַמֶּלֶךְ – LXX[L] ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυιδ (see the apparatus in Brooke – McLean – Thackeray for other variants in the Greek mss); 1 Chr 17,1 דָּוְיד.
S≠C (i)

הֵנִיחַ־לְוֹ; LXX κατεκληρονόμησεν αὐτὸν – "had given him an inheritance".
The translator probably read הנחילו.[34] Usually, the reading of LXX is considered secondary. The change may have occurred by a combination of

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[33] For representation of relations between textual witnesses, I do not use common abbreviations of Biblical books, but merely S, C, SMT, SLXX etc.
[34] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 191.

scribal errors: metathesis of י and ח, and a connection of two formerly separated words.

According to P. Hugo, this change in the *Vorlage* of LXX may be intentional, the scribe would have avoided the tension between the gift of rest in this verse and the wars in 2 Sam 8.[35] On the other hand, Hugo admits the possibility that the presence of the verb נוח in MT is a consequence of the influence of v. 11, where this verb also appears.[36]

To the first possibility suggested by Hugo we could object that the reading הנחילו creates greater tension with 2 Sam 8 than the reading הניח לו. Conquests in 2 Sam 8 are, in the end, not in opposition to Yhwh's gift of rest to David in 2 Sam 7,1. Conversely, it is obvious that David seized the lands of the "surrounding enemies" as late as in 2 Sam 8. It is therefore difficult to imagine that the entry of הנחילו into the text of 2 Sam 7,1 would be motivated by an attempt to avoid the contradiction with 2 Sam 8.

Hugo's alternative idea to consider הניח לו in v. 1 as a harmonization with v. 11 seems highly unlikely. The sentence ויהוה הניח לו מסביב מכל איביו is one of the occurrences of the most complete variant of a dtr phrase which can be also found in Deut 12,10; 25,19; Josh 23,1 (shorter forms in Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15; 21,44; 22,4; 2 Sam 7,11; 1 Kgs 5,18). As we will see later, the writer of the chapter has probably used this phrase in 2 Sam 7,1b in order to create a link to Deut 12,9-11, thereby contributing to the general purpose of vv. 1–3 to present David's plan to build a temple as appropriate.[37] The use of הניח לו is thus in accord with the dtr style present elsewhere in the chapter; moreover, the mention of rest from the enemies plays a role in the opening of the given section. Contrary to that, the verbal form הנחילו would be rather unusual in the context. The verb נחל hiph. usually appears with two accusatives, which denote the reciever of the heritage and the object that is to be inherited. Instead of the second accustative, the original owner of the inherited object introduced by the proposition מן would appear in this case, and there is no paralel to such a

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[35] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.
[36] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.
[37] The verb נחל hiph. appears in Deut 12,10 as well, but not as constituent of a phrase which would correspond to 2 Sam 7,1bLXX. The reference to Deut 12,10 is apparent in 2 Sam 7,1b only if we read 2 Sam 7,1 in MT's form.

construction.[38] After all, even 2 Sam 7,1a, according to which David was "sitting in his house", is hard to harmonize with the conquest of the lands of the surrounding enemies in v. 1bLXX.

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

MT ≠ LXX (n)

מִסָּבִיב מִכָּל־אֹיְבָיו; LXX κύκλῳ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κύκλῳ.

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

MT≠LXX (n?)

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

In P. K. McCarter's view, 2 Sam 7,1b does not make sense in its context because David's wars continue immediately in the following chapter; furthermore, according to "the last (Deuteronomistic) editor of this material" David did not enjoy the rest (1 Kgs 5,17–18).[39] McCarter solves the problem of 1b together with v. 11aβ where in his view the promise of rest to David does not make sense either. McCarter thinks that in 11aβ the promise was originally related to Israel (see the textual note *ad loc.*). Later on, 11aβ was erroneously related to David but a scribe added a marginal correction to the text, changing the pronouns back from the 2nd (לך ...

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[38] Admittedly, נחל hiph. with the preposition מן appears in Ezek 46,18; in this verse, however, the preposition introduces the aggregate of the possessions from which the prince's sons inherit.

[39] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 191.

(אֹיְבֶיךָ) to the 3rd p. (לוֹ ... אֹיְבָיו), and this correction has then entered the text in a wrong section in 1b.[40]

S. L. McKenzie dealt with the problem of 2 Sam 7,1b on several occasions. In his first contribution to the question, he explained the plus in 2 Sam 7,1b by the fact that "S^M is expansionistic."[41] It must be noted, however, that the half-verse is attested in OG of 2 Sam 7,1b, though in a corrupt form. Later McKenzie overtook and expanded on McCarter's understanding of 2 Sam 7,1b.[42] According to McKenzie, v. 1b is not only in conflict with the wars in chapters 8; 10 and 13-20, but also with the theme of "rest" in the Dtr history as a whole. McKenzie believes that the original version of the Dtr history, the promise of rest and of the centralisation of the cult, given in Deut 12,10-11, was realized *only* in the time of Solomon (see especially 1 Kgs 5,18-19; 8,56), and all the other references to the rest of Israel (or David) before the rule of Solomon are therefore later additions. A part of the Dtr history would not then be mentions of rest after the conquest of the land in the time of Joshua (Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1), which McKenzie, following M. Noth, considers a part of the great post-dtr addition in chap. 13-22.[43] Lastly, McKenzie believes that 2 Sam 7,1b is also in tension with v. 11aβ, a verse that McKenzie reads as a statement concerning the future. McKenzie avows McCarter's conjectures in these verses and considers both mentions of David's rest to be secondary.

A lot could be objected to McCarter's and McKenzie's arguments, starting from the fact that v. 9aβ, too, mentions the cutting off of all David's enemies[44]. As to the supposed contradiction between vv. 1b and 11aβ, it should be noted that not all perfect forms in vv. 9-11 have to be necessarily understood as converted perfects, which is a point I later shall return to. To the exclusion of Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1 from the original form of Dtr history we could note that in such a case we also have to exclude mentions of the rest in Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15. The promise of the rest given to the Cisjordanian tribes in Deut 3,20 and Josh 1,15 is obviously in a

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[40] 2 Sam 7,1b was considered as a late addition already by Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 129-130.

[41] McKenzie, Use, p. 63.

[42] McKenzie, David, p. 209-212; McKenzie, Typology, p. 173-174.

[43] For agruments for the exclusion of Josh 13-22, see Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p. 40-41; McKenzie, David, p. 210-212.

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

relation to the period that followed the conquest of the land (that is the time concerned by the occurrences of the formula in Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1), instead of the time of Solomon. In Deut 3,20 and Josh 1,15, this rest is actually identical to the conquest of the land, and it also follows from these verses that the Transjordanian tribes "rested" even before Israel crossed the Jordan. That in itself does not pose a major problem from the perspective of McKenzie's argument, as we may simply say that neither Deut 3,20, nor Josh 1,12-15 were a part of the original form of the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua.

Altogether, the mentions of rest that McKenzie excludes from the (original) Dtr history do pose a certain problem for his (and McCarter's) understanding of 2 Sam 7,1b. T. Römer, in his overview of the state of the research on Dtr history, situated McKenzie among what he calls as neo-nothians, i.e. scholars who returned to the original thesis of M. Noth that the author of the Dtr history was an individual historian active in the exilic period.[45] Within this model, it might seem adequate to outline a concept of the gift of rest attributed to the dtr historian, and to consider all the remaining mentions of rest that do not fit this concept to be various additions to the work of the historian. The formula of rest is generally regarded as dtr, the whole debate on the meaning of this concept in Dtr history, which McKenzie (and McCarter) participate in, being based on this supposition. Now, mentions of the rest of Israel, considered to be post-dtr by McKenzie, are no different from the (supposedly) more ancient occurrences; this tells us that even scribes after the dtr historian were able to use dtr phraseology. In the history of research after M. Noth this banal discovery usually led to the creation of multi-layered models of the genesis of Dtr history, which would be a work of several (or many) dtr authors. The motif of rest, expressed by hiphil of the verb נוח or the noun מנוחה, appears in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets in Deut 3,20; 12,9-10; 25,19; Josh 1,13.15; 21,44; 22,4; 23,1; 2 Sam 7,1.11; 1Kgs 5,18; 8,56. Of these occurences of the motif in the so-called Dtr history, Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15; 21,44; 22,4; 23,1; 2 Sam 7,1 should in McKenzie's (and McCarter's) model be considered as secondary; moreover, in McKenzie's view, the current form of 2 Sam 7,11, where the receiver of the rest is David, is

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[45] Römer, So-Called, p. 31-32; McKenzie, Kingship, p. 286-314.

secondary as well.[46] The contradiction between Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1 and a direct line from promise of rest and a centralization of the cult in Deut 12,9-10 to its realization under Solomon's rule is resolved by McKenzie in a literary-critical manner, while his solution for the formulations in 2 Sam 7,1b.11aβ is text-critical (he regards the existing form of the verses as a result of scribal errors). In the situation when more than half the occurences of the motif of rest in Deuteronomy and Former Prophets is not in accord with the Deuteronomist's (postulated) original intention, McKenzie's procedure in 2 Sam 7,1.11 is problematic. Should we accept that the Deuteronomist's notion of rest of Israel was in accord with McKenzie's proposition, the question remains whether the dtr form of 2 Sam 7 must have been a work of the (original) dtr historian (which would mean that vv. 1b.11aβ would have to be secondary within the chapter), and not of any other author using the given dtr phraseology, for example the author(s) of Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1 (and Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15). A brief summary of the history of Israel since exodus until the rise of David in 2 Sam 7,10-11 could indeed indicate that the author of Nathan's oracle took into account the rest of Israel after the conquest of the land in the time of Joshua (see a detailed text-critical note to the word ולמן in v. 11). The main argument against cutting out v. 1b from 2 Sam 7 is that the mention of rest is utterly in accord with the function of the *whole exposition* in vv. 1–3, which is to present David's intent as adequate to the situation and so create a false expectation. I will later attend to the function of this opening scene in greater detail; here I should only point out that we can hardly doubt that vv. 1–3 are indended to have this role, since the falseness of the original evaluation of the situation is displayed in the text itself by the fact that David's plan is in the first place endorsed even by the prophet Nathan.

We should mention, in this context, that v. 1b is not merely 11aβ in the 3rd p, which itself makes McCarter's reconstruction of scribal errors leading to v. 1b highly doubtful. Unlike v. 11aβ, v. 1b also includes the word מסביב, and so it is the fullest variant of the given dtr phrase, and it is precisely in this extended form that v. 1b clearly refers to Deut 12,9-11, thereby contributing to the general purpose of vv. 1–3 to present David's plan to build a temple as appropriate. It is thus likely that 2 Sam 7,1b made part of the "original" composition in 2 Sam 7, and 1 Chr 17 has left out the

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

mention of David's rest because of the discrepancy with the following wars (2 Sam 8; 1 Chr 18 – 20,3), in agreement with the strong contrast in the books of Chronicles between David and Salomon as men of war and peace respectively (cf. 1 Chr 22,7-10; 28,3)[47].[48] As noted by S. Pisano, 2 Sam 7,1b may be looking rather into the past than into the future, describing the present situation in which David could conceive of building a temple for Yhwh.[49]

But it is even possible that for the author of 2 Sam 7, David's wars of conquest in ch. 8 did not present a disturbance of David's rest. As may be seen in Deut 25,19 ("when Yhwh your God has given you rest from all your surrounding enemies... you will blot out the memory of Amalek from under heaven"), not all dtr scribes necessarily identified the "rest from enemies" with peace of arms. At any rate, the reading of 2 Sam 7,1b is more original then its absence in 1 Chr 17,1.[50]

S≠C (t)

Verse 2:
דָּוִיד 1 Chr 17,1 ;הַמֶּלֶךְ.
S≠C (i)

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

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

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

[48] So also Pisano, Deuteronomist, p. 273.

[49] Pisano, Deuteronomist, p. 273.

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

בְּרִית־יְהוָה ;1 Chr 17,1 הָאֱלֹהִֽים.

The reading of 2 Sam 7 is more original, it is in greater accord with the intention of the opening of the chapter to create the impression that the focus of God's presence or God himself reside in a far worse place than David does. The unclear distinction between Yhwh and the symbol of his presence allows for an argument using a rhetorical question in v. 5 (see below for details). This vagueness in David's description of the situation is lost, if the Ark is merely the Ark of the Covenant.

S ≠ C (it?)

יֹשֵׁב; omitted in 1 Chr 17,1.

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

S ≠ C (i)

בְּתוֹךְ ;1 Chr 17,1 תַּחַת.
S ≠ C (i)

הַיְרִיעָה; LXX^L τῆς σκηνῆς κυρίου; 1 Chr 17,1 יְרִיעֹֽת.

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

S ≠ C (i)

Verse 3:
אֶל־דָּוִֽד ;1 Chr 17,2 אֶל־הַמֶּֽלֶךְ.
S ≠C (i)

לְךָ; missing in several mss, Syr and 1 Chr 17,2.
The short text may be due to haplography through homoioteleuton.
S ≠ C (ni?)

עֲשֵׂה; ms וְעֲשֵׂה; LXX καὶ ποίει.
MT, as *lectio difficilior* and at the same time *lectio brevior*, is probably more original.

SMT C ≠ SLXX (i)

יְהוָה; LXX[L] θεὸς; 1 Chr 17,2MT הָאֱלֹהִים ; 1 Chr 17,2LXX θεὸς.
S ≠ C (i)[51]

Verse 4:
דְּבַר־יְהוָה – 1 Chr 17,3MT דְּבַר־אֱלֹהִים; 1 Chr 17,3LXX λόγος
κυρίου.
The reading of 1 Chr 17,3LXX seems to be an assimilation to 2 Sam 7,4,
most likely already in 1 Chr 17,3LXX's *Vorlage* (2 Sam 7,3LXX reads ῥῆμα
κυρίου).[52]
S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

נָתָן; some mss and a rabbinic quotation add הנביא; LXX[L] Ναθαν τὸν
προφήτην; the same in Syr; in 1 Chr 17,3 the longer reading appears in
some Masoretic mss and in Syr.

לֵאמֹר – missing in 1 Chr 17,3LXX (mss BSf).
The short text may be due to inner–Greek haplography through
homoioteleuton.
S CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

Verse 5:
אֶל־דָּוִד; אֶל is absent from numerous mss, as well as from LXX, Syr,
Tg[MS], Vg; 1 Chr 17,4 reads אֶל־דָּוִיד עַבְדִּי.
2 Sam 7MT doubles prepositions before apposition more often than
LXX and 1 Chr 17. It is difficult to determine whether systematic
repetition of the prepositions in MT is an original feature of the text,
partially weakened in other textual traditions, or a result of secondary
stylistic perfection. The first posibility seams more plausible to me.
SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C

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[51] This notation of the pattern is imprecise. OG of 2 Sam 7,3 (κύριος) corresponds to
MT, but the reading of LXX[L] probably reflects the Hebrew text of Samuel that was also
available to the Chronicler. I shall return to similar sections at the end of this chapter,
within the discussion of the value of 1 Chr 17 for the reconstruction of 2 Sam 7.
[52] Allen, Chronicles I, p. 193.

הַאַתֶּה – LXX οὐ σὺ; Syr ܐܢܬ ܠܐ. 1 Chr 17,4 has לֹא אַתָּה as well.

The meaning of the rhetorical question in 2 Sam 7,5bMT is not identical with the statement in LXX (see the discussion of the meaning of the verse in various textual witnesses in ch. 1.1.2). J. Lust and P. Hugo are therefore wrong in assuming that negative statement in LXX might be the correct translation of the rhetorical question.[53] It is very likely that LXX presupposes a *Vorlage* different from MT[54]; לא אתה is in fact attested in the Hebrew text of 1 Chr 17,4.

Most scholars have considered MT's reading as more original. P. Hugo, however, recently came with the opinion that the older reading in 2 Sam 7,5b might be לא אתה.[55] The first part of Nathan's oracle (vv. 5-7) opens and ends with a rhetorical question, and "la finesse de cette structure en inclusion, sans prouver qu'elle est secondaire, le laisse pourtant supposer." But vv. 6-7 disclose that the intention of vv. 5-7 is to reject David's plan to build a temple for Yhwh, where the latter would reside. The simple negative sentence in 2 Sam 7,5LXX is in conflict with this meaning of vv. 6-7 though, because in v. 5bLXX it seems as if David's plan was devoid of problems of any kind, except that it will not be *him* who will actually build the temple. A rhetorical question in v. 5bMT fits into the first part of Nathan's oracle far easier. A shift towards לא אתה could be explained by the attempt to soften (or remove, actually) the polemic with David's plan which is thus only postponed. As regards this verse, W. M. Schniedewind is right that 2 Sam 7,5LXX and 1 Chr 17,4 contain a pro-Temple bias.[56]

SMT ≠ SLXX C (t)

לִי; omitted in 1 Chr 17,4LXX[BS].
S CMT ≠ CLXX

בַיִת – 1 Chr 17,4MT הַבַּיִת; 1 Chr 17,4LXX οἶκον.
S CLXX ≠ CMT

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[53] Lust, David , p. 253, 259; Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.

[54] Contra Schniedewind, Criticism, p. 111-112. For a more extensive discussion with Schniedewind, see below ch. 1.1.2. – Hebrew *Vorlage* different from MT is correctly supposed by McCarter, II Samuel, p. 191, and others.

[55] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.

[56] Schniedewind, Criticism, p. 111-112.

A few mss add לשמי after בית. This is due to a secondary influence of the dtr ideology expressed in v. 13.

לְשִׁבְתִּי; 1 Chr 17,4MT לָשֶׁבֶת; 1 Chr 17,4LXX τοῦ κατοικῆσαί με ἐν αὐτῷ.

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

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

ἐν αὐτῷ – S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

Verse 6:

מִן־הַיּוֹם הַעֲלֹתִי; LXX ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνήγαγον; 1 Chr 17,5 אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלֵיתִי.

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

S ≠ C

אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל; 1 Chr 17,5 אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל.
S ≠ C (i)

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

Perhaps ממצרים was missing in an ancestor ms of LXX, and later it was inserted into the text (Hebrew or Greek) under the influence of proto-MT, but in another place.[57]

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (i?)

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[57] Similarly McCarter, II Samuel, p. 192, preferring the shorter text.

וְעַד; LXX ἕως; 1 Chr 17,5 עַד.

The shorter reading may be more original, but the longer reading is probably more difficult in this instance.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

מֵאֹהֶל אֶל־אֹהֶל; מִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּאֹהֶל; 1 Chr 17,5MT מֵאֹהֶל; 1 Chr 17,5LXX ἐν σκηνῇ;

1 Chr 17,5MT either leaves out מתהלך (according to Knoppers, that is related to homoioarcton with מאהל)[58], or rather *instead of the phrase* מתהלך באהל it has מאהל אל אהל, where the first word (together with the first letter of the preposition?) comes from מתהלך.

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n, i?)

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

The reading of 1 Chr 17,5MT is erroneous, it quite obviously needs an addition of אל משכן, as suggested by the apparatus of BHS in accordance with Tg (the latter, however, contains a "midrashic" presentation of the history of the Shekinah: והויתי משרי שכנתי ממשכן זמנא לנוב ומנוב לשילה ומשילה למשכן גבעו). But even this longer, reconstructed form is probably already corrupt, LXX reads καὶ ἐν καταλύματι (B has καλύμματι, but that is most likely merely an inner-Greek error, cf. 2 Sam 7,6LXX). The corruption in 1 Chr 17,5 may have evolved from an erroneous reading of מתהלך, as mentioned above.[59]

S CLXX ≠ CMT

Verse 7:
בְּכֹל; some mss ככל.

בְּנֵי; missing in one ms, LXX and 1 Chr 17,6.
The shorter reading might be more original.
SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

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[58] Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 663.
[59] Cf. McCarter, II Samuel, p. 192, who argues in favour of the short text (perhaps corresponding to the *Vorlage* of Syr [ܒܡܫܟܢܐ] in 2 Sam 7,6) reading only באהל.

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

The difference only concerns vocalization.

שִׁבְטֵי; LXX φυλὴν; 1 Chr 17,6MT שֹׁפְטֵי; 1 Chr 17,6LXX φυλὴν.

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

The difference between שבטי and שפטי is a known *crux interpretum*. All the main textual witnesses in 2 Sam 7,7 and even 1 Chr 17,6LXX read שבטי ישראל, but this phrase seems rather puzzling in conntection with its subordinate clause אשר צויתי לרעות את עמי את ישראל.

The suggested solutions may be divided into three groups:[60]

a) The classic proposal, adopted by several modern translations (e.g. RSV, EIN, LUT, BJ), is to conjecture the text into שפטי ישראל according to the parallel text in 1 Chr 17,6.[61] This reading is also in accord with 2 Sam 7,11 where Yhwh appoints (צוה) judges (שפטים) as well.

b) Others preserve the reading שבטי, but again with the meaning of rulers, judges etc. So Mitchell Dahood tentatively proposed to regard שבטי in this place as a plural of שֵׁבֶט which would be a dialectal form of שֹׁפֵט.[62] His suggestion is based on the interchangeability of mute and sonant labials *p* and *b*, supposedly observed in Ugaritic, and documented once in Hebrew as well.[63] Yet as regards our text, Dahood's reading does not seem probable in the vicinity of the common form שֹׁפֵט in v. 11.

Patrick V. Reid also construes the word שבטי as the plural of שֵׁבֶט, conceiving it for his part as a denominative qal participle of שֵׁבֶט with the meaning of "the one who wields a staff" or "staff bearer".[64] This word is not

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

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

[62] Dahood, Proverbs, p. 43.

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

[64] Reid, 2 Samuel 7:7, p. 17-20.

documented, two other possible occurrences are in Reid's view Deut 33,5 and 2 Sam 5,1.

Other scholars[65] understand the word as the plural of שֵׁבֶט with the meaning "rod", "staff" or "sceptre" as a metonymical denotation of the bearer of the sceptre, i. e. a ruler. This figurative speech occurs in Num 24,17 and Isa 14,5.29 where, however, it seems to function more effectively, since in these passages the metonymy is also a metaphor: the rod "beats" a nation, or nations. With nothing of that kind in 2 Sam 7,7, it would perhaps be more meaningful to understand שֵׁבֶט in respect to the verb רעה as a *shepherd's* staff (so Lev 27,32; Ps 23,4; Ezek 20,37; Mic 7,14), but I wonder if it would make the image more beautiful. To say that a staff pastures seems far less elegant than to say that a rod beats, even if both the rod and the staff are instruments. At any rate, in the rest of the HB שֵׁבֶט with the meaning of shepherd's staff is never used metonymically of either Yhwh or a people's leader.

The most interesting interpretation of this type was suggested by *CTAT I*.[66] It takes as its starting point the comparison of Josh 23,2; 24,1 with Deut 29,9. The verses Josh 23,2 and 24,1 list as representatives of Israel זקנים, ראשים, שפטים, and שטרים, while in Deut 29,9 in a very similar context we find the sequence ראשיכם שבטיכם זקניכם ושטריכם.[67] The authors of *CTAT I*. are of the opinion that in Josh 23,2; 24,1, a "deuteronomistic redactor" issued a "rejuvenated" version of the list which he had in Deut 29,9.[68] They believe that, besides the meanings "rod" and "tribe", שֵׁבֶט also meant "leader" in the old Hebrew, and they find other occurrences of שֵׁבֶט in this sense in Deut 33,5 and 2 Sam 5,1 (cf. v. 3). I am under the impression that, above all because of Deut 29,9, we cannot exclude the possibility that the word שֵׁבֶט could in biblical Hebrew designate a (tribal) leader.[69]

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[65] Already Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels, 1842, p. 156.

[66] *CTAT I*, p. 245f.

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

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

[69] Cf. also Gevirtz, Judge, p. 61-66. Gevirtz's approach is somewhere in the middle between the suggestions made by Dahood and *CTAT I*. In his view, Hebrew שֵׁבֶט (2)

c) Philippe de Robert[70], Donald F. Murray[71] and Christopher Begg[72] read שבטי with the meaning "tribes". Murray conjectures the text into את אחד מכל שבטי ישראל which he translates "to anyone from all the tribes of Israel", identifying rather surprisingly the person alluded to as David himself. This is obviously far-fetched, the text can polemize against David without "anyone from all the tribes of Israel" necessarily having to be himself. The plural בניתם in 7b also testifies against this identification, a fact which Murray is conscious of, but practically ignores.[73] From the text-critical point of view the proposition is weak as well – the reading has no support in the texts and the supposed kind of haplography leading to the loss of מכל is not very probable; מכל would fall out because of two בכל in 7a, but these would be relatively distant from the reconstructed מכל.[74]

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

Finally, Christopher Begg argues for the reading "tribes of Israel" and for the traditional understanding of the syntax of the sentence (with "tribes" as subject of לרעות). In his view the phrase refers to various tribes which successively exercised primacy over the others. Admittedly שבט as subject

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"ruler, judge" derives from ṬBṬ, a phonetic variant of ṬPṬ "to judge, rule", and is thus only a homonym with שֵׁבֶט (1) "staff" < ŠBṬ. – For the disscussion of different meanings of שֵׁבֶט in HB, see Salvesen, שֵׁבֶט, p. 121-136.

[70] Robert, Juges, p. 116-118.
[71] Murray, Once Again, p. 389-396.
[72] C. Begg, Reading *šbṭy(km)* in Deut; *idem*, Reading in 2 Sam 7,7.
[73] D. F. Murray, Once Again, p. 395-396.
[74] See also C. Begg, The Reading in 2 Sam 7,7; this article is almost entirely dedicated to the criticism of Murray's position.

of רעה is unparalleled in HB, but the more general notion of a tribe enjoying primacy within the people of Israel is not[75].

My own suggestion falls into this category as well. As noted by the last three mentioned authors, there are indeed some basic arguments for the reading שבטי with the meaning of "tribes":

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

2) The old versions understand the word as (a) tribe(s): LXX - φυλὴν, Vg – *tribubus*, Syr ܫܒܛܐ, Tg משבטיא; LXX has φυλὴν even in 1 Chr 17,6.

3) The expression "judges of Israel" is unusual; we find it, apart from 1 Chr 17,6, only in Num 25,5, in sg. also in Mic 4,14MT. Contrary to that, the expression "tribes of Israel" is very frequent (48x in the OT), in 2 Sam 15,2 there is even מאחד שבטי ישראל.

Our intention here is not to reconstruct a pre-dtr body of the text, but rather to show that MT provides us with the reading of the "deuteronomistic" book of Samuel, or it at least is close to it in the very speaking of *the tribes*. The speech about the tribes of Israel in this place corresponds to Solomon's "dtr" summary of Nathan's saying in 1 Kgs 8,16.18f. As seen in the *Table 1* below, Solomon's summary can be divided into three steps: 1) Since the exodus from Egypt, Yhwh has not chosen a location for his temple; 2) he chose David; 3) the temple is to be built by his son. Now, if we link these steps with the corresponding parts of Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7, we can see that the speech about the Israelite tribes does belong to the first part of the prophecy. The corresponding passage to 2 Sam 7,7 in 1 Kgs 8,16 reads: "Since the day that I brought my people Israel out of Egypt, I chose no city in all the tribes of Israel in which to build a house…".[76] With a prospect to the future, similar sayings are formulated in Deut 12,5.14; retrospectively, beside 1 Kgs 8, again in 1 Kgs 11,32 (cf. v. 13.36); 14,21 and 2 Kgs 21,7. The reading "to one of the tribes of Israel" in 2 Sam 7,7 also is in accord with the plural בניתם in 7b.

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

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

Table 1
Right and left sections correspond as wholes, the coordination of the individual lines is rather for orientation

1 Kgs 8		2 Sam 7	
מן היום אשר הוצאתי את עמי את ישראל ממצרים לא בחרתי בעיר מכל שבטי ישראל לבנות בית להיות שמי שם	6	כי לא ישבתי בבית למיום העלתי את בני ישראל ממצרים ועד היום הזה ואהיה מתהלך באהל ובמשכן בכל אשר התהלכתי בכל בני ישראל הדבר דברתי את אחד שבטי ישראל אשר צויתי לרעות את עמי את ישראל לאמר למה לא בניתם לי בית ארזים	6 7
ואבחר בדוד להיות על עמי ישראל		ועתה כה תאמר לעבדי לדוד כה אמר יהוה צבאות לקחתיך מן הנוה מאחר הצאן להיות נגיד על עמי על ישראל	8
(...) רק אתה לא תבנה הבית כי אם בנך היצא מחלציך הוא יבנה הבית לשמי	9	(...) cf. v. 5 כי ימלאו ימיך ושכבת את אבתיך והקימתי את זרעך אחריך אשר יצא ממעיך והכינתי את ממלכתו הוא יבנה בית לשמי	 12 13

The mention of the tribes of Israel in 2 Sam 7,7 can be related to the dtr polemic against a non-centralized cult, first and foremost the "sin of Jeroboam", i. e. the sanctuaries that this king, according to 1 Kgs 12,26–33, built in Bethel and Dan. In terms of our text, Yhwh did not up until now choose any tribe to build a temple for him; now (v. 13) he is going to designate David's son to be the builder of the house for Yhwh's name, but the other tribes continue to have no right to any temple building. This polemic is present in all aforementioned passages speaking about the choice of a place from the tribes of Israel as a place for the temple, the most conspicuously in Deut 12,14: "But only at the place that Yhwh will choose in one of your tribes (באחד שבטיך) – there you shall offer your burnt offerings and there you shall do everything I command you." Here, as in 2 Sam 7,7, the idea transpires that the place for the temple can in fact be in only *one tribe*.

The occurrence of the tribes of Israel in 2 Sam 7,7 thus makes perfect sense in dtr context. The unusual notion of the tribes appointed to shepherd the people can be retained as a, perhaps somewhat awkward, reference to a primacy successively enjoyed by various Israelite tribes as suggested by

Begg, or it can be avoided by accepting de Robert's understanding of the syntax of the verse. I tend to favor the former, since a clumsy rendering of a common idea seems more likely than a rather unusual expression of an otherwise unknown concept. But maybe some use could be made also of the suggestion given by CTAT. As we will see later, there is a possibility that v(v.) 6(f.) contain a remainder of a (perhaps not substantially) older saying which the exilic dtr author of the chapter adapted for his composition of the text. Would it be possible that in 2 Sam 7,7[*] the speech was originally about שבטים as "(tribal) leaders", and a dtr author related the expression to the "tribes"? The unusual appointment of the tribes over the people would thus have resulted from the combining effect of the source and of the dtr author of the present text.

But this is already entirely hypothetical; what I consider demonstrated is merely the dtr reading "to one of the tribes of Israel".
    S CLXX ≠ CMT (n)

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

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

Verse 8:
לְדָוִד; ל is missing in a few Massoretic mss, Syr.

מִן־הַנָּוֶה מֵאַחַר הַצֹּאן; numerous mss מן הנוה מאחרי הצאן; LXX ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας τῶν προβάτων; LXX[L] ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας ἐξ ἑνὸς (= מאחד) τῶν ποιμνίων; similarly VL: *de casa pastorali ex uno grege*; 1 Chr 17,7 מִן־הַנָּוֶה מִן־אַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאן. The parallel passage in Ps 78,70–71 reads מִמִּכְלְאֹת צֹאן מֵאַחַר עָלוֹת.

The majority reading of LXX should be understood in the manner that an equivalent of מאחר is missing in it. LXX[L] presupposes a presence of the short form of the preposition אחר, because only that could be confused with אחד.

There is no reason for the addition of a preposition to the shorter text; on the contrary the emergence of the shorter text could be explained by a

scribal mistake. It is plausible that in 2 S 7,8LXX the most original text is attested in LXX[L] (at least regarding the presence and translation of the preposition before הצאן), and the exclusion of ἐξ ἑνὸς occurred due to homoioteleuton with μάνδρας.

Or, in case the OG reading corresponds to the majority (short) reading of LXX, it is possible to explain its origin by an omission of the preposition from the *Vorlage* of OG owing to homoioarcton. Haplography may have occurred most probably in the text that contained twice the preposition מן in this long form, as is the case in 1 Chr 17,7. That might indicate that the reading מן אחר(י) is not an innovation by the Chronicler, but rather was already present in his text of the book of Samuel. The expression מן אחרי in 1 Chr 17,7 is *hapax legomenon*, this compounded preposition otherwise occurring in the form מאחר(י). From this perspective, we could build an argument in favour of the reading of 1 Chr 17,7 as *lectio difficilior*. Still, it seems more likely to me that the unusual form of the preposition in 1 Chr 17,7 probably evolved secondarily under the influence of the preceding phrase מן הנוה.

The form of the preposition in 1 Chr 17,7 is then an assimilation and it evolved probably as early as in the text of Samuel; more original in 2 Sam 7,8 is a form of preposition that is written together. Since the preposition אחר(י) occurs more often with a *yod* than without it, the addition of *yod* is more likely than its omission. 2 Sam 7MT, then, probably contains the most original reading, supported by Ps 78,71 and partly by 2 Sam 7,8LXX[L].[77]

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (The relationship between SMT and C probably belongs to the category *i*; the omission in SLXX probably belongs to *n*.)

לְהְיֹות נָגִיד – 2 mss לנגיד; LXX τοῦ εἶναι σε εἰς ἡγούμενον.
SMT C ≠ SLXX (i)

עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל; the preposition is absent from nonn mss, as well as from LXX[L] and other Greek mss, daughter translations of LXX, Syr, Tg[Ms], Vg (but B, and therefore perhaps also OG, presupposes על). The preposition is also missing from 1 Chr 17,7.
S ≠ C (i)

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[77] Differently McCarter, II Samuel, p. 192, who reads מנוה הצאן according to LXX; the longer reading, in his opinion, evolved under the influence of Ps 78,71.

Verse 9:

וָאַכְרִית; 1 Chr 17,8 וָאַכְרִתָה.
SMT ≠ CMT (i)

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

Many authors omit the adjective because they believe the word גדול weakens the following comparison in v. 9bβ. It is by the influence of v. 9bβ that גדול would have appeared according to these scholars.[78] It is quite possible that the shorter reading of LXX and 1 Chr 17,8 is more original.

On the other hand, I believe it is not certain that LXX presupposes a *Vorlage* without גדול, as the translation in this case is idiomatic (καὶ ἐποίησά σε ὀνομαστὸν κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν μεγάλων...).
SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)[79]

Verse 10:

לְיִשְׂרָאֵל; ל is absent from many mss, similarly LXX^L Syr, Tg^Mss, 1 Chr 17,9. But LXX^B (and the majority of other mss) in 2 Sam 7 presuppose the duplication of the preposition.
S ≠ C (i)

וּנְטַעְתִּיו; 1 Chr 17,9 וּנְטַעְתִּיהוּ.
SMT ≠ CMT (i)

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

The reading of 1 Chr 17,9LXX is damaged. It is impossible to distinguish whether sg. or pl. is more original.
SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX (i?)

וְלֹא־יֹסִיפוּ – LXX^B adds οὐκέτι; LXX^Ah adds ἔτι; Syr adds ܬܘܒ.
These Greek readings might presuppose the presence of the word עוד, absent from MT. Otherwise, οὐκέτι and ἔτι might also be due to inner-

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[78] Wellhausen, Text, p. 171; Cross, Myth, p. 248, and others.
[79] This pattern is in accord with the traditional understanding of the reading of SLXX. In fact, the Vorlage of SLXX might have been identical with SMT.

Greek assimilation to the preceding clause. No matter the place of origin of the plus, it is probably due to such assimilation.

SMT C ≠ SLXX (i)

= ܠܡܟܠܝܘܬܗ Syr ;לכל(ו)תו pc mss ;לְכַלֹּתֹו 1 Chr 17,9MT לְעַנּוֹתוֹ – להגלותו; 1 Chr 17,9LXX agrees with 2 Sam 7.

S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

Verse 11:

וּלְמִן – two Masoretic mss do not read ו, similarly LXX (but LXX^L and some other mss read καὶ), Syr and Vg. In 1 Chr 17,10, ו is read by both MT and LXX (וּלְמִיָּמִים), whereas it is lacking in Syr, Tg, Vg. The ו is present in 4Q174.

This textual difference is more interesting than it could seem, because the adopted reading may have consequences for our understanding of how the author of 2 Sam 7 understood the history of Israel up to David's time, and, perhaps even more importantly, in which literary context the scribe envisaged his own work.

Does the phrase בראשונה (ו)למן היום אשר צויתי שפתים על עמי ישראל (vv. 10-11) describe one or two periods of time?

Some scholars consider as more original the reading without the conjunction[80], and whether they are correct or not in this respect, the shorter text certainly describes one period.

Others suppose that the longer text is more original, and construe the conjunction as *waw explicativum*, as for example D. F. Murray, who translates "namely from the day."[81]

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

[81] Murray, *Prerogative*, p. 69, 183f; similarly Anderson, 2 Samuel, p. 112, 121. According to Murray, the expression ולמן היום explains the preceding בראשונה in the same manner as in Deut 4,32 למן היום (without the conjunction) explicates ימים ראשנים. Moreover, Murray affirms that in 2 Sam 7,11 the word שפטים does not denote the characters of the Book of Judges (cf. Judg 2,16-19) but the judges appointed by Moses in the desert (Exod 18,21-26; Deut 1,16), so that the word "before" designates the whole lapse of time from the exodus until David's rise to the throne, thus overlapping with the period described in v. 6aβ. Regarding Deut 1,16, Murray notes the occurence of the phrase צוה שפטים which also occurs in 2 Sam 7,11. He, however, neglects the significance of the fact that in Deut 1,16 the judges are appointed by Moses while in 2 Sam 7,11 by Yhwh, who also raises the saviours (called judges in Judg 2,16-19) of the book of

But the longer text could also be understood as a description of two distinct periods.[82] Then, similarly to Isa 52,4, the time of the oppression "at the beginning" would be the time of Egyptian slavery. The use of the expression בראשונה in this sense would well correspond to the fact that Israel's sojourn in Egypt constitutes an implied beginning of Israel's history as presented in the Dtr history (it was even surmised that the dtr library contained a first draft of the exodus story)[83]. It is noteworthy that the verb ענה used in 2 Sam 7,10 and its derivative עֳנִי frequently appear in the description of Israel's slavery in Egypt (Gen 15,13; 41,52; Exod 1,11f.; 3,7.17; 4,31); in Deuteronomy it occurs in the key passages Deut 16,3 and Deut 26,6f.

Regarding the oppression "from the time that I appointed judges over my people Israel", it is tempting to see it in connection with the fact that in Judges, the periodical times of rest during the reigns of the saviours are not described with the usual dtr terminology of the "rest from the enemies", using various expressions derived from the root נוח, but by means of the verb שקט (Jdg 3,11; 30; 5,31; 8,28). In the context of the classic form of the DH hypothesis, this phenomenon might be thought to indicate that the Deuteronomist considered the time of judges in general as a time of unrest, distinguishing the short periods of rest during the era of judges from the long termed rest for which he used expressions derived from the root נוח.[84] Today, when most scholars do not work with the concept of one dtr author, such explanation may appear too simplistic. In fact, such a variation in terminology may be due not only to a purposeful overarching author desiring to subtly differentiate his evaluation of various eras, but simply to the fact that some reworkings of dtr type may be limited to individual books.[85] At any rate, however, 2 Sam 7,10b-11aαMT itself may be understood as a summary of the history of Israel's rest and unrest since the time of the Egyptian oppression, expressing that up to David to whom Yhwh has granted the rest of the enemies, there were two discontinuous

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Judges. – The conjunction in 2 Sam 7,11 was understood as *waw explicativum* already by Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 282, 286.

[82] Carlson, David, p. 117-119; Fokkelman, Art III, p. 227, 382.

[83] Römer, So-Called, p. 72.

[84] Cf. 2 Kgs 23,22 according to which a cultic disorder – non-celebration of the Passover – also starts since the days of the judges.

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

periods of unrest. בראשונה Israel was oppressed by Egypt, and later it was oppressed in the time of judges (i. e. it did not have the rest described by the root נוח); but between these periods, there was the time of Joshua when Israel did enjoy the rest from its enemies (Jos 21,44; 22,4; 23,1).

If MT's reading is more original and if it describes two periods of time, 2 Sam 7,10b-11aα could be understood as a rather precise summary of the history since the beginning (= exodus) throughout the times of Joshua and Judges up to David. In this case, the literary context in which the author of 2 Sam 7 perceived his own work could well be identified with the DH as traditionally delimited, i. e. Deut – Kings (such a work would not have to contain a detailed description of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, but the stay in Egypt would at any rate constitute an implied beginning of Israel's history in DH.)

It is difficult, however, to know whether MT's reading really is more original.

SMT C ≠ SLXX (it?)[86]

וּלְמִיָּמִ֔ים; LXX τῶν ἡμερῶν; 1 Chr 17,10 reads the plural as well – וּלְמִיָּמִ֔ים.
SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

עַמִּ֔י; missing in some mss.

וְהִכְנַעְתִּ֤י אֶת־כָּל־אוֹיְבֶ֨יךָ֙ 1 Chr 17,10 ;וַהֲנִיחֹ֥תִי לְךָ֖ מִכָּל־אֹיְבֶֽיךָ.
In view of the preceding text in 2 Sam 7, some scholars suggest to read לו מכל איביו.[87] This conjecture does not have any support in Hebrew texts and ancient versions, neither in 2 Sam 7, nor in 1 Chr 17,10.

The verb והכנעתי in 1 Chr 17 is facilitating. Similarly to the beginning of the chapter, the Chronicler considers inappropriate the association of the rest from the enemies with David. Since the meaning of 2 Sam 7,1b clearly is that Yhwh *had given* David rest from all his surrounding enemies, the Chronicler simply omitted it; it would be in tension with Chronicler's evaluation of David as a man of war (1 Chr 22,8; 28,3), as well as (in Chronicler's view) with the wars in 1 Chr 18-20. Contrary to that, 2 Sam 7,11aβ may be understood as describing the future. In Chronicler's view of

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[86] The latter possibility would be likely if it could be proved that the *waw* is secondary.
[87] Wellhausen, Text, p. 171; Driver, Notes, p. 275; Smith, Samuel, p. 301; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 193; McKenzie, David, p. 209–212.

the things, the verb נוח in connection with David is still inacceptable, but – with the verb כנע hi. – the clause may be retained as a prediction of the events depicted in 1 Chr 18-20 (cf. the verb כנע in 18,1 [= 2 Sam 8,1] and 20,4).[88]

S ≠ C (t)

2 Sam 7,11b and the beginning of v. 12 contain several text-critical problems, some of them apparently linked one to the other: MT וְהִגִּיד לְךָ֣ יְהוָ֗ה כִּי־בַ֛יִת יַעֲשֶׂה־לְּךָ֖ יְהוָֽה׃ ; LXX καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν; 1 Chr 17,10-11MT: וָאַגִּ֤ד לָךְ֙ וּבַ֙יִת֙ יִבְנֶה־לְּךָ֣ יְהוָ֔ה; וְהָיָ֕ה כִּי ; 1 Chr 17,10-11LXX[B]: καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σε κύριος καὶ ἔσται ὅταν; 1 Chr 17,10-11LXX[f]: καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος καὶ ἔσται ὅταν; 1 Chr 17,10-11LXX[d]: καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσω σοι καὶ ἔσται ὅταν; the majority of mss read καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἰκοδομήσω σοι οἶκον καὶ ἔσται ὅταν;[89] 4QFlorilegium [וה]גִּיד לכֿה יהוה כיא בית יבנה לכה.

The following discussion mainly concerns the form of the first verb (ואגדלך / ואגד לך / והגיד לך), the verb expressing the building (עשה / בנה), and the problem of the graphically resembling words יהוה and והיה variously attested on the boundary of the two verses. The problem of who is building what for whom will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

The short reading καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σε in 1 Chr 17,10-11LXX[B] is secondary. As recognized by L. C. Allen, the original Greek reading was most likely καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι (= ms f, considered as original also by Rahlfs). According to Allen, "after the omission the pronoun was adapted for sense."[90] The omission is due to homoioarcton, perhaps also to assimilation of the second clause of the verse to the syntactic relation of the first verb with the accusative of the 2nd p. pronoun.

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[88] Pace Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola , p. 129-130, according to whom "on voit mal, en effet, pourquoi le hi. de knʿ (...) aurait été substitué à la *Ruheformel*, si fréquemment attestée dans les textes deutéronomistes." Contrary to that, Chronicler's reasons for the substitution seem well understandable. Cf. comments similar to mine in Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 664-665, 669; McKenzie, David, p. 217.

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

[90] Allen, Chronicles II, p. 47; Allen is followed by Pisano, Deuteronomist, p. 276.

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

I. L. Seeligmann and F. Langlamet argued that the original reading in 2 Sam 7,11-12 was ואגדלך ובית אבנה (אעשׂה) לך והיה כי.[91] Seeligmann notes that, unlike 1 Chr 17,11, the text in 2 Sam 7,12MT does not begin with the word והיה. LXX reads καὶ ἔσται at the beginning of 2 Sam 7,12, and at the same time LXX have no translation for the tetragrammaton at the end of v. 11. In view of this, Seeligmann has "no doubt that the tetragrammaton here originates in a corruption of והיה (…)."[92], and he reconstructs the further developments of the passage as follows:

> After the inclusion of the tetragrammaton, corrupted from והיה, the form אבנה was of necessity changed to יבנה. Thus there evolved here a prophecy of which the subject was God, so that the scribe, forced to regard the preceding words as an announcement of this prophecy, wrote ואגד לך in place of ואגדלך. This introductory formula caused ובית יבנה לך to be changed into כי בית יבנה לך. Such is indeed the reading in 2 Sam., where there occurred a further change when ואגד לך became והגיד לך so as to fit in with the requirements of the form of the prophecy כי בית יעשׂה לך יהוה and/or as a result of the common mechanical interchange of *He* and *Aleph*. Finally the form והגיד in place of ואגד forced the scribe to add the Divine Name as subject of the sentence.[93]

Contrary to that, S. Pisano argued that MT in 2 Sam 7,11 represents the most original reading.[94] He notes that the reading considered as original by Seeligmann and Langlamet corresponds only to the form of 1 Chr 17,10-11LXX in Ms d. He continues that

> [i]f this is not the ancient Greek version of the original Chr here, it must be a modification by the scribes based on αὐξήσω. (…) Rahlfs gives καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος, which is found only in Ms f, as an original Greek version which if it is correct, followed MT Chr. The fact that the form of the verb in the third person is solidly attested in the Greek tradition of Chr (Mss BANScefnc₂) suggests that it really is the original reading.

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[91] Seeligmann, Indications, p. 208–210; Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 129, 130.
[92] The same opinion was recently defended by Kasari, Promise, p. 23–24, who also adduces a list of those adhering to it before him.
[93] Seeligmann, Indications, p. 209–210. The description of the text's development given by Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 129, is the same.
[94] Pisano, Deuteronomist, p. 274–277.

In view of this situation in the Chronicles, Pisano considers that the conjecture לך (אעשׂה) ובית אבנה ואגדלך "loses its plausibility", the reading καὶ αὐξήσω σε in 2 Chr 17,10LXX being "due to a reading error of ואגד לך on the part of the Greek translator." I tend to agree with Pisano's conclusion, even if, admittedly, one would desire his arguments to be more conclusive.

It should be noted that the fact that LXX does not read the tetragrammaton at the end of 2 Sam 7,11 may be of little value for the reconstruction of the most original text. The tetragrammaton is missing here in a text where its presence would have no sense because of the second person of οἰκοδομήσεις. This second person of the verb, as well as the 3rd p. pronoun αὐτῷ, has been unanimously considered as secondary by nearly all scholars, with the exception of A. Schenker and P. Hugo who, on the contrary, consider it the most original reading[95]. I myself am convinced that both the 2nd p. of the verb and the 3rd p. pronoun αὐτῷ are, indeed, secondary, and I will try to demonstrate this point in detail at the close of this section. Now, if such is the case, the absence of a translation of יהוה at the end of 2 Sam 7,11LXX may be related to this secondary reading, and should not be used as an argument for an original reading in 2 Sam 7,11 without יהוה at its end. On the other hand, it must be admitted that there still remains the reading of 1 Chr 17,10-11LXX[d] (without the tetragrammaton and considered as most original by Seeligmann and Langlamet) which is not disqualified by these observations on 2 Sam 7,11LXX.

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

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[95] Schenker, Verheissung, p. 179-191.

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

2 Sam 7,11-12

ואגדלך ובית אבנה (אעשׂה) לך והיה כי

ואגדלך ובית יבנה (יעשׂה) לך יהוה
(והיה) כי

ואגד לך ובית יבנה (יעשׂה) לך יהוה
(והיה) כי

ואגד לך כי בית יבנה (יעשׂה) לך יהוה
(והיה) כי

והגיד לך יהוה כי בית יעשׂה לך יהוה כי
MT

1 Chr 17,10-11

LXX^d
καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσω σοι καὶ ἔσται ὅταν
ואגדלך ובית אבנה (אעשׂה) לך
והיה כי

LXX^f
καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος καὶ ἔσται ὅταν
ואגדלך ובית יבנה (יעשׂה) לך יהוה
והיה

ואגד לך ובית יבנה לך יהוה והיה כי
MT

Seeligmann's reconstruction thus implies that 1 Chr 17,10-11 took over the text in the correct form from 2 Sam 7,11-12; subsequently, the same error occurred in both texts, and later both texts have undergone parallel development, with that difference only that in 2 Sam 7,11-12 the development went further. As a matter of fact, it may even be said that Seeligmann's model implies not two but rather three identical lines of development, because the passage from LXX^d to LXX^f in 1 Chr 17,10-11 should most likely be regarded as inner-Greek, yet a similar development

must be postulated for the process leading to the Hebrew reading in 1 Chr 17,10-11MT as well. All this makes Seeligmann's suggestion extremely speculative and improbable, even if we must allow the possibility of the mutual influence between the two parallel texts in Samuel and Chronicles. Quite obviously, Seeligmann's proposal is not the best manner to explain the attested readings.

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

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

2 Sam 7,11-12

והגיד לך יהוה כי בית
יעשׂה לך יהוה והיה כי

1 Chr 17,10-11

ואגד לך כי בית יבנה
לך יהוה והיה כי

LXX
καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι
κύριος ὅτι οἶκον
οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ καὶ
ἔσται ἐὰν
והגיד לך יהוה כי
בית תבנה לו והיה כי

MT
והגיד לך יהוה
כי בית יעשׂה לך
יהוה כי

LXXᶠ
καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἶκον
οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος καὶ
ἔσται ὅταν
ואגדלך ובית יבנה לך
יהוה והיה כי

MT
ואגד לך ובית יבנה
לך יהוה והיה כי

LXXᵈ
καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἶκον
οἰκοδομήσω σοι καὶ ἔσται ὅταν
ואגדלך ובית אבנה לך והיה
כי

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

MT it contained the word וְהָיָה at the beginning of v. 12. This long reading is attested in 1 Chr 17,10-11, both MT and the majority of LXX. Out of the long text, MT's reading in 2 Sam 7,11-12 developed simply by haplography, the word וְהָיָה having fallen out after the preceding word יהוה.[96] The disappearance of יהוה in LXX is probably due to other changes in the text – with the verb οἰκοδομήσεις in the 2nd person, Yhwh ceases to be the subject of the sentence, and the word יהוה (κύριος) at the end of v. 11 would make no sense.[97]

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

2 Sam 7,11 reads כִּי בַיִת (ὅτι οἶκον), while in 2 Chr 17,10, MT has וּבַיִת and LXX reads καὶ οἶκον. The reading of 1 Chr 17,10MT seems to correspond better with what precedes in LXX (וַאֲגַדֶּלְךָ) than with the preceding words in MT, a fact which, admittedly, seems to cast some doubts on the development described in the previous paragraph. If my understanding of the development from וָאַגִּד לָךְ to καὶ αὐξήσω σε (= וַאֲגַדֶּלְךָ) is correct, the reading וּבַיִת may be understood as an assimilation going together with the reading וַאֲגַדֶּלְךָ attested in LXX. This would mean that 1 Chr 17,10MT is a mixed text, providing the more original reading[98] וָאַגִּד לָךְ together with וּבַיִת which appeared in the text only after וָאַגִּד לָךְ changed in וַאֲגַדֶּלְךָ. If this reasoning is correct, we have to postulate that 1 Chr 17,10, similarly to 2 Sam 7,11, originally read כִּי בַיִת, as it is suggested by BHS.[99]

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[96] So already Wellhausen, Text, p. 171, followed by Murray, Prerogative, p. 71.

[97] For possible explanations of the changes in the person of the verb and in the pronominal suffix after the preposition לְ, see the discussion at the end of the chapter.

[98] More original in Chronicles only, of course! In 2 Sam 7,11, וְהִגִּיד לָךְ must be preferred.

[99] Alternatively, it could perhaps be imagined that already the Chronicler misunderstood the words וְהִגִּיד לָךְ as וַאֲגַדֶּלְךָ, he changed it in וַאֲגַדֶּלְךָ, and, together with this, he changed כִּי בַיִת into וּבַיִת. The original reading of 1 Chr 17,10b would thus be that of LXX[f]. Later on, וַאֲגַדֶּלְךָ would became וָאַגִּד לָךְ in MT, under the influence of 2 Sam 7,11. At any rate, the question of the priority of וָאַגִּד לָךְ or וַאֲגַדֶּלְךָ only concerns the book of Chronicles; in 2 Sam 7,11, the reading וְהִגִּיד לָךְ must be preferred.

Finally there is the question of the verb in 2 Sam 7,11bβ: MT יַעֲשֶׂה־לְּךָ; LXX οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ; LXX[L] οἰκοδομήσει ἑαυτῷ[100]; 4QFlorilegium יבנה לכה; 1 Chr 17,10MT יִבְנֶה־לְּךָ; 1 Chr 17,10LXX[f] οἰκοδομήσει σοι. There is a confusion in the Greek manuscript tradition of 1 Chr 17,10 as to the form of the verb and the following pronoun, but this is irrelevant for our study.[101] As we have seen, the third person of the verb (and with this, the 2nd p. pronoun) must be preferred both in 2 Sam 7,11 and in 1 Chr 17,10, owing to the following יהוה which should be retained in the oldest reconstructable text.

But is יעשה or יבנה more original? P. K. McCarter reads יבנה together with 4QFlorilegium and LXX[L]; the verb בנה is supported by LXX as well.[102] It also appears in 2 Sam 7,5.7.13, and, most importantly, in v. 27, as well as in 1 Chr 17,10. Still, Murray's arguments for MT are correct: the passage from יבנה to the less self-evident יעשה is difficult to understand; moreover, the *lectio difficilior* יעשה is confirmed by 1 Sam 25,28 כי עשה יעשה יהוה לאדני בית נאמן and 1 Kgs 2,24 ואשר עשה לי בית.[103] Cf. the verb עשה in 2 Sam 7,3.9.21.23.25.

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

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

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

כִּי־בַיִת: S ≠ CMT CLXX[f] (i)

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

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[100] For other variations in the Greek manuscript tradition, see the apparatus of Brooke – M[c]Lean – Thackeray.

[101] See Brooke – M[c]Lean – Thackeray.

[102] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 194.

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

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

Verse 12:
כִּי־מָלְאוּ; 1 Chr 17,11 כִּי יִמְלְאוּ.
The reading of 1 Chr 17,11 is peculiar, it may be an effect of a scribal mistake, where *yod* disappeared after the *yod* of the previous word.[104]
SMT ≠ CMT (N)

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

The question what is the original reading in 1 Chr is not important for this study, but it is probable that the reading of 1 Chr 17,11LXX is a secondary assimilation to 2 Sam 7.[105] The following preposition את (or עם) shows that ושכבת in 2 Sam 7 is more original; with ללכת, we would rather expect the prepositions ל or אל.
S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

אֶת־אֲבֹתֶיךָ; "mlt mss" (de Rossi) עם; 1 Chr 17,11 עם.
In Kings and 2 Chronicles, the formula וישכב עם אבתיו appears 33 times in the summaries of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah.[106] Apart of the summaries, the expression also appears in 1 Kgs 1,21; 11,21; 2 Kgs 14,22par; Deut 31,16 and Gen 47,30. It may thus be maintained together with P. Kasari that in 2 Sam 7,12, the reading with את is – as *lectio difficilior* – more original.[107]
SMT ≠ CMT (i)

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

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[104] For other instances, see Seeligmann, p. 209
[105] Allen, Chronicles I, p. 194.
[106] See Alfrink, Expression, p. 106–18.
[107] P. Kasari, Promise, p. 38.

The difference between ממעיך (2 Sam 7) and מבניך (1 Chr MT) may be understood in connection to the struggle of 1 Chr 17 to limit divine sonship and the promise of firm rule to Solomon. The expression מבניך suggests that David's זרע mentioned in the previous clause should be understood individually as one of the sons of David (the expression יצא ממעיך may have been understood as far too ambivalent, allowing to construe זרע collectively; for this cf. Gen 25,23 and Isa 48,11; with another expression for "loins" also Gen 35,11 ומלכים מחלציך יצאו; for the reading of 1 Chr 17,11MT cf. 2 Sam 16,11). Should this consideration be correct, the reading of 2 Sam 7 ממעיך is more original. If this shift in 1 Chr 17,11MT is in accord with the overall re-working of the material in 1 Chr 17, the reading of 1 Chr 17,11LXX ἔσται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου is probably due to assimilation to 2 Sam 7, perhaps based on 2 Sam 7LXX; on the other hand, the fact that 1 Chr 17,11LXX agrees at this point also with Syr and Vg indicates that the assimilation may have occurred already in the Hebrew text.[108] It seems also possible that in 1 Chr 17,11 the more original was LXX's reading יהיה ממעיך (ἔσται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου), which already was present in the Chronicler's text of Samuel (agreeing here, as in many other passages, with the text of Samuel used by LXX's translator) and which the Chronicler took over without change. The reading מבניך would then be a secondary development in 1 Chr 17MT in agreement with the preceding re-working of 2 Sam 7 by the Chronicler.

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

The variant יצא / יהיה may also be linked to a larger set of differences between MT and LXX (see below).

יֵצֵא: SMT ≠ SLXX C (it?)
מִמֵּעֶיךָ: S CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

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[108] Allen, Chronicles I, p. 194, regards the reading of 1 Chr 17,11LXX as assmilation, but it is, in his opinion, impossible to determine its source.

מַלְכוּתוֹ Chr 1 ;מַמְלַכְתּוֹ.
SMT ≠ CMT (i)

Verse 13:
הוּא; 2Mss והוא; similarly LXX[v], and Syr.

יִבְנֶה־בַיִת לִשְׁמִי – LXX οἰκοδομήσει μοι οἶκον τῷ ὀνόματί μου (μοι is absent from Mss Mcfgijnquxb₂, from several daughter translations and from quotations of several Church fathers); 1 Chr 17,12 יִבְנֶה־לִּי בָיִת.

Some scholars prefer the reading of LXX or the one in Chronicles.[109] As will become apparent, this is in direct contradiction with my understanding of the whole body of Nathan's oracle. The reading יבנה לי בית makes perfect sense in 1 Chr 17, where it appears together with other changes as against 2 Sam 7 (see below for the meaning of the text in various witnesses). Yet, in 2 Sam 7 itself, when read without the other variants in 1 Chr 17, the reading יבנה לי בית seems rather difficult to comprehend. I will come back to this textual difference when discussing the rhetorical development of the text.

The Greek reading of Mss Mcfgijnquxb₂ (without μοι) is probably a harmonization with MT. The longer reading of LXX[B] is thus more original. As suggested by S. Pisano, it is possible that this long reading of 2 Sam 7,13LXX is the combination of the readings attested in 2 Sam 7,13MT and in 1 Chr 17,12.[110] If so, it may even be that the ancient Greek version of Samuel, and therefore its *Vorlage* as well, originally contained the same reading as Chronicles.

The presence/absence of לִי: SMT ≠ SLXX C (i?)
לִשְׁמִי: S ≠ C (i)

אֶת־כִּסְאוֹ מַמְלַכְתּוֹ אֶת־כִּסֵּא; LXX τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ; 1 Chr 17,12.
McCarter prefers the reading of LXX and Chronicles.[111] As noted by Murray, MT's reading seems to be indirectly confirmed by 1 Kgs 9,5 and 1 Chr 22,10.[112] It is unclear whether this variant should be connected to

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[109] E. g. Gese, Davidsbund, p. 22-23; Cross, Myth, p. 243, 247; Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 131.
[110] Pisano, Deuteronomist, p. 277-280. Cf. also McCarter, II Samuel, p. 194.
[111] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 194.
[112] Murray, Prerogative, p. 72.

(some of) the changes discussed at the end of the chapter. One might also imagine that MT's reading is due to a harmonization with the preceding verse.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i?)

Verse 14:
אֲנִי; LXX^L καὶ ἐγώ.

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

The omission is secondary. In 1 Chr 17,11-14 the subject of reference of the word זרע is, without doubt, Solomon (cf. the note to יצא ממעיך in 2 Sam 7,12), and an omission of the half-verse that mentions the punishment of the king's sins is in accord with the idealization of Solomon's rule in Chronicles (also cf. 1 Chr 22,9f.; 28,6).[113]

S ≠ C (t)

אֲשֶׁר בְּהַעֲוֹתוֹ; LXX καὶ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀδικία αὐτου; Syr ܘܒܗܠܟܬܗ.

McCarter suggested that the translator into the Greek read ובא עותו.[114] If so, LXX's reading seems to be too clumsy to be original, and it may simply be caused by a scribal mistake.

SMT ≠ SLXX (n)

Verse 15:
יָסוּר; pc mss אסור; LXX ἀποστήσω; Vg *auferam*; Syr ܐܥܒܪ; 1 Chr 17,13 אָסִיר.

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

According to R. A. Carlson, the clause is formulated as to create a contrast with ועתה לא תסור חרב מביתך in 2 Sam 12,10, an oracle of Nathan as well; Carlson also notes possible connection with Gen 49,10 – לא יסור שבט מיהודה.[115] Both Carlson's observations seem somewhat

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[113] Similarly Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 665, 672.
[114] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 194.
[115] Carlson, David, p. 108; the comparison with Gen 49,10 is taken over from B. Jakob, *Das erste Buch der Tora*, Berlin 1934, p. 901 (quoted according to Carlson).

over-sophisticated. On the other hand, 2 Sam 12,10 and Gen 49,10 both attest that MT's formulation is normal.

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

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

מֵעִמּוֹ‎; 1 Chr 17,13 מִמֶּנּוּ.
SMT ≠ CMT (i)

כַּאֲשֶׁר הֲסִרֹתִי מֵעִם שָׁאוּל אֲשֶׁר הֲסִרֹתִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ‎; LXX καθὼς ἀπέστησα ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἀπέστησα ἐκ προσώπου μου; According to BHS, one Masoretic Ms reads מלפני as well. Syr ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܥܒܪܬ ܡܢ ܫܐܘܠ ܘܐܥܒܪܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܟ; 1 כַּאֲשֶׁר הֲסִירוֹתִי מֵאֲשֶׁר הָיָה לְפָנֶיךָ Chr 17,13MT ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܥܒܪܬ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ, 1 Chr 17,13LXX ὡς ἀπέστησα ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων ἔμπροσθέν σου.

Some scholars have preferred the reading of Chronicles for stylistic reasons.[116] The repetition of הסרתי was not considered sufficiently elegant, and the reading without the explicit mention of Saul's name seemed more original. With D. F. Murray, it is possible to distinguish three problems of the passage: 1) (היו or היה or הסרתי (2; מאשר or מעם שאול אשר 3) (מ)לפני or (מ)לפנך).[117] On the other hand, the three problems may be somehow linked.

In several passages in Samuel, textual variations occur where one or several of the witnesses speak about an appearance "before Yhwh" (לפני יהוה) of a person which, according to the rules effective in the later part of the Second Temple period, should have no right to appear "before Yhwh" in the temple. A well known example is 1 Samuel 1-2 where on several places in LXX Hannah appears (or has an intention to appear) "before Yhwh", while MT has a different reading (1 Sam 1,9.11.14.24; 1,28/2,11; cf. also 2,11LXX, and again 2,21LXX concerning Samuel). At least part of these variations can be explained by positing a theological correction in MT; the scribe active in proto-MT may have corrected the text in

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¹¹⁶ Wellhausen, Text, p. 172; S. R. Driver, Notes, p. 276; Smith, Samuel, p. 302; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 194-5.
¹¹⁷ Murray, Prerogative, p. 73-75.

accordance with the practice of his day when (Jewish) women only had access to the so-called "Women's court" of the Jerusalem Temple, and were forbidden to enter the more inner areas of the Temple precinct.[118]

The problem is, however, that in the known textual witnesses, this kind of issues frequently does not seem to be treated in a wholly consistent manner. So, as we have seen, MT of 1 Sam 1–2 manifests a clear tendency to avoid the idea of Hannah's appearance "before Yhwh"; on the other hand, Hannah still appears "before Yhwh" in MT of 1 Sam 1,12.15.19, (cf. also 1,22; 2,18 concerning Samuel). Moreover, in 1 Sam 2,28, MT speaks about a former election of the house of Eli's father to "bear an ephod before me [= Yhwh]", while 4QSamᵃ and LXX omit לפני. It thus seems that, contrary to the aforementioned passages, here it is 4QSamᵃ and LXX who correct the text for dogmatic reasons, under the influence of the current practice during the Second Temple period when common priests were not allowed to appear before Yhwh.[119]

All these incoherencies notwithstanding, it is quite clear that passages of this sort could provoke changes in the text, and it brings us the question whether the variation in 2 Sam 7,15 should not be explained by this phenomenon.

In analogy to these passages, it would seem at hand to consider the reading of 2 Sam 7,15LXX as more original and to regard the MT reading as a theologically motivated revision. It is not clear though why the author of the correction in MT would not correct only the suffix in the final word and why would he add Saul's name. It is obvious that originally the passage speaks about David's predecessor(s) at the throne. The reference to Saul is clear enough even without a mention of his name, as 1 Chr 17,13 shows. Yhwh's „departure" (the verb סור) from Saul is one of the main motifs of Saul's story (1 Sam 16,14; 18,12; 28,15.16).

In 2 Sam 7,15b it is striking that the textual witnesses containing the variant (מ)לפנך refer unambiguously to Saul (or his family in 1 Chr 17,13LXX), no matter if his name is directly mentioned or not, while 2

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

[119] So Hutzli, Erzählung , p. 120. According to Exod 28,12, Aaron (i. e. the high priest) should have two stones with names of the sons of Israel placed in the ephod to bear them before Yhwh.

Sam 7,15LXX, presupposing מלפני, is the only text we could relate to a person different from David's predecessor(s) on the throne. In none of the textual witnesses does Saul appear before Yhwh. That might indicate that both main forms of the text do in some way deal with a more ancient, problematic form of the text, which we may reconstruct as the following: כאשר הסרתי מעם שאול אשר הסרתי מלפני.

Both MT and LXX 2 Sam 7,15 could be influenced by attempts to avoid the picture of Saul "before Yhwh". MT does so merely by the change of 1st p. sg. suffix to a 2nd p. sg. suffix. LXX omits Saul's name, so the text could be linked to someone who had a right to approach before Yhwh, but he was denied this privilege. It is most likely that LXX thinks of the priestly dynasty of Eli, which, according to 1 Sam 2,27-36, was destined to excerise priesthood, i. e. among others to bear an ephod before Yhwh (v. 28) and to walk before Yhwh forever (v. 30). But due to the sins of the Elides, their appointment was cancelled. (See ch. 2 for details).

The plural ἀφ᾽ ὧν 2 Sam 7,15LXX (cf. 1 Chr 17,13LXX), probably reflecting only מאשר attested in 1 Chr 17,13MT, may indicate that the translator correctly understood the intention of his *Vorlage* to refer to the Elides instead Saul. In 1 Chr 17,13 we should regard both MT and LXX as contaminated and facilitating readings. The Chronicler avoids the repeating of הסרתי which is not very elegant, but the reading of Syr in 2 Sam 7,15 shows that the variant with the verb היה could have been present in the text of Samuel that the Chronicler was using. Saul is not mentioned, which corresponds with the often mentioned proximity of LXX of Samuel and the text of Samuel used by the author of Chronicles (see below). On the other hand, 1 Chr 17,13 understands the verse in accord with MT 2 Sam 7 – it relates the verse to Saul and reads לפניך. The plural τῶν ὄντων in 1 Chr 17,13LXX may be due to an inner–Greek influence of the Greek text of Samuel. Should these considerations be correct, the long reading of Syr in 2 Sam 7 is a doublet combining two textual traditions.

As in other similar cases, the logic of the correctors is not entirely clear. In 2 Sam 7,18 David sits before Yhwh both in MT and LXX, thus it seems that the corrections in v. 15 may have not been due simply to the fact that Saul was not of a priestly family. Further, Ezek 44,3 and 46,2 allows the prince to approach to some extent "before Yhwh." The activity of correctors may perhaps be linked to their belief that Saul, unlike David, had no access to the Ark and, consequently, no access "before" Yhwh. In 1

Sam 14,18, the LXX reading, mentioning the ephod and not the Ark, is generally regarded as more original.[120]

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (t, i?)

Verse 16:

וְנֶאְמַן בֵּיתְךָ וּמַמְלַכְתְּךָ עַד־עוֹלָם לְפָנֶיךָ כִּסְאֲךָ יִהְיֶה נָכוֹן עַד־עוֹלָם; LXX καὶ πιστωθήσεται ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; 1 Chr 17,14 וְהַעֲמַדְתִּיהוּ בְּבֵיתִי וּבְמַלְכוּתִי עַד־הָעוֹלָם וְכִסְאוֹ יִהְיֶה נָכוֹן עַד־עוֹלָם:; 1 Chr 17,14LXX καὶ πιστώσω αὐτὸν ἐν οἴκῳ μου καὶ ἐν βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος…

The discussion concerning the possessive suffixes attached to the nouns "house", "kingship" and "throne", as well as other problems connected to these words, is deferred.

וְנֶאְמַן בֵּיתְךָ: SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C[121] (t)
וּמַמְלַכְתְּךָ: SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (t)
עַד־עוֹלָם: S (CLXX) ≠ CMT (i)
לְפָנֶיךָ: SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (n, i)
כִּסְאֲךָ: SMT ≠ SLXX C (t)

לְפָנֶיךָ כִּסְאֲךָ; pc Mss לפני; pc Mss וכסאך; LXX ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ; Syr ܡܕܡ, ܘܟܘܪܣܝܗ (ܡܕܡ, appears also in the second half of the verse); Vg *ante faciem tuam et thronus tuus*; 1 Chr 17,14 וְכִסְאוֹ.

For the suffix attached to the preposition לפני, cf. 2 Sam 7,26MT (ובית וברך את) and v. 29 (both LXX and MT: עבדך דוד יהיה נכון לפניך בית עבדך להיות לעולם לפניך); in the whole of vv. 25-29, David constantly appeals to former Yhwh's promise.

As recognized by nearly all scholars, the 2nd p. pronoun in MT's לפניך may hardly be original.[122] In this case, the variant is probably not due to an

[120] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 237.

[121] The pattern might be SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ LXX. According to Rehm, Untersuchungen, p. 69, 1 Chr 17,14LXX reflects the *Vorlage* והאמנתיהו. Allen, Chronicles I, p. 194, considers the reading of 1 Chr 17,14LXX as influenced by the parallel text in 2 Sam 7; in his view, it is impossible to say if the assimilation is inner-Greek or if it already affected the *Vorlage* of 1 Chr 17,14LXX.

[122] לפניך is defended as more original by Fokkelman, *Art III*, p. 235, who believes to find in the text an interplay between מפניך in v. 9 and (מ)לפנך in vv. 15b.16a: after the disappearance of David's enemies, "a magnificent panorama of lasting power unfolds

intentional modification of the text. The suffix of the 2nd p. could have occurred under the influence of the three remaining suffixes in the verse. What is more, in LXX and Syr the reading לפני is accompanied by the presence of the conjunction ו before the following word (the preposition is present also in Vg and 1 Chr 17,14). This situation indicates that the majority reading of MT emerged due to a substitution of ו for the final ך in the preceding word.[123]

Verse 17:
הֶחָזָיֹון; 1 Chr 17,15 הֶחָזֹון.
SMT ≠ CMT (i)

Verse 18:
אָנֹכִי; 1 Chr 17,16 אֲנִי.
Dtr texts prefer אנכי over אני. That speaks in favour of the originality of the reading of 2 Sam 7.
SMT ≠ CMT (i)

אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה; LXX κύριέ μου κύριε; Tg יְיָ אֱלֹהִים; Syr ܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܝܐ; Vg *Domine Deus*; 1 Chr 17,16 יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים.

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

The passage from יהוה אלהים to אדני יהוה seems more likely than the other way round. Admittedly, the phrase אדני יהוה is attested in MT nearly 8 times more often than יהוה אלהים; still, it seems most likely that the trigger of the shift was the replacement of אדני by its (mistakenly) supposed *ketib* יהוה. MT's reading has thus good chances to be more original.

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before David's eyes". – This is a witty interpretation of MT, but not a convincing text-critical argument.

[123] So e. g. McCarter, II Samuel, p. 195. Contrary to that, Schenker, Verheissung, esp. p. 187, tried to understand the 2nd p. sg. suffix as a constitutive part of the literary edition of Nathan's oracle in MT. If so, the reading לְפָנֶיךָ would be an integral part of MT. As I will show below, however, 2 Sam 7MT is not a new edition of an older text contained in 2 Sam 7LXX.

D. F. Murray has advanced a rhetorical argument in favour of MT's reading: "In the oracular address in 7.5 and 7.8 David is identified by the term עבדי דוד as 'my subject, David'. Moreover, throughout his prayer David refers to himself as עבדך[…]. The form of divine address which precisely corresponds to this is אדני יהוה, 'my lord Yahweh', the all but uniform reading of 2 Samuel 7 MT [in vv. 18.19(2x).20.22.25.28.29.]".[124] Murray's observation is worth considering, even if I would not go as far as him in considering *all* MT's readings of אדני יהוה in David's prayer, including those where LXX has a different reading, as more original.[125] The uniformity in MT may be a result of a secondary harmonization (see below).

S ≠ C (i)

הֲבִיאֹתַנִי עַד־הֲלֹם; LXX ἠγάπηκάς με ἕως τούτων (Nbfopsuy₂c₂e₂ ἠγάπησάς) (= אהבתני עד הלם); 1 Chr 17,16LXX ἠγάπησάς με ἕως αἰῶνοϛn (= אהבתני עד עולם).

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

As regards the verb, the reading הביאתני of 2 Sam 7,18 is more original. V. 18b corresponds to the summary of Yhwh's merits in David's career in vv. 8-9.11aβ. The transitive verb of movement „you have brought me" in v. 18 agrees with the portrayal of vv. 8-9.11aβ, according to which Yhwh „took" David from his flock at a meadow (לקחתיך – v. 8) and accompanied him anywhere David "went" (הלכת – v. 9).

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX (ni?)

Verse 19:

[124] Murray, Prerogative, p. 77.
[125] For a convenient overview of various readings in all these places, see the table in Murray, Prerogative, p. 74.

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

The shorter reading may be more original.[126]

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

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

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

To decide what was the oldest Hebrew reading is difficult. The reading of 1 Chr 17,17 אלהים probably presupposes the long reading of 2 Sam 7,19; as in the previous verse, a shift occurred from אדני יהוה to יהוה אלהים and then (unlike the case of the previous verse) the loss of יהוה. Otherwise the variation between 2 Sam 7,19 and 1 Chr 17,17 would be difficult to explain.

Whether in 2 Sam 7,19 the shorter reading אדני (LXX) is more original or the longer reading אדני יהוה (MT) is difficult to determine. The fact that 1 Chr 17,17 presupposes a longer reading does not mean that this reading is original in 2 Sam 7,19. One may also imagine that the original reading was short and, due to an assimilation with אדני יהוה in the second part of the verse and elsewhere in David's prayer, a longer reading emerged, and this occurred before the books of Chronicles were written.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (i)

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

The shorter reading may be more original.

SMT ≠ LXX C (i)

אֶל; LXX ὑπὲρ; 1 Chr 17,17 עַל.

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

LXX' indicates that על was present in Chronicles' source. The reading על is preferable – Yhwh did not speak "to" David's house but "concerning" it (cf. v. 25). The substitution of אל for על is common in Samuel, cf. also the note to v. 28. The idea here that Yhwh have spoken (an oracle) of David's house למרחוק ("afar off", i. e. concerning the distant future) may be compared to Eze 12,27 where the house of Israel is reported to say that Ezekiel prophesies for times far off (ולעתים רחוקות).

SMT ≠ SLXX C (n)

וּרְאִיתַנִי 1 Chr 17,17MT ;ודא חזיא לבני אנשא Tg ;וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם כְּתוֹר הָאָדָם הַמַּעֲלָה (pc Mss read בתוך in place of כְּתוֹר); 1 Chr 17,17LXX καὶ ἐπεῖδές με ὡς ὅρασις ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὕψωσάς με.

Tg's reading חזיא might presuppose the Hebrew word תֹּאַר or, less likely, מַרְאֶה[127] (cf. also ὅρασις in 1 Chr 17,17LXX; in fact, the *Vorlage* of this Greek reading may have been כתור as in MT, and the translator might have understood it as an unusual spelling of כתאר).

The readings of both 2 Sam 7,19 and 1 Chr 17,17 are considered problematic, and a number of emendations have been suggested. J. Wellhausen proposed to read (mainly on the basis of the Chronicles' reading) (וַתַּרְאֵנִי דֹרֹת (האדם למעלה)[128], meaning "you have let me see the generations (of men above, i. e. in the future)". In respect to this, Driver had a pointed remark that should the author be thinking of David's descendants, he may have been much clearer.[129] A convenient survey of other suggested emendations is presented in Stoebe's commentary.[130]

The formulas as (ו)זאת תורת ה... often occur in priestly texts in the broad sense of the word: Lev 6,2.7.18; 7,1.11.37; 11,46; 12,7; 13,59; 14,2.32.54.57; 15,32; Num 5,29; 6,13.21; Ezek 44,12 (2x). The word תּוֹרָה in all these sections means "(single) law", and the following substantive is always in objective genitive. In a narrow majority of the mentioned cases (11 : 9) a sentence like the abovementioned closes the description of the corresponding regulation, in the remaining cases the sentence introduces

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[127] The former was suggested by McCarter, II Samuel, p. 233, the latter by Smith, Samuel, p. 303.
[128] Wellhausen, Text, p. 172-173.
[129] Driver, Notes, p. 277.
[130] Stoebe, Das zweite Buch Samuelis, p. 231-232. – After the publication of Stoebe's commentary, another emendation (of the text in 1 Chr 17,17) was suggested by Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 678.

the description. In view of the common use of the formula, it seems unlikely that the expression תורת האדם in 2 Sam 7,19 would mean "manner of man", "destiny of man" or something of the sort as it is suggested by modern translations. The enigmatic sentence 19b follows 19aβ which summarizes Yhwh's oracle concerning the future of David's dynasty; David claims in v. 20 that nothing could be added to this oracle. A sentence like (ו)זאת תורת ה... could thus appear in v. 19b more or less in accord with its regular usage, as a full stop following a law. In our case, David would use rhetorically this "legal" formula in order to underline the validity of Yhwh's promise, in analogy to the texts that call the dynastic promise "a covenant". The problem is, though, that the meaning of תורת האדם is completely obscure.

An argument against the reading of 2 Sam 7,19 is also the level of difficulty of 1 Chr 17,17. *DCH 5* (p. 405) mentions several attempts to comprehend 1 Chr 17,17b, as e. g. "*and you saw me as a line of humanity, the progeny*, i. e. you saw me in my all descendants." Should we ignore the fact that the translation of המעלה as "progeny" is entirely insecure, the rest of the text could perhaps be understood in this manner in the given context; but the statement would be very peculiar. For that reason the reading of 1 Chr 17,17b is probably not original, but on the other hand it cannot be regarded as a facilitating re-working of 2 Sam 7,19b, since 1 Chr 17,17b is by no means easier to comprehend than 2 Sam 7,19b. This especially applies to the word המעלה, as nothing in 2 Sam 7,19b corresponds to it, and it is probably the most difficult part of 1 Chr 17,17b. This indicates that 1 Chr 17,17b is not a free re-working of 2 Sam 7,19b, but rather a damaged text that should have been taken into consideration for the reconstruction of the original text in 2 Sam 7,19b. I agree with many previous scholars in this conclusion, but none of the suggested reconstructions satisfy me, and I resign on attempts to find a more original reading, as some other scholars do[131].

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n, i)

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

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[131] Including Stoebe, Das zweite Buch Samuelis, p. 231-232; Murray, Prerogative, p. 77-78.

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

S ≠ C (i)

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

The word אליך appears at different places in the witnesses in v. 20a. In LXX^L, it wrongly occurs also at the end of v. 19a.

Verse 20:
מַה; 1 Chr 17,18 וּמַה.
S ≠ C (i)

1 ; הבוא ‬‬‬ Syr דוד עוד; pc Mss and a rabbinical quotation דוד עוד; דָּוִד עוֹד; 1 Chr 17,18 עוֹד דָּוִיד.

When the hiph. of the verb יסף is immediately followed by the particle עוד and the subject of the verb, the normal order is that attested here in 1 Chr 17,18, i. e. with the subject following the particle (Num 22,15; Judg 9,37; 11,14; 13,21; 1 Sam 23,4; 2 Sam 2,22; 5,22 [= 1 Chr 14,13]; 18,22; 2 Kgs 6,23; 24,7; Isa 10,20). The majority reading of MT in 2 Sam 7, confirmed by LXX, is thus *lectio difficilior* and as such has chances to be more original. The unusual word order may be due to the author's attempt to place emphasis on David, in contrast to Yhwh that appears in the pronominal suffix in the word אליך at the very end of the clause.[132]

S ≠ C (i)

1 Chr ; אֵלֶיךָ לְכָבוֹד אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ 1 Chr 17,18MT לְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ; 17,18LXX πρὸς σὲ τοῦ δοξάσαι; Mss iny add σὲ, Mss be₂ add σε τον δουλον σου. The word δοξάσαι presupposes לכבד.

The sentence carries a completely different meaning in 2 Sam 7 than in 1 Chr 17,18: while in 2 Sam 7, David asks the rhetorical question what

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[132] Differently Murray, Prerogative, p. 78, who, building on Peshitta's reading (note that the reading "your servant David" also appears in a Sahidic ms, see the apparatus in Brooke – McLean – Thackeray), reconstructs עבדך עוד as the original reading. Peshitta's reading would then be „a conflate of the original and the corrected reading". Murray points out that in the rest of the prayer David refers to himself as עבדך (vv. 19.20.21.25.27[2x].28.29[2x]) or דוד עבדך (v. 26), which seems more accurate in the context of David's self-abasing speech. – On the other hand, such a reflexion may well be behind Peshitta's reading, assimilating the self-reference in v. 20a to the one used in v. 26.

could he say vis-à-vis all this that Yhwh promised to him, in 1 Chr 17 he asks (again, rhetorically) what could he add to the "glorification" (in the majority reading of LXX it is clearly the glorification of Yhwh, in the Greek manuscripts be₂ the glorification of "your servant", and the text in MT makes little sense). In 1 Chr 17,18LXX the text thus seems to anticipate the following doxology in 1 Chr 17,19-22 in a more pronounced way than 2 Sam 7. Other variant readings in the following text could be related to these variants.

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

The easiest way to explain the origin of these variant readings is probably to consider the reading of 2 Sam 7 as the most original. The shift from לדבר to לכבד may be due to a scribal mistake. Then, as the word אליך would not have a sense after לכבד, it was moved before the verb. This is the majority reading of 1 Chr 17,18LXX. The verbs לכבד or δοξάσαι in Greek without an explicitly expressed object were felt too clumsy, which has lead to some further developments. It is difficult though to determine which of the attested Greek readings reflect developments of the Hebrew text. The reading of Mss iny δοξάσαι σὲ would correspond to לכבדך in Hebrew, yet it may be an inner-Greek development. Contrary to that, the words τον δουλον σου in Mss be₂ probably do not present an inner-Greek development, since they occur in this place also in MT (see below). It is not entirely clear, however, whether the reading of Mss be₂ reflects the Hebrew text לכבדך את עבדך, or, as D. Murray suggests, את עבדך appeared in the text as the (only) object of לכבד[133]. Should Murray be right in that point (and I do find that likely), Mss be₂ present a mixed text, where the Greek text δοξάσαι σὲ was corrected according to the Hebrew text reading לכבד את עבדך merely by adding τον δουλον σου. At any rate, את עבדך seems to be attracted from the following clause.

In a different stream of textual tradition, which later have lead to 1 Chr 17MT, לכבד without an object was construed as the substantive לכב(ו)ד. MT represents a mixed (and meaningless) text where את עבדך appears

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[133] Murray, Prerogative, p. 79: "… subsequently לְכַבֵּד attracts עבדך (את) to it as object."

after לכבוד (we have already noted a similar development in 1Chr 17,10). This tentative reconstruction is summarized in table 4.

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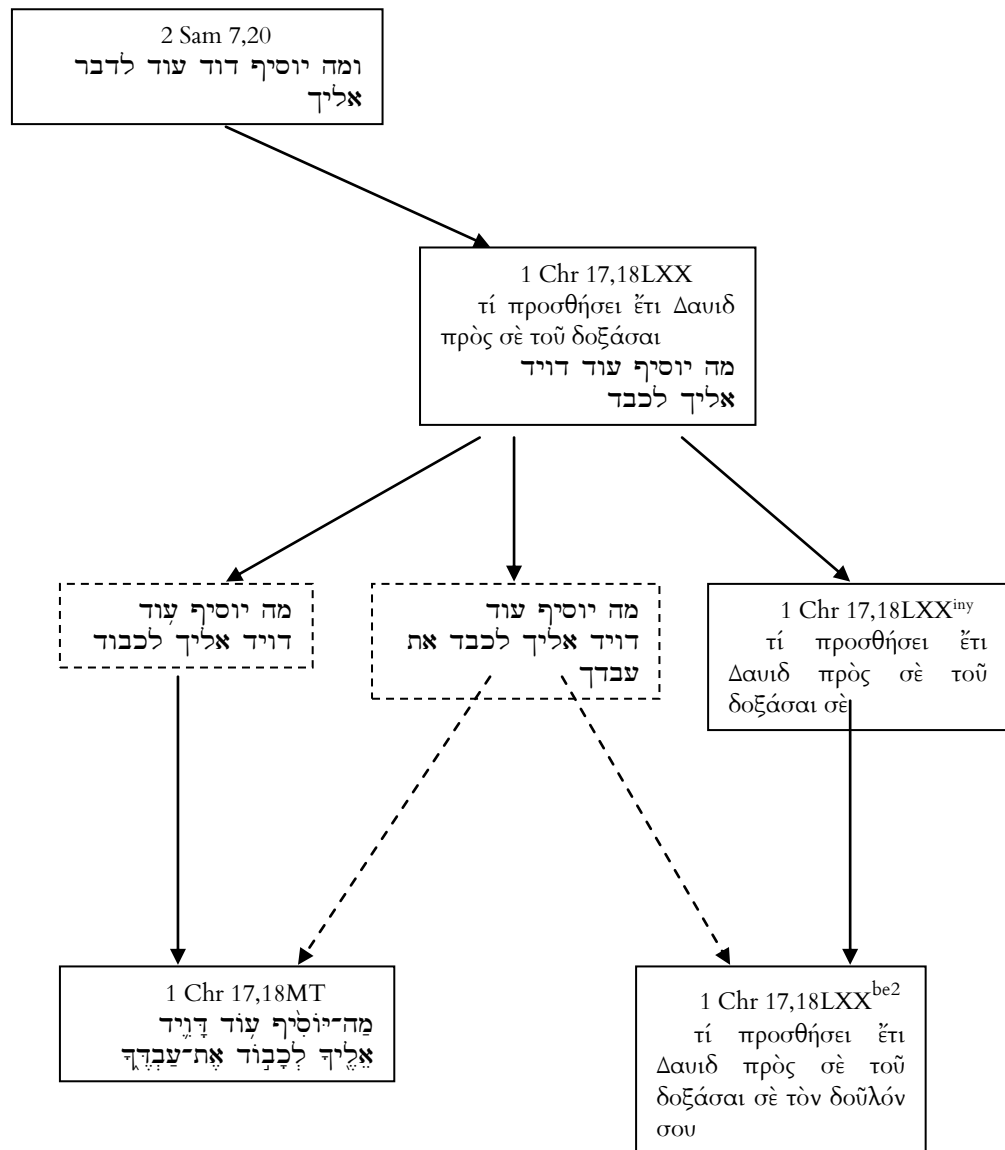
S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

וְאַתָּה; LXX καὶ νῦν σὺ = ועתה אתה.

At first glance, MT seems to be a result of an omission, but its mechanism is not entirely clear. It may also be imagined that the more original reading was the one attested in MT, then a shift from וְאַתָּה to

[134]ועתה occurred, but later אתה was inserted into the text after ועתה, since in rhetorically loaded sentences beginning by "You know…", the subject is often expressed by an independent pronoun (cf. Gen 30,26.29; Exod 32,22; Num 20,14; Deut 9,2; Jos 14,6; 1 Sam 28,9; 2 Sam 17,8; 1 Kgs 2,5.15.44; 5,17.20; 8,39 [= 2 Chr 6,30]; 2 Kgs 4,1; Ps 40,10; 69,6.20; 139,2; 142,4; Jer 15,15; 17,16; 18,23; Eze 37,3).

SMT C ≠ SLXX (n)

יָדַעְתָּ אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ; LXX οἶδας τὸν δοῦλόν σου; LXX[L] τὸν δοῦλόν σου οἶδας; 1 Chr 17,18 אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ יָדַעְתָּ.

The reading of LXX[L] in 2 Sam 7,20 may indicate that in the text of Samuel available to the Chronicler the verb followed after the object. LXX[L] of Samuel may have been corrected according to a Hebrew text of Samuel which had this reading attested also in Chronicles.

The usual word order is that of 2 Sam 7,20 (MT and the majority of LXX), cf. Gen 30,26.29; Num 20,14; Exod 32,22; Jos 14,6; 1 Sam 28,9; 2 Sam 17,8; 1 Kgs 2,5.44; 5,20; 8,39 (= 2 Chr 6,30); Ps 69,20; 139,2; 142,4; Jer 17,16; 18,23. For this reason, Murray prefers the reading of 2 Sam 7,20LXX[L] and 1 Chr 17,18 as *lectio difficilior* ("[it] is the more likely inadvertently to be changed to the other") with greater rhetorical force.[135]

To my mind, the shift from the usual order in 2 Sam 7,20 (MT + LXX) to that attested in 2 Sam 7,20LXX[L] and 1 Chr 17,18 may well be explained by a scribal mistake. The word ידעת could have been omitted due to homoioteleuton. In the manuscript that was the reason for the corruption of the text, the word could have been written *plene* ידעתה. This manner of writing of 2nd p. sg. m. is very common in Qumran and well attested in epigraphic Hebrew of the 7th-6th cent. B.C.E.[136] The forms of 2nd p. sg. m. with a final תה– also appear in MT of the books of Samuel, a form close to our text is גליתה in 2 Sam 7,27 (1 Chr 17,25 contains a more common

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[134] The same confusion appears in 1 Kgs 1,18b. Here it seems that LXX's reading καὶ σύ (ואתה, the same reading appears in numerous Hebrew Mss together with other witnesses) is more original than L's reading ועתה. See commentaries *ad loc.*

[135] Murray, Prerogative, p. 79.

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

form [137]גלית; specifically the form ידעתה is in 2 Sam 2,26). The scribe that copied the text could have omitted the word ידעתי due to homoioteleuton with the preceding word; the sentence would then lack a predicate, which becomes obvious after the words את עבדך; for that reason the scribe added here the original verb at the last moment. Admittedly, the likelihood for the haplography to happen would be even greater if the verb would be immediately preceded by ועתה. Yet, as it is apparent from the previous note, I tend to consider the reading ואתה more original.[138]

S ≠ C (n)

אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה; pc Mss אֲדֹנָי אלהים; LXX κύριε (Mss BANya₂); Ms M and the majority of other mss κύριέ μου κύριε; 1 Chr 17,19MT יְהוָֹה; no equivalent appears in 1 Chr 17,19LXX.

Again, the short reading of Mss BANya₂ could be regarded as a result of an inner-Greek haplography; yet as the Greek manuscript tradition presents a similar picture in vv. 19.20.25, it seems that the longer reading in majority of Greek mss is a correction bringing the text closer to a Hebrew text similar to MT. The shorter reading has thus chances to be the old Greek reading.

As for MT, the older reading is probably אדני יהוה contained in most mss. In the reading אדני אלהים there was probably a change of *ketib* according to *qere*.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,19MT corresponds to 2 Sam 7,20LXX. Whether this short reading is more original than the reading אדני יהוה attested in MT, is difficult to decide. It is perfectly plausible that the longer

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

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

reading of MT is a result of the harmonization of the form of address with other instances of אדני יהוה in David's prayer.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

Verse 21:

בַּעֲבוּר דְּבָרְךָ֙ וּֽכְלִבְּךָ֔ עָשִׂ֖יתָ; LXX^B διὰ τὸν δοῦλόν σου πεποίηκας καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐποίησας; LXX^L διὰ τὸν λόγον σου καὶ διὰ τὸν δοῦλόν σου πεποίηκας καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου πεποίηκας; 1 Chr 17,19MT בַּעֲבוּר עַבְדְּךָ֙ וּֽכְלִבְּךָ֔ עָשִׂ֖יתָ ; 1 Chr 17,19LXX καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου; 1 Chr 17,19LXX^be2 διὰ τὸν δοῦλόν σου καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου.

2 Sam 7,21LXX^L offers a double reading, where the old Greek reading was appended with the reading attested in MT. The reading of LXX^B is older than LXX^L. The reading of LXX^B corresponds to בעבור עבדך עשית וכלבך, which is often considered problematic. According to Wellhausen, the original reading of LXX was only διὰ τὸν δοῦλόν σου πεποίηκας; the following καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐποίησας is regarded by Wellhausen as an addition according to 1 Chr 17.[139] Driver notes that πεποίηκας has no object, and he therefore considers καὶ κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐποίησας to be a later addition.[140]

The short reading of 1 Chr 17,19LXX does not differ from MT merely by the absence of בעבור עבדך, but also the absence of any address of God, which probably originally in MT's text was a part of the preceding clause (although the Masoretic accentuation in 1 Chr 17,19MT understands it as an introduction to v. 19). The absence of an equivalent of יהוה בעבור עבדך in 1 Chr 17,19LXX may be due to a scribal error. These words may have been omitted due to homoioteleuton with the preceding את עבדך in the previous verse, perhaps despite the fact that in 1 Chr 17,18 there is the verb ידעת between את עבדך and the omitted words; this ידעת remained in LXX.

Two questions emerge from the mentioned variant readings: 1) Is the more original reading the one reconstructed in OG or the longer text that includes וכלבך עשית? 2) Is דברך or עבדך more original?

The origin of the (probably) secondary reading of LXX^B could be clarified in various manners, there may have been a development in both

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[139] Wellhausen, Text, p. 173.
[140] Driver, Notes, p. 277. Driver mistakenly ascribes this remark to Wellhausen.

the Hebrew and the Greek text. It is clear though, that the postulated short בעבור עבדך עשית does not have to be older than MT, since it may have originated by the omission of וכלבך due to homoioteleuton (analogically in Greek as well). Since there is no particular reason for adding וכלבך, I find the explanation of the shorter reading by haplography the most plausible.

As far as דברך or עבדך is concerned, already Welhausen noticed that should וכלבך be original, its presence is an argument for דברך.[141] It is also easy to imagine that עבדך appeared here secondarily under the influence of other occurrences of the word in this and the previous verse and in David's prayer in general (in MT 2 Sam 7,18-29, the expression occurs twentyfold). The shift towards עבדך may have been influenced by the graphic similarity to the preceding בעבור.[142] The reading of 2 Sam 7,21MT can thus well be more original than the other variants.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

כָּל־הַגְּדוּלָֽה; LXX[L] πᾶσαν τὴν μεγαλωσύνην σου.

הַזֹּאת לְהֹדִיעַ אֶת־עַבְדֶּ֑ךָ; 1 Chr 17,19MT הַזֹּאת לְהוֹדִיעַ אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ אֶת־כָּל־הַגְּדֻלֹּות; an equivalent is missing in the old text of 1 Chr 17,19LXX; 1 Chr 17,19Tg לְהוֹדָעָא יַת עַבְדָּךְ יַת כֹּל רְבַרְבְתָא.

The absence of these words in 1 Chr 17,19LXX is due to haplography after the preceding expression את כל הגדולה. The haplography occurred probably during the development leading to the Hebrew text that was available to the translator into Greek. The fact that the haplography occurred shows that the prototype of this Hebrew text had a reading identical or similar to 1 Chr 17,19MT.

As noted in the apparatus of BHS, the direct object את כל הגדלות in 1 Chr 17,19MT to a certain extent graphically resembles the words על כן גדלת, which introduce the following verse in 2 Sam 7MT, and which are missing in 1 Chr 17,20 (see the following note). That means that nothing in 1 Chr 17,19MT corresponds to the expression את עבדך. No matter whether את כל הגדלות (1 Chr 17,19MT) or על כן גדלת (2 Sam 7,22MT) is more original, the absence of את עבדך in 1 Chr 17,19MT in contrast to 2 Sam 7,21 (both MT and LXX) may well be explained by

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[141] Wellhausen, Text, p. 173.
[142] So Murray, Prerogative, p. 79.

haplography in 1 Chr: the verb להודיע in this case had two objects introduced by the particle את, and later the first object was omitted. A text with two objects in 1 Chr 17,19 is attested in Tg.

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

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

Verse 22:

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

In all of their other occurrences in LXX of 2 Samuel, ἕνεκεν and ἕνεκα always translate בעבור (6,12; 9,1; 12,21.25; 18,18) or לבעבור (14,20); in the two last mentioned passages, (ל)בעבור appears before a construct infinitive. It thus seems likely that in 2 Sam 7,22, the translator of LXX read (or thought to have read) (ל)בעבור גדלך.[143]

To find arguments in favor of one of these readings against the other variants is rather difficult. (ל)בעבור in the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7,22LXX might be considered a result of an assimilation with בעבור in the previous verse. In LXX's wording, the clause in v. 22a must be understood as part of the sentence in v. 21; yet in this way, the sentence becomes too lame to be the original reading. In LXX, with its reading בעבור עבדך at the beginning of v. 21, there even exists a strong tension inside vv. 21–22: Did Yhwh act for the sake of his servant or for the sake of his "being great"? The reading of 1 Chr 17,19MT is not very elegant either, but, as a matter of fact, the reading of 2 Sam 7 is somewhat obscure as well.[144]

There is, perhaps, a stylistic observation which may be adduced in favor of MT's reading. In his prayer, David addresses Yhwh by his name ten times in 2 Sam 7 (vv. 18.19a.19b.20[145].22.24.25.27[146].28.29[147]); the name is often developed with an another title, in MT of 2 Sam 7 mostly as אדני יהוה.[148] The position of the address in the sentence seems to follow some

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[143] As recognized by McCarter, II Samuel, p. 234.

[144] What is the referent of עַל־כֵּן? Is Yhwh great, because he announced "the great thing" or "the greatness" to David, or because there is no one like Him?

[145] Missing in 1 Chr 17,19LXX due to haplography, as mentioned above.

[146] Any address apart of σύ is missing in 1 Chr 17,25LXX^B.

[147] Missing in 1 Chr 17,27LXX^B

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

basic rules. If we exclude the address in v. 22, which is under consideration here, we may observe that:

1) The address seems not to appear at the beginning of a clause, at least as far as 2 Sam 7MT is concerned. The address either appears at the end of a simple sentence (vv. 18.19a.19b.20) or at the second position in a clause (24.25.27.28.29)[149].

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

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

Unlike 2 Sam 7,20, 1 Chr 17,18 does not begin with the conjunction ו, therefore it is impossible to say if the address יהוה אלהֽים at the end of 1 Chr 17,16 is to be read with the preceding or the following clause (the Masoretic pointing attaches it to the preceding clause, while the apparatus of BHS proposes to read these words with what follows).

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

Again, the texts in 2 Sam 7LXX and in Chronicles present some differences. The independent pronoun is missing in 2 Sam 7,27LXX[B]. The address is omitted in the Greek text of 1 Chr 17,19.25.27. The address יהוה at the beginning of 1 Chr 17,19MT, corresponding to אדני יהוה at the end of 2 Sam 7,20, does not follow after the pronominal suffix of the 2nd p. sg., because the preceding clause has a different word order in Chronicles than in Samuel. As argued above *ad loc.*, the word-order in Chronicles is probably secondary. Yet, even if it were not, this would not affect much our general observation, since in 1 Chr 17,19MT the address appears after the verb in 2nd p. sg. ידעת.

The Septuagint and the text of the Chronicles (MT and LXX) thus manifest some deviations from the adduced stylistic tendencies. In most cases, however, these variants are probably secondary. On the other hand, even if we keep with MT of 2 Sam 7, these trends as to the position of the

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[149] Not counting the particle כי in vv. 27.29.

divine address are by no means fixed rules; the second observed tendency manifests itself only in five out of nine cases (still excluding 2 Sam 7,22).

All the qualifications notwithstanding, it seems to me that these observations give some support to the reading of 2 Sam 7,22MT עַל כֵּן גדלת. The address יהוה at the beginning of 1 Chr 17,20 must be read either as the last word of the long sentence in v. 19[150] or as the first word of the short nominal clause in v. 20aα. The latter understanding, adopted by the Masoretic division of the verses, seems stylistically preferable, yet *both* alternatives would be unusual in the text of 2 Sam 7 (which we try to establish in these notes).

In 2 Sam 7,22LXX, the address[151] follows after a 2nd p. pronominal suffix. It concludes the long sentence running through vv. 21–22a, which is rather unusual in 2 Sam 7, but perhaps this observation has not much weight, since the address is above all attached to the short infinitival clause in v. 22a. Yet, on balance, I do not think that 2 Sam 7,22aLXX might be the original text, since, with its repetition of בעבור(ל) at its beginning and its end, the proposition in vv. 21–22a seems too clumsy, being at the same time circular and somewhat self-contradictory.

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

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

יהוה אלהים; permlt Mss אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה; LXX^Bay κύριέ κύριε μου; LXX^MNrell κύριέ μου κύριε; 1 Chr 17,20 יְהוָֹה.

Murray is probably right in claiming that LXX's reading κύριέ κύριε μου is due to an inner Greek corruption. "[A] Hebrew reading יהוה אדני would be completely without parallel. Either the μου alone, or the combination κύριε μου was accidently omitted, and then carelessly inserted

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

[151] In LXX^B, the address is κύριέ κύριε μου which may be the result of an inner Greek corruption, as argued by Murray, Prerogative, p. 76. The form of the address is not important at this moment.

in the wrong place."[152] If so, LXX's reading would be an indirect witness to אדני יהוה attested in one part of MT, including L. The other part of Masoretic mss gives the *qere* of אדני יהוה, and is thus most likely secondary.

The reading of 2 Sam 7,22 might be considered a result of harmonization with the other occurrences of אדני יהוה in the prayer; moreover, the reading of 1 Chr 17,20 is shorter. Yet these considerations may not be appropriate when we, in fact, do not compare two textual witnesses of one literary work, but variant readings belonging to two different compositions. As always in similar cases, in absence of stronger arguments for postulating the Chronicles' reading as more original in Samuel as well, it seems to me wiser to follow the reading אדני יהוה attested in 2 Sam 7,22 (more considerations on the value of the Chronicles' readings will be given at the end of the chapter).

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (n, i)

כִּי; omitted in 1 Chr 17,20.

The omission is linked to the secondary reading את כל הגדלות at the end of 1 Chr 17,19MT.[153] In respect of the wording of 1 Chr 17,19, a scribe (the Chronicler?) preferred to understand the address יהוה in v. 20 as the first word of a new sentence, and not as the end of the preceding sentence, which it is in 2 Sam 7. The particle כי following the address at the beginning of the sentence was regarded as clumsy, and therefore omitted.

S ≠ C (n)

אֱלֹהִים; omitted in 1 Chr 17,20LXX.

The omission is most likely secondary. It may be intentional, aiming to improve the parallelism between אין כמוך and זולתך (אלהים) ואין.

S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

בְּכֹל; prmlt Mss ככל; Tg ככל; Syr omits the word; In 1 Chr 17,20, the situation is similar: MT's majority reading is בְּכֹל, but mlt Mss have ככל; 1 Chr 17,20LXX κατὰ πάντα; Tg ככל; Syr ܐܝܟ ܟܠ.

The reading בכל, attested in the majority of MT's Mss in both 2 Sam 7,22 and 1 Chr 17,20, together with 2 Sam 7,22LXX, seems more original.

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[152] Murray, Prerogative, p. 76.
[153] 1 Chr 17,19b is missing in LXX due to haplography.

It may also be that ב changed into כ under the influence of כ which follows.

S CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

Verse 23:
וּמִי; 1 Chr 17,21 καὶ οὐκ.

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

S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

כְּיִשְׂרָאֵל; nonn Mss יִשְׂרָאֵל; LXX Ισραηλ; 1 Chr 17,21 יִשְׂרָאֵל.

Since the preceding word ends with *kaph*, we may consider the possibility that the preposition before ישראל could have appeared due to dittography or, on the contrary, could have been easily omitted. On the other hand, this type of variation, when in part of the tradition the preposition is repeated ante the word standing in apposition, and in the other part it is not, is common in this chapter. The reading without two prepositions is *lectio brevior*, while simultaneously it is no doubt the easier reading. It seems most natural to me to consider the frequent use of apposition and repetition of preposition a work of the author of the text, and I would attribute the occasional omissions of the preposition ante the apposition to the copyists. The opposite, that is the possibility that this significant feature of the chapter emerged secondarily, as a result of the work of a copyist (or copyists) is not to be dismissed entirely, but it is less probable.

SMT ≠ SLXX C (ni?)

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

אֶחָד; LXX ἄλλο (= אחר); missing in Vg; 1 Chr 17,21MT אֶחָד; 1 Chr 17,21LXX ἔτι (= usually thought to correspond to אחר as well[154]; Murray[155], however, believes that LXX's *Vorlage* was עוד).

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX CLXX (n)

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[154] So e. g. Barthélemy, CTAT I, p. 247.
[155] Murray, Prerogative, p. 81.

הָלְכוּ; LXX ὡδήγησεν αὐτὸν; LXX^L ὡδήγησας αὐτὸν; 1 Chr 17,21MT
הָלַךְ; 1 Chr 17,21LXX ὡδήγησεν αὐτὸν.

According to Cross *et al.*, the reading of 2 Sam 7LXX presupposes
הוליך אתו, while LXX^L presupposes הולכתו, which he considers to be a
corruption of הוליך אתו.[156] On the other hand, McCarter points out that
LXX might have interpreted the form הלכו as a hiphil with objective
suffix.[157]

Cross' reconstruction of the development leading to the reading of 2
Sam 7LXX^L is erroneous. LXX^L in v. 23 contains an entirely coherent text
in the 2nd p. sg. (see also the note related to the first לו of the verse, where
LXX^L unlike the other witnesses reads σεαυτῷ). The 2nd person ὡδήγησας
can therefore hardly be regarded as an error, it is rather a part of a
harmonizing treatment. This, of course, also questions the reconstruction
הוליך אתו in the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7LXX. McCarter's suggestion is more
likely.

SMT SLXX CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

הָאֱלֹהִים; 4QSam^a [הים[אלו; LXX ὁ θεὸς; 1 Chr 17,21 הָאֱלֹהִים;
4QSam^a SMT ≠ SLXX C (it?)

לוֹ (1.); LXX^L σεαυτῷ.

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

לְעָם; LXX λαὸν; Tg עם; Syr ܠܥܡܐ; 1 Chr 17,21 עָם.
SMT ≠ SLXX C (i)

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

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

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[156] Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 131; he further reconstructs the reading הוליך אתו in
4QSam^a as well.
[157] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 234. McCarter considers this meaning of the form more
original.

וְלַעֲשֹׂות; 4QSamª שׂות[לע](ו)]; LXX τοῦ ποιῆσαι; LXX^L omits the word; 1 Chr 17,21 omits the word.

SMT ≠ SLXX^B ≠ C (n)

לָכֶם; pc mss להם; missing in one MS; Vg eis; Syr ܠܟ; omitted in 4QSamª[158], LXX, 1 Chr 17,21.

SMT ≠ SLXX 4QSamª C

הַגְּדוּלָה; LXX μεγαλωσύνην; 1 Chr 17,21MT גְּדֻלֹּות; 1 Chr 17,21LXX μέγα (גדול).

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

וְנֹרָאֹות; LXX καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν; 1 Chr 17,21LXX καὶ ἐπιφανὲς.

The reading καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν of 2 Sam 7,23LXX may correspond to ומראה; similarly, the reading of 1 Chr 17,21LXX may correspond to ונראה.[159] On the other hand, the niphal participle of ירא seems in some cases to be translated into the Greek as if derived from the verb ראה (cf. Judg[ms A] 13,6; Eze 1,22; Joel 2,11; 3,4; Hab 1,7; Zep 2,11; Mal 1,14; 3,23). This may indicate that the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7,23LXX could also have been ונראה, and the *Vorlage* of 1 Chr 17,21LXX could have been ונרא.[160]

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX (n)

לְגָרֵשׁ; LXX τοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν σε; Syr ܠ ܐܘܢܟ; 1 Chr 17,21 לְאַרְצֶךָ.

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

[159] Both retroversions are suggested by Murray, Prerogative, p. 81.

[160] It seems that the translator of the Twelve Prophets systematically understands the nif. ptc. of ירא as derived from ראה. There is, however, no similar comparative material in 2 Samuel and Chronicles. 2 Sam 7,23 is the only occurrence of the nif. ptc. of ירא in 2 Samuel. In the Chronicles, there is, apart from 1 Chr 17,21, one other occurrence in 1 Chr 16,25 where נֹורָא is translated by φοβερός. The witness of 1 Chr 16,25, however, is somewhat problematic because it is a quotation of Ps 96,4, and the Greek of 1 Chr 16,25 might have been influenced by the translation of the Psalm. In Greek, the verse has exactly the same wording in both places.

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (n)

לְךָ; omitted in 1 Chr 17,21.
S ≠ C (i)

גּוֹיִם; 2 Mss גוי; 1 Ms וגוים; Syr ܥܡܐ; Vg *gentem*.

וֵאלֹהָיו; 4QSamᵃ ואהלים; LXX καὶ σκηνώματα; Syr ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܗ; Vg *et deum eius*; the word is omitted in 1 Chr 17,21.

According to BHS, the reading ואלהים should be restored in 1 Chr 17,21, the omission being due to homoioteleuton. According to Cross *et al.*, "1 Chronicles exhibits here a rare example of the suppression of a faulty reading" (i. e. ואהלים).[161]

SMT ≠ 4QSamᵃ SLXX ≠ C (n, i?)

The interpretation of variant readings in 2 Sam 7,23 has been until now influenced by the analysis of the verse provided by Abraham Geiger in 1857 in his opus magnum *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*.[162] Geiger mentions this verse in connection to other sections that were changed due to confusion whether the expression אלהים or אל denotes Yhwh or other god(s) in the particular case. The original meaning of 2 Sam 7,23 was, according to Geiger, probably the following: „Und welches ist wie Dein Volk Israel ein *anderes* (אַחֵר) Volk auf Erden, welches ein Gott gegangen sich zu erlösen zum Volke, ihm einen Namen zu machen, *ihm* (לוֹ) Grosses und Furchtbares zu erweisen, vor *seinem Volke zu vertreiben* (ein anderes) Volk und seinen Gott (לגרש מפני עמו גוי ואלהים)?"[163] Since אלהים in v. 23bα was not related to Yhwh, sg. הלך (so 2 Sam 7,23LXX and 1 Chr 17,21) was changed to pl. הלכו (so 2 Sam 23MT). On the other hand, it seemed problematic merely to postulate the possibility that another god might choose a different nation and do magnificent deeds for them, hence everything was related back to Yhwh and Israel. Geiger finds the result of this interpretation in the reading לשום לך in 1 Chr 17,21 (against לו in 2 Sam); as well as in לכם and לארצך in 2 Sam 7,23MT; and in עמך and אשר פדית (לך) ממצרים, which appear in both 2 Sam and 1 Chr.

[161] Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 131.
[162] Geiger, Urschrift , p. 288–289.
[163] Geiger, Urschrift, p. 288.

Similarly, the sg. גוי is replaced by the pl. גוים, since more nations were expelled from the land before Israel. In the first part of the verse, the reinterpretation goes even further in part of the tradition: mere comparison of Israel with another nation is regarded as inappropriate, and אחר is changed into אחד. Geiger ascribes this correction to "the Babylonian authorities" and understands the resulting meaning of the half-verse as: Who is like your people Israel the only (i. e. chosen) people? The variants in the two final words of the verse are, in Geiger's view, a result of the fact that after the insertion of אשר פדית (לך) ממצרים, the original גוי ואלהיו had to be related to the verb פדית. 1 Chr 17,23 simply shortens the text to גוים (but why would not the scribe keep the sg. form, which would seem more logical?), while LXX willfully translates as καὶ σκηνώματα, as if the Hebrew text were ואהלים. (Unlike in Geiger's time, the Hebrew reading ואהלים is today attested in v 4QSamᵃ, but that may change little on the principle of Geiger's argument; the mentioned voluntary change would only have to be situated in the Hebrew textual tradition behind 4QSamᵃ and LXX's *Vorlage*.[164])

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

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

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

Table 5

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

Text	Reference
וּמִי כְעַמְּךָ כְיִשְׂרָאֵל גּוֹי אֶחָד בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הָלְכוּ־ אֱלֹהִים	2 Sam 7,23 MT
[אלו]הים [ ]	4QSam^a
ומי כעמך ישראל גוי אחר בארץ אשר הלכו האלהים הוליך אתו(?)	LXX^B
וּמִי כְעַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל גּוֹי אֶחָד בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ הָאֱלֹהִים	1 Chr 17,21 MT
ואין כעמך ישראל גוי אחר בארץ אשר הלכו עוד(?) הוליך אתו(?) האלהים	1 Chr 17,21 LXX
לִפְדּוֹת־לוֹ לְעָם וְלָשׂוּם לוֹ שֵׁם וְלַעֲשׂוֹת לָכֶם הַגְּדוּלָּה וְנֹרָאוֹת	2 Sam 7,23 MT
[שות] ג̇[ ]	4QSam^a
לפדות לו עם לשום לך שם לעשות גדולה ונראה ומראה(?)	LXX^B
לִפְדּוֹת לוֹ עָם לָשׂוּם לְךָ שֵׁם גְּדֻלּוֹת וְנֹרָאוֹת	1 Chr 17,21 MT
לפדות לו עם לשום לו שם גדול ונרא ונראה(?)	LXX
לְאַרְצֶךָ מִפְּנֵי עַמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ לְּךָ מִמִּצְרַיִם גּוֹיִם וֵאלֹהָיו:	2 Sam 7,23 MT
ואהלים [מפנ]י [ ]	4QSam^a
לגרשך מפני עמך אשר פדית לך ממצרים גוים ואהלים	LXX^B
לְגָרֵשׁ מִפְּנֵי עַמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר־פָּדִיתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם גּוֹיִם:	1 Chr 17,21 MT
לגרש מפני עמך אשר פדית ממצרים גוים	LXX

Geiger believes that originally the whole v. 23aβb was clearly referring to a different nation than Israel and a different god than Yhwh. In that, he is followed by numerous other interpreters, among them Wellhausen, Driver, and more recently McCarter and Mathys.[165] In my opinion, such an unambiguous and grammatically coherent text is difficult to reconstruct for several reasons.

Geiger and his followers believe that at the end of 2 Sam 7,23bα, לגרש should be read together with 1 Chr 17,21. 2 Sam 7,23LXX is sometimes considered as an argument in favour of such reading. But 2 Sam 7,23LXX reads τοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν σε, which corresponds to לגרשך.[166] Such *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7,23LXX is closer to the reading of MT לארצך than mere לגרש. The reading לגרשך is most likely older than לגרש, since the shift from the former to the latter is easier to explain than the reverse. The pronominal

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

[166] The pronoun σε is very often left undiscussed by the commentators. An exception is CTAT 1, p. 248, considering לגרשך as the original reading.

suffix in לגרשך should be understood as a genitive of the subject and the expression means "in your driving out" or "in order that you drive out." Theoretically, however, it would be possible to regard the suffix as a genitive of the object, thus "(in order) to drive you out", as it is in לגרשנו in 2 Chr 20,11.[167] Taking the context into account, it is practically impossible that any scribe would understand the text in this manner, yet it probably was the *possibility* to understand the text in this manner that led to the omission of the suffix in 1 Chr 17,21. But if לגרשך is more original than לגרש, it means that we cannot at this point reconstruct a text that would not turn to God in 2nd p., regardless whether לגרשך of 2 Sam 7,23LXX or לארצך in MT is more original.

A reconstruction of 2 Sam 7,23aβ-b that would not speak about Israel and its God is problematic also due to the clause אשר פדית (לך) ממצרים, attested in all textual witnesses of 2 Sam 7,23 and 1 Chr 17,21.[168] The clause is formulated in 2nd p. and, in view of its content, especially the mention of Egypt, it is very likely it had always been related to Israel and its God. Geiger and his followers usually regard this clause as a secondary insertion, while McCarter reconstructs the 3rd p. even in this section, translating "… his people, whom he ransomed as his own."[169] All this, however, is very speculative.

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

Is לארצך (MT) or לגרשך (LXX) the more original reading? This variation is clearly connected to the variant readings at the end of the verse. In 2 Sam 7,23MT we should understand the words גוים ואלהיו as an apposition to ממצרים, and the suffix of the 3rd p. sg. m. therefore refers to Egypt.[170] On the contrary, in LXX's *Vorlage* and probably in 4QSamᵃ, the words גוים ואהלים are construed as an object of the verb גרש, and in this

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[167] For the construction of the infinitive construct with subject and object, see GK² § 115.

[168] As noted by Barthélemy *et al.*, CTAT 1, p. 249.

[169] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 234–235.

[170] מִצְרַיִם is sometimes construed as m. sg., cf. e. g. Exod 3,20; Num 14,13; Josh 24,5; Ps 105,38 etc.

case the suffix of 3rd p. sg. m. attached to the last word would make no sense. 1 Chr 17,21 reads at the end of the verse only גוים, which matches with the preceding לגרש and is compatible with the more original לגרשך.

In 2 Sam 7,23 we may find arguments for and against both MT and LXX. MT certainly looks odd. The idea expressed in it that Yhwh did (great and) awesome things "to (or with) your land" seems unusual; it should be noted, however, that the expression עשה ... לארץ is attested in Deut 31,4 with Yhwh as the subject, and in Deut 2,12 with Israel as the subject. The concept of the land of Yhwh appears in various sections of the Hebrew Bible.[171] According to S. R. Driver, it is imperative to read לגרש "in order to restore מפני to its right."[172] He further notes that "in מפני the sense of מן is never lost", and it thus has not the same meaning as לפני. On the other hand, the preposition מפני does not seem impossible in the context of MT, since we find a fairly similar formulation in Josh 23,3: ואתם ראיתם את כל אשר עשה יהוה אלהיכם לכל הגוים האלה מפניכם. As we have seen, the two last words in 2 Sam 7,23MT should be understood as an apposition to מצרים. The idea that Yhwh "redeemed" Israel from the gods of Egypt may be compared with Exod 12,12 and Num 33,4, according to which Yhwh "executed judgment" on the gods of Egypt (cf. also Exod 18,10-11; Isa 19,1; Jer 43,12-13; 46,25; Ezek 30,13). The most problematic point in MT is the plural גוים. We may find several sections in the Hebrew Bible where Egypt is depicted as the home of a number of nations (Lev 26,45; Ezek 20,9; Ezek 32,18?[173]), but all of these may (and probably should) be also understood in a different manner; in none of the examined texts is it clear that these nations must be merely Egyptian nations.

The reading לגרשך attested in LXX seems less problematic, the verb גרש pi. matches with the preposition מפני, similarly in Exod 23,29.30.31; Deut 33,27; Josh 24,12.18; Judg 2,3; 6,9; Ps 78,55 (+ Exod 23,28 having מלפניך). The only major problem of this reading is the last word of the verse, regardless if we read the attested ואהלים (LXX, 4QSam^a) or presuppose the more original ואלהים, reconstructed on the basis of a comparison with MT. The idea that Yhwh expelled "nations and tents" or "nations and gods" is isolated in HB. Contrary to that, as we have seen, the

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[171] A brief description is provided by Bergman – Ottosson, אֶרֶץ, p. 401–402.
[172] Driver, Notes, p. 278.
[173] The last mentioned verse is textually problematic. See commentaries *ad loc*.

idea of the salvation of Israel by Yhwh from the Egyptian gods has some resemblance to an elsewhere attested idea of Yhwh's judgment of the Egyptian gods. The presence of the suffix of the 3rd p. sg. m. in MT in contrast to the absence of a pronominal suffix in 4QSamª/LXX may also be interpreted in favour of the originality of MT, since in this case the shift from MT to 4QSamª/LXX is easier to explain than otherwise. Should the original reading be לארצך ... ואלהיו, after the shift to לגרשך the omission of the suffix in the last word would be *necessary*. Should the change take place in reverse, an addition of the suffix would not be necessary (although we may imagine that the scribe, who understood the last two words as an apposition to מצרים, decided to express this relationship unambiguously by adding the suffix to the last word).

Therefore, the situation is complicated, since several features at the end of the verse speak in favour of the reading לגרשך, but the variant לארצך cannot be quite easily rejected, and the last word questions the reading לגרשך quite considerably.[174]

It might be easier to start with the variants that precede immediatly the variant reading לגרש/לגרשך/לארצך, since even these may be related to the variation לגרש/לגרשך/לארצך. 1 Chr 17,21MT has the short reading לָשׂוּם לְךָ שֵׁם גְּדֻלּוֹת וְנֹרָאוֹת, but the plural גְּדֻלּוֹת וְנֹרָאוֹת indicates that the short text is a result of haplography from the longer text that included the word (ו)לעשות, attested in all the major witnesses of 2 Sam 7. The syntactically less problematic reading of 1 Chr 17,21LXX τοῦ θέσθαι αὐτῷ ὄνομα μέγα καὶ ἐπιφανὲς (= לשום לך שם גדול ונרא/ונראה) is merely and adaptation of the short problematic text. 1 Chr 17,21 therefore probably presupposes the text including (ו)לעשות; when the omission occurred is irrelevant for this discussion.

If we examine the main witnesses in 2 Sam 7,23, we may notice that only the text of MT, which reads לארצך, has at the same time the word לכם after the verb ולעשות, and the word following after לכם is only here introduced by an article.[175] This means that only in the text where in לארצך the preposition ל expresses the dative of (dis)advantage, there appears before the word הַגְּדוּלָה another ל of advantage, introducing a

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[174] Cf. the evaluation by the committee of the authors of CTAT I, p. 248: The committee attributed 3 "C" and 1 "B" to לגרשך, and 1 "C" to לארצך.

[175] It must be admitted, however, that the identity of the letter following the verb (ו)לעש[ות] in 4QSamª is not entirely clear.

different indirect object. Therefore in MT הַגְּדוּלָה and וְנֹרָאוֹת have different "addressees" and the formulation וְלַעֲשׂוֹת לָכֶם הַגְּדוּלָה וְנֹרָאוֹת לְאַרְצֶךָ in 2 Sam 7,23MT is *not* parallel to Deut 10,21 which speaks of "these great and terrifying things" (אֶת־הַגְּדֹלָת וְאֶת־הַנּוֹרָאֹת הָאֵלֶּה) that Yhwh did with Israel on the occasion of the exodus, neither to the similar passages mentioning in the same context the "great (deeds of) terror" (מורא גדול, sometimes with the article or in plural – Deut 4,34; 26,8; 24,12; Jer 32,21), nor many other passages where other phenomena are characterized by the pair of adjectives גדול and נורא[176]. This meaning of 2 Sam 7,23MT is underlined by the presence of the article in הַגְּדוּלָה and its absence in וְנֹרָאוֹת.

The syntax of MT with two pairs of direct and indirect object connected to the verb ולעשות, in each case in a different order, seems clumsy. All the scholars agree that לכם is not original because the 2nd p. pl. turning to Israel makes no sense in the given context. Therefore some read לו or להם here.[177] It is true that לו corresponds to Peshitta's reading ܠܗ, and the reading להם, attested in some Masoretic mss, corresponds to Vg's reading *eis*. The value of the witness of these versions in 2 Sam 7,23 is problematic though, since their readings *super terram* and ܠܟܠ ܐܘܟܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܕ.... in further parts of the verse are definitely facilitating variants that presuppose the more original לאַרצך. It is perfectly plausible that the readings ܠܗ and *eis* are merely two different(!) facilitating variants to the more original לכם, regardless whether they are the work of translators or they were already present in their *Vorlage*. In 4QSam[a] and LXX, לכם has no analogy, and there is no obvious reason why the scribes would omit the allegedly more original לו or להם, or why they would not correct לכם to לו or להם (cf. the variation לך/לו before the word שם). The reading לכם is in my opinion therefore secondary and is related to the reading לאַרצך, because, as I already mentioned, it is noticeable that this connection of ל of advantage with the pronominal suffix appears only in the text where later follows a different indirect object of the verb עשה, which is also attached by ל of advantage (the text of Syr, Vg and Tg may be regarded as an indirect witness to this situation).

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

[177] Geiger, Urschrift, p. 288; Wellhausen, Text, p. 173; Driver, Notes, p. 278; Fokkelman, Art III, p. 382–383.

Various scenarios of development of the text are plausible and the following reconstruction is a mere attempt, but I believe it explains the emergence of various variant readings in the simplest manner. The "original" reading was approximately לעשות גדולת ונראות לגרשך (ו); the plural גדלות in 1 Chr 17,21 may be a remnant of this original reading. (This original גד(ו)(ל)(ו)ת should be understood as a plural of the feminine of גָּדוֹל, similarly to Deut 10,21. The vocalization of 1 Chr 17,21 גְּדֻלּוֹת is probably due to harmonization with the reading הַגְּדוּלָה in 2 Sam 7,23.) Later, due to a scribal error, a change from pl. גד(ו)(ל)(ו)ת to sg. גדולה occurred (sg. is attested both in MT and LXX). In LXX's *Vorlage*, the text was then harmonized by changing the following word into singular as well (as I mentioned earlier, it is perfectly possible that the *Vorlage* of LXX was ונראה, Murray's retroversion ומראה is not necessary). In MT, the tension between sg. גדולה and pl. ונראות was dealt with in a different manner. First and foremost, the infinitive clause with ולעשות was understood in an analogy with the previous infinitive clause ולשום לו שם. Whether all the changes occurred simultaneously or consequently, eventually in what order, is difficult to define. But it is quite clear that the changes לגרשך → לארצך and גדולה → לכם הגדולה are connected. The word הגדולה was definitively understood here as הַגְּדוּלָה – "the greatness", "the majesty." As R. Mosis[178] has written, גְּדוּלָה "means the dominant sovereignty, the splendor around the majesty of God or a man who holds a special position. Therefore, […] *gedhullah* always has a positive emphasis." But a gift of sovereignty to (your) land makes no sense, which corresponds to the fact that הַגְּדוּלָה and וְנִרָאוֹת have different recipients in 2 Sam 7,23MT. While the land is the recipient of "terrifying things", the people expressed by לכם is given the sovereignty. This surprising pl. of the 2ⁿᵈ p. could have appeared here under the influence of certain texts summarizing Yhwh's powerful deeds for Israel in Deuteronomy, which are also formulated in the 2ⁿᵈ person. Cf. for instance לכם in Deut 4,34, in a context which is in many respects similar to the context of 2 Sam 7,23.

If we accept לגרשך as the better reading, ואלהיו (2 Sam 7,23MT) at the end of the verse is impossible. The readings that are plausible from the grammatical point of view are ואהלים (4QSamᵃ/LXX) or the reconstructed

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[178] Mosis, גָּדַל, p. 400.

ואלהים, but both these readings seem strange.[179] The simplest way is clearly to read merely גוים with 1 Chr 17,21; but there is some probability that the Chronicler would omit ואהלים or ואלהים even in case he would have it in his text of Samuel.

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

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

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

The reading אל(ו)הים (2Sam 7MT and 4QSam[a]) has more chances to be original than האלהים (2 Sam 7LXX, 1 Chr 17). אלהים alone often means "(a) god", and this meaning is preferable here, no matter whether we read in the first part of the verse גוי אחד or גוי אחר. The verse asks the rhetorical question, who is like Israel, *the only* nation, for which (a) god went on to redeem to himself a people etc.; or for which other nation (a) god went on to redeem to himself a people. אלהים in this case cannot simply be a synonym of Yhwh, because the latter is addressed in a different manner in David's prayer. Further, should in this case (ה)אלהים denote simply Yhwh, it would be logical in the given context to understand it as an address and to read the preceding verb in 2nd person, as it is the case in LXX[L]. The reading אלהים in 2 Sam 7,23 is also in accord with אלהים in the preceding verse (cf. also the vocalization לֵאלֹהִים in 2 Sam 7,24 and 1 Chr 17,22, which in both cases corresponds to the reading of LXX εἰς θεόν; האלהים in 2 Sam 7,28 and 2 Chr 17,26 is probably linked to the fact that the sentence identifies Yahweh as the [only] God).

2 Sam 7,23MT is the only major textual witness that reads לעם; the other witnesses read merely עם (the reading of 4QSam[a] is not preserved). The reading לעם is strange in the given context. When in similar texts the idea that Yhwh establishes Israel as (his) people (לעם) is expressed by a transitive verb, the direct object is always articulated (Exod 6,7; Deut 28,9; 29,12; 1 Sam 12,22; 2 Sam 7,24 =1 Chr 17,22).[180] The reading עם is thus preferable; the secondary reading לעם is due to the influence of the aforementioned passages, especially 2 Sam 7,24.

As for the variation אחר/אחד at the beginning of the verse, many prefer the reading אחר (2 Sam 7LXX and perhaps also 1 Chr 17LXX), because this reading apparently fits better in the context.[181] We have seen, however, that at least in the final part of the verse, from the word לגרשך on, it is difficult to reconstruct the verse so that it would not turn to Yhwh in 2nd person and describe his powerful deeds for Israel. This indicates that even the part of the verse that speaks of God in 3rd person is also connected to Israel, which would rather suit the reading אחד. Otherwise we would

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[180] The reading לעם would perhaps be more convenient in connection to the reading הֹלְכוּ in the previous text, since the direct object of לפדות would then appear at least at the previous finite verb.

[181] Such is the argument of Barthélemy *et al.*, CTAT I, p. 247-248. A similar reading is also preferred by: Geiger, Urschrift, p. 288; Wellhausen, Text, p. 173; P. K. McCarter, II Samuel, p. 234.

have to say that אשר at the beginning of v. 23bα may had been understood in connection to Israel and not "another nation".

Moreover, N. Lohfink believes that the reading ומי כעמך (כ)ישראל גוי אחר בארץ is syntactically incorrect, since "[the] phrase *goy ʾacher baʾarets* (...) would have to stand immediately after *umi* (...), because in *mi* (who, what)-questions with comparisons, the words that come after *mi* and words that come after the comparison introduced by *ke* ('like, as') have different functions (cf. Mic. 7:18, where both positions are occupied)."[182] The evidence of BH approves Lohfink's thesis to a certain extent, but its witness is somewhat ambivalent. It is true that should in the *mî*-question a substantive express an element *a* (= the predicate that is as a rule thought not to exist), to which an element *b*, following the preposition כ, is compared, the element *a* usually occurs before כ. Such is the case in Job 34,7; Mic 7,18; Ps 77,14. The meaning of Deut 33,29 – מי ישראל אשריך כמוך עם נושע ביהוה מגן עזרך – is unclear from this perspective: should we understand עם נושע as an apposition to the pronominal suffix of 2nd p. sg., or as predicate to מי (according to this approach, כמוך would not be a predicate, but an extension of מי)?[183] The problem was already felt by some ancient readers, as may be seen in the reading of Samaritan Pentateuch העם הנושע (cf. Tg and Tg^J). Furthermore, Mic 7,18 and Neh 6,11 show that the word introduced by the preposition כ may be followed by words which (at least from the perspective of formal syntax) are either predicates to מי (Neh 6,11) or extend the predicate located between מי and כ (and are not an apposition to the word following כ).

On the other hand, even the reading אחד contains a syntactic-grammatical difficulty. The words גוי אחד בארץ have to be construed as apposition to (כ)ישראל, and consequently we would expect the noun and the numeral in the apposition to be determinate[184] (cf. e. g. בירושלם העיר אשר... in 1 Kgs 11,36; 14,21; 2 Chr 12,13).

Finally, it is worthwhile to note that Ezek 37,22MT contains the phrase לגוי אחד בארץ (LXX reads ἐν τῇ γῇ μου); N. Lohfink believes this verse

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[182] Lohfink – Bergman, אֶחָד, p. 198.

[183] Also the vocalization נוֹשַׁע is difficult in MT, where the word is undersood as a perfect of 3rd p. sg. Nielsen, Deuteronomium, p. 307, preserves the perfect and understands עַם נוֹשַׁע בַּיהֹוָה as a relative clause without אשר. Anyhow, the vocalization of נוֹשַׁע does not change much to our problem.

[184] GK § 131h

refs to 2 Sam 7,23.[185] Should he be right, Ezek 37,22 would be a proof of antiquity of the reading in 2 Sam 7,23. Unfortunately, I do not believe we could be certain that לגוי אחד בארץ in Ezek 37,22 is a reference to 2 Sam 7,23. Admittedly this phrase appears in the context of the promise of restoration of Israel under the eternal rule of Davidic king/prince, i. e. in the text that probably builds on the dynastic promise to David in 2 Sam 7; at the same time, it is also clear that the phrase גוי אחד בארץ has a different meaning here than in 2 Sam 7,23MT.

After this overview of the situation I find it difficult to decide whether the reading אחד or אחר is more original. The rhetorical construction of the section is obvious: 2 Sam 7,22 expresses the uniqueness of Yhwh and the two following verses depict the uniqueness of Israel. V. 23 uses the general term אלהים in the sense of (a) god, but it also tells the story of the exodus of Israel. This holds true no matter whether v. 23 says explicitly that Israel is the *only* nation on Earth, for which (a) god did these mighty deeds, or, on the contrary, v. 23 (at least in its first part) asks the rhetorical question whether there is any *other* nation, for which (a) god would do so. We have seen that the attested readings do not allow a reconstruction of the verse in a form that would not shift to 2nd person; the end of the verse, at least since the word לגרשך, speaks clearly of Yhwh and Israel. The reading "the only nation" makes this shift easier and if we add prominence to this wider context of the verse, the reading "the only nation" would probably seem better. It must be acknowledged, though, that the anacoluthon will remain in the text anyway, and this incoherence of the verse may be due to its literary development. A reconstruction of such development would be far too speculative and hypothetical.

The verse contains several minor variants that are difficult to evaluate: לשום / ולשום, the following word לך / לו, then לעשות / ולעשות and the question of presence of לך after פדית at the end of the verse. In the last example, the reading with לך seems preferable since this word is attested in the main textual witnesses of 2 Sam 7.[186] In the case of variant readings לעשות / ולעשות, we may argue that the more original reading was לעשות: according to this wording of the text, God made himself a name by doing great and awesome deeds (גדולת ונראות) in the supposedly most original

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[185] Lohfink – Bergman, אֶחָד, p. 199-200. Cf. Greenberg, Ezekiel 21–37, p. 756.

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

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reading). Later on, the text of MT evolved so that the clause וְלַעֲשׂוֹת לָכֶם הַגְּדוּלָה could have been understood as a kind of parallel to the previous clause (God made a name for himself and sovereignty for Israel ["you"]), to which corresponds the fact that the clauses were connected by the coordinative *waw*. As for the two remaining problems (לשום / ולשום, the following word לך / לו) I am unable to determine which reading is better. The reading לו seems more logical in relation to the previous text, but since it is not possible to reconstruct the text in the second part of the verse in a manner that would not turn to God in the 2nd p. sg., it is difficult to say where the 2nd person appears for the first time.

Verse 24:
וַתִּכוֹנֵן; 1 Chr 17,22 וַתִּתֵּן.
S ≠ C (i)

לְךָ (1); missing in 1 Chr 17,22. See the following note.
S ≠ C (i)

לְךָ (2); missing in LXX, Vg.
MT with two occurrences of לך is probably secondary. Impossible to determine which occurrence of לך is more original.
SMT C ≠ SLXX (i)

לְעָם; LXX^B λαòν (in numerous other Mss, however, the word is preceded by εἰς); similarly 1Chr 17,22LXX.
There probably is not a *Vorlage* different from MT behind LXX of the two passages.

הָיִיתָ; missing in 1 Chr 17,22LXX. Several mss add either ἐγένου or ἐγενήθης (see the apparatus in Brooke – McLean – Thackeray).
At any rate, in the Hebrew text of 2 Sam 7,23, the longer reading is preferable.
S CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

Verse 25:

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

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

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

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

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (i)

הַדָּבָר; 1 Chr 17,23LXX ὁ λόγος σου.
S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

עַל־עַבְדְּךָ; 1 Chr 17,23LXX πρὸς τὸν παῖδά σου.
The *waw* in ועל ביתו, attested in all principal witnesses, proves that the preposition על is correct.
S CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

הָקֶם; LXX πίστωσον; LXX^L πιστωθήτω; 1 Chr 17,23MT יֵאָמֵן; 1 Chr 17,23LXX πιστωθήτω.

The reading of 2 Sam 7,25LXX seems to presuppose האמן. LXX^L πιστωθήτω corresponds to יֵאָמֵן, attested also in Chronicles. LXX's presupposed reading האמן is odd, because אמן hiphil is normally not used as a transitive verb[187] (cf., however, Jug 11,20; Job 15,22), and it does not mean "to confirm" or "to make permanent."[188] In any case, this reading suggests that the Chronicler read the root אמן in his version of 2 Sam 7. It seems likely that the reconstructed האמן, since it is an erroneous reading, presupposes an earlier reading יאמן (that would mean the Chronicler could

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[187] Murray, Prerogative, p. 82.
[188] Jepsen, אָמַן, p. 298–309, concluding that "[o]ne hardly does justice to the meaning of *heʾemin* by taking the hiphil causatively or declaratively."

have quite probably read יאמן in his text of Samuel). The existence of יאמן in the text of 2 Sam 7 is actually confirmed by the reading of LXX*L*. The reading האמן could have developed from יאמן simply by a scribal mistake[189], or as a conscious attempt to reach a compromise between the competing readings הקם and יאמן. It is noteworthy, in this respect, that 1 Chr 17,24MT contains at the beginning of the verse the word ויאמן which is probably secondary. The explanation suggests itself that the word originated from a variant or corrective reading that was included above the line or on the margin and that formerly belonged to the first word of 2 Sam 7,25aγ or 1 Chr 17,23aγ. For instance, it could be imagined that an ancestor ms of MT of 1 Chronicles (a ms of either Samuel or Chronicles) contained the reading יאמן in the text and the reading האמן as a correction or a variant above the line. The variant was later understood as ויאמן and as a part of the text of the following verse.[190] We may only speculate about the concrete manner of intrusion of ויאמן into the text of 1 Chr 17,24MT, but the fact that this word was inserted into the text due to the existence of a scribal note appended to the discussed variant in the previous verse is quite likely.

It is difficult to decide which reading of הקם and יאמן is more original. Interesting parallels may be adduced in favor of both readings. Murray regards the reading הקם as indirectly confirmed by 1 Kgs 8,20;[191] furthermore, the same phrase is used in the same or a similar context in 1 Kgs 2,4; 6,12; Jer 33,14. On the other hand, the reading יאמן finds parallels in 1 Kgs 8,26 (= 2 Chr 6,17); 1 Chr 1,9.

The fact that the verb is followed by עד עולם might be understood as an indication in favour of the reading יאמן. On the other hand, it could be argued that the reading הקם is rhetorically stronger – in 2Sam 7,25MT, David reminds Yhwh of his promise and forces him to keep his word. As such, this reading corresponds to the context, because the strategy of compelling Yhwh to keep the dynastic promise determines the whole of vv. 25–29. D. F. Murray thinks that יאמן is secondary, "intending to tone down the boldness of the petition."[192] This may well be the case, especially

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[189] For possible cases of substitutions י → ה a ה → י see Delitzsch, Schreibfehler, p. 116, 114.

[190] For the interchange ה – וי see Delitzsch, Schreibfehler, p. 120.

[191] Murray, Prerogative, p. 83.

[192] So Murray, Prerogative, p. 83.

if we take into the account that the following imperative clause in MT ועשה כאשר דברת does not appear in LXX either, since the latter reads here καὶ νῦν καθὼς ἐλάλησας … (= ועתה כאשר דברת; see below for this variant).

SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (t?, n?)

עַד־עוֹלָם; after this word, LXX[B] reads κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὲ τοῦ Ισραηλ; it is omitted in LXX[AMNL].

The plus is secondary; the presence of two addresses in one verbal clause would be entirely exceptional in this prayer. P. K. McCarter regards these words as a "remnant of a misplaced correction of that MT's long haplography in vv. 26-27."[193] Yet, as the following variant καὶ νῦν seems to be linked to the presence of this interpolated address (see below), the insertion most likely was present in OG and even in its *Vorlage*. The inner Greek developments in these verses are shortly discussed below in the note concerning the large minus in vv. 26-27LXX[B].

SMT C ≠ SLXX (int?)

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

S CMT ≠ CLXX (n)

וַעֲשֵׂה; LXX καὶ νῦν; LXX[L] καὶ … ποίησον; LXX[A] καὶ ποίησον, the same reading appears in Aquila and Symmachus (for more variants in the Greek manuscript tradition, see the apparatus in Brooke – MᶜLean – Thackeray).

The reading ועשה is more original; in the given context, the basic meaning of 2 Sam 7,25-26MT clearly makes more sense than the text of LXX[B]. The reading καὶ νῦν (= ועתה) looks like a scribal mistake; there are, however, other variant readings in LXX which seem to be somehow connected to it. The shift from ועשה to ועתה is easier to imagine, if, as is the case in LXX[B], this word is distanced from the previous verb due to an insertion of the lengthy address יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל (κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὲ τοῦ Ισραηλ), especially if this preceding verb is not an imperative of 2ⁿᵈ p. sg. הקם (2 Sam 7,25MT) or האמן (OG's *Vorlage* in 2

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[193] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 235. Similarly Pisano, Additions, p. 279.

Sam 7,25?), but a jussive of 3rd p. sg. יאמן (1 Chr 17,23MT; perhaps also the reading of an ancestor manuscript in the tradition leading to the *Vorlage* of 2 Reigns?). Finally, the reading of 2 Sam 7,26LXX^B μεγαλυνθείη (against ויגדל in MT) corresponds to the (secondary) reading καὶ νῦν καθὼς ἐλάλησας at the end of the previous verse.

Due to these seemingly minor scribal variants, the meaning of LXX ("and now, as you have spoken, let your name be magnified forever") differs significantly from the meaning of MT ("and do as you have spoken [concerning David's house]. And your name will be magnified forever"). This change is in accordance with the shift from imperative הקם to jussive יאמן in v. 25. It is therefore possible that the shift from ועשה to ועתה was not a consequence of an accidental scribal substitution of two letters (I do not know of any other proof of the interchange ת – ש), but a deliberate change of the text's meaning, with as little intrusion into the consonant text as possible.[194]

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX(missing) (tn?)

Verse 26:

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

G. Knoppers suggested that the reading of 2 Sam 7,26 may have resulted from a haplography owing to homoioarcton (from ויאמן to ויגדל).[195] ויאמן in 1 Chr 17,24MT is often regarded as secondary, though; the idea that the name of Yhwh would be "stable" seems quite strange. I indicated above the manner in which this ויאמן could have appeared in the text of 1 Chr 17,24.

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX(missing) (n)

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

As explained above, the shorter, secondary, reading of LXX^B is linked to other secondary variants in LXX^B in the previous verse, most importantly the reading καὶ νῦν (= ועתה) in place of ועשה. In LXX^L, the words καὶ νῦν (= ועתה), correctly suppressed in the previous clause, reappear in this place.

SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX(still missing) (tn?)

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[194] For the phenomenon, see Hutzli, Textänderungen, p. 236.
[195] Knoppers, I Chronicles 10–29, p. 680.

לֵאמֹר; missing in LXX[BA].

McCarter considers the shorter reading as more original and understands the following words in MT as an address, not as a nominal clause.[196] The problem should be treated together with the large minus in LXX[B] in the following text, for which see below.

לֵאמֹר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהִים עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבֵית עַבְדְּךָ דָוִד יִהְיֶה נָכוֹן לְפָנֶיךָ: כִּי־אַתָּה; this text is missing in LXX[B] and is supplemented in LXX[LO] (see the apparatus in Brooke – McLean – Thackeray for variants within the added text). 4QSam[a] is very fragmentary here, but it is clear that the text contained the long reading; the editors of the scroll in DJD reconstruct the text as identical with MT.

A few scholars considered the short text more original[197], but the majority of commentators, if they treat this variation at all, consider the longer text more original. The short text is therefore regarded as a result of haplography.[198] According to P. Dhorme, haplography occurred due to homioteleuton at יהוה צבאות, which is plausible since θεὸς Ισραηλ in 2 Sam 7,27aLXX[B] corresponds to אלהי ישראל in 2 Sam 7,27aMT, not to אלהים על ישראל in v. 26MT (assuming that the text where haplography happened corresponded to MT in this respect). In the main, the longer text seems better since in LXX[B] the beginning of v. 27 with the extended address and the following verbal form of 2nd person (κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ισραηλ ἀπεκάλυψας = יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל גליתה) seems somewhat clumsy, while MT with the preceding כי אתה is smoother and more in accordance with the rhetoric and the argument of the verse. The simplest explanation is that the text attested in LXX[B] originated (at least partially) from the omission of the text present in MT.

But as already S. Pisano pointed out, if we take MT for our starting point, the emergence of LXX[B] cannot be explained by mere haplography, because the latter lacks any reflex of לאמר.[199] Pisano believes that לאמר may have been deliberately omitted in the *Vorlage* of LXX (Pisano does not explain why; perhaps because the scribe understood the following words as

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[196] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 235.
[197] Budde, Samuel, p. 237.
[198] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 235; Murray, Prerogative, p. 83; Pisano, Additions, p. 277–281.
[199] Pisano, Additions, p. 278.

David's address of Yhwh?), but on that occasion more of the text than the scribe expected was omitted due to haplography. In Pisano's words, "the absence of this MT plus in B is due to homeoarcton at יהוה צבאות"[200] (materially, it is the same explanation as that given by Dhorme who used the term homoioteleuton). "Then later κυριε παντοκρατωρ θεε του Ισραηλ was re-inserted into the text represented by LXX[B], but after the εως του αιωνος of v.25 instead of after εως αιωνος of v.26, thus accounting for the plus in cod B in v.25 which is not shared by Ant or by cod A."[201]

This last point of Pisano's interpretation, i. e. his evaluation of κυριε παντοκρατωρ θεε του Ισραηλ as a secondary re-insertion into the Greek text seems problematic. LXX[B] and LXX[A] are as follows:

LXX[B]: [25]καὶ νῦν κύριέ μου ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησας περὶ τοῦ δούλου σου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ πίστωσον ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὲ τοῦ Ισραηλ καὶ νῦν καθὼς ἐλάλησας [26]μεγαλυνθείη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἕως αἰῶνος [27]κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ισραηλ ἀπεκάλυψας τὸ ὠτίον τοῦ δούλου σου...

LXX[A] [25]καὶ νῦν κύριέ μου ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησας περὶ τοῦ δούλου σου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ πίστωσον ἕως αἰῶνος καὶ ποίησον καθὼς ἐλάλησας [26]καὶ μεγαλυνθείη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἕως αἰῶνος κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ισραηλ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ δούλου σου Δαυειδ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος ἐνώπιόν σου [27]ὅτι κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ισραηλ καὶ νῦν καθὼς ἐλάλησας μεγαλυνθείη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἕως αἰῶνος λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ισραηλ ἀπεκάλυψας τὸ ὠτίον τοῦ δούλου σου...

In v. 25, LXX[A] contains καὶ ποίησον instead of καὶ νῦν, thus a reading closer to MT than LXX[B]. Then in v. 26, LXX[A] contains MT's plus (apart from לאמר), and at the beginning of the verse, it reads καὶ μεγαλυνθείη, again in agreement with MT's ויגדל (LXX[B] contains only μεγαλυνθείη). In v. 27, however, LXX[A] repeats vv. 25b-26aα in the form identical to LXX[B]. The text of LXX[A], reflecting a hexaplaric recension, therefore contains both the OG form of 25b-26aα and the newer form of vv. 25-27 that was brought nearer to MT. It is conspicuous that the OG variant of vv.

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[200] Pisano, Additions, p. 279.
[201] Pisano, Additions, p. 279.

25b–26aα appears in LXX^A in v. 27 after the address κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ισραηλ. There is no obvious reason for locating the second part of the doublet at this place, but we may notice in this respect that in LXX^B the verses 25b–26aα are preceded by the plus of this codex κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὲ τοῦ Ισραηλ, i. e. the variant of the form of address after which the OG variant of vv. 25b–26aα is located in v. 27LXX^A. The OG variant of vv. 25b–26aα is in v. 27LXX^A located after the address κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ισραηλ probably for the reason that vv. 25b–26aα were located after a similar address in LXX before the origin of the doublet attested in LXX^A. The text of LXX^A therefore probably presupposes the existence of the plus κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὲ τοῦ Ισραηλ in v. 25; the absence of an extended form of address in v. 25aLXX^A should be understood as a part of the remaining modifications which bring the Greek text of vv. 25-27 closer to MT, not as a proof of the existence of OG without this plus in v. 25a.

Besides, the idea that κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὲ τοῦ Ισραηλ in v. 25LXX^B is a result of an attempt to restore the substantial omission in vv. 26-27 is questionable in general, both if this re-insertion occurred in the Greek or the Hebrew text. Should the scribe attempt to insert the missing text from v. 26-27, he would primarily complete v. 26b, not merely the extended address which, after all, appears also in v. 27. P. K. McCarter regards this plus in LXX^B as a "remnant of a misplaced correction of that MS's long haplography in vv. 26-27," thereby suggesting that originally the correction was more extensive. That is very hypothetical though, since we would have to suppose that after this correction, the identical(!) text that was already lost once in the short text represented by LXX^B got lost again from a different location. It seems we could argue for this evolution of the text with the help of mss hva₂ (+ the Ethiopic version)[202], reading in this section κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ισραηλ (+καὶ h) ὁ οἶκος τοῦ δούλου σου Δαυειδ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος (+εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα a₂) ἐνώπιόν σου. Actually, however, this reading should certainly be understood differently. In the major text of LXX a restoration of the missing text occurred in vv. 26-27, and the mss hva₂ merely provide a type of the (restored) text in which haplography occurred between the occurrences of the word αἰῶνος in v. 25 and v. 26.

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

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

If we suppose that both the plus attested in v. 25aLXX[B] and the minus attested in vv. 26-27LXX[B] originated from mistakes in the process of transmission, a concrete mechanism of such a development is unclear.[203] The mentioned developments would be easier if in the text that was a part of the developmental line leading to the *Vorlage* of LXX, there was no לאמר in v. 26, and there was אלהי ישראל in v. 26aγ rather than אלהים לישראל or על ישראל. The reading אלהי ישראל is attested in 1 Chr 17,24LXX and as one of the two readings in 1 Chr 17,24MT. A reading without לאמר is not attested in any of the major textual witnesses that provide the longer text in v 2 Sam 7,26-27 and 1 Chr 17,24-25 (it is, of course missing in 2 Sam 7LXX[B]). Despite that, we may easily imagine how the omission occurred. The vocatives κύριε κύριε in 1 Chr 17,24LXX show that the entire formulation κύριε κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ισραηλ was probably understood as an address, not a nominal sentence, as is the case in 2 Sam 7,26MT. But the understanding of 2 Sam 7,26aβ-γ as an address would, of course, invite to omit the preceding לאמר (this, however, did not happen in 1 Chr 17,24LXX). Simultaneously, the understanding of 2 Sam 7,26aβ-γ as an address would facilitate the shift from אלהי ישראל to (אלהים לישראל or אלהים על ישראל) (this process is perhaps attested in 1 Chr 17,24LXX, see below).

Pisano's proposition, that לאמר could have been deliberately omitted in the *Vorlage* of LXX, and on this occasion a larger segment of the text than the scribe expected was omitted due to a mistake (haplography), seems like a plausible scenario.

I find it also possible, however, that the large omission of text in the *Vorlage* of OG did not occur due to a scribal mistake but deliberately, since this minus in LXX[B] may be connected to some other conspicuous variants. This alternative explanation that understands the minus of LXX[B] as a part of a systematic redaction in the *Vorlage* of OG is discussed at the close of this chapter.

SMT ≠ SLXX (tn?)

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[203] Cf. the attempt at such description in Murray, Prerogative, p. 83.

יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל Ms ;יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהִים עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
‏4QSam[a] [ראל]יהוה צבא[ות אֱלוֹהִים עַל יִשׂ ;1 Chr 17,24MT יְהוָה
‏1 Chr 17,24LXX κύριε κύριε צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֱלֹהִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל;
παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ισραηλ.

The plus in 1 Chr 17,24MT seems clumsy; it may be due to dittography, yet it also may conserve (voluntarily or not) two variant readings.[204] The latter explanation may find some support in the fact that 1 Chr 17,24LXX θεὸς Ισραηλ seems to correspond to the first member of MT's "double reading", i. e. the element different from 2 Sam 7,26MT (and apparently from 4QSam[a] as well). The double reading of 1 Chr 17,24MT would therefore constitute a kind of analogue to other passages, where, as we have seen, 1 Chronicles 17MT provides a text that somewhat presupposes the existence of the reading attested in 1 Chronicles 17LXX, while not being identical with it.

The double κύριε κύριε has nothing to commend itself.[205]

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

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

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[204] Similarly Knoppers, I Chronicles 10–29, p. 680. I don't understand, however, why Knoppers says that both readings are "found in the textual witnesses to Samuel."

[205] Allen, Chronicles I, p. 194, believes that the doublet resulted from an attempt to restore κύριε in v. 25 after σύ. For the situation there, see below.

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

Other differences: SMT 4QSamᵃ ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX ≠ SLXX(missing) (i)

דָּוִיד עַבְדְּךָ; 1 Chr 17,24 עַבְדְּךָ דָוִד. As it is common in similar cases, it is better to prefer the reading of 2 Sam 7.

SMT ≠ C ≠ SLXX(missing) (i)

יִהְיֶה; missing in 1 Chr 17,24.

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

SMT ≠ C ≠ SLXX(missing) (i)

לְפָנֶיךָ; one Massoretic ms add לעולם; similarly Syr ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬ ܡܪܝܐ; Tgᴹˢ קְדָמָךְ עַד עָלְמָא.

It is not implausible that לעולם was lost through homoioarcton. It is, however, more likely that לעולם at the end of the verse appeared secondarily under the influence of other instances of עד עולם and לעולם in 2 Sam 7, mainly those in vv. 16 a 29. The addition of לעולם in some of the textual witnesses draws our attention to the structure of the shorter, more original, text. לעולם is not present there because both Yhwh's rule over Israel (v. 26aβ-γ) and the firmness of David's house (26b) are symptoms of the greatness of the name of Yhwh, which should be glorified forever in this manner (עד עולם 26aα). MT's majority reading is not short of לעולם at the end of the verse, לעולם in this place is on the contrary redundant.

Verse 27:

יהוה]; 4QSamᵃ [יש[ראל] אלוהי צבאות; יְהוָֹה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 1 Chr 17,25MT אֱלֹהַי; 1 Chr 17,25LXXᴮ omits any address except the preceding σύ; 1 Chr 17,25LXXᴬ and some other mss read κύριε, while the majority of Greek mss have κύριε ὁ θεὸς μου.

G. Knoppers incorrectly attributes the reading κύριε ὁ θεὸς μου to 1 Chr 17,25LXX[B], considering it the most original reading and translating the beginning of 1 Chr 17,25 as a nominal clause: "indeed, you are Yhwh my God"[206], which, in my view, hardly fits in to the context. He regards 1 Chr 17,25MT as a result of haplography. Knoppers believes that the longer reading of 2 Sam 7 is expansionist, "probably under the influence of the divine epithets in the previous verse."

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

SMT 4QSam[a] SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

לִבְנוֹת לוֹ בָּיִת 1 Chr 17,25; לֵאמֹר בַּיִת אִבְנֶה־לָּךְ.

A typical case of synonymous readings in 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17. The reading in Samuel must be preferred. Certain clumsiness of 1 Chr 17,25a suggests that it is a result of a slightly negligent simplification.[207]

S ≠ C (i)

אֶת־לִבּוֹ; missing in 1 Chr 17,25; LXX[L] adds ἐν θεῷ.

Since in the context of David's prayer in 2 Sam 7 the point is clearly to find the courage to ask for an eternal dynasty, the longer reading seems preferable. And as it is not clear how could את לבו be lost from the text, the reading of 1 Chr 17,25 is probably (an intentional) ellipsis.[208] The plus in LXX[L] is a pious addition.

S ≠ C (ni?)

לְפָנֶיךָ 1 Chr 17,25 לְךָ Ms; לפניך Ms; אֵלֶיךָ.

Theoretically, we might speculate that the majority text of MT + LXX in 2 Sam 7 is attempting to avoid the image of David praying "before Yhwh." That, however, does not seem likely in view of v. 18 where David in MT "sits before Yhwh." לפניך in a single(!) Masoretic manuscript may

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[206] Knoppers, I Chronicles 10–29, p. 680.

[207] Cf. Murray, Prerogative, p. 84, considering the Chronicles' reading as part "of a pronounced tendency in Chronicles to abbreviate the text in the closing verses of the prayer."

[208] Pace Knoppers, I Chronicles 10–29, p. 680.

be either a result of the influence of v. 18 (and other occurrences of this preposition in v 2 Sam 7), or of the reading of 1 Chr 17,25. In 2 Sam 7,25, אליך, attested by MT and LXX, is more original. The reading לפניך in 1 Chr 17,25 is probably an innovation by the Chronicler, who substituted the whole of אליך את התפלה הזאת by it (see the following note).

S ≠ C (i)

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

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

S ≠ C (i)

Verse 28:

יְהוָֹה יֱהֹוִֽה; אֲדֹנָי יֱהֹוִֽה; nonn mss יהוה אלהים; 1 Chr 17,26.

The reading יהוה אלהים probably emerged from the *qere* of the majority reading אדני יהוה, for which also LXX's κύριέ μου κύριε testifies. The reading of 1 Chr 17,26 is synonymous. As it is clear that the Chronicler did make omissions in this part of the prayer, it is difficult to defend 1 Chr 17,26 as *lectio brevior*. The reading אדני יהוה is preferable.

S ≠ C (i)

הָאֱלֹהִים; 1 Chr 17,26LXX θεὸς.
S CMT ≠ CLXX (i)

וּדְבָרֶיךָ יִהְיוּ אֱמֶת; missing in 1 Chr 17,26. The first word is attested in 4QSamᵃ.

The clause perfectly corresponds to the rhetoric deployment of David's prayer and is usually considered original. The omission in Chronicles is sometimes thought to be due to homoioarcton (from ודבריך to ותדבר)[209],

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[209] Knoppers, I Chronicles 10–29, p. 681;, Murray, Prerogative, p. 84.

but, again, it may be an intentional shortening.[210] Since the conditions for haplography are not perfect, I find the second description more probable.

S ≠ C (i)

וַתְּדַבֵּר֙; LXX^L καθὼς ἐλάλησας.

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

אֶל; LXX ὑπὲρ; 1 Chr 17,26 עַל.

The same situation as in the case of 2 Sam 7,19. Again, LXX's reading indicates that על was present in Chronicles' source. I believe we cannot determine which reading is older with certainty, but I tend to prefer the reading על. The formulation דִּבֶּר טוֹבה (טוב) appears only with the preposition על, either if the phrase means "to speak on behalf of" (Jer 18,20; Esth 7,9) or rather "to promise good" (Num 10,29; 1 S 25,30; Jer 32,42).[211] Similarly, דִּבֶּר רעה is frequent with the preposition על (1 Kgs 22,23; Jer 11,17; 18,8; 19,15; 26,13.19; 16,10; 35,17), even if, admittedly, it also appears with אל (Jer 36,31; 40,2MT – yet in the corresponding text, 47,2LXX has ἐπὶ, presupposing על, which seems preferable in this case).

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

SMT ≠ SLXX C (n)

אֶת; missing in 1 Chr 17,26.
Synonymous readings, i. e. that of 2 Sam 7,28 should be preferred.
S ≠ C (i)

Verse 29:
הוֹאַ֗ל; 4QSam^a הואל; 1 Chr 17,27MT הוֹאַ֙לְתָּ֙; 1 Chr 17,27LXX^B ἤρξαι; 1 Chr 17,27LXX^{rell} ἤρξω.

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[210] Suggested by Murray, Prerogative, p. 84, as an alternative explanation.

[211] Note, however, that דִּבֶּר טובות, presumably meaning "speak kindly" appears with אל in Jer 12,6 (and with אֶת in 2 Kgs 25,28 = Jer 52,32), and the phrase דִּבֶּר רע או טוב appears with אל in Gen 24,50.

The reading of 1 Chr 17,27LXX[B] ἤρξαι presupposes הוֹאֵל understood as an inf.[212] Taking context into account, the 2 Sam 7 reading, i.e. the imperative (or the inf. abs. with the imperative meaning), seems more original. The situation in 1 Chr 17 is not perfectly clear – does LXX[B] reflect the more original text and the shift to imperfect is an innovation of MT, or rather on the contrary the *Vorlage* of LXX[B] was secondarily influenced by 2 Sam 7? The second possibility is more plausible.[213]

SMT 4QSam[a] SLXX CLXX ≠ CMT (i)

וּבָרֵךְ ;4QSam[a] וברך; 1 Chr 17,27MT לְבָרֵךְ; 1 Chr 17,27LXX[B] εὐλογῆσαι; 1 Chr 17,27LXX[AN rell] pr τοῦ.

If the reading of 2 Sam 7 is more original in case of the preceding word, it should be the same in this case. Again, there is the question how to evaluate variants in v 1 Chr 17.

SMT 4QSam[a] SLXX ≠ CMT CLXX (i [between S and C]).

אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה ;pc mss יהוה אלהים; 1 Chr 17,27MT יְהוָה; missing in 1 Chr 17,27LXX[B], the remaining mss reading κύριε in agreement with 1 Chr 17,27MT.

The situation should be evaluated similarly to that at the beginning of the previous verse. The reading יהוה אלהים probably originated from the *qere* of MT's majority reading אדני יהוה which is also supported by LXX's κύριέ μου κύριε. The original reading of 1 Chr 17,27 should be regarded as synonymous to 2 Sam 7, but it is not entirely clear whether in 1 Chr 17,27 the more original reading is יהוה or a form of address containing mere pronoun, as is the case in LXX[B]. It seems more likely that in 1 Chr 17,27, MT provides the more original reading. But LXX[B] represents here OG; the omission of יהוה from LXX's *Vorlage* may be due to haplography after אתה.[214]

Anyway, again the fact is that since the Chronicler apparently was shortening the text in this part of the prayer, we may hardly defend the

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

[213] Regarding assimilation in 1 Chr 17LXX to 2 Sam 7 in general, see below.

[214] So also Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 681.

reading of 1 Chr 17,26 as *lectio brevior*. The reading אדני יהוה is preferable.

S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (i, n)

בְּרַכְתָּ 1 Chr 17,27 ;וְדִבַּרְתָּ.

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

S ≠ C (i)

וּמִבִּרְכָתְךָ יְבֹרַךְ 4QSamᵃ [ ] [ומ]ברכתך ;(ומ) LXX καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλογίας σου (> LXXᴮ) εὐλογηθήσεται; 1 Chr 17,27MT וּמְבֹרָךְ; 1 Chr 17,27LXX καὶ εὐλόγησον.

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

The clumsy reading of 1 Chr 17,27MT is manifestly secondary in respect to 2 Sam 7, the only question being whether it is another case of the Chronicler's shortening at the end of the prayer or a scribal mistake. In the second case, it was a parablepsis, with the scribe's eye passing over from one word of the root ברך to the other (simultaneously, the words בית עבדך which follow in 2 Sam 7,29 could be omitted from 1 Chr 17,27 due to homoioteleuton – see the following note). The resulting phrase can be compared to Num 22,6 (את אשר תברך מברך); yet the text in 1 Chr 17,27bMT may also be understood as "you have blessed and are blessed for ever."[215]

The reading of 1 Chr 17,27LXX is probably secondary in comparison with 1 Chr 17,27MT. Since 1 Chr 17,27 lacked בית עבדך which follows in 2 Sam 7, the verse 1 Chr 17,27b was probably considered too elliptical (מברך *was not* related to Yhwh) and the second form from the root ברך was changed to an imperative. The question remains whether this change occurred in the *Vorlage* of 1 Chr 17,27LXX or it is the work of the translator.

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[215] The last mentioned understanding of the text is suggested by Knoppers, I Chronicles 10–29, p. 681.

SMT (4QSamᵃ) SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX (ni? [the difference between S and C])

בֵית־עַבְדְּךָ; missing in 1 Chr 17,27.

The variant in 1 Chr 17,27 again begs the question, if it is due to intentional reducing or to haplography through homoioteleuton.[216]

S ≠ C (in?)

1.1.2 The meaning of the chapter in the main textual witnesses and the chronology of the alleged "editions" of the text

In the preceding notes I have not dealt with a few important textual variants that affect the overall meaning of Nathan's oracle or of the whole chapter. Since there can be a relation between the emergence of some of these variants in some witness(es), it seems appropriate to treat them together.

In essence, the texts differ chiefly in the question of *who* is going to build *what* for *whom* according to 2 Sam 7,11b / 1 Chr 17,10b. Scholars connect the variants in this half-verse with other variant readings, mainly in 2 Sam 7,5b / 1 Chr 17,3b and 2 Sam 7,16 / 1 Chr 17,14. The following paragraphs summarize the most important differences between the textual witnesses that played a role in the recent discussion on the most original text of 2 Sam 7 and its subsequent development.[217]

2 Sam 7MT

2 Sam 7,11bMT reads וְהִגִּיד לְךָ יְהֹוָה כִּי־בַיִת יַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ יְהוָה – "and Yhwh declares to you that Yhwh will make you a house." Yhwh's pledge to David to build a house (= a dynasty) for him in 2 Sam 7MT can be understood as a pointed contrast to the rhetorical question in v. 5: הַאַתָּה תִּבְנֶה־לִּי בַיִת לְשִׁבְתִּי – "do you build me a house for my dwelling in?". The text thus contains a pun, playing with the ambiguity of the word בית which denotes temple in v. 5b and dynasty in v. 11b, and the promise of a

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[216] The latter is argued by McKenzie, Use, p. 52–53.

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

dynasty is also formulated as a somewhat contrasting answer to David's rejected plan to build a temple to Yhwh. As put by Wellhausen, "Not David to Yahweh, but Yahweh to David will build a house."[218] V. 16 is in accord with this basic meaning of MT: "your [David's] house and your kingdom will be sure forever before you. Your throne shall be established forever" (וְנֶאְמַ֤ן בֵּֽיתְךָ֙ וּמַֽמְלַכְתְּךָ֛ עַד־עוֹלָ֖ם לְפָנֶ֑יךָ כִּסְאֲךָ֕ יִהְיֶ֥ה נָכ֖וֹן עַד־עוֹלָֽם)[219].

2 Sam 7LXX

LXX provides a different text in all the three instances. According to 2 Sam 7,11LXX, the Lord will announce to David, that David will build a house, meaning temple, for the Lord (καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ). The Lord then seems to support David's original plan. V. 5b in LXX is not, like in MT, formulated as a rhetorical question, but rather as an indicative sentence, an announcement to David that he will not be the one to build the temple (it is implied it will be someone else) οὐ σὺ οἰκοδομήσεις μοι οἶκον τοῦ κατοικῆσαί με. As to the builder of the temple, the statements of v. 5b and v. 11b seem to be in blatant contradiction. Still, W. Schniedewind believes, that, in opposition to MT, there is a "pro-temple *tendenz*"[220] in both of these variants of LXX. While in MT, v. 5b questions David's plan to build a house for God where the latter would dwell or sit enthroned, the Greek text speaks merely of the postponement of David's plan. V. 11b in LXX is not a promise of the long life of David's dynasty, but rather an announcement of the building of a temple by David. Neither is David's dynasty mentioned in v. 16 of LXX, as instead of 2nd p. suffixes that would refer to David (as in MT), there are 3rd p. pronouns referring to David's descendant (Solomon): καὶ πιστωθήσεται ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.[221] LXX is then most likely to mention Solomon's house in v. 16, and there is no explicit mention of David's house in the whole Nathan's oracle in LXX.

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[218] Wellhausen, Composition, str. 257.

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

[220] Schniedewind, Criticism.

[221] LXX[B] has ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ, in contrast to MT's לפניך, for which see above.

2 Sam 7LXX[L]

In the Antiochian text of the Greek Bible, 2 Sam 7,11b reads καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει ἑαυτῷ – "and the Lord will tell you that he will build a house to himself." There is still no mention of David's dynasty in v. 11b, the builder of the temple being Yhwh himself. The reading of vv. 5b in LXX[L] is in accord with the majority text of LXX, therefore the combination of v. 5b and v. 11b leads to the statement that the temple is not to be built by David, but by Yhwh himself. In v. 16, the Antiochian text speaks, like the rest of LXX, of the house of David's descendant, so neither here does Nathan's oracle mention "the house of David".

1 Chr 17MT

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

v. 4b: לֹא אַתָּה תִּבְנֶה־לִּי הַבַּיִת לָשָׁבֶת

v. 10b: וָאַגִּד לָךְ וּבַיִת יִבְנֶה־לְּךָ יְהוָה

v. 14 וְהַעֲמַדְתִּיהוּ בְּבֵיתִי וּבְמַלְכוּתִי עַד־הָעוֹלָם וְכִסְאוֹ יִהְיֶה נָכוֹן עַד־עוֹלָם:

Yhwh promises then in v. 10b that he will build a house (a dynasty) for David. Strictly speaking, according to the Masoretic pointing וָאַגִּד Yhwh gave the promise back in the past. But in v. 14 the word בית does not denote a "dynasty". Here Yhwh promises that he will appoint David's descendant forever in his, that is Yhwh's, house and in his kingdom.[222] In the second part of the verse 14, the eternal firmness is promised to the throne of David's descendant (= Solomon).

In comparison with 2 Sam 7MT, 1 Chr 17MT contains several other important differences in other parts of the text. In 2 Sam 7MT the combining effect of v. 5b and v. 13a creates a contrast between the house where Yhwh would reside or sit enthroned, the building of which is rejected, and a house for the name of Yhwh to be built by a descendant of David.[223] In 1 Chr 17, this difference between the rejected house and the house to be built is not present. V. 4b does not contain, unlike 2 Sam 7,5bMT, the rhetorical question rejecting David's plan to build a house for Yhwh for his dwelling in. Similarly to 2 Sam 7,5bLXX, 1 Chr 17,4b merely

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[222] For more on the promise see Schenker, Verheissung, p. 182; McKenzie, David, p. 223.

[223] For a more thorough discussion of the text see below.

states that the house for Yhwh will not be built by David. Later on, v. 12a reads הוּא יִבְנֶה־לִּי בָּיִת. Therefore, in 1 Chr 17,4b.12a, the point is merely the postponement of the planned construction of the house.

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

1 Chr 17LXX

As in 1 Chr 17MT, neither in 1 Chr 17LXX is there a difference in the function of the temple that David had the intention to build and the temple that would be built by his descendant, so the rejection of David's plan is only its postponement. Similarly as in v 1 Chr 17MT, it is quite clear in 1 Chr 17LXX that the referent of τὸ σπέρμα in vv. 11-14 is David's son Solomon.

Whether 1 Chr 17LXX has actually a different meaning than 1 Chr 17MT depends on which text are we reading in 1 Chr 17,10bLXX. A. Schenker regards as the original Greek text the reading contained in mss B, S and 127: καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σε κύριος – "and I will increase you, and the Lord will build you."[224] Thus in place of MT's ואגד לך, LXX reads one word ואגדלך. More importantly, this Greek reading seems to have no equivalent for MT's word ובית, the object of οἰκοδομήσει being David himself. Schenker paraphrases this statement as "und der Herr wird für dich, deine Prosperität und Sicherheit sorgen"; he finds parallels for the phrase "to build someone" in Jer 24,6; 33,7; Ps 28,5. Therefore he believes the issue is the promise to David, but not a dynastic

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[224] Schenker, Verheissung, p. 182-185.

promise. Since v. 14 has a similar meaning in LXX and MT, Nathan's oracle in 1 Chr 17LXX would not include an explicit dynastic promise to David nor Solomon.

According to A. Schenker, the most original text of 1 Chr 17,10bLXX presupposes a Hebrew *Vorlage* יבנה לך יהוה or ויבנך יהוה, and he regards this shorter text as older than MT's reading mentioning the "house." But the form of v. 10b is not uniform in the manuscript tradition of LXX. Mss A, N and several minuscules have the reading καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σοι, ms f reads καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος and the noun οἶκος is present in many other mss, mostly after the pronoun σοι. In the text-critical note *ad loc.* I joined the opinion of those scholars that find the OG reading of 1 Chr 17,10b in ms f. As explained by L. C. Allen, the reading of LXX[B] would than be due to an omission of οἶκον and subsequent adaptation of the pronoun, perhaps under the influence of the accusative in the preceding clause καὶ αὐξήσω σε.[225] Now, if the original LXX read καὶ οἶκον οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος, then the meaning of Nathan's oracle in 1 Chr 17LXX would not be very different from that of 1 Chr 17MT.

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

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

W. M. Schniedewind

W. M. Schniedewind described some variants of 2 Sam 7LXX (in comparison with MT) as a part of the changes in books of Reigns which, in his opinion, show signs of "a pro temple bias".[226] Schniedewind believes that translators are responsible for these changes, and the studied variant readings of LXX thus do not presuppose a Hebrew Vorlage differing from MT.

Schniedewind finds a "pro-temple bias" in the Greek text of 2 Sam 7,11, as here, unlike in MT, the word οἶκος denotes a temple, not a dynasty. A curious promise that David is to build a temple for Yhwh may finally only mean that it's Solomon who will build the temple. According to Schniedewind, this translation could arise from the notion, which he believes is present in Chronicles, that David and Solomon are both builders of the temple. He finds another instance of LXX's "pro-temple bias" in v. 5b, where LXX reads οὐ σὺ in contrast to האתה in MT. While in MT Yhwh, according to Schniedewind, "questions the whole enterprise of temple building"[227], LXX only rejects David as the temple builder.

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

I shall later return to Schniedewind's whole interpretation of the Greek text, but I would like to add a methodological note at this point. Schniedewind denies that any of the mentioned variants in LXX would be based on a different *Vorlage* than MT. But, as he himself notes, the reading οὐ σὺ in 2 Sam 7,5LXX has a parallel in the reading לא אתה in 1 Chr 17,4. According to Schniedewind, the reading of 1 Chr 17,4 could have

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

[227] Schniedewind, Criticism , p. 111.

influenced the Greek translation of 2 Sam 7,5, but "[t]here is no reason to suspect that the Septuagint and the Chronicles reflect a Vorlage other than the Masoretic text since there is no trigger for a scribal error from האתה to אתה לא (sic!). On the contrary, it is easy to understand this change as a theologically motivated interpretation."[228] Schniedewind seems to be unaware that a theologically motivated change could have occurred in the textual tradition of the books of Samuel which included the copies that the author of Chronicles and the translator of 2 Samuel to Greek were working with. In cases like this, when the Greek text of 1-2 Reigns is in accord with the Hebrew reading of 1 Chronicles, it is methodologically more appropriate to suppose that this reading was already contained in the scrolls of Samuel that were available to the translators of Samuel into Greek and to the author(s) of Chronicles.

J. Lust

According to J. Lust, the most ancient form of Nathan's oracle is present in the Antiochian Greek text of 2 Sam 7.[229] The preference of Antiochian text is based on a general postulate, that, in its „proto-lucianic" form, the Antiochian text is a liable witness of OG.[230] But Lust gives no arguments, why should the Antiochean text be preferred over mss Bya$_2$ even in non καί γε section ββ, where 2 Sam 7 belongs, neither does he provide arguments for a preference for Antiochian text instead of mss Bya$_2$ specifically in 2 Sam 7.

Lust believes that v. 16 is more original in the form attested in Greek texts, where the house, the kingdom and the throne of David's descendant (Lust identifies him with Solomon) is promised to survive for eternity, than in MT, where the same is promised to David. He accepts Mettinger's argument that this original Solomonic version of the promise is presupposed in Solomon's words in 1 Kgs 2,24.[231] Neither is David's house mentioned in 2 Sam 7,11bLXX^L, according to which Yhwh announces to David that Yhwh is about to build a house for himself. The main topic of the Antiochian text is, according to Lust, the focus on Yhwh's initiative rather than on dynasty.[232] David wished to build a temple, but God

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[228] Schniedewind, Criticism, p. 112; cf. also his conclusion on p. 115-116.
[229] Lust, David.
[230] Lust, David, p. 245, 252.
[231] Mettinger, *King*, p. 58.
[232] Lust, David, p. 260.

prohibits him to do so, reminding him of all he did for David and for the people. It should be the same with the temple – if Yhwh wishes, he will build a temple for himself (v. 11b), which will mean in practice that Yhwh will make David's descendant a king and a builder of the temple.

A "davidization" of the dynastic promise later occurred in MT. In v. 16 the dynasty is no more promised to Solomon, but to David, and only at this point does v. 11 become a dynastic promise to David. Lust finds other, lesser traces of this redaction in v. 9 ("the great name")[233] and v. 15 (a mention of Saul and a mention of David in מלפניך). Lust attributes the whole prayer that follows the prophecy to this davidizing redaction.[234]

In do not find Lust's analysis very convincing. As I already indicated, Lust does not explain why does he find in 2 Sam 7 the most original form of the Greek text in LXX[L], while scholars hold consensus that in this part of Reigns, the most original readings are to be looked for above all in codex *Vaticanus* (LXX[B]).[235]

It is problematic to argue for the priority of the "Solomonic" text in 2 Sam 7,16LXX with the help of 1 Kgs 2,24. Firstly, we may find other passages in Samuel and Kings that are in accord with 2 Sam 7,16MT, promising a dynasty to David (1 Sam 25,28; 1 Kgs 2,4.33; 8,25; cf. also 2 Sam 23,5; 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19); other texts in HB also contain the idea of the dynasty of David (e. g. Ps 89,30–38; 132,11–12; Jer 23,5 etc.).[236] Secondly, it is possible that 1 Kgs 2,24 is corrupt. This verse reads:

MT:

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

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

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

[234] Lust, David, p. 259-260.

[235] Cf. arguments against Lust's preference of LXX[L] in Schenker, Verheissung, p. 179.

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

In the apparatus, BHK suggests (with a question mark) to read לו instead of לי, and J. Gray in his commentary does the same[237]. In my opinion, this emendation is fitting, because the suffix of the 1st p. makes no sense here. Solomon can say that in the moment he sat on David's throne, Yhwh built a house for David. But Yhwh definitely did not build a house for Solomon in this moment. There are other references to Nathan's oracle in 1 Kgs 2, but they are in accord with 2 Sam 7MT in their referring to the house of David (vv. 4.33, also cf. v. 45 which only mentions David's throne, but in doing so it also presupposes 2 Sam 7,16 in MT's form). The confusion of *waw* and *yod* is quite common[238]; in 1 Kgs 2,24, the change of לו into לי would be well understandable after the triple suffix of 1st p. sg. in the previous part of the verse.

What I find very problematic is Lust's evaluation of David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,18-29, which he ascribes as a whole to the davidizing redaction present in MT. How would it then be possible that LXX (including LXX^L) contains this prayer? Does it mean that, according to Lust, LXX^L preserves the old form of vv. 1-17, while vv. 18-29 were added to LXX^L in the image of the more recent form of the text contained in MT? Similar developments are not *a priori* excluded, but there is, as far as I can see, no proof for such an interpretation in this case. Unfortunatelly, Lust makes no comments to these questions in his article.[239]

Adrian Schenker and Philippe Hugo

The most elaborate analysis of the various forms of the text of Nathan's oracle was provided by A. Schenker and P. Hugo. In their opinion the most ancient form of the text is present in 2 Sam 7LXX,[240] but unlike J. Lust, they do not seek the most ancient Greek readings of 2 Sam 7 in the Antiochian text. P. Hugo explicitly avows to the prevailing opinion that in

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[237] Gray, Kings, p. 103-104.

[238] Delitzsch, Schreibfehler, p. 103-105; Tov, Criticism, 246-247.

[239] It seems in this respect that Lust works with vv. 18-29 in a rather selective way. Schniedewind's suggestion that in LXX the word οἶκος denotes the temple in the whole of Nathan's oracle (including v. 16) is refused by Lust (p. 259) precisely with reference to David's prayer where, in his view, even in LXX οἶκος clearly denotes the king's dynasty.

[240] Schenker, Verheissung; Hugo, Archéologie, p. 176-191. Hugo already briefly commented the textual differences in 2 Sam 7,11.16 in *Id.*, Jerusalem Temple, p. 184-186.

non-καί γε sections of Samuel, the best witness of OG is the *Codex Vaticanus*.[241]

A. Schenker provides an analysis of the main differences in Nathan's oracle (2 Sam 7,1-17 // 1 Chr 17,1-15) in 2 Sam 7MT, 2 Sam 7LXX, 1 Chr 17MT a 1 Chr 17LXX. As in the case of the other scholars mentioned, the variants in 2 Sam 7,5.11.16 // 1 Chr 17,3.10.14 play the main part in his study. According to Schenker, the differences between the main textual forms of Nathan's oracle are of literary nature. Schenker finds the most ancient form of the text in 2 Sam 7LXX which presents in his opinion a *hieros logos* of the temple of Jerusalem, with David as its builder. That changes in 1 Chr 17LXX, which is the second stage of the evolution of the text and where Solomon is the builder of the temple. God promises to David a building of a dynasty in neither of these older texts (Schenker reads καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σε κύριος in 1 Chr 17,10LXX). The dynasty is promised to David only in 2 Sam 7MT and 1 Chr 17MT, the final stage in the evolution of the text according to Schenker.

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

> eine erste mit der Erzählung in 1 Chr 17, deren Parallelität aufgelöst und durch Asymmetrie ersetzt worden wäre, eine zweite mit dem Dankgebet Davids in V. 18-29, weil darin das Haus Davids siebenmal als Gegenstand der göttlichen Huld vorkommt; eine dritte Spannung wäre zwischen der in 2 Sam 7,16; 1 Kön 2,24 an *Salomos* Haus ergangenen Verheissung Gottes und den zahlreichen Stellen aufgebrochen, an denen die Verheissung an *Davids* Haus ergeht: 2 Sam 23,5; 1 Kön 2,5[sic]; 8,25; 11,36; 16,4[sic]; 2 Kön 8,19, und so würde unverständlich werden, warum der kommende Messias aus Davids Haus (z.B. Ps 89,30-38; 132,11-12; Jes 9,5-6; 11,1-5; 55,3-4; Jer 23,5; 30,9; 33,15; Ez 34,23-24 usw.) und nicht vielmehr aus dem Haus Salomos käme. Eine vierte, mehrfache Spannung ergäbe sich daraus, dass JHWH in V. 5 den Tempelbau ablehnt, David aber nach V. 11 zu ihm ermächtigt, während gemäss V. 13 der Sohn Davids den Tempel bauen wird. Diese doppelte Spannung bildet die

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[241] Hugo, Archéologie , p. 180. Cf. also Schenker, Verheissung, p. 179.

Schwierigkeit der Textgetalt der LXX. Aus welchem Grund würde ein Redaktor eine solche Spannung in einen spannungsfreien Text denn eintragen wollen?[242]

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

Schenker believes that there are texts in MT of Kings that presuppose the text of 2 Sam 7 in LXX's form, thus testifying indirectly in favour of this text's antiquity. These passages are: Kr 2,24; 9,5; 11,36. The text of 1 Kgs 2,24 indeed seems to presuppose the dynastic promise of 2 Sam 7,16 in LXX's form. However, as I already indicated, Solomon's statement in 1 Kgs 2,24 makes no sense in the given context, and we might suppose that it is corrupt. 1 Kgs 9,5 probably does not support 2 Sam 7,16LXX. 1 Kgs 9,5b reads כאשר דברתי על דוד אביך לאמר לא יכרת לך איש מעל כסא ישראל; the promise is introduced by לאמר, and it is most likely that it should be understood as direct speech to David. The pronoun of 2nd p. sg. in לך thus probably refers to David, not to Solomon. Vv. 4–5a conditionally promise eternal stability of the throne of Solomon's kingship over Israel; the case here is of a new promise to Solomon, the direct reference to 2 Sam 7 being only in v. 5b. It is not clear to me in what manner should 1 Kgs 11,36 testify in favour of 2 Sam 7LXX, perhaps Schenker adduces it by mistake. The main argument for the originality of 2 Sam 7LXX is thus the difficult nature of the text as regards its narrative coherence.

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

1) v. 1 – הֵנִיחַ־לוֹ / κατεκληρονόμησεν

2) v. 5 – הַאַתָּה / οὐ σὺ

3) v. 9 - וְעָשִׂתִי לְךָ שֵׁם גָּדוֹל / καὶ ἐποίησά σε ὀνομαστὸν

4) v. 11b, with its various forms in 2 Sam 7, 1 Chr 17,10, and 4Q174.

5) v. 13 - אֶת־כִּסֵּא מַמְלַכְתּוֹ / τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ

6) v. 15 - מֵעִם שָׁאוּל אֲשֶׁר הֲסִרֹתִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ / ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἀπέστησα ἐκ προσώπου μου

7) v. 16, with its differences in all the pronominal suffixes.

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[242] Schenker, Verheissung , p. 188.

I discussed Hugo's proposals regarding the mentioned variation in v. 1 above *ad loc.*, and there is no need to come back to it here. Hugo regards all the remaining textual differences as a result of editorial activity in MT. This activity was in his view lead by a "pro-Davidic" and, in a way, also a "pro-Temple" bias (in Hugo's understanding, "pro-Temple" means that MT makes the temple "le résultat de la seule volonté divine")[243].

In the course of his argument, Hugo makes important methodological remarks. He divides the existing interpretations of the differences between MT and LXX of 2 Sam 7 into two groups. One group of scholars understands 2 Sam 7LXX as a witness of a process of "Solomonization" of the oracle (Barthélemy, Schniedewind, Pietsch), while the second group considers MT to be a result of a "dynastic correction in favor of David" (Mettinger, Lust, Schenker). Hugo notes that the differences of the kind we have in 2 Sam 7 may often be interpreted in both directions. Hugo believes we should consider three elements: "1° l'accumulation et la cohérence des indices internes à un texte donné; 2° les références bibliques et/ou historiques donnant des repères stables de jugement; 3° l'accumulation de variantes littéraires de même nature dans une section narrative plus large."[244] These methodological leads seem to me appropriate, but I remain unconvinced by their application in Hugo's study.

Hugo focuses on two topics – the royal ideology and the theology of the temple. Concerning the former, Hugo finds a pro-Davidic revision in MT, apparent in vv. 9.13.15.16. The question is whether we could in these sections in the MT's variants recognize a coherent set. MT's reading in v. 9 is in fact in no way stronger than the reading of LXX, a pro-Davidic tendency is present in both texts anyway; this means that even if MT were secondary, we could hardly be speaking of a theologically motivated "revision". R. F. Person is right that there is no need to ascribe major ideological importance to such minor variants.[245] As to the reading את כסא ממלכתו in v. 13MT (against τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ), the presence of ממלכתו might perhaps be understood as sign of a pro-monarchic tendency, but hardly as part of a pro-Davidic revision[246], because the kingship in question is not David's but of his descendant. As the verse speaks about the

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[243] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 190.
[244] P. Hugo, Archéologie, p. 189.
[245] Person, History , p. 65–68 and *passim*.
[246] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 182, 190.

descendant who will build the temple, the identification with Solomon is here more at hand than in the following verses, so that, if anything, one could rather think here of a "pro-Solomonic" tendency of MT's plus. As to the variants in v. 15, MT explicitly names Saul, and the pronominal suffix of 2nd p. sg. in MT's מלפניך is a reference to David. The reference to David is absent from the verse in LXX, and, as I suggested *supra*, I think that the verse in LXX does not speak about Saul either. I tried to explain the variant readings in the verse by voluntary changes in both MT and LXX; in my view, however, these changes stem from other considerations than a (secondary) pro-Davidic tendency in MT, as suggested by Hugo. But even if, for the sake of the argument, we assume that there is some kind of opposition on a supposed *pro-Solomonic – pro-Davidic* axis between the two forms of the text, does MT's reading in v. 15 really only move towards the pro-Davidic pole? Perhaps yes, because in MT David is at least referred to and Saul is put away from before David; yet, at the same time, the main contrast of the verse created by the syntax of v. 15abα is the one between Saul and David's *posterity*, thus potentially between Saul and Solomon. What remains is primarily v. 16, where the main difference between MT and LXX really consists in the fact that in the former, eternal duration is promised to the house of David, and in the latter to the house of Solomon.

I am not sure I understand Hugo's second methodological rule correctly and whether he actually applies it when he says that "[c]ette orientation de la prophétie de Nathan par le TM est en harmonie avec les mentions de la 'maison de David' dans de nombreux passages, comme l'a montré Schenker."[247] It should be recalled, in any case, that the passages mentioned by Schenker[248] do not read a "non-pro-Davidic" text in LXX (except Jer 33,15 which is part of a large minus in LXX), so that it is not clear how is it

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[247] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 190.

[248] 2 Sam 23,5; 1 Kgs 2,5 (so Schenker; perhaps 2,4 is meant); 8,25; 11,36; 16,4 (so Schenker, probably 15,4 is meant); 2 Kgs 8,19; Ps 89,30-38; 132,11-12; Iza 9,5-6; 11,1-5; 55,3-4; Jer 23,5; 30,9; 33,15; Eze 34,23-24, quoted in Schenker, Verheissung, p. 188. Admittedly, it would be possible to imagine that in 1 Kgs 2,4 there is this kind of a "pro-Davidic" tendency in MT as against LXX, since the latter lacks any reflex of the former's עלי. Yet, in view of the expressions לאמר / λέγων and לפני / ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ in both witnesses, Yhwh's word's must be understood as a quotation of a direct speech, thus most likely a speech directed to David. Hence the pronominal suffixes of 2nd p. sg. refer to David. – Note, that neither Schenker nor Hugo describe LXX's reading in 1 Kgs 2,4 as a hint to the older form of Nathan's oracle.

that in the next sentence Hugo may say that "[l]a tendance pro-davidique du TM apparaît comme l'une des caractéristiques spécifiques du travail d'édition littéraire qui semble avoir donné naissance au texte proto-massorétique."[249]

Concerning the third criterion, the accumulation of literary variants of a similar kind in a wider narrative context, Hugo refers to a different study of his[250], which focuses on two readings in 2 Sam 3,21.39. Hugo's interpretation of the textual differences in v. 21 does not convince me, and I am doubtful about his interpretation of the variants in v. 39, but it is impossible to attend to these questions here. I do not, however, rule out the possibility that MT of Samuel contain sections where David's picture is secondarily improved. J. Hutzli[251] drew attention to several such sections and his interpretation seems feasible to me, at least in some cases. The presence of secondary euphemisms linked to David's image in MT has also been suggested by E. Tov.[252] But the existence of such sections cannot play a major role in the evaluation of the variant readings in 2 Sam 7,16. What would, after all, be the point of such a supposed shift in MT? With regard to a change in pronominal suffixes of 3rd p. to 2nd p. in v. 16, one could hardly speak of "relecture théologique en faveur de David." If we understand בית as "dynasty", it is not important, whether the promise is related to the house of David or the house of Solomon, as in any case the family in question is the one of David. Besides, even in LXX is it clear from the subsequent prayer that in the most ancient form of vv. 18-29, David relates the promise to his house.[253]

As for the theology of the temple, Hugo believes there is a (secondary) tendency in 2 Sam 7MT to present the building of the temple as an outcome of God's sovereign decision.[254] V. 11 in LXX is a concession to David's original plan which was radically rejected by Yhwh in v. 5LXX (also in v. 5 Hugo is more in favour of the originality of the Septuagintal reading, principally because of MT's stylistic perfection[255]). This concession

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[249] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 190.

[250] P. Hugo, Abner.

[251] Hutzli, Retuschen, p. 102-115; *Id.*, Erzählung, p. 32-33.

[252] E. Tov, Criticism, p. 271-272.

[253] See below for a more nuanced formulation of this statement. It is not impossible that LXX's (secondary) text intentionally permits also a different understanding of the word בית in David's prayer.

[254] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 190-191.

[255] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.

disappears from MT (v. 11 becomes a promise of a dynasty), and Hugo finds a similar emphasis placed on God's initiative in relation to everything regarding the temple also in MT of 2 Sam 5,6-12; 15,25.[256]

The main argument against the originality of 2 Sam 7LXX is, in my opinion, an enormous incoherence of this form of the text. As A. Schenker pointed out, 2 Sam 7LXX contains several internal contradictions, and this form of the chapter is also in conflict with other texts. We have seen that it is precisely this "difficulty" of LXX's text that he counts as an argument for its originality. P. Hugo seems to accept this line of argument.[257] According to both these scholars, the smoothness or "finesse"[258] of the text is rather a sign of its secondary status in comparison with the text that seems to be somehow "jagged". Schenker asks, in a suggestive manner, whether it is conceivable that a redactor would insert into the text changes that would alter the text's existing logical coherence (see e. g. the quote above).

In contrast to this argumentation, I would suggest that if a given text is easy to distinguish as a unit and does not carry major marks of compilation of several sources or of a presence of more layers, it is a priori more likely that the text coming from the hands of its author (i. e. the most ancient text) was basically coherent (as to inner coherence, at least) and various tensions appeared in it during the long process of transmission. E. Tov has correctly noted that scribal mistakes by definition create difficult readings. My point here is, however, that voluntary changes, even if they are a part of a larger system of changes, may create narratively "difficult" readings. As a matter of fact, J. Hutzli is right to say that the rule *lectio difficilior praeferenda* does not apply to any textual differences created by voluntary changes which do not aim at a simplification of the text.[259]

An all too easy preference for narratively difficult texts might be inappropriate to the texts of HB. The narrative smoothness of the text was probably not the main concern of a scribe in the Second Temple period, when he was copying and editing a text that had some kind of authoritative status for him. Some secondary variants in the biblical texts were motivated

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[256] I believe that in both 2 Sam 5,6-12 and 15,25, LXX's reading may be more original than the one in MT. On the other side, Hugo's description of the reasons leading to the alleged developments in MT seems to me unconvincing. I cannot, however, discuss these passages in this place.

[257] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 189.

[258] Hugo, Archéologie, p. 178.

[259] Hutzli, Retuschen, p. 102-103.

by the fact that the scribe thought the more original text unacceptable theologically or for other reasons. Sometimes, we may infer from the context of such passages that the scribe followed his model more or less faithfully until he reached the passage whose wording he found explicitly heterodox or unacceptable for a different reason. At this point the scribe reworked the text into a more suitable form; but if the wider context of the text presupposed the more original reading, the newly emerged text would not be coherent.[260]

1 Sam 30,8MT is probably one example of such secondary incoherence.[261] In 1 Sam 30, when David and his men come back to their town Ziklag, they discover that the town was burned down and their wives and children were taken captive. In v. 8, David thus inquires of Yhwh:

MT:
וַיִּשְׁאַל דָּוִד בַּיהוָה לֵאמֹר אֶרְדֹּף אַחֲרֵי הַגְּדוּד־הַזֶּה הַאַשִּׂגֶנּוּ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ
רְדֹף כִּי־הַשֵּׂג תַּשִּׂיג וְהַצֵּל תַּצִּיל:

LXX[B]: καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν Δαυειδ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου λέγων εἰ καταδιώξω ὀπίσω τοῦ γεδδουρ τούτου εἰ καταλήμψομαι αὐτούς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ καταδίωκε ὅτι καταλαμβάνων καταλήμψῃ καὶ ἐξαιρούμενος ἐξελῇ

In MT, v. 8aγ is introduced by the interrogative particle ה, but 8aβ is not. In LXX[B], however, both parts of David's speech are introduced by the particle εἰ. LXX's *Vorlage* probably read הַאֶרְדֹּף in 8aβ. That this is the older reading seems to be indicated by the fact that Yhwh's answer in 8b רדף כי השג תשיג והצל תציל presupposes the question הַאֶרְדֹּף. Hutzli suggests that a scribe active in the tradition leading to MT omitted the first interrogative particle because he found it strange that David would ask at all whether he should try to liberate the captives or not. However, the scribe did not change Yhwh's answer in a corresponding way, so that the

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

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

presumably secondary text in MT is more "difficult" than the older text in LXX[B].

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

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

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

What is the reason for the emergence of these variants in LXX? Changes in both verses may have resulted from the process of transmission. If the reading οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ in 2 Sam 7,11bβLXX is linked to a corresponding Hebrew *Vorlage*, it probably read ת(י)בנה לו (as for the variants that presuppose the verb בנה, see the note *ad loc.* above). The *taw* may have resulted from the dittography of the last consonant of the word בית. The prefix י could then be understood as a *mater lectionis*. As to the beneficiary of the constructed house, the passage from the 2nd person

pronoun to the 3rd person pronoun may be a scribal error, resulting from confusion of final ך and ו.[262]

As to the pronominal suffixes of 3rd p. in v. 16, it is not very probable that they would emerge entirely involuntarily. F. Delitzsch does mention several possible cases of confusion of כ and ו,[263] but it is unlikely that such a shift should occur in 2 Sam 7,16 in three consequential cases, all by accident. However, the pronominal 3rd person suffixes might be results of simple harmonization with vv. 12aβ-15 where Yhwh promises his favours to David's descendant/posterity refered to in 3rd person. sg.

We could also imagine, however, that both mentioned Septuagintal variants in vv. 11.16 are ideologically motivated "editorial" intrusions which aim at changing the meaning of the text, similarly to the case of v. 5. As already mentioned, W. Schniedewind explained the differences between MT and LXX in the verses of 5.11.16 by presence of a "pro-Temple" bias in LXX.[264] Schniedewind ascribed this tendency to the Greek and he believed that LXX's readings in these verses do not reflect a *Vorlage* different from MT. Such a statement is completely unfounded. In view of the translator's faithfulness in this chapter and the whole book, it seems more likely that LXX reflects its *Vorlage* also in these verses. What is more, the Hebrew text corresponding to the studied variant in v. 5LXX is attested in v 1 Chr 17,4.

I discussed the reading of 2 Sam 7,5LXX and 1 Chr 17,4 οὐ σὺ / לא אתה in a text–critical note above. This reading is secondary in comparison with the reading of 2 Sam 7,5MT, and its origin probably is indeed determined by a "pro-Temple" bias. The more original reading האתה was probably regarded as far too polemic towards the plan of the building of the temple.

However, contrary to Schniedewind's suggestion, the reading οὐ σὺ in 2 Sam 7,5LXX cannot be simply attributed to the same editor as the readings of v. 11b.16LXX. The reading לא אתה in v. 5 was present both in LXX's *Vorlage* and the text of Samuel that was available to the Chronicler. The reading of 2 Sam 7,16bLXX καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ is in accord with the reading of 1 Chr 17,14b וכסאו. The 1st person sg. suffixes in בביתי ובמלכותי in 1 Chr 17,14a do not allow us to determine what exactly was

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[262] Both these explanations were suggested by Kasari, Promise, p. 21.
[263] Delitzsch, Schreibfehler, p. 115, 117.
[264] Schniedewind, Criticism.

the Chronicler's text of Samuel here.[265] The text of Chronicles is in accord with the Septuagintal text of 2 Sam 7,16 at least as regards the fact that the promise relates to David's descendant. It is therefore perfectly possible that the Chronicler read ביתו וממלכתו in the text of 2 Sam 7,16a.[266] Contrary to that, 1 Chr 17,10bβMT (for LXX's reading in this verse, see the note *ad loc.*) is evidently closer to the 2 Sam 7,11 in MT's form than in LXX. Hence the changes in 2 Sam 7,5.16LXX could have occurred simultaneously, but the reading of 2 Sam 7,11LXX probably appeared later, because, unlike the shifts in vv. 5.16, the reading of 2 Sam 7,11LXX was not present in the text of Samuel that was available to the Chronicler.

What could be the motive for the reading of 2 Sam 7,11bβLXX? As noted by Schniedewind, the verse loses the pun playing with the word οἶκος / בית which in consequence denotes the temple in this place as in the preceding text. Should we then speak of a pro-Temple bias of this reading? What is it that the temple actually gains from the fact that the building of the temple is promised to David in the same text that denies it to David in v. 5 and that assigns it to his descendant in v. 13? If this change is intentional, it is probably negatively motivated by a desire to avoid the promise of the Davidic dynasty. An analogous attempt to redefine Nathan's oracle into a promise of Yhwh's dwelling in the Temple may perhaps be found in the late passage 1 Kgs 6,11–13MT, missing in OG.[267]

The reading of 2 Sam 7,11bβ is in blatant contradiction to vv. 5LXX and 13LXX. Yet, for the scribe responsible for the shift to the reading of 11bβLXX (as I already mentioned, there is no reason to doubt that the change occurred in the Hebrew text), it might be more important that the older form of the verse, as he was confronted with it, contradicted reality! The scribe *knew* that the Davidic dynasty did not retain its rule forever, and therefore Nathan's oracle could not have carried this meaning. He may have regarded the contradiction between vv. 5.11.13 (all in the Septuagintal form) as settled by the verse 12. Since the temple would be built by David's descendant who will be (so LXX) from his "belly", it might be said that the

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[265] Suffixes of 1st p. sg. (as well as the hiphil of the verb עמד) are clearly secondary, cf. 1 Chr 28,5; 29,11; 2 Chr 13,8. See the comments by Knoppers, I Chronicles 10–29, p. 665f., 672–673.

[266] Similarly Kasari, Promise, p. 25.

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

temple would be built by David. The builder would be someone, who, according to the scribe, somehow already existed in David's loins. This kind of exegesis of problematic passages might have been widespread in the later Second Temple period, since it occurs also in Acts 2,25–32 and a similar procedure is also in Heb 7,4–10.

Acts 2,25–32 are a part of Peter's Pentecostal preaching. Peter quotes Ps 16,8–11, and since the psalm is introduced by the title לדוד / τῷ Δαυιδ, Peter understands these verses as David's direct speech in 1st p. But how could David say about himself that Yhwh will not leave his soul to hades and that his body would not rot (Acts 2,27 = Ps 16,10), since, as Peter points out, he died and was buried (Acts 2,29)? Peter explains the discrepancy by the fact that David was a prophet "and knowing that with an oath God had sworn to him that he would set (somebody) out of the fruit of his loins on his throne (προφήτης οὖν ὑπάρχων καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅρκῳ ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ καθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ), he foresaw and spoke about the resurrection of the Christ, that he was not abandoned to hades, nor did his flesh see corruption." (vv. 30–31). V. 30 refers to the promise to Davidic dynasty according to Ps 132,11. The common interpretation of this section could be illustrated, for instance, by the words of J. A. Fitzmayer: "Peter stresses that David, king of Israel, could not have been speaking of himself, so they [the Psalms 16 and 132] must refer to Jesus, who has not seen corruption."[268] I believe this is a partial misunderstanding of the speaker's strategy; if Luke (via Peter's words) wished to say merely that David does not speak for himself but of someone else, he would not need a quote from Ps 132. The value of Ps 132,11 is in the fact that the dynastic promise, the fulfillment of which Luke sees in Christ's resurrection (apart from this section see also L 1,31–33; Acts 13,32–37), is given there to the *fruit of David's loins*. David therefore could have spoken of himself, since his words were related to the descendant present in his loins.[269]

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[268] Fitzmayer, Acts, p. 250.

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

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

A scribe in an ancestral ms of 2 Sam 7,11bβLXX could therefore think in a similar vein as the authors of the aforementioned New Testament texts and he may have let Nathan promise the construction of the temple to David, since the subsequent verse states that the temple would be built by his descendant who would be from his "belly." If the text of the *Vorlage* of 11bβLXX originated by mistake, it is at least likely that its reading was preserved thanks to v. 12, because the text could have been understood in the mentioned manner.

Are there further indications that changes occurred in the Vorlage of 2 Sam 7LXX, their goal being the elimination of the idea of the Davidic promise? As we have seen, Schniedewind believes ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ in 2 Sam 7,16LXX does not denote the dynasty of Solomon, but a temple built by Solomon, since thanks to the changes in v. 11, the pun playing with the two meanings of the word בית disappeared from Nathan's oracle in LXX, and ὁ οἶκος denotes there only the temple. J. Lust and P. Hugo reject Schniedewind's proposal, since the personal pronoun in v. 16LXX, they believe, "indique clairement que la maison en question est celle du roi", and furthermore, in the following verses "le roi loue le Seigneur pour ce qu'il a fait envers lui et envers sa maison".[270] This critique of Schniedewind's proposal may be slightly simplistic. We have already seen that the reading ביתו, corresponding to the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7,16LXX, could have been contained in the text of Samuel used by the Chronicler, and then it would be older than the reading of v. 11bβLXX. The pronominal 3rd person suffixes may be a result of harmonization with vv. 12aβ-15, and ביתו may have originally denoted the dynasty of David's descendant(s). On the other hand, the later scribe responsible for the *Vorlage* of 11bβLXX may have left ביתו in v. 16 unchanged, because in his text it was *possible* to relate this

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

house to the temple and to interpret the verse as a promise of the eternal existence of Solomon's temple.

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

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

At the close of this section, I would like to return to the question of the value of specific readings in 1 Chr 17 for the reconstruction of the oldest text in 2 Sam 7. It is almost generally accepted today that the text of Samuel used by the Chronicler was not identical to MT of Samuel, and on many occasions it apparently agreed with 4QSam[a] and/or with LXX's *Vorlage*. E. C. Ulrich closes the chapter dedicated to the agreement of 4QSam[a] with

Chronicles by the conclusion that Chronicles belong to the 4QSamᵃ/LXX tradition against MT.[271] Thus, the agreements of 4QSamᵃ with Chronicles are "a subset of the larger pattern 4Q = OG/pL OL C ≠ M." This is supported by Ulrich's quantitative analysis of 2 Sam 6.[272] Regarding the evaluation of the disagreements, Ulrich concludes that "4Q C agreements are mostly original S readings corrupt in M, or narrative expansions typical of the Palestinian text tradition."[273]

The use of Samuel in 1 Chronicles was studied in detail by S. L. McKenzie who analyzed all the parallel passages in Samuel and Chronicles where 4QSamᵃ is extant, as well as the passages for which 4QSamᵃ was not preserved and the text of Samuel and Chronicles "show significant disagreement, especially where Chr has been accused of tendentious change."[274] Building upon the work of W. E. Lemke[275], McKenzie believes that "one can conclude that Chr is responsible for a variation from S only when no other witness to the text of S agrees with C and the variation attests a demonstrably consistent interest on the part of Chr."[276] The frequent agreements between 4QSamᵃ and Chronicles (often supported by 1 Reigns) against MT Samuel suggest that in such cases the variation was already present in Chronicler's source. In the synoptic passages, McKenzie finds only a very small number of tendentious changes in Chronicles, which leads him to conclude that in the passages where the Chronicler decided to borrow from Samuel, he followed his "S *Vorlage* quite closely."[277]

This conclusion is accepted by G. N. Knoppers in his commentary on Chronicles, where he says that "[T]here is every indication both in his citation of Samuel and in his citation of Kings that the author [of Chronicles] has generally followed his *Vorlage* closely."[278] Such estimation sometimes seems to be presupposed in P. K. McCarter's commentary on Samuel as well. With this premise, the text of Chronicles is elevated to the status of a nearly full-value witness to the text of Samuel, permitting to

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[271] Ulrich, Text, p. 163.
[272] Ulrich, Text, p. 193–221.
[273] Ulrich, Text, p. 163.
[274] McKenzie, Use, quotation from p. 34.
[275] Lemke, Problem, p. 349–363.
[276] McKenzie, Use, p. 27.
[277] McKenzie, Use, p. 72.
[278] Cf. Knoppers, I Chronicles 1–9, p. 70.

reconstruct the text of Samuel according to that of Chronicles even in those cases where Chronicles' reading is not supported by any textual witness in Samuel itself.

Lemke's and McKenzie's contributions are important. Though, McKenzie's methodological postulate that we should ascribe to the Chronicler only those variants which reflect his ideological concerns may not be fully appropriate to Chronicler's attitude to his sources. How should we proceed when 1 Chronicles has a different reading than Samuel, and the variation cannot be explained by scribal mistake in one of the texts nor by Chronicler's "tendency"? Should in such cases the reading of Chronicles be understood as a unique witness to Samuel's text used by the Chronicler? And if, for instance, Chronicles' reading is shorter, should it be preferred as Samuel's more original reading in compliance with the rule *lectio brevior potior*? McKenzie, McCarter and Knoppers, indeed, sometimes seem to evaluate the readings along these lines.[279] To my mind, however, the numeral data on various agreements and disagreements among the witnesses of 2 Sam 7 undermine the relevance of such an approach.

The tables 6 and 7 indicate the quantity of various patterns of agreements among the witnesses to 2 Sam 7. The first table presents the data on variations where 4QSamᵃ is not extant, while the second one gives the numbers of various agreements in the few passages where 4QSamᵃ is extant. The differences among the witnesses are classified according to their origin as non-intentional, intentional or tendentious. I suppose that such a classification is more objective than the decision on which reading is the most original. On the other hand, it goes without saying that this classification already entails a large measure of subjectivity, and, to be honest, it sometimes is more or less based on one's understanding of the genealogical relation between the witnesses. Yet, as I have indicated my

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[279] Knoppers, I Chronicles 10-29, p. 662-663, provided the text-critical analysis of 1 Chr 17 with a short introduction, where he states that in the following notes, it will not be assumed, "that in those instances in which Chronicles is shorter than or differs from Samuel, that (sic) the Chronicler omitted from or rewrote portions of Samuel. The text-critical evidence suggests that the Samuel text used by Chronicler was a typologically more primitive text than either MT or LXX Samuel." In his text-critical notes, he calls some of the readings of 1 Chr 17 *lectio brevior* in contrast to 2 Sam 7. His primary goal is the reconstruction of the text of Chronicles, not Samuel, but it seems that in these sections Knoppers considers the short readings older than the readings attested in the textual witnesses of Samuel.

evaluation of the kind of the textual difference at the end of every textual note, the reader can always check my classification.

In the tables below, the first figure (without brackets) gives the number of the cases which in my opinion may be classified in this category with a high degree of probability. The second figure in the brackets includes also the more uncertain cases, appearing with a question mark in the textual notes. As we have seen, in some instances more kinds of causes for the variation could be imagined. These passages are included in bracketed numbers of all categories to which they might belong, so that the total of the numbers in the brackets for a given pattern may be higher than the actual number of the occurrences of the pattern.

A further problem is created by the passages with three or four variant readings, and distinct relationships among them. I have counted such passages in all the indicated categories, but this procedure is, of course, problematic because it might veil that a characteristic relationship frequently appears between two (disagreeing) elements of the given pattern. This pertains especially to the patterns SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C; S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX; and 4QSam[a] SMT SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX, on which I will add a few comments pointing to distinct relationships among the individual elements.

Table 6

pattern	total	N	I	T
S ≠ C	39	1 (4)	29 (33)	3 (4)
SMT ≠ SLXX C	18	2 (3)	10 (14)	2 (3)
SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C	16	6 (8)	9 (10)	1 (4)
SMT C ≠ SLXX	7	1 (2)	4 (6)	(2)
S CLXX ≠ CMT	11	1 (2)	9	
S CMT ≠ CLXX	12	5 (6)	6 (7)	
SMT CMT ≠ SLXX CLXX	1	1		
S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX	7	7	3	
SMT CMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CLXX	6	3 (5)	(1)	(2)
SMT CLXX ≠ SLXX CMT	1		(1)	(1)
SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX	4	3	(1)	1
SMT ≠ CMT (Greek texts cannot be evaluated)	9	1	8	
SMT ≠ SLXX (C cannot be evaluated)[280]	3	2 (3)		

Table 7

pattern	total	N	I	T
4QSamᵃ SMT ≠ SLXX C	1		(1)	(1)
4QSamᵃ SMT SLXX CLXX ≠ CMT	1		1	
4QSamᵃ SMT SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX	3	(1)	2 (3)	
4QSamᵃ SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX	1		1	
4QSamᵃ SLXX C ≠ SMT	1	1		
4QSamᵃ SLXX ≠ SMT ≠ C	1	1	(1)	
4QSamᵃ SMT ≠ SLXX[281]	1	(1)		(1)

4QSamᵃ in this chapter is very fragmented and the data in the second table therefore lack any major informative value.

The first table shows that the most common pattern is S ≠ C with 39 occurrences. The vast majority of these variant readings were caused

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[280] I include here the differences between Samuel MT and Samuel LXX in the passages making part of longer minuses in Chronicles.

[281] This line only serves to record the pattern concerning the large minus in 2 Sam 7,26-27LXX. In 1 Chr 17,24-25, both MT and LXX have the longer text, but there are several minor variations between the two and in relation to MT of Samuel (4QSamᵃ is very fragmentary, but it certainly has the long text).

intentionally, but we can hardly find any ideological tendency behind them (29-33 variant readings). Moreover, we can also add to this pattern some textual differences that formally belong to a different pattern which, however, in the passages in question, may be understood as an analogue of the pattern S ≠ C.

I included among the occurrences of the pattern SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C two cases where SMT and SLXX are very close to each other, and a pronounced difference exists between the texts of Samuel on the one hand and the texts of Chronicles on the other. The real relation between the witnesses in these passages could then be expressed by the formula $S^{MT ≠ LXX}$ ≠ C (v. 5 אֶל־דָּוִד; v. 22 אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה). The difference between S and C in these sections is, again, intentional (i), but not "tendentious." Moreover, there are two occurrences of the pattern SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C (v. 26 עַבְדְּךָ דָּוִד; v. 26 יְהִיֶה) where the disagreement between SMT and SLXX is only given by the fact that SLXX has a long minus in vv. 26-27. This minus is most likely secondary, so that in a way these places may also be described by the pattern $S^{MT ≠ LXX}$ ≠ C. Here again, the difference between SMT and C is intentional (i) but not tendentious.

The pattern S ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX occurs in seven cases, while 4-6 could be rather expressed as S ≠ $C^{MT ≠ LXX}$ (v. 11 וְהִגִּיד לְךָ֨ יְהוָֹה; v. 19 וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם; v. 20 לְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ; v. 21 הַזֹּאת לְהוֹדִיעַ אֶת־עַבְדֶּךָ; v. 26 – the plus וְיֵאָמֵן at the beginning of 1 Chr 17,24MT; אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה) and they can be counted as a variant of the pattern S ≠ C. The difference between S and C is intentional in two cases, otherwise it is probably based on a non-intentional mistake in most cases.[282]

We find a similar situation in case of the pattern 4QSamᵃ SMT SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX which occurs in 2 Sam 7 three times, while in two (or, perhaps, all), the readings of the witnesses of 1 Chr 17 are so close to each other that the configuration of variants could be expressed by the formula 4QSamᵃ SMT SLXX ≠ $C^{MT ≠ LXX}$ (v. 27 יְהוָֹה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; v. 29 וּמִבִּרְכָתְךָ יְבֹרַךְ וּבֵרֵךְ)[283]. The basic difference between the readings of S and C is in two or three cases intentional but not tendentious. Also

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[282] The origin of the variant is, of course, often more or less uncertain. In v. 19 וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם, for example, the reading in Chronicles may rather be an attempt to make a sense of a reading which already was corrupt in Chronicler's text of Samuel. The passage is odd in all witnesses.

[283]The second case is unclear, see the text-critical note.

close to this pattern turns out to be the only occurrence of the pattern 4QSamᵃ SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ CMT ≠ CLXX, because 1) the difference of SLXX from other readings in 2 Sam 7 only consists in the fact that SLXX is a part of the large minus in LXX; and 2) CMT and CLXX agree with each other in that they contain the reading where there is no preposition before ישראל (even if CMT *also* has a reading with a preposition). This main difference between S and C is, of course, intentional.

Another variation of the S ≠ C pattern is probably the vast majority of textual differences sorted under the pattern SMT CLXX ≠ CMT. This pattern occurs in 2 Sam 7 eleven times, while in ten of them, the Greek form of 2 Sam 7 is identical or nearly identical to the Greek text in 1 Chr 17 (v. 2 אֲרָזִים; v. 5 בַיִת; v. 5 לְשִׁבְתִּי; v. 6 וּבְמִשְׁכָּן; v. 7 שִׁבְטֵי; v. 10 לְעַנּוֹתוֹ; v. 12 וְשָׁכַבְתָּ; v. 12 מִמֵּעֶיךָ; v. 16 עַד־עוֹלָם; v. 23 הָלְכוּ). This situation indicates that the difference between CMT and CLXX in these sections need not be due to a different Hebrew *Vorlage* of CLXX, but rather an inner-Greek assimilation of CLXX towards SLXX. The question of the assimilation in the parallel texts of Reigns and Paralipomena has been hotly debated.[284] While there is no doubt that the phenomenon exists, it is not always clear in which phase of the process of transmission did the assimilation occur. It has been suggested that the translator of Chronicles made large use of the Greek text of Samuel-Kings, but others think that the correspondences between the Greek texts may be due rather to correspondences between their Hebrew *Vorlagen*, or, on the contrary, to secondary harmonization between the Greek texts. According to G. Gerleman, 1 Chr 17LXX is one of the passages which have been largely assimilated to their parallel texts in Reigns.[285] L. C. Allen finds here three clear cases of inner-Greek assimilation (for the sake of simplicity, I continue to refer to the textual places in 2 Sam 7, as they were enumerated above in this paragraph: v. 6 וּבְמִשְׁכָּן; v. 7 שִׁבְטֵי; v. 23 הָלְכוּ).[286] Of the other abovementioned occurrences of the pattern SMT CLXX ≠ CMT, Allen does not refer to v. 2 אֲרָזִים and v. 16 עַד־עוֹלָם. Regarding all other mentioned places, Allen thinks that it is impossible to determine the source of the parallel, while according to M. Rehm[287] the assimilation is inner-

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[284] See especially Allen, Chronicles I, p. 26–31, 175–218.
[285] Gerleman, Studies, p. 38.
[286] Allen, Chronicles I, p. 193–194.
[287] Rehm, Untersuchungen, p. 45.

Greek also in v. 5 לְשִׁבְתִּי and v. 12 וְשָׁכַבְתָּ. For our purpose, the origin of assimilation is not so important, as long as we accept with Allen that generally "when Par sides with Sam against Chron its text has indeed suffered contamination."[288] This applies to the remaining, eleventh, instance of the pattern SMT CLXX ≠ CMT in v. 4 דְּבַר־יְהֹוָה where the assimilation probably happened already in the *Vorlage* of 1 Chr 17,3LXX.[289] The same probably holds true for the one occurrence of the pattern 4QSamᵃ SMT SLXX CLXX ≠ CMT.

There are thus 12 passages belonging to the pattern (4QSamᵃ) SMT SLXX CLXX ≠ CMT. In all of these places, a contamination of 1 Chr 17LXX by 2 Sam 7 may be suspected, which means that these passages may be considered as a variant of the pattern S ≠ C. It is worth noting that in 10 of the 12 cases the textual difference is intentional but not tendentious.

Another pattern close to S ≠ C is the pattern SMT ≠ CMT under which I sorted the sections where the Greek readings in 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17 could not be evaluated for some reason. Typically, for instance 2 Sam 7,10 reads וּנְטַעְתִּיו, while 1 Chr 17,9 has וּנְטַעְתִּיהוּ. The difference is not merely orthographic, since the pronunciation differs, but the Greek texts cannot express this difference. There are nine places in 2 Sam 7 that belong to this pattern, with eight of them belonging to category "i". Since the pattern S ≠ C is the most frequent configuration of textual witnesses in 2 Sam 7, it is likely that a substantial part of the occurrences of the pattern SMT ≠ CMT actually belong under S ≠ C (in other words, it would be wrong to assume that the *Vorlage* of SLXX presupposes CMT, although it is, of course, possible).

The second most common pattern in the chapter is SMT ≠ SLXX C with 18 occurrences (in 10–14 of them, the difference is intentional). Close to them is the one occurrence of the pattern 4QSamᵃ SLXX C ≠ SMT. Concerning the textual difference in v. 23 לְאַרְצֶךָ, which I sorted under the pattern SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C, it is clear that the reading of C is merely a slight modification of SLXX, so that this place could be counted as an analogue of the pattern SMT ≠ SLXX C (the difference between SMT and SLXX is probably based on a non–intentional mistake). Also the textual difference in v. 25 הָקֵם (SMT ≠ SLXX ≠ C) could be considered very close to the pattern SMT ≠ SLXX C (further, SLXX^L actually does correspond to

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[288] Allen, Chronicles I, p. 177.
[289] Allen, Chronicles I, p. 193.

C in this case). And finally, if concerning the textual difference in v. 8 מִן־הַנָּוֶה מֵאַחַר הַצֹּאן the second proposed explanation for the short reading of SLXX holds true, it is likely that a predecessor of LXX's *Vorlage* contained the uncompounded writing of the preposition (מן אחר(י, in agreement with the reading of 1 Chr 17,7 מִן־אַחֲרֵי. A relatively large number of textual differences belonging to this pattern corresponds to the well known fact that the Chronicler's text of the book of Samuel was closer to the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint of Samuel than to MT.

Regarding the value of 1 Chr 17 for the reconstruction of the oldest text of 2 Sam 7, the pattern S ≠ C and its variations is of essential importance. The importance of this pattern has been often neglected in recent research, since many of its occurrences entail minor (but mostly intentional) variants, and the research rather tended to focus on more striking textual differences, especially in the passages where 4QSamᵃ is not extant[290]. In 2 Sam 7 the pattern S ≠ C clearly represents the most numerous configuration of the main textual witnesses. There are 142 places containing a textual problem in the chapter, and up to 70 of them may be subsumed under the pattern S ≠ C in the larger sense (including the above mentioned analogues). In the vast majority of these places (up to 60), the difference between S and C is intentional but not tendentious.

The most natural explanation of this situation is that the vast majority of *these* differences between 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17 resulted from an activity in 1 Chr 17; apparently the Chronicler's approach to his source was freer than that of the scribes whose main task was to *copy* the book of Samuel or Chronicles. That would mean that in the passages where S ≠ C and, at the same time, no specific tendency or scribal mistake is apparent in S, we cannot ascribe the same value to the reading of Chronicles as to the reading of Samuel, and we should, more or less automatically, prefer the reading of Samuel.

In the individual occurrences of the pattern S ≠ C, it is, of course, impossible to prove that the variant in 1 Chr 17 originated with the Chronicler (or a later scribe active in 1 Chronicles). In some cases listed above under the pattern S ≠ C, it is even likely that the reading of 1 Chr 17 was already present in the Chronicler's text of 2 Sam 7. That applies to the passages where OG of 2 Sam 7 may be contained in LXXᴮ which is

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[290] See e. g. McKenzie, Use, p. 27.

identical to MT, but LXX^L has a reading corresponding to 1 Chr 17. The Chronicler's text of Samuel in these places probably contained the reading which served as a template for the correction of LXX^L. There are only four such passages in 2 Sam 7 (v. 3 יְהֹוָה [i]; v. 8 עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל [i]; v. 10 לְיִשְׂרָאֵל [i]; v. 20 יָדַעְתָּ אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ [n]). Even if we assume that in all these cases the innovation happened in the text of Samuel, the overall picture of relations between the textual witnesses of 2 Sam 7 would not be disrupted in a significant manner: there are 142 places in 2 Sam 7 that contain some textual difference in the major textual witnesses; 66 of them belong to the pattern S ≠ C (in a broader sense) and in 57 of these cases, the difference between S and C is intentional but not tendentious.

4QSam^a is unfortunately very fragmentary in 2 Sam 7. It is possible that in some sections where the text of 4QSam^a is missing, the scroll agreed with 1 Chr 17 in a reading which is not otherwise attested in Samuel. But we may assume that even a more thorough knowledge of the text of 4QSam^a in 2 Sam 7 would not change the image significantly. Outside 2 Sam 7, the pattern 4QSam^a C ≠ SMT SLXX is sporadically attested.[291] Most usually, however, when 4QSam^a agrees with C against SMT, the reading of SLXX agrees with 4QSam^a and C. As we have already seen, E. Ulrich has concluded that, "[t]he 4Q C agreements are thus a subset of the larger pattern 4Q = OG/pL OL C ≠ M."[292] The statistics summarized by F. M. Cross and R. J. Saley after the official publication of 4QSam^a in DJD argue in favour of the proximity of the scroll to „the Hebrew textual tradition reflected in the Old Greek".[293] Unfortunately, Cross and Saley do not deal with the relationship of 4QSam^a to 1 Chronicles, but we may assume that the conclusion quoted by Ulrich was not substantially compromised by the final publication of 4QSam^a.[294]

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[291] See Ulrich, Text, p. 151–164, 202–207. Ulrich has counted 3 occurrences in 2 Sam 6 and 6 occurrences elsewhere.

[292] Ulrich, Text, p. 163.

[293] Cross – Saley, Analysis, p. 46–54 (quotation from p. 54).

[294] Cross and Saley listed 158 places in 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9,13 (in 80 of them the reading of 4QSam^a is reconstructed), where 4QSam^a has a different reading than MT and LXX. In 2 Sam 10,1–24,25 they listed 83 such places (in 38 cases the reading of 4QSam^a is reconstructed). Concerning the unique readings of 4QSam^a in 2 Sam 10,1–24,25 (unique in reference only to MT and LXX), Cross and Saley note that "[m]any of the superior unique readings represent the preservation of lost readings of text – words and sentences lost by *parablepsis* – with the majority of these being corroborated by Chronicles or Josephus, or both."

We may conclude that in 1 Chr 17 the Chronicler followed his *Vorlage* rather loosely, but the new readings in 1 Chr 17 were not caused by an ideological interest on his part. Or, to put it more adequately, the Chronicler followed his *Vorlage* with much more freedom than the scribes responsible for various textual witnesses of 2 Sam 7 proper did. This, of course, is not surprising because the Chronicler was creating a literary work distinct from Samuel. This fact, however, has obvious consequences for the use of 1 Chr 17 for the reconstruction of the oldest text of 2 Sam 7: if the readings that form the pattern S ≠ C are synonymous in a broad sense (i. e. the reading of S bears no clear signs of being caused by a secondary ideological tendency, harmonizing assimilation, or a scribal mistake etc.), we should prefer the reading of 2 Sam 7.

1.2 The main issues of the study of 2 Sam 7

In view of the enormous amount of literature that has been published regarding the topic of Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7,1-17, it seems impossible and even inappropriate to make an attempt at a detailed presentation of the research up to this point.[295] More thorough insights into the research on the text's individual issues will follow later, while in this chapter I merely intend to introduce the key lines in research on the historical origin and literary development of 2 Sam 7, the question of dtr activity in the text and the relationship between the two key topics of the chapter, the Davidic dynasty and the temple.

Many hypotheses regarding the literary development of the chapter have emerged during the history of research on 2 Sam 7. Numerous scholars have reconstructed several layers that have developed since the time of David (or Solomon) until the exilic or post-exilic period.[296] T. A. Ruding, in contrast, dated the basic text of Nathan's oracle to the Persian period (vv. 1–3.11b.16a), but he also believes that the text has undergone several redactions that provided the text with additional layers.[297]

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[295] Brief overviews of the past research has been provided recently by Oswald, Nathan, p. 17-31, 63-69; Kasari, Promise, p. 14-19; Van Seters, Saga, Winona, p. 241-256.

[296] A recent example is Kasari, Promise, p. 21-109.

[297] Rudnig, König, p. 426-446. Rudnig reconstructs a basic re-working in the first part of the oracle (vv. 4-6.7); the second part, he believes, was subject to a number of redactions – first vv. 8aα.12.14a.17 were appended, later the rest of the text, in several phases. – For a critique of certain literary-critical models see Oswald, Nathan, p. 63-69.

One of the motives for the dismantling of the text to sources or layers is the fact that the themes of temple and dynasty appear in different parts of 2 Sam 7. While the exposition (vv. 1-4) and the first part of Nathan's oracle (5-7) focus on the temple, the second part of the prophecy (8-16) – excluding v. 13, which is often regarded as a later addition – merely concerns the theme of dynasty. Moreover, the motif of temple does not appear in David's subsequent prayer (18-29). Many scholars deduced from this situation that Nathan's oracle as we know it today is a combination of two oracles that were originally independent. A support of this hypothesis could be found in the fact that the second part of the prophecy is reintroduced by the phrase "thus says Yhwh" (v. 8) as if it announced a new oracle. This way, according to F. M. Cross, the deuteronomistic form of 2 Sam 7 combines Nathan's oracle from the time of David, which is against the building of a temple (vv. 1-7*), with the promise of eternal dynasty, whose oldest core (probably from the time of Solomon) is to be found in vv. 14*.15aLXX.16*.[298] A variant of this understanding of the development of the chapter is the reconstruction of one old prophetic oracle, to which a second oracle was attached as a part of a redactional layer.[299]

A diachronic decomposition of the text according to the criterion of the presence of motifs of temple and dynasty is quite problematic, since the themes appear together in a number of other texts of the ancient Near East, notably in inscriptions that the Mesopotamian kings let compose when they built or repaired temples. The royal ideology present in these inscriptions creates a nearly "natural" relation between the temple and the kingship. Building and maintaining temples seems to be a crucial role of a king regarding the world of gods, and gods, who dwell in the temples, in reward bless the rule of the king. The building of the temple therefore

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[298] Cross, Myth, p. 241-261; note, however, that according to Cross already the first oracle (vv. 1-7*) probably continued with "an oath of Yahweh concerning David's seed, now replaced by the 'eternal decree' of verse 7:11b-16" (p. 255). The content of this supposed sequel of Nathan's oracle was probably very close to Ps 132,11f. Cross believes precisely this suppressed/re-worked sequel was the reason why the Deuteronomist used this old oracle and combined it with a later promise of a dynasty (most likely) from the time of Solomon. – Two independent oracles are reconstructed also by: Veijola, Dynastie, p. 73, 77-78.

[299] So e. g. Pietsch, Sproß, p. 15-53, according to whom the oldest text of the chapter, within the given narrative context, consisted of v. 1a.2-5.8aβ-9a.11b-16.17*.18-21.25-27, yet this text already received the old "royal oracle" contained in vv. 11b.12*.14a.15a.16.

manifests the king's right to rule.[300] In his groundbreaking work, T. Ishida revealed several similarities between 2 Sam 7 and the Mesopotamian, mostly Neo-Babylonian building inscriptions and he attempted to interpret 2 Sam 7 as a product of a similar royal ideology.[301] According to Ishida, Nathan pronounced his oracles, the one prohibiting the building of a temple and the one promising an eternal dynasty to David, separately, but later (after Solomon's accession to the throne), the prophet himself – or his sons – compounded the Nathan's oracle and the David's prayer in the current form, where the temple and kingship appear in a "natural" relation. 2 Sam 7 does contain, in vv. 11bβ and 13a, two answers to the rhetorical question of v. 5b, but Ishida rejects the possibility to regard either one of them as secondary, since these are the two that "correspond exactly to the double theme of the royal-dynastic ideology in the ancient Near East, that is, the divine promise of a dynasty and the king's building of a temple." [302] 2 Sam 7, Ishida believes, differs from the Mesopotamian royal inscriptions in that the topic of kingship and the temple are related to different kings in the Biblical text. Since the founder of the dynasty was not the one who built the temple, 2 Sam 7 has a twofold role: it is an apology of David's failure in building the temple and legitimization of Solomon's inheritance of the throne and of his temple.

Since Ishida's opinion that in its current form 2 Sam 7 contains no polemic with David's intent to build a temple for Yhwh is hardly acceptable (see below), some scholars attempted to reconstruct an older form of the text in 2 Sam 7, one that would correspond more to the traditional connection of "the throne and the altar". This approach leads to a search for sources and layers present in both parts of Nathan's oracle. P. K. McCarter, in his seminal commentary, distinguishes three layers in 2 Sam 7 7,1-17.[303] In the oldest text, consisting of vv. 1a.2-3.11b-12.13b-15a and coming from the period of Solomon, David announced his intent to build a temple for Yhwh and was rewarded with a dynastic promise. Later, the text has undergone a prophetic redaction (vv. 4-9a.15b) which indirectly undermines the Davidic dynastic ideology in that it presents the success of David and his family as utterly dependent on God's free will. David could

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[300] Whitelam, King, p. 46.
[301] Ishida, Dynasties, p. 85-98.
[302] Ishida, Dynasties, p. 97.
[303] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 220-231.

not have earned God's favor by building the temple; the temple is "unnecessary and unwanted", and "David's proposal is uncalled for and presumptuous, an act of royal supererogation."[304] The most recent layer in McCarter's model is the dtr redaction from the time of Josiah (vv. 1b.9b–11a.13a.16a, and perhaps further minor intrusions in the text). A few other scholars reconstructed the oldest layer in 2 Sam 7 in a similar way, recently e. g. P. Kasari (vv. 1a.2–5a.8aβbα*.9a.12aαβb.14a.15a.17)[305], T. Rudnig (vv. 1–3.11b.16a)[306] and O. Sergi (1a.2–3.11b)[307]. The fact that the reconstruction of older forms of the text is motivated primarily by an *a priori* notion of what the text should consist of is somewhat problematic about this approach.[308]

A common topic of historico-critical studies of 2 Sam 7 is the question of the extent of dtr influence in the text. M. Noth believed that the chapter could not be dtr, "since neither the prohibition of temple-building nor the strong emphasis on the value of the monarchy are in the spirit of Dtr." Still, even Noth found dtr intrusions in the text of the chapter in vv. 1b.7a ("judges of Israel").11a.12b–13a.22–24.[309] In the research which followed after Noth's invention of Dtr history, a thin line of studies denying a wider dtr activity in the text may be observed, with some scholars even rejecting the dtr origin of v. 13a where the building of the temple for *the name of Yahweh* is foretold.[310] On the other hand, most interpreters who accept the

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[304] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 227.

[305] Kasari, Promise, p. 21–109.

[306] Rudnig, König.

[307] Sergi, Composition, p. 263–268. On the basis of traditio-historical considerations and without extracting the oldest text from its present form, the original content of the chapter is reconstructed in a similar way by Laato, Star, p. 44. Cf., with some differences, also Levin, Verheißung, p. 251–255.

[308] Cf. McCarter's sincere statements on p. 221: "Nevertheless, even if the presence of older material is assumed, it is by no means easy to recover it by the application of standard literary-critical methods to the text, the surface of which seems to have been touched almost everywhere by a Deuteronomistic hand." Yet it must be admitted that in support of his reconstruction of the oldest text, McCarter also notes that v. 11b in 3. p. sg. seamlessly follows up with v. 3, while in the current context, v. 11b in 3. p. seems surprising (p. 223).

[309] Noth, History, p. 55–56, 126. In v. 7a then, Noth reconstructs dtr intrusion in the text according to 1 Chr 17,6. For more on the textual problem see the text-critical note above.

[310] E. g. Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 131–132; Mettinger, King, p. 48–63; Lohfink, Oracle; Caquot - Robert, Samuel, p. 421–436; Schniedewind, Society, p. 17–50.

hypothesis of the Dtr history find more dtr features in 2 Sam 7 than Noth does.

In 1965, D. J. McCarthy published a short article in which he did not rule out the possibility that 2 Sam 7 has undergone some pre-dtr development, but he recommended the chapter in its current form to be added to Noth's list of key dtr passages, in which the author of Dtr history commented on the depicted history and by means of which he combined the available sources into a coherent work.[311] According to Noth, the Deuteronomist placed these "reflexive" passages in the key moments of the history of Israel, and McCarthy believed 2 Sam 7 does, in this manner, mark the rise and the importance of the period of the Davidic monarchy that the Deuteronomist depicted, in the chapter, as staying in contrast to the period of judges (McCarthy refers to vv. 7 and 10-11; in v. 7 he thus reads שפטי ישראל together with 1 Chr 17,6MT). In the following narrative of the history of Israel, McCarthy found another two large dtr passages that are directly linked to the "programme" announced in 2 Sam 7: 1 Kings 8 contains a dtr commentary on the fulfillment of Nathan's oracle (Solomon built a temple and inherited David's throne), while 2 Kings 17 is a dtr interpretation of the "final failure of the kingship."[312]

Two chapters in *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* by F. M. Cross have been very important for the research into the topic.[313] Cross did believe that two very old prophetic oracles could be reconstructed in 2 Sam 7 (see above), but he regarded the current state of the text as very dtr processed; his list of dtr phrases in the chapter consists of 24 items[314], while he understood David's prayer in vv. 19-29 as a completely dtr composition[315]. Cross accepted McCarthy's claim that 2 Sam 7 should be added to Noth's list of key dtr passages that form the framework of the entire Dtr history, but he located the majority of these structuring passages, including 2 Sam 7, into a different context. As it is well known, Cross distinguished an activity of two dtr writers in the Dtr history: Dtr[1], working in the time of the Judean king Josiah in the 7th c.; and Dtr[2], who complemented and re-worked the writing of his predecessor around 550 B.C.E. The historical

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[311] McCarthy, II Samuel 7, p. 131-138.
[312] McCarthy, it seems, assumes Noth's notion of one dtr historian, active in the exilic period.
[313] Cross, Myth, p. 219-289.
[314] Cross, Myth, p. 252-254.
[315] Cross, Myth, p. 247, 254.

context and the intent of the original Dtr history, as created by Dtr[1], is according to Cross most apparent in the books of Kings, where the history is approached on the basis of two theological concepts: the theology of the covenant, which states that lack of faithfulness and a deviation from the covenant brings a punishment from Yhwh; and the theology of the eternal promises to David, which is based on the traditional Judean royal ideology. Numerous Judean kings deviated from Yhwh's commandments and thus brought a punishment on themselves and their people, but Yhwh never completely rejected Judah because of the promise given to David and because of Jerusalem, which he chose as the place for his temple. The connection of these two themes serves, according to Cross, as a motivation for Josiah's reformist and imperial program. The entire Israel, including the population of the former Northern kingdom, should now obey Yhwh again, *under the leadership of Josiah, the descendant of David*. In this perspective, adapted in various forms by many students of Cross, 2 Sam 7 contains very old, pre-dtr sources, but the text was thoroughly dtr processed and the dtr form of the chapter is a crucial text of the pre-exilic Dtr history.

Some of the major protagonists of the Göttingen school analyzed 2 Sam 7 in a manner that is somewhat similar to Cross, since they also find pre-dtr sources in the text and an extensive (multiple) dtr redaction. T. Veijola[316], similarly to Cross, reconstructs two formerly independent pre-dtr oracles behind the contemporary form of the chapter: an oracle against the construction of the temple (vv. 1a.2-5.7) and one promising to David that his successor will be a son of his (vv. 8a.9.10.12.14-15.17). Only the (exilic) DtrG assembled these oracles and located them in the present narrative context, while he rebranded the second oracle as the promise of an eternal dynasty and appended it by David's prayer (vv. 8b.11b.13.16.18-21.25-29; plus the title עבד in vv. 5 and 8a). Later DtrN added vv. 1b.6.11a.22-24, which seek to extend the promise to the whole people of Israel. Other scholars adhering to the Göttingen model tend to reach a similar conclusion, although their literary and redactional analyses differ in individual issues.[317]

John Van Seters dedicated to 2 Sam 7 a subchapter of his exceptional book *In Search of History*; recently he expanded on and partially altered his

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[316] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 72-79.
[317] See e.g. Kasari, Promise, p. 21-109.

position in *The Biblical Saga of King David*.[318] In a rather radical manner, Van Setters took up McCarthy's opinion that 2 Sam 7 is one of the key texts of Dtr history that the Deuteronomist located in the decisive moments of Israel's history. Van Setters believes that the history of David's rise was composed by the (exilic) Deuteronomist, and in the original form of Dtr history, 2 Sam 7 constituted the peak and in substance the conclusion to the story of David (what is known as the Succession narrative or Court History in 2 Sam 9-20 and 1 Kgs 1; 2,5-9.13-48 is considered by Van Seters a later addition to DH). To the list of dtr phrases used in 2 Sam 7 as established by Cross, Van Setters added a description of the relations between the chapter and the imminent dtr (according to Van Setters) literary context. Van Setters believes the Deuteronomist is the author of the entire 2 Sam 7 in which no older sources can be reconstructed,[319] and he even asserts that "the notion of the Davidic promise of a perpetual dynasty is a basic ideological construction that is no older than the Dtr history."[320] Unlike many other scholars, Van Setters finds no tension between various propositions of the chapter; he regards Nathan's oracle as coherent in the respect that it is a generally positive answer to David's plan to build a house for Yhwh. The meaning of the first part of the (second) oracle (vv. 5-7) is merely a comparison of two historical periods – the time of the judges and the time of the Davidic kingdom. During the temporary rule of the judges (vv. 7.11), Yhwh's dwelling was transitory, but after the emergence of monarchy, the establishment of a permanent dynasty and the victory over the enemies of Israel, Yahweh is going to order the first David's successor to build a temple.[321] Regarding the relation of kingship and the temple in 2 Sam 7, Van Seters actually returns to the interpretation of Ishida, only with the difference that he does not date the text to 10th, but rather to 6th century.

S. L. McKenzie understands the chapter in a similar manner.[322] He also regards 2 Sam 7 as coherent in its dtr form and finds no polemic with

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[318] Van Seters, Search, p. 271-277; Van Seters, Saga, p. 241-267.

[319] Van Seters, Search, 272-277. In his later book, *The Biblical Saga of King David*, p. 259-261, Seters changed his approach in the sense that he currently regards vv. 10-11aα as a later addition.

[320]Van Seters, Search, p. 276.

[321]Van Seters, Search, p. 273. Manifestly, Van Seters reads שפטי ישראל in v. 7, in agreement with 1 Chr 17,6. Similar comments on the meaning of 2 Sam 7 are given by Schniedewind, *Society*, p. 38-39, who, however, dates the text to Solomon's times.

[322] McKenzie, David; McKenzie, Typology.

David's plan to build a temple for Yhwh in the text. McKenzie suggests that the only drawback of David's proposal was, from the perspective of the author of 2 Sam 7, the fact that the construction was not in accordance with Yhwh's time plan, since he did not yet give his people rest (we have seen above that McKenzie omits v. 1b from the original text of the chapter). "Yahweh was pleased to accept David's proposal, while also explaining that it was actually David's son who would build both houses, Yahweh's and David's."[323] The dynasty is not depicted as a direct reward for David's intention to build a temple, but the mere fact that Yahweh's promise was given after the intention was expressed "certainly cements the relationship between temple and dynasty, two institutions that were inextricably linked in the ancient Near East anyway."[324] McKenzie locates the origin of the Dtr history to the exilic period and the Deuteronomist, in his view, did not wish to suggest in 2 Sam 7 or any other occurrences of the dynastic promise that the Davidic dynasty should rule forever; he rather wished to explain, why the Davidides were in power for so long. McKenzie, like Van Seters, regards 2 Sam 7 as a "fountainhead of all texts dealing with the Davidic Promise or covenant in the Hebrew Bible."[325] The first attested form of the Davidic promise thus emerged as an aetiology of the already non-existent phenomenon, although McKenzie admits that the use of לעולם may reflect a "a glimmer of hope for the future." [326]

Van Seters and McKenzie, I believe, rightly observed that we can hardly reconstruct old pre-dtr forms of the text in 2 Sam 7 on literary-critical terms, but their interpretation of the meaning of the text is not satisfactory, like the one of Ishida, since the first part of Nathan's second oracle is in clear polemic with David's intention. McKenzie's suggestion quoted as first in the previous paragraph corresponds to the perspective of 1 Kgs 5,17-19 and 1 Kgs 8,17-19, but it has little to do with the meaning of 2 Sam 7 itself.

W. Oswald also considers 2 Sam 7 utterly dtr and fundamentally a coherent text.[327] Oswald ascribes nearly all the text of the chapter to the first version of Dtr history which contained only the books of Samuel-Kings;

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[323] McKenzie, David, p. 223–224.
[324] McKenzie, David, p. 216.
[325] McKenzie, Typology, p. 177.
[326] McKenzie, Typology, p. 178.
[327] Oswald, Nathan, p. 17–105.

the author of vv. 10-11aα.23-24, focusing on the people of Israel instead of the Davidic dynasty, is a later redactor of the "great" Dtr history (Deut 1-2 Kings 25). Oswald believes that 2 Sam 7 should be read in a direct relation to the end of Dtr history in 2 Kgs 25,27-30, which describes the release of Jehoiachin in Babylonian exile. The specific character of 2 Sam 7 is, in his opinion, utterly determined by Jehoiachin's situation in Babylon. For instance, he points out that there is no particular determination in the dynastic promise or David's prayer as to what territorial-political unit would David's descendants rule "eternally", which means that the promise may be applied also to the captive Jehoiachin. Above all, this historical location of 2 Sam 7 allows Oswald to explain the presence of the first part of the (second) Nathan's oracle (vv. 5-7) in a text leading up to the promise of a dynasty. Vv. 5-7, Oswald believes, do not forbid the construction of the temple, they only *free* David of this traditional task of the king. David's rule was possible without the temple, and the same applies to his descendants, e.g. Jehoiachin after the fall of the temple in 586. The legitimacy of the Davidides is not linked to the existence of the temple and its destruction does not doubt it in any way.

In my MA thesis I reached a very similar conclusion to that of W. Oswald: 2 Sam 7 is actually a coherent ("dtr") composition written in the 6th c. B.C.E., and its function was to counter the traditionally close relation between kingship and the temple, in order that after the fall of the temple, it could be possible to hope that the Davidic dynasty would not share the fate of the temple.[328] At that time Oswald's book was not published, which indicates that we reached the similar conclusion independently. I hope that even today, after the publication of Oswald's monograph, my work on 2 Sam 7 may still be useful, since we have reached the similar conclusion by following slightly different trajectories and, as an informed reader will soon realize, we differ in many individual opinions. Also, I believe today (unlike Oswald) that the origin of 2 Sam 7 is, outside the "exilic" period, fathomable also during the Persian period *after* Zerubbabel. In the following analysis, I will attempt to be most concise where I am closest to Oswald, so that I would not repeat his arguments; on the contrary I tend to expand on the points where we differ and where I follow a different approach.

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[328] J. Rückl, „*Tvůj trůn bude navěky upevněn*": *2S 7,1-17 v kontextu deuteronomistické dějepravy*, Thesis, ETF UK, Prague 2003; similarly *Id*., Dynastie.

1.3 The traditional Judean royal ideology as an ideological (and literary) background of 2 Sam 7

Methodological notes

As in the case of other analyses of biblical texts in this dissertation, the following study of 2 Sam 7 primarily uses the traditional instrumentarium of historico-critical philology, which is ultimately based on "slow reading" and of which it is not necessary to give a lengthy theoretical account. However, considering the extent and variability of secondary literature already published on 2 Sam 7, I choose to begin my interpretation with a few methodological notes.

Regardless whether 2 Sam 7 is a homogeneous composition or a text written in several phases, we may hardly doubt that the text had a political dimension at the time of its origin. In order to understand the function and intention of the text, it seems appropriate to analyze it as an act of political discourse, but in that respect it would be important to know, when and where the text was written, what socio-political position was held by its author (or the commissioner?), for whom the text was written, how had it been distributed, etc. Under these conditions, we could nearly reach the final point of all historical criticism and read the text "with the eyes of the author(s) as well as those of the (changing) readers."[329] However, we actually lack precise information on the first immediate context of many biblical texts, and finding answers to at least some of the above mentioned questions is the very purpose of historico-critical research. We do not know the precise author of 2 Sam 7 or authors of its various parts or layers, and we have seen that scholars attempted to read the text in a variety of contexts.

How should we proceed in order to make a historical–critical analysis as "empirical" as possible, i.e. based on the facts that are actually available? I believe that, seeking the intention of 2 Sam 7, we might draw inspiration from the reception-historical method of the study of literature, as formulated by H. R. Jauss.[330] Jauss suggests that we describe the primary

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[329] Oeming, *Contemporary Biblical Hermeneutics: An Introduction*, Ashgate, 2006, p. 39.

[330] The following paragraphs draw on Jauss's article Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory, *New Literary History* 2 (1970), p. 7-37. W. M. Schniedewind also avows the reception-historical method of Jauss in *Society and the Promise to David*, pp. 5-14. In this book, Schniedewind made an attempt to describe the history of reception of the

effect of the work on the basis of its relationship to the expectations of the audience, which at the time of the publication of the text follow "from a previous understanding of the genre, from the form and themes of already familiar works, and from the contrast between poetic and practical language."[331] The new literary work is not presented and received as "something absolutely new in an informational vacuum", it rather prepares the reader, using a number of more or less overt or hidden signals, references and signs, for some manner of reception, for instance by evoking older literary texts and non-literal facts, it leads the reader to some specific emotional mood and "with its 'beginning' arouses expectations for the 'middle and end'."[332] The interaction of the text with the reader's experience creates a horizon of expectations, which can be certified, altered or denied by the following text. We can describe any literary work on the backdrop of the reconstructed horizon of expectations, but the ideal cases are the texts that intentionally evoke a certain horizon of expectations, using genre conventions and conventions of other sorts, and then bring these expectations down. As an example of such a text, Jauss mentions *Don Quixote* where Cervantes allows the emergence of the horizon of expectations of a chivalric romance, but the text itself is a parody of the genre.

Jauss points out the importance of the method of the history of reception in relation to understanding old literature.

> "Whenever the writer of a work is unknown, his intent not recorded, or his relationship to sources and models only indirectly accessible, the philological question of how the text is 'properly' to be understood, that is according to its intention and its time, can best be answered if the text is considered in contrast to the background of the works which the author could expect his contemporary public to know either explicitly or implicitly." [333]

As I already indicated in my textual note on 2 Sam 7,1b and as I will explain in detail further below, we can be quite certain in case of 2 Sam 7

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dynastic promise since the formulation of Nathan's oracle (in the time of Solomon, Schniedewind believes) until its reception in Dead Sea scrolls. A reader familiar with Schniedewind's study will soon understand that my understanding of 2 Sam 7 differs from Schniedewind's in many respects. Schniedewind actually does not use the reception-historical method for the interpretation of 2 Sam 7 itself.

[331] Jauss, History, p. 11.
[332] Jauss, History, p. 12.
[333] Jauss, History, p. 19.

that its author, like the writers mentioned by Jauss, intentionally allows for an emergence of a false horizon of expectations in the introduction (vv. 1–3). These expectations are then rejected in the following text. In v. 2 David describes the situation in the sense that Nathan supports his plan in his first oracle (v. 3) without reservations. This oracle itself, then, embodies a false expectation that the text seeks to invoke, while the formulation of the oracle itself enhances the expectation – the prophet announces that Yhwh is with him, and that has been the leitmotif of David's story so far (1 Sam 16,18 [cf. v. 13]; 17,37; 18,12.14.28; 20,13; 2 Sam 5,10; David's career is summarized in a similar manner in 2 Sam 7,9). Also to support the false impression that David's plan to build a temple is correct, there is 2 Sam 7,1b, which is probably a reference to Deut 12,9-11, according to which a centralization of the cult is to come after the gift of rest. But we could object to this description of the first three verses of 2 Sam 7 that some scholars reconstruct an older form of the text, where a contradiction between expectation brought by the introduction and the following text is less apparent than in the current Masoretic[334] text (this applies for instance to aforementioned reconstructions by P. K. McCarter, T. Ruding, O. Sergi and others). I will try to show in the following explanation that vv. 1-3 were written with respect to the subsequent development of the text, so that the tension between vv. 1-3 and the subsequent text cannot be dealt with on literary-critical terms.

Does this strategy of evoking a false expectation in 2 Sam 7 have a different than esthetic function? I believe it does and at this point we are returning to Jauss's idea that the intention of an old work can be reconstructed if we read it on the backdrop of the works that the author expects his readers to be acquainted with (either implicitly or explicitly). The aim of various means of creating false expectations in 2 Sam 7,1–3 is to evoke some aspects of the relationship between the temple and kingship in the traditional (pre-exilic) Judean royal ideology, in order that this traditional form of the relationship might be rejected by means of the text in its entirety. We should thus read 2 Sam 7 on the backdrop of the relationship between the temple and the kingship in Judean royal ideology. The construction of the text indicates, in my opinion, that the author expects that the implied readers are aware of this aspect of the traditional

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[334] As we have seen, 2 Sam 7 has quite different meaning in LXX and in MT. As for the meaning of the text, MT provides an older form of the text than LXX.

Judean royal ideology; in this sense, the reception-historical consideration secures a relatively "empirical" nature of my interpretation. Based on the acquired basic intention of the text, we can subsequently attempt for its dating and location in a social context, which could lead us to a more precise interpretation of the intended function of the text. A reconstruction of the ideological background that 2 Sam 7 assumes and with which it raises a polemic is naturally based on a thorough analysis of the text, but in order to be clear, it is better to place it before the analysis of 2 Sam 7 itself.

H. S. Jauss suggested that we interpret the ancient texts on the backdrop of those texts that the author probably had implicitly or explicitly assumed his reader to know. As to the issue of the relation between the temple and kingship in 2 Sam 7, we could hardly say whether the author expected knowledge of specific texts containing the traditional form of this relation on the part of his first readers, and if he did, we do not know whether such texts are available today. But texts regarding the traditional form of this aspect of the Judean royal ideology are available, regardless whether they are direct intertexts of 2 Sam 7 or otherwise. In our work, the method of Jauss cannot be matched by studying 2 Sam 7 on the backdrop of individual older texts that the author expected his reader to be acquainted with; we can, on the other hand, study 2 Sam 7 on the more general terms on the backdrop of the relation between the temple and the kingship in the traditional Judean royal ideology, which can be reconstructed from the existing texts. Naturally, I do not suggest that the reconstructed relation between the temple and kingship in the pre-exilic Judean royal ideology had to be understood identically in various social strata and various phases of the existence of the Judean monarchy. We reconstruct the form of the Judean royal ideology that is implicitly presupposed by 2 Sam 7 and which is sufficiently attested in other texts.

2 Sam 7 and the royal ideology of Mesopotamian royal inscriptions (T. Ishida, A. Laato, D. F. Murray and W. Oswald)

According to K. W. Whitelam, the use of religion to legitimize kingly power is one of the most striking common features of all the early agrarian states of the Near East, India or Mid America.[335] In the ancient Near East, the particular relationship of the king toward the world of the divine is often manifested in the fact that the king builds and repairs temples,

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[335] Whitelam, King, p. 46.

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although this activity is understood differently in individual religious systems. O. Keel notes the basic difference between the understanding of the building of the temple by the king in Egypt and in Mesopotamia: in Egypt, the king builds temples and makes sacrifices to the gods as a son of god, grateful for the divine life the gods have given him, while in Mesopotamia, the king builds the temple as a servant of gods and a representative of humankind that was created to serve the gods. To exemplify this Mesopotamian notion, Keel mentions a Babylonian text depicting the creative work of the god Ea: "He created the king to be custodian of the temple, he created mankind to discharge service to the gods."[336] Keel also illustrates this fundamental difference between Egypt and Mesopotamia by iconographic materials. Regardless of these and other differences between various forms of the royal ideology in the ancient Near East, it is clear that the relation between the temple and the dynasty in 2 Sam 7 has to be regarded in this wider context.

Scholars have most often compared the relation of kingship and the temple in 2 Sam 7 to their constellation in the royal inscriptions which were commissioned by the Mesopotamian kings on the occasion of completing the construction or repair works on a temple. The inscriptions have survived on bricks, parts of the constructions, etc. There are differences between the inscriptions from different periods and different parts of Mesopotamia; T. Ishida, comparing the inscriptions with 2 Sam 7, focused primarily on the texts of Neo-Babylonian origin. A typical inscription, according to Ishida, consists of three parts: 1) the name of the king and his titles; 2) a narrative of the divine choice of the king, the divine help and the building of the temple; 3) the king's prayer for his rule and his dynasty. As an example, Ishida quotes (in an extremely abridged form) an inscription of Nabopolasar (625-605) regarding the reconstruction of Etemenanki, the temple of Marduk in Babylon:

> "Nabopolassar, the viceroy of Babylon, the king of Sumer and Akkad … when on the command of Nebo and Marduk … I subjugated the Assyrians, … at that time Marduk, the lord, ordered me firmly to found the base of Etemenanki … as deep as the nether world and to make its top compete with heaven … I asked the oracle of Šamaš, Adad and Marduk, and the great gods showed me through the decision of an oracle (the place) where I should put my heart and take the measurements into consideration … I built a temple after the copy of Ebabbarra with joy and jubilation, and I elevated its top as high as a mountain … O Marduk, my lord, look joyously at my pious work!

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[336] Keel, Symbolism, p. 269-280. The quotation from p. 269.

By your noble command, that will be never changed, may the work, the work of my hand, last for ever! As the bricks of Etemenanki are firm for ever, establish the foundation of my throne for all time to come!"[337]

Nabopolassar, unlike David, succeeded in building the temple; apart from that, Ishida believes, 2 Sam 7 contains all the other main themes of the inscription with the exception of the king's titles. Similarly as in the inscription, the defeat of enemies is also a condition for the building of a temple in 2 Sam 7. The topic of the building is introduced next – Nabopolassar receives an order from Marduk, while David consults a prophet, but the texts agree in that God's will must be known before the beginning of the building. But after this point, the texts vary, as "this theme does not lead to the building of a temple in the prophecy as it does in the inscription."[338] Instead of granting the building, Yahweh reminds David of the good he did for him, and Ishida finds a parallel for this in another inscription of Nabopolassar:

"When I was a son of nobody in my youth … he (i.e. Marduk) appointed me to be the head in the land where I was born, (and) I was designated to be the ruler of the land and the people, he made a good tutelary deity go by my side … he made Nergal, the mighty one among the gods, go as a messenger by my side, he killed my enemies and overthrew my opponents, as to the Assyrians, who ruled over all the peoples since ancient time and had tortured the people of the land by their heavy yoke, I, the weak and powerless, trusted in the lord of the lords and with the mighty power of Nebo and Marduk, my lords, cut their foot from the land of Akkad and cast away their yoke."[339]

Ishida finds other topics of Nathan's oracle – the promise of a dynasty; the building of the temple; the fatherly relationship of God to the son of David, who will build the temple[340]; the irreversibility of grace – in the prayer of a building inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II. (605-562):

"O Marduk … you have begotten me (and) entrusted me with the kingship over the entire people … I am really the king, the provider, the beloved of your heart … By your command, merciful Marduk, may the temple, which I built, be strong for ever! …

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[337] Quoted from T. Ishida, Dynasties, p. 88; the text and its German translation in Langdon, Königsinschriften,, p. 60–65.
[338] Ishida, Dynasties, p. 88.
[339] Ishida, Dynasties, p. 89; Langdon, Königsinschriften, p. 66–69.
[340] So Ishida, Dynasties, p. 90; I believe that in 2 Sam 7, the promise of a father-son relationship between the deity and the king concerns the descendants of David in general.

From the west to the east, where the sun rises, may my enemy not be, nor have I adversary! May my descendants rule for ever in it over the black- headed people!" [341]

Ishida, besides finding similar topics in the Mesopotamian (primarily neo-Babylonian) inscriptions and 2 Sam 7, also believes that the inscriptions and 2 Sam 7 contain a fairly similar royal ideology, the basis of which is the divine promise of a dynasty and a building of a temple by a king.[342]

Let us leave aside the question whether the idea of the "divine promise of a dynasty" is indeed typical of the Mesopotamian royal ideology; at any rate, the motif of king's descendants only appears in the royal prayer in the second part of the texts, and, unlike David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,18-29, in these inscriptions the king never refers in his prayer to a previous promise of a dynasty given to him by the deity. The important question is whether the issues of kingship and the temple appear in 2 Sam 7 in a similar constellation as in the inscriptions. In order to be able to claim that there is that "natural" relation between the temple and the kingship in 2 Sam 7, the building of the temple serving to legitimize the power of the king, he must prove that Nathan's oracle contains no polemic with the temple and its function. The framing of Yhwh's rejection of David's intention (vv. 5b-7) with rhetorical questions is interpreted by Ishida in the manner that Nathan did not wish to reject the king's plan directly. The prophet himself agreed with the building (v. 3), but later he found out it could not be done due to antagonisms within the king's court and therefore he reluctantly presented an oracle, in which he halted it.[343] The passage, according to Ishida, is intentionally ambiguous, since it has to explain a delicate problem that Yhwh rejected the plan of the king who did have his grace. Also the claim that God "did not reside in a house" since the exodus from Egypt, a claim that ignores the temple in Shiloh, is supposed to minimize David's failure by pointing out that nobody was yet chosen to build a temple.

Ishida's interpretation of the rhetorical questions in vv. 5-7 is quite wrong. As I will show below, the rhetorical questions in vv. 5.7 are, on the contrary, stronger than a direct rejection of David's intention. But if we cannot exclude from 2 Sam 7 all polemic with David's plan to build a

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[341] Quoted from Ishida, Dynasties, p. 90; Langdon, Königsinschriften, p. 120-121.

[342] Ishida, Dynasties, p. 97.

[343] In the introduction to his book (p. 3-5), Ishida avows a very optimistic understanding of the historical liability of the Biblical historical narratives.

temple for Yhwh to dwell in, Ishida's hypothesis that the temple and the kingship (Ishida speaks explicitly of a dynasty) appear in the chapter in the same pattern as in the royal ideology contained in the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions collapses. To his credit, Ishida illustrated very well the often mentioned link between the dynasty and the temple in the ancient Near-Eastern royal ideology on Neo-Babylonian texts. Ishida's focus on Neo-Babylonian texts is all the more interesting since in this way we reach close proximity (in temporal and perhaps also spatial terms) to the "dtr" author of 2 Sam 7.[344] But as a whole, we cannot consider the content of 2 Sam 7 analogous to these inscriptions.

A. Laato, in his comparison of 2 Sam 7 with Mesopotamian royal inscriptions, focused primarily on Assyrian texts from the 2nd millennium and the beginning of the 1st millennium, probably in order to show that the royal ideology contained in these inscriptions could have existed in Israel "already during the time that David planned to build a Temple for Yahweh."[345] Laato reaches a similar conclusion to Ishida:

> "[T]he Akkadian royal inscriptions indicate that the idea of a dynasty is a common theme connected with the building of a temple. The king who builds a house (= temple) for the gods is promised that the gods will build a house (= dynasty) for him. 2 Samuel 7 contains similar 'exchange': (David and) Solomon, who (planned and) built a House for Yahweh, are promised that Yahweh will build a house for them, i.e., the dynasty of (David and) Solomon."[346]

Again, there is the question whether a similarly structured relation between the building of the temple and the *promise of a dynasty* is actually characteristic of the Assyrian inscriptions. Laato finds the idea of the promise of an eternal dynasty in the introduction to one of the inscriptions of Tiglat-Pileser I. (1114-1076): "to him [=Tiglat-Pileser] you [the great gods] granted leadership, supremacy, (and) valour, pronounced forever his

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[344] As it is well known, M. Noth situated the origin of Dtr history to Palestine (Noth, History, p. 142). Still, many scholars believe that the work is bound to the exilic circles – for a summarizing overview of the arguments, see Römer – Pury, Historiography, p. 106. If we believe that numerous scribes using "dtr" phraseology and advocating the (evolving) "dtr" ideological concepts were active in Deuteronomy and Former Prophets (and other books) during a long stretch of time, any unequivocal locating of the origin of Dtr history to Palestine or Babylon is problematic. R. Albertz dedicated several pioneering studies to this issue, postulating a cleavage of the dtr "movement" between a Palestinian and an exilic current. See primarily Albertz, Search, p. 1-17.

[345] Laato, Star, p. 38-45 (quotation from p. 40).

[346] Laato, Star, p. 40.

destiny of dominion as powerful and (the destiny) of his priestly progeny for Eḫursagkurkurra."[347] The relationship between the building of the temple and the (requested) blessing of the descendants is otherwise apparent primarily in the prayers contained in the inscriptions, for instance in this inscription of Shalmaneser I. (1274–1245):

> "When Aššur, the lord enters that temple and joyfully takes his place of the lofty dais, may he see the brilliant work of that temple and rejoice. May he receive my prayers, may he hear my supplications. For eternity may he greatly decree with his mighty voice a destiny of well-being for my vice-regency and for the vice-regency of my progeny (and) abundance during my reign."[348]

A blessing of the descendants is among the things the king demands in connection to the building of the temple and the divine presence in it. Therefore, neither Assyrian building inscriptions are as focused on the issue of an eternal dynasty as 2 Sam 7. The connection between the building of the temple and the blessing of a king (and his descendants) is, however, obvious.

The basic problem with Latto's hypothesis is similar to that of Ishida's: a "natural" relationship of the *do ut des* type between the building of the temple and a blessing of the kingship (or, as Laato says, between the temple and the royal dynasty) is to be found in 2 Sam 7 only once we believe that the chapter contains no polemic with David's plan to build a temple for Yhwh. Unlike Ishida, Laato seems to acknowledge that to interpret the current form of 2 Sam 7 in this manner is problematic and he thus postulates the existence of an older form of the text, one that would contain an identical form of royal ideology to the one present in the Assyrian inscriptions. Laato scarcely at all attempts to reconstruct the older text in literary-critical terms on the basis of commonly used clues, but he postulates its existence primarily on the basis of the very comparison with the Assyrian inscriptions.[349] As Laato himself admits, "[t]here is not much left from the original core of 2 Samuel 7."[350]

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[347] Laato, Star, p. 39; A.0.87.1 col. 1, lines 22-27.

[348] Laato, Star, p. 39; A.0.77.1 lines 149–155; see also A.0.87.1 col. 8, lines 17–38, also quoted by Laato on p. 40.

[349] Cf. Laato, Star, p. 44: "My hypothesis is based mainly on analogies from the ancient Near Eastern royal ideology, the literary tension between the 'seed' and the pronoun הוא in 2 Sam 7:12-13, and the apparent connection between David's plan to build a house for Yahweh and Yahweh's promise to build a house for David."

[350] Laato, Star, p. 44.

D. F. Murray compared the Mesopotamian royal inscriptions with 2 Sam 5,17-7,29.[351] In his view, they present a "transtextual context" of this biblical text, especially in case of 2 Sam 7, which he approaches as "a kind of deformed building text."[352] He believes the author of 2 Sam 5,17-7,29, probably writing at the time of late Judean monarchy, could have been directly or indirectly influenced by Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, or at least by the royal ideology they contain, and he therefore concentrates mainly on Mesopotamian texts of that period. Murray provides an admirable amount of material, on which he proves that some of the inscriptions share a common *plot* with 2 Sam 5,17-7,29, and he also points to a large amount of individual *motifs*, common to the inscriptions and the Biblical text. The features known from the inscriptions are so pervasive in 2 Sam 7 that Murray regards them as a "constitutive part of the pragmatics of our text, a context of understanding necessary for the rhetorical force (poetics) of the text's polemic to be fully effective."[353]

Murray provides a valuable insight that 2 Sam 7 cannot be a Judean variant of the royal ideology present in the Mesopotamian building inscriptions, since 2 Sam 7 is in an obvious polemic with David's plan to build a temple, and the relationship between the temple and kingship is different in 2 Sam 7 than in the inscriptions. He is right in claiming that 2 Sam 7 rejects the traditional relationship between the temple and the kingly power; yet I disagree with his description of the polemic in 2 Sam 7.

In Murray's opinion, the goal of the section 2 Sam 5,17-7,29 (and especially 2 Sam 7) is a religious polemic with excessive pretensions of the royal power. After David moved the Ark of Yahweh to his proximity in Jerusalem in 2 Sam 6, he proceeds to build a temple for Yahweh "in order to locate that god permanently in the royal capital, as it were at the beck and call of the king."[354] By building the temple, the David of the text wishes to bind Yhwh to him and gain his blessing for himself and his descendants, as, according to the inscriptions, many Mesopotamian kings endeavored. But the author(s) of 2 Sam 7 reject(s) the royal ambition to manipulate with God's blessing in such a manner. Nathan's second oracle rejects David's plan and shows that David owes everything to Yhwh, and

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[351] Murray, Prerogative, p. 247–280.
[352] Murray, Prerogative, p. 250.
[353] Murray, Prerogative, p. 248.
[354] Murray, Prerogative, p. 309.

therefore Yhwh could in no way be indebted to David; the coming dynastic promise is to be an underserved gift, yet again. A socio-critical dimension of this polemic is, in Murray's view, revealed in the mentions of Israel in vv. 8-11: when Yhwh called David away from his herd to become the leader of Israel, he did not do so because of the king himself, but primary for the sake of the people. No matter how profitable Yhwh's deeds are for David, they are always a part of a larger plan regarding the people of God.[355] Therefore, the polemic with the traditional understanding of the deity-kingship relationship is not radical, and it leads to a compromise: neither kingship nor dynastic principle is rejected, but the king owes all to God's free choice, and the ultimate goal of all the favor granted to the king and his dynasty is the prosperity of Yhwh's people. The fact that the king is shown his place in an oracle uttered by a *prophet* means that "this powerful polemic which champions the divine prerogative against an overweening royal pretension effectively locates that prerogative for all human purposes in the institution of prophecy."[356] That may indicate the social environment in which the text originated.

In my opinion, the polemic with David's intention to build a temple for Yhwh may hardly carry such a sophisticated meaning in 2 Sam 7. Nathan's oracle leads to a proclamation that the Davidic dynasty would rule eternally and Yhwh would not withdraw his favor from them even if the Davidic kings would be unfaithful to him. That is hardly a critique of the king's position in the religious-political social hierarchy. What use would the ostensible critics of king's ambitions to manipulate God's blessings in his favor have from the proclamation that the God's favor is given to the members of the royal dynasty by divine will, eternally and without respect to their achievements and their sins? W. Oswald, as noted above, connects the unusual constellation (different from Mesopotamian building inscriptions) of the themes of temple and dynasty in 2 Sam 7 with the situation of king Jehoiachin in the Babylonian exile after the fall of the temple in 586, which I find more sensible than Murray's interpretation.[357]

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[355] Murray, Prerogative, p. 178–180.

[356] Murray, Prerogative, p. 314.

[357] For a comparison of 2 Sam 7 with Mesopotamian building inscriptions see primarily Oswald, Nathan, p. 35–38, 41–44, 84–85.

The temple and the kingship in the (pre-exilic) Judean royal ideology

D. F. Murray regarded the building inscriptions of the Mesopotamian kings as a "transtextual context" of 2 Sam 7 and the chapter itself as a kind of parody of a building inscription. It cannot be ruled out that the author of 2 Sam 7 knew the tradition of the Mesopotamian building inscriptions and perhaps some concrete texts, especially if he worked in the Babylonian exile. Still, it seems adequate to observe 2 Sam 7 on the backdrop of Judean texts, because 2 Sam 7 re-signifies the relationship of the *temple of Jerusalem* and the *Davidic king* and thus deals with the traditional *Judean* royal ideology.

As an example of the traditional form of Judean royal ideology (at least regarding the relationship between the temple and kingship), the knowledge of which the author of 2 Sam 7 assumes on the part of his readers and with which he is in polemic, we may use Ps 132. Most scholars consider this psalm pre-exilic, usually arguing that the mentions of Yahweh's antointed in vv. 10.17 presuppose a context of the Judean monarchy and v. 8 reflects the existence of a cultic procession with the Ark, which presumably was in the Jerusalem temple till 586 B.C.E., but not during the Second Temple period.[358] Some argue in favor of a later, probably post-exilic origin of the psalm or at least of its current form.[359] These scholars usually substantiate their claim by the presence of dtr phraseology and concepts; S. L. McKenzie, for instance, points out the formulations בעבור דוד עבדך (v. 10), מפרי בטנך (v. 11), a mention of David's נר in Jerusalem (v. 17), a notion of the Davidic promise as a vow (the verb שבע ni. in v. 11), the idea that Davidic kings have to observe Yhwh's covenant and commandments (בריתי ועדתי in v. 12) and the use of the verb בחר for Yhwh's choice of Jerusalem as his dwelling place[360]; it is a question though, whether these features are specific enough in order to speak for the dependence of the psalm on dtr literature. H. U. Steymans argues in favour of a post-exilic origin in a different way. He believes Ps

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[358] Both arguments have recently appeared e.g. in Day, Ark, p. 65–77, esp. 65–67.

[359] E.g. McKenzie, Typology, p. 170–172; Vermeylen, Symbolique, p. 435–485; Steymans, David, p. 403–422; Hossfeld – Zenger, Psalms 3, p. 454–468 (with a very useful paradigmatic overview of positions suggested in the previous research on p. 458–459). – Waschke, Verhältnis, p. 117–119, tries to reconstruct the old core of the psalm.

[360] For occurrences of these and similar formulations and concepts elsewhere see McKenzie, Typology, p. 170–171.

132 intentionally does not use the vocabulary of 2 Sam 6-7 and 1 Kgs 5-9, which, considering the topic of the psalm, would be at hand as reference texts, but it instead uses the vocabulary typical for the Pentateuch, mainly priestly texts. Steymans suggests that in this way, the Davidic tradition is subject to reinterpretation, in which light David becomes a (mere) founder ("patriarch") of the Zion cult. I personally doubt that his method, consisting solely of mapping the appearance of selected words in a concordance, could lead to persuasive conclusions regarding the intention of the examined text. I shall return to some of Steymans's conclusions later in the text.

The time of origin of Ps 132 is less important for our purposes than it might seem. I believe the final form of the psalm, primarily the explicit conditionality of David's covenant, could hardly be pre-exilic: as for the structure of the relationship between the temple and kingship in the Judean royal ideology, Ps 132 provides a more traditional and older phase than 2 Sam 7. According to Ps 132, Yhwh's favor granted to David and to the dynasty is a reward for the king's merits in the establishment of the sanctuary and, at the same time, the dynasty is guaranteed by Yhwh's stay on Zion.

The psalmist prays that Yhwh remembers in David's favor "all his affliction" (כל ענותו – v. 1) during finding the "place" and "dwelling-places" (v. 5) for Yhwh (and his Ark – cf. v. 8). The expression עֻנּוֹתוֹ is best understood with MT as an inf. cs. of pual from II ענה + suff. 3. p. sg. The verb II ענה in piel (with נֶפֶשׁ as direct object, usually supplemented by a suffix referring to the subject of the verb: Lev 16,29.31; 23,27.32; Num 29,7; 30,14; Isa 58,3.5; Ps 35,13), pual (Lev 23,29) and hitpael (Ezra 8,21; Dan 10,12) may denote various forms of religiously motivated self-denial and asceticism, e.g. fasting or abstention from bathing and anointing one's body.[361] In Ps 132 the issue is David's pledge not to lie down and allow rest to his eyes until he finds a "place" and "dwelling-places" for Yhwh (vv. 2-5). The verbs used in v. 2 (שבע ni. and נדר qal) belong to the terminology of religious oaths and vows (see Num 30,2-17, especially v. 14: "Every vow and every binding oath to afflict the soul [כל נדר וכל שבעת אסר לענת נפש], her husband establishes it and her husband annuls it").[362]

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[361] For details see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, p. 1054.

[362] Cf. Steymans, David, p. 408-409, who believes, however, that the pual of II ענה is an allusion to the Day of Atonement, which would, he suggests, bring (along with other features) motifs of repentance and reconciliation to the image of David. It would suit well

It has been pointed out repeatedly that there are similarities between Ps 132,1-5 and the description of the efforts of king Gudea during the building of a temple, as it appears in the Sumerian Cylinders of Gudea.[363] Gudea's eagerness during the building of the temple is repeatedly illustrated by the fact he is deprived of sleep, as in Cyl. A xvii.7-9: "For the sake of building the temple of his king, he did not sleep at night, he did not bow the head in sleep at noon"[364] (similarly Cyl. A vi.9-11; xix.21-23; cf. also xiii.28-29). The similarity to Ps 132,1-5 is obvious; the difference between these texts lies in the fact that Gudea's vigil is caused merely by "practical" demands of the building – at least the Sumerian text lacks any overt mention of the ascetic dimension of the self-imposed sleep deprivation, a dimension dominant in Ps 132,1-5. In this way, the psalm puts a strong emphasis on the meritorious character of David's undertaking, since the function of this kind of promises, by which a man renounces something that is normally allowed, is often supplicatory in ancient Near Eastern religions including Judaism; such is clearly the case in Ps 132.[365]

At this point, we should return to the syntax of v. 1. It would be a mistake to understand vv. 1a and 1b together with LXX and Vg as a parallelism. Since the prepositions that introduce David and "all his self-denial" differ, we should rather regard 132,1 as one of the occurrences of the verb זכר (in qal) with *dativus commodi* (or *incommodi*) of the person and with direct object (or direct object introduced by the preposition על etc.).[366] This construction appears, among others, in prayers that Yhwh would count some good deeds of the faithful to their credit (Neh 5,19;

Steymans's hypothesis that in Ps 132, David is depicted in priestly colours. A modern scholar can postulate the relationship of Ps 132,1 to descriptions of the Day of Atonement in the Pentateuch on the basis of mechanical work with a concordance, but I do not believe that the original intention of Ps 132,1 was to allude to the Day of Atonement.

[363] Keel, Symbolism, p. 269-272; Averbeck in COS 2.155 (p. 421, 426). Hurowitz, House, p. 324-325, adduces several other texts containing the same motif of the "untiring temple builder."

[364] Translation Averbeck in COS 2.155.

[365] Cartledge, Vows, distinguishes between vows and oaths and obligations. While by means of an oath or an obligation a person pledges his word to do something and he then expects a positive reaction from the deity, with a vow he promises something conditionally, in case the deity fulfills his plea (see mainly p. 14-18). In Ps 132,1-5 then, if we use this distinction, we are dealing with an oath. – For the supplicatory character of David's actions in Ps 132, see also Hossfeld – Zenger, Psalms 3, p. 460-461.

[366] For more on the construction, its variants and occurrences, see Schottroff, זכר, p. 383, 386-387; and primarily Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 218-233.

13,14.22; cf. also Neh 13,31, which lacks a direct object, and 2 Kgs 20,3 = Isa 38,3; Ps 20,4; Jer 18,20, which lack a *dativus commodi*).[367] The context of Ps 132,1-5 is quite close to Neh 13,14 ("Remember this to my favor, o my God, and do not wipe out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God and for its services.") and also in Neh 13,22 and Ps 20,4, the topic are the merits for the cult. Various words (not necessarily verbal forms), derived from the cognate roots – *skr* in Phoenician and *dkr* or *zkr* in Aramean –, are used in a similar way in dedicatory or simply supplicatory Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, and W. Schottroff, taking up the work of K. Galling, even surmised that the use of the verb attested in the biblical passages mentioned above has been adopted from the usage in dedicatory inscriptions.[368] Ps 132,1 should by all means be understood as supplicating Yhwh to remember, in David's favor, all his self-denial (v. 1), and, implicitly, to reward it accordingly. V. 10 has a similar meaning, with בעבור דוד עבדך corresponding to את כל ענותו of the first verse[369], only in v. 10 it is already clear that the blessing that David earned and that Yhwh must remember is related to the kingship of his descendants.

David fulfilled his oath – he found the Ark of Yhwh (v. 6) who now has his "dwelling-places" and his (place of) rest (vv. 7-8). In response to this, Yhwh also swore "truth" to David and he will, too, fulfill his own oath (v. 11a), which consists of the dynastic promise (vv. 11b-12). The survival of the dynasty is clearly promised to David in Ps 132 for his merits for the Ark of Yhwh.

According to vv. 12-14, the rule of the Davidic dynasty is conditioned by loyalty to Yhwh, but it is also guaranteed by Yhwh's dwelling on Zion. The sons of David will *eternally* (עדי עד) sit (ישבו) on David's throne (v. 12), *because* (כי) Yhwh chose Zion for his place of residence and will *reside/sit enthroned* (אשב) here *forever* (עדי עד – v. 14). Because of the conjunction כי at the beginning of v. 13, there is, on the referential level of the proposition, a causal relationship between Yhwh's dwelling/sitting enthroned on Zion and the persistence of David's dynasty; yet a close relationship between these two realities is also indicated in that both are

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[367] It is doubtful whether 1 Chr 6,42 belongs here, see the discussion in Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 223-226.

[368] Galling, Stifter, p. 134-142; Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 218-233; Schottroff, זכר, p. 387. An excellent overview of the relevant epigraphic material in Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 43-89.

[369] Cf. Schottroff, Gedenken, p. 225-226.

addressed in identical or similar words. A similar poetic procedure is used in the description of the dynastic promise as a reward for David's merits in establishing Yhwh's sanctuary, as David's action is depicted as the content of his oath, through which he bound himself to Yhwh (אשר נשבע ליהוה – v. 2) and Yhwh's reaction as an oath, by which God is bound to David (נשבע יהוה לדוד אמת – v. 11).

These linguistic correspondences are by no means accidental; similar poetic procedures that express the relation between the building of a temple and a rule of a king using an identical vocabulary on temple and kingship, or overtly comparing their characteristics, also appear in Mesopotamian building inscriptions. As an example we may take the abovementioned inscription of Nabopolassar that T. Ishida regarded as especially similar to 2 Sam 7:

> "At that time Marduk, the lord, ordered me firmly to found (*ana šú-ùr-šú-dam*) the base (*išid-za*) of Etemenananki … as deep as the nether world and to make its top compete with heaven… As the bricks of Etemenanki are firm for ever (*aṣ-ṣi-a-tim*), establish (*šú-ùr-ši-id*) the foundation (*išid*) of my throne for all time to come (*a-na ù-um ri-e-qu-tim*)!"[370]

A close relationship of the Jerusalem temple and the Davidic ruler appears in some other texts of the Hebrew Bible. According to Ps 2,6, Yhwh established a king on his "holy mountain" Zion. In Ps 110,2, Yhwh sends forth the scepter of the king's power from Zion, while in v. 4 the king is called a priest "according to the order of Melchizedek". In Ps 78,68-72, the choice of David and the building of the sanctuary on Zion by Yahweh (!) go hand in hand, and also Ps 122,1-5 indicates that "the temple of Yahweh and the throne of the house of David belong together."[371]

As K. Galling emphasized, according to the Hebrew Bible, the Davidic kings are responsible for acquiring a land for the temple (David – 2 Sam 24); its construction (Solomon – 1 Kgs 5,16-7,51) and repairs and reconstructions (Ahaz – 2 Kgs 16,10-18; Hezekiah– 18,4.16; Josiah – 23) in

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[370] English translation according to Ishida, Dynasties, p. 88; the Akkadian text appended according to Langdon, Königsinschriften, p. 60-65. This inscription of Nabopolassar is very long (written in three columns of a total of 174 lines), and the passage mentioning Marduk's order is located close to the beginning of the inscription, while the prayer for the firmness of the king's rule is at its end. Therefore, the lexical similarities I outlined in the quotation are not so strikingly visible in the whole of the inscription. That, however, changes nothing on the nature of the issue.

[371] Keel, Symbolism, p. 277; also other examples of this paragraph are taken from Keel.

the pre-exilic period.[372] The authors of Kings probably had access to data on kingly donations to the temple (Abijam and Asa – 1 Kgs 15,15;, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Jehoash – 2 Kgs 12,19). Worth a note are the reports on repairs of the temple under Jehoash (2 Kgs 12,5-17) and Josiah (22,3-7), which do follow the orders of the king, but they are funded by donations from laymen instead of the royal treasury. In Galling's view, it is precisely thanks to the notes contained in these texts, reporting that there were no accounts on the silver collected from laymen (12,16; 22,7 – in this case a procedure ordered by the king!) and that it was not used to manufacture vessels for the temple (12,14), that we may see "that the Crown consistently saw to pass for the only donator."[373] In a wider perspective, we could point to many other texts that portray the king's role in the cult, e.g. as making sacrifices, but it is neither possible nor necessary to deal with them here.[374]

In the "post-exilic" period, specifically the building of a temple played a key role in the discourse legitimizing the position of the Davidide Zerubbabel, at least as it seems from Haggai, Zechariah and Ezra (see especially Zech 4,6-8). During the existence of the second temple, its reconstructions and repairs had also been funded by various non-royal donators, but that is beyond our topic here. Even under Herod the Great, the close relation between the temple of Jerusalem and the ruling king is shown in that the completion of the temple's reconstruction is celebrated during the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne (Ant. XV § 423).[375]

It is vital for the following analysis of 2 Sam 7 that the close relation between the temple of Jerusalem and the Davidic kings is well attested in various texts of the Hebrew Bible, and we may assume that it is an authentic feature of the royal ideology from the period of the kingdom of Judah. This relation was probably expressed and (re)constituted by numerous instruments of discourse, among other by texts of various types and functions (historical, liturgical, prophetic etc.), some of which, although possibly in a later form, have been preserved in the Hebrew Bible

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[372] Galling, Stifter, p. 135-137.
[373] Galling, Stifter, p. 136-137.
[374] An excellent overview of these texts and their comparison with non-Biblical sources of the ancient Near East is provided by Keel, Symbolism, p. 276-280.
[375] The funding of the second temple in general is treated by Galling, Stifter, p. 137-142.

(for instance Psalm 2 or perhaps the Ark narrative), and we can suppose existence of others (royal inscriptions in various areas of the temple precinct etc.). The position of the interpreter is greatly facilitated by the fact that Ps 132, regardless of when its current form appeared, contains a version of the royal ideology that is very close to the ideology both presupposed and rejected by 2 Sam 7. We have seen that from the perspective of Ps 132, the dynastic promise to David was a reward for David's merits for the sanctuary of Yhwh on Zion, while Yhwh's presence on Zion guarantees eternal survival of the dynasty. I would now like to suggest that 2 Sam 7 attempts to refute both: according to this text, the dynastic promise was not a reward for the Davidides' care of the sanctuary and Yhwh never actually "dwelled" on Zion.

1.4 A literary analysis of 2 Sam 7

In its current form, 2 Sam 7 has a transparent basic structure, clearly indicated by macro-syntactic markers.[376] The chapter consists of three parts:

1) Vv. 1-3 contain a short exposition, in which the chapter is located in certain historical context (v. 1, note the formula ויהי כי + perfect), and a short dialogue between David and Nathan, where the king proposes to build a temple and the prophet approves of this plan (vv. 2-3).

2) Vv. 4-17 contain Nathan's second oracle together with introductory and final notes that belong to it. Again, the beginning is marked by the formula ויהי in v. 4. Nathan's oracle itself falls apart into three parts. After the messenger formula in v. 5 (כה אמר יהוה) follows a section dedicated to the polemic with David's plan to build a temple (vv 5-7). After the macro-syntactic signal ועתה comes a new messenger formula (כה אמר יהוה צבאות) in v. 8, introducing a summary of Yhwh's deeds in favour of David and Israel (vv. 8-11a). The third part of the prophecy (vv. 11b-16) is introduced by the sentence והגיד לך יהוה, which can perhaps be regarded as a variant of the messenger formula (see below). This passage, containing especially the promise of an eternal Davidic dynasty, is a culmination of the whole of Nathan's prophecy.

3) The last part (vv. 18-29) is David's prayer in response to the dynastic promise.

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[376] For a similar, but more detailed description of the text's structure, see Oswald, Nathan, p. 32-33.

2 Sam 7,1–3

The chapter begins with an image of blessed David "sitting" in the palace he has built (2 Sam 5,11) for himself in Jerusalem and enjoying the rest from all his surrounding enemies.

The verb ישב qal often appears in the expression ישב על כסא which means "to reign" or "to seize the reign"[377], and in some contexts this meaning seems to be carried by the verb ישב alone. It cannot be doubted e.g. in case of Ps 29,10 or Lam 5,19, other suggested, more debatable passages are e.g. Exod 15,15[378]; 2 Sam 5,6[379]; Amos 1,5.8[380] and Zech 9,5n[381]; some scholars find a similar use of the cognate verbs in Ugaritic[382] and Phoenician[383]. It is probable that in 2 Sam 7,1(.2) the verb ישב in connection with the subject המלך conveyed to the first readers of the text the image of David sitting enthroned in his palace.

Some aspects of the discussion on the motive of David's rest from surrounding enemies in 2 Sam 7,1b were already discussed in the relevant text-critical note. Some scholars propose to omit this half-verse as a result of a scribal mistake, but I believe there is no convincing argument for this, and v. 1b can, on the contrary, be easily explained in connection to the overall function of vv. 1-3.

V. 1b (ויהוה הניח לו מסביב מכל איביו) is one of the occurrences of the longest variant of a dtr phrase, also to be found in Deut 12,10; 25,19; Josh 23,1 (shorter forms in Deut 3,20; Josh 1,13.15; 21,44; 22,4; 2 Sam 7,11; 1 Kgs 5,18; cf. also Deut 12,9; 1 Kgs 8,56). It is very likely that v. 1b refers to the commandment of centralization of the cult in Deut 12,9–11:

> [9]For you have not yet come to the rest (אל המנוחה) and to the inheritance that Yhwh your God is giving you. [10]But you will cross the Jordan and live in the land that Yhwh your God is giving you to inherit, he will give you rest from all your enemies around (והניח לכם מכל איביכם מסביב), and you will live in safety. [11]Then to the place that Yhwh your God will choose to make his name dwell there, there you shall

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[377] See, for example, 1 Kgs 1 where ישב על כסאי appears five times in parallel with ימלך (vv. 13.17.24.30.35; cf. vv. 20.27.46.48).
[378] Cross – Freedman, Song, p. 248–9.
[379] Watson, David, p. 501–2.
[380] , Cross – Freedman, p. 248–9.
[381] Görg, יָשַׁב, col. 1023–1024.
[382] Dahood, Psalms I, p. 9.
[383] Van Dijk, *Prophecy*, p. 68, concerning *KAI I*, 24:13-14.

bring all that I command you: your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and the contribution of your hand, and all your choice vows that you vow to Yhwh.

Deut 12,9-11 and 2 Sam 7,1 share not only a common dtr phraseology, since in 2 Sam 7, as in Deut 12, the gift of rest is followed by the issue of the place of orthodox cult. If we read 2 Sam 7,1b with an eye to Deut 12, the mention of the gift of rest at the beginning of 2 Sam 7 raises the issue of the construction of a central sanctuary.

The connection between the theme of rest and the building of the temple in 2 Sam 7,1-3 is not given solely by the literary relation of v. 1b to Deut 12,9-11. A similar connection is to be found in the Former Prophets in 1 Kgs 5,17-19; 8,56 and implicitly also in the juxtaposition of Josh 21,44 and Josh 22 (after the gift of rest in Josh 21,44, the cult is centralized, and the reader is probably supposed to locate the central shrine in Shiloh [18,1]; when the Transjordanian tribes build an altar, the rest of Israel is about to wage a war against them, but finally the Transjordanian tribes manage to defend themselves by claiming that their altar is no disruption to the centralized cult, as they did not build it for the sacrifices, but rather "to be a witness" of their belonging to the community of the altar of Yhwh [vv. 26f., cf. vv. 23.28f.34]). We cannot attend here to the issues of relative chronology of all these texts, but it is worth noting that at least 1 Kgs 5,17-19 could not be a work of the same author as 2 Sam 7 due to the tension between 1 Kgs 5,17 and 2 Sam 7,1b. This might indicate that the connection between rest from enemies and the building of the temple may have been a part of a wider discourse of the authors and readers of the so-called Dtr history, and the "prediction" in Deut 12,9-11 did not have to be always essential for the understanding of this connection.

We may find variations of this dtr concept in many texts of the ancient Near East. In the narrative part of Mesopotamian building inscriptions, the king's victory over his enemies often precedes the building of the temple, and the reminder of the defeat of enemies may carry the function of temporal information, as it is so in our text.[384] Even the Ugaritic cycle of Baal apparently contains the sequence of *vicorious battle – the building of a temple*.[385] But in case the defeat of enemies as a precondition of the temple

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[384] Ishida, Dynasties, p. 88-89; Murray, Prerogative, p. 256-257; Oswald, Nathan, p. 34-35.

[385] *KTU 1.1-1.4.* The parallel with 2 Sam 7 is observed in Carlson, David, p. 98.

building is a conventional part of the ancient Near Eastern texts, does it mean this motif could appear in 2 Sam 7,1b without any relation to Deut 12,9-11? Theoretically, it is plausible, but the extreme proximity of the formulations used in 2 Sam 7,1 and Deut 12,9 rather points to a literary connection between the texts, and the easiest way to fathom their relation is to suppose an influence of Deut 12,9-11 on 2 Sam 7 (including the possibility that both texts are the work of one author). In the given historical context, David's plan to build a temple corresponds to the widely shared notion of royal duties, as well as to the "particular" demand of a centralization of the cult as proclaimed by Moses before Israel's entry into the Promised Land in Deut 12.

Contrary to what is often thought (see the text-critical note), 2 Sam 7,1b fits quite well into its immediate context. In the frame of the whole of the story of David, we may think of the rest from the persecution by Saul (1 Sam 17-27) and struggles with his successor (2 Sam 2f.); the word מסביב, however, and the connection with Deut 12,9-11 (a commandment addressed to all Israel) rather indicate that the enemies in question are external (i.e. non-Israelite). David enjoys the rest after he defeated the Amalekites (1 Sam 30, cf. Deut 25,17-18) and the Philistines (2 Sam 5,17-25). According to 1 Sam 9,16 (cf. also 10,1 and, in relation to David, 2 Sam 3,18), the kingship in Israel was founded for a rescue from the Philistines. In 2 Sam 8 and 10, David's kingdom is at war again, but that changes nothing on the fact of rest in 2 Sam 7,1. Further, as I mentioned in the text-critical note, Deut 25,19 shows that the gift of rest was not necessarily understood as absence of war, so that the author of 2 Sam 7 may not have regarded v. 1 as in conflict with David's conquests in 2 Sam 8; 10. At least the current form of the books of Samuel creates the impression that David lost the rest only after his sin with Bat-Sheba (2 Sam 12,10: "Now the sword will never depart from your house").

As I already indicated in the introduction, there is a debate in the current research regarding the extent of the Dtr history in various phases of its literary development, with some scholars denying the very existence of Dtr history as a coherent literary work. Some popularity was gained by the theory according to which the dtr redaction first encompassed only the books of Samuel and Kings, and only later the whole of Dtr history as

outlined by M. Noth (Deut-Kgs).[386] W. Oswald also promotes this model. He believes 2 Sam 7 (expect vv. 10-11aα.23-24) made part of the older composition that included only Samuel and Kings (DtrG [Sam-Kön] in Oswald's terminology).[387] Yet if 2 Sam 7,1b refers to Deut 12,9-11, the chapter works with a literary horizon that, in retrospect, goes back to Deuteronomium.[388] That, however, in itself says nothing about whether books of Joshua and Judges were a part of the context in which the author of 2 Sam 7 regarded his work or whether this scribe was active in Deut-Judg.

The question of building a temple is therefore present in the text in some manner since the first verse of the chapter. David then proceeds to act as expected in the given period of history. In the form of antithetic parallelism, he provides Nathan with an impressive comparison of his own dwelling and the dwelling of the "Ark of God." The indecency of the situation is underlined by the fact that the issue is not only the house and the tent, but the material used. David's house is built from Cedar wood, popular in the ancient Near East as a building material[389], but only imported to Palestine[390] (cf. 2 Sam 5,11; 1Kings 5,20-24; Ezra 3,7) and it was probably a mark of luxury (Jer 22,14f). The tent curtains were normally of goat-hair[391], and therefore usually black (cf. Song 1,5).

The use of the verb ישב in relation to the Ark is a personification, given by the contiguity of the Ark and Yhwh. David's speech presupposes the close link between the Ark and Yhwh, otherwise there would be nothing outrageous about the comparison. M. Görg wonders whether the verb ישב could have the meaning "to sit enthroned" or "to rule"[392] in this verse as well, which may seem exaggerated at first glance. We should bear in mind, however, that in pre-exilic period the verb ישב was the most significant term for the description of Yhwh's sitting enthroned in the Temple, and the Ark, understood as Yhwh's footstool, played a significant role in this concept.[393] The question of the nature of Yhwh's presence in the temple

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[386] E.g. Provan, Hezekiah, p. 158-163; Kratz, Komposition, p. 174-175
[387] Oswald, Nathan, p. 14-15; cf. also Pietsch, Sproß, p. 42-45, 48.
[388] Similarly Rudnig, König, p. 433.
[389] See King - Stager, Life, p. 25-26.
[390] Liphschitz, Timber, p. 116-118, 122-124, 168.
[391] Koch, אֹהֶל, col. 130; King - Stager, *Life*, p. 114.
[392] Görg, יָשַׁב, col. 1024.
[393] A classic study regarding this topic is Mettinger, Dethronement, see esp. p. 19-37.

will also be thematized in the following text of the chapter (vv. 4–8 + 13), where the traditional notion of Yhwh enthroned/dwelling in the temple will be rejected in favour of the temple "for Yhwh's name". The use of the verb ישב on the Ark (metonymically representing Yhwh) in v. 2, in the context of the comparison with the king sitting enthroned/dwelling in his palace was probably supposed to evoke the traditional notion of Yhwh sitting enthroned/dwelling in the temple. At the same time, it cannot be deduced from v. 2 how the author understood the relationship between the Ark and Yhwh, since the form of David's speech (the use of metonymy) has, as we shall see, a particular function for the rhetorical strategy of the chapter.

David's description of the situation calls for a change, and it is clear that the king has in fact the intention to alter the state of things and presents his intention for evaluation to the prophet. This feature of the text has close parallels in some Mesopotamian building inscriptions where the kings depict, how various divinatory techniques were used in order to find out that the relevant deity agreed with the planned building or re-building of his temple.[394] David's procedure, therefore, seems to agree with common conventions.

Nathan agrees with David's plan and calls on the king to do all he wishes, since Yhwh is with him. Divine oracles of a similar type, consisting of an incitement towards an action, usually in imperative, and an assurance of God's presence by the addressee of the oracle that is expressed by the imperfect of the verb היה (אהיה עמך) or a nominal sentence (אתך אני; יהוה עמך etc.)[395] and usually introduced by the particle כי, appear in several texts of Hebrew Bible.[396] The action incited by these oracles is often complex or long-term or it can experience unexpected obstacles; the addressee is expected to embark on a risky action and thereby is guaranteed God's *a priori* favor. In 1 Sam 10,7, the task of the addressee (Saul) is for some reason depicted in vague terms: "do what your hand finds to do for

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[394] For details and examples see e.g. Ishida, Dynasties, p. 85-87; Oswald, Nathan, p. 36-38.

[395] A "nominal clause" of the oracle of salvation may have the same form (Isa 41,10; 43,5), for this see Schoors, *God*, p. 42-43, 47. The oracle of salvation and the form of prophetic speech used in 2 Sam 7,3 should not be confused.

[396] Gen 26,2-3; 31,3; Exod 3,10.12; Deut 31,7-8.23; Josh 1,2-9; Judg 6,14.16; 1 Sam 10,7; Jer 1,4-10.17-19; cf. also 15,19-21, which, however, also has features of an oracle of salvation.

God is with you" (cf. also 1 Sam 14,6–7). Vague and only alluded to is also the object of the dialogue between David and Nathan in 2 Sam 7,2–3. Scholars often point to the fact that David's intent in v. 2 to build a temple is described only implicitly, and neither Nathan's consent in v. 3 does make David's plan any more concrete[397], but little attention has been paid to the function of this vagueness and this implicit character of vv. 2-3 in the whole of 2 Sam 7. I shall return to this question later, in connection with the analysis of the rhetorical question in v. 5b and towards the end of the chapter, when evaluating the whole rhetorical strategy of 2 Sam 7.

Nathan's agreement in v. 3 is in contrast to his second oracle in vv. 4-7, where he rejects David's plan to build a temple. This contradiction is often explained by the diachronic development of the text, as I already mentioned in the overview of the history of research. Others believe that both oracles can be read as parts of a single text, if we understand they have a different function and value. M. Noth[398] and F. M. Cross[399] believe that Nathan's first answer cannot be understood as an expression of the prophet's standpoint, since the first saying is merely a formality, deriving from Nathan's position as a servant of the king. The genuine oracle of the prophet comes as late as in the 5th verse. That leaves us with the question why is the first oracle contained in the text at all.

W. Oswald regards the dialogue in 2-3 in a different manner.[400] Nathan is called a prophet in v. 2, but his first oracle is not introduced by the messenger formula, and thereby, according to Oswald, is in no way a proclamation of the word of God, but merely an advice. Oswald finds here a specific notion of the prophet's function, the prophet being not merely a mediator of the word of God, but also an advisor. In Owald's view, even Nathan's advisory function is a part of his "prophetic" function and has a divinatory character, so that even this way this feature of the text is in accord with the mentioned Mesopotamian building inscriptions where the

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[397] For example McKenzie, David, p. 212-213; Fokkelman, Art III, p. 210-211; Oswald, Nathan, p. 38.
[398] Noth, David, p. 129.
[399] Cross, Myth, p. 242.
[400] Oswald, Nathan, p. 36–38.

kings attempt to find out if the planned building of the temple or its re-construction is in accord with the will of the relevant deity.[401]

We cannot rule out the possibility that v. 3 reflects the author's knowledge of the advisory function of the prophets (either real or presented as an ideal in some biblical texts), but it becomes clear since v. 5 that Nathan's first oracle or "advice" was *not* in accord with God's will and therefore had no divinatory value. The important point is that v. 3, like everything else in the exposition of the chapter in vv. 1-3, adds to the evocation of a false horizon of expectations that will be denied in the following text. V. 1 described David's situation as adequate to the building of the temple and David, as a pious king should, presents Nathan with his wish to build a temple in v. 2. David's intent is only alluded to in the description of the offensive disagreement between the dwelling of David and the dwelling of the Ark, and this implicit manner should probably lead to the fact that a fitting conclusion on the necessity of the building of the temple is not derived only by Nathan, but mainly the reader himself. Nathan's answer is, then, an embodiment of the false expectation that the given text attempted to create, while the formulation of the saying further reinforces this expectation. The oracle is not introduced by the messenger formula, but is delivered by a prophet that was questioned as such (v. 2) in the situation that requires the knowledge of God's will (cf. the building inscriptions noted by Oswald and others), and who also answers with help of a form of speech that often appears in the Hebrew bible in Divine oracles, mediated by a prophet or not (see the list above). Further, the fact that Yhwh is with David has so far been a leitmotiv of the story of David (1 Sam 16,18 [cf. v. 13]; 17,37; 18,12.14.28; 20,13; 2 Sam 5,10; in this manner, David's career is summarized in v 2 Sam 7,9).

The intended readers of 2 Sam 7,1-3 were actually not utterly ignorant of the historical traditions of the (first) temple of Jerusalem and they knew that the building was usually ascribed to Solomon, not to David. Still, this is not in a major contradiction to my description of creating false expectations in these verses, it only shows how complex a relationship between the text and reader's experience and knowledge of the world can be. I shall return to this problem later, when it becomes clearer what

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[401] For the advisory role of the prophet, see Oswald, Nathan, p. 265-274. Nathan's image as an advisor is, Oswald believes, typical mainly for the texts attributed to the History of David's succession in 2 Sam 12 and 1 Kgs 1.

function does the false horizon of expectations evoked by vv. 1–3 have in the rhetorical strategy of 2 Sam 7 as a whole.

2 Sam 7,4–7

In vv. 4–5, there is a quick succession of the word–event formula and the messenger formula, which creates an obvious contrast with the absence of anything of a similar sort in the introduction of the first Nathan's oracle. Since v. 4, it is obvious to the reader that the first oracle did not translate God's will and an authentic prophecy comes only now. A repetition of the messenger formula in v. 8, the clause והגיד לך יהוה in v. 11bα, Yhwh's orders, in what manner should Nathan speak to David (vv. 5.8) and the concluding remark in v. 17 that the prophet spoke to the king "according to all these words, and according to all this vision" all support this impression.

The oracle itself begins in v. 5b with the following question: האתה תבנה לי בית לשבתי; the understanding of this question often has major importance for understanding of Nathan's oracle. The proposed interpretations differ in relation to the manner, in which the interpreters understand the emphasized "you" at the beginning of the sentence, or, more specifically, with whom the pronoun is intended to contrast.

Since J. Wellhausen, most scholars saw the basic point of the chapter in the contrast of vv. 5b and 11bβ: "Not David for Yhwh, but Yhwh for David will build a house."[402] The "you" in v. 5b would then have to be understood in contrast with Yhwh's "I" in the verse and with Yhwh in v. 11bβ. Along with this reading often comes the omission of v. 13(a) as an interpolation and Yhwh's rejection of the temple in vv. 5b-7 is often considered a matter of principle.[403] Others, e.g. already R. A. Carlson, point out that regarding both syntax and vocabulary, v. 5b rather resembles the verse 13a than the verse 11bβ, and the emphasized "you" of the verse 5b is regarded in contrast to „he" of v. 13a. According to Carlson, 2 Sam 7 is not at all about a polemic with the temple, but merely a transfer of the building from David to Solomon.[404] A combination of these alternatives on a diachronic level is very common: a deuteronomistic author/redactor

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[402] Wellhausen, Composition, p. 257.
[403] Both recently e.g. Murray, Prerogative, p. 191-199.
[404] Carlson, David, p. 109-113; Fokkelman, Art III, p. 216; McKenzie, David, esp. p. 213, 223-224; cf. also Van Seters, Search, p. 273-274; Pietsch, Sproß, p. 18.

inserted v. 13a into the text, thereby recasting the formerly fundamental rejection of the building of the temple as a temporary postponement.[405]

There are other suggestions. F. M. Crosse believes the "you" of v. 5b (which is a part of Nathan's authentic oracle that resolutely rejected the temple) is in its imminent context in contrast with the Israelite judges mentioned in v. 7, whom Yhwh never did criticize for not building a house for him.[406] H. Gese believes that the stressed "you" does not refer to David as a concrete historical figure, but to David as *a man*. "You, a man, plan to build a temple for me, the God?", Gese paraphrases. According to him, v. 5 does not contain a resolute rejection of the temple, but a rejection of the building initiated by a man.[407]

While interpreting v. 5b, it is convenient to start from the fact that it is not a real question supposed to acquire new information. Scholars usually call v. 5b as *a rhetorical question*, yet it could be perhaps also regarded as *a conducive surprised question*.[408] In the following analysis, I shall start from the traditional notion of v. 5b as a rhetorical question and then I will attend to the possibility of it being a conducive surprised question. We shall see, however, that from the perspective of discourse analysis, it is not so much important whether we understand v. 5b as rhetorical or conducive question and, to a certain extent, it is only an issue of terminology.

Rhetorical questions "have the form of a question but are not designed to elicit information. The intent, therefore, is not to ask for a response but to make an emphatic declaration."[409] The implied answer to a rhetorical question must be known to the addressee, but the speaker usually believes that the addressee neglects the content of the answer. The persuasive power of a rhetorical question then lies in the fact that the addressee is supposed to conclude the implied answer *on his own.*

In his analysis of rhetorical questions in the Book of Job, R. Koops distinguished three levels of implied meaning: *rhetorical*, *conventional* and *pragmatic*.[410] L. J. de Regt accepted his scheme, but he approaches the

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[405] E.g. already Noth, History, p. 89.

[406] Cross, Myth, p. 244. Cross apparently reads שפטי ישראל in v. 7.

[407] Gese, Davidsbund, p. 21. Similarly Ota, Note, p. 406; Avioz, Oracle, p. 16-23, 35.

[408] For the distinction of rhetorical questions and conducive questions in Biblical Hebrew, see Moshavi, Types, p. 38; and esp. *Id.*, Voice, p. 65-81.

[409] Nida et al., Style, p. 39. An overview of definitions of a rhetorical question is provided by de Regt, Discourse, p. 52. The rhetorical questions in the Hebrew Bible were examined thoroughly, a wide bibliography is available in Moshavi, Types.

[410] Koops, Questions, p. 415–423.

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conventional level in a somewhat different manner than Koops.[411] This scheme is not general enough to be useful for an analysis of rhetorical questions in general, but we can use it for 2 Sam 7,5b in the form presented by de Regt. In case of a yes-no rhetorical question, we may distinguish between:

1) the rhetorical level, at which the negative-positive polarity is reversed;
2) the conventional level, at which the rhetorical question refers to a general convention, often a moral one; the addressee's behavior or attitude is then compared with this convention;
3) the pragmatic level at which the conclusion is drawn that certain behavior should follow from certain conditions.[412]

De Regt applies the scheme e.g. on Job 11,7: "Can (ה) you find out the deep things of God? Can (אם) you find out the limit of the Almighty?" (NRSV)

> [I]t is implied at the conventional level that the deep things of God are beyond man. At the rhetorical level, then, a negative answer is implied. Pragmatically, it is implied that Job should stop pretending that he can understand God.[413]

The example shows that in order to understand the rhetorical question correctly, a fitting evaluation of the implied message on the conventional level is decisive. Theoretically, it may happen that the conventions of the question's addressee – be it a partner of a genuine oral dialogue or a reader of a literary text that contains the question – would differ from the conventions of the question's "sender" to such an extent that the addressee would not understand the implied meaning of the question at all. A modern scholar interpreting an ancient question is in a similar danger, but at least it is possible to exclude as unfitting such conventions that contradict the formulation of the question, and in general all the implied answers that cannot be implied by the question itself. Because, as we said before, the persuasive power of the rhetorical question lies in the fact that it leads the

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[411] Regt, Discourse, p. 56-57 and *passim*.
[412] The scheme is more or less a quotation of the model of Koops (p. 420), merely for the conventional level I use the formulation of de Regt, which he provides under the quotation of Koops's schema (p. 56).
[413] Regt, Discourse, p. 56–57.

addressee to the implied answer. Let us now approach 2 Sam 7,5b from this perspective.

Evaluating the implied message of 2 Sam 7,5b on a rhetorical level is to a certain extent problematic. Some scholars suggest that the answer implied by this rhetorical question is positive, and thus not opposite to the polarity of the question. I shall return to this possibility below, but it is also possible to understand v. 5 as a common yes-no rhetorical question with reversed polarity, as it is also demonstrated by the (secondary) readings of LXX (οὐ σὺ), Syr (ܐܢܬ ܠܐ) and 1 Chr 17,4 (לא אתה) where we find a negative indicative sentence instead of a rhetorical question.[414] On a rhetorical level, then, it would be implied that David will not build a house for Yhwh (although he planned to do so).

On a conventional level, the implied message is that David as a man is unable to build a house, where God Yhwh would "dwell." The emphasized "you" at the beginning of the verse is in opposition to the suffixed "I" in לי and לשבתי. We have to reject all the interpretations of the question that cannot be derived from the question itself: the emphasized "you" cannot be in a primary contrast to the Israelite judges of v. 7 (even if we would read שפטי ישראל), since nothing in the question indicates this contrast (while the "you" at the beginning is indeed emphasized).[415] We also cannot derive from the formulation of the question a contrast of "you" (David, v. 5b) against "he" (Solomon, v. 13), and the emphasis put on "you" in v. 5b therefore cannot carry this meaning.[416] These interpretations rob the rhetorical question in v. 5b of all its irony and power. Gese's suggestion to see the main contrast between David the man and Yhwh the God would be correct, would he not limit its effect to the subject of the *initiation* of the building. But we do not read in v. 5b "You plan, when a house will be built for me?" (as Gese's paraphrase and interpretation tries to persuade us). Wellhausen correctly perceived the relation between vv. 5b and 11b, but we shall see here that this notion of v. 5b does not have to result in an omission of v. 13.

But here an objection might be raised. According to the following v. 6., Yhwh since the exodus of Israel from Egypt did not dwell in a house, but he was moving about in a tent and an abode. Is not the real conventional

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[414] For the textual variants see the text-critical note above.
[415] Pace Cross, Myth, p. 244.
[416] Pace Carlson, *David,* p. 109f; Fokkelman, Art III, p. 216.

background of the question, on the basis of which David's plan is rejected, the idea of a "nomadic" theologian that Yhwh does not live in a house, but moves about in a tent?[417] The formulation of the question, however, is not in accord with such an implied message. The question itself does not in any way suggest an opposition of a firm house and a mobile Yhwh, it does not say e.g. הבית לשבתי תבנה לי.[418] The emphasized "you" only posits a contrast of David the builder and Yhwh the dweller in the built house. This implied message on the conventional level of v. 5b is similar to that of Solomon's rhetorical questions in 1 Kgs 8,27: "But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of heaven cannot contain you; how much less this house that I have built?"

On a pragmatic level, the implied meaning of 2 Sam 7,5b is that David should abandon his intent to build a house for God, which, however, does not mean that one cannot build a temple for Yhwh's name (v. 13).

As we have seen, some scholars regard the bias of the rhetorical question in 2 Sam 7 as positive, since vv. 1–3 indicates that David is about to start building a house for Yhwh. The studies of rhetorical questions in Hebrew Bible often count on the existence of yes-no rhetorical questions with matched polarity (between the question and the implied answer). L. J. de Regt, for example, regards Job 6,26 as a rhetorical question introduced by ה and still with a positive bias.[419] In contrast, A. Moshavi believes that rhetorical questions always contain a reversed polarity, and she regards other false questions that are not primarily meant to gather new information as various kinds of conducive questions.[420] One type of conducive questions described by Moshavi are surprised questions that express the surprise of the sender over a situation he did not expect.[421] In these questions the polarity of the implied answer is not the reverse of that of the question (cf. *You are hungry yet again?*) If the conducive surprised question is related to an activity or a stance of the addressee, it usually expresses a criticism of him; if the target is an activity yet planned, the question is to dissuade the addressee from the activity. (Moshavi mentions

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[417] In a pure form, such a nomadic interpretaton of Nathan's oracle is presented by Phythian-Adams, People, p. 14–16; he says: "He is the God who walks to and fro amongst and with His People."

[418] For an emphasised direct object in a rhetorical question cf. Amos 5,25.

[419] Regt, Discourse, p. 62.

[420] Moshavi, Types, p. 38; and esp. *Id.*, Voice.

[421] Moshavi, Voice, p. 74–76.

1Kings 17,20 and Gen 18,23f as examples of Biblical conducive surprised questions of this kind).

Obviously, 2 Sam 7,5b may be perceived as a conducive surprised question. Yet on a pragmatic level, it is not very important whether we understand v. 5b as a rhetorical question that presents David's intent to build a temple as absurd and impossible (i.e as a rhetorical question with an implied negative answer), or as a conducive surprised question that describes David's actual activity, therefore implying a positive answer, yet at the same time depicting David's activity in such a manner that it would be difficult and shameful for him to confess to the behavior. No matter how we label the question of v. 5b, its rhetorical power lies in the creation of an impression that David's plan could merely be properly named and its obvious absurdity simply comes to the fore.[422]

Now it becomes clearer why David's plan was described merely vaguely and implicitly in vv. 1–3. Only thanks to the fact that David did not speak about Yhwh "enthroned/dwelling" under the tent curtain, but rather metonymically spoke about the Ark, and Nathan accepted the king's plan using a formula that did not specify the plan in any way, v. 5 could reject David's plan using a rhetorical (or conducive surprised) question that indicates that once the plan is spoken in full, its absurdity proves obvious. This means that vv. 1–3 cannot be separated on literary-critical basis from the following rejection of David's plan in the first part of the second Nathan's oracle, because vv. 1–3 are specifically formulated with regard for the following brisance of the question 5b. In 2 Sam 7, therefore, we cannot reconstruct the core of the text with a more traditional relation between the temple and kingship, where a promise of a dynasty (11b or also parts of other verses) would follow after the proclamation of David's intent to build a temple (vv. 1–3*), as it was repeatedly proposed.[423]

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[422] I would like to emphasise that this conclusion is not an eisegesis derived from modern religious ideas, but the effect that, in my opinion, the author of 2 Sam 7 wants to create. Also the rhetorical question in 1Kgs 8,27 presents the implausibility of God dwelling on Earth as an undoubted premise, although actually, as in 2 Sam 7, the text is trying to impose this very view against others. – Cf. Moshavi's description of this kind of persuasive use of rhetorical questions: "the speaker attempts to convince the hearer to accept the implied answer to the question by implying that the answer is obvious" (Moshavi, Types, p. 34.)

[423] For these reconstructions see above the overview of the main themes of the history of reasearch on 2 Sam 7.

The argument of v. 5b is in a certain tension with v. 6(.7). As we have seen, v. 5b is not in a polemic with the temple from the position of a "nomadic" theology. V. 6, on the other hand, does not oppose to Yhwh's "dwelling" in a house (לא ישבתי בבית) anything but God's mobility in a tent (ואהיה מתהלך באהל ובמשכן; the tent is such a distinct sign of nomadic life that it can become its symbol – see Judg 8,11). It seems difficult to deny the presence of a theology emphasizing Yhwh's mobility in 2 Sam 7,6. I shall return to this tension between v. 5 and v(v.) 6(n) and to the question whether this contradiction is caused by the literary history of the text later, during the analysis of v. 13a.

In v. 7, Yhwh's speech continues with another rhetorical question that ridicules David's plan. The question forces David (and the reader that would agree with David's plan of building a temple for Yhwh) to acknowledge that he ignored Yhwh's obvious lack of interest in the house: in *all* places that Yhwh moved in the *entire* Israel, he did not uttered a *single word* to *any* of the tribes of Israel that would incite a building of a temple. The rhetorical impact of the verse is underlined by the fact that Yhwh's hypothetical request is formulated as a plaintive question. It seems v. 7b attempts to create an impression that the deity that would complain to the people in such a manner, that they did not build him "a house of cedars", would be ridiculous. This ridicule is transferred on David, who is charged that he assumes such a ridiculous notion of Yhwh (cf. Elijah's suggestions to Baal's prophets on the mount Carmel in 1 Kgs 18,27).[424] A rejection of a "house of cedars" at the close of the verse contrasts in immediate context with the house of David, built of the identical material (v. 2); in a wider context it is probably a hint referring to the temple built by Solomon, where "all was cedar" in the inside (1 Kgs 6,18).

The clause בכל **אשר** התהלכתי בכל בני ישראל (v. 7aα) probably refers to various moves of the Ark prior to its transfer to Jerusalem by David, but we can hardly reconstruct, which of the relevant passages in the Former Prophets are presupposed by 2 Sam 7,7.[425]

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[424] Cf. Fokkelman, Art III, p. 219-220.

[425] According to the current form of the Former Prophets, the Ark was successively in Gilgal (Josh 3-5), Bethel (Judg 20,26-28), Shiloh (1 Sam 3,3; cf. Judg 18,31) and after the return from the Philistines in Beth-shemesh (1 Sam 6,13-21), Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam 7,1f.) and the house of Obed-edom the Gittite (2 Sam 6,10-12). We could append several other places under the condition that the use of expressions like "before Yhwh" may, at least in some texts, entail the idea of the presence of the Ark.

In a text-critical note, I defended the reading שבטי ישראל in 2 Sam 7,7. Regardless whether this reading is original or not, there is no doubt it is old, since it is already presupposed in 1 Kgs 8,16. In the latter passage, as well as in Deut 12,5.14; 1 Kgs 11,32 (cf. vv. 13.36) and 2 Kgs 21,7, there is an obvious polemic with the non-centralized cult: only one city of all the tribes of Israel was chosen for the building of the temple. We may suspect the presence of this polemic behind the mention of the tribes of Israel also in 2 Sam 7,7. Yhwh has not yet chosen a tribe to build the temple; the successor of David will be chosen as the builder of the temple for the name of Yhwh, but any other building by any other tribe will remain illegitimate.

2 Sam 7,8–11aα

V. 8a, with the macro-syntactic signal ועתה, a new instruction how Nathan should speak to David, and a new messenger formula introduces the second part of the prophecy. After these introductory formulas, Yhwh's speech itself begins with the emphasized pronoun אני that contrasts with the emphasized (ה)אתה in v. 5b. The first part of the prophecy opened with an emphasized "you" (introduced by an interrogative particle), followed by a description (unambiguous for the first time) of the deed David wished to do for Yhwh (i.e. to build him a temple); now the second part begins with an emphasized "I", which introduces a summary of Yhwh's deeds in favour of David. These contrasts are completely in accord with my interpretation of the rhetorical question in v. 5b.

According to v. 8aα-b, Yhwh took David (לקחתיך) away from the flocks so that he would become a prince (נגיד) over Yhwh's people Israel. This statement summarizes David's career, but it can also be a direct reference to 1 Sam 16,11–13, where Samuel lets David to be "taken" (note the imperative וְקָחֶ֫נּוּ in v. 11) away from the flock and immediately anoints him as a king. The origin of the word נָגִיד need not be discussed at this point, its meaning in 2 Sam 7,8 was correctly described by J. Van Seters.[426] In 2 Sam 7, Yhwh makes David a נָגִיד "over my people, over Israel", and this word appears in all its occurrences in Samuel and Kings in a similar context (1 Sam 9,16; 10,1 [2x v LXX]; 13,14; 25,30; 2 Sam 5,2; 6,21; 7,8; 1 Kings 14,7; 16,2; 2 Kings 20,5) – in all of these cases, נָגִיד is made by

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[426] Van Seters, Search, p. 275. For a discussion of the title's meaning and the origin, see the references in Sergi, Composition, p. 271.

Yhwh to rule over Israel, which is called the people of Yhwh or his heritage (with the exception of 1 Kgs 1,35, where David establishes Solomon to be נָגִיד "over Israel and Judah").[427] The word נָגִיד is therefore constantly used in Samuel and Kings "to express the divine choice of a ruler over the people of Israel" and often appears as a counterpart of the choice of Israel by Yhwh.[428]

A *Crux interpretum* of the verses 9-11a are the perfect forms introduced by the conjunction ו.[429] Following J. Wellhausen[430] and S. R. Driver[431], most interpreters understand the forms of waw + suffix-tense in these verses as normal cases of the so-called *perfectum conversivum* or *perfectum consecutivum*, thus expressing the future. The part of the oracle that is oriented into the future would then begin with the verb ועשתי in v. 9. But some scholars understand this verb and other waw-perfects in these verses as so-called *perfecta copulativa* expressing the past tense.[432]

Old sources already reflect certain hesitation. The Masoretic punctuation does not understand these forms in a uniform manner. The accent in verbs וְשַׂמְתִּי and וּנְטַעְתִּיו in v. 10 is transferred to the last syllable, an indication of *perfecta conversiva*. But in the forms וְעָשִׂתִי (v. 9) and וַהֲנִיחֹתִי, the accent remains on the penultimate sylable. The form וְעָשִׂתִי may be, according to the pointing, both *perfectum copulativum* and *perfectum conversivum*, since in case of verbal forms derived from the roots *tertiae hê*, the accent is not transferred on the last sylable in *perfectum conversivum* of qal.[433] The verb וַהֲנִיחֹתִי is unequivocally punctuated as *perfectum copulativum*, since in case of hollow verbs the shift of accent in *perfectum conversivum* occurs regularly (cf. e.g. וַהֲכִינֹתִי and וַהֲקִימֹתִי in v. 12).[434] The form וְשָׁכַן (v. 10) is again ambiguous, since the accent is always on the last syllable in 3rd p.

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[427] For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that the possession of Israel by Yhwh is not mentioned in 1 Sam 25,30.

[428] Van Seters, Search, p. 275, 312, citation from p. 275. Van Seters ascribes all the occurences of the word נָגִיד in Samuel-Kings to the Deuteronomist, with the exception of 2 Sam 6,21 and 1,35, which, he believes, belong to his "Court history" (it is not clear, who Van Seters believes to be the author of 2 Kgs 20,5).

[429] For the references, see Kasari, Promise, p. 43.

[430] Wellhausen, Text, p. 170f.

[431] Driver, Notes, p. 275.

[432] E.g. Rost, Überlieferung, p. 59n; Buber, Königtum, p. 125n; Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 285-286; Loretz, Perfectum, str. 294-96; Rudnig, König, p. 442.

[433] Revell, Stress and the WAW "Consecutive", str. 440.

[434] Revell, Stress and the WAW "Consecutive", p. 439f.; exceptions, not relevant for our text, are presented by Waltke – O'Connor, Introduction, str. 521.

The form וְעָשִׂתִי is translated in LXX (καὶ ἐποίησά), Tg (ועבדית) and Vg (*fecique*) as the past tense, while Peshitta (ܘܐܥܒܕ) translates it with a future tense. In v. 10, all versions translate all perfects with a future tense. In v. 11, LXX (ἀναπαύσω) and Vg (*et requiem dabo*) translate the verb והניחתי in a future, Peshitta in a past tense (ܐܢܝܚ), and Tg in various tenses in various mss (ואניח or ואנחית). It is worth a note that the situation in ancient versions corresponds to some extent to the Masoretic punctuation: the unambiguous punctuation of the verbs וְשַׂמְתִּי and וּנְטַעְתִּיו in v. 10 is matched by the fact that all the old versions translate these verbs with a future tense (the latter, however, holds true in the same verse also for the form וְשָׁכַן, where the punctuation is not unambiguous); the ambiguous form וְעָשִׂתִי corresponds to the differences among the versions; and the accentuation of וַהֲנִיחֹתִי as *perfectum copulativum* agrees with the reading of Peshitta and some mss of Tg.

The problem with waw-perfects in vv. 9–11a lies basically in the fact that their understanding in accord with the stylistic usage typical of the Hebrew Bible prose seems to contradict the given context. On the one hand, should we ignore the Masoretic accentuation of והניחתי, it seems most convenient to regard all the waw-perfects in vv. 9–11a as converted perfects and to translate them in future tense, all the more because in v. 10 four waw-perfects are followed by two negative imperfects (ולא ירגז and ולא יסיפו), as if the text was switching towards imperfects when it is impossible to use *perfectum conversivum* because of the insertion of the negative particle.[435] The fulfillment of the future-oriented promise ועשתי לך שם... (v. 9) may be seen in David's victorious wars in 2 Sam 8, cf. mainly v. 13 ויעש דוד שם.[436] In the given phase of history, on the other hand, it sounds quite strange that Yhwh would give a future-oriented promise that he will appoint a place for his people, plant them and Israel will reside there.[437] Even more problematic is the future-oriented

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[435] With a change in vocalization (see Isa 55,3), we could consider ואכרתה in v. 9 to be a genuine cohortative and to translate in future from this point.

[436] This would probably not be altered by the fact that the word שם is often understood in 2 Sam 7,8 as "memorial sign", "stele", or "inscription" (see McCarter, II Samuel, str. 251; Weinfeld, School, p. 193). – Anderson, 2 Samuel, str. 131, regards 2 Sam 8 as a realization of Yhwh's promise that "the sons of wickedness shall not afflict them any more" (2 Sam 7,10), since it was David's success in war that averted this threat.

[437] It is not possible to argue with help of the exilic origin of the text. Many sections of the Dtr history address the exilic situation, but they do carry a meaning also in the narrated history of Israel.

understanding of the verb והניחתי (v. 11a), since, according to the first verse of the chapter, Yhwh has already granted rest from the enemies to David. Against these objections, some advocates of *perfectum conversivum* in these verses have come up with a different interpretation of v. 10, according to which the content of the verse would not contradict its wider narrative context; I shall come back later to these suggestions that are based on a specific understanding of the word מָקוֹם and sometimes also of the syntax of the verse.

I have no new arguments for either side of the debate, but I rather incline to those who find copulative perfects in vv. 9-11a. The mentioned problem with a future-oriented understanding of the verb והניחתי in v. 11 is decisive for me. Should we, on the contrary, understand והניחתי as *perfectum copulativum*, then v. 11aβ creates an inclusion with the first verse of the chapter, and therefore the summary of Yhwh's deeds in favour of David and Israel closes with the last blessing that was mentioned before the occuring event. If we consider this verb in v. 11aβ a *perfectum copulativum*, there is no reason why not to construe in this way also the perfects in v. 10, where, too, it seems contextually better if the verbs depict events already past. But then it seems most natural to understand also ועשתי in v. 9 as *perfectum copulativum*. This understanding of the waw-perfects in vv. 9-11a is in a certain discord with the common style of Biblical prose, where we may observe a very strong tendency towards use of the forms with the conversive *waw* where the syntactic environment allows it, which, of course, leads to the situation that the forms with the copulative *waw* are quite rarely used.[438] However, the existence of the forms with copulative *waw* in the Hebrew Bible is beyond doubt[439] and Arad ostraca indicate that these forms were more common in spoken language[440].

As I indicated, some scholars attempt to solve the issue of tenses in vv. 9-11 with help of a counter-intuitive interpretation of מָקוֹם in v. 10 and sometimes also a new interpretation of the syntax of the verse. According to A. Gelston, it seems most plausible to understand the waw-perfects in vv. 9b-11a as consecutive perfects with future meaning, but Gelston also

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[438] For this characteristic of Biblical Hebrew narrative and the understanding of the tense system connected to it, see Blau, Phonology, p. 189-192.

[439] For some examples see Loretz, Perfectum, p. 295. A list of occurrences of *perfectum copulativum* in Samuel may be found in Fokkelman, Art III, p. 224, who, however, denies their presence in 2 Sam 7,9-11a.

[440] Blau, Phonology, p. 191.

acknowledges that the appointment of a place for Israel and its "planting" there can in the given context hardly be understood as something that is yet to happen.[441] Referring to some other passages in the Bible, [442] Gelston proposes to see in the word מקום a term for a shrine, a term that would, in our context, denote the future temple which (and not עמי) is the true object of verbs ונטעתיו and לענותו and subject of ושכן and ירגז. Gelston finds a verification of this proposal in 4Q174 (called Florilegium or also 4QMidrEschat[a]) fr. 1 I,1-2, where we find a quotation of 2 Sam 7,10b-11aα and afterwards an interpretation beginning with "That is the house which…"[443] According to Gelston, the only possible basis for a reference to the temple in the comment is מקום in 2 Sam 7,10 (note, however, that this part of the verse is not extant in the scroll). Gelston's interpretation of 2 Sam 7,10-11aα was accepted by P. K. McCarter, who puts the "place" (= the temple) of 2 Sam 7,10 in a relationship with the "Deuteronomistic expectation of a chosen place of worship (Deut 12,11; etc.)."[444] D. Vanderhooft came up with a renewed version of this hypothesis.[445] He also believes that מקום in 2 Sam 7,10 actually denotes the temple (although, in the given context, he would rather translate the word as "sacred place"), but unlike Gelston and McCarter, he endorses the traditional opinion that the object of the verbs ונטעתיו and לענותו and the subject of ושכן and ירגז is "my people" (and not the "sacred place"). The originality of Vanderhooft's contribution lies in a new understanding of the phrase ושכן תחתיו, which is commonly understood in the sense "they [i.e. the people of Israel] will dwell in their place" (for this meaning of the prepositional phrase, see Exod 10,23; 16,29; Lev 13,23; 2 Sam 2,23; Isa 25,10; Job 40,12), but Vanderhooft believes it means "they [the people] will dwell beneath it [the place]." He also mentions several other more or less likely occurrences of *mqm* meaning „shrine" in one Philistine, one Phoenician and two neo-Punic inscriptions, and remarks that *mqm* "occasionally refers to synagogues in later Hebrew."

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[441] Gelston, Note, p. 92-94.

[442] Jer 7,12.14; 1 Chr 16,27 (cf. Ps 96,6) and 2 Sam 16,27. Gelton refers to Ackroyd, Exile, p. 156, who further mentions Jer 33,10-12; Ezra 8,17 a Hag 2,9. Ackroyd, however, correctly notes that "in any given passage, there may well be some doubt whether the reference is to the shrine alone or to the whole 'place'."

[443] The text in J. M. Allegro, DJD 5, p. 53-57.

[444] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 202-204; qutation on p. 203.

[445] Vanderhooft, Dwelling, p. 625-633.

All these suggestions are very problematic. Gelston's (and McCarter's) hypothesis was thoroughly criticised by D. F. Murray.[446] There is nothing to indicate that in 2 Sam 7,10, the word מקום should be read in an assumed "technical"[447] meaning as a "cultic centre" or a temple; on the contrary, the true term for the temple of Jerusalem in the chapter itself (vv. 5.6.7.13) – and, Murray believes, in the whole Dtr history – is בית and the verbs נטע, שכן, רגז and ענה pi. are, with their syntactic functions, much more suitable to עמי ישראל than to מקום with the meaning of a temple. Vanderhooft suggests in this connection that the subject of the verbs ושכן and ירגז must be עמי ישראל because of the adverb עוד at the end of v. 10a, since it is hard to say about the temple in the given "historical" context that it will no more (unlike in the past) "shake".[448] Murray demonstrated that the dtr redaction of Kings never understood מקום used in Deuteronomic precepts related to the introduction of a centralized cult as a term for temple. In the Former Prophets, Murray finds fourteen variations of and references to the Deuternonomic concept of the "place" Yhwh would choose for the orthodox cult (cf. e.g. Deut 16,6: המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך לשכן שמו שם)[449]. Thirteen of them are to be found after the consecration of the temple in 1 Kgs 8, therefore after the fulfilment of the Deuteronomic commandment, and the general term "place" is mostly replaced in them by a more concrete formulation. Since in the books of Kings the term corresponding to the expression מקום of the Deuteronomic formula is mostly Jerusalem, it is clear the author(s) of these passages in Kings understood מקום above all as a (at this point undefined) geographic reference.[450] The argument of Vanderhooft, based on comparative

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[446] Murray, MQWM, p. 298–320.
[447] See Gelston, Note, p. 93.
[448] D. Vanderhooft, Dwelling, p. 630.
[449] For variants of the phrase, see Murray's table on p. 307.
[450] Murray's own solution is not as good as his critique of the hypotheses of Gelston and McCarter. "The place", he believes, is in the end the land, "but the locative aspect of *mqwm* is here subsidiary to the qualitative" (p. 319), so we are not dealing with a *past* giving of the land, but a *future* gift of a safe place that is in fact equivalent to safety itself. This should be the way to solve the problem with the future understanding of ושמתי מקום לעמי לישראל – the author of 2 Sam 7,10 acknowledges the long past occupation of the land, but he also regards the life in the land until that point as a time of unrest and he expects peace only from the future, connected to the Davidic dynasty. – Murray is, no doubt, right to see an emphasis on quality of life in the mention of the appointing of a place for Israel; the aspect of a safe life in peace is probably the part of the concept of the gift of land more

philology, is not devoid of problems either. In case of the *lmqm* inscription of Ekron (late 7ᵗʰ century B.C.E), it may well be a fact that *mqm* denotes a shrine.[451] On the contrary, it can hardly be affirmed that "*mqm* with the meaning 'sacred place' is attested" in the Phoenician inscription of Yeḥawmilk, the king of Byblos (5.-4. century B.C.E). The passage in question reads "and/or if you remove this work, [and/or shift] this […] with its base upon/from this place (*'lt mqm z*)" (KAI 10,14).[452] Yeḥawmilk's stele was located in a shrine, but this does not necessarily mean that *mqm* has this "technical" meaning. The meaning of "sacred place" or even "sanctuary" seems to be more assured in Neo-Punic inscriptions KAI 119,5.6.7 (the beginning of the 1ˢᵗ century B.C.E)[453] and KAI 173,5 (around 180 A.D. or later), yet these inscriptions are very late. As I already mentioned, it is never quite certain in case of Gelston's mentions of the occurrences of the word מקום in HB whether the word itself does indeed *denote* a shrine and the same applies to the many other passages added by Vanderhooft.[454] Vanderhooft's interpretation of the clause ושכן תחתיו in 2 Sam 7,10 is not very plausible. Vanderhooft compares 2 Sam 7,10 with the passages that speak about the hideaway in the shadow of God's wings (Ps 17,8; 36,8; 57,2), in the shadow of his hand (Isa 49,2) or simply in his shadow (Ps 91,1). However, while these metaphors of the divine protection do work with the possibilities that naturally derive from the used terms, the image of Israel dwelling "under a (holy) place" is very strained, because

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or less in all occurrences of this motif in HB. Still, such a major loss of local aspect of the word מקום as Murray finds in 2 Sam 7,10 seems unlikely to me. Murray bases his interpretation on a comparison of v. 10 with two occurrences of a similar structure in Exod 21,13 and 1 Kgs 8,21. At least the first case is problematic, since in the construction ושמתי לך מקום אשר ינוס שמה, the place of the indirect object after ל is not occupied by the fugitive from the avenger, but the people operating as administrator of justice; hence the point is not a promise of safety, but selecting a place that would later be specified. To advocate the presence of expectations of any appointment or preparation of a place for Israel in 2 Sam 7,10 seems to me quite impossible.

[451] For the inscription, see Gitin, Cult, p. 289-290.

[452] Translation by S. Segert (COS 2.32).

[453] Cf., however, W. Röllig's commentary in KAI II, *ad loc*.

[454] Vanderhooft works with the evidence in a rather selective manner. He lists Deut 12,5,11.14.18.26 (p. 629) among the passages where מקום has the connotation of a "sacred place". But the meaning of a "sacred place" in v. 5 is doubted by the use of מקום in v. 3 (to which Vanderhooft makes no reference) and v. 13, similarly, questions this use in v. 14. – There may be a certain indication of the use of מקום to denote a shrine in Hebrew in Jer 7,12.

even if we would accept that מקום acquired the meaning of a "holy place", the issue is still a place, not a building or a holy mountain. Let me summarize: it is quite likely that in a few West Semitic inscriptions, *mqm* has the meaning of a "holy place" or a "shrine"; in 2 Sam 7,10, however, this meaning of מקום is extremely unlikely. The referent of מקום is probably the land, as in 1 Sam 12,8 and elsewhere[455].

In the text-critical note on the presence or absence of waw in (ו)למן, at the beginning of 2 Sam 7,11 (and [ו]למימים in 1 Chr 17,10), I dealt quite thoroughly with the issue of possible consequences that the solution of the text-critical problem may have for our understanding of the literary horizon of 2 Sam 7 (or, at least, of the verses 10-11aα which are often considered an addition). If we regard the reading with the *waw* as more original (and I tend to do so), it is possible to see a reference to two non-sequential periods of persecution in vv. 10b-11aα, first in Egypt, and then in the time of judges. This image corresponds to the image created by the current form of books usually attributed to the Dtr history: in the beginning, Israel was persecuted in Egypt; after the conquest of the land, during the time of Joshua, Israel enjoyed rest (Josh 21,44; 22,4; 23,1), but then, at the time of judges, a new period of unrest came[456] (the mentions of the repeating periods of peace at the time of judges do not contain the verb נוח or another word of this root, but only the verb שקט – Judg 3,11.30; 5,31; 8,28). 2 Sam 7,10-11aα could, then, be regarded as a summary of the dtr-understood history since the time of Israel in Egypt, throughout the (dtr-understood) time of the occupation of the land and the (dtr-understood) period of judges up to the time of David.[457] This, however, need not mean that the author of 2 Sam 7, or of vv. 10-11aα, was active in all these books of Dtr history, but it shows at least in which literary horizon he understood his work.[458]

The question whether vv. 10-11 aα(.β) were a part of the original composition of 2 Sam 7, or a later addition, may have some significance for

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[455] See Exod 18,23; 23,20; Num 14,40; 32,17; Deut 26,9; Isa 14,2; Jer 7,7; 16,3; 33,12.

[456] For the period of judges as a period of unrest in the dtr understanding of the history of Israel see McCarthy, II Samuel 7, p. 133. For the period of Judges as a dtr literary invention, see Römer, So-Called, p. 136-139.

[457] For the search of a summary of Dtr history see Römer, Problem, p. 245-246.

[458] Cf. already Van Seters, Search, p. 276, who suggested that "[t]he Dtr scheme of dividing Israelite history into three periods – the exodus and conquest, the age of the judges, and the rise of the monarchy (1 Sam. 8:8; 10:18-19; 12:6ff.) – is basic to 2 Sam. 7."

seeking the most original literary context of the chapter. I shall return to the problem later when my understanding of the basic intent of 2 Sam 7,1–17 becomes clear.

2 Sam 7,11b–17

V. 11aβ forms an inclusion with v. 1b, and the summary of Yhwh's deeds for David and Israel (vv. 8aβ–11aβ) thus reaches the point of departure for the narrative of the chapter. The novelty (or at least the importance) of the following promise of a dynasty, with which Nathan's oracle culminates, is thus emphasised.

In the chapter on the text of 2 Sam 7, I tried to show that the most original available text of v. 11b and the beginning of v. 12 was והגיד לך יהוה כי בית יעשה לך יהוה והיה כי. Therefore I do, as is the case in MT, read v. 11b as a promise of a dynasty to David. Most scholars in fact agree on this point, but there is a lively debate on certain aspects of this half-verse. As was the case with the previous waw-perfects, a grammatical interpretation of the form והגיד itself poses a certain problem.[459] In the given context, the verb could be understood in connection to the previous waw-perfects, i.e. as another *perfectum copulativum*. This is how T. Veijola understands והגיד; he believes v. 11b refers to an older promise from Yhwh to David, which, however, is not attested in the previous text.[460] Veijola finds a confirmation of this interpretation of והגיד in v. 21. Referring to fictional older oracles of Yhwh is, Veijola believes, a common strategy of DtrG, and he founds other occurrences of such a procedure in 1 Sam 2,30; 2 Sam 3,9f; 3,18; 5,2; 7,21; 1 Kgs 2,4.[461] Building a "firm house" was foretold to David by Abigail in 1 Sam 25,28, so 2 Sam 7,11b could be a reference to this text, especially since Abigail's speech is probably the work of the same author as 2 Sam 7 (see below chapter 3).

But in 1 Sam 25, the duration of David's dynasty was not announced to him by Yhwh, and to understand 2 Sam 7,11b as a reference to an older dynastic promise seems to be in contradiction to the overall flow of the chapter. Nathan's oracle clearly culminates with the dynastic promise

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[459] An overview of the proposed notions of this verbal form is to be found in Kasari, Promise, p. 22.

[460] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 76.

[461] Nevertheless, 1 Sam 2,30a probably refers to Deut 18,5 (for more, see below ch. 2); similarly 1 Kgs 2,4 refers to 2 Sam 7 and is not the work of the author of 2 Sam 7 (see a few notes on this text in the conclusions).

which seems to emerge as something new after the summary of David's career in vv. 8-9.11aβ. David also reacts to the promise of a dynasty in his prayer as if it was something new, most prominently so in vv. 18-19. V. 18bβ summarizes all the good done by Yhwh previously ("you have brought me thus far"); but according to v. 19, that was not enough in Yhwh's eyes, and Yhwh (now) promised David also the duration of his dynasty. It seems logical, then, that והגיד in v. 11b should have the meaning of a present tense. והגיד could be regarded as a *perfectum conversivum* with the present-tense meaning; most scholars believe, however, that the *waw* here only has a coordinative function and the perfectum carries the meaning of a performative, in which case the action described by the verb is identical to the utterance.[462] Other perfects of the verb נגד hiph. with this meaning may be found in Deut 26,3 and 30,18, possibly even in 1 Sam 3,13[463].

The formulation of 2 Sam 7,11 and the immediate context of the verse do not allow to decide with certainty on the grammatical value of the form והגיד. It is clear from the context, however, that the dynastic promise to David is announced as something new. Therefore, even if והגיד would refer to Abigail's speech in 1 Sam 25,28, the new situation in 2 Sam 7 emerges in the sense that this time the permanent dynasty is promised to David by Yhwh.

Unlike the immediate context of v. 11, Yhwh does not speak about himself in this verse in first, but in third person, which provoked numerous literary-critical considerations. Already L. Rost regarded vv. 11b.16[464] as the most ancient layer of Nathan's oracle and several scholars have recently suggested to seek the core of 2 Sam 7 in vv. 1a.2-3.11b or a similarly delimited text[465]. O. Sergi, for instance, believes that 11b originally followed directly after v. 3, where Yhwh is also mentioned in 3rd person.[466]

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[462] Waltke - O'Connor, Introduction, p. 488-489, work with the category of "instantaneous perfective", which describes an action taking place at the moment of speech and of which the performative is a subtype. – This notion of 2 Sam 7,11bα is defended e.g. by Oswald, Nathan, p. 52, with references to older studies.

[463] For the last mentioned example see Oswald, Nathan, p. 52.

[464] Rost, Überlieferung, p. 57-9. Rost's diachronic description of the chapter was successful for some time, it was followed e.g. by M. Noth, History, p. 89, and Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 129, 134.

[465] For this kind of reconstructions see the overview of the main issues of research above.

[466] Sergi, Composition, p. 263-268.

The old text, reconstructed in vv. 1a.2-3.11b, is according to him from the 1st half of the 8th century and in this text David would be honoured by the dynastic promise right after his presentation of the plan to build a temple. The polemic with David's plan in vv. 4-7 is, according to Sergi, a result of a later redaction.

Actually, as we have seen, vv. 1-3 are already formulated in respect to the polemic with David's plan in vv. 4-11a (the summary of Yhwh's favors has a polemic aspect as well), since vv. 1-3 prepare the rhetorical impact of the rhetorical question in v. 5b. Even the peculiar formulation of v. 11b is best understood as a follow-up of the argumentation begun in the rhetorical question 5b. The clause 11bβ begins with the direct object בית. This emphasis on object signalizes a return to the main theme of the oracle and an explicit answer on the rhetorical question 5b.[467] The presence of the subject יהוה at the end of the clause is also marked; the word is superfluous from the grammatical perspective (it is actually missing in LXX)[468], since it only repeats (in an emphasized position) the subject expressed in 11bα. The emphasis corresponds to the meaning of the rhetorical question in v. 5b and to the general flow of Nathan's oracle. It confirms our conclusion that the emphasized "you" in v. 5b is in contrast with the „I" in the same verse (in לי and לשבתי), at the beginning of v. 8aβ, and now with the emphasised יהוה at the end of v. 11. The promise in v. 11b therefore *overturns* David's intent summarized in the question 5b, Yhwh is building a house for David in contrast to David's attempts to build a house for Yhwh, as the meaning of the chapter was described already by J. Wellhausen. The formulation of v. 11b thus follows up on v. 5b and v. 11b cannot be separated from the previous text. This does not explain, however, why v. 11b, unlike the previous text, speaks of Yhwh in third person. This shift will not be that surprising if we understand v. 11bα as a variation on the messenger formula, which, in its usual form of כה אמר יהוה [צבאות] introduces also the first and second part of Nathan's oracle. Third person in v. 11bβ would then be necessary because of the preposition כי.[469]

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[467] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 205, makes a good point with his translation "as for a house…".

[468] Arguments for the reading with יהוה are presented in the text-critical note *ad loc.*

[469] Similarly and in more detail, the shift to the 3rd person is treated by Oswald, Nathan, p. 51-53.

It seems then that the contrast between Yhwh and David, expressed in the question 5b, is presented in the further text mainly with respect to the ability to do something in favour of the other. David wishes to build a temple for Yhwh and as answer for this plan, he receives first a list of the deeds Yhwh has done for him prior to his initiative, and secondly the promise that Yhwh will secure the kingship of David's family forever. However, taking into account the importance of building a temple in the Judean royal ideology – as we reconstructed it on the basis of Ps 132, where the dynastic promise is a reward for king's care for Yhwh's shrine – it is clear that the specific goal of the rhetoric of 2 Sam 7,5-11 is to show that the dynastic promise, like all the other mentioned favors, is a gift not earned by the building of the temple.

This aspect of the prophecy will become more evident once we consider that vv. 8-11a are formally similar to what is known as the "contrasting motive" of the oracle of judgment. Many Biblical oracles of judgement are introduced by a list of Yhwh's past deeds in favour of the addressee. C. Westermann calls this reminder of Yhwh's doing as a "contrasting motive", since its function is to create a contrast with the sins of the addressee.[470] This feature appears in the Former Prophets exclusively in the oracles of judgment addressed to individuals (1 Sam 2,27-36 ; 15,16-23 ; 2 Sam 12,7-12 ; 1 Kgs 14,7-17 ; 16,1-4) and Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7 is the only passage, where this type of summary of Yhwh's deeds appears outside its usual context.

In the oracles of judgment in Samuel and Kings that contain the contrasting motif, the summary of Yhwh's favors is followed by a judgment, while in 2 Sam 7 by a promise, but both – the judgement and the promise – are related to the issue of the house in the sense of a family or a dynasty. The only text that does not mention the "house" overtly is 1 Sam 15,16f., but the withdrawal of the kingship from Saul naturally includes the loss of the throne for the dynasty. In the context of Saul's story, the dynastic aspect of the judgment is in fact the main point of the oracle, since Saul himself will be in power for a long time in the following narrative. Aside from 1 Sam 2,27-36, kingship and a kingly dynasty are the issue in all the texts.

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[470] Westermann, Grundformen, p. 111-113, 131-132.

2 Sam 7 is the only text to contain a reminder of the favorable dealing with the people[471], which may seem somewhat illogical in the given context (many scholars actually believe vv. 10–11aα is a later addition, a point to which I shall return later). The most important difference between 2 Sam 7 and other texts lies in what follows after the "contrasting motif." This kind of summaries of Yhwh's favors done for the addressee of the oracle of judgement usually serves as a kind of contrasting foil by which the addressee's lack of gratefulness becomes well visible. The contrasting motif therefore reminds of Yhwh's primary and therefore in a way "unearned" deeds in favour of the addressee. Now, if this list of Yhwh's blessings is followed unexpectedly by an oracle of salvation (i.e. a dynastic promise) instead of an oracle of judgement, the unearned character of the new blessing is strongly emphasized, even more since the summary appeared as an answer to David's intent to do something for Yhwh (to build a temple). We may thus conclude that using the combination of the contrasting motif from the oracle of judgement with an oracle of salvation (a dynastic promise), 2 Sam 7 is attempting to counter the causal relationship between the building of the temple and the duration of the dynasty. The question whether this hybrid use of the reminder of Yhwh's blessings, usually operating as a "contrastive motif", is intentional or unintentional, is naturally irrelevant in terms of the effect of the text.

The opposition between Yhwh and David, expressed in the question in 2 Sam 7,5b, is expanded also in v. 13a ("he will build a house for my name"). This verse is almost universally considered dtr, due to the use of בית לשמי. According to the traditional view, the Deuteronomic and deuteronomistic "theology of the name of God" wishes to correct the traditional notion that God sits enthroned/dwells in his temple and to replace it with the notion of the temple for the name of God, thereby promoting a more abstract[472], spiritual[473] or transcendental[474] understanding of God. A few scholars have suggested, however, that the phraseology working with the name of God in Deuteronomium and Former Prophets is not motivated by the attempts to introduce a new understanding of God's

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[471] For the motif of the "planting" of the people in the land in the context of the contrasting motif, see Isa 5,2.

[472] M. Weinfeld, School, p. 191–209.

[473] Rad, Deuteronomium-Studien, p. 129.

[474] Eichrodt, Theologie I, p. 275.

presence in the temple.[475] Recently the existence of a "name theology" in Hebrew Bible was rejected mainly by Sandra L. Richter in her work on the formula לשכן שמו שם and its variants.[476] Richter believes the Hebrew formula לשכן שמו שם is a loan adaptation of the Akkadian expression *šuma šakānu*, while the formula לשום שמו שם is a calque of the same Akkadian phrase. The primary meaning of the Akkadian formula is "to claim something as one's own by *placing* one's *name* upon it."[477] The Akkadian idiom appears in many Mesopotamian texts of various genres in connection with conquering kings (e. g. to describe the conquest of a new territory but also as a metaphor of acquiring fame by heroic deeds). Richter regards both Hebrew formulae as equivalents of the Akkadian expression, and believers that in Deuteronomy and Kings, both formulae mainly express the Yhwh's sovereignty over the land, the people and the Davidic dynasty and they have nothing in common with a "Name Theology."

Nevertheless, no matter whether Richter discusses the origin of the Hebrew expressions לשום שמו שם and לשכן שמו שם correctly or not, we may hardly doubt that at least in some texts, the phraseology working with the concept of "the name of God" is used in order to challenge the older notion of the temple as a place, where Yhwh sits enthroned, and to circumscribe the presence of God in the temple to the presence of his name[478]. This clearly holds true of Solomon's (dtr) speech on the occasion of the consecration of the temple in 1 Kgs 8, as well as of 2 Sam 7. In 1 Kgs 8, the king first recites an old (pre-dtr) "formula of consecration" (vv. 12f.), describing the newly built temple as a place for Yhwh to dwell in forever (מכון לשבתך עולמים). Then, however, by means of a rhetorical question(!), Solomon questions that God could really dwell (ישב) in the temple (v. 27), going on to repeat four times that the actual place of Yhwh's dwelling (מקום שבתך – v. 30; מכון שבתך – vv. 39.43.49) is the heaven, while the temple is only a place where his name dwells (29.44.48). As has been shown by, for instance, T. N. D. Mettinger in his classical study *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, this ambition to reinterpret the nature of Yhwh's presence in the sanctuary is to be seen in relation with the fall of the temple in 586, and, probably, also the exilic situation of the author(s) of this text.

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[475] For the older discussion see Mettinger, Dethronement, p. 38-59.
[476] Richter, History.
[477] Richter, History, p. 183, 208, 211.
[478] Cf. Hulst, שכן.

The same attempt to redefine the function of the temple is perceptible in 2 Sam 7. Apart of the interrogative particle, vv. 5b and 13a differ mainly in the pronoun at the beginning and the function of the temple at the end.

האתה תבנה לי בית לשׁבתי Do you build for me a house for my dwelling in?

הוא יבנה   בית לשׁמי   He will build a house for my name.

Taking into account the course of Yhwh's speech until now, it becomes apparent that the main contrast here does not lie between "you" and "he" (because the "you" of 5b was purported to contrast with the divine "I"), but between לשׁבתי and לשׁמי. Hence, the point is not a postponement of David's plan, nor is it necessary to take out v. 13a as a dtr interpolation incompatible with the rest of the text.[479] In fact, v. 13a *continues* the polemic against the temple as God's dwelling place, a polemic which started already in 5b. Vv. 5b + 13a thus present us with the same shift from the temple as God's dwelling to the temple for Yhwh's name as 1 Kgs 8. In contrast, the fact that the house for God's name will be built by Solomon, and not David, has probably little ideological relevance for the author of 2 Sam 7 and is caused merely by a historical tradition that connected the construction of the first temple with Solomon.

2 Sam 7 is therefore in a polemic with two aspects of David's original plan to build a house for Yhwh: Nathan's oracle, for one thing, denies the importance of the temple for the dynastic promise, and secondly, it rejects the notion of the temple as God's place to dwell. We have seen that Ps 132 contains both these features that are rejected in 2 Sam 7, and a royal ideology similar to that contained in Ps 132 appears in many other texts of the ancient Near East. Numerous scholars ascribe the authorship of large parts of 2 Sam 7, or even the whole chapter, to dtr authors or redactors. What does that mean for the date of origin of 2 Sam 7?

It has been more or less universally accepted that the dtr scribal activity began in the Neo-Assyrian period in 7th century B.C.E. and continued in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods.[480] The origin of 2 Sam 7 could be

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[479] See above for these rejected proposals. The opinion that the Deuteronomistic redactor re-branded the principal rejection of the temple as a temporary instruction, may be called classical. Actually, 13a rejects the understanding of the temple as a place for Yhwh to dwell with a determination similar to that of the rhetorical question 5b. We definitely cannot say that 13a postpones the realization of David's original plan.

[480] For a synthesis of the history of dtr scribal activity, see primarily Römer, So-Called.

imagined in two more clearly delimited historical contexts. I believe it is most likely that 2 Sam 7 was written during the "exilic period", and the meaning of the connection of the dynastic promise and the polemic with the traditional role of the temple in royal ideology is an attempt to maintain (or promote) the promise after the fall of the temple. The "dtr" author of the chapter intended to reject the traditional relationship between the temple and the kingship so that there would be a hope that the dynasty would not follow the fate of the temple. Both features of the polemic with the traditional functions of the temple are comprehensible in this context. In the older Judean royal ideology, as we described it with the major help of Ps 132, the Davidic kingship was legitimized, among other things, by the kings' care for the temple and by Yhwh's presence in the temple. Now, after the fall of the temple, the author of 2 Sam 7 claims that the rule of the dynasty has never been legitimized in this manner: the dynastic promise was not given to David in return for his care for the sanctuary and Yhwh was never enthroned (ישב) on Zion, since the temple was merely a house for his name. This means that the polemic with the temple as a place for God to dwell (5b.13b) is not present in 2 Sam 7 merely for a theoretical interest in the divine transcendence, but is an integral part of the whole re-interpretation of the Judean royal ideology for the needs of the given historical situation. In the exilic situation after 586 B.C.E. and regarding the relationship between the temple and kingship in the traditional form of the ideology, the polemic with the temple is itself a "promise" of sorts for the dynasty.[481]

The formulation of Judean royal ideology in 2 Sam 7 therefore corresponds to the situation of exile of the Davidic dynasty after the fall of the temple. The chapter is a propaganda piece in favour of the deported

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[481] In this way we may explain the specific combination of the extreme royal propaganda with a resolute rejection of the king's plan to build a temple. But we should emphasise that the rejection of king's intention to build a temple was probably conceivable for the first reader of 2 Sam 7. Hurowitz, House, p. 160-165, mentions Mesopotamian texts, according to which some kings (usually prior in relation to origin of the documents) did not receive a permission to build or repair the temple or any other building. Hurowitz even believes that in Sippar, a tradition of "divine refusal" may have evolved. If the king mentions in his building inscription that the gods previously rejected a plan of building from another king, he merely emphasises the importance of his own deeds and his proximity to gods in the contrast to the less successful kings. For the texts mentioning the rejection of the plan to build see also Kasari, Promise, p. 59-60, and the references adduced by him.

Jehoiachin or, more likely, his descendants, and it should be dated after 586 B.C.E. (*terminus a quo*). Regarding a *terminus ad quem*, we might think of the third fourth of 6th century B.C.E., since, at least according to the image created by the books of Haggai, Zechariah and Ezra, the temple played a major role in the discourse legitimizing the leading role of the Davidide Zerubbabel since 520 B.C.E. This dating is more or less in accord with Oswald's and until recently I advocated it as the only possibility.[482]

Now I believe that the origin of 2 Sam 7 at the time *after* Zerubbabel is also plausible – in the situation, when the temple of Jerusalem was restored, but the Davidides could not derive their legitimacy from it. The books of Haggai and Zechariah suggest the existence of an alliance between the governor Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua during the reconstruction of the temple. But in the context of the Persian rule, the alliance between the Davidides and the (high) priests must have been very fragile, as we can see from some of the texts in Zachariah – a latent tension between the "Branch" and the high priest Joshua is visible for example in the note in Zech 6,13, that "peaceable counsel shall be between *them* both". One of the structural cleavages between the Davidides and the (high) priests must have been the question of the control over the temple. While the temple and the cult were formally under the control of the king at the times of monarchy[483], in the Persian times the "reform priests" obviously wished to acquire better control over the temple and the cult.[484] In Zech 3,7, the high priest is given some power over the temple area, although it is unclear whether the verb דין indicates jurisdiction over matters of temple and cult, or government and administration of the temple.[485] In Ezek 40-48 the role of a Davidide prince in the cult is limited and he is absent from the cult in P. From another side, the significance of the temple as a symbol of the Davidides' relationship towards Jerusalem may have been jeopardized by the Persian king's attitude to the temple.[486] Persian rulers are presented as sponsors of the Jerusalem temple in various Biblical texts. Ezra 1,2-4; 6,3-12

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[482] Rückl, Dynastie.

[483] Cf. 2 Sam 8,16-18; 20,23-26; 1 Kgs 1,26-27; 4,2-6; 2 Kgs 12,5-17; 16,10-18; 18,4; 22,3-7; 21,3-7; 23,1-24, and notes on the relationship between the Judean king and the temple of Jerusalem at the beginning of the chapter.

[484] See Albertz, Restoration, p. 1-17, esp. 9-10. The expression "reform priests" is from Albertz.

[485] See the discussion in Rose, Zemah, p. 68-83.

[486] For the temple policies of the Achaemenids, see Dandamaev – Lukonin, Culture, 360-366.

quotes documents, according to which already Cyrus ordered the building of a temple in Jerusalem and a return of the temple vessels taken away by Nebuchadnezzar (cf. also 2 Chr 22,23, Ezra 1,7–11; 5,14–15), and Dareios I. later confirmed Cyrus's order and had the building funded by taxes collected in the Transeuphratene; Dareios also ordered the Persian administration to provide the priests of Jerusalem with animals and other goods for sacrifices, "that they may offer pleasing sacrifices to the God of heaven and pray for the life of the king and his sons" (Ezra 6,10). Cyrus is called the builder of the temple also in Isa 44,28. Ezra 7,12-26 quotes a document, in which king Artaxerxes[487] gives Ezra his personal gift for the temple of Jerusalem and he orders a transfer of "up to 100 talents of silver, 100 cors of wheat, 100 baths of wine, 100 baths of oil, and salt without prescribing how much" from the state treasury in the Transeuphratene for the temple. Artaxerxes also freed all the priests and other staff of the temple of all taxes. The authenticity of the mentioned documents is questionable and it is not clear to what extent and since when the cultic practice corresponded to the priestly texts, but we may suspect that all these texts reflect a certain general discourse. M. A. Dandamaev and V. G. Lukonin, for instance, believe that sacrifices were made in the name of the Persian king in the temple of Jerusalem, as in other temples in the Persian Empire.[488] The legitimizing potential of the temple of Jerusalem for the Davidic dynasty would be significantly reduced at the time when the cult and the temple were understood as a domain of priests under the auspices of the Persian rule. We may imagine the origin of 2 Sam 7, which attempts to deny the traditional relationship between the temple and the Davidic kingship, in this context as well.

Now, with respect to these preliminary conclusions on the plausible historical contexts of 2 Sam 7, I would like first to return to some issues that I have left unanswered, and then turn to the main themes of vv. 14–17 that I did not treat until now, mainly the motif of divine sonship of the Davidic king and the unconditional character of the dynastic promise that is derived from it.

Let us now look again at the problem of v(v). 6(.7). As we have seen, there is a contradiction between the rejection of David's plan in the verses 5b.8-13a, where the temple as a God's dwelling-place is replaced by the

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[487] For the question whether the author means Artaxerxes I. or II., see commentaries.

[488] Dandamaev – Lukonin, Culture, p. 366.

temple for the name of God, and v(v). 6(.7), where Yhwh's mobility in the tent is placed in contrast to his dwelling in a stable house.[489] How can we explain this tension? We may imagine that v(v.) 6(n) contain the remains of some older source that originally rejected the temple from the perspective of a conservative (or rather "romanticizing") nomadic ideal. This source would not need to be much older that the rest of the text, since the nostalgic image of an ideal nomadic past could emerge in various periods of time (cf. e.g. Hos 12,10 or the Rechabites in Jer 35).[490] In any case, it would be difficult to reconstruct a pre-dtr source in 2 Sam 7,6(f.), since the phrase למיום העלתי את בני ישראל ממצרים (v. 6aβ) has parallels merely in the texts that are considered dtr or post-dtr: Judg 19,30; 1 Sam 8,8; 1 Kgs 8,16; 2 Kgs 21,15; Jer 7,25; 11,7; cf. also Deut 9,7.

It is also possible that this tension in 2 Sam 7 was caused by an interpolation in v(v). 6(7)[491], a possibility that could be supported by the expression באהל ובמשכן in v. 6, which, in the opinion of some scholars, reflects an influence of the priestly texts of the Pentateuch[492]. The extent of the interpolation would be hard to delimitate. It is not quite possible to regard the whole of vv. 6-7 as an addition, since in that case, the extensive introduction of the first part of the oracle would be followed merely by the question of v. 5b and that would be followed by another extensive introduction of the second part of the oracle in v. 8aα, more or less a repetition of v. 5a. A more elegant basic text is reconstructed by M. Pietsch who regards vv. 6-8aα as an addition.[493] This interpolation, in any case, could not be dated to a very late period, since v. 7 is presupposed not only

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[489] Some Bible scholars sought a more or less close analogies to the Ark in Beduin cultic objects *utfa*, *maḥmal* and *qubba*. See Morgenstern, Ark; Koch, אֹהֶל, col. 133-134; Zobel, אָרוֹן, col. 395.

[490] Although we should take into account the analysis of Staubli, Image, p. 252-258, who shows that the so-called "nomadic ideal" was never a programme of the prophetic movement, as it was sometimes claimed. Some texts, however, attest an occasional idealization of some aspects of nomadic life (see e.g. Jer 2,3; Hos 12,10). As far as Jer 35 is concerned, Staubli is right that the point of comparison of the Rechabites and the Judeans is not a way of life, but faithfulness; still, it is clear that the Rechabites present their lifestyle as a matter of principle.

[491] The whole of vv. 6-7 or its parts is considered as an addition by Coppens, Prophétie, p. 99-100; Campbell, Prophets, p. 75-81; Kasari, Promise, p. 65-67; Sergi, Composition, p. 274-277.

[492] E.g. Kellermann, מִשְׁכָּן, col. 68; Pietsch, Sproß, p. 49; Kasari, Promise, p. 65; Sergi, Composition, p. 275-277, 279; Rudnig, König, p. 435.

[493] Pietsch, Sproß, p. 18-19, 49

in v 1 Chr 17 (like 2 Sam 7,6), but also in 1 Kgs 8,16 (see the text-critical note on 2 Sam 7,7). We may imagine v. 6b as a minimal interpolation, but the verb התהלכתי in v. 7a is most likely to be related to the occurrence of הלך hit. in 6b. Meanwhile v. 7aα[494] is to be understood as an adverbial sentence introducing 7aβ-b. Theoretically, it is possible that a scribe inserted 6b-7aα, or perhaps 6-7aα into the text[495] (while 7aα would be inserted as an introduction to the older v. 7aβ-b), but I do find it quite unlikely.

The mentioned difficulties with the reconstruction of the source or the addition in vv. 6-7 bring us to a possibility that the tension between the argumentation in v. 5 and in v(v.) 6(n) is not a result of the literary development of the text. In his classical work *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, T. N. D. Mettinger showed that both the dtr "theology of the name" and the priestly theology of the mobile "glory" were developed mostly after the fall of the temple, when the concept of Yhwh sitting "enthroned" in the temple, expressing the divine presence mainly by the verb ישב, became problematic.[496] The author of 2 Sam 7 could have used in his polemic against the idea of Yhwh sitting enthroned in the temple both the notion of Yhwh's name and that of Yhwh moving in the tent and the abode, regardless of the fact that these two concepts are not entirely compatible.[497] This possibility is all the more likely since 2 Sam 7 apparently critiques the traditional notion of Yhwh's presence in the temple primarily for its being an aspect of the traditional Judean royal ideology. It is not clear whether the scribe of 2 Sam 7 could have known, at least partially, the priestly texts of the Pentateuch or had only some notion of the development of the

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[494] I delimit v. 7aα from the beginning of the verse up to the segolta.

[495] So Campbell, Prophets, p. 75-81.

[496] Mettinger, Dethronement.

[497] There is also an apparent tension of 2 Sam 7,6-7 with 1 Sam 1-3 where the house of Yhwh (בית – 1,7.24; 3,15) and his temple (היכל – 1, 9; 3,3) are repeatedly mentioned. If these mentions of Yhwh's temple in 1 Sam 1-3 had any importance for the author of 2 Sam 7, he probably believed Yhwh was present in Shiloh in a similar manner as later in Jerusalem: he was not *sitting enthroned/dwelling* in that temple either (cf. Jer 7,1-15, where the temple of Jerusalem is referred to as " house, which is called by my name" [vv. 10.11.13], and Shiloh is called a place "where I made my name dwell at first" [v. 12]). The sojourn of the Ark in Shiloh is then one of the stops at its journey described in 2 Sam 7,6-7.

concept of divine mobile glory, moving with Yhwh's abode; but this question is not vital for our study.[498]

We may now return to vv. 10–11aα(.β), considered a secondary addition by many scholars[499]. The common argument in favour of this exclusion is that while the previous and the following text lists Yhwh's deeds for David (either in the past or in the future), 10–11aα turn the attention to Yhwh's activity for the people of Israel. Some scholars speak of a secondary transfer of the promise on all the people, which would constitute a kind of democratization of the promise. There are actually no literary-critical arguments for the exclusion of vv. 10–11aα(.β). F. Langlamet draws the attention to the mention of "enemies" in vv. 9aβ.11aβ and considers v. 11aβ a *Wiederaufnahme*, but that would mean that v. 9b, which still relates to David, would be a part of the interpolation. What is more, we need not read v. 11aβ as a *Wiederaufnahme* returning to v. 9aβ. In the given context, it is rather better to construe the "enemies" in v. 9aβ primarily as David's adversaries on his way to the throne (Yhwh's "being with David", mentioned in the text immediately preceding, is a leitmotif of the story of David's rise), while the vocabulary of the verse 11aβ indicates that the issue are the "surrounding" enemies of David mentioned in v. 1b. We might object to the exclusion of vv. 10–11aα from the original text of 2 Sam 7 that in the situation after the fall of the temple, it was important to loosen not only the connection between the temple and the well-being of the dynasty, but also the link between the temple and the well-being of the people (cf. Lam 5,17–21), and in this perspective, we may easily understand the presence of a reminder of the deeds done by Yhwh for Israel before the temple was built. But most importantly, it must be ephasized that the connection between a well-being of the ruler and that of the land and the people is not exceptional at all, and we do find it in Hebrew Bible as well as

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[498] An answer to this question is to some extent dependent on the question which of the two periods suggested as dates of origin of 2 Sam 7 will we choose. P is usually dated to the exilic period, but there are good arguments for its dating to the Persian period (see e.g. Nihan, Torah, p. 383-394). The origin of 2 Sam 7 in the exilic time is not ruled out, since even if we date the composition of P to the first decades of the 5th century, the development of the priestly theology of the "mobile" glory is probably connected to the fall of the temple, so that the concept itself may have started to develop in the exilic period before the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple.

[499] Langlamet, Review of Würthwein and Veijola, p. 130–131; Mettinger, King, p. 51–52; Pietsch, Sproß, p. 22, 29, 43–45, 51–52; Oswald, Nathan, p. 66–68; Rudnig, König, p. 442; Van Seters, Saga, p. 259-261; Sergi, Composition, p. 277-278.

in other texts of the ancient Near East. From the viewpoint of royal discourse, it is desirable to connect the motifs of the well-being of the people and of the sovereign as closely as possible. An example of this connection may be found in the dedicatory inscription of Akhayus, king of Ekron (ca. 680-665), for the temple of the goddess Ptgyh: "The temple (house) that Akhayus, son of Padi, son of Ysd, son of Ada, son of Yaʾir, ruler of Ekron, built for PTGYH, his lady. May she bless him, and prote[ct] him, and prolong his days, and may she bless his [l]and."[500] Akhayus pleads the goddess to bless him and his land, and given the context, both may be understood as a reward for the building of the temple. Similarly, on the Gudea cylinders the building of the temple is not only connected to the blessing of the king, but also the land and the people, see Cyl. A xi.5-25; Cyl. B xix.12-15. Finally, in Ps 132 the presence of Yhwh on Zion (v. 13) leads both to an eternal duration of the Davidic dynasty (vv. 11f.17) and the well-being of the people (vv. 15f.).[501] It is therefore hardly surprising that the stories of the founder of the ruling dynasty and of the people are connected also in 2 Sam 7.[502] Efforts to form a link between the well-being of Israel, the duration of the royal house and the glory of Yhwh is obvious especially in vv. 22-26, to which I shall return later.

Jehoiachin and his sons in the Babylonian exile and later in the Persian period were in the situation that made it crucial for them to defend the close link between the dynasty and the blessed life in Judah, and thus to persuade their people that a restoration of the Davidic dynasty is in the interest of the whole country. This conception of the restoration of Jerusalem and the country clearly had to be asserted over other opinions that could (and did) emerge, as we may see e.g. from the Priestly source, which defines "Israel" as a primarily "priestly nation", specific in that it is the only nation to know the true identity (name) of the God of all the world. This priestly mission could be fulfilled in the context of the Persian empire as well, regardless whether the Davidic dynasty will be restored or

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[500] The translation is that of K. L. Younger in *COS II*, p. 164. The text was published in Gitin - Dothan - Naveh, Inscription, p. 1-16.

[501] The blessing of the land and the people is a consequence of the building of the temple also in Hag 1,2-11; 2,15-19; see also Zech 1,16-17. Cf. also Ezek 47,1-12 describing how water that springs from below the threshold of the temple and flows to Arabah carries blessing wherever it goes.

[502] To this meaning of the passage, cf. already McCarthy, II Samuel 7, p. 132.

not.[503] In 2 Sam 7,10-11aα.22-24.26, then, the mention of a blessing of the people in connection to the blessing of the Davidic dynasty is not a re-interpretation of the dynastic promise for the post-monarchic times[504], on the contrary it serves the needs of the Davidic discourse.

Likewise, the designation of the king as a son of Yhwh (v. 14a) and the following unconditionality of the dynastic promise (vv. 14b-15) should be understood in the given historico-social context. There was a great amount of secondary literature published on the divine sonship of the Judean and/or Israelite king during the last century. Scholars mainly paid attention to the questions what implications did this designation have for the Judean king (primarily whether he was regarded as a god or not), how did he become the son of God and from where did labeling the king as the son of God come to the Jerusalem court.[505] We cannot attend to these problems at this point, I would only like to point out one aspect of the discussion. With all the different proposed answers to the given questions, most scholars agree that king's divine sonship was a firm part of the Judean royal ideology. As far as *Sitz im Leben* of this motif is concerned, it is usually thought that the king was declared a son of Yhwh during his coronation or during an annual feast. This approach to the issue is reflected in the fact that the motif of the king's divine sonship is understood as a more or less autonomous symbolic structure; this is especially apparent in the discussion of the motif's origin. This approach may be justified, especially if we locate the emergence of the oldest form of Psalms 2 and 110 (or at least the liturgical sources quoted in them) to the beginning of the monarchic period and if we regard these texts as periodically used in liturgy, annually or during the accession of a new king.[506] In this perspective, the motif of the king as a divine son is a mytho-poetic concept that does have its ideological-political dimension, but also its own developmental trajectory going through the centuries and various cultures.

This approach to the study of Judean royal ideology may not be all wrong, but I attempted to present a different view on the relevant Biblical

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[503] See Nihan, Torah, p. …; Nihan - Römer, Débat, p. 168-171.

[504] So e.g. Sergi, Composition, p. 277-278.

[505] For a summary of the research and a comprehensive discussion of the main related questions see Collins - Collins, King, p. 1-47.

[506] So e.g. Day, Inheritance, p. 73-74, 90 (concerning Ps 110); Otto, Theologie, p. 34-44, 50-51 (Ps 2,7f.).

texts in a recent article.[507] I have the impression that the utterances on king as a son of Yhwh in the Hebrew Bible need not be understood as evidence of a concept passed on during the centuries, but rather as individual cases of attempts at extreme sacralization of the Judean king in specific historical contexts.[508] This approach to the given motif does clearly seem to be adequate in case of 2 Sam 7.

Who exactly is the son of Yhwh according to Nathan's oracle? The noun זרע, towards which all the 3rd p. pronouns are referring in vv. 12-15, has a primary meaning of „seed" and may denote both a descendant (Gen 4,25; 1 Sam 1,11) and posterity (e.g. Gen 15,5; 22,17). There is a question whether vv. 12-15 speaks of the descendant of David, i.e. Solomon, or generally of David's royal posterity. The verbs and pronouns referring to זרע are in singular in vv. 12-15 but the referent of the word does not clearly follow from this, since, as seen in Gen 22,17, זרע may be connected to the verbs and pronouns in singular even in case it has a collective meaning.

The Chronicler in 1 Chr 17 linked the related passage only to Solomon. As I already mentioned in a text-critical note, the expression אשר יהיה מבניך in 1 Chr 17,11MT perhaps attempts to indicate that David's זרע mentioned in the previous clause should be understood individually as one of David's sons.[509] In the following verse, after the promise of the divine sonship, the Chronicler omitted the mention of a punishment for king's sins, which corresponds to the idealization of Solomon's rule in Chronicles. Would the Chronicler understand זרע collectively, he would not have to omit the mention of the punishments, as he does not deny the existence of unfaithful Davidic kings and when implementing the scheme where a good king is rewarded a blessing and the bad king is punished, Chronicles are

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[507] J. Rückl, Father.

[508] I was inspired primarily by several recent studies on the Mesopotamian kings that were deified and worshipped during their lives. See mainly Michalowski, Kings, p. 33-45; Winter, Gods, p. 75-101; Bernbeck, Deification, p. 157-169. These authors do not regard the self-divinization of Mesopotamian kings as a static concept or a peak of an autonomous developmental line, but as a historically conditioned and ephemeral phenomenon. The designation of the king of Judah as a son of Yhwh is not entirely comparable to the deification of Naram-Sin and a few kings of the third dynasty of Ur. That is not essential though, since my inspiration refers mainly to these authors' attempts to locate this type of power discourse to its historical context.

[509] 2 Sam 7,12 reads אשר יצא ממעיך in MT and ἔσται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου in LXX. The situation is complicated by the fact that 1 Chr 17,11LXX has a similar text to 2 Sam 7,12LXX, see the text-critical note for details.

more thorough than Samuel and Kings. 1 Chr 22,9f. and 28,6 also confirm that for the Chronicler, the divine sonship is not tied to the royal function of the Davidides, but is a special distinction of the temple builder Solomon.

In 2 Sam 7, the word זרע is probably used intentionally for its ambivalence, so that verses 12–15 could be applied both to Solomon and the Davidic dynasty.[510] The prediction of the building of the temple points to Solomon (cf. 1 Kgs 5,19) and the firm establishment of Solomon's kingship in 1 Kgs 2,12.24.46 seems like a fulfillment of 2 Sam 7,13b. Even the division of the kingdom after Solomon's death, when the Davidides are, despite Solomon's sins, allowed to keep one tribe, may be understood as a fulfillment of the promise that Yhwh would punish the Davidic king, but he will not take back his favor completely, for the father-like relation he has to the Davidic king (see 1Kgs 11,34). On the other hand, the expression בית in sense of a dynasty in 2 Sam 7,11 suggests a collective understanding of the word זרע in the following verses; the expression זרעך אחריך itself and its variations often appear in covenantal texts, where it designates not merely the children of one of the parties, but also a continuous line of generations.[511] What is more, the assurance that Yhwh would not reject a descendant of David, seen as His own son (vv. 14–15), leads to the promise of the eternal dynasty in v. 16, so that it seems that Solomon's fate primarily serves in 2 Sam 7 to illustrate Yhwh's fatherly relation to David's descendants in general.

In 2 Sam 7 then, unlike in 1 Chr 17, the position of the king as Yhwh's son does not express the king's greatness, but rather explains Yhwh's tolerance for the sinful king by the fact that even in times of punishment and crisis, there is between Yhwh and a Davidic king an indissoluble father-son relationship.[512] This specific use of the motif is also seen in the text's lack of interest to ascribe divine sonship to David himself. All this indicates that Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7 works only with that aspect of the

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[510] In the history of research, the collective and individual meaning of the verses is often ascribed to various layers of the text. Both possible directions of development were suggested – from the individual to the collective meaning and otherwise. Yet there are no visible formal marks of a diachronic development.

[511] See Gen 9,9; Gen 17,7-10.19; 35,12; 48,4; Num 25,13; Deut 4,37n;1 Sam 24,22; cf. the Aramaic papyrus AP 8,9 from Elephantine (460 B.C.E.) אנתי שליטה בה מן יומא זנה ועד עלם ובניכי אחריכי "you have full rights over it from this day for ever, and your children after you" (Cowley, Papyri, p. 22); for more analogous formulae from the ancient Near East see Weinfeld, School, p. 78; Weinfeld, Covenant, p. 199.

[512] Similarly Oswald, Nathan, p. 56–57.

king's divine sonship that is useful in the given situation of dynastic crisis of the 6th or 5th century B.C.E, interpreted as a punishment. The image of divine sonship in 2 Sam 7,14 is an extreme kind of discourse, when the real power of the king is severely limited and jeopardized, and the discourse attempts to express the king's legitimacy by a figure that presents his right to rule without any relation to the current distribution of power.

This interpretation of vv. 14-15 is in a conradiction to the opinion of many scholars who believe that the king's divine sonship in 2 Sam 7 is an archaic motif that kept its place in the chapter despite the intellectual world of the last redactors of the text. V. 14a is a part of several literary-critical reconstructions of the oldest core of the chapter. M. Pietsch believes that the oldest text of the chapter within the given narrative context consisted of v. 1a.2-5.8aβ-9a.11b-16.17*.18-21.25-27, but out of this text, Pietsch furthermore separates an older prophetic oracle in vv. 11b.12*.14a.15a.16.[513] Similarly, P. Kasari finds a prophetic text from David's time in vv. 1a.2-5.8aβbα*.9a.12aαβ.14a.15a.17.[514] In such a reconstructed context, v. 14a would have a different function than the one I suggested above, but such literary reconstructions are very hypothetical and, as I attempted to show in my previous discussion, Nathan's oracle contains no convincing formal signs of the presence of several sources of layers. The inclusion of v. 14a in a postulated oldest layer of the text is also problematic for the reason that the verse does not distance itself, on stylistic terms, from the whole of the chapter influenced by "dtr" phraseology. V. 14a is formulated in a similar manner as the idea repeated in Deuteronomy for several times that Israel became the people of Yhwh (7,6; 14,2; 27,9; 28,9). A reciprocal formulation, according to which Yhwh is the God of Israel and Israel is his people, appears e.g. in Deut 29,12[515], but also in David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,24: וַתְּכוֹנֵן לְךָ אֶת עַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל (לָךְ)[516] לְעָם עַד עוֹלָם וְאַתָּה יְהוָה הָיִיתָ לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים.[517] This objection could be raised also against the

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[513] Pietsch, Sproß, p. 15-53.

[514] Kasari, Promise, p. 21-109.

[515] Other occurrences in Exod 6,7; Lev 26,12; Deut 26,17-18; Jer 7,23; 11,4; 24,7; 31,1.33; 32,38; Ezek 11,20; 14,11; 36,28; 37,23.27; Zach 8,8; cf. also Hos 2,25 (the list by Fokkelman, Art III, p. 247).

[516] The double לך in 2 Sam 7,24MT is probably wrong, see the text-critical note ad loc.

[517] A similarity with dtr "covenantal" formulations has been also pointed out by Waschke, Verhältnis, p. 114; Oswald, Nathan, p. 56. Cf. Levin, Verheißung, p. 252.

opinion that 2 Sam 7,14a is a quote from an official liturgy performed at the occasion of the accession of a new king to the throne.[518]

The unconditionality of the dynastic promise is also often mentioned as the proof of old age of Nathan's oracle. J. J. Collins thinks it significant that 2 Sam 7,14, as a part of the dtr processed text, avoids the mention of the Yhwh's "begetting" of the king; a „demythologization" of the royal ideology is supposed to be carried even further in the following text that mentions a punishment for the sinful king. Following M. Weinfeld (see above), Collins believes the (pre-exilic) Deuteronomist reinterpreted the dynastic promise to David in vv. 14–16 along the pattern of the treaty texts. Despite the inclusion of the threat of punishment, the promise remains unconditional, a fact that Collins explains as a result of the influence of an older form of the Judean royal ideology. The later, exilic edition of Dtr history, as a result of the historical events, understood the promise as conditional (Collins mentions the example of 1Kgs 8,25).[519]

But the explicit unconditionality, guaranteed by God, of king's right for a throne, as we find it in v 2 Sam 7,14–15, does not belong among the main features of the royal ideologies of the ancient Near East. On the contrary, in many texts there is a notion of the conditional character of king's rule. The king Yaḥimilk of Byblos (10th century B.C.E.) says in his inscription, after the reminder of his building activity:

> "May Baal/Master of Heavens and Baala<t>/Mistress of Byblos/Gubal and the assembly of holy gods of Byblos/Gubal prolong the days of Yaḥimilk and his years over Byblos/Gubal for (כ) [he] (is) the righteous king and just king at the face/before the holy (gods) of Byblos/Gubal" (KAI 4, lines. 3–7; similarly also KAI 10, lines 7–9).[520]

The texts that celebrate the king's merits for the cult and the well-being of the land also seem to presuppose that the power of the king is to some extent conditioned by the right exercise of his function. We must be aware that this implied conditionality of the king's power is not a consequence of the critique of the royal office "from below", since the authors of the inscriptions were royal scribes; it is rather a "from above" implemented instrument of legitimization that helps the king to present his power as justly merited.

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[518] So e.g. Gerbrandt, Kingship, p. 163-164.
[519] Collins – Collins, *King*, p. 28–30.
[520] The translation is by S. Segert, COS II, p. 146.

It is only natural that the ruling king wished to legitimize his power also by his being a good king and therefore to present his blessed rule as merited. The king usually does not have an interest in such presentations of unconditional divine guarantee of his rule that would openly remind of his faults, as is the case in 2 Sam 7,14-15. In the Babylonian exile and in the Persian period, however, these verses did make perfect sense: when the reality of the loss of power is regarded as a punishment[521], the author of 2 Sam 7 says that the Davidides have a right to the throne in spite of their sins, because this right is based on their filial relation to Yhwh. The explicit unconditionality of the promise is thus not due to an influence of an older version of the Judean royal ideology, but on the contrary to a specific situation of the royal house in the Babylonian exile or the Persian period.

Finally, the emphasis of 2 Sam 7 on the eternity of the dynastic promise (the chapter includes six uses of עד עולם and 2x לעולם) should also be understood in connection with the situation of the Davidic dynasty in the Babylonian exile and later.[522] During the existence of the Judean monarchy, the rule of Judean kings was no doubt legitimized, among other things, by their origin in the Davidic dynasty, as it was common in the ancient Near

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[521] The precise meaning of בשבט אנשים ובנגעי בני אדם is unclear. There are basically three types of interpretation of these punishments: 1) The "rod of men" and "stripes of the sons of men" are a means of punishment, therefore Yhwh will punish a sinful king by making other people attack his country (so R. Polzin, David, p. 83); 2) Yhwh will punish the king, who is his son with usual methods of punishment between people, i.e. without cancelling the father-son relationship (so Weinfeld, Covenant, p. 192n; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 207); 3) Yhwh will punish the king like any other man (Cf. CJB: "I will punish him with a rod and blows, just as everyone gets punished"). – What matters is that the whole of vv. 14b-15 counts with the possibility of punishment for a sinful Davidic king, yet it excludes the fatal punishment of taking the kingdom away from the house of David. As Oswald, Nathan, p. 80, says the "human" dimension of the punishment primarily denotes its temporal nature.

[522] Some scholars believe that the expressions עד עולם and לעולם in 2 Sam 7 cannot be translated as "for eternity" or "forever" (e.g. Eslinger, House, p. 46-8; Murray, Prerogative, p. 194; McKenzie, Typology, p. 176-178). According to S. L. McKenzie, for instance, the author of 2 Sam 7 (i.e. the exilic Deuteronomist) did not wish to say that the Davidic dynasty would rule forever, but rather to explain why they were in power for so long; 2 Sam 7 is not, then, in a contradiction with the exile that ends the work of the Dtr history. Eslinger and McKenzie argument e.g. by the oracle of the man of God in 1 Sam 2,27-36, according to which Yhwh formerly promised to the Elides that they will serve as his priests עד עולם, but this promise will now be cancelled due to sins of Eli's sons and his meekness towards them. – Actually, it is in 1 Sam 2,30 where עד עולם obviously has the meaning of unlimited duration; if it were otherwise, the prophet would not have to announce the cancellation of the promise. More to this text in ch. 2. For the meaning of עולם see Jenni, עוֹלָם, p. 230; Barr, Words, p. 69f..

East. But in the normal circumstances, the ruling kings probably had no specific interest in promoting the issue of "eternal dynasty", or at least the interest was not as exclusive and extreme as in 2 Sam 7.[523] The dynastic substantiation of the claim for power gained enormous importance for those members of the dynasty whose power was endangered or made virtually impossible.[524] The emergence and employment of the motif of the promise of eternal dynasty may easily be pictured in various moments or periods of the history of the Judean monarchy, we may only consider e.g. the conspiracy against the queen Athaliah and the accession to the throne of the (presumed) Davidide Jehoash, or, in the longer period of time, the period of the second half of the 9th century and the beginning of the 8th century B.C.E., when three consecutive monarchs – Athaliah, Jehoash and Amaziah – were murdered by conspirators.[525] We might also think of the time of the so-called Syro-Ephraimite crisis, when the Aramean Resin and the Israelite Pekah launched their armies against Jerusalem and according to Isa 7,6, they wanted to install an otherwise unknown "son of Tabeel" on the Judean throne. From the tradition-historical perspective, the dynastic promise in 2 Sam 7 *might* have its prehistory, but that is not reflected in various layers of the text whose composition comes from the Neo-Babylonian or Persian period. The "kairos" of the motif of eternal Davidic covenant obviously came only after Jehoiachin with his court (597) and later also the blinded Zedekiah (587) were taken away to the Babylonian captivity and the rule of the Davidides in Judah was, therefore, severely questioned.

Let us now return once more to vv. 1–3 whose function may now be described in the context of the whole 2 Sam 7,1–17. In vv. 1–3, David's plan

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[523] That does not mean that the ruling king would not care whether his descendant would or would not rule. The interest of kings to secure the rule of their dynasty is well attested in various texts of the ancient Near East. The prayers at the end of the building inscriptions, for instance, sometimes contain a plea for a blessed (sometimes even "eternal") rule of the king's descendants, cf. e.g. the abovementioned conclusion to inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II. (605-562) "May my descendants rule for ever in it over the black-headed people!" (Langdon, Königsinschriften, p. 121; the English translation follows Ishida, Dynasties, p. 90). Also the Assyrian royal oracles may contain a promise of the rule of a king's descendants, as in the case of SAA 9 2.3, 16: "Your son and grandson shall rule as kings before Ninurta." But in these texts, the issue of the "eternal dynasty" never has an exclusive and dominant place as in 2 Sam 7.

[524] Cf. Kasari, Promise, p. 41.

[525] So Sergi, Composition, p. 267–268.

is presented as appropriate to the situation and the prophet Nathan approves it as such. All this is supposed to make the reader form a certain horizon of expectations that will be rejected in the following text. However, as I already noted, the intended readers of 2 Sam 7 probably knew that building of the first temple was attributed to Solomon. Vv. 1-3 therefore evoke a horizon of expectations that is in accordance with the literary and ideological conventions, but also in contradiction with some of the readers' knowledge. This fact indicates that the collapse of the false expectations in 2 Sam 7 does not only have an esthetic function that would be entirely consumed at the moment of surprise, but primarily a critical function. The goal of vv. 1-3 is to actualize an ideological concept in the reader's mind that would be rejected in the following text.

This procedure of the author of 2 Sam 7 corresponds to the general tendency of the Dtr history, and biblical historiography in general, to present a "gnomic vision of the past" which has no alternative[526]. Should ideology in such a historiographical work be promoted primarily through narration of "historical events", it may be difficult to carry on a direct polemic with different opinions without the creation of an *anagram*, i.e. a text that would, aside from its own position, also evoke an image of the rejected position in the mind of the reader. That is why 2 Sam 7, unlike Ps 89, does not simply contain the dynastic promise with no connection to the temple. 2 Sam 7 presents the dynastic promise to David in relation to the king's plan of building a temple precisely in order that it could break the traditional relationship between kingship and the temple.

Scholars have sometimes suggested that the goal of 2 Sam 7 is, among other things, to explain why David as the founder of the dynasty did not build the temple.[527] I am not persuaded that this fact must have been understood as problematic. Yet my conclusions regarding 2 Sam 7 *do not mean* that David was in no way connected to the temple of Jerusalem in the pre-exilic period. On the contrary, we may speculate that the founding legend of the first temple of Jerusalem (or one of such legends) related to David was the Ark narrative, ending with David's transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem. This *hieros logos* of the temple of Jerusalem had a strong legitimizing potential for the Davidic dynasty. The relation of the kingship

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[526] For this characteristic of Dtr history see Rörmer, Problem, p. 249; *Id.*, So-Called, p. 36.

[527] E.g. Ishida, Dynasties, p. 97.

and the shrine in this legend probably had the "natural" structure similar to that contained in Ps 132, although we can hardly determine whether, or since when, some form of the dynastic promise was a part of this legend, as is the case with Ps 132.[528] 2 Sam 7 seeks to legitimize the Davidic dynasty without a relation to the temple, yet the location of Nathan's oracle after the end of the Ark narrative in 2 Sam 6 hints at the legitimizing, pro-Davidic aspect of this older cultic legend.

David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,18-29

The text of David's prayer is largely repetitive and in some sections also obscure and possibly damaged in all the textual witnesses (see the text-critical notes above); its basic structure and meaning are quite clear though.

Using three macro-syntactic signals ועתה (vv. 25.28.29), the prayer is divided in four parts.[529] In the first, (vv. 18-24) David humbly approaches Yhwh and praises his powerful deeds for Israel and himself, in the second (vv. 25-27) the king pleads Yhwh to keep his promise. The third (v. 28) and fourth part (v. 29) to some extent repeat the sequence of the first two parts – again, David praises Yhwh and then reminds him of his promise and pleads for its fulfillment.

As in the previous text, some scholars seek to reconstruct a pre-dtr core in the verses 18-29, but the prayer is considered a dtr composition also by some of the scholars that reconstruct a pre-dtr text in vv. 1–17[530]. There has also been an opinion that the prayer is far later.[531]

Generally, the form and the content of David's prayer correspond well to the exilic and post-exilic contexts as it is the case with the previous vv. 1–17, although some elements of the prayer support rather the later dating. J. Van Seters remarked that David's prayer in v. 27 is labeled by the term תְּפִלָּה, usually used to denote a lament or a plea, while in this case Van

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[528] Waschke, Verhältnis, p. 119, believes that a pre-dtr text containing the sequence of transport of the Ark to Jerusalem and the dynastic promise may be behind 2 Sam 6 and 7.

[529] Oswald, Nathan, p. 32-33.

[530] Cross, Myth, p. 247; Veijola, Dynastie, p. 78-79; Vermeylen, Symbolique, p. 475; Kasari, Promise, p. 87-90. Also for this section, the largest list of dtr features is presented by Cross, Myth, p. 252-254. For vv. 22-26 see also McCarter, II Samuel, p. 237-238.

[531] According to Levin, Verheißung, p. 251, this prayer shows that *the terminus ad quem* for literary additions in the books of Kings (sic) is the composition of the Chronicles in the first half of the 3rd c. B.C.E. More careful and based in argumentation is the discussion of the prayer's late origin by Mathys, Dichter, p. 68-75.

Seters regards it as a "prose hymn".[532] Actually, the prayer has many elements of a lament[533]:

- David recalls past magnificent deeds of God (for David – v. 18; for Israel – vv. 22-24), for this, cf. Ps 44,2-4; 74,12-17; 83,10-13 etc.
- On ten occasions, David designates himself as Yhwh's servant. With help of this self-designation, belonging to the phraseology of the lament, the praying person has resort to Yhwh as his master, expecting protection and help.[534] Cf. Ps 123; 143,12 ("for I am your servant"), etc.; from the God's side, the corresponding expression is "you are my servant" as an oracle of salvation (Isa 41,9; 44;21). In David's prayer, every use of the word "servant" is a reminder of Yhwh's commitment.
- An appeal to fulfill the promises already given by Yhwh (2 Sam 7,25.27-29), cf. Ps 89,36.50.
- A plea to Yhwh to intervene for his own name (2 Sam 7,26), cf. Ps 31,4; 54,3; 79,9f; 109,21; 143,11; etc.

The fact that David in 2 Sam 7,18-29 implores Yhwh for what he had been just promised is easily understood in view of the fact that the promise is not realized at the time of the text's origin.[535]

As I mentioned above, verses 22–24 (or 22b-26) are often excluded from the whole of the prayer as later addition.[536] The scholars attempting to reconstruct the pre-exilic form of the prayer argue for the exclusion of vv. 22-24, among other things, with the dtr language of these verses. A closer look at McCarter's list of dtr phrases used in vv. 22b-26 shows that this argument is to some extent problematic. Should the proof of a "deuteronomistic" character of an expression be mainly its presence in Deuteronomy, we may *a priori* expect that vv. 22-24, reminding of Yhwh's deeds for the people of Israel, will include more of such "dtr" expressions than the rest of the text dedicated to the dynastic promise, which is barely thematized at all in Deuteronomy (see below for Deut 17,20). On the other hand, McCarter (building on Cross's list) finds evidence of dtr activity in v.

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[532] Van Seters, Search, p. 273.
[533] Actually, it is also the form of Psalms 89 and 132.
[534] Westermann, עֶבֶד, col. 192.
[535] Similarly already Veijola, Dynastie, p. 78-79; Oswald, Nathan, p. 78-79.
[536] Noth, History, p. 55; Veijola, Dynastie, p. 74; Pietsch, Sproß, p. 29, 43-45, 51-52; Oswald, Nathan, p. 66-67; Kasari, Promise, p. 88-89. – Mettinger, King, p. 51-52, and following up with him McCarter, II Samuel, p. 237-238, find an addition in vv. 22b-26.

25 also in the twofold use of the verb דבר pi. for denoting Yhwh's promise, but we find this verb with such a meaning in vv. 19.28.29 as well.

The main argument in favour of exclusion of vv. 22–24(26) is usually the sudden shift of attention towards the people of Israel. But what meaning does this digression have in the whole of the prayer? W. Oswald believes that there is a kind of "competition" between Yhwh's deeds for Israel and the dynastic promise.[537] We have seen, however, that the connection of the well-being of the sovereign with the well-being of the people often appears in ancient Near Eastern texts including the Hebrew Bible; additionally, although we have little information on the Davidides in the Neo–Babylonian and Persian periods, we may suppose that they had, in their current socio-political position, an imminent interest in an emphasis of the tie between "Israel" and the dynasty.

As many scholars observed, David uses an identical terminology when describing Yhwh's conduct towards the people and the dynasty. According to v. 24, Yhwh established (ותכונן) for himself the people of Israel to be his people forever (עד עולם), which stands in parallel with Yhwh's establishing of the kingship in David's family forever (vv. 12.13.16; in v. 13, the verb כון is in polel as in v. 24; hiphil appears in v. 12, and niphal in vv. 16 and 26). In v. 23 David reminds, how Yhwh made himself a name by the redemption of Israel from Egypt, whereas according to vv. 25–26, Yhwh's name is to be made magnificent by the fulfillment of his dynastic promise given to David, while the duration of the dynasty will be a proof of Yhwh's blessing of Israel (v. 26aβ)! As J. P. Fokkelman says: "He [= David] suggests that the best guarantee for God's renown is his continued support of David's house. And he implies, moreover […]: so Israel shall be saved at the same time, as the people of God."[538] Yhwh's deeds for Israel are in no tension with the blessing of the Davidides, conversely their recollection in vv. 22–24 is utterly subject to a pro-Davidic rhetoric. This function of verses 22-24 itself questions the idea that it is a later addition, especially since there are no formal indices for such a claim[539].

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[537] Oswald, Nathan, p. 66.

[538] Fokkelman, Art III, p. 250.

[539] We may hardly argument with the 1ˢᵗ person pl. in v. 22bβ, since David in that case speaks as a member of his people and refers to a common knowledge; 1ˢᵗ p. sg. in this part of speech can hardly be imagined.

On the other hand, it is true that the content of vv. 22-23 may indicate their relatively late origin. V. 22 contains a monotheistic confession כִּי אֵין כָּמוֹךָ וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים זוּלָתֶךָ. But since we find several similar statements in Deutero-Isaiah, e.g. twice in the oracle on the vocation of Cyrus (Isa 45,5-6), even the origin of the formulation of 2 Sam 7,22bα prior the last quarter of 6th century B.C.E. is not unfathomable.[540] The monotheistic confession in v. 22 itself would not force us to date David's prayer or merely vv. 22-24 to a later period then vv. 1-17, even if we would prefer in the last mentioned verses the dating before Zerubbabel's activity in Judah.

The monotheistic confession is in v. 22bβ expanded by the relative sentence בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַעְנוּ בְּאָזְנֵינוּ whose meaning is not entirely clear. What did David and the other Israelites hear? With regard to the previous paragraph, it is worth notice that in Deutero-Isaiah's monotheistic passages, incentives towards *hearing* of the message appear repeatedly (Isa 40,21.28; 46,3.12; 48,1.12.14.16)[541], and the fact that only Yhwh via his prophets is able to announce (hiphil of שמע) future events (41,22.26; 42,9; 43,9.12; 44,8; 45,21; 48,3.5-8) serves as an argument for non-existence or inability of other gods. If 2 Sam 7 was written in the 6th century in Babylon, in circles close to the royal family, these parallels between 2 Sam 7,22 and some texts in Isa 40-55 would not be surprising.

The "hearing" of Israel in 2 Sam 7,22 can, however, also be understood differently. The complex of 2 Sam 7,22-23 has a striking parallel in Deut 4,7-8.34-35(.39). In the latter text, vv. 7-8 present an "incomparability saying" in form of two rhetorical questions introduced by the particle מִי. Similarly to 2 Sam 7,23, the incomparable entity in Deut 4,7-8 is Israel, but the point of comparison is different in the two passages, since in Deut 4,7-8, the singularity of Israel is based on the fact that its God is close to it and its law is just. Deut 4,32-34 calls on Israel to ask whether similar events to those experienced during the Exodus also occurred in a different time or whether they were heard of (שמע niphal in v. 32), while especially v. 34 is

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[540] The notion of a more or less coherent collection or composition of Isa 40-55, ascribed to an anonymous prophet at the end of the Neo-Babylonian period, was questioned during the last twenty years by a number of redactional-critical studies that date merely smaller or larger parts of the text to the time of Cyrus. Since the Cyrus oracle contains some parallels with the Cyrus Cylindre, it was probably composed during Cyrus's rule. For a recent overview of the history of research on Deutero-Isaiah, see Macchi, Deutéro-Esaïe, p. 188-200.

[541] It is unclear in some other passages, what is the people incited to hear.

very similar to 2 Sam 7,23 (even if the former is introduced by the particle
ה and the latter by מי).

Now, according to Deut 4,34, Yhwh did his great deeds of salvation
before Israel's eyes (לעיניך); Israel was shown (hophal of ראה in v. 35)
these things in order that she knows that Yhwh is God and there is no
other. References to the „seeing " (vv. 3.9.35.36; cf. also vv. 12.15) of
Yhwh's deeds and "hearing" his words (vv. 10.12.33.36) on Horeb
constitute an appeal to personal experience of the Israelites, which is
emphasized in vv. 3.9.34, reminding that Israel witnessed the given events
"with his own eyes".[542] Israelites are supposed to pass the knowledge of
these events on their descendants (v. 9). A certain analogy to seeing with
"one's own eyes" in Deut 4 is to be found in 2 Sam 7,22bβ in the sentence
"according to all that we have heard with our ears." A call on personal
experience and "seeing with one's own eyes" is a far more sensible
argument than calling on "hearing" of a narration of some events "with
one's own ears".

In this situation, it comes to mind that 2 Sam 7,22-23 is dependent on
Deut 4. The author of 2 Sam 7,22-23 borrowed the construction of the
argument for Yhwh's singularity from Deut 4,34-35. However, since
David cannot refer to his experience of the Exodus, the scribe transformed
seeing „with one's own eyes" to „hearing with one's own ears". Precisely
the artificiality of the reference to „one's own ears" indicates that it is a
modification of a more effective and natural figure. Additionally, the author
of 2 Sam 7,23 formulated this rhetorical question in the way that it formally
does not express the incomparability of Yhwh, but of Israel, a move that
corresponds to the text's strategy of positing on the same level the well-
being of the people and that of the dynasty (see above).

Within the Deuteronomy, Deut 4 is clearly a relatively late text, and
some scholars believe that parts of Deut 4 depend on P. E. Otto, for
instance, states that "Dtn 4,16b-19a legt […] im wörtlichen Zitat Gen
1,14-27 (P) aus."[543] In Deut 4,32, the expression "God created" (ברא
אלהים), instead of "Yhwh created", may be influenced by the priestly texts

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[542] Admittedly, the generation that Moses addresses in Deut 4 is not identical to the
generation that left Egypt, at least in the current context of the Pentateuch. The author of
Deut 4, however, includes Moses's audience among the "witnesses" of the exodus.
[543] Otto, Recht, p. 44.

as well (cf. Gen 1,1.21.27; 2,3; 5,1).[544] Deut 4 might have undergone a literary development[545], but v. 32 can hardly be separated from v. 34, which is vital for us.

If this hypothetical reconstruction is correct and 2 Sam 7,22-24 depends on Deut 4 in a form that presupposes P, 2 Sam 7,22-24 might hardly come from a time before 520 B.C.E. There are basically three possible conclusions: we may join those who see vv. 22-24(26) as an interpolation, or, with C. Levin and H.-P. Mathys, regard the whole of David's prayer as a later addition, or we may date vv. 1-17 together with the prayer to the 5th century B.C.E. I find the first option problematic, since vv. 22-24 fit easily into the rhetorical flow of the prayer and there are no formal indices that would indicate that the verses are secondary in relation to the rest of the prayer. Actually, the declaration of v. 28aα ועתה אדני יהוה אתה הוא האלהים could be understood as a variation of the monotheistic confession in v. 22.[546] The second possibility could also be supported by the fact that the books of Samuel might have been enriched by other prayers, some of them related to the Davidic dynasty, in a relatively late phase of their literary development (see ch. 4 below).

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[544] R. D. Nelson, Deuteronomy, p. 70; E. Otto, Recht, p. 44; Veijola, Deuteronomium, p. 115.

[545] For a short presentation of the debate and the references to further literature, see Nelson, Deuteronomy, p. 60–63.

[546] Cf. Pietsch, Sproß, p. 30.

2. 1 Samuel 2,27–36

The oracle of the man of God in 1 Sam 2,27-36 is a part of the introduction to the books of Samuel describing the decline of the Shilonite priesthood and Samuel's childhood and rise in Shiloh. After a portrayal of the sins of Eli's sons in 1 Sam 2,12-17.22-26, an anonymous man of God comes to Eli and announces him the demise of his priestly family and its substitution by a family of a new "faithful" priest.

At first glance the oracle seems to hint on the matter of the Davidic dynasty only in a very marginal way by mentioning Yhwh's anointed in v. 35. Several scholars have noted, however, that 1 Sam 2,27-36 contains numerous linguistic parallels to 2 Sam 7 and other occurrences of the dynastic promise to David, and some have even suggested that the fate of David's dynasty is in fact the actual theme of 1 Sam 2,27-36. According to Graeme Auld, the introducing chapters of Samuel do not have only their literal meaning, but are also meant as prefiguration of the events described later in the books of Samuel and Kings.[547] The characters of 1 Sam 1-4 should be understood as types of other characters of these books, Saul and members of the Davidic family in particular. Yet the flood of parallels discovered by Auld can hardly be integrated in a coherent typological system. To give just one example, the phraseology of the Davidic promise is used in 1 Sam 2,27-36 for both Eli's family and the new priestly family which is to replace the Elides. Nevertheless, Auld feels able to identify one especially marked set of analogies: in the whole context of Samuel and Kings, the demise of Eli's priestly family and the end of the temple in Shiloh prefigure, in Auld's view, the extinction of David's dynasty and the fall of the temple of Jerusalem.

If Auld is right, the description of the monarchic period is introduced in 1 Sam 2,27-36 by a warning that even the promise of an *eternal* dynasty (cf. v. 30) may be annulled. This qualification concerns in particular the promise of the Davidic dynasty whose repeated occurrences in the books of Samuel and Kings are thus intentionally relativized from the outset. Similarly, S. Frolov considers 1 Sam 2,27-36 an anti-deuteronomic and anti-deuteronomistic text which, with the help of deuteronomistic phraseology and deuteronomistic notions, aims to "subvert the

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[547] Auld, King, p. 31-44.

Deuteronomic principles of cultic organization and the deuteronomistic notion of eternal Davidic dynasty."[548]

These claims seem worth considering, and even if I myself have not come to agree with them, I would nevertheless grant that 1 Sam 2,27-36 is of some relevance to the study of the Davidic promise in the books of Samuel. The two opening chapters of 1 Samuel have been recently thoroughly studied by Jürg Hutzli[549], and my understanding of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is largely dependent on his work. In what follows I will concentrate on those aspects of the text which are of interest to our study, but a basic discussion of the general meaning of the text will be unavoidable.

2. 1. Text of 1 Samuel 2,27–36

The interpretation of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is fraught with textual problems. In his book about 1 Samuel 1-2, J. Hutzli has offered a textual commentary referring to and discussing *all* the variant readings of the major textual witnesses (MT, 4QSamª and LXX) to 1 Sam 1-2.[550] For the most part I agree with his evaluation of the variants in 1 Sam 2,27-36, and there is no need to repeat his detailed analysis. For the sake of clarity, I will mention in the following notes the more significant problems, especially those where I believe that a text different from MT should be read. Many slight differences which do not affect the text's meaning are left undiscussed, even in sections where MT is probably secondary.

Verse 27:

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[548] Frolov, Man, p. 58-76. Cf. also Loader, Haus, p. 55-66, and *Id.*, Intertextuality, p. 397-398, who thinks that 1 Kgs 2,27, interpreting Abiathar's banishment by Solomon as an accomplishment of 1 Sam 2,27-36, is meant to draw the reader's attention to the (potential) parallel between the fates of Eli's and David's posterity. According to 1 Sam 2,27-36, the privileges, formerly promised to Eli's house *forever*, will be revoked because Eli honored his sons above Yhwh. In 1 Kings 2 we find several references to the promise of permanent existence of the Davidic dynasty, yet these are in Loader's opinion relativized by the intertextual hint of 1 Kgs 2,27 to 1 Sam 2,27-36. If the king arouses dislike in Yhwh, the promise to the Davidides may be nullified in the same way as the promise given to the Elides. It is not clear to me from Loader's explanation if this warning only appears with the work of the author of 1 Kgs 2,27, or if it is already present in 1 Sam 2,27-36 itself.
[549] Hutzli, Erzählung.
[550] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 118-129, 138-139 concern 1 Sam 2,27-36.

MT הֲנִגְלֹה נִגְלֵ֫יתִי֫; LXX ἀποκαλυφθεὶς ἀπεκαλύφθην (in agreement with Syr and Tg⁻ᴹˢ); Vg *numquid non aperte revelatus*, corresponding to הלא נגלה נגליתי, but the Latin text does not have to presuppose a different *Vorlage* than MT – Jerome could have felt that if 27bβ is to be understood as a rhetorical question, its bias should be positive in view of the context.

1 Sam 2,27-36 has been compared to other passages in Former Prophets where a man of God (1 Kgs 13,1-3), a messenger of Yhwh (Judg 2,1-5), a prophet (Judg 6,7-10) or Yhwh himself (Judg 10,11-16) blame Israel for their apostasy from Yhwh.[551] Besides that, 1 Sam 2,27-36 has a similar structure to the oracles of judgment addressed to an individual in 1 Sam 15,16-23; 2 Sam 12,7-12; 1 Kgs 14,7-17; 16,1-4. Among all these oracles we find one example in each type where the motif of contrast is introduced by the interrogative particle הלא (Judg 10,11; 1 Sam 15,17).

The rhetorical question in 1 Sam 2,27MT introduced by ה ("Did I reveal myself to the house of your father…") does not make much sense within the context, since its implied answer would be negative. If the interrogative particle was introduced into the text by mistake, it probably resulted from a dittography of the preceding ה (and maybe also from the fact that the motif of contrast may start with a rhetorical question). But more probably, the addition of ה in MT is a correction made for theological reasons: as a scribe of proto-MT did not find in the Pentateuch any precedent for Yhwh's revelation to the house of Eli's father, he turned the sentence into a rhetorical question with a negative bias.[552] The reading of LXX, Syr and Tg is probably more original.

Verse 28:

MT אֹתוֹ̊; LXX τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός σου; in 4QSamᵃ the editors reconstruct את בית אביך on account of space measurements[553]. Hutzli believes that the scribe of LXX's Vorlage added "the house of your father" because of the "Pharaoh's house" appearing in the previous verse.[554] MT's

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[551] For example Smith, Samuel, p. 21.

[552] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 118-119, finds here an intentional correction in MT as well. Cf. Driver, Notes, p. 36, who says that the question creates the impression „as though the fact asked about were doubtful". He does not think, however, that this reading is a secondary correction of MT.

[553] Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 46.

[554] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 120. As argued by Hutzli (p. 119) and others before him, in v. 27 the longer reading במצרים עבדים לבית פרעה, attested in 4QSamᵃ and LXX, is likely to be more original than MT's short reading, probably caused by haplography.

reading would thus be older. But MT could also be a facilitating correction, since the pronominal אתו may be understood as referring to the "father" alone, which permits to avoid the idea that the entire house of Eli's father has been elected to "be Yhwh's priest" (cf. the sg. at the end of 28aα).

A few words later, MT reads לִי לְכֹהֵן, 4QSamª לי לכוהן, but LXX ἐμοὶ ἱερατεύειν. The difference between MT and LXX consists only in vocalization, with LXX reading the infinitive לְכַהֵן. The order of the words corresponds to the reading of MT and 4QSamª[555], but in this way the whole house of Eli's father is elected to be a priest. Obviously, the present problem is related to the previous one. In LXX Yhwh unequivocally elects the whole house, and correspondingly the house is elected to exercise the priestly function (לְכַהֵן), not to be *a priest*. From the three readings of MT, LXX and 4QSamª, it is the long (reconstructed) reading of 4QSamª which is the most difficult and probably the most original. Both MT and LXX facilitate the linguistically difficult text. LXX introduces the verb (לְכַהֵן) in place of לְכֹהֵן, while MT replaces את בית אביך by אתו, permitting to relate the sentence to Eli's father as an individual, or at least making the dissonance less blatant.[556]

MT אֵפוֹד לְפָנָי; 4QSamª אפוד; LXX εφουδ. Syr has the short reading as well, but ܩܘܕܡ appears at the end of the previous clause. The reading of LXX/4QSamª is shorter[557], but as noted by Hutzli, there is no manifest reason for an addition of לפני in proto-MT. Hutzli assumes that LXX/4QSamª has omitted לפני for dogmatic reasons, under the influence of the current practice during the Second Temple period when common priests were not allowed to appear before Yhwh.[558] This could again be related with the fact that in LXX (and presumably in 4QSamª too), v. 28a unequivocally describes the activity of the whole house of Eli's father.

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[555] See the parallels in Driver, Notes, p. 36.

[556] The problem with this interpretation is, however, that MT would not replace "the house of your father" with the "father", but with a pronoun, which does not unequivocally avoid the supposed problem. It can also be imagined that the oldest reading is the one attested in MT; later a scribe would develop אתו in את בית אביך (in imitation of vv. 27 and 28b), thus creating the reading probably contained in 4QSamª, whose difficulty would subsequently be facilitated by LXX.

[557] It is followed for example by McCarter, I Samuel, p. 87; Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 23.

[558] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 120. According to Exod 28,12, Aaron (i. e. the high priest) should have two stones with names of the sons of Israel placed in the ephod to bear them before Yhwh.

However, some doubts about this explanation could be raised by the fact that in 1 Sam 1,9.11.14; 2,11.21 it is, on the contrary, MT who omits יהוה / מפני יהוה / לפניך in order to preclude Hannah (or the "boy Samuel" in 2,21) from appearing "before Yhwh". Hence the scribe who would omit לפני in 2,28 LXX/4QSamᵃ would not object to leaving allusions to an old "unorthodox" practice in the text, with Hannah and the boy Samuel appearing "before Yhwh", but he would get rid of the text according to which Yhwh himself elected (the whole of) Eli's house to bear ephod before him.

At the end of the verse, LXX adds εἰς βρῶσιν. The editors of 4QSamᵃ reconstruct [לאכ]ל as well, noting that "there is just room for it if we calculate the line at maximal length."[559] The longer reading could appear under the influence of Lev 6,9-11; 10,12-15; 24,9; Deut 18,1 (cf. also Sir 45,21-22). But, as pointed out by Hutzli, it is also possible that proto-MT omitted לאכל(ה) in order to attenuate once more the promise given to Eli's clan.[560] This would correspond to the addition of the interrogative particle in הֲנִגְלֹה נִגְלֵיתִי in v. 27MT.[561]

Verse 29:
The verse contains considerable variants. The first half of the verse has rather different meaning in MT and in LXX, with 4QSamᵃ probably agreeing with the latter. MT: לָמָה תִבְעֲטוּ בְּזִבְחִי וּבְמִנְחָתִי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי מָעוֹן. 4QSamᵃ [ ] [ ]. LXX καὶ ἵνα τί ἐπέβλεψας ἐπὶ τὸ θυμίαμά μου καὶ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν μου ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμῷ. Tg למא אתון אנסין אלאהא בדבחא ובקרבנא ודפקדית מן קדמא Syr. Vg quare בנכסת קדשי ובקרבני דפקידית לקרבא קדמי בבית מקדשי. Vg quare calce abicitis victimam meam et munera mea quae praecepi ut offerrentur in templo. Syr, Tg and Vg probably do not presuppose a Hebrew text different from MT and only bear witness to an effort to understand the proto-MT in a meaningful way.

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[559] Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 46. Of course, the final ל could belong to the word ישראל.

[560] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 120; LXX's reading was considered more original already by Smith, Samuel, p. 22,24.

[561] In this verse, Hutzli also ascribes to the same revision the shift from καὶ ἐξελεξάμην in LXX (ואבחור also appears in a rabbinical quotation) to וּבָחֹר in MT. See *ibidem*, p. 119.

תביט in 4QSamᵃ corresponds to ἐπέβλεψας in LXX. Unfortunately, the end of the half-verse is missing in 4QSamᵃ, and it is not entirely clear what is presupposed by ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμῷ in LXX. In order to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of LXX, scholars frequently used v. 32aα which seems to be related to 29a, especially to its LXX/4QSamᵃ form (cf. נבט hiph. and צר). Particularly influential was Wellhausen's view that 32aα (missing in MT) is a variant of 29a.[562]

Cross et al. reconstruct as the original text of 29a צרת ... תביט למה עין „why do you look ... with selfish eye?", where צרת is the construct state of the substantive צרה. They write:

> In v 29a, צויתי is a simple corruption of צרת (ignoring *matres lectionis*). *Waw* and *reš* regularly are confused in the script of the third century BCE (...). In v 32aM (...), צר מעון is again a simple corruption of צרת עין. *Mem* and *taw* are easily confused in the fourth century. In addition, *waw* and *yod* were virtually interchangeable in the Late Hasmonaean and Early Herodian eras.[563]

Ehrlich[564], followed by Schulz[565] and Hutzli[566] reconstruct צר עין where צר is an adjective.[567] The advantage of Cross's reconstruction is that צרת allows a good explanation of the shift to צויתי; yet Hutzli points out that the advocates of the reading צרת עין do not adduce any evidence for the existence of this expression. On the other hand the expression צר עין, meaning "selfish", is attested in rabbinic literature since the Mishna.[568] One way or other, the *Vorlage* of LXX (and perhaps 4QSamᵃ as well) probably read somehow like that. The variants of the main witnesses are summarized in the following table.

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[562] Wellhausen, Text, p. 49.
[563] Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 43; McCarter, I Samuel, p. 87.
[564] Ehrlich, Randglossen, p. 175-176.
[565] Schulz, Das Erste Buch Samuel, p. 49.
[566] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 121. In v. 32, the conjecture is accepted in BHK³.
[567] For other emendations of vv. 29a.32aα, see CTAT I, p. 148-149. The authors of CTAT I themselves try to explain the meaning of MT which they consider to be the original reading.
[568] Levy, Wörterbuch 3, p. 639-640; Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 1071; Ehrlich, Randglossen, p. 175-176.

Table 8 – 2 Sam 2,29a

	למה תבעטו בזבחי ובמנחתי אשר צויתי מעון					MT
	עין]	צר(ת)	בזבחי ובמנחתי	תביט	ולמה	4QSamᵃ
ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμῷ =	עין	צר(ת)	בזבחי ובמנחתי	תביט	ולמה	LXX

Which is the more original reading? Regarding the number of the verb, (תבעטו x תביט, ἐπέβλεψας), *CTAT I* says that the sg. is a syntactical simplification, perhaps because of the sg. ותכבד in 29b.[569] On the other hand, the plural in MT could be regarded as a contextual assimilation because the preceding course of events in the chapter gives an impression that cultic regulations were infringed only by Eli's sons, while Eli himself reproached them for their misdeeds (in MT, the guilt of Eli's sons is stressed in v. 22bβ which is missing in 4QSamᵃ/LXX).[570] From this point of view, the sg. in LXX is all the more *lectio difficilior* as LXX in 1 Sam 1,14aα creates a more positive picture of Eli than MT which is probably more original there.[571] According to 1 Sam 1,14MT Eli harshly reproached Hannah on account of her supposed drunkenness, whereas according to LXX it was Eli's servant (τὸ παιδάριον) who thundered on her. (Admittedly, it cannot be affirmed with certainty that Eli was expurgated in this way already in LXX's *Vorlage*; unfortunately, the verse did not survive in 4QSamᵃ.)

As to the verbal root, *CTAT I* argues again in favor of MT: "La rareté de בעט (qui ne réapparaît qu'en Dt 32,15) opposée à la platitude de cette variante [תביט in 4QSamᵃ/LXX] rend très probable qu'elle n'est rien d'autre qu'une modernisation..." But this kind of argument based on the frequency of a word in the Hebrew Bible may be confusing, since it does not say anything about the frequency of the word in later times when it could enter the text. The verb בעט and its derivatives are well attested in rabbinic Hebrew (already in the Mishna)[572], so that the shift from תביט to תבעטו in later history of the text is not as unimaginable as it could seem at first glance. Even so, תבעטו remains a *lectio difficilior*, but it can still be secondary, especially if the shift to it was occasioned by other earlier

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[569] Similarly already De Boer, I Samuel I–XVI, p. 62.

[570] Similarly already Schulz, Das Erste Buch Samuel, p. 49.

[571] For 1 Sam 1,14, see Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 68, 150.

[572] Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 180-181. It should perhaps be mentioned that Fokkelman, Art IV, p. 569–570, tries to show that the meaning of the verb in Deut 32,15 and in 1 Sam 2,29 is completely different from its meaning in later Hebrew, as well as from the meaning of its cognates in Aramaic and Arabic.

changes in the verse. This is precisely what could have happened, since if the MT plus in 32aα is indeed an addition dependent on 29a, it seems that 32aα presupposes the change of עין into מעון in 29a, but not yet the loss of the word צר nor the change of the verb נבט in בעט (see *infra* for more details).

The phrase אשר צויתי מעון in 29aβ is difficult and frequently considered incorrect.[573] If מעון is to be understood here as "dwelling", we would expect something like [574]במעוני or [575]למעוני. H. Seebass suggested to vocalize this word as מֵעָוֹן, translated as "um der Schuld willen", which does not seem very helpful.[576] *CTAT I* again considers MT as more original, affirming that ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμῷ in LXX is no doubt inspired by תביט which replaced the more original תבעטו at the beginning of the verse, and having rejected the reading תביט, it would be a mistake to accept ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμῷ. Yet, as we have seen, in the MT plus 32a מעון appears together with the verb נבט (and the word צר), which may indicate that, contrary to the description given by *CTAT I*, in v. 29 it was precisely the emergence of the word מעון what later provoked the change of תביט into תבעטו and other changes. As to the meaning of מעון, *CTAT I* follows E. Dhorme who in his translation understands it in vv. 29.32 as "accusatifs adverbiaux à valeur temporelle, au sense 'à demeure'."[577] This seems rather arbitrary, the references to Ps 90,1 and Deut 33,27 are inappropriate.

מעון as it appears in 29a may hardly be the correct reading. The word itself is relatively rare; not including its occurrences as a proper name, it appears 18 times in MT, perhaps once in Sir 50,2 and about 20 times in Qumran texts.[578] Apart from 1 Sam 2,29.32, it is used seven times in HB to denote God's dwelling[579], out of which it designates an earthly dwelling only in 2 Chr 36,15 and Ps 26,8, maybe also in Ps 68,6 and Zech 2,17. In the Pentateuch מעון appears only once in Deut 26,15, and this in the sense

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[573] For an argumentation against the present form of MT, see particularly Driver, Notes, p. 37-38.

[574] So Driver, Notes, p. 37-38.

[575] So Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 33, who believes that לְעַמִּי at the end of the verse was originally למעוני as a marginal correction of מעון; subsequently the correction entered into the text in a wrong place.

[576] Seebass, Text, p. 76-82; his proposition was adopted by Eslinger, Kingship, p. 131, 443.

[577] CTAT I, p. 149.

[578] For various meanings of the word, see Preuss, מָעוֹן, 449-452.

[579] Deut 26,15; 2 Chr 30,27; 36,15; Ps 26,8; 68,6; Jer 25,30; Zech 2,17.

of Yhwh's heavenly dwelling. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, too, when מעון designates God's dwelling, it is mostly a heavenly dwelling. It thus appears that in "Biblical" Hebrew as well as in the Qumran texts, the word מעון can on no account be considered as a "technical term" for Yhwh's sanctuary. In view of this, the highly idiomatic use of the word (without a modifying noun or a possessive pronoun) in 1 Sam 2,29 (and 32) seems very strange. In my opinion, v. 29a MT in its present form cannot be defended, and rather than postulate the conjecture למעוני or במעוני, I am inclined to consider as more original the reading of 4QSamᵃ/LXX whose residues – or echoes – (the verb נבט and צר) may also be found in 32a MT (see *infra*).

In v. 29, מעון is attested by MT, Tg, Vg and indirectly in Syr; in v. 32 it is attested by MT, LXXᴸ, LXXᴬ, Aq, Sym, Th, Vg, Tg (somewhat indirectly) and Syr. In both verses the idiomatic use of מעון is missing in 4QSamᵃ and in the original LXX. This distribution may be put in connection with the fact that neither in the Hebrew Bible nor in Dead Sea Scrolls is מעון a common term for the temple, but it becomes such a term in rabbinic Hebrew[580].

Verse 29b contains two other conspicuous textual problems, but since I have been unable to arrive at an unequivocal conclusion, and furthermore since the choice of the text in these passages does not affect the following interpretation of the text, I will mention them only in passing. First, MT reads לְהַבְרִיאֲכֶם, i. e. a hiph. from ברא – "fatten". According to *DCH*, this is the only such occurrence (it exists, however, in rabbinic Hebrew[581]). 4QSamᵃ has לֹהברֹיך, thus a hiph. from ברך; similarly, LXX read ἐνευλογεῖσθαι which, however, may presuppose a niphal (להברך). Moreover, Syr. reads ܠܡܓܒܝܘܬܗܘܢ, presupposing the root ברר "to choose" in Hebrew; Tg has לאוכלותהון, corresponding to the Hebrew להברותם, i. e. hiph. from ברה "to cause to eat" + 3. p. pl. pronoun.[582] Similarly, Vg. reads *ut comederetis*, presupposing לברותכם or rather (through an inexact translation) להברותכם. I tend to consider MT as more original, even if, as noted by many scholars, it is problematic because of its expression of reflexivity by the unusual combination of a hifʿil and a pronominal suffix. In any case, whichever of the abovementioned readings we follow, the accusation refers to the cultic transgressions described in 1 Sam 2,(13)15-17.

At the end of the verse, MT reads לְעַמִּי (cf. Syr ܠܥܡܝ, Tg עמי, Vg *populi mei*), while LXX has ἔμπροσθέν μου (= לפני). The preposition ל in MT seems unfitting[583], and

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[580] See Levy, Wörterbuch, v. 3, p. 185; Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 814.

[581] Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 192.

[582] להברותם is thought to be original reading by McCarter, I Samuel, p. 87-88.

[583] Driver, Notes, p. 38;

consequently some scholars consider the LXX reading more original.[584] It seems also plausible, however, that the more original reading was עמי, to which ל was attached owing to a dittography. לְעַמִּי would then survive in MT because it is not impossible grammatically[585], while in LXX's *Vorlage* it would have been changed into the easier לפני, perhaps under the influence of לפני in vv. 28.30.

Verses 31–33:

These verses contain several textual problems which should be analyzed together. They are summarized in the following table:

[584] Dietrich, Samuel, VIII/12, p. 115; Cf. also Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 122.

[585] Jenni, Lamed, p. 45-46, counts לעמי in 1 Sam 2,29 among the occurrences where the preposition ל is used to "reidentify" an entity. In this sense, the preposition could be translated in English as "that is (to say)", "in fact", "namely" or "in short". The preposition could also be understood as stressing the genitive relation of the second member of the appositional phrase ישראל לעמי to the *nomen regens* מנחת.

Table 9

וְגֵדַעְתִּי אֶת־זְרֹעֲךָ וְאֶת־זְרֹעַ בֵּית אָבִיךָ מִהְיֹות זָקֵן בְּבֵיתֶךָ׃	MT	
וגדעת]י [	4QSam^a	31aβ-b
וגדעתי את זרעך ואת זרע בית אביך	LXX	
וְהִבַּטְתָּ צַר מָעוֹן בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־יֵיטִיב אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל	MT	
cf. v. 29	4QSam^a	32a
cf. v. 29	LXX	
וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה זָקֵן בְּבֵיתְךָ כָּל־הַיָּמִים׃	MT	
[ולוא] יהיה לך זקן בֹביתֹי כול [הימים]	4QSam^a	32b
ולא יהיה לך זקן בביתֹי כל הימים	LXX	
וְאִישׁ לֹא־אַכְרִית לְךָ מֵעִם מִזְבְּחִי	MT	
[ ] מזבחי	4QSam^a	33aα
ואיש לא אכרית מעם מזבחי	LXX	
לְכַלּוֹת אֶת־עֵינֶיךָ וְלַאֲדִיב אֶת־נַפְשֶׁךָ	MT	
[ ]ו עיניֹך ו[ת]א[לכלות	4QSam^a	33aβ
לכלות את עיניֹך ולאדיב את נפשֹם	LXX	
וְכָל־מַרְבִּית בֵּיתְךָ יָמוּתוּ אֲנָשִׁים׃	MT	
[ ] יפולו בחרב אנשים	4QSam^a	33b
וכל מרבית ביתך יפולו בחרב אנשים	LXX	

The retroverted readings of LXX follow the orthography of MT.

The first difference in v. 31aβ concerns the vocalization of the word
זרע. While MT vocalizes אֶת־זְרֹעֲךָ וְאֶת־זְרֹעַ בֵּית אָבִיךָ "your arm and
the arm of your father's house", LXX reads τὸ σπέρμα σου καὶ τὸ σπέρμα
οἴκου πατρός σου, that is "your seed and the seed of your father's house"
(corresponding in Masoretic vocalization to זַרְעֲךָ and זֶרַע).

More importantly, verses 31b–32a are lacking in both 4QSam^a and LXX.
V. 32aMT is very difficult to understand, and even scholars considering the
longer text as more original often propose to emend it in some way.
Ancient versions apart from Old Greek translate v. 32a in various ways[586],
but they probably do not offer any witness to a text older than MT[587].

In v. 32b 4QSam^a/LXX, יהיה is followed by לך which is lacking in MT;
furthermore, while MT reads בְּבֵיתְךָ, 4QSam^a/LXX have בביתי.

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[586] LXX^L, LXX^A, VL, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Syr, Tg and Vg are
conveniently assembled in Pisano, Additions, p. 243, 247.

[587] *Pace* Seebass, Text, who based his emendation mainly on the reading of Tg.

Consequently, the meaning of the clause in MT is very different from that of 4QSamᵃ/LXX. According to MT "there will not be an old man in your house (= family) all the days"; according to 4QSamᵃ/LXX "you will not have an old man in my house (= temple) all the days."

By contrast, in v. 33aα לֹא־אַכְרִית is followed in MT by לְךָ which is lacking in LXX. The editors of 4QSamᵃ reconstruct it here without making any comment on their decision.

In 33aβ, MT reads עֵינֶיךָ and נַפְשֶׁךָ, while LXX presupposes עיניו and נפשו. 4QSamᵃ has עיניו. From the following three words, only the first letter of the first word survived on the scroll, but it is highly probable that the Qumran text agreed with LXX in the second part of the clause as well, reading נפשו.

Finally, in v. 33b MT has an odd construction יָמוּתוּ אֲנָשִׁים, whereas 4QSamᵃ/LXX read יפולו בחרב אנשים.

To start with, we may note that in v. 32b, בביתי of LXX/4QSamᵃ seems more original than בביתך of MT because the latter may be explained as a harmonization with ביתך in vv. 30.33, and with זרעך and זרע בית אביך in the immediately preceding v. 31. It seems, however, that this shift in MT did not result from an isolated scribal error, but rather belongs to a larger set of changes in the text. Recently, the differences between MT and 4QSamᵃ/LXX in vv. 31-33 have been explained in this way by J. Hutzli according to whom MT bears witness of an anti-Elide reworking.[588] In the text of 4QSamᵃ/LXX, Yhwh's judgment of the Elides will result in them loosing their leading position in the temple – there will be no elder priests among Eli's descendents (זקן is interpreted by Hutzli by means of 2 Kgs 19,2 = Isa 37,2 and Jer 19,1). According to MT, the Elides will (always?) die by an untimely death (linking up with M. Tsevat[589], Hutzli understands vv.

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[588] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 123-126, 147-148.

[589] Tsevat, Studies, p. 192-216. Tsevat assumes that the masoretic form of the text, announcing to Eli's family the punishment by the *kareth* sanction, is more original, and he dates it before 965 B.C. This, of course, is highly questionable. The so-called *kareth* punishment occurs in priestly texts (including HC) and the book of Ezekiel, but its definition as premature death only appears in the Talmud. According to Y. Bikkurim 2,1, the sinner should die before he is fifty years old (more exactly, the text says „in the age of fifty"); in Moʻed Qaṭan 28a, there is a discussion whether it is before (or, again, at) 50 or before 60. To assume this meaning of the *kareth* punishment in HB texts, and then to allege that this notion is contained in 1 Sam 2,31-33, is highly insecure. Hutzli's opinion that the *kareth* motif only appears in the text as a result of a textual revision makes more sense, since in this way we get much closer in time to the Talmudic notion of *kareth* as premature death. Vv. 31-33MT no doubt announce the premature death of members of

31-32MT as a description of the so-called *kareth* sanction). Hutzli considers the reading of 4QSamᵃ/LXX as more original because it corresponds to the one exception from the punishment, i. e. that one man (from the Elides, at least according to MT!) will not be removed from Yhwh's altar (v. 33). The motive for revision in MT may have been the impression that according to the more original reading attested by 4QSamᵃ/LXX, the Elides were allowed to serve as priests of lower rank. In order to exclude this possibility, a scribe of proto-MT let the Elides suffer the *kareth* sanction.

In the main lines I agree with Hutzli's analysis. Several changes in MT are undoubtedly related to MT's understanding of the word זקן in the simple sense of „old man". Consequently, the judgment in MT consists in that Eli's descendants will not reach old age. For that reason the more original בביתי becomes בביתך in 32bMT, and at the same time לך disappears from this verse (as observed by Hutzli, לך would not make any sense in MT). In 33MT the more original יפולו בחרב אנשים changes into ימותו אנשים, meaning probably "they will die as men", that is to say they will not reach old age. The use of the word אנשים in opposition to זקן, i. e. as a designation of men of certain, not very advanced age, is not standard.[590] Yet it is well understandable in the context of MT, even if the opposition זקן : איש were an *ad hoc* invention of proto-MT's reworker. To sum up, we may observe in MT an activity trying to bring the text into harmony with the alleged meaning of the judgment that there will not be an old man in Eli's clan.

Regarding the difference in 33αβ between עיניך ... נפשך in MT and עיניו ... נפשו in 4QSamᵃ/LXX, Wellhausen is right that MT's reading creates a tension in vv. 31-34MT[591]. Since according to v. 34 the death of Hophni and Phinehas will be a sign for Eli of the impending judgment, and not yet the realization of the judgment itself announced in vv. 31-33, verse 33 has to describe a different event than v. 34.[592] Yet, considering the

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Eli's clan, but even the author of this reworking did not necessarily have to think in terms of the *kareth* punishment as understood in the Talmud. The redactor of proto-MT could have been incited to interpret the punishment of vv. 31-33 as premature death simply because of the occurrence of the word זקן.

[590] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 127; Hutzli also points out that the more original reading בחרב אנשים has a parallel in בשבט אנשים in 2 Sam 7,14.

[591] Wellhausen, Text, p. 48-50.

[592] Cf. the similar use of a sign in 1 Kgs 13,1-3; 14,7-16 (the sign is the death of Jeroboam's son, even if the term "sign" is not used); 2 Kgs 20,4-11 (= Isa 38,4-8); Isa 7,10-17; Jer 44,20-30 (sign in vv. 29f.). For the motif of the sign, see Westermann,

fact that already the coming of the sign will be the cause of Eli's death, the description of Eli's poor existence in v. 33MT does not make sense.[593] It becomes clear then that v. 33 is to be understood as referring to the massacre of the priests of Nob (1 Sam 22) and the one man left is Abiathar, which also agrees with 1 Kgs 2,27.[594] In conformity with this, the faithful priest of v. 35 can only be Zadok. In v. 33aβ it is thus necessary to read עיניו and נפשו together with 4QSamᵃ/LXX.[595]

In v. 33, there remains the question of לך in 33aαMT, not translated in LXX.[596] Hutzli suggested to put this MT's plus in connection with the focus of 33aβMT on Eli (עיניך and נפשך), and thus to consider it as part of the activity in proto-MT.[597] It must be admitted, however, that v. 33aαLXX looks somewhat incomplete in the given context. If we identify the man not wiped out in 4QSamᵃ/LXX with Abiathar, and if we consider 33a in 4QSamᵃ/LXX as a unit which cannot be further dismantled diachronically, the presence or absence of לך in 33aα has no influence on the meaning of the verse.[598]

Grundformen, p. 113f. As Westermann says, the function of the sign is to give credibility to an oracle which is meant to be fulfilled after a longer period of time. It has to be admitted, however, that in other passages (e. g. 1 Sam 10,1 LXX) the sign may not serve to prefigure and confirm the fulfillment of the prophecy in distant future, but rather to attest the divine origin of an event; see the discussion in Childs, Exodus, p. 56-60. On the other hand, even the case of 1 Sam 10,1LXX is not so clear as Childs describes it, since the sign could serve here to confirm that Saul truly will reign over Yhwh's heritage. At any rate, even if there are a few cases where the sign is not unequivocally separated in time from the predicted events themselves (Exod 3,12; 2 Kgs 19,29 = Isa 37,30), it will become clear from the following discussion that in our text the death of Hophni and Phinehas on the same day was very probably meant originally as *prefigurement* of the destruction of the whole of Eli's house.

[593] Cf. Fokkelman, Art IV, p. 146, who defends MT of 32a and 33b as "the plainest example of Eli as a corporate personality."

[594] CTAT I, p. 149f., considers MT's reading as more original and at the same time identifies the "man" with Abiathar, surmising that the passage reflects the "ancient mentality" according to which Abiathar's banishment will torment Eli even if he is after death when it will happen.

[595] We may leave aside the question who, if anybody, is meant by the remaining man in MT.

[596] As noted earlier, the editors of 4QSamᵃ reconstruct לך in this place but they make no comment on their decision.

[597] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 127.

[598] Of course, LXX's reading without לך in 33aα could initiate speculations that originally the "man" did not have to be a member of Eli's clan. If so, 33aα would not describe an exception from 33b.

Most attention has been paid to the MT plus in vv. 31b–32a. At first sight it could seem that 4QSamᵃ/LXX has been affected here by a haplography owing to the similarity of ולא יהיה and מהיות זקן בביתך (4QSamᵃ and LXX read זקן בביתך (בביתי).[599] Yet, as noted by S. Pisano, in case of usual event of haplography, the first of the two identical or similar expressions should remain in the text, and the second one should fall out together with the text in between them; here, however, the second member is preserved.[600] In spite of this, the majority of scholars including Pisano himself have considered MT as more original. The authors of *CTAT 1* believe that the difficulty of והבטת צר מעון provoked a facilitating omission of this clause[601]; besides, as against the argument of the advocates of LXX and 4QSamᵃ that 31b–32a is made up from doublets (see *infra*), *CTAT*'s authors point out that 32aβ is not a doublet, and is thus in their view most likely original.[602] Similarly, Pisano admits that v. 32aβ is obscure, but he thinks that it would be a mistake to exclude it from the text on this basis.[603] In Pisano's view, MT is primarily a judgment against Eli himself and his sons, while 4QSamᵃ/LXX focuses on the withdrawal of priesthood from Eli's posterity. Pisano believes that the prophecy was originally directed specifically against Eli and his sons (with a fulfillment in ch. 4), and later it was reworked in order that it could be applied on the withdrawal of the priesthood from Eli's clan (1 Sam 22 and 1 Kgs 2,26f.). Since the theme of the whole section 1 Sam 2,12–36 is the decline of Eli's family as opposed to Samuel's rise, Pisano believes that in the original form of the narrative the "faithful priest" in v. 35 was intended to be identified with Samuel, and the prophecy was, in conformity with the general course of the section, directed against Eli and his sons.[604] MT is thus in Pisano's view *lectio difficilior*, and at the same time it fits better into its immediate context. Therefore it is probably more original.

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[599] So Driver, Notes, p. 41; Smith, Samuel, p. 24; Seebass, Text, p. 77. Cf. also de Boer, I Samuel I–XVI, p. 53.

[600] Pisano, Additions, p. 243–244.

[601] CTAT 1, p. 148–149; the same was already suggested as by de Boer, I Samuel I–XVI, p. 53.

[602] CTAT 1, p. 148–149.

[603] Pisano, Additions, p. 243–248.

[604] So already Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels, p. 14, even if in v. 33aβ he reads עיניו and נפשו (he identifies the one man left with Ahitub, brother of Ichabod (see 1 Sam 14,3; 22,20).

Contrary to that, Wellhausen considered the text attested by LXX as more original.[605] He starts with the observation that according to v. 32aMT Eli is supposed to witness the disaster announced to the house of his father in v. 31a. In this case, the fulfillment of the announced judgment has to be looked for in the events described in 1 Samuel 4. Wellhausen is convinced, however, that in reality the judgment announced to Eli comes to fulfillment in the massacre of the priests of Nob (1 Sam 22) and in Abiathar's expulsion by Solomon (1 Kgs 2,26f., with v. 27 explicitly presenting this event as fulfillment of Yhwh's word against Eli's house). Moreover, apart of the tension with 1 Kgs 2,27, 1 Sam 2,32MT introduces a tension into the oracle itself. The events of 1 Sam 4 are designated in 2,34 as a mere *sign* (אות) of the impending disaster, and already the accomplishment of this sign in ch. 4 brings Eli death. Hence in the original version of the oracle Eli could not be witness of the fulfillment of the judgment pronounced in v. 31, but only the witness of the sign announced in v. 34. Wellhausen concludes from these observations that v. 32a as it runs in MT is incorrect. Moreover, v. 32a, missing in LXX, resembles the wording of v. 29aLXX (and now of 4QSamᵃ as well), which leads Wellhausen to think that 32a is most likely identical with 29a (the latter being on the correct place). Finally, v. 32a occurs in MT between two variants (מהיות זקן בביתך ;31b בביתך זקן יהיה ולא 32b) of an old gloss which, still according to Wellhausen, originally appeared in the text in consequence of applying v. 31 on Hophni's and Phinehas's death. In LXX (and 4QSamᵃ) the gloss appears only once. With the entry of 32a into the text, the relationship between 31a and 32b was disrupted and the gloss then appeared again in 31b in its original place.[606]

The arguments in favor of the shorter reading of LXX/4QSamᵃ seem more convincing than those in favor of MT. It should be stressed that the reading of 4QSamᵃ/LXX cannot be considered a result of haplography. This being so, the repetition in 31b.32bMT has great chances to be a case of *Wiederaufnahme* caused by redaction, and 31b-32a an interpolation.[607]

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[605] Wellhausen, Text, p. 48–50.

[606] The shorter text of LXX/4QSamᵃ is preferred also by Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 44; McCarter, I Samuel, p. 88–89, (who, however, rather surprisingly accepts the MT form of v. 32b); Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 123–124. Cf. also Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 146.

[607] It is sometimes suggested that the use of Wiederaufnahme as literary technique is particularly common in Samuel. S. Pisano in his *Additions and Omissions in the Books of Samuel* paid special attention to the pluses whose absence in one of the textual witnesses

Pisano thinks that the reading of 4QSamᵃ/LXX resulted from a *deliberate* omission of 31b-32a, yet even then it remains to be explained why the scribe preserved the second version of the doublet in 32a and not the first one in 31b. Several scholars noted that the presence of a *Wiederaufnahme* does not necessarily indicate an insertion of secondary material.[608] As R. F. Person says, "[i]t is rather a technique which alerts the reader that the text will return to a previous topic after an interruption, whether that interruption was caused by a redactional insertion or simply the same author's change of topic."[609] Regarding 1 Sam 2,31b-32b, it is probable that the *Wiederaufnahme* was created by redactional treatment of the text because:

- the shorter text is attested – vv. 31b-32a are missing in 4QSamᵃ and LXX;
- 32aα seems to be somehow connected to 29a (Wellhausen termed it a "variant"), and in both verses the same corruption of עין into מעון has apparently taken place. Yet the shift from עין to מעון is by far not self-evident, and it is difficult to imagine that the same change occurred in both verses by mere coincidence. It is more likely that 32aα was inspired by 29a only after מעון appeared in 29a. This, in my view, is the most important argument for the secondary character of 32aα. The plus was introduced into the text after or simultaneously with the change of עין into מעון in 29a, but before the loss of צר and the verb נבט in 29a, because these words still appear in 32a.

As we have seen, the MT version of the text shows traces of a reworking which directed the oracle more specifically against Eli himself (cf. the 2ⁿᵈ p. suffixes in 33aβ, and לך in 33aα, perhaps connected with the former change). If this evaluation is correct, v. 32a (והבטת צר מעון בכל אשר ייטיב את ישראל) could also be seen as part of this reworking according to which Eli will witness the fulfillment of the announced judgment, and not only the sign of the judgment as it was the case in the older text

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may be explained as the text's corruption by homoioteleuton. Pisano calls these passages "haplogenic". In his view, numerous "haplogenic" pluses in LXX (with which 4QSamᵃ sometimes agrees) as against MT are the result of an activity in LXX (or rather its *Vorlage*) whose scribe added to the text a passage which he ended with the phrase or merely the word preceding the insertion. Contrary to that, the majority of MT's haplogenic pluses as against LXX are explained by Pisano as cases of real haplography in LXX or its *Vorlage*. See, however, the critical remarks on Pisano's thesis in Gordon, Haplography, p. 131-158.

[608] See above all Person, Reassessment, p. 239-248, and the literature cited by him, to which we may add Long, Repetitions, p. 385-399.

[609] Person, Reassessment, p. 239.

attested in 4QSamᵃ/LXX. At this point, we should return to Pisano's claim that MT's focusing of the judgment on Eli fits better into the immediate context of the passage. Pisano says:

> Because of the juxtaposition of the Elide downfall with young Samuel's growth in stature within the entire section 2:12-36, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, at least at one time in the narrative, the "faithful priest" of v. 35 was intended to mean Samuel. The fact that the LXX and 4Q form shifts the emphasis away from the punishment of Eli's house through the death of Hophni and Phineas to the extinction of the Elide priesthood with the concomitant rise of Zadok's star may be the indication that a later harmonization was worked into the text. It is, moreover, more natural to expect that a text should fit in to its own immediate context rather than that it should agree with some later material.

This argument is methodologically problematic. As a matter of fact, v. 35 in the present form, both in MT and LXX (the verse is very poorly attested in 4QSamᵃ) can by no means relate to Samuel about whom it can hardly be said that Yhwh built him a "firm (priestly!) house"; moreover, the promise that "he shall walk before my anointed forever" does not make much sense in relation to Samuel either.[610] At the same time, we have no evidence in v. 35 permitting us to reconstruct a more primitive text easily applying to Samuel. It follows that the MT form of vv. 27-36 will suit well its immediate context only after we understand v. 35 in a way which is in complete contradiction with its present form, and this without any redaction-critical reasons. Moreover, as indicated above, this text allegedly better fitting into its context will itself be full of tension, since v. 34 will then describe as a sign the event which should be the actual fulfillment of the judgment.

The meaning of the MT plus (or of its original wording) and the way it entered into the text are difficult to ascertain. In Hutzli's view, if we read in 32aα והבטת צר עין, an expression taken over from the original wording of v. 29, v. 32a intends to say this: Since Eli jealously looked at Yhwh's sacrifice (v. 29), he will have to watch jealously all the good which Yhwh will do to Israel. (A similar interpretation, but with a different reconstruction, has already been suggested by Thenius.[611]) In the given context, however, it is completely unclear who this benefactor of Israel

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[610] So already Wellhausen, Text, p. 49, in reaction to Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels, p. 14. Pisano himself admits elsewhere (on p. 31) that the identification of the faithful priest with Samuel "does not appear to be the final intention of this passage."

[611] Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels, p. 13.

might be. This in Hutzli's view may indicate that v. 32a is a gloss originally supposed to be inserted somewhere else, perhaps after v. 33 in MT form, where Israel's benefactor could be identified with Samuel. Yet to postulate an original destination of the gloss after v. 33 is not necessary, since, as pointed out by Fokkelman with reference to 1 Sam 20,13, the hiph. of יטב does not necessarily have a causative-transitive meaning.[612]

The problem with Hutzli's and similar explanations is the supposition that at a given phase of the text's development, both 29a and 32a were in order, and later the same change of עין into מעון occurred in both of them. Since this shift may hardly be deliberate, one is forced to suppose that both verses were corrupted (v. 29 more strongly than v. 32), and by coincidence the same change from עין to מעון occurred in both of them. As I have suggested above, it is more probable that the plus 31b–32a was inserted into proto-MT only after the change of עין into מעון happened in 29, or perhaps simultaneously with this first phase of corruption in 29 (in 32a, unlike 29, the words נבט and צר were preserved). If we understand מעון in the sense of a dwelling place or an abode, at least the clause 32aα (והבטת צר מעון) makes relatively good sense as part of the alterations in proto-MT which directed the judgment more specifically against Eli, so that he is now supposed to experience it. The "distress of the dwelling" may be identified with the loss of the ark in 1 Samuel 4, which will be the cause of Eli's death. The second part of the half-verse remains enigmatic.

It follows that, as to the consonantal text[613] of vv. 31–33, 4QSamª/LXX give more original readings than MT with all more important variants; the oldest text that we can put up from actually attested readings may be identified with the retroversion of LXX as it appears in the table 9 above, plus perhaps לך attested in MT in 33aα.

I have the impression, however, that already the text's older form attested in 4QSamª/LXX is not entirely smooth. We have observed the proto-MT's effort to edit the text in order that the word זקן makes sense in its plain meaning "old man". As suggested by Hutzli, the proto-MT's scribe may have been guided by the desire to prevent the impression that the Elides can perform lower priestly functions. But it is possible, too, that the scribe of proto-MT felt that the word זקן did not make much sense in the text he had before him. In view of this, I would like to suggest now a tentative emendation of the text, even if I am aware of its rather speculative character.

[612] Fokkelman, Art IV, p. 571.
[613] For the moment we leave aside the question of the vocalization of זרעך and זרע.

As the judgment in 4QSamᵃ/LXX consists of Eli's not having זקן in *Yhwh*'s house, it was suggested to understand זקן as a designation of a leading priestly position.[614] In 2 Kgs 19,2 (= Isa 37,2) and Jer 19,1 we find indeed the expression זקני הכהנים. The noun זָקֵן has the original meaning "old" only in one third of its occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, and most often it is used in the sense of "elder". In this sense, it is as a rule determined by a dependent genitive, though sometimes the genitive may accompany only some occurrences of the word in the given textual unit. There are even a few texts where זָקֵן is used without the determining genitive, while probably designating a leader of a social unit.[615] In our text, a kind of substitute for the determining genitive could be seen in the adverbial of place בביתי. Nevertheless, this determination seems somewhat obscure because we have no occurrence of a phrase like, for example, זקן בית יהוה. Even the attested expression זקני הכהנים (2 Kgs 19,2 = Isa 37,2; Jer 19,1) is so rare that it is improbable that the original author of 1 Sam 2,32 would wish to express himself in such an elliptical way. Moreover, v. 33aα describing the exception from the coming judgment does not address the leading function of the one man left over, but simply his priestly function (ואיש לא אכרית [לך] מעם מזבחי). In a similar way, v. 35 foretells, in antithesis to the judgment against the Elides, the establishment of a new *priest* and his family. Most importantly, when the fulfillment of the prophecy is described in 1 Kgs 2,27, it runs like this: "Solomon expelled Abiathar from being priest to Yhwh (ויגרש שלמה את אביתר מהיות כהן ליהוה), to fulfill the word of Yhwh that he had spoken concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh." As Abiathar's expulsion by Solomon was already described in 1 Kgs 2,26, v. 27 appears to be a reformulation of Abiathar's destiny with particular regard to 1 Sam 2,27-36. One may thus ask whether the author of 1 Kgs 2,27 did not read כהן instead of זקן in 1 Sam 2,32a, the entire half-verse running as follows: ולא יהיה לך כהן בביתי כל הימים.

Unfortunately, I do not know of any cases of interchanges כ/ז and ק/ה. Both of them are plausible, however, provided that they would happen relatively early. The interchange כ/ז in Aramaic script[616] is not very likely but may be imagined before the development of the medial form of *kaf*, or at least in the time when the vertical line of the medial form curves to the left on the bottom or forms a small hook, but does not yet form a broad base. The curving of the downstrokes in *kaf*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe* and *ṣade* starts at the end of the fifth century B.C. and the distinction of the medial and final forms of these letters becomes more evident in the fourth and the third centuries.[617] The broad base first appears in the

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[614] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 125.

[615] 1 Kgs 21,8.11 (the expressions הזקנים ... אשר הישבים and הזקנים ... אשר בעירו בעירו make clear, however, that the "elders" of the town are concerned); 2 Kgs 6,32; 1 Chr 21,16; Ezra 10,8 (but see v. 14); Ps 107,32; Joel 1,2.14 (yet both occurrences are in parallel with the genitive phrase כל יושבי הארץ); in a few places it is unclear whether the stress falls on the age or leading position – e. g. Job 12,20; Isa 3,2; Ezek 7,26.

[616] Paleographical notes are dependent on Cross, Manuscripts, p. 147-172; *Id.*, Development, p. 133-202; Naveh, Development.

[617] Cf. however, the case of 4QExᶠ from the 3ʳᵈ c., where the medial and final *kaf* are not distinguished.

Egyptian cursive; in the semiformal scripts it appears in the early second century B.C.E., and in the formal script in the Hasmonean period.[618]

The interchange ק/ה may be imagined in Aramaic script as well. It could most likely happen in the time when *qof* has no or short tail, his head is broad and the left stroke joins to the right of the end of the horizontal line of the head. As regards *he*, the interchange is more probable in the time when the upper stroke is horizontal, almost horizontal, or gently ascending from the right to the left, but not markedly slanted. The downstroke of the *qof* is in general short during the 5th century; during the 4th and 3rd centuries, forms with both short and long tail can be found. So, for instance, the *qof* in 4QSam[b] (dated by Cross to the late 3rd century) has a short tail; its head is rather narrow but open, the latter feature facilitating the confusion with *he*.[619] At the beginning of 2nd c., the tail begins to become longer, in the cursive as well as in the formal script. Though some Hasmonean manuscripts use short tail, (e. g. 4QDeut[c]), in the majority of them it radically grows longer. Furthermore, the tail tends to move leftward, so that it joins with the left tick of the head.[620] All these developments of the 2nd century make the confusion with *he* less likely. As regards *he*, in some texts in the extreme cursive from the first half of the 5th c. the upper stroke becomes to be almost horizontal, and the horizontal stroke is common in the extreme cursive at the end of the 5th c.[621] In the formal cursive, the upper stroke is usually oblique in the 5th c., but the examples of the horizontal stroke exist as well.[622] In Aramaic papyri from Wadi Daliyeh, the upper stroke tends to be slanted in the manuscripts from the first half of the 4th c., while in the texts from the second half of the century it rather tends to be horizontal (in one manuscript, the upper stroke even goes up from the right to the left).[623] In the third-century formal script of Qumran, the crossbar is horizontal or gently inclined down or up.[624] In addition, in the 3rd c. the joint of the left downstroke and the horizontal bar moves leftward[625], which increases the resemblance with the *qof*.

It follows that if the supposed change from כהן to זקן had been caused by a copyist's error, it could most likely have happened before the beginning of 2nd c., perhaps during 4th-3rd c. This is in agreement with the fact that the mistake would have to appear before the translation of 1 Samuel into Greek, usually dated to 2nd c. B.C.E.[626]

1 Kgs 2,27 may be useful also for the analysis of 1 Sam 2,31aβ. The majority of scholars prefer MT's vocalization זְרֹעֲךָ and זְרֹעַ because it agrees better with the verb גדע.[627] זְרֹעַ is then understood as a metaphor of power. On the other hand, McCarter is right that the

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[618] Cross, Development, p. 150, with examples in his fig. 1.
[619] See the table in Cross, Development, p. 137.
[620] Cross, Development, p. 172, 187.
[621] Naveh, Development, p. 26.
[622] Naveh, Development, p. 29.
[623] Dušek, Manuscrits, p. 469.
[624] Cross, Development, p. 147.
[625] Cross, Development, p. 142.
[626] Grillet – Lestienne, Premier livre des Règnes, p. 75, 77, 106, 115, 119; Dorival – Harl – Munnich, Bible, p. 83-111.
[627] Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels², p. 14; Driver, Notes, p. 38; Stoebe, Das erste Buch Samuelis, p. 117; Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 115.

following verses agree better with LXX's reading τὸ σπέρμα (= זַרְעֶךָ / זֶרַע).[628] Hutzli deduces from 1 Sam 2,31 and from a frequently suggested emendation in Mal 2,3[629] that there existed a fixed phrase גדע זרוע meaning "to cut off the priestly arm".[630] While not impossible, it is fairly uncertain. 1 Sam 2,27-36 and Mal 1,6-2,9 have much in common, and at some point of their creation or transmission there may have been a direct literary relationship between them[631], in which case 1 Sam 2,31 and Mal 2,3 would not be two independent occurrences of the postulated phrase גדע זרוע. Besides that, the promise וגערתי לכם באכל in Mal 3,11 seems to be intended, at least in MT, to contrast with 2,3, which may be an argument against the emendation in 2,3.[632]

In 1 Kgs 2,27 the fulfillment of the prophecy against Eli is described in the following manner: ויגרש שלמה את אביתר מהיות כהן ליהוה. Again, being aware that it is a matter of speculation, we can ask if the original reading in 1 Sam 2,31 was not וגרשתי את זַרְעֲךָ ואת זֶרַע בית אביך. The interchange ד/ר is very frequent, and the interchange ע/שׁ is attested as well[633]. If this suggestion would be correct, LXX would reflect the original vocalization of זרע, agreeing well with the following description of the judgment. The vocalization would have been later changed in order to correspond better to the verb גדע (the verb had to appear in the text before the translation of 1 Samuel into Greek). Yet, at the moment when the shift from וגרשתי to וגדעתי happened, the possibility to vocalize זרע as "arm" may already have played its part.

The conjectures כהן → זקן in v. 33 and וגרשתי → וגדעתי in v. 31 are hypothetical but not arbitrary nor unfounded. Both attested readings are problematic, the emended words make good sense in the context of the prophecy, and, most importantly, both emendations are based on 1 Kgs 2,27 which is a summary of the oracle 1 Sam 2,27-36. As noted above, the fact that Salomon's expulsion of Abiathar was already described in 1 Kgs 2,26 suggests that the repetition in v. 27 is intended to be a reformulation of Abiathar's fate with special regard to 1 Sam 2,27-36. There is thus some probability that the author of 1 Kgs 2,27 used formulations taken over from 1 Sam 2,27-36.

Verse 36:

MT וְכִכַּר־לָחֶם; missing in LXX[B]; the shorter reading of LXX is confirmed by VL. In 4QSam[a], remains of a letter appear before לאמור. According to the text's editors it could be a *mem*, which, together with the space requirements, leads them to affirm that 4QSam[a] had the same reading

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[628] McCarter, I Samuel, p. 88; so already Thenius, Die Bücher Samuels[1], p. 13 (yet in the 2nd edition from 1864, p. 14, he follows MT); Smith, Samuel, p. 24.

[629] MT: הִנְנִי גֹעֵר לָכֶם אֶת־הַזֶּרַע; LXX: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀφορίζω ὑμῖν τὸν ὦμον. On the basis of LXX, the majority of scholars reconstruct as more original גדע and הַזְּרֹעַ. As regards גדע, it would first become גרע, perhaps reflected by LXX, and then by metathesis גֹעֵר of MT (see commentaries).

[630] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 123.

[631] Tsevat, Studies, p. 203-205, considers Mal 1,6-2,9 as dependent on 1 Sam 2,27-36.

[632] Tsevat, Studies, p. 209-216.

[633] Delitzsch, Schreibfehler, p. 119.

as MT.[634] Hutzli may be right that the shorter reading is more likely to be older.[635] The addition of the "morsel of bread" may be a harmonization with the bread at the end of the verse.

MT אַחַת הַכְּהֻנּוֹת; LXX μίαν τῶν ἱερατειῶν σου. As noted by Hutzli, LXX makes clear that Elides want to serve in ranks of a different priestly family.[636] Hutzli is of the opinion that proto-MT's reviser wanted to get rid of the idea of collaboration of two priestly families.

MT לֶאֱכֹל פַּת־לֶחֶם; LXX[LN] φαγεῖν ἄρτον κυρίου; the word κυρίου is missing in LXX[BA], but it appears in VL. Hutzli's evaluation seems correct.[637] The longer reading should not be understood as a secondary assimilation to legal texts because the expression לחם יהוה does not occur anywhere in HB, in contradistinction to לחם אלהים appearing in Lev 21,6.8.17.21.22; 22,25 (אלהים always with a pronominal suffix). More importantly, it is difficult to find a motive for the expansion in LXX, while the omission of יהוה may be well explained. Its author probably wanted to reject the idea that Elides can eat food from sacrifices. The reading of LXX[BA] is thus probably an assimilation to proto-MT.[638]

2.2 Linguistic and thematic parallels between 1 Samuel 2,27–36 and the dynastic promise to David

As mentioned above, some scholars believe that the purpose of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is to contest the validity of the promise of an eternal Davidic dynasty. Linguistic and thematic parallels between 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 2 Sam 7 together with other formulations of the Davidic promise are obvious.[639] The word בית is a key word in 1 Sam 2,27-36 as well as in 2 Sam 7 and other references to the promise of the Davidic dynasty. 2 Sam 7 plays with two meanings of the word בית – the "house" (vv. 1.2.5.6.7.13)

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[634] Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 46.

[635] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 128. Contra de Boer, I Samuel I-XVI, p. 53.

[636] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 128-129.

[637] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 129.

[638] The reading of LXX[LN]/VL was considered as more original already by Smith, *Samuel*, p. 24.

[639] Various comparisons of 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 2 Sam 7 have been given by Fokkelman, Art IV, p. 153-154; Brettler, Composition, p. 610-611; Caquot - Robert, Samuel, p. 55; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 176-177.

and the "dynasty" [vv. 11.16.18.19.26.27.29(2x)]. Similarly, in 1 Sam 2,27–36 the word בית refers to the family (or dynasty) of Eli (vv. 30.33.36)[640], the family of his "father" (vv. 27.28.30.31), the family the new "faithful priest" (v. 35) and the temple (v. 32LXX/4QSamᵃ).[641]

More importantly, Eli's house and the house of his father were originally promised to walk before Yhwh forever (ביתך ובית אביך יתהלכו לפני עד עולם – 1 Sam 2,30). Similarly, David's descendants are promised to rule forever עד עולם – 2 Sam 7,13.16(bis).25. = 1 Chr 17,12.14.23[642]; 2 Sam 22,51 = Ps 18,51; 1 Kgs 2,33.45; Ps 89,5; Isa 9,6; cf. also לעולם – 2 Sam 7,29(bis) = 1 Chr 17,27(bis); 2 Chr 13,5; 1 Kgs 9,5; Ps 89,29.37; Ezek 37,25;[643] עדי עד – Ps 132,12; ברית עולם – 2 Sam 23,5; עד העולם – 1 Chr 17,14; כל הימים – 1 Kgs 11,36 (cf. v. 39); 2 Kgs 8,19 = 2 Chr 21,7. The formulation that Elides are supposed to perform their functions forever *before Yhwh* (לפני עד עולם) has a parallel in the promised existence of Davidic kingship forever *before Yhwh* (2 Sam 7,16LXX; 7,29 = 1 Chr 17,27; 1 Kgs 2,45; cf. 2 Sam 7,26 = 1 Chr 17,24).

Yhwh has chosen (בחר) Eli's father (or the house of Eli's father) out of all the tribes of Israel to be his priest. David has been chosen as well (1 Sam 16,8–12; 2 Sam 6,21; 1 Kgs 8,16 = 2 Chr 6,5f; 1 Kgs 11,34; 1 Chr 28,4; Ps 28,4; 78,67–70; 89,20; cf. 1 Chr 28,5f.10; 29,1 about Solomon and Hag 2,23 about Zerubbabel). Yet as we will see, the phraseology of 1 Sam 2,28 has more specific parallels elsewhere.

The phrase ואיש לא אכרית (לך) מעם מזבחי (1 Sam 2,33) resembles the phraseology of the passages according to which there will not be cut off a man of David from the throne of Israel (1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25 = 2 Chr 6,16; 1 Kgs 9,5 = 2 Chr 7,18; Jer 33,17), with that difference, however, that in 1 Sam 2,33 the verb כרת is in hiphil, while in the other mentioned passages it appears in niphal. Yet the same "nonextermination" formula is also used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to Levitical priests (Jer 33,18) and Jonadab, the son of Rechab (Jer 35,19).

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[640] Plus 31bMT.32bMT. But 31bMT is missing in LXX and 4QSamᵃ, and the shorter reading is probably more original; as regards 32bMT, LXX/4QSamᵃ read בביתי which is probably more original.

[641] Furthermore, v. 27 mentions the "house of Pharaoh".

[642] Cf. also 1 Chr 22,10.

[643] Perhaps also 1 Chr 28,4.7. The Chronicler may, however, think just of the lifelong rule of David and Solomon.

The majority of the members of Eli's house is destined to die by the "sword of man" (בחרב אנשים – 4QSamª/LXX). According to 2 Sam 7,14 the Davidic king will be punished for his eventual sins by the "rod of men" (בשבט אנשים).[644]

Furthermore, it has also been pointed out that the establishment of the "faithful priest" is described in 1 Sam 2,35 with the verb form והקימתי which in 2 Sam 7,12 (par. 1 Chr 17,11) is used for the installment of David's descendant(s) on the throne, cf. also 2 Sam 23,1; 1 Kgs 15,4; Jer 23,5; 30,9; Ezek 34,23. But again, the verb קום hi. may describe the vocation of other people into other functions as well.[645]

Perhaps the most specific parallel in 1 Sam 2,27-36 to the dynastic promise of David is the use of the expression בית נאמן (v. 35) about the priestly family which is to replace the Elides. Except for our text, this expression always appears in connection with the durability of the Davidic dynasty (1 Sam 25,28; 2 Sam 7,16; 1 Kgs 11,38). Apart from this, אמן ni. appears in the context of the Davidic promise in Ps 89,29.38 and Isa 55,3, cf. also 1 Kgs 8,26 (par. 2 Chr 6,17); 1 Chr 17,23f; 2 Chr 1,9.[646]

G. Auld points out many other linguistic and thematic links between the opening chapters of 1 Samuel and the remainder of Samuel-Kings.[647] He for example notes that when Eli appears for the first time as an acting person, he is depicted in 1 Sam 1,9 as sitting on a כִּסֵּא. Later on, having learned about the capture of the ark by the Philistines, he falls from the כִּסֵּא and dies (4,18). As the word כִּסֵּא usually designates the royal throne, it constitutes in Auld's view another hint to the fact that Eli's and his house's destiny anticipates the destiny of the Judean royal dynasty. Similarly, the

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[644] Brettler, Composition, p. 610.

[645] Prophets (Deut 18,15; Jer 29,15; Amos 2,11 – here also Nazirites), judges or saviours (Judg 2,16.18; 3,9.15), Salomon's adversary (1 Kgs 11,14.23), a king of Northern Israel (1 Kgs 14,14), "watchmen" (Jer 6,17), "shepherds" (Jer 23,4 – here, in fact, Davidides may be concerned), a nation which will oppress Israel (Amos 6,14), Chaldeans (Hab 1,6) and a bad shepherd (Zech 11,16); cf. also the call-up of the Teacher of justice in CD 1,11 and elsewhere in this text. For more see J. Gamberoni, קום qûm, p. 589-612.

[646] Numerous scholars think that the use of אמן ni. in Isa 7,9 is an allusion to the dynastic promise to David as well. See for example, with various datings of both 2 Sam 7 and Isa 7,9: Würthwein, Jesaja 7, 1-9, p. 47-63; Wildberger, Jesaja 1-12, p. 270-272, 283-285; Becker, Jesaja, p. 37-38, 41-42, 49-52; Beuken, Jesaja 1-12, p. 199-200.

[647] Auld, King.

fate of the temple in Shiloh is for Auld above all an anticipation of the later destiny of the Jerusalem temple as described in Kings.[648]

Despite all the parallels discovered by Auld between 1 Sam 1-4 and the following texts of Samuel-Kings, his analysis seems problematic in view of the fact that he is unable to provide a *system* in these links. The section 1 Sam 1-4 may hardly be read in a way in which its individual characters and events unequivocally correspond to other later characters and events. Regarding 1 Sam 2,27-36, this applies even for the relatively well controllable linguistic parallels – the Davidic promise constitutes a certain analogy to the ancient promise of eternity to the house of Eli's father (vv. 28.30, cf. also 33aα), as well as to the promise of sure house to the new priestly dynasty which will replace Eli's family (v. 35).

It cannot be excluded, of course, that the abrogation of the eternal promise given to Eli's house (v. 30) incited some of the ancient readers and listeners of the Book of Samuel to ask themselves whether, by analogy, one could not infer that the similar promise to David was able to become invalid as well. This may seem all the more at hand as the story of Eli and Samuel constitutes a kind of prologue to the history of the kingship in Israel. Nevertheless, already a glance at the textual history of 2 Sam 2,27-36 has shown that the ancient readers understood the text above all in its literal meaning as relevant to the questions of priesthood. According to most scholars, the priestly matters were also the primary theme of the text's most original form.

2.2 A case for the unity of 1 Sam 2,27–36

As we have seen, the extant forms of 1 Sam 2,27-36 bear witness to considerable textual development of the passage. The main witnesses present us with numerous variations, the most important being probably the secondary addition of vv. 31b-32a in MT as against the more original text represented by 4QSamᵃ and LXX. On the other hand, once we read 1 Sam 2,27-36 in its text-critically reconstructed form, I see no reasons to posit in it any considerable literary growth. This is in disagreement with a

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[648] Similarly, Frolov, Man, p. 71–72, believes that Shiloh is a cipher for Jerusalem and more generally for the dtr concept of centralized cult entrusted to one priestly family.

few recent studies according to which the oracle against the Elides contains several layers.[649]

The most detailed reconstruction of the text's growth has been suggested by W. Dietrich in his commentary.[650] Dietrich distinguishes in the text an old pre-dtr core which makes part of his "Narrative about the Elides (and the Ark)", then a dtr redaction by DtrP, and finally a "spätere Glossierung" in 31b-32a. The pre-dtr text was composed by vv. 27abα.28b-29.30bβ.31aβ.32b[651], the dtr redaction appears in vv. 27bβγ-28a.30abα.31aα.34-36. This reconstruction is very speculative, since it is based almost exclusively on the fact that the passage contains phraseology and vocabulary usually considered as dtr, together with other vocabulary which does not appear in typically dtr texts.[652] Dietrich then purges the text from the dtr elements and considers the rest an older text. In the absence of other literary-critical arguments, such a procedure is highly questionable – it might be relevant only under the condition that the only scribes using "dtr" phraseology in Samuel were the "true" deuteronomists who were unable to use any other language. Even in frame of the Göttingen school, one might explain such a combination of "dtr" and non-dtr language by the fact that the text is "*post-dtr.*" As a matter of fact, I will suggest below that the oracle contains an interesting instance of late modification of an expression usually regarded as dtr. Moreover, the older form of the oracle reconstructed by Dietrich would begin in v. 28b with the verb ואתנה, which is impossible, and Dietrich is thus forced to postulate here a more original form נתתי.[653]

Other scholars based their redaction-critical observations on the position of v. 34. H. J. Stoebe believes that this verse must be understood as a conclusion of an earlier form of the oracle, which would imply that vv. 35-36 constitute a later addition. This does not seem very convincing. It is repeatedly stressed already in the first part of the oracle that both the former promise (vv. 27n.30) and the present judgment (v. 31) concern not only the house of Eli himself but also the house of his father. It is thus clear already from this part of the oracle that its aim is to deny the priestly function to

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[649] Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 123-125, 140-153; Leuchter, Old.
[650] Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 123-125, 140-153.
[651] Cf. the translation of the reconstructed text *ibidem*, p. 141.
[652] Similar criticism applies to Leuchter, Old.
[653] Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 142.

some larger entity than just Eli's family serving in Shiloh, and that it wants to address a larger context than just the story of Eli and his sons in 1 Sam 1–4. In this way, the first part of the prophecy prepares the announcement of the rise of a new faithful priest's house with which the whole oracle culminates.[654]

J. Hutzli agrees with Stoebe that the position of v. 34 in the middle of the oracle is unfitting because one would expect the motif of the sign to come at the end of the prophecy.[655] Moreover, Hutzli presents arguments for the secondary origin of all mentions of Hophni and Phinehas in 1 Samuel, and proposes a "'Hophni-Pinchas'-Ergänzungsschicht" in 1 Sam 1,3b; 2,25bβ.34, the verses mentioning Hophni and Phinehas in 1 Sam 4, and 1 Sam 14,3a, which he then connects with a few other passages in Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and 1 Samuel mentioning the names of the priests related to the Ark.[656] As to 1 Sam 2,34, this conclusion seem problematic. First, as indicated by 1 Kgs 14,12, the sign does not have to appear uniquely at the end of the oracle. Moreover, the relation between the sign in v. 34 and the judgment proper in vv. 31–33 is far from being arbitrary since the death of Hophni and Phinehas announced in v. 34 serves as *prefigurement* of the massacre of Elide priesthood in Nob proclaimed in vv. 31–33. There is no such motivated relationship between Hophni's and Phinehase's death and the subservient status of the remaining Elides to the new priestly house as it is described in vv. 35–36. It is thus natural that the sign comes after vv. 31–33 and not at the end of the whole oracle, especially if vv. 35–36 read rather in the manner of a dynastic promise to the new family than a judgment over the Elides. Finally, as argued by Hutzli and other scholars[657], 1 Sam 14,3a, where a genealogical link is created between the Elide priesthood of Shiloh and the priests of Nob, is most likely secondary and redactional. On the other hand, given that any association of the priesthoods of Shiloh and Nob is entirely based on 1 Sam 14,3a, it may hardly be posterior to 1 Sam 2,27-36* because it would be very difficult to

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[654] The same objection must be raised to the suggestion of Nelson, Role, p. 136-141, according to whom v. 35 is a Dtr addition where a new interest in a new priestly line becomes visible. As we have seen, the theme of the substitution of one priestly house by another is most likely present already in the first part of the oracle. – For other arguments in favour of the basic unity of the oracle, see Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 172-175.

[655] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 172-173, 182.

[656] Hutzli, Erzählung , p. 182–188.

[657] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 39-42; Mommer, Samuel, p. 9-10; Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 125.

understand the slaughter of the priests of Nob in 1 Sam 22 as a fulfillment of 1 Sam 2,31–33 without this genealogical link. For this reason, it is preferable to consider 1 Sam 14,3a as written by the same hand as 2,27–36 (including v. 34). Consequently, it is also necessary to consider at least some of the genealogical information in 1 Sam 4 as either contemporary with or prior to 2,27–36. To summarize, there is no conclusive evidence for several layers in 1 Sam 2,27–36, and I will understand it as a unity in the following text.

2.3 Priestly and Messianic dynasties in 1 Sam 2,27–36

The historical context of 1 Sam 2,27–36 is most likely a strife for power of two priestly groups. Since the 19th century, various scholars have identified the house of Eli's father with the Levites and the house of the new faithful priest (v. 35) with the Zadokites. In his recent book, J. Hutzli took up this line of thought and located 1 Sam 2,27–36 in the context of a conflict of these groups in the exilic and post-exilic period. His conclusions seem correct to me, and in the following paragraphs I build on his analysis.

The oracle begins with a reminder of Yhwh's revelation to the house of Eli's father in time of Egyptian subjection (v. 27), probably hinting at Yhwh's revelation to Moses[658] (Exod 3 etc.) as a representative of the Levites (cf. Exod 2,1; 6,16–26). As noted by Hutzli, Yhwh revealed himself to the "house of your father", not to the "father" himself, which means that the "father" in question is not Moses but rather Levi, and the "house" designates the Levites in general (cf. the expression בית לוי in the story of Moses's birth Exod 2,1).[659] The mention of the "house" of Eli's father in 1 Sam 2,27 may also refer to the fact that Yhwh revealed himself to Moses and Aaron (Exod 5,3; 6,13.26; 7,8; 9,8; 12,1.28.43.50; cf. also 1 Sam 12,8; Exod 6,16–26 describes the Levitical origin of both Moses and Aaron, the latter is designated as a Levite also in 4,14). Yet it is a question which of the

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[658] Cross, Myth, p. 196–197; Caquot – Robert, Samuel, p. 54; and several others.

[659] The "house of your father" was identified with the "clan of Levi" already by Smith, Samuel, p. 22; more recently Mommer, Samuel, p. 9; Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 125; similarly Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 37, 39; differently McCarter, I Samuel, p. 89, according to whom the "house of your father" designates "the house of Moses". Cross, Myth, p. 196–206, considers the Shilonite priesthood as Mushite (i. e. derived from Moses), but he seems to equal the Mushites with Levites.

adduced passages from the book of Exodus could have been known to the author of 1 Sam 2,27-36 as "texts" to which he could refer.

According to 1 Sam 2,28 Yhwh elected the house of Eli's father out of all the tribes of Israel to be his priest. We have already noticed the possible parallel with the election of David. Apart of this, the phrase בחר מכל שבטי ישראל and its variants frequently refer in the Dtr history to Yhwh's election of the place of legitimate centralized cult.[660] There is, however, only one passage in the Hebrew Bible apart from 1 Sam 2,28 where a tribe or a clan is elected out of all the tribes of Israel, and this is Deut 18,5 describing the election of the Levites to the priestly service. 1 Sam 2,28 thus very probably alludes to Deut 18,5[661], which confirms that the house of Eli's father is meant to designate the Levites.[662] The assertion that Yhwh has given to the house of Eli's father all the [663]אשי of the children of Israel may, too, be a direct reference to Deut 18,1 according to which אשי יהוה are supposed to be eaten[664] by "the Levitical priests, all the tribe of Levi".[665]

Because of the sins of Eli's sons and because of Eli's indulgent attitude to them the election of the house of Eli's father will now be cancelled, Eli's family will be bloodily punished and the priesthood will be given to another family. Whichever way we read v. 29[666], it no doubt refers to the violation of priestly rules as they are described in 1 Sam 2,15-17. By taking

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[660] Deut 12,5.14; 1 Kgs 8,16 (= 2 Chr 6,5); 11,32; 14,21 (= 2 Chr 12,13); 2 Kgs 21,7 (= 2 Chr 33,7).

[661] Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 148.

[662] Auld, King, p. 31, considers Deut 18,5 as dependent on 1 Sam 2, but he does not supply any evidence for this allegation.

[663] Following up with LXX, the word has been traditionally translated as "offering made by fire" on the basis of the supposed cognation with the word אֵשׁ "fire". This etymology has been repeatedly questioned, in a most influential way by Hoftijzer, Feueropfer, p. 114-134, according to whom the Hebrew אִשֶּׁה is etymologically related to the Ugaritic iṯt, which would exclude the etymological relation of אִשֶּׁה to אֵשׁ. It is clear that in some places, for example Lev 24,7.9, אִשֶּׁה may hardly be considered as an "offering made by fire". On the other hand, some scholars point out that if the word appears in connection with the burning of the sacrifice on the altar, it may well be that already the authors of these passages supposed a relation between אִשֶּׁה and אֵשׁ, even if etymologically the words are unrelated. For more references to the problem, see Nihan, Torah, p. 151-152.

[664] For εἰς βρῶσιν in 1 Sam 2,28LXX, see the text-critical note *supra*.

[665] Cf. also Josh 13,14MT. These three passages are the only occurrences of אִשֶּׁה in Deuteronomy and Former Prophets. All other occurrences are in the priestly texts.

[666] See the text-critical notes *ad loc*.

a portion from the sacrifices before the burning of the fat, Eli's sons used to take (at least according to the author of v. 29) also the fat (חלב – vv. 15-16) which as the best part (ראשית in MT or ראש in 4QSamᵃ – v. 29) should belong to Yhwh.[667] Eli himself was guilty of not taking firm measures against his sons (he honoured them more then Yhwh), his rebuke of the sons in vv. 23-25 was probably considered insufficient by the author of v. 29.[668]

In 2,30 the man of God quotes Yhwh's older promise that "your house and the house of your father will walk before me forever." According to T. Veijola, this is one of the instances of DtrG's favourite technique to refer to fictive former promises (as other examples Veijola adduces 2 Sam 3,9f; 3,18; 5,2; 7,11; 7,21; 1 Kgs 2,4).[669] Nevertheless, even 1 Sam 2,30a may refer to Deut 18,5, especially if we suppose that the author of 1 Sam 2,30 may have known Deut 18,5 in the form attested in the Samaritan Pentateuch and LXX (and presupposed most likely also by 11QTᵃ 60,10-11), which runs כי בו בחר יהוה אלהיך מכל שבטיך לעמד לפני יהוה אלהיך ולשרתו ולברך בשמו הוא ובניו כל הימים.[670] Here the Levitical priests are promised to stand "before Yhwh" (לעמד לפני יהוה – cf. also Deut 10,8), similarly to the promise in 1 Sam 2,30 to "walk before me" (יתהלכו לפני). In both cases the priestly office is dynastic (Deut 18,5: הוא ובניו; 1 Sam 2,30 ביתך ובית אביך), and the promise is supposed to last forever (Deut 18,5: כל הימים; 1 Sam 2,30: עד עולם).

As we saw above, it is probably 4QSamᵃ and LXX which give the more original reading in the difficult vv. 31-33. According to this shorter form of the text the judgment on the Elides consists of their being divested of the leading priestly function (so Hutzli[671]), or, in case my tentative emendation is correct, in their deprivation of the priesthood in general. The violent death (4QSamᵃ/LXX: יפולו בחרב אנשים) of the majority (מרבית) of Eli's house predicted in v. 33 refers to the slaughter of the priests of Nob at Saul's

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[667] For the parallelism between חֵלֶב and רֵאשִׁית, see Num 18,12. The reading ראש of 4QSamᵃ (and maybe of LXX as well) does not necessarily change the meaning of the text; for the meaning "finest, best, supreme" of רֹאשׁ, see Beuken - Dahmen, רֹאשׁ, p. 257.

[668] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 170.

[669] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 76.

[670] The verse appears exactly in that form in the Samaritan Pentateuch. In LXX the first אלהיך is missing, and LXX reads לשרת in agreement with MT. For more to the reading of LXX, see Wevers, Deuteronomy, p. 294-295; for the text of 11QTᵃ, see Schiffman, Septuagint, p. 288-289.

[671] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 124-125, 170.

command (1 Sam 22,6-23), and the one man destined to survive (v. 33a) is Abiathar who escaped from the Nob massacre to David (1 Sam 22,20).

As a substitute for the Elides (=Levites) Yhwh will now raise up for himself a faithful (נאמן) priest for whom he will build a sure house (בית נאמן). The new priest is probably Zadok whom according to 1 Kgs 2,35 Solomon appointed as priest instead of the Elide Abiathar (cf. the genealogy in 1 Sam 4,19-22; 14,3; 22,20).[672] Hutzli notes that the purpose of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is close to that of Ezek 44,6-31 where the Levites are relegated to the function of temple servants, and the priestly service proper may be performed only by the Zadokites.[673]

We have seen that the most specific linguistic parallel in 1 Sam 2,27-36 to the dynastic promise to David is the promise of a sure house to the new priestly family in v. 35, a fact which in itself makes somewhat problematic Auld's view that the decline of the seemingly eternal Elide dynasty anticipates the fall of the Davidic dynasty. Moreover, the new priest (or his house) is promised to walk before Yhwh's anointed all the days, which apparently presupposes the existence of a "messianic" dynasty. It could be claimed that the promise only concerns the person of the faithful priest (i. e. Zadok) walking before Yhwh's anointed until his death, but this does not seem likely. The whole prophecy leads to the description of the miserable destiny of the descendants of Eli's family as contrasted with the blessing of the faithful priest's family (vv. 35f.). In v. 36 the grammatical referent of the pronominal suffix in לו is identical with the subject of והתהלך in v. 35, and the majority of scholars concord that the prediction in v. 36 refers to distant future (the time of the king Josiah or later), so that the real referent of the pronominal suffix in לו in v. 36 and most probably also the referent of the subject of והתהלך cannot be Zadok. Similarly, the parallel between the (cancelled) promise to Eli's house and to the house of his father that they will walk before Yhwh forever (יתהלכו לפני עד עולם – v. 30), and the promise to the new priest or his house that he/they will walk before Yhwh's anointed all the days (והתהלך לפני משיחי כל הימים) indicates

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[672] The identification of the new priest with Zadok is nearly unanimously accepted, but other suggestions exist as well: L. M. Eslinger, Kingship, p. 137-142, identifies the faithful priest with Samuel. Frolov, Man, p. 69-70, deduces from the combination of 1 Sam 14,3 and 2 Sam 18,7 that Zadok was thought to be Eli's descendant, and 1 Sam 2,27-36 then most likely is not directed against an obscure priestly family of Eli but (among others) against the Zadokite dynasty who controlled Yhwh's cult in post-exilic period.

[673] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 181.

that v. 35bβ thinks in terms of a permanent priestly dynasty in service of a royal dynasty.[674] As noted by several scholars, the shift from לפני in v. 30 to לפני משיחי in v. 35 is most likely intentional and supposed to express subordinate relationship of the Zadokite priestly dynasty to the Davidic dynasty.[675] Consequently the oracle of the man of God in 1 Sam 2,27-36 may hardly be read as an anticipation of the fall of the Davidic dynasty. 1 Sam 2,35f. construes the Zadokite dynasty as an analogy to the Davidic dynasty, but the latter is supposed to continue, and the priestly power should be subordinated to the power of the anointed. At any rate, 1 Sam 2,27-36 presupposes the validity of the dynastic promise to David.

2.4 The historical context of 1 Samuel 2,27-36

Some scholars date 1 Sam 2,27-36 or at least its first version very high (to early monarchic period or even higher)[676], but the majority of them regard the oracle against the Elides as a relatively late text which was inserted into the already existing context of 1 Samuel 1ff*[677]. It was pointed out in this connection that there is a tension between v. 29 and vv. 12-17: in v. 29 the accusation is directed against Eli (see the sg. in 29a 4QSamᵃ/LXX), but vv. 12-17 only describe the sins of Eli's sons.[678] In 2,22-25 Eli even tries to reform his sons.[679] Moreover, all the oracle is in tension with the immediately following information that "the word of Yhwh was precious in those days, the vision was not frequent" (1 Sam 3,1).[680] In M. Brettler's

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[674] Cf. Veijola, Dynastie, p. 43: „.... die göttlich legitimierte Dynastie einen göttlich legitimierten geistlichen Sukzessionsträger zur Seite haben soll...".

[675] Campbell, 1 Samuel, p. 54; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 178; cf. also Fokkelman, Art IV, p. 149.

[676] E. g. Tsevat, Studies; Caquot – Robert, Samuel, p. 55-56; Rendsburg, Leads, p. 35-46; Leuchter, Old, finds in the text traces of dtr (probably Josianic) redaction, but he situates the basic text into pre-monarchic period! Also Hertzberg, Samuel, p. 39, believes that the dtr redaction has adapted an old text.

[677] Smith, Samuel, p. 21-22; Wellhausen, Composition, p. 236-238; Veijola, Dynastie, p. 35-37; McCarter, I Samuel, p. 89-91; Stolz, Samuel, p. 35f; Brettler, Composition; Mommer, Samuel, p. 8-14; Pietsch, Sproß, p. 34; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 167-181; according to Frolov, Man, 1 Sam 2,27-36 is an integral part of a post-dtr composition Judg 19-1 Sam 8.

[678] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 169-170. Cf. already Stolz, Samuel, p. 35.

[679] Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 27; Mommer, Samuel, p. 9.

[680] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 35.

view the passage contains elements of the so-called "Late Biblical Hebrew".[681]

Several scholars noted the presence of dtr language and ideology in the passage.[682] As regards the linguistic features, Veijola adduces the expressions ואיש לא אכרית לך מעם מזבחי (v. 33) and יהוה אלהי ישראל (v. 30), the use of the word בית as a key word (vv. 27.28.30.31.32.33.35.36). McCarter adds בהיותם במצרים עבדים לבית פרעה (v. 27 4QSamᵃ/LXX, cf. primarily Deut 6,21; and also 5,15; 16,12; 24,18.22), and כאשר בלבבי ובנפשי (v. 35), with a reference to the „Deuteronomic cliché" בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך (Deut 4,29; 6,5; 10,12; 26,16; 30,2.6.10). S. Frolov points out that the expression ובחר אתו מכל שבטי ישראל (v. 28) has close parallels in Deut 12,5.14; 18,5; 1 Kgs 8,16; 11,32; 14,21; 2 Kgs 21,7.[683] P. Mommer also mentions as dtr the "raising up" (קום hi.) of a person by Yhwh (e. g. Josh 5,7, for further references see the comparison of 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 2 Sam 7 above) and the motif of the "building of a house" in the sense of establishing a dynasty (Deut 25,9; 2 Sam 7,27; 1 Kgs 11,38)[684]. W. Dietrich considers the expression התהלך לפני יהוה used in 1 Sam 2,30 as a dtr "Floskel".[685] As for literary techniques, Veijola points out the similarity of the reminder of a past promise to Eli's house (v. 30) and Solomon's recall of Yhwh's promise to David (1 Kgs 2,24). Also the fact that individual predictions of the oracle faithfully correspond to the events occurring in the following text is in Veijola's view a typical technique of DtrG. McCarter, for his part, compares our text with the oracle of an anonymous Man of God in 1 Kgs 13,1-3. As to ideological concepts,

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[681] Brettler, Composition, p. 609-610. Cf., however, the critical remarks of Rendsburg, Leads, p. 35-46. I do not find Rendsburg's critique very convincing.

[682] Wellhausen, Composition, p. 237; *Id.*, Prolegomena; Veijola, Dynastie, p. 35-37; McCarter, I Samuel, p. 89-93; Stolz, Samuel, p. 35n; Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 24; Römer, Väter, p. 277-279; Mommer, Samuel, p. 11-12; Pietsch, Sproß, p. 34; Brettler, Composition, p. 609-610. The presence of dtr elements is denied or considered very scant by Caquot – Robert, Samuel, p. 53-54;

[683] Frolov, Man, p. 64.

[684] Mommer, Samuel, p. 12, refers to other texts, but there is no connection of בנה and בית in the sense of dynasty in them.

[685] Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 124, 150. Dietrich refers to 1 Kgs 2,4; 3,6; 8,23; 9,4; 2 Kgs 20,3, but it must be noted that only the last mentioned passage uses the verb in hitpaʿel, all the others using the qal. Moreover, in 1 Sam 2,30 the phrase denotes the performance of priestly function, while in all the passages adduced by Dietrich it expresses a king's religious and ethical conduct.

Veijola notes that the idea of an eternal priestly dynasty (1 Sam 30.35) is parallel to the dtr idea of the Davidic eternal dynasty.

According to S. Frolov, 1 Sam 2,27-36 works with a phraseology, literary techniques and concepts that are close to dtr texts, but the purpose of the oracle is anti-dtr, and chronologically post-dtr.[686] Frolov argues that 1 Sam 2,27-36 is an assault on dtr concepts of Davidic royal and Zadokite priestly dynasties, with the Elides representing the Zadokides (cf. 1 Sam 14,3 and 2 Sam 18,7) and being at the same time a cipher for the Davidides. We have seen, however, that a challenge of the Davidic promise may hardly be found in 1 Sam 2,27-36, since v. 35 presupposes a permanent subordination of the new priestly dynasty to Yhwh's anointed. The purpose of the unmistakable parallels between the "sure house" of the new priest and the Davidic dynasty is not to question the Davidic promise but to shape the promise to the new priestly dynasty according to the promise to David.[687] The current form of 2 Sam 8,17 is probably later than 1 Sam 2,27-36.[688] It is clear, after all, that 1 Kgs 2,27(+ 2,35), explicitly quoting 1 Sam 2,27-36, does not know 2 Sam 8,17 as it stands today, or at least does not consider Zadok's father Ahitub as identical with Eli's great-grandson of the same name mentioned in 1 Sam 14,3 (the latter possibility was adopted by Ezra 7,1-5)

J. Hutzli notes, that 1 Sam 2,27-36 might be considered "spätdtr" in respect to its language, but he asks if such a designation is meaningful with a text that aims, among other things, to deny the election of the Levites for the priestly service announced in Deut 18,1-8. He thus terms the text "post-dtr."[689] The importance of the distinction between late dtr and post-dtr texts depends on our understanding of what "deuteronomism" in Former Prophets means. If dtr character of the Former Prophets is a result of a long process bringing these books into alignment with themes and language of Deuteronomy[690], then 1 Sam 2,27-36 makes part of this process, since it is build in relation to Deut 18,1-8, which, however, is not construed here as an unchangeable law, but rather as an historical event of

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[686] Frolov, Man.

[687] Brettler, Composition, p. 611, says that 1 Sam 2,27-36 stresses that the institution of Zadokite priesthood is as eternal as David's dynasty.

[688] See already Wellhausen, Text, 176-177.

[689] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 268-269.

[690] For this view, see now esp. Nihan, Deutéronomiste, p. 418-435, and the works he refers to.

the Levites' election, which is now annulled. 1 Sam 2,27-36 thus works with Deut 18,1-8 as part of historiographic narrative.

No matter if we term 1 Sam 2,27-36 late dtr or post-dtr, the peculiar phrase [691]כאשר בלבבי ובנפשי יעשה in 1 Sam 2,35 might suggest that the oracle was composed in a rather late phase of development of "dtr" phraseology. In Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets we frequently meet the demands to love Yhwh and serve him, or to keep the commandments and the like בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך.[692] The use of the merism in these passages serves to express the requirement of "complete and total devotion"[693] to Yhwh, the Israelite is to serve Yhwh with all the components of his personality. 1 Sam 2,35aβ expresses the new priest's complete loyalty to Yhwh as well, but the enumerated components of personality belong to Yhwh, not to the priest. Obviously, the more original (and the more logical) use of the merism is the one concerning the person who is asked to fulfil the requirements, the meaning of the phrase being that the obliged person should not fulfil the requirements "half-heartedly." 1 Sam 2,35aβ may thus be considered as an "incorrect" or "degenerated" use of a "dtr" phrase which to the author of 1 Sam 2,27-36 was a known, and to a certain extent already depleted, linguistic cliché.[694]

A few other passages in Samuel may be ascribed to the author of our text with more or less probability. The writer of 1 Sam 2,27-36 must be also the author of either 2,26 or 3,1.[695] More importantly, 1 Sam 3,11-14 or at least a part of it must be the work of the same (or later) hand as well, since the passage in its present form clearly alludes to 2,27-36.[696] In respect of the course of events in 1 Samuel 3, we have to suppose that the present vv. 11-14 have replaced another oracle.[697] Detailed surveys of the vocabulary

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[691] The clause is formulated slightly differently in other witnesses, see, Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 127-128. The differences do not affect the point I make.

[692] With diverse variations, e. g. various suffixes and various verbs: Deut 4,29; 6,5; 10,12; 11,13.18; 13,4; 26,16; 30,2.6.10; Josh 22,5; 23,14; 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,48; 2 Kgs 23,3.25.

[693] Fabry, לֵב, p. 431.

[694] This, of course, does not mean that all occurrences of the original use of the merism are older than our text.

[695] Mommer, Samuel, p. 13, tends to ascribe him 1 Sam 2,26. Veijola, Dynastie, p. 35, on the contrary, considers 3,1a as part of the frame of 2,27-36.

[696] McCarter, I Samuel, p. 98 („The oracle has been largely revised in light of the insertion of the episode in 2:27-36."); Mommer, Samuel, p. 13.

[697] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 38; Mommer, Samuel, p. 13. Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 122. We may leave aside the question whether v. 11 was or was not part of the original oracle. See the discussion in Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 200.

common to 1 Sam 2,27-36 and 3,11-14 have been given by Dietrich[698] and Hutzli[699]: קום hiph. (3,12; cf. 2,35); בית עלי or ביתו [3,12.13.14 (2x); cf. 2,30.32.33.36]; ולכן (3,14; cf. 2,30); בזבח ובמנחה (3,14; cf. 2,29); עד עולם (3,13.14; cf. 2,30); קלל (pi. 3,13; cf. 2,30 qal). In spite of this, Hutzli follows Veijola in ascribing 2,27-36 and 3,(11).12-14 to two different writers.[700] They both argue that 2,27-36 points to a more distant future than 3,11-12. In their view, the latter only alludes to the massacre in Nob, while the former predicts also Abiathar's rescue and the miserable life of Eli's descendants. This, however, seems to neglect v. 3,14 which obviously envisages the ongoing existence of Eli's descendants and predicts to them that they will bear the consequences of their sin *forever*, a conclusion entirely in agreement with that of 2,27-36. Both oracles are thus interested above all in the consequences which the sins of the Elides will bring in the distant future (i. e. the time of the writing of these texts), namely the disqualification of the Elides (= Levites) from the (higher) priesthood. Hence, in all likelihood 1 Sam 2,27 and 3,11-14 were written by the same author.[701] Let us recall for the sake of completeness that the writer of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is probably also at the origin of the connection between Eli and the priests of Nob created by the genealogy of 1 Sam 14,3a.[702]

As to the date of 1 Sam 2,27-36 in terms of absolute chronology, scholars sometimes consider "Josiah's reform" as the *terminus a quo*, since 1 Sam 2,36 seems to allude to the situation mentioned in 2 Kgs 23,9.[703] Yet, given that

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[698] Dietrich, Samuel VIII/13, p. 172.

[699] Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 175; cf. also Veijola, Dynastie, p. 38-39.

[700] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 38-39, 42-43, ascribes 1 Sam 2,27-36 to DtrG, and 3,11-14 to DtrP; Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 31; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 175-176.

[701] According to Dietrich, Samuel VIII/13, p. 171-174, DtrP has reworked 1 Sam 2,27-36 and written 3,12-14.

[702] Cf. Mommer, Samuel, p. 9-10. Veijola, Dynastie, p. 39-42, ascribes to the author of 1 Sam 2,27-36 (dtrG) also 14,3a.18b (and the name Achijah in the first part of the verse); 22,18bγ.19., p. 184, believes that 1 Sam 14,3a makes part of his „Hophni-Pinchas"-Ergänzungsschicht, to which he ascribes also 2,34. See above for the arguments against considering 1 Sam 2,34 and 14,3a as later than the main body of 1 Sam 2,27-36.

[703] See, for instance, Smith, Samuel, p. 23-24; Garbini, Osservazioni, p. 51; Veijola, Dynastie, p. 37; McCarter, I Samuel, p. 91,93; Stolz, Samuel, p. 36; Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 28; Mommer, Samuel, p. 10; Cartledge, Samuel, p. 59; Campbell, 1 Samuel, p. 54 (only for vv. 35-36); Dietrich, Samuel VIII/12, p. 150-152. Some of the mentioned scholars postulate an older oracle behind the present form of the text. The attempt of A. Breytenbach, Who is behind the Samuel Narrative?, p. 50-61, to date the text at the time of Hezekiah seems arbitrary.

1 Sam 2,27-36 most likely is somehow linked to the dynastic promise to David as formulated in 2 Samuel 7,1-17, which we have dated to the 6th or 5th c. B.C.E., 1 Sam 2,27–36 must, too, be from the "exilic" period at the earliest. Conflicts among various priestly groups existed in exilic and post-exilic period as well, and as noted by Hutzli, the purpose of 1 Sam 2,27-36 seems to be close to the purpose of Ezek 44,10-16.[704] Here too, the Levites are relegated to the function of the temple servants because of the "abominations" they committed, and they are no more allowed to approach Yhwh and perform the priestly service proper (vv. 10-14). From now on, only the Zadokites may serve as priests (vv. 15-16). Yet unlike 1 Sam 2,27–36, in Ezek 44,10-16 the Zadokites are considered to form a part of the Levites. It is unsure, however, whether this difference is original, since the levitical origin of the sons of Zadok is based here on only one occurrence of the word הלוים in Ezek 44,15. This word *might* be an interpolation.[705] The opposition *Zadokites* x *Levites* appears also in Ezek 48,11-13 where the Levitical origin of the Zadokites is in no way apparent (cf. however 40,46; 43,19). The similarity of our text to Ezek 44,10-16 becomes even more evident if we take into consideration the parallel between Ezek 44,10-14 and 1 Sam 3,13-14 (which, as we have seen, probably stems from the same author as 2,27-36). According to Ezek 44,12 (cf. v. 10) Yhwh raised the hand (to take an oath)[706] against the Levites that they will bear their guilt (עֲוֺנָם).[707] According to 1 Sam 3,14 Yhwh swore that the guilt (עֲוֺן) of Eli's house will never be atoned. There may even be a literary relationship between these texts.

Unfortunately, the use of Ezek 44,10-16 (and 48,11-13) for a more precise dating of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is rather difficult. Ezek 44,10-16 is a part of the composition Ezek 40-48* elaborating the program of the restoration of

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[704]Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 181; Cf already Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 28.

[705] Cf. Rudnig, Heilig, p. 288, who calls the designation הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם after בְּנֵי צָדוֹק as a *contradictio in adiecto*, „weil direkt nach der Identitätsformel, die zwischen Priestern und Leviten ein Gleichgewicht herstellt, der Exklusivanspruch der Zadokiden zu stehen kommt, zumal in einem Grundzatprogramm, das auf die Abwertung der Leviten zielt!" He does not, however, consider the possibility that הַלְוִיִּם might be an interpolation, and explains the appearance of the „Gleichsetzungsformel" only by the fact that it was a fixed traditional formula. If so, it was used in this instance entirely thoughtlessly!

[706] Duke, Punishment, p. 69, denies that נָשָׂאתִי יָדִי עֲלֵיהֶם has the meaning of an oath here. Nevertheless the comparison of vv. 12-13 to Ezek 36,7 indicates that also in 44,12 Yhwh raises the hand to take an oath.

[707] It must be admitted, however, that וְנָשְׂאוּ עֲוֺנָם in v. 12 is not present in LXX.

the temple, the prince and the land, adumbrated already in 37,25-28. Recent research distinguishes several layers in Ezek 40-48[708], and the dating of Ezek 44,10-16 depends, on the one hand, on evaluation of the relative chronology of the alleged layers inside Ezekiel 40-48, and on the other hand on their relationship to P and (post-)priestly texts in the books of Numbers which also deal with the delimitation of the tasks and rights of the priests and the Levites (Num 4,5-20; 16-18). In practice such a procedure is quite complicated and the results highly hypothetical[709], moreover the disputes over the authority of various priestly groups may have dragged on for some longer time[710]. As regards 1 Sam 2,27-36, we may perhaps make the following conclusions: The whole of 1 Sam 2,27-36 + 3,11-14 obviously reflects an ongoing power struggle. If the affiliation of the Zadokites with the Levites in Ezek 44,15 is *not* a late interpolation, 1 Sam 2,27-36 (which does not [yet?] know about Zadokites' Levitical origins) is probably older than Ezek 44,10-16.

Another clue for the dating of 1 Sam 2,27-36 is v. 35bβ according to which the new priest and his descendants (see above) will walk forever before Yhwh's anointed. If the shift from יתהלכו לפני עד עולם (v. 30) to והתהלך לפני משיחי כל הימים (v. 35) is indeed deliberate and its purpose is to defend the subordinate status of the (high) priestly dynasty in respect of the royal dynasty, our text should be dated to a period of a Davidico-Zadokite alliance, when, however, there was at the same time an at least latent rivalry between the Davidic and Zadokite dynasties for the leading position in Judah[711]. It is often supposed that at least during some stretches of time of the Persian period, there existed some kind of "diarchy" in Judah, the power being somehow divided between the high priest and the governor.[712] This situation seems to be suggested by both Biblical and extra-Biblical information about the Persian period Judah; let us briefly recall at least the following:

- According to Ezra 3,2 the altar of the God of Israel was built by "Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brothers the priests, and Zerubbabel the son

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[708] See above all Rudnig, Heilig.

[709] See the detailed discussion in Rudnig, Heilig, p. 204-215 and especially p. 280-304.

[710] See e. g. the survey of the situation in the books of Numbers, Ezra and Nehemiah in Rudnig, Heilig, p. 299.

[711] Cf. Klein, 1 Samuel, p. 28.

[712] For a survey of the evidence, see e. g. VanderKam, Joshua, p. X, 1-111.

of Shealtiel, and his brothers", similar situations are described in Ezra 3,8; 5,2; Hag 1,12.14.

- The appeals to build the temple in the book of Haggai are addressed to "Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah" and to "Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, the high priest" (Ag 1,1; 2,2.4).

- Zech 4,14 mentions "two sons of oil standing by the Lord of the whole earth" who are not described any more specifically, but in view of the context they are usually identified with Zerubbabel and Joshua. No matter whether this identification is correct or not, there clearly appear *two* leading figures who, as noted by J. C. VanderKam[713], are equal.

- Similarly, Zech 6,12-13MT speaks about the Branch who will sit and rule on his throne, and about a priest who also will be on his throne; and there will be peace between these two figures. (In LXX the priest does not sit on the throne, and only is on the right hand of the Branch, so that it seems that the two figures are not equal. Nonetheless, their latent rivalry is apparent even here from the following note that there will be "peaceful counsel" between them.) Cf. also the plural "crowns" in v. 11 (MT vocalizes as pl. even וְהָעֲטָרֹת in v. 14; this, however, seems to be secondary[714]).

- Finally, the Jews from Elephantine say in their letter AP 30 = TAD A4,7 (AP 31 = TAD A4,8 is another copy of the same text) to Bigvai, the governor of Judah, written on the 26th November 407 B. C., that they already sent earlier a similar letter "*to* your lordship and to Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Ostanes the brother of 'Anani, and the nobles of the Jews"[715] (AP 30,18– 19 = AP 31,17-18). This passage shows at least that the Jews in Elephantine thought that not only the governor, but also the high priest of Jerusalem (and the others mentioned) might have political influence on the situation in Elephantine.[716]

As indicated by the last example, the notion of a diarchy may be somewhat simplifying because there may have been other sources of power besides the functions of the governor and the high priest, and on the other hand it is not clear to which extent the authority of the priest extended the

[713] VanderKam, Joshua, p. 37. Cf. VanderKam's interpretation *ibidem*: "The two "sons of oil," who are not named but, given the context, are thought to be Joshua and Zerubbabel, are emblematic of the restored priesthood of Zadok and house of David."
[714] For the arguments see VanderKam, Joshua, p. 41.
[715] The translation is that of Cowley, Papyri.
[716] Similarly VanderKam, Joshua, p. 58.

cultic sphere. The situation certainly was not uniform during the whole Persian period. To be honest, the really strong picture of a dual leadership is mainly created by a few texts in Zechariah, which may be more a program of the proponents of Davidico-Zadokite alliance than a description of a long-term historical reality. The fact remains, however, that probably during the most part of the Persian period there was a governor in Judah beside the high priest.

When looking for the historical context of 1 Sam 2,27-36, the most interesting situation is no doubt the one where there is, besides the Zadokite priest, a governor who may be designated as *messiah* (v. 35). It is highly unlikely that 1 Sam 2,27-36 could regard somebody else than a descendant of the Davidic dynasty as the messiah. Given that v. 35 presupposes the existence of a priestly dynasty side by side with the "messianic" dynasty, and that the founder of the priestly dynasty is Zadok who served in time of David and Solomon, the messiah is almost certainly meant to be a member of David's family.

Here, of course, it suggests itself to think above all of the time of Zerubbabel who according to 1 Chr 3,19 was a Davidide[717], and alongside of whom we find in several texts the high priest Joshua. We have even seen that Zech 6,13 implicitly allows to suppose an at least latent tension between the high priest (Joshua is mentioned in v. 11) and the Branch, a tension which perhaps is present in 1 Sam 2,27-36 as well.

It is most noteworthy how the books of Haggai and Zechariah, when describing the ruler (sometimes obviously and sometimes presumably the texts refer to Zerubbabel), pick up the notions of pre-exilic royal ideology, yet without ever using the title "king".[718] In Hag 2,23 Zerubbabel is designated as Yhwh's servant whom Yhwh will make a seal because he has

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[717] According to 1 Chr 3,17-19MT Zerubbabel was son of Pedadiah, the son of Jeconiah (= Jehoiachin). According to Ezra 3,2.8; 5,2; Neh 12,1; Hag 1,1.12.14; 2,2.23 Zerubbabel was son of Shealtiel who was Jehoiachin's firstborn son (1 Chr 3,17). In both cases Zerubbabel is presented as Jehoiachin's grand-child. Zerubbabel's Davidic origin is occasionally questioned, see e. g. Miller – Hayes, History, p. 456; Pomykala, Dynasty, p. 46. Admittedly we would not know about Zerubbabel's Davidic origin, were it not for the genealogy in 1 Chronicles 3. Nonetheless, this information along with the royal and Davidic connotations in Zerubbabel's portrayal in the books of Haggai and Zechariah (see below) indicate that Zerubbabel very probably was considered to be from David's family. If he belonged biologically to David's dynasty is, of course, subsidiary.

[718] A more detailed treatment of these texts can be found in Vermeylen, Symbolique, p. 435-485, especially p. 448-466.

chosen him. Admittedly, the designation as Yhwh's servant is not specific enough, but still, it is remarkable that whenever it appears in connection with David "the context almost always involves election and the perpetual continuation of the dynasty" (see 2 Sam 3,18; 7,5.8 = 1 Chr 17,4.7; 1 Kgs 11,13.32.34; 14,8; 2 Kgs 19,34 = Isa 37,35; 2 Kgs 20,6; 2 Chr 6,42; Ps 18,1; 36,1; 78,70; 89,4.21; 132,10; 144,10; Jer 33,21f.26 – including the occurrences where the connection with the chosen dynasty is not apparent)[719]. The verb בחר frequently appears in connection with David as well (1 Sam 16,8-10; 2 Sam 6,21; 1 Kgs 8,16 = 2 Chr 6,6; 1 Kgs 11,34; 1 Chr 28,4; Ps 78,70; cf. also Jer 33,24 and Deut 17,15). The idea that Yhwh will make Zerubbabel a "seal" is probably meant to arouse royal (or "messianic") connotations as well. Jer 22,24 describes the king Jehoiachin as a "seal" which Yhwh will tear off from his hand, and Hag 2,23 may directly follow up with this text. Zech 3,8 designates as Yhwh's servant the Branch (צֶמַח). This expression, too, corresponds well to the expectations linked to the future of the Davidic dynasty, its genealogical connotations are obvious. The word צֶמַח already appears in Jer 23,5 according to which Yhwh will raise up for David צֶמַח צַדִּיק. With regard to Phoenician צמח צדק (KAI 43,11) and בן צדק (KAI 16), this expression may be understood as "legitimate sprout, legal heir".[720] The original referent of the promise in Jer 23,5-6 is Zedekiah[721] who after the elimination of Jehoiachin and his sons (Jer 23,24-30)[722] is a new scion of David's family, supposed to stand at the origin of a new royal line (Zedekiah is Jehoiachin's uncle). Contrary to that, Ezek 17, hostile to Zedekiah as it is, declares that all the fresh shoots of

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[719] Ringgren – Rüterswörden – Simian-Yofre, עֶבֶד, p. 394.

[720] Ringgren, צֶמַח, p. 412.

[721] Cf. above all the allusion at Zedekiah's new name in v. 6; moreover, the words צדיק and צדקה occur in v. 5. In this way, the root צדק appears as a characteristic of the new king three times in these two verses. The majority of scholars acknowledge that the text hints to Zedekiah; they often think, however, that Zedekiah only serves here as a contrast for the promised king who "will actualize much more effectively than did Zedekiah the royal ideal expressed in the name" (Ringgren, צֶמַח, p. 412). This, however, may hardly be the original meaning of the text. It seems obvious to me that behind the present form of Jer 21,11-23,6 we should look for a more original collection of oracles about Judean kings (see the heading in 21,11LXX), leading to the oracle 23,5-6 celebrating Zedekiah's enthronement (vv. 5-6 may have passed through some later editing, for this see e. g. Vermeylen, Symbolique, p. 461). If Zedekiah is not the referent of these verses, he is not mentioned in the collection dedicated to the kings at all! – Later on, Jer 23,5-6 was reworked in 33,15-16 (a text missing in LXX), here already with no relation to Zedekiah.

[722] For the sons see above all 22,30LXX which later was attenuated by the insertion of 22,30aβ in MT.

his sprout will wither (Ezek 17,9), a "prediction" corresponding well to the report of 2 Kgs 25,7 about the execution of Zedekiah's sons. In the book of Zechariah, צֶמַח appears apart from v. 3,8 also in 6,12 where it is said about him that he will build Yhwh's temple. According to the following verse he will be endowed with majesty (הוֹד), he will sit on the throne (כִּסֵּא) and he will rule (משׁל qal). Furthermore, one of the crowns (עֲטָרָה) mentioned in v. 11 is probably made for the Branch; it seems, however, that it is this crown which finally is deposited in the temple (v. 14). The royal connotations of the crown[723], throne and the rule are evident; the majesty is a royal attribute as well (1 Chr 29,25 – הוֹד מַלְכוּת; Ps 21,6; 45,4; Jer 22,18; Dan 11,21 – הוֹד מַלְכוּת), and the temple building belongs to tasks and prerogatives of the ANE king as well (see ch. 1. above); in the context of the post-exilic Judah the building of the temple by the Branch may refer to 2 Sam 7,13a, if we accept the older dating of the latter. Zech 4,6-10 names Zerubbabel explicitly as the builder of the temple.

It is impossible here to enter into the discussion whether the Branch is identical with Zerubbabel, as it is believed by most scholars, or not.[724] I suppose that at least at some phase of the text's development he is, but no matter if the Branch is Zerubbabel or not, it is obvious that the adduced texts from Haggai and Zechariah follow up with pre-exilic royal ideology and ascribe royal attributes to Zerubbabel and to the Branch. Among others, the ruler is legitimated by his being from the Davidic dynasty, which is particularly noticeable in the use of the expression צֶמַח,[725] but may also be discerned in the terminology of the last oracle of the book of

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[723] Admittedly the word עֲטָרָה itself does not necessarily designate a royal crown (see Kellermann, עָטַר., p. 18-28), and it certainly is not a technical term linked to the Davidic dynasty, as it is stressed by Gosse, Gouverneur, p. 155-159. עֲטָרָה designates a royal crown in 1 Sam 12,30 = 1 Chr 20,2 (cf., however, LXX of both verses); Ps 21,4; Jer 13,8; Ezek 21,31 (here the ruler has the title נָשִׂיא – see v. 30); cf. also Isa 62,3. In our context, alongside the other mentioned allusions to the Davidic royal dynasty, the word עֲטָרָה is likely to have royal connotations as well.

[724] A brief survey of research can be found in Rose, Zemah, p. 17-21. Rose himself argues that צֶמַח is not identical with Zerubbabel.

[725] Several scholars note that the designation צֶמַח may hint at Zerubbabel's Babylonian name Zēr-Bābili (seed of Babylon), which would perhaps somewhat obscure the word's reference to Zerubbabel's Davidic descent. A special case is the suggestion of Lemaire, Zorobabel, p. 50-52, that צֶמַח was Zerubbabel's Hebrew name (the word is attested as a name in Arad inscription 49, see Aharoni, Arad, p. 80-82.) Even this, however, would not prevent the symbolic use of the name, as can be seen in Zech 6,12.

Haggai about Zerubbabel. In all this, the texts obviously avoid to use the title "king". It may be caused by the caution in relation to the Persian power[726] (even if Hag 2,22 does not seem very careful), but it may also be due to the fact that Zerubbabel (or another Davidide) simply was *not* a king, and the propaganda could refer to his noble origin but not to his non-existent royal function. This is connected to the question of the relation of these texts to the Persian power. Admittedly, Hag 2,21-23 links Zerubbabel's ascension to an overthrow of the "throne of the kingdoms" and to a "destruction of the strength of the kingdoms of the nations", but the other mentioned texts do not suggest that the power of the Davidides in Judah was in conflict with Persian interests. If we dwell upon Zerubbabel, it were after all the Persians themselves who made him governor, and according to N. Naʾaman there was nothing exceptional in it: "These governors enjoyed a high esteem among the inhabitants of the province, thanks to the prestige of their dynasties. The Persian king and his officials took advantage of their prestige, sent them executive orders and let them enforce them upon their subjects."[727] Hence, the legitimation of the governor by reference to his royal origin does not have to be hostile to the Persian Empire; it may on the contrary be in Empire's interest.[728]

Coming back to 1 Sam 2,27-36, we may speculate whether the use of the title *messiah* was not guided here, too, by an effort to follow up with the pre-exilic Davidic ideology and at the same time to avoid the word *king*. As it is used, the title messiah expresses above all Yhwh's particular relationship to the given person (mostly a king), which becomes apparent already from the fact that the word מָשִׁיחַ appears almost always in the Hebrew Bible as part of the syntagma משיח יהוה (with יהוה often replaced by a

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[726] So e. g. Vermeylen, Symbolique, p. 460, 465, 468.

[727] Naʾaman, Vassals, p. 403. Cf. Lemaire, Zorobabel, p. 53-54, who gives examples of territories inside the Persian empire administred by local dynasties. The comparison to Zerubbabel is complicated by the fact that in the great majority of Lemaire's examples (Phoenician cities, Chypriot cities, Cilicia) the dynasts used the title "king". They were thus kings of vassal kingdoms, which probably was not the case of Zerrubabel. As far as I can see, the only clear exception is (the family of) Pixodaros, satrap of Caria and Lycia (see Metzger et al., Stèle).

[728] Cf. Lemaire, Zorobabel, p. 55: "[I]l faut bien comprendre qu'un tel mouvement en faveur du « modèle dynastique » ne constituait pas nécessairement une révolte contre les Perses et qu'il pouvait tout à fait se situer dans la cadre politique de cet Empire."

pronominal suffix; 2 Sam 23,1 has משיח אלהי יעקב).[729] In the books of Samuel (the term משיח does not appear in Kings), this particular relationship of the anointed to Yhwh comes to the fore in the scenes where he is considered (ideally) inviolable, though at the mercy of his enemies and thus without real power (1 Sam 24,7.11; 26,9.11.23; 2 Sam 1,14.16; 19,22). Hence, the title משיח is not used to express the king's real power, but rather to substantiate the divine source of his exceptional status, and as such it seems suitable to foster the claims of the descendants of a dynasty which was formerly divinely elected but has no royal power at the moment. Now, to say that the title "anointed" was indeed massively used in this way in the books of Samuel (or elsewhere) by postexilic Davidic propaganda would demand a thorough study of all the relevant passages, which is impossible in this place. It is clear, however, that the use of משיחי in 1 Sam 2,35, perhaps comparable to the mentioned procedures in Haggai and Zechariah, fits well into the context of a pro-Davidic redaction in postexilic period.[730]

It should be stressed that there may be other possible historical contexts for 1 Sam 2,27-36 than the period of Zerubbabel's activity in Yehud. First, there may had been other members of the Davidic family who held the office of governor in Yehud. There has been a long scholarly discussion if Sheshbazzar (mentioned only in Esdras 1,8.11; 5,14.16; he is called הַנָּשִׂיא ליהודה in 1,8, and פֶּחָה in 5,14) could be identified with Jehoiachin's son Shenazzar (1 Chr 3,18).[731] Besides, A. Lemaire suggested that ḥnnh from the bullae and impressions on store-jars yhwd/ḥnnh[732] might be identical with Hananiah from 1 Chr 3,19, which might indicate that Zerubbabel was succeeded in the function of governor by his son Hananiah.[733]

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[729] The only exceptions are Lev 4,3.5.16; 6,15 where הַמָּשִׁיחַ is an attribute of הַכֹּהֵן, and Dan 9,25.26 where the "anointed" is the high priest as well.

[730] It goes without saying that the use of the term מָשִׁיחַ as it appears in Samuel has to be differentiated from the use of the verb מָשַׁח in such passages as 2 Sam 2,4.7; 5,3.17; 19,11; 1 Kgs 5,15; 2 Kgs 11,12; 23,30 etc., where it denotes a juridical act. See Seybold, מָשַׁח, p. 43-54.

[731] See the summaries of the debate in Japhet, Sheshbazzar, p. 94-98, and VanderKam, Joshua, p. 6-8.

[732] For the bullae, see Avigad, Bullae and Seals, p. 4-5; for the impressions on the store-jars, see *ibidem*, p. 21-28.

[733] Lemaire, Review Avigad, p. 130; *Id.*, Zorobabel, p. 56; Edelman, Origins, p. 26-30, thinks that the person of the bullae might be Hananiah son of Zerubbabel, but she does not believe that he served as governor and identifies him rather with Hananiah from Neh 7,2; Avigad, Bullae and Seals, p. 5, believes that ḥnnh of the bullae was "a governor's officer in charge of fiscal matters."

Yet the Davidico-Zadokite alliance and together with it the *scheme* of a "diarchic" rule in Judah could also exist at the time when the post-exilic Davidides did *not* hold the function of the governor, and were only an aristocratic Judean family. Here a mention of the genealogy of post-exilic Davidides in 1 Chr 3,17-24 is in order. As is well known, the passage is full of textual problems, affecting among others the question of how many generations after Jehoiachin (called Jeconiah here) the genealogy encompasses. Whereas MT may be read as recording at least eight generations after Jehoiachin (with אַסִּר in v. 17 understood as Jeconiah's epithet – "the prisoner", and 21b read as it stands in MT, i. e. as an enumeration of Hananiah's clans), LXX counts fourteen of them. If we accept that Jehoiachin became king in 598 B.C.E. at the age of eighteen (2 Kgs 24,8), he was born in 616 B.C.E. Assuming twenty years as an average gap between generations in ancient world[734], we may conclude that according to the minimal number of generations in MT, the last generation enumerated in 1 Chr 3,24 was adult at approx. 436 B.C.E. (616 – [9 x 20]), while according to LXX it was about 316 B.C.E. (616 – [15 x 20]). These figures are, of course, approximate at the best, since if the genealogy was constructed at the time of the last mentioned generation, there may have been errors and/or deliberate manipulations from the beginning, apart from the changes introduced during the textual history. Yet all this caution notwithstanding, the passage implies that deep in the 5th or even 4th century the Chronicler, or a scribe before or after him (if the passage is based on a source or an interpolation as is sometimes suggested) had access to a post-exilic genealogy of the Davidic family (or a family who *claimed* Davidic origin, which in fact comes to the same effect). If we do not suppose that the author of the genealogy invented it *without any purpose*, we should conclude that it is somehow related to the milieu of the family itself. It is thus well conceivable that the book of Samuel, too, was edited by a scribe close to the Davidic family and defending their interests (and those of the Zadokites) at a time much later than that of Zerubbabel.

To sum up, the association of the Zadokite priestly dynasty and a "messianic" dynasty in 1 Sam 2,36 suggests a comparison with the description and/or the program of a Davidico-Zadokite alliance in the books of Haggai, Zechariah and Ezra. Most prominently, one would think

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[734] The case for this figure is made by Knoppers, I Chronicles 1-9, p. 329-330.

of cooperation of Zerubbabel and Joshua (Hag 1,1.2.12.14; 2,2.4; Ezra 3,2.8; 5,2), but in fact a text with such a program could have been written later as well. Regarding the literary development of the book of Samuel, it may be noteworthy that in 1 Sam 2,27–36 we have a *pro-Davidic* text addressing the issues of the post-exilic period and apparently written in a late phase of "dtr" editing of the Former Prophets.

3. 1 Samuel 25,28

Even before Yhwh, with Nathan as the medium, promises the building of a "firm house" to David in 2 Sam 7, it is "foretold" to him by Abigail in 25,28. The terminology of v. 28aα (up to the *rebia*) perfectly corresponds to the vocabulary of 2 Sam 7,11MT.16 (עשה qal, אמן niphal, בית; cf. also 2 Sam 7,26.27.29). Abigail's speech and 2 Sam 7 also contain other common features. In 1 Sam 25,30 Abigail forecasts for David that Yhwh will deal with him "according to all the good that he has spoken concerning you" (ככל אשר דבר את הטובה עליך) and a similar vocabulary is used by David in his prayer in 2 Sam 7,28 (ותדבר על [735] עבדך את הטובה הזאת). In the same verse, Abigail says that Yhwh will appoint David a prince over Israel (וצוך לנגיד על ישראל). According to 2 Sam 7,8, Yhwh told David that he "should be prince over my people Israel" (להיות נגיד על עמי על ישראל). The verb צוה piel in the sense of "appointing" someone into an office appears in 2 Sam 7,7.11.[736] Also the destruction of David's enemies that Abigail wishes him in 1 Sam 25,26.29 could be compared to 2 Sam 7,1.9.11.

It is generally recognized that 1 Sam 25,28 points to the dynastic promise of 2 Sam 7 or at least to its core. Should we consider 2 Sam 7,1–17 a coherent "dtr" text, an anticipation of the dynastic promise in 1 Sam 25 is either the work of the same author or a later one. I tend to prefer the first option. At any rate, there is no reason to believe that 1 Sam 25,28.30 *imitate* the dynastic promise of 2 Sam 7 with a different intention than the promise itself.[737] On the contrary, I have the impression that 2 Sam 7 and 1 Sam 25 together with some other texts in Samuel and Kings create a coherent system that presents the history of Judah and Israel through the prism of realised and non-realized dynastic promises.

Whether vv. 28.30 are originally parts of 1 Sam 25 or a work of a later redaction is a debated question. The problem of the literary development of the chapter cannot be discussed here in detail, I shall make only a few points.[738] After a detailed narratological analysis, M. Peetz reaches the conclusion that, apart from the framing vv. 1 and 43f., 1 Sam 25 contains a

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[735] So LXX and 1 Chr 17,26; 2 Sam 7MT read אל. See the text-critical note above.
[736] Van Seters, Search, p. 276.
[737] Differently Van Seters, Saga, 186-190.
[738] For an overview of the history of research see Peetz, Abigajil, p. 1-24; for the older discussion see also Veijola, Dynastie, p. 49, 54–55.

homogeneous, ingeniously build narrative.[739] Like many before her, Peetz observes that 1 Sam 25 is a part of a triptych contained in 1 Sam 24–26, where David gives up his attempts at using violence against his enemies on three occasions and lets Yhwh act instead of him. By killing Saul who is the anointed of Yhwh (ch. 24 a 26) and by exterminating the house of Nabal (ch. 25), David would commit a sin and therefore cause damage to himself. The most far reaching conclusions of David's non-violence are mentioned in chapter 25, since the massacre of the house of Nabal would, according to vv. 26.28.30–31, be an obstacle to the rule of David's descendants. In the current form of the chapter, these very verses, where Abigail averts the danger for the rule of the Davidic dynasty and simultaneously saves her house, are clearly the point of the story. Peetz joins J. Van Seters in the opinion that without vv. 26.28–34, the story would be "rather trivial", and thereby we cannot omit it from the chapter as a later addition.[740] On the other hand, Peetz believes the episode about David and Abigail existed in an oral tradition before it received a literary treatment by the author of the "court narrative" after the fall of the Northern kingdom in the 8th century.[741]

Reconstructing a much shorter original text of the chapter is truly difficult. Veijola's original text without dtr additions in vv. 21–22.23b.24b–26.28–34.39a may be coherent, but it is a flat "historical" report devoid of the literary appeal characteristic for the text in the current form.[742] The relation towards the previous and the following chapters would get more or less lost in the reconstructed chapter, since 1 Sam 25 would in no way thematize the fact that David did the right thing when he did not proceed to help himself "using his own hand." Still, even in the reconstructed version of the chapter, after David gives up the assault on Nabal's house, Yhwh himself kills Nabal. The excision of the majority of Abigail's speech may also seem problematic in view of the comparison of 1 Sam 25 with the dialogue between David and a wise woman of Tekoa in 2 Sam 14,4–20.

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[739] Peetz, Abigajil, p. 207–208.

[740] Van Seters, Search, p. 267; Peetz, Abigajil, p. 207. Now also Van Seters, *Saga*, p. 189.

[741] Peetz, Abigajil, p. 221–232. Peetz takes the idea of the "court narrative" from W. Dietrich, see e.g. Dietrich, Monarchy, p. 298–316.

[742] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 47–55. Similarly, Dietrich, Verschonung, p. 247, finds a redactional reworking in vv. 17b.25a*.26.28b–34.39a*, yet he ascribes it to the author of his "court narrative." –Veijola is right that especially vv. 21–22 does seem like an interpolation. For a detailed analysis of these vv. see Peetz, Abigajil, p. 131–139.

There are many similarities in terms of phraseology and content between these texts.[743] The most prominent common feature of the two texts seems to be the fact that both include the character of a wise woman able to manipulate David's conduct with her refined speech. But if we omit most of Abigail's speech from 1 Sam 25 (as Veijola does), this feature is more or less lost from 1 Sam 25, since in the reconstructed text David does not attack the house of Nabal mainly because Abigail brought him the goods that he asked for. On the other hand, some individual parallels to 2 Sam 14,4-20 will remain even in the short reconstructed text. This fact, in my opinion, testifies against Veijola's literary reconstruction.[744]

However, in spite of the problems with a *literary-critical* reconstruction of the more original version of 1 Sam 25, it seems likely that the chapter is based on an older tradition, written or oral. In the context of the current form of the books of Samuel, the most important point of 1 Sam 25 is that David did not sin by spilling innocent blood, a deed which would have fatal consequences for the rule of his descendants. But the plot and the characters are far too colourful and ambivalent for the whole story to be an illustration of Davidic dynastic ideology. It is easy to imagine, for instance, that in the older cycle of the stories of David's rise, the main point of the chapter was David's marriage to Abigail the widow after the Calebite Nabal, since this marriage may have been regarded as a reinforcement of David's influence in the Judean South, where he was later anointed as a king in Hebron.[745] The author of 1 Sam 25 therefore probably fitted his dynastic ideology on an older legend of the Davidic cycle, but the *text* of the older form cannot be reconstructed.

1 Sam 25,30b (וצוך לנגיד על ישראל) uses a similar vocabulary as 1 Sam 13,14 (ויצוהו יהוה לנגיד על עמו), the construction צוה pi. + direct object + ל + נגיד appears in HB only in these two sections (a very similar vocabulary is also in 2 Sam 6,21 and 1 Kgs 1,35). Samuel's speech in 1 Sam

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[743] A thorough list of the parallels is provided by Lyke, King, p. 111-119; Van Seters, Saga, p. 188.

[744] In this connection, we should mention that apart from Abigail's speech, there are other features that 1 Sam 25 has in common with 2 Sam 7, although these similarities are not specific for the given texts. To point out the most interesting, let me mention the use of כְּכָל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה in 1 Sam 25,9.12 and 2 Sam 7,17 (=1 Chr 17,15); otherwise the phrase is to be found only in Jer 27,12; 38,27.

[745] This aspect of the narrative was emphasised by I. Willi-Plein, Frauen, p. 352-355. See already J. Levenson – Halpern, Import, p. 507-518, who understand 1 Sam 25 as a historical source for the study of David's marriage politics.

13,13-14 contains the expressions that also have parallels in 2 Sam 7. It is mainly the case of the clause 1 Sam 13,13bβ את יהוה הכין עתה כי ממלכתך על[746] ישראל עד עולם, to which we may compare primarily 2 Sam 7,12b (והכינתי את ממלכתו)[747], 13b (עד ממלכתו את וכננתי) and 16b (עולם עד נכון יהיה כסאך); the expression על ישראל[748] is also in 2 Sam 7,8.26 (cf. v. 11; although this expression, of course, is by no means specific). The clause עמו על לנגיד יהוה ויצוהו in 1 Sam 13,14 has a parallel in 2 Sam 7,8b (ישראל על עמי על נגיד להיות); as I already mentioned, the verb צוה piel is used in a similar manner in 2 Sam 7,7.11. The proximity of these three passages – 1 Sam 13,7b-15a; 1 Sam 25 and 2 Sam 7 – is not merely formal, since their common topic is the dynastic promise. The goal of 1 Sam 13 and 1 Sam 25 is to explain why was Saul's dynasty repudiated merely because its founder made a burnt offering for Yhwh against the prophetic order, while David's dynasty was allowed to rule "eternally", despite numerous wrongs done by its protagonists.

1 Sam 13,7b-15a (and probably also 4b) is obviously a redactional interpolation into the description of Saul's and Jonathan's struggle with the Philistines in chapters 13-14.[749] 1 Sam 13,8 refers to 10,8 and creates the impression that only seven days passed between Saul's anointment to the king and the episode narrated in 1 Sam 13,7-14. This is in a clear contradiction with the fact that in 1 Sam 9-10,16 Saul is a youth (בחור – 9,2), while in chapters 13–14 his adult son Jonathan appears. 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a is sort of a negative of 1 Sam 25 + 2 Sam 7, describing Saul as a tragic hero[750], who only narrowly missed the gift of the dynastic promise. In 1 Sam 10,8 Samuel orders Saul to descend to Gilgal and await Samuel for seven days, since Samuel would come and perform both burnt and peaceful offerings and give Saul additional orders. In 1 Sam 13, in a tense situation

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[746] The majority reading of MT is אל. The reading of LXX ἐπì, supported by other versions and some Masoretic manuscripts, is better.

[747] Apart of 1 Sam 13,13 and 2 Sam 7,12, מַמְלָכָה is direct object of the hiphil of כון only in 2 Chr 17,5.

[748] LXX reads τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ in accordance with 1 Chr 17,12.

[749] See e.g. McCarter, I Samuel, p. 228-230; Van Seters, Search, p. 257-258; Wagner, Geist, p. 146-159.

[750] Saul's tragic features were recently emphasised by Adam, Hero, p. 123-183, who, as the title indicates, goes as far as to find influences of Greek Drama in the stories of Saul. Adam's description of the episode of 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7-13a is intriguing, but I wonder, how can he separate 13,7b-13a (non-dtr) from vv. 13b-14 (dtr). Where would he then see the tragic consequences of Saul's actions in vv. 7b-13a?

preceding a battle with the outnumbering Philistines, Saul awaits Samuel in Gilgal for seven days, but since the prophet does not arrive, Saul performs the burnt offering himself. Yet, "as soon as he had finished offering the burnt offering" (v. 10), Samuel arrives and says that if Saul had followed his order, Yhwh would have made Saul's kingship eternal (v. 13)[751]; now, however, Yhwh will establish someone else as the prince of his people. However, Saul's story is far from over by then. The punishment does not consist in an immediate loss of power, but rather in that Saul's descendants would not be granted a kingship.

In 1 Sam 25,24–31 Abigail succeeds to persuade David that the attack on the house of Nabal could have fatal consequences for David's future rule and the rule of his descendants. Abigail believes Yhwh will build a firm house for David, since David fights the wars of Yhwh and no evil has been found in him throughout his days. Yhwh will surely establish David as the prince of Israel (v. 30), but should David massacre the house of Nabal, he would be guilty of bloodshed (vv. 26.31.33), which, according to v. 31, would be to him "an obstacle and stumbling block." The quoted translation of McCarter's is probably in accord with the meaning of this textually difficult verse.[752] MT reads לְפוּקָה וּלְמִכְשׁוֹל לֵב, 4QSam^c [753] לְ{מֿ}נקם, ולמכֿ[שול] ליצפא ולתקלת לב, LXX βδελυγμὸς καὶ σκάνδαλον, Tg, Syr ܠܡܕܐܠܐ ܘܠܬܘܩܠܬܐ ܕܠܒܐ. Especially the first noun is problematic. The Masoretic reading פוּקָה is *hapax legomenon*; its meaning is derived mostly from the verb פוק I that probably means "to stagger, to wobble" (Isa 28,7 qal; Jer 10,4 hiph.). פוּקָה would probably mean "staggering" (KBL), "stumbling, or stumbling block" (DCH), "obstacle" (HALOT, following Bauer – Leander). Syr obviously presupposes MT's reading, while Tg is interpretative. The reading of 4QSam^c is lexically easier, but in respect of the sense clearly incorrect. βδελυγμὸς may presuppose שִׁקּוּץ (cf. Nah 3,6). With respect to the following מכשול I find the most fitting the reading of MT, although the noun פוּקָה is not otherwise attested.

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[751] The reading of LXX τὴν ἐντολήν μου ἣν ἐνετείλατό σοι κύριος is probably older than the harmonizing (cf. also v. 14) and more orthodox MT אֶת־מִצְוַת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר צִוָּךְ. It is not entirely clear whether Saul's fault is mainly in the lack of respect shown to the prophet's order when Saul failed to await the prophet's arrival, or in the fact that he performed a burnt offering as if he were a priest. See Wagner, Geist, p. 156–159, 352–353, who believes that Saul was rejected for both of these reasons.

[752] McCarter, I Samuel, p. 390, 394–395.

[753] According to E. Ulrich (DJD 17, p. 255), "the scribe may have started to write למ- (possibly the following למכשול), then erased the *mem* and left לנקם."

LXX, it seems, does not suppose the presence of לב and the editor of 4QSamᶜ reconstructs the shorter text also in the scroll.[754] The short text would better suit the context of the passage since the issue is not (at least originally) a "bad conscience", as some scholars believe[755] and as many translations indicate (e. g. ESV, NIV, NJB), but the fact that the bloodshed caused by David could be an obstacle for the rule of David's descendants, since Yhwh builds a house for David because he did not commit a sin (v. 28).[756]

The reader of the books of Samuel and Kings may be surprised by the extent of the difference in Yhwh's approach towards Saul and David or their dynasties. The author of 1 Sam 10,8; 13,7b-15a; 1 Sam 25 and 2 Sam 7 explains Yhwh's "injustice" by ascribing an absolute value to the dynastic promise, which either is or is not given to the founder of a dynasty. "A firm house" must be earned, but once the promise is given, it is unconditional and the dynasty will be firm for eternity, in spite of sins of its members. According to 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a, the tragedy of Saul lies in the fact that he did not persevere in obedience to Yhwh only a few moments longer until the moment when Yhwh would firmly establish his kingship (i.e. his dynasty); contrary to that, David in 1 Sam 25, with help of Abigail, avoided a useless bloodshed, and as a spotless man he was later given the promise.

What is the intended function of these texts? 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25 exhibit a curious combination of features with marked aesthetic function with elements of the dynastic ideology present in the whole of Samuel and Kings. An obvious and often commented feature is, for instance, the ambivalence of a number of characters – Saul is more of a tragic hero than a negative character, Abigail speaks as if her main concern was the blessing for David and his descendants, thereby manipulating with David for her own benefit, etc. We cannot, however, read these texts as more or less a reproduction of traditional orally transmitted legends[757], since they also contain (probably *inseparably*) a reflection on the nature of the

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[754] E. Ulrich in Cross et al., DJD 17, p. 255.

[755] E.g. Stoebe, Das erste Buch Samuelis, p. 450.

[756] It may be that the longer attested text in MT has this meaning as well, see Peetz, Abigajil, p. 176–178.

[757] The proximity of a number of David's stories to oral tradition was emphasised by Gunn, Story.

Davidic dynastic promise[758] that is present throughout the books of Samuel and Kings. Scholars sometimes explain this peculiar combination on literary-critical terms, ascribing various aspects of the text to its various layers. As we already mentioned, the available solutions are not satisfactory. There is some likelihood that 1 Sam 25 at least is based on an older tradition, but we cannot reconstruct it on literary-critical terms. J. Van Seters explains the combination of ideological pro-Davidic utterances with distinctly "literal" features (e.g. the moral ambivalence of the active characters including David himself) in quite a few of David's stories by claiming that these texts, forming according to Van Seters the so-called *Court History* or *David Saga* secondarily added to the Dtr history, seek to parody the pro-Davidic deuteronomistic ideology.[759] Van Seters now regards 1 Sam 25 as a part of the *David saga*.[760] I believe, however, that texts like 1 Sam 25 are not primarily critical to the Davidic traditions. 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25 may be understood as "serious entertainment", in which the scribe interprets, in a more or less entertaining manner, the traditions of the fall of Saul's kingdom and the long rule of the Davidic dynasty.[761] Even these texts, however, contain a pro-Davidic ideological dimension and they may advocate for actual interests of the Davidides in the exilic or post-exilic period. After all, the combination of 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25 explains, in accord with 2 Sam 7,15, why the fate of the Davidic dynasty cannot be identical to that of the dynasty of Saul. Similarly to Saul in 1 Sam 13, the Davidides could have lost Yhwh's חסד in 1 Sam 25; but not after 2 Sam 7 anymore.

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[758] Cf. Veijola, Dynastie, p. 50, who believes that vv. 23b.24b-26.28-34.39* "are on a very abstract level."

[759] See mainly Van Seters, Saga.

[760] *Ibid.*, p. 186-190.

[761] For the description of some Biblical texts as serious entertainment see Davies, Scribes, p. 142-151.

4. 2 Samuel 22,51

The theme of David's eternal dynasty appears also in two poetic texts at the close of the books of Samuel, namely in the last verse of the psalm 2 Sam 22 (Ps 18) and in "David's last words" (23,1-7). Since the beginning of the 19th c., the chapters 21-24 of 2 Samuel are generally regarded as an "appendix" to Samuel, but scholars disagree in their answers to the question in which phase of the formation of Samuel were these texts inserted in their present place and whether it happened at once or in several stages.[762] Scholars often point out the chiastic arrangement of these texts (and sometimes they conclude from this arrangement that 2 Sam 21-24 were appended after 2 Sam 20 all at once); on the other hand, this arrangement is occasionally considered purely formal because the materials collected in 2 Sam 21-24 seem very disparate, and their relation to the narrative context, at least in some cases, is unclear.[763]

The marking off of the chapters 2 Sam 2 Sam 21-24 is usually based on some specific features of these texts, but it is also connected to more general hypotheses regarding the formation of the books of Samuel and the Former Prophets. Most often, the principal argument is that the ch. 21-24 break the narrative continuity between 2 Sam 20 and 1 Kgs 1-2.[764] There is, however, no particularly manifest narrative continuity between 2 Sam 20 and 1 Kgs 1, and it seems that the separation of 2 Sam 21-24 is to some extent linked to the popularity of the hypothesis according to which one of

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[762] For an excellent review of research on these chapters, see Klement, Samuel, p. 17-60.

[763] See Klement, Samuel, p. 17-21. The chiasm is tripartite; in the introduction to his study (p. 17), Klement describes it as follows:

A	Narrative	*Famine* of account of *King Saul's guilt*
B	List	Names: Conquerors of four Philistine giants
C	Poetry	*David's song of thanksgiving*: victory over all his enemies
C'	Poetry	*David's last words*, promise of blessing for the dynasty
B'	Lists	Names: David's heroes, deeds and names
A'	Narrative	*Plague* on account of *King David's guilt*

The chiastic arrangement of 2 Sam 21-24 seems more convincing than many other instances of this literary structure "discovered" by the exegetes in the past years. It is somewhat problematic though that the chiastic structure is ascribed to a portion of the text which usually is separated from the rest of Samuel on the basis of a diachronic consideration and which most likely never existed as a whole apart of its present context. – It should be noted that Klement himself is displeased with the understanding of ch. 21-24 as "appendices" and considers them an integral part of Samuel.

[764] So recently e. g. Van Seters, Saga, p. 428.

the sources of the book of Samuel was the so-called Succession Narrative contained (approximately) in 2 Sam 9-20 + 1 Kgs 1-2.[765]

The psalm 2 Sam 22 was preserved in two (basic) versions, since it also appears in the Psalter in Ps 18. There are many differences between the two versions, but they "are scribal in origin" and there is no doubt that 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18 represent genetically connected variants of one literary composition.[766] The song is composed from three basic parts[767]: vv. 2-20 are thanksgivings for salvation from enemies; vv. 21-28 describe the psalmist's moral purity on the basis of which Yhwh helped him, concluding that God treats every man according to his merits (vv. 26-28); in vv. 29-51, the psalmist portrays himself as a mighty (royal) warrior, celebrating Yhwh who granted him force, power and military victories. Some scholars believe that the psalm was composed of two older, originally independent songs, which were used in two principal parts, i.e. vv. 2-20 and 29-51.[768] The psalm contains a few archaic or archaizing features, and for this reason many scholars date the psalm or at least its sources very high, sometimes even considering the Davidic authenticity of some parts of the text.[769] There is no doubt that especially the description of the theophany in vv. 8-16 contains traditional poetic imagery whose origin is lost in unfathomable past and to which parallels may be found in Ugaritic texts.[770] The present composition, however, is manifestly late[771], as it is proved for instance by the occurrence of a monotheist confession in v. 32 כי מי אל מבלעדי יהוה ומי צור מבלעדי אלהינו. In McCarter's view, this verse is dependent on Isa 45,5, because in the latter a monotheist formula is followed by a saying addressed to Cyrus "I gird you, though you did not know me" (אאזרך ולא ידעתני), and similar text follows the monotheist

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[765] The boundaries of the Succession Narrative were never entirely clear. For the basic form of the hypothesis, see, Rost, Überlieferung; subsequent history of research is presented by Dietrich – Naumann, Samuelbücher, p. 169-227. – Van Seters denies the existence of the *Succession Narrative* as traditionally understood, but even his Saga, encompassing the texts of the so-called *Court History*, finishes in 1 Kgs 2.

[766] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 473.

[767] The following description of the psalm's structure is adopted from McCarter, II Samuel, p. 473-474; it is described in a similar manner also by other scholars.

[768] For the references see McCarter, II Samuel, p. 474; cf. also Mathys, Dichter, p. 146-148. The break-up of the song on older sources is criticized by Weiser, *Psalms*, p. 186-187.

[769] Weiser, Psalms, p. 185-186; Craigie, Psalms 1-50, p. 172; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 474-475.

[770] For the examples see commentaries, e. g. McCarter, II Samuel, p. 466-467.

[771] For the late origin of the psalm, see especially Mathys, Dichter, p. 146-157.

confession in 2 Sam 22,33 as well: הָאֵל מָאֵזְרֵנִי [772] חָיִל. As far as the monotheist formula itself is concerned, 2 Sam 22,33 finds closer parallel in Isa 44,8 הַיֵשׁ אֱלוֹהַ מִבַּלְעָדַי וְאֵין צוּר בַּל יָדָעְתִּי.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that numerous parallels exist between 2 Sam 22 and Hannah's eulogy in 1 Sam 2,1-10.[773] According to J. P. Fokkelman, 1 Sam 2,1-10 and 2 Sam 22 use more than 30 common terms, while in Hannah's song these terms represent about 40 words out of the total of 114 words of the song.[774] More important are the striking thematic parallels. Both texts contain a monotheist confession; unlike 2 Sam 22,32, in 1 Sam 2,2 the confession does not have the form of rhetorical questions, but still, the two confessions are to a large extent formulated in a similar manner: according to both texts there is no god except Yhwh and there is no "rock" like "our God."[775] Both texts contain the motif of the "reversal of the destinies" (1 Sam 2,4-8; 2 Sam 22,28; in fact, the whole psalm, whose first part is dedicated to the psalmist's salvation from the hands of his enemies [vv. 2-20] and its third part to his military victories [29-51], portrays the reversal of the king's destiny). Both texts contain a description of theophany (1 Sam 2,10; 2 Sam 22,8-16).[776] And both texts have a "messianic" conclusion where the words מַלְכּוֹ and מְשִׁיחוֹ form a parallelism. The "messianic" conclusion is in both sections somewhat unexpected. In 1 Sam 2,10, this ending of the song is in tension with the immediate narrative context where the theme of royal power does not seem to be addressed at all. In 2 Sam 22,51, the motif of Yhwh's favor (חסד) to David's dynasty appears only after the psalmist's engagement that in response to his salvation he will praise Yhwh among the nations. While in vv. 49-50 David addressed Yhwh in 2nd person, v. 51 speaks about David, his posterity and Yhwh in 3rd person (note, however, that the psalm

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[772] So 4QSamᵃ, LXX^L (= OG), Syr, Vg and Ps 18,33. 2 Sam 22,33MT has מָעוּזִּי.

[773] More details in Mathys, Dichter, p. 126-157; Eynikel, Lied, p. 57-72, references to other studies on p. 59.

[774] Fokkelman, Art, p. 354.

[775] In 1 Sam 2,2, there are several differences between MT, 4QSamᵃ and LXX; for the analysis of the variants, see Tov, Editions, p. 442; Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 37-38; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 91-93. These textual differences are not very important for the present study; as pointed out by E. Tov and J. Hutzli (p. 42), LXX's reading δίκαιος does not have to presuppose a different *Vorlage* than צור, since LXX avoids on principle the literal translation of צור if it designates God.

[776] For the legitimizing function of the theophany in these and other "redactional" texts, see Mathys, Dichter, p. 137-139.

contains several instances of similar switches). These (and other) common characteristics of Hannah's eulogy and David's psalm suggest than both songs were composed for their present context in Samuel, though their author(s) used older traditional motifs and perhaps also (parts of) older poetic texts. As an argument for this hypothesis, H.-P. Mathys also advances the fact that 2 Sam 22 contains numerous motifs which may be understood as referring to the events of David's life depicted in the previous text; 1 Sam 2,1-10 may, too, contain allusions to the narratives of the books of Samuel.[777]

2 Sam 22,51 is not a dynastic promise of the kind we have in 2 Sam 7, but it refers to Yhwh's eternal favor to David and to *his posterity*, using the vocabulary known from 2 Sam 7: עַד עוֹלָם‎ ,זֶרַע‎ ,חֶסֶד‎. In view of the adduced conclusions regarding the time and the manner in which the psalm was composed, it seems likely that v. 51 presupposes the existence of 2 Sam 7.[778] As Hannah's eulogy and David's psalm concur, among other points, in that they *both* lead into a "messianic" (in 2 Sam 22 overtly Davidic) conclusion, it would be a mistake to consider 1 Sam 2,10 or 2 Sam 22,51 as secondary redactional additions.[779] More likely, the function of the insertion of the songs was precisely the messianic framing of Samuel. Poetic texts of this kind, working with traditional formulas and imagery, are difficult to evaluate from redaction-critical and socio-historical points of view. Perhaps the emphasis on the motif of the "reversed destinies", probably connected to the destiny of the Davidic anointed, might serve us as a clue. Neither 1 Sam 2,1-10 nor 2 Sam 22 is concerned with a messiah who "comes" (cf. e. g. 1QS 9,11; J 4,25) or one whom God will "raise" (Ps. Sol. 17,21.41), but a messiah who is (still) there, yet in a degraded position (this is particularly apparent in 1 Sam 2,10 which hopes and rejoices that Yhwh exalts or will "exalt the horn of his anointed"; in 2 Sam 22, the psalmist describes his salvation and his elevation as if it had already happened). After all, Hannah's eulogy, with its motif of the elevation of the poor on the throne of glory among the nobles (1 Sam 2,8), makes an

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[777] Mathys, Dichter, p. 126-157; Mathys regards 2 Sam 22 as a short "commentary" on the books of Samuel. This would mean that Ps 18 takes the song over from 2 Sam 22, for which see Mathys's comments on p. 153-154. An exhaustive list of the possible parallels between the song and the stories told in Samuel (and other texts as well) is presented by Vesco, Psaume 18, p. 5-62, esp. 26-52.

[778] Cf. Vesco, Psaume 18, p. 51.

[779] Mathys, Dichter, p. 129; contra Vesco, Psaume 18, p. 54.

inclusion not only with the end of Samuel, but also with the description of the amnesty of Jehoiachin on the Babylonian court at the end of Kings. It thus seems that even 2 Sam 22,51 and 1 Sam 2,10, similarly to other mentions of the dynastic promise in Samuel, may defend real political interests of the Davidic family in a time when they do not hold the power or their power is largely reduced. It is worth noting that David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,22 contains a monotheistic confession which is not dissimilar from 1 Sam 2,2 and 2 Sam 22,32. Could these three prayers be written by the same author?[780] To be fair, there are clear differences between 2 Sam 7,18-29 and the other two prayers, for example as to their language. This, however, may be due to different functions of the texts in the book and to the manner they were composed. While David's prayer in 2 Sam 7 is a free, original prosaic composition intimately linked to its context, 1 Sam 2,1-10 and 2 Sam 22 are poetic texts working with traditional formulas and imagery; the themes of the latter texts largely exceed their immediate context, and their combining effect amounts to putting the whole book in Davidic "messianic" light. At any rate, the three texts have in common the militant defense of Davidic prerogatives, and they are the only texts in Samuel containing overt monotheist formulations[781].

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[780] Mathys, Dichter, p. 155-156, believes that the same author may be responsible for 1 Sam 2,10b and 2 Sam 22,51.

[781] Cf. however, also 1 Sam 12,21.

5. 2 Samuel 23,1–7

David's "last words" in 2 Sam 23,1-7 are likely to be a product of a "Davidization" of a traditional poetic text as well. Most interpretations of this section, the text of which seems to be corrupt in all textual witnesses, belong to one of two extreme positions. On the one hand, there are scholars who consider 2 Sam 23,1-7 to be a piece of early Hebrew poetry. In their attempts to reconstruct and interpret the original text, which they tend to ascribe to David, these scholars often have recourse to Semitic texts from 2nd millennium B.C.E., notably from Ugarit.[782] Other scholars, however, as for example H.-P. Mathys, rather take as their starting point the location of the poem among the "annexes" to Samuel in 2 Sam 21-24, while also indicating connections between 2 Sam 23,1-7 and David's story depicted in Samuel.[783] In this perspective, David's last words are construed as a late composition written for the present literary context, perhaps on the basis of older "sources."[784]

The interpretation of the text and, possibly, its literary development is to a large extent determined by the answer to the following question: whose destiny is described in vv. 6-7? I believe that vv. 3b-4.6-7 may contain an old proverb, difficult to date, about good and bad ruler. Vv. 6-7 would thus originally constitute a portrayal of the destiny of the bad ruler, designated at the beginning of v. 6 as בליעל (a "worthless man"; subsequently the text speaks about these people in plural) and standing in contrast with the just and God-fearing ruler of vv. 3b-4. However, the present form, or rather forms, of the text may also invite the reader to understand vv. 6-7 in opposition to v. 5: while v. 5 depicts the blessing of David's house, vv. 6-7 describe the grim fate of his enemies.[785] In McCarter's masterful reconstruction of v. 5, it is already 5bβ that relates to David's adversaries.[786] A I said, I tend to think that vv. 3b-4.6-7 are based on an older source, but

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[782] E. g. Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 414-437.

[783] Mathys, Dichter, p. 157-164.

[784] For the late character of the text, see also Tournay, Paroles, p. 481-504. – To be honest, not all interpretations of 2 Sam 23,1-7 correspond to one of the described positions. Most important is perhaps the detailed and stimulating treatment by Steymans, who simply dates the poem to the royal period (Psalm 89, p. 396, 409-410).

[785] Cross, Myth, p. 236, regards v. 5 as a part of the original text, but vv. 4 and 6f. contain, in his view, a contrast "between the consequences of righteous rule and evil rule."

[786] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 478.

McCarter's reconstruction is attractive for the fact that he was able to integrate into it all the difficult elements of v. 5.

The supposed traditional proverb received in vv. 3b-4.6-7 was originally unrelated to Davidic dynastic ideology, its meaning being completely transformed by the addition of v. 5 advocating the interests of the Davidic dynasty. The reinterpretation of the proverb probably occurred at the occasion of its insertion into its present location in 2 Sam 23. The relation of vv. 1-3a to the older proverb is difficult to ascertain. The proverb might have been ascribed to David at the moment when it was connected to the Davidic dynasty by means of v. 5; but it may also be imagined that David, as an archetype of Judean and Israelite king (the latter probably exclusively from the Judean point of view), was already considered to be author of the general proverb contrasting the good and bad ruler. The latter possibility might find some support in the doublet present in v. 1, where in v. 1a David's saying is first introduced "in prose" as David's last words, and in v. 1b the poem itself begins by ascribing the "oracle" (נְאֻם) to David.

2 Sam 23,1-7 contains several difficult textual problems, the solution of which depends to a large measure on the general understanding of the whole section and its literary development. For the sake of clarity, I will first comment vv. 3b-4.6-7, where, as I believe, an older proverb was used, and then I will come back to v. 5 which is the work of a "pro-Davidic" redaction. In this way, the textual and literary analysis will to some extent merge; this may hardly be avoided with texts of this kind that are heavily corrupted and which supposedly went through a literary development. It is even possible that "literary" and "textual" developments did, indeed, intertwine in the transmission history of this text, since the scribes copying these verses as part of Samuel might have secondarily amended them with elements present in a variant of the original proverb which they knew from the oral tradition.

Admittedly, the reconstruction of the proverb in vv. 3b-4.6-7 is hypothetical, and it may be that its precise wording is impossible to recover; on the other hand, it seems to me that the original meaning of these verses "shows through" David's last words in the present form clear enough.[787] The most important textual witnesses in this section are MT, LXX (in this part of Samuel, OG's readings are to be looked for in the

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[787] For a defense of the "content criticism", see Knauf, Archaeology, p. 275-276.

Antiochian text) and 4QSamᵃ; a part of v. 7 is also attested in 11QPsᵃ (= 11Q5) but this fragment contains only one variant of content against MT. In the following notes, I only mention important textual differences that have bearing on the text's meaning.

V. 3b is composed of two parallel members, each of them beginning in MT with the word מוֹשֵׁל. In place of the first occurrence of the word, LXXᴮ reads παραβολὴν εἰπόν, while LXXᴸ has ἄρξον (4QSamᵃ is not attested here); in place of the second מוֹשֵׁל, 4QSamᵃ has משל, LXXᴸ ἄρχε, VL *incipit*.[788] Hence, in both sections the adduced Greek readings presuppose the shorter form which in the latter section is also attested in 4QSamᵃ. As far as the orthography is concerned, the defective reading is no doubt older than the developed one. Still, MT correctly construes the form as a participle, since after the introduction contained in vv. 1-2, particularly after the affirmation that the word of Yhwh's spirit is on David's tongue, we may expect an utterance that is addressed to a third party and is not only a commandment by Yhwh to David himself (cf., however, Isa 51,16; 59,21).[789]

Provided the reading of the participle מוֹשֵׁל in v. 3b, the verse refers in a general way to a just and pious ruler[790], and v. 4 describes metaphorically the consequences of his rule. In MT, the first word of v. 4 is introduced by a *waw*, which would mean that the predicate of the main clause in v. 3b–4(?) already begins with the second colon of v. 3b.[791] LXXᴸ, however, reads ὡς φῶς at the beginning of v. 4, similarly VL, Syr and Vg. The shorter

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[788] V 3b in LXXᴮ is manifestly corrupt: παραβολὴν εἰπόν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πῶς κραταιώσητε φόβον χριστοῦ. For the origin of the corrupt text see McCarter, II Samuel, p. 477.

[789] Similarly McCarter, II Samuel, p. 477. Otherwise Cross, Myth, p. 235-236, and Cross et al., DJD XVII, according to whom the short reading understood as imperative is original.

[790] Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 396-398, reads in v. 3b the participles מוֹשֵׁל in agreement with MT, considering however also the possibility that we may have here the verb משל I with the meaning "to pronounce a parable". When exploring the latter case, Steymans translates the text as "der über den gerechten Menschen einen Spruch vorträgt, der über Gottesfurcht einen Spruch vorträgt." In this way, the figurative language of v. 4 would *only* concern David's house mentioned in v. 5, not the "ruler" (un)mentioned in v. 3b. This seems to me practically excluded because of the beginning of v. 5 כי לא כן; vv. 4-5 as a separated unit describing David's house would be formulated in an extremely awkward way. Steymans finally rejects this interpretation for metrical reasons.

[791] Exceptionally, the text is indeed understood in this way, cf. Noll, Faces, p. 163, 171, translating "One who rules as a righteous man, Is ruling as a God-fearer; Like morning light [when] the sun rises."

reading is obviously preferable, since in MT the characterization of the ruler is strangely heterogeneous: while v. 3bα identifies the ruler's justice with his piety, v. 4 figuratively describes the consequences of his just rule.[792] Originally v. 3b does not constitute a nominal clause but a two-member synonymous parallelism. V. 4 compares the good ruler to the morning light, while the consequences of his rule are likened to the grass sprouting from earth after the rain, but the exact wording of the original text and the details of his syntax are not entirely clear.[793] The whole of vv. 3b-4 constitutes a summary of the royal ideal of the ancient Near East, according to which a just and pious king brings blessings to his people and his land.[794]

The proverb continues in v. 6 by a description of a bad ruler, called בליעל and compared to a thorny bush (קוץ). Thorns or a thorny bush in HB are usually metaphors of uselessness (Isa 32,13; Jer 4,3; 12,13; Hos 10,8) and the flammability of bushes is often an image of the brisance of God's punishments (Ps 118,12; Isa 33,12). Apart from 2 Sam 23,6-7, there are two other texts in the HB where a thorny bush or thorns are an image of a bad king. In 2 Kgs 14,9, the Israelite king Jehoash probably quotes an older fable of thorns who askes a cedar to make his daughter available to the son of thorns, yet a beast passing by stamps on the thorns. Jehoash likens the thorns' exaggerated ambition to the wish of the Judean king Amaziah to wage war between Judah and Israel. A story closer to 2 Sam 23,6-7 is Jotham's fable in Judg 9,8-15: while an olive, a fig and a vine refuse to abandon their original mission and become kings among trees ("to wave above the trees"), a thorny bush accepts the kingship saying: "If in good

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[792] The *Waw* at the beginning of v. 4 might have been added by a scribe who construed the original defective reading משל as an imperative. Later on, however, it was precisely in the proto-MT textual tradition that these verbal forms were again correctly understood as participles and written *plene*. – Otherwise Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 418-419, who assumes that the omission of the *waw* in the versions "derives from their ignorance of the syntactic function of the emphatic *w*."

[793] Primarily, it seems that v. 5bβ lacks a verb, and therefore it was proposed to read מגיח (ptc. hiph. of גיח, allegedly meaning "to cause to sprout", see HALOT *ad loc.*) instead of מִנֹּגַהּ. Further, I shall only mention that while MT reads יִזְרַח, LXX[L] has καὶ ἀνατελεῖ, the same reading is provided by VL and καὶ is also in other Greek mss. The mentioned variants reflect וזרח, where זרח could be understood as the substantive זֶרַח meaning "sunrise". V. 4a would then be a two-member parallelism where אוֹר would be parallel to זֶרַח as in Isa 60,3. But MT's יִזְרַח־שָׁמֶשׁ is an asyndetic relative clause and does not necessarily need to be corrected. For more details on the text of the verse see McCarter, II Samuel, p. 477-478; Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 418-420.

[794] For the king's justice and for his being a representation of the powers of life, see Keel, Symbolism, 279-290.

faith you are anointing me king over you, then come and take refuge in my shade; but if not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon." Jotham's fable was originally independent and it was only secondarily connected to the story of Abimelech's rule depicted in Judg 9. The original meaning of the fable is not entirely clear. It is usually understood as a critical depiction of kingship itself, but some scholars believe the issue is merely a warning regarding the consequences of an able person's abandonment of a leading role in the society. It is also unclear whether v. 15b was a part of the fable in its independent form. In any case, the fable in its current form compares the (bad) king to a useless thorny bush and the consequences of his reign to a fire coming from the bush. The question is whether the fire in the original fable was to illustrate also the violent death of the bad king, but in v. 20, the fable is clearly applied in this way to the fate of Abimelek.

The violent death of a bad king is the main theme of 2 Sam 23,6-7. The passage dedicated to the bad ruler begins with the word וּבְלִיַּעַל in MT. A similar reading is in 4QSamᵃ; LXXᴸ reads καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ("and the remaining"), which is an inner-Greek corruption for καὶ οἱ λοιμοὶ, a reading in agreement with MT (plural is probably merely a result of the fact that "worthless men" are referred to in plural in the following text)[795]. The conjunction is missing in LXXᴮ, probably due to a (secondary) understanding of בליעל as a subject of the final clause of the verse 5 (ὅτι οὐ μὴ βλαστήσῃ ὁ παράνομος; for McCarter's proposal to read the beginning of v. 6 as two words ובל יעל see below). All the worthless men are like a thorny bush thrown away[796] and "are not taken (niphal יִקָּחוּ) in hand." The following verse that expands on this idea should be read: ואיש לא יגע בהם אם לא ברזל ועץ חנית ובאש שרוף ישרפו (בבשתם/בשבתם) – "and nobody touches them except with iron and the shaft of a spear and with fire they are entirely burned (in their shame / in their sitting enthroned?)." The meaning of the verse is obvious, yet the text is unclear in several details. MT has יִמָּלֵא at the beginning of v. 6aβ (not אם לא) and it does not read the negative particle לא before יגע. Most scholars follow MT in these places. The niphal יִמָּלֵא is usually understood as "he is (will be) armed with" or "he will arm himself." A certain parallel to

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[795] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 478.
[796] מֻנָד is usually understood as hophal of נדד I, but it can also be the verb נדה, as suggested by Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 433.

this expression may be seen in 2 Kgs 9,24: וְיֵהוּא מִלֵּא יָדוֹ בַקֶּשֶׁת. HALOT, however, translates the phrase in the last mentioned passage as "to set the arrow on the bow", for this cf. Zech 9,13 and similar expressions in Akkadian (AHw 598a) and Syriac (Payne Smith 274a).[797] LXX[L] has in this section ἐὰν μή reflecting אם לא, which probably is the more original reading.[798] If we read אם לא in v. 7aβ, it is quite necessary to read the negative particle לא in the previous clause, as LXX[B] does, regardless the fact that in this part of Samuel, the old Greek readings are usually sought in the Antiochian text. I would like to emphasize though that either if we accept the above mentioned reconstruction or we follow MT, the verse will have an essentially identical meaning.

At the end of the verse in MT, there is a difficult expression בַּשָּׁבֶת; the majority text of LXX reads (εἰς) αἰσχύνην αὐτῶν and LXX[L] has ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν. Many believe בַּשָּׁבֶת could mean something similar to "on the spot."[799] This word is clearly related to the name of David's first warrior in v. 8, called יֹשֵׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת according to MT, Ιεβοσθε in LXX[B] and in LXX[L] Ιεσβααλ (cf. VL *Iesbael* and the Syriac version of Jacob of Edessa ܐܫܒܥܠ); in 1Chr 11,11, his name is given as יָשָׁבְעָם by MT and as Ιεσεβααλ in LXX. The original name was obviously א(י)שבעל, perhaps written at some moment as ישבעל. 2 Sam 23,8LXX[B] reflects the corrected (or rather theologically evaluated) form אישבשת or perhaps ישבשת. This reading was later corrupted in MT to give the form יֹשֵׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת. As for the expression בַּשָּׁבֶת in 2 Sam 23,7MT and its variations in Greek texts, many scholars suggest to omit it, since they regard it as a result of contamination with v. 8.[800] This solution is tempting, yet a certain problem for it is posed by the text of LXX[L] (closer to OG than LXX[B] in this section of Samuel), which still includes in v. 8 Ιεσβααλ reflecting the original form of the name, but at the end of v. 7 it reads ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν reflecting בבשתם. This reading, according to which worthless men (i.e. bad rulers in the original proverb) are burnt "in their shame" seems meaningful; a contrast of justice (cf. v. 3b) and shame also appears in Dan 9,7–8 and perhaps also Zep 3,5. As a part of the final text, where vv. 6-7 describe primarily the fate of David's

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[797] Also McCarter, II Samuel, p. 479, doubts יְמַלֵּא could be understood as "he will arm himself."

[798] So also Tournay, Paroles», p. 502.

[799] McCarter, II Samuel, p. 479.

[800] E.g. McCarter, II Samuel, p. 479, believes that the last word in v. 7 arose from a marginal note.

enemies, בבשתם at the end of the verse would have an interesting parallel at the end of Psalm 132, which says "His [i. e. David's] enemies I will clothe with shame, but on him his crown will shine." We may also hypothetically consider the possibility that the original reading at the end of v. 7 was בשבתם, i. e. "in their dwelling/sitting enthroned." In the original proverb v. 7 is a reference to the violent death of a bad king and the verb ישב could connote the royal function of the "worthless men". The nonsense name of David's first warrior in v. 8MT would, then, emerge under the influence of the last word of v. 7.

In spite of these textual problems in v. 7, its meaning is quite clear. The verse expands on the metaphor of a bad king as a thorny bush, which, according to v. 6b, cannot be taken in hand. The bush may be touched only by "iron" or "the wooden part of a spear" and it is then burned in the end. A suitable manner to deal with a bad king is killing him. The proverb 3b-4.6-7 contrasts a good and bad ruler (presumably kings), while both are compared to something: a good king to dawn, possibly life-bringing rain (cf. ὡς ὑετὸς in LXX^L) or growing grass (cf. [שא]כד in 4QSam^a and ὡς βοτάνη in LXX^L, identically VL *quasi herba*), a bad king to a thorny bush. The charm and the point of the proverb is given primarily by the second part of the proverb, or rather by the articulation of the first and the second part. Despite textual problems in v. 4, it is obvious that the images of a just and pious king primarily express the well-being of the land and the people under his rule. Subsequently, the bad ruler (בליעל) is compared to a thorny bush and the reader (or, probably, the listener in the first instance), under the influence of vv. 3b-4, may well imagine the consequences of the rule of a thorny bush (cf. Jotham's fable, especially at its end the doom of the cedars of Lebanon as a consequence of the bush's rule). Although the bush is straightaway labeled as מֻנָד (thrown away?), v. 6b formally continues as a description of the bush which is the subject of יִקָּחוּ, even though the issue now is the conduct towards the bush.[801] The bush is not even the subject of the verb in v. 7a (he is, again, in v. 7b, yet the verb is, as in v. 6b, in niphal). The intriguingness of verses 6b-7a lies in their contrast between form and message. The text seems to contain a banal fact that the thorny bush better be touched with an iron or wooden instrument than by mere hand, but this

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[801] The verb is in plural, according to v. 6a, "all" (the worthless men) are like bushes. I speak of "a bush" for the sake of simplicity.

is actually a defense of the murder of a king, presented as necessary consequence of the king's bad reign.

If my reconstruction of the original traditional proverb contained in vv. 3b-4.6-7 is correct, the explanation and defense of the murder of a bad king was its main point. Contrary to the "subversive" potential of vv. 6-7, vv. 3b-4 are no more than a collection of commonplaces of ancient Near Eastern royal ideology. The proverb of this kind, in its original form, could hardly become a part of official literature of the royal court. On the other hand, it is likely that the proverb might have originated and circulated among the people close to the court. The proverb reconstructed in 2 Sam 23,3b-4.6-7 may defend the murder of a king, but it contains (unlike Jotham's fable) no polemic with monarchy itself. Kings were murdered quite often in Israel and in Judah[802] and conspiracies were probably often organized by people close to the king (it is, for example, repeatedly said that a king was murdered by his servant[s]); it would not therefore be surprising if certain defense of the regicide found its way in the unofficial "high" folklore of the Judean or Israelite court. In the books of Kings, murder of a king and the extermination of his house was often justified by the king's unorthodox (i.e. "non-deuteronomistic") religious practice and unjust rule (1 Kgs 14,10-14; 15,27-30; 16,9-13; 21,17-29; 2 Kgs 9,24-10,17.30).

Let us now focus on v. 5 related to the "house" of David. We shall see that the relationship of the verse to the previous description of a just and pious ruler will differ due to our understanding of the first words of the verse כי לא כן, interpreted in two contrasting manners over the history of research. It is obvious at any rate that the dynastic ideology of this verse is at great variance with the morality of the proverb, as reconstructed in vv. 3b-4.6-7.

V. 5a in MT is כִּי־לֹא־כֵן בֵּיתִי עִם־אֵל; LXX[B] (οὐ γὰρ οὕτος[803] ὁ οἶκός μου μετὰ ἰσχυροῦ) and LXX[L] (ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως ὁ οἶκός μου μετὰ Θεοῦ)

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[802] The Israelite kings murdered by conspirators were: Eshbaal (2 Sam 4,5-12), Nadab (1 Kgs 15,27f.), Elah (16,9-10), Zimri (1 Kgs 16,18 – suicide when surrounded by conspirators); Jehoram (2 Kgs 9,11-28; 10,9), Zechariah (15,10.15); Shallum (15,14); Pekahiah (15,25); Pekah (15,30); of the Judean rulers: queen Athaliah (11,4-16.20), Joash (12,21-22), Amaziah (14,19-20); Amon (21,23). Jehoiakim's very timely death (24,6) might be unnatural as well, but see the careful discussion in Lipschits, Jehoiakim. The books of Kings also mention the murders of Hazael, king of Damascus (2 Kgs 8,15), of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (19,37), and of the Judean governor Gedaliah.

[803] Most mss read οὕτως which is probably more original.

clearly presuppose a similar text. MT understands לֹא as a negative particle, in accordance with LXX. David therefore, according to both MT and LXX, says that his house is not so "with" God. Most scholars believe, however, that David must be saying the opposite. The sentence is often understood as a rhetorical question: "For is not my house thus with God?"[804] Perhaps most scholars believe, however, that the particle לא has emphatic-asseverative meaning here; e.g. McCarter translates v. 5a "Surely my house is like this with God!"[805] Both last mentioned notions of v. 5a are problematic on linguistic and content-related terms.

The rhetorical questions without the introduction by an interrogative particle ה are attested in the Hebrew Bible. GKC § 150a mentions possible examples, some with the negative particle לא (e. g. 2 Kgs 5,25; Lam 3,28). After the particle כי, a negative rhetorical question introduced merely by the negative particle לא would be an utter rarity, while the phrase כי לא occurs in HB on approx. 240 occasions.

A key study on the Semitic asseverative and optative particles beginning with *l* was published 30 years ago by John Huehnergard.[806] He suggests that there were two particles beginning with *l* in proto-Semitic: the independent particle *lū/law* that marked the hypothetical nature of the statement and introduced e.g. unreal conditional sentences; and the asseverative proclitic particle *la-* that emphasized the predicate or other elements of the sentence. The situation of Biblical Hebrew largely agrees with these conclusions. There is the independent particle לוּ, in some cases written as לֻא or לוּא; this particle has optative meaning (Num 14,2), it introduces an unreal condition (Gen 31,42) or a concessive sentence (in this case, the particle is preceded by the conjunction ו). Some believe לוּ could also have emphatic meaning, but in most of the proposed cases, it is usually written with *aleph* and vocalized as a negative particle, and therefore the sentences can also be understood as rhetorical questions. Huehnergard believes that the only relatively probable occurrence of the emphatic לוּ in the Hebrew Bible is Gen 50,15, yet even in this case Huehnergard suggests to understand the particle in accord with its common use as introducing a

conditional sentence.[807] The Hebrew probably knew also the asseverative proclitic particle ל which is vocalized in the Masoretic text as the preposition ל and whose relatively secure occurrences are Ps 89,19; 119,91; Eccl 9,4.[808] Some scholars believe the emphatic *lamed* in some texts is written as לא and vocalized as a negative particle.[809] The existence of such cases cannot be ruled out, but we have to take into account that the asseverative ל is a proclitic particle, therefore the likelihood of it being written as לא and confused with a negative particle is weaker than with the optative particle לו.

In analyzing 2 Sam 23,5 we must bear in mind that the phrase לא כן is not unusual (17 occurrences in HB + 1 occurrence of ולא כן)[810]. The meaning of the phrase is not always clear, but in most occurrences it agrees with the way LXX translates it in 2 Sam 23,5. The phrase usually functions as a predicate of nominal (infrequently also verbal) sentences that express that the subject of the sentence is not (or should not be) in accordance with the circumstances described in the preceding text. A typical example is Joab's answer to the wise woman of Abel of Beth-maacah in 2 Sam 20,15: לא כן הדבר "the matter is not so." Another illuminating example is Num 12,6–8: "And he said, 'Hear my words: If there is a prophet among you, I Yhwh make myself known to him in a vision; I speak with him in a dream. Not so with my servant Moses (לא כן עבדי משה). He is faithful (or permanent[ly]?) in all my house. With him I speak mouth to mouth…'" This understanding of the phrase לא כן comes to mind in 2 Sam 23,5 as well, and while many scholars believe otherwise, it easily corresponds to a wider literary context of the passage. Let us now focus on several details of v. 5, assuming preliminarily that the (original) meaning of לא כן may correspond to the Masoretic vocalization and the usual function of this turn.

According to v. 5a, David's house "is not like this with God", i.e. by God's judgment. The preposition עם is used similarly in 1 Sam 2,26, 2 Sam

[807] Huehnergard, Asseverative, p. 570–571; for other suggested cases see Sivan – Schniedewind, Letting, p. 209–226, esp. 219–226.

[808] Huehnergard, Asseverative, p. 590–592.

[809] Various more or less persuasive examples and bibliographical references are to be found in Sivan – Schniedewind, Letting, esp. p. 219–226. Sivan and Schniedewind believe that there may have been an independent asseverative particle ל in Hebrew.

[810] Gen 48,18; Exod 10,11; Num 12,7; Deut 18,14; 2 Sam 18,14; 20,21; 23,5; 2 Kgs 7,9; 17,9; Job 9,35; Ps 1,4; Prov 15,7 ; Isa 10,7; 16,6; Jer 23,10; 48,30.

6,22 and especially Job 25,4: ומה יצדק אנוש עם אל – "And how can man be righteous with God?" Also the Aramaic proverb of Ahiqar no. 78 (according to Lindenberg's numeration) is close to our passage: הקימני אל [...]בצדיק עמך ל "Establish me, o El, as a righteous man with you! To(?)…"[811] The expression לא כן in 2 Sam 23,5 should probably be related primarily to the just and pious character of the good ruler mentioned in v. 3b. While in the Aramaic saying the speaker pleads that El establishes him as just "with Him", and Job doubts that man could be righteous with God/El, David confesses in 2 Sam 23,5 that his house is not just and pious with God/El. J. M. Lindenberg adduces several West-Semitic names where the root ṣdq is linked to El[812], and it is possible that also in 2 Sam 23,5 the divine name אל reflects some notion of the traditional relationship between justice and justification, and El.

In respect of the following text in v. 5b, the word כי at the beginning of v. 5a should be understood as a concessive conjunction, not an emphatic particle. V. 5a therefore means "although my house is not so with God."[813]

כי at the beginning of v. 5b, on the other hand, probably is emphatic. According to the Masoretic accentuation, the words בְּרִית עוֹלָם form a genitive phrase "covenant of eternity." This phrase appears quite often in HB (Gen. 9,16; 17,7.13.19; Exod. 31,16; Lev. 24,8; Num. 18,19; 1 Chr. 16,17; Ps. 105,10; Isa. 24,5; 55,3; 61,8; Jer. 32,40; 50,5; Ezek 16,60; 37,26), עולם usually functioning as an attribute, so the compound may also be translated as "eternal covenant."[814] That is, no doubt, the meaning of the expression in 2 Sam 23,5.[815] What are the contents of the covenant, and

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[811] The text and translation according to Lindenberger, Proverbs, p. 176; cf. also the saying n. 50 (lines 139-140).

[812] Lindenberger, Gods, p. 111.

[813] For כִּי as a concessive conjunction see HALOT. 2 Sam 23,5a is understood similarly by Noll, Faces, p. 167.

[814] Admittedly, we may consider the possibility that עוֹלָם is an adverb in several of these passages.

[815] *Pace* Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 388, 396-407, who claims on the basis of a metrical analysis of the poem that עולם in the original form of 2 Sam 23,5 is a divine title and therefore the subject of the clause, translated by Steymans as "ja, einem Bund hat der Ewige mir gesetzt." – But the Hebrew עולם, as Steymans notes, is formally not an adjective. According to Steymans, the word functions as a substantive in his understanding of the verse, and „[ein] Gottesepitheton steht hier in Parallele zur Gottesbezeichnung El im parallelen Halbvers 5a" (p. 388). Yet precisely in such an independent position would the substantive עולם have to be translated as "eternity", not "der Ewige". Some, for instance Cross, Myth, p. 236, believe that Yhwh's epithet עולם was indeed originally the name of a different deity („Eternity"). The existence of the West-Semitic god *ʿālāmu is attested.

who and in which position participates in it? H. U. Steymans has recently dealt with these questions very thoroughly.[816] Steymans points out that 2 Sam 23,5 is the only passage in HB, where בְּרִית is the object of the verb שׂים. The Biblical texts usually use the verb כרת for establishing a covenant, or, mostly in P and Ezekiel, the verb קום hiph.[817] With its meaning "to set a covenant", שים ברית corresponds to the Neo-Assyrian formula *adê šakānu* and the Aramaic שים עדי known from the Sefire treaty (8th century B.C.E.). According to Steymans, the prepositional phrase לי in 2 Sam 23,5 does not mean "with me", but rather "to my benefit" or "as far as I am concerned". Steymans compares the situation described in v. 5 e.g. with the preamble of Esarhaddon's vassal treaties, where the king establishes a covenant with (*issi*) his vassals regarding (*ina muḫḫi*) his son Ashurbanipal that after Esarhaddon's death, the Assyrian vassals will accept Ashurbanipal as their king and will be faithful to him. In 2 Sam 23,5 God "sets" the treaty in David's favour, and Steymans believes that the bound party of the treaty is unclear.[818] Steymans affirms that it need not be Yhwh and he wonders that it might be some people, e.g. the elders of Israel, with whom David made a covenant in Hebron according to 2 Sam 5,3. By all means, Steymans thinks it typical of 2 Sam 23,5 that the bound party is not named. In Ps 89, Yhwh establishes a covenant in David's favour and Yhwh is also the bound party (see especially vv. 2-5.29-38). This leads Steymans to the conclusion that the metaphor of Yhwh establishing a covenant for David in

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Toorn, Eternity, p. 312-314, believes that the biblical theonym El-olam may be "an attempt at domesticating this god [= Olam] by turning him into a manifestation of El." On the other hand, after a review of the relevant texts, he concludes that "there is no biblical text which uses the abstraction 'eternity' as a divine designation." All this, together with the common meaning of the phrase בְּרִית עוֹלָם in the abovementioned passages, and with the notion of a covenant established forever in David's favour being attested elsewhere (Ps 89,3-5.20-38; Jer 33,14-26; 2 Chr 13,5; 21,7), makes Steymans's interpretation highly unlikely.

[816] Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 385-411.

[817] There are also other, rarely attested constructions, for which see the dictionaries.

[818] Steymans analyzes various treaty texts or texts working with the metaphor of the treaty with help of Greimas's actantial model, where the maker of the treaty is the "subject", the treaty an "object", the bound party "sender", and the beneficiary of the treaty is "receiver"; the witnesses, usually gods, before whom it is established, are "helpers." I have some doubts about this marshalling of the participants of a treaty conclusion in the actantial model, but that is not very important. The main point is Steymans's stress on the fact that the maker of the treaty may not be identical with either party and, conversely, may also be any of them. If we accept Steymans's application of the actantial model on the conclusion of a covenant, we may say that in 2 Sam 23,5, the identity of the "sender" is unclear (so Steymans on p. 391).

this psalm is more developed than in 2 Sam 23,5. The most original form of the poem in 2 Sam 23,1-7* (Steymans wishes to reconstruct it by literary-critical means) would therefore represent an older stage of "the Davidic covenant" than Ps 89.[819] Steymans provides no particular dating for 2 Sam 23,1-7*, but he thinks that the text definitely comes from the monarchic period.[820] V. 5 with ביתי refers to Nathan's oracle, but it is, in Steymans's view, independent of 2 Sam 7 in its dtr form; the author of the original poem in 2 Sam 23,1-7* merely knew the tradition of Yhwh's promise to the "house" of David.[821]

The thorough analysis of 2 Sam 23,1-7 provided by Steymans is enriching, but I find some of his conclusions problematic. The vassal treaties of Esarhaddon are a good illustration of the structure of a conclusion of a treaty, where the initiator of the treaty need not be either the bound party or the one who benefits from it. In cases of a number of contractual documents known from HB and other ancient Near Eastern literature, including genuine treaties and contracts, the person establishing the treaty is simultaneously also one of the parties of the treaty or a part of a wider group acting as a party (in the terminology of Steymans he is either „sender" [Adressant] or „receiver" [Adressat]). Steymans gives great importance to the fact that „[d]er Adressant bleibt in 2 Sam 23,5 eine Leerstelle"[822]. But is that so? Is it meaningful to speak about a covenant without mentioning the party that is bound by it? The fact that a treaty concerns at least two parties generally belongs to the basic structure of a treaty, and a description of a treaty normally entails the information about the identity of its parties. If, for instance in narrative texts, one of the parties is not mentioned, it is usually because the party is obvious from the context. HB contains many passages where the initiator of the covenant is one of the parties; it was unnecessary in these cases to say *explicitly* that the initiator (the subject of the phrase כרת ברית ל) is one of the parties, since the intended readers were informed well enough about the relations entailed by the covenant from the literary and non-literary context. The typical example is Exod 23,31–33:

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[819] Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 410–411.
[820] Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 396, 409–410.
[821] Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 407.
[822] Steymans, Psalm 89, p. 391.

"…for I will give the inhabitants of the land into your hand, and you shall drive them out before you. You shall make no covenant with them and their gods (לֹא תִכְרֹת לָהֶם וְלֵאלֹהֵיהֶם בְּרִית). They shall not dwell in your land, lest they make you sin against me; for if you serve their gods, it will surely be a snare to you." (ESV)

In the covenant that Israel is forbidden to grant to the indigenous inhabitants of the land, Israel would be the superior party. The inhabitants, though constituting the inferior party, would at the same time benefit from the covenant because it would allow them to stay in the land on certain conditions. (cf. also Exod 34,12.15; Deut 7,2; Judg 2,2). It could be argued that the text does not say explicitly that Israel, aside from instituting the covenant, is also one of its parties, but it is indeed immediately clear from a number of indices that it is so.

Similarly, 2 Sam 23,5 does not have to mention explicitly the bound party, since it is Yhwh, who also "sets" the covenant. The text until the end of v. 5bα also testifies in favour of this conclusion. The versions contain textual variants and the meaning of the text is somewhat obscure, yet it clearly speaks of fulfillment of the covenant: while MT and LXX[B] qualify the covenant as "observed" (וּשְׁמֻרָה; πεφυλαγμένην), LXX[L] considers that God will observe it (καὶ φυλάξει αὐτήν – reading the same text as MT but understanding it as a conversive perfect + pronominal suff. of 3rd p. sg. fem.).[823] We may hardly imagine that v. 5 would underline that the Davidic covenant will be fulfilled while leaving entirely open by whom.

Therefore the metaphor of Yhwh's covenant with David is not less developed in 2 Sam 23,5 than in Ps 89, it is merely more elliptic. If we may conclude anything about the relative chronology of Ps 89 and 2 Sam 23,5 from a comparison of their description of the participants of the Davidic covenant, I would prefer a conclusion opposite to Steymans's, since the elliptic expression of the concept of the Davidic covenant presupposes the general knowledge of its structure.

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[823] The preceding text differs according to witnesses: MT עֲרוּכָה בַכֹּל – "fully set forth?" (so McCarter); LXX[B] ἑτοίμην ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ; LXX[L] σῶσαί με ἕως ὧδε ἐν πᾶσιν (cf. VL *paratum salutare meus que in omnibus*). The reading of LXX[B] could be retroverted as בכל עת, but it seems more probable, that καιρῷ is a result of an inner-Greek corruption of καὶ introducing the following word (the waw of MT's וּשְׁמֻרָה is otherwise unreflected in LXX[B]). LXX[L] might reflect להוש(י)עני עד כה בכל. The words עד כה seem to be a corruption of ער(ו)כה. McCarter (*ad loc.*) notes that in v. 5bβ, LXX[L] has a different reading in place of MT's יִשְׁעִי. "It may be that the addition here arose from a recensional correction in the margin there."

2 Sam 23,5 actually never mentions the content of the covenant established by Yhwh in favour of David. Yet the elliptic nature of 2 Sam 23,5aβ is probably not given (merely) by the fact that the author expects his intended readers to know the concept of the Davidic covenant, but primarily by the literary context of the verse in the books of Samuel. The previous notes indicate that the content of the Davidic covenant according to 2 Sam 23,5 is an unconditioned dynastic promise to David in 2 Sam 7, corresponding to the role of the promise from the perspective of 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a + 1 Sam 25. Should we extract David's last words from the current literary context and regard them as an expression of the Davidic dynastic ideology of the early monarchic period, perhaps even formulated by David, David's words that in God's assessment his house does not suit the notion of the good ruler will seem suspicious. In the context of Samuel and even more in the whole of Samuel and Kings or the Dtr history, and in the historical situation in which *the whole* of Samuel and Kings, including the last chapters of the latter, had been read for the first time (i.e. in the Neo-Babylonian or the Persian period), we could on the contrary hardly imagine David claiming in 2 Sam 23 that his *house* is just and pious before Yhwh. The mere fact that David himself, towards the end of his life, compares the royal ideal with his "house" is interesting on its own terms. When David says in 2 Sam 23,3-5 that his house is not just and pious before God, we may, in the frame of his own life story, relate this statement to the bloody history of David's family as it was narrated in 2 Sam 9-19. Most likely, however, the reference to the "house" reflects a negative (or partially negative) evaluation of a number of Davidic kings in the books of Kings. 2 Sam 23,3b.5 includes a faithful paraphrase of the unconditioned dynastic promise given to David in 2 Sam 7 – *regardless* of David's house being just and pious or not, God established an eternal covenant to David (cf. 2 Sam 7,14-15). The formulation of 2 Sam 23,5 also corresponds to the decisive role of the gift of the dynastic promise that we observed in 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a + 1 Sam 25. The promise given to the founder of the dynasty is valid even if his descendants are not just before God. The text of 2 Sam 23,5bβ is probably damaged, yet the words כי כל ישעי וכל חפץ in MT may, in accord with the overall meaning of the verse, express that

the claim of the Davidides to royal power is based solely on the dynastic promise given to David.[824]

What is the relation of vv. 1–3a to the reconstructed proverb in v. 3b–4.6–7 and the pro-Davidic redaction in v. 5? It may be the case that David as the exemplary king was ascribed the traditional proverb about a good and bad ruler and vv. 1(b)–3a were a part of this text that was originally transmitted orally. I find it more likely, however, that the verses are a part of a pro-Davidic reworking of the proverb in connection with its inclusion to the end of the books of Samuel. Numerous scholars noticed that the combination of David's song in 2 Sam 22 and his last words in 23,1–7 has a parallel at the end of the Deuteronomy, where Moses performs a song before the assembly of Israel (31,30–32,43) and then blesses Israel "before his death" in chapter 33 (v. 1). The songs are actually introduced in a very similar manner – Deut 31,30: וידבר משה באזני כל קהל ישראל את הדברי השירה הזאת ... ; 2 Sam 22,1: וידבר דוד ליהוה את דברי השירה הזאת ... . According to H.-P. Mathys, 2 Sam 22–23 deliberately constructs an image of David according to Moses's image in Deut 31–33.[825] This fact may also have an impact on the evaluation of 2 Sam 23,1b–3a. The beginning of the poetic introduction of David's last words in v. 1bα is nearly identical to the beginning of the formula that introduces the oracles of Bileam in Num 24,3.15. The formula *n'm PN bn PN wn'm hgbr …*, followed by the titles of the author of the oracle, may be traditional (cf. also Prov 30,1), and the similarity of 2 Sam 23,1bα and Num 24,3.15 need not reflect a literary relation. But if it holds true that the author/redactor

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[824] Conversely, the end of the verse is entirely unclear. We may speculate that the reading of MT כִּי־לֹא יַצְמִיחַ could have been originally a supralinear or marginal variant to v. 6b כי לא ביד יקחו, and later it entered the text in a wrong place. – A very elegant reconstruction of the text of the verses 5bβ–6aα was suggested by McCarter, II Samuel, p. 476, 478, who reads, on the basis of a combination of textual witnesses and a new division of words, כי בלי שעי ובלי חפץ בי בל יצמח ובל יעל "But the man who shows no regard for me, he who does not favour me, will not sprout and will not grow up." McCarter's reconstruction is relatively speculative as it assumes a large concentration of scribal errors and adjustments which are not reflected in any witness. Yet his solution is also tempting since it allows to sensibly explain nearly all the elements of the verse 5bβ. McCarter's text would not allow my reconstruction of the orally transmitted proverb in vv. 3b–4.6–7, since in his text, the verses 5bβ–7 can depict only the fate of David's adversaries. I would like to emphasize that my interpretation of v. 5, which mentions the house of David and the Davidic covenant, would remain intact, should we accept McCarter's text.

[825] E. g. Mathys, Dichter, p. 154–155; similarly also Vesco, Psaume 18, p. 55.

composing 2 Sam 22,1-23,7 was inspired by the close of the Deuteronomy (chap. 31-33) and he copied the introduction of David's song nearly word for word from Deut 31,30, it is also possible that the same author formulated 2 Sam 23,1b-3a following the model of Num 24,3.15.[826]

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[826] Vv. 1-3a contain certain text-critical and philological problems that we need not discuss here in details; I shall only mention in passing those of greatest importance. At the end of v. 1bα, MT reads עַל הֻקַם, while 4QSamᵃ has הקים אל in agreement with LXX^L ὃν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεὸς and VL *quem suscitavit Deus*. The word על was interpreted by some scholars as a divine name, probably a short form of the name עֶלְיוֹן "Most High". For the discussion see *CTAT* I, p. 310; Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 415-416 (who mentions further literature); Noll, Faces, p. 165-166; Schmidt, Al, p. 14-17. According to Cross et al., DJD XVII, p. 186, "the corruption of the phrase in [MT] was owing to the well-known interchange of אל and על, rooted in the falling together of the two with the weakening of the laryngeals and the subsequent colouring of the associated vowels (both pronounced with 'e-class' vowels) in late Hebrew." The case here is not a confusion or a fusion of two prepositions, therefore if the difference is a result of an accidental mistake, it should be due primarily to the phonetic likeness of the words. That might indicate that the books of Samuel were in some phase of their process of transmission dictated for copies. – In v. 1bγ MT reads זְמִרוֹת, LXX^L ὁ ψαλμὸς; VL *psalmus*. The Greek text translates a *Vorlage* without *waw*, which gives ground for the scholars who propose to read here *zimrat yiśrāʾēl* as a divine epithet. So e.g. Olmo Lete, Oracle, p. 416, "the Defence of Israel"; McCarter, II Samuel, p. 477, 480, "the stronghold of Israel." In 2 Sam 22,2-3 there are many metaphors of Yhwh as a "fortress", "rock", etc. However, precisely the comparison of 2 Sam 23,1 with 2 Sam 22,2-3 shows that while in 2 Sam 22, where David thanks Yhwh for salvation from his enemies, these metaphors are very efficient, in 2 Sam 23,1 an expression such as "the darling of the stronghold of Israel" (so McCarter) seems very peculiar. MT's vocalization giving the reading "the darling of the songs of Israel" is no doubt more meaningful, and it may even be understood as an allusion to 1 Sam 18,7 where the women of Israel sing about David's victory over the Philistines (cf. also 21,12; the link is suggested, among others, by Waschke, Königsvorstellung, p. 136). For the interpretation which understands נעם זמרות as "singer of psalms", see Tournay, Paroles, p. 485-486. – In v. 3a, MT reads יִשְׂרָאֵל לִי, while LXX^L has Ιακώβ ἐν ἐμοί [יעקב בי]. More interesting than the question whether the reading ישראל or יעקב is more original (I am inclined to prefer the former) is the fact that in both cases, the preposition corresponds to the last letter of the previous word. It seems that the change of the name caused also the change of the preposition. It may be an intentional alliteration, or an unintentional assimilation, while the latter would, again, point to the oral feature in the history of transmission of Samuel.

Conclusions and further perspectives

The first conclusion of what was said so far is basically a confirmation of the point made by T. Veijola is his groundbreaking work *Die Ewige Dynastie* nearly forty years ago. The books of Samuel do not contain a text that would mention the promise of Davidic eternal dynasty that would date back to the pre-exilic period. We may speculate that the idea of the promise did exist in the pre-exilic Judah; but we cannot reconstruct, either in 2 Sam 7 or elsewhere in the books of Samuel, an old core of a text that would contain the idea of the promise and that would originate in the monarchic period. Some of the examined texts may come from the time of the Babylonian exile of the royal house, others probably from the Persian period.

Similarly to W. Oswald, I find the main argument in favour of dating 2 Sam 7,1-17 to the "exilic" period in the link between the dynastic promise and the rejection of the traditional relation between the kingship and the temple. The meaning of this connection could be the attempt to hold (or promote) the promise of a dynasty at the time after the fall of the temple. In this perspective, the term *a quo* of the text's origin would be 586 B.C.E. and the term *ad quem* would be the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.E., as the discourse aiming at the legitimization of the leading position of the Davidide Zerubbabel seems to contain the traditional function of the temple yet again.

However, some other mentions of the dynastic promise in Samuel could hardly be dated back to the Neo-Babylonian period or the beginning of the Persian period. We have seen that 2 Sam 7,22-23 is probably dependent on Deut 4,7-8.32-34(.39), while Deut 4,32 may reflect the influence of the priestly texts (cf. Gen 1,1.21.27; 2,3; 5,1). If this is the case, 2 Sam 7,22-24 could not have been written before 520 B.C.E. Since there are no relevant literary-critical arguments in favour of an exclusion of vv. 22-24 from David's prayer, I am inclined to dating the entire David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,18-29 to the period after the composition of P in the 5th century B.C.E. Also 1 Sam 2,27-36, reflecting the conflict of interest between Levitical and the Zadokite priests is more plausibly dated to the time after the reconstruction of the temple. The juxtaposition of Zadokite priestly dynasty with the "messianic" dynasty in 1 Sam 2,36 reminds of the description and/or program of the Davidico-Zadokite alliance in the books

of Haggai, Zechariah and Ezra. These books overtly mention the cooperation between the governor Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua, but the text that includes a program of this alliance could have been written also later than in the last decades of the 6th century.

Nathan's oracle itself in 2 Sam 7,1-17 could have also emerged at the time after the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple. A rejection of the traditional relation between the kingship and the temple could have been beneficial for the Davidides also at the time when the temple of Jerusalem was reconstructed, but the Davidides could not use it to gain legitimacy, since the cult and the temple was regarded as a domain of priests under the auspices of the Persian authority. If we try to understand the emergence of the examined texts with help of a most economical redactional model, two alternative solutions may be suggested. If we date 2 Sam 7,1-17 to a time before 520 B.C.E., the mentions of the dynastic promise to David in the books of Samuel can be attributed to two authors/redactors, whom we may call *Dynastic Redaction of Samuel 1* (DRS1) and *Dynastic Redaction of Samuel 2* (DRS2). On the basis of thematic and linguistic analogies, the author of 2 Sam 7,1-17 (DRS1) may also be thought to be responsible of 1 Sam 10,8 + 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25, the texts that primarily emphasise, in accordance with 2 Sam 7,14-15, the unconditionality of the dynastic promise once it is given. David's prayer in 2 Sam 7,18-29, on the contrary, probably did not emerge before the 5th century B.C.E., therefore it should be ascribed to a different redaction (DRS2). Another David's prayer in 2 Sam 22 has some features similar to 2 Sam 7,18-29: both prayers defend the right of the Davidides for an eternal royal power and, together with Hannah's song in 1 Sam 2,1-10, they are the only three texts that contain an overt monotheist confession (1S 2,2; 2 Sam 7,22; 22,32), which, in addition, is formulated in a relatively similar manner in the three texts. There are obvious differences between these prayers, but these can be due to their different genres and functions in the books of Samuel, and perhaps also to the use of older poetic traditions in 1 Sam 2,1-10 and 2 Sam 22; it is not inconceivable that all the three prayers are the work of a single author/redactor. 2 Sam 23,1-7 in its present form was probably composed for the end of the books of Samuel, similarly to 2 Sam 22. Based on their common location in the "additions" to Samuel and other common features, it seems best to attribute their final

composition to the same author.[827] What remains is 1 Sam 2,27-36, which it seems better to date to the time after 520 B.C.E.; but the text, I believe, does not contain specific clues that would indicate that it is a work of the author of 2 Sam 7,18-29; 2 Sam 22 and 2 Sam 23,1-7. The oracle against the Elides may thus be ascribed to DRS2 merely on the basis of an attempt for a most economical model.

The second plausible model may be even simpler. Should we date Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7,1-17 to the 5th century B.C.E., we may imagine that all the examined texts are the work of one redactor (DRS).

But should we indeed seek a most economical model? I believe we should, and this for a reason that is connected to the second main conclusion of this dissertation: however surprising it may seem in relation to the time of origin of the examined texts, all the mentions of the dynastic promise to David in Samuel may be regarded as a defence of actual political interests of the ex-royal family in the exilic and/or post-exilic period.[828] In this respect, the analysed texts show an essential similarity that can be used as a certain argument for seeking as simple a redactional model as possible and against understanding the given texts as a series of more or less independent scribal additions. In Samuel, the reign of the Davidic rulers is never conditioned by their justice or their loyalty to Yhwh, and the dynastic promise is unconditioned in this sense. According to 1 Sam 13,7b–15a and 1 Sam 25, the *proclamation* of the promise is conditioned, but that is a different issue than a conditionality of the validity of the promise and, in the context of Samuel, these texts actually underline the unconditional nature of the promise once it was given. Similarly, 2 Sam 7,14 mentions the possibility of the punishment of a sinful king only in order that the dynasty's loss of power in the Neo-Babylonian (and Persian?) period could be understood as an episode encompassed in the eternal validity of the unconditioned promise. Also according to 2 Sam 23,1-7, the validity of the "Davidic covenant" is explicitly unconditioned.

There is nothing to indicate that the intention of any of these texts in Samuel would be a transfer of the validity of the promise on the whole

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[827] R. J. Tournay, Les « dernières paroles de David », stresses the common points of the two texts.

[828] We have to admit that while in some cases the defence of actual political interests of the Davidides is obvious, in other cases it is based to some extent on their postulated relationship to the texts of the first type.

Israel (no matter how delimited)[829], and it also seems unlikely that the texts should look forward to the coming of a future ideal king, without a relation to the historical characters of the time of origin of the texts. It would be problematic to relate the traditional and vague imagery of 2 Sam 22 (and 1 Sam 2,1-10) with concrete historical events. The fact remains, however, that the formulations of these texts do not correspond to the expectation of a messiah, who "will come" or will be "awakened" by God, they rather hope for an "elevation" of the messiah that is still here.

The fact that the dynastic promise to David is always unconditional in Samuel, including the texts that form a part of "the additions" in 2 Sam 21-24, poses the question of the relation between the books of Samuel and Kings, since in the latter the promise does appear in a conditioned form (1 Kgs 2,3-4; 8,25; 9,4-5). In some models of Dtr history, the conditional nature of the promise in these sections was understood as a re-interpretation of Nathan's oracle after the fall of the kingdom of Judah (see below). I would now like to make a few final points on the relation between the dynastic promise in Samuel and Kings.[830]

References to Nathan's oracle (2 Sam 7) in the books of Kings are of various kinds. Some passages refer to or somehow follow up with 2 Sam 7, but not with the dynastic promise. Several passages refer to Nathan's oracle mainly as a prediction of the building of the temple by a descendant of David (primarily 1 Kgs 5,17-19; 6,11-13MT[?]; 1 Kgs 8,15-21). It is difficult to examine the relation of these texts to the dynastic promise, therefore I shall leave them aside.[831] Further, there is 1 Kgs 2,12.46, according to which, after Solomon's accession to the throne, his kingship was firmly established. These verses may be understood as a fulfilment of

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[829] Vermeylen, Symbolique, p. 478-479, interprets David and his house in 2 Sam 23,1-7 as a symbol of post-exilic temple community. He believes (p. 481) that David designates an ethno-religious community also in Ps 18 (= 2 Sam 22). – As to 2 Sam 23,1-7, Vermeylen's interpretation is very unlikely, since David in v. 5 compares his "house" to a characterization of a good ruler in vv. 3b-4. The issue is, then, whether David's "house" matches up to the criteria of a model ruler, not a model Israelite.

[830] In the following overview, no attempts will be made at detailed literary-critical analyses of the passages in which the references to the dynastic promise appear.

[831] In case of 1 Kgs 6,11-13MT (the verses are missing in LXX), we might think that the author deliberately avoided the eternal character of David's dynasty, which would of course reflect his relation to the issue (I considered a similar elimination of the dynastic promise in the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 7LXX). In cases of other texts, e.g. 1 Kgs 8,15-21, a suggestion of this kind, if based merely on an analysis of the given text and not on a wider notion of the formation of Kings, would be very uncertain.

the prophecy of 2 Sam 7,12f., that Yhwh will make firm the kingship and the throne of David's descendant. The nature of a supposedly genetic relation between these texts and 2 Sam 7 is unclear, and its evaluation depends on the general notion of the first two chapters of 1 Kings. Should 1 Kgs 2,12.46 be a part of a pre-dtr source, 2 Sam 7,12f. could have been formulated with respect to this older text. But usually scholars believe that 1 Kgs 2,12.46 were formulated with respect to Nathan's oracle from the outset, should they be on the same redactional level as 2 Sam 7,12(f.) or a later one. By all means, neither 1 Kgs 2,12.46 include the theme of duration of the Davidic dynasty and therefore we can leave them aside.

The mentions of the dynastic promise to David in Kings may be divided into two groups: the texts that as to their meaning are compatible with 2 Sam 7 and with all the other mentions of the promise in Samuel on the one hand, and the texts where the dynastic promise to David is explicitly conditional, and therefore they are in tension with the formulation of the promise in 2 Sam 7.

1 Kgs 2 contains three references to the dynastic promise to David in vv. 24.33.45, all of them compatible with 2 Sam 7. All these texts appear in the section that describes the way Solomon dealt with his adversaries once he accessed to the throne. In these passages, the promise is not conditioned and the terminology builds on 2 Sam 7. 1 Kgs 2,24 contains the phrase עשה לו בית[832] which has parallels in 1 Sam 25,28 and 2 Sam 7,11 (cf. v. 27, where the verb is בנה). The mention of David's throne has a parallel in 2 Sam 7,16; finally the use of the hiphil of כון in 2 Kgs 2,24 may be compared to its occurrence in 2 Sam 7,12 (other stems appear in vv. 13.16.24.26). 1 Kgs 2,33, too, refers to David's house (cf. 2 Sam 7,11.16.18.19.25.26.27.29; 1 Sam 25,28; 23,5), throne (cf. 2 Sam 7,16MT) and unlike v. 24 also to the descendants of David (ולזרעו – cf. 2 Sam 7,12; 22,51). Yhwh should grant his peace to these entities עד עולם (cf. 1 Sam 13,13; 2 Sam 7,13.16.25.26.29; 22,51; 23,5; cf. also 1 Sam 2,35)[833]. 1 Kgs 2,45b וכסא דוד יהיה נכון לפני יהוה עד עולם is a very close paraphrase of 2 Sam 7,16MT, cf. also v. 26b. 1 Kgs 2,45 does not mention

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[832] The reading לו is a conjecture, the text contains לי. The conjecture is suggested also by BHK, for the arguments see above ch. 1.1.2

[833] Individual terms used in these passages are, of course, not specific at all. I want to emphasize that these sections consistently use the vocabulary known from the relevant passages in Samuel.

David's dynasty (בית). But since Solomon refers here to the firmness of David's throne after the death of David, he doubtless means a firm rule of the Davidic dynasty.[834]

It seems that we can add to these texts also Ahijah's prophecy to Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 11,29–39 and the connected passages mentioning the [835]נִיר for which Yhwh did not bring doom on Judah despite the sins of the Davidic kings (1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19). The interpretation of these texts played a key role in the understanding of the function of the dynastic promise to David in the books of Kings. The passages with ניר in the context of negative evaluations of the Judean kings Abijam (1 Kgs 15,4) and Jehoram (2 Kgs 8,19) have been traditionally understood as references to Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7.[836] This notion of 1 Kgs 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19 was questioned by N. Lohfink in its seminal article *Which Oracle Granted Perdurability to the Davidides?*[837] Lohfink considers 2 Sam 7 a text nearly untouched by dtr redaction. According to Lohfink, the Deuteronomist (Dtr1) introduced his understanding of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5, where the promise is conditioned and concerns the position of the Davidic kings on "the throne of Israel". Israel in this case denotes all the twelve tribes; when the Northern tribes separate from Judah because of Solomon's sins, it is a kind of a "fulfilment" of the prophecy and an invalidation of the dynastic promise. In 1 Kgs 11, however, the Davidides are given another, new promise of eternal ניר in Jerusalem. This promise is referred to by 1 Kgs 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19, not Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7, which, according to the Deuteronomist in the time of Abijam and Jehoram has been invalid for a long time. The starting point of Lohfink's article is a thorough text-critical analysis of 2 Kgs 8,19, which says in MT: וְלֹא־אָבָ֣ה יְהוָה֩ לְהַשְׁחִ֨ית אֶת־יְהוּדָ֜ה לְמַ֣עַן דָּוִ֣ד עַבְדּ֗וֹ כַּאֲשֶׁ֤ר אָֽמַר־לוֹ֙ לָתֵ֥ת ל֣וֹ נִ֛יר לְבָנָ֖יו כָּל־הַיָּמִֽים. Lohfink concentrates primarily on the question of the presence of the first לו, which is missing in LXX[B] and the majority of the other mss of LXX (but not in ms A nor in LXX[L]); in the parallel text of 1 Chr 21,7 לו is missing in MT and Vg. Lohfink considers the shorter

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[834] Cf. Veijola, Dynastie, p. 75, who attributes 1 Kgs 2,45 to DtrG and considers it parallel with2 Sam 7,26b. In his oppinion, the words בית and כסא function as synonyms in dtr phraseology.

[835] The meaning of the word is uncertain; I will briefly come back to it below.

[836] Cf. e. g. Rad, Deuteronomic, p. 214-215 (first published in 1947).

[837] Lohfink, Oracle (first published in German in 1990).

reading more original, which means, in his opinion, that 2 Kgs 8,19 does not refer to Yhwh's oracle to David, but to Ahijah's oracle in 1 Kgs 11,36.

I believe Lohfink underestimated the importance of the verse 1 Kgs 11,38, where Yhwh promises to Jeroboam that should he act by Yhwh's will, as David did, Yhwh will be with Jeroboam and will build him a firm house, as he did for David: והיה אם תשמע[838] את כל אשר אצוך והלכת בדרכי ועשית הישר בעיני לשמור חקותי ומצותי כאשר עשה דוד עבדי והייתי עמך ובניתי לך בית נאמן כאשר בניתי לדוד [ונתתי לך את ישראל][839]. The used phraseology corresponds to 2 Sam 7 and other passages that touch on the dynastic promise in Samuel. As for בית נאמן, cf. 2 Sam 7,16, further 1 Sam 2,35; 25,28 (merely בית also appears in 2 Sam 23,5); in 2 Sam 7,11 the building is expressed by the verb עשה, on the contrary the verb בנה appears in 2 Sam 7,27; to Yhwh's "being with Jeroboam", cf. 2 Sam 7,3.9. In the previous verse (1Kgs 11,37), Yhwh promises to Jeroboam that he will "take" him (ואתך אקח) to rule over Israel; similarly according to 2 Sam 7,8, Yhwh took David (לקחתיך). A mention of a firm house built for David in 1 Kgs 11,38 is hard to construe in a different manner than as a description of a state of affairs simultaneous with Ahijah's prophecy. David's house is firm in agreement with the dynastic promise given in 2 Sam 7, and now a building of a similar house is being promised to Jeroboam in the Northern kingdom. Verse 36, promising the existence of a ניר for David throughout all the days in Jerusalem, can then only be a reformulation of the dynastic promise announced by Nathan. The reformulation marks the geographic limits of the validity of the dynastic promise to David. According to v. 36, Yhwh gives one tribe to the son of Solomon, "so that my servant David may always have a ניר before me in Jerusalem"; according to the parallel v. 32, one tribe remains for Solomon "for the sake of my servant David."[840] In 1 Kgs 15,4, Yhwh gives to Abijam a ניר "for David's sake" and according to 2 Kgs 8,19 Yhwh did not destroy Judah for Jehoram's sins "for the sake of David his servant, since he promised to give (him) a ניר to him to his sons[841] all the days." What does למען דוד mean? A comparison of the

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[838] LXX reads φυλάξῃς which may correspond to תשמר.

[839] The text in square brackets is missing in OG. The short text might be older.

[840] In both verses, the Davidides are left with one tribe also because of Jerusalem which was chosen by Yhwh.

[841] MT reads לְבָנָיו. 1 Chr 21,7 has וּלְבָנָיו which seems easier. Many suggest to reconstruct לפניו with help of 1 Kgs 11,36 to which the verse no doubt refers.

mentioned verses containing variants of this expression with 1 Kgs 11,38 indicates that the issue is David's loyalty to Yhwh. This is in accord with the fact that in 1 Kgs 11,32 and 2 Kgs 8,19 the formula is למען עבדי דוד and למען דוד עבדו respectively. 1 Kgs 15,4 contains only למען דוד, but in turn the following verse explains this expression most clearly: "because David did what was right in the eyes of Yhwh and did not turn aside from anything that he commanded him all the days of his life (except in the matter of Uriah the Hittite)"[842].[843]

The eternal existence of David's ניר in Jerusalem is thus motivated by David's loyalty and by the promise Yhwh gave regarding the existence of ניר (2 Kgs 8,19). On the level of the larger narrative, this theology of history is by no means a novelty brought about by the books of Kings, since it corresponds perfectly to the viewpoint of the books of Samuel on the decisive role of the dynastic promise, as we have observed it mainly in 1 Sam 13,7b-15a + 1 Sam 25 and 2 Sam 23,5.[844] It is irrelevant in this perspective whether 2 Kgs 8,19 in the original form contained the first לו or not. Because although the terminology of v. 19b refers to 1 Kgs 11,36, the last mentioned verse itself is merely a reformulation of Nathan's oracle for the time after the separation of the Northern tribes from the Davidic kingdom. The eternal existence of David's ניר in Jerusalem is by all means a fulfilment of Nathan's oracle.[845]

The meaning of the word נִיר in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 is disputed.[846] Traditionally, it is understood as a bi-form of נֵר, that is

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[842] The bracketed text is missing in LXX[B].

[843] 1 Kgs 11,34MT obviously understands the expression in this manner, yet the last clause of the verse is missing in OG and is probably secondary. Cf. also 1 Kgs 11,12f.

[844] An emphasis on the importance of David's loyalty in these texts is one of the major contributions of Lohfink's article. Lohfink believes that David's loyalty is in the dtr perspective the only permanent basis of Yhwh's favor to the Davidic dynasty. David was rewarded by the dynastic promise for his loyalty (Lohfink infers it from 1 Kgs 3,6) and it was David's loyalty again that determined Yhwh's treatment of Judah and David's descendants after the promise announced by Nathan ceased to be valid. – As I suggested above, 1 Kgs 11,38 indicates that the promise, according to the author of 1 Kgs 11,29-39*, is valid even after Solomon's failure.

[845] In this connection, we should at least mention 2 Kgs 19,34 and 20,6. These passages, where Yhwh saves Jerusalem from Assyria for his own sake and for the sake of David, resemble to some extent the passages with ניר. It is not entirely clear whether these texts refer to the dynastic promise to David. For a detailed analysis of 2 Kgs 19,34; 20,6 and their context, see Provan, Hezekiah, 117-130.

[846] For a good overview of the proposed meanings, see E. Ben Zvi, Lamp, p. 19-30.

"light" or "lamp."[847] This understanding of the word is also reflected in some ancient translations – Vg *lucerna*, Syr ܢܘܗܪܐ, LXX in 2 Kgs 8,19 and 2 Chr 21,7 ὁ λύχνος. In the recent times, there was a wide spread of the opinion that נִיר in these passages is a loan-word from Akkadian *nīru(m)*.[848] The latter's literal meaning is "yoke" and it is often used in Assyrian Annals as a metaphor of "dominion" (this usage is once attested already in an el-Amarna letter).[849] E. Ben Zvi believes that נִיר on the examined places means literally "fertile field/fertile fief/dominion"; נִיר in these passages should then carry the same meaning as in Jer 4,3; Hos 10,12; Prov 13,23 (21,4).[850]

The notion of נִיר as "yoke" is problematic. M. Cogan and H. Tadmor point to the fact that the metaphorical use of Akkadian *nīru* has a "negative connotation" since it "describes the imposition of a vassal relationship upon the king's subjects."[851] E. Ben Zvi noted that although the meaning "dominion" would make sense in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7, if the basic meaning of the Hebrew נִיר would be "yoke", so that נִיר would be synonymous with עֹל, its use in these passages would be peculiar. "[T]he yoke needs to be related to an object (i.e., a bearer). In other words, a yoke is not an attribute of the king who imposes it but is a situation/object imposed … upon someone."[852] The word עֹל is used metaphorically, like *nīru* in the Assyrian texts, in Lev 26,13; Deut 28,48; 1 Kgs 12,4.9-11.14; Isa 10,27; 14,25; 47,6; Jer 2,20; 5,5; 27,12. Note that Isa 10,27 and 14,25 refer to the yoke of Assyria, but use the word עֹל and not the alleged loan-word נִיר. The opinion of Ben Zvi, that the examined passages contain a metaphorical use of a word that originally denoted a "fertile field" is plausible. Still, I find most likely the traditional understanding of ניר as "light" or "lamp." MT reads everywhere in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 נִיר, but this does not mean that it must be the original and correct vocalization of the word. As H. U. Steymans notes, 2 Sam 22,29 contains נֵירִי, while Ps 18,29 reads נֵרִי.[853] It is therefore quite possible that

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[847] Noth, Könige, p. 243-244, 261-262, and many others.

[848] This interpretation is argued in details by Hanson, Song, p. 297-320. For further references, see Ben Zvi, Lamp, p. 21.

[849] For examples see Hanson, Song, p. 312-313.

[850] Ben Zvi, Lamp.

[851] Cogan – Tadmor, II Kings, p. 95.

[852] Ben Zvi, Lamp, p. 29. Similarly Görg, Machtzeichen, p. 366, but he still accepts a modified interpretation of Hanson's.

[853] Steymans, David, p. 415.

נ‏יר in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 was originally *nēr* written *plene*. In a manner similar to these passages, נר = "light" is used metaphorically about the Davidic kingship in 2 Sam 21,17 and Ps 132,17.[854] The meaning "light" is obvious in 2 Sam 21,17 because of the connection with the verb כבה pi. Yet closer to our passages with ניר is Ps 132,17: "There I will make a horn to sprout for David; I have prepared a lamp for my anointed" – שם אצמיח קרן לדוד ערכתי נר למשיחי. The word נֵר (= light) is the object of the verb ערך, as in Lev 24,4 and Exod 27,20f. (the object in this case is merely the pronoun referring to נֵר), where the word clearly designates "light". In Ps 132,17 the establishing of light למשיחי is parallel to making to sprout a horn לדוד, and it is clear from the context that the issue is the survival of royal power of the Davidides. In 1 Kgs 11,36 and 2 Kgs 8,19, a continuation of the Davidic dynasty in Judah is described as a further existence of *David's* ניר. Should there be a chance to prove that Ps 132,17 is *independent* of 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7, the use of נֵר in the psalm would be strong argument in favour of the interpretation of ניר in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 as "light". Yet the testimony of Ps 132,17 is important even in the case that the use of נֵר in the psalm depends on the examined passages from Kings, since it is likely that the first reception close to the time of origin of the received passage at least reflects a correct understanding of the meaning of words used in the original text.

To what is the duration of David's dynasty in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19 compared? M. Noth suggested that ניר refers to a lamp burning in a house, showing that there are people living inside.[855] According to 1 Kgs 11,36 (and perhaps, originally, even 2 Kgs 8,19 – see above), David's ניר should be for all the days *before* Yhwh. This location of ניר reminds of Exod 27,20f. and Lev 24,2f., according to which the priests are supposed to keep the light burning before Yhwh. The examined passages in Kings may work with the image taken from the cultic practice without having to depend on Exod 27,20f. or Lev 24,2f. Either a burning lamp or a fire are comprehensible metaphors of duration, since a fire must burn continually or it dies out. Note, in this connection, what the wise woman of Tekoa says in a speech which turns out to be a parable describing David's family:

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[854] Hanson, Song, p. 318–319 believes that Ps 132,17 and perhaps even 2 Sam 21,17 originally contained נֵר = "yoke." His arguments are utterly unconvincing.
[855] Noth, Könige, p. 261.

"Thus they would quench my coal that is left" (וכבו את גחלתי אשר נשארה – 2 Sam 14,7). ניר – light in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19 then seems to be primarily a metaphor of the very *survival* of the Davidic kingship, which corresponds to the historical context of the occurrences of the motif of dynastic promise to David in Samuel.[856]

If ניר is originally merely a *nēr* written *plene*, is there an explanation of the shift to the vocalization נִיר? I believe so. Tg translates ניר in all of v 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 as מלכו "kingship" and in Num 21,30, Tg Onqelos reads פסקת מלכו where MT has וַנִּירָם אָבַד; Vg reads in this place *iugum ipsorum disperiit*. In Aramaic there is a noun נִיר denoting "yoke" and the translation מלכו is probably derived from the fact that the translators understood the Hebrew ניר as the Aramaic נִיר – "yoke."[857] P. D. Hanson notes in respect of Vg's reading in Num 21,30 that Jerome consulted rabbinic authorities concerning difficulties of the Hebrew text.[858] Vg's reading thus may be due to the influence of Aramaic as well. The Masoretic vocalization נִיר in 1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19; 2 Chr 21,7 may have its origin in the same tradition influenced by the existence of נִיר "yoke" in Aramaic.[859]

Let us return to the dynastic promise given to Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 11,37f., sometimes believed to be conditioned, in contrast to the promise given to David in 2 Sam 7. Actually, according to 1 Kgs 11,38, only the building of a dynasty requires Jeroboam's loyalty, and there is no mention of a condition for the lasting of the dynasty afterwards. Basically, we are confronted with the same concept that gives significance to the piety of the founder of the dynasty for its duration as is the case in the books of Samuel (mainly 1 Sam 13,7b-15a and 1 Sam 25).[860] Jeroboam wastes his chance, like Saul did. A similar view of the merits of the founder of a dynasty is to be found also in 2 Kgs 10,30, in this case, however, without the presence of the motif of an "eternal" dynasty.[861]

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[856] The point is the survival of the dynasty and the kingdom of Judah, no matter whether we understand ניר as "light" or otherwise.

[857] Ben Zvi, Lamp, p. 20.

[858] Hanson, Song, p. 305.

[859] Pace Ben Zvi, Lamp, p. 25-27.

[860] Similarly already Nelson, Redaction, p. 115.

[861] I prefer to leave aside v. 38bβ-39 which is missing in OG. For a detailed discussion of these verses, see Nelson, Redaction, p. 115-116, who advocates their originality.

1 Kings contains three passages where the Davidic dynastic promise is indeed conditioned by the loyalty of David's descendants (1 Kgs 2,2-4; 8,22-26; 9,1-9). These passages use a different terminology than the instances of the promise in Samuel and the texts from Kings we have discussed so far. According to 1 Kgs 2,2-4; 8,22-26; 9,1-9, Yhwh promised to David that he will (always) have a man who will not be cut off from the throne of Israel. In addition, 1 Kgs 9,5 also contains a promise by Yhwh to Solomon to establish his royal throne over Israel forever; this promise reminds of 2 Sam 7,12f., but the throne in 1 Kgs 9,5 is the object of the verb קום hiph., not of hiphil or polel from כון as in 2 Sam 7,12f. (cf. also 1 Sam 13,13; 2 Sam 7,16.26; 1 Kgs 2,12.24.45f.; note, however, that קום hiph. is in 2 Sam 3,10). There are various opinions on what the promise of David's man not being cut off from the throne of Israel means, and to which extent these passages are coherent with the promise in 2 Sam 7.

Let us first attend to the question of the conditionality of the promise in these texts. May it be the case that the condition was added secondarily? In 1 Kgs 2,4MT the condition introduced by the conjunction אִם and stretching to the half of the verse seems to be an interpolation because of the second לֵאמֹר in the verse (i.e. the one which introduces the promise itself). The second לֵאמֹר is missing in LXX[L] which in this section should be closer to OG than LXX[B], but the shorter text may be a stylistic adjustment; similarly, the shorter reading may also be secondary in Vg. If the reading that contains the second לֵאמֹר is original and not a mistake, then v. 4αβγ (from the segolta) is an addition that puts emphasis on the conditionality of the dynastic promise.[862] However, even after the excision of 4αβγ, the promise would remain conditioned because of v. 3. P. Kasari reconstructs the text of DtrH in vv. 1-2.4aα (up to עלי).b, but the resulting text is rather clumsy.[863] It is therefore impossible to reconstruct an unconditioned dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4.

The situation is similar in 1 Kgs 9,1-9. P. Kasari does attempt to reconstruct the older text in vv. 1a.2.3a*.5[864], but I am afraid there are *no* literary-critical reasons for the reconstruction of an unconditioned promise

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[862] The condition is regarded as an interpolation e.g. by Veijola, Dynastie, p. 22; Vermeylen, Symbolique, p. 440; Kasari, Promise, p. 198–199.

[863] Kasari, Promise, p. 198–206.

[864] Kasari, Promise, p. 174–187. Kasari ascribes the older text to DtrN¹, the rest to DtrS.

in v. 5. The aim of the whole of vv. 1-9 is to point out the conditionality of divine favour, whether directed at a dynasty or at a people.

What remains is 1 Kgs 8,25, where we may more easily imagine that the condition connected by the adverbial רק was secondarily added into the text.[865] We could argue that the emphasis on the conditionality of the promise in a sense contradicts the rhetoric flow of the prayer (vv. 22-53), which is actually a cry and a multiple plea for forgiveness. However, the contradiction between the pleas for forgiveness and for a just payback (vv. 32. 39) would remain in the prayer even after the exclusion of v. 25b. Since the paraphrase of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 8,25 is formulated in a very similar manner to 2,4 and 9,5, where it is accompanied by a condition, it is likely that neither in 1 Kgs 8,25 is the condition secondary to the promise, especially since there are no persuasive indices in favour of a diachronic dismantling.

The discussion on the origin and meaning of the three mentioned occurrences of the conditioned dynastic promise is well known, since the texts played a major role in the debate about the formation of Dtr history. At first sight, it may seem obvious that the conditioned formulations are not the work of the same author as the unconditioned promise to David in 2 Sam 7. M. Noth ascribed the conditioned formulations to an exilic Deuteronomist, while he regarded 2 Sam 7* as a pre-dtr text.[866] According to F. M. Crosse, on the contrary, 2 Sam 7 was strongly influenced by a dtr redaction and the dynastic promise was one of the main topics of the pre-exilic Dtr history; the conditioned formulations of the dynastic promise were ascribed to the exilic Dtr2 by Cross.[867] T. Veijola believed that the DtrG was responsible for the basic form of 2 Sam 7 and for its current literary context, although the chapter was later modified to some extent by the DtrN. The last mentioned was in Veijola's view also the author of the conditioned promise in 1 Kgs 2,4αβγ; 8,25; 9,4-5.[868]

Some scholars believe that the formulations of promise in 2 Sam 7 and in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25 and 9,4-5 are not in conflict since the conditioned

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[865] So e.g. Kasari, Promise, p. 133-134, referring to other scholars. Cf. already Cross, Myth, p. 287.
[866] Noth, History, p. 56-57. Similarly Lohfink, Oracle, p. 438-440, according to whom the conditioned formulations of the promise come from the pre-exilic Dtr1.
[867] Cross, Myth, p. 287.
[868] Veijola, Dynastie, p. 22, 25, 29, 141-142. Veijola treats in detail only the first passage.

promise is related merely to the rule over the whole (or only Northern) Israel, not to the rule of the Davidides in Judah.[869] Recently, W. Oswald also adopted this opinion, suggesting that 2 Sam 7 creates a coherent system with references to the dynastic promise to David in Kings, although, because of the terminology used in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4–5, Oswald accepts the possibility of a later origin of these passages.[870]

I believe both types of interpretation of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4–5 are correct to some extent. The division of the kingdom announced to Solomon in 1 Kgs 11,11–13 and to Jeroboam in 11,29–39 seems to be presented as a consequence of failing to meet the conditions of the dynastic promise.[871] V. 9 mentions Yhwh's double revelation to Solomon, while the content of the second revelation in 9,4–5 is also the conditioned dynastic promise. In this sense, the division of the kingdom is a negative "fulfilment" of the conditioned dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4–5. On the other hand, on all three places the promise is presented as a paraphrase or a direct quote of the dynastic promise given to David regarding his descendants in general. Only Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7 is such a promise. W. Oswald suggests that the promises to David and to Solomon have different objects, and the interpreter must not be confused by the fact that the formulations of the promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4–5 "wish to create the impression" that they are the quote of a promise given to David.[872] But why do these passages wish to create such an impression? It is hard to avoid the traditional answer to this question – that 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4–5 reinterpret the promise given to David in 2 Sam 7. The conditioned dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4–5 is therefore probably a secondary reformulation of the dynastic promise given to David, a reformulation that on the one hand demonstrates the tragic consequences of a failure to comply with Yhwh's commandments on the example of Solomon, and on the other hand, as an interpretation of 2 Sam 7, allows to explain the loss of power of the Davidic dynasty in the exilic and post-exilic period. If the intention of the author of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4–5 was to explain the fall of the Davidic dynasty, it is remarkable that the conditioned formulation of the promise does not

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[869] Nelson, Redaction, p. 99–105; Friedman, Egypt, p. 167–192; cf. also McKenzie, Kings, p. 137–138.
[870] Oswald, Nathan, p. 92–98.
[871] Nelson, Redaction, 99–105; Lohfink, Oracle, p. 440.
[872] Oswald, Nathan, p. 95. Nelson, Redaction, p. 102, believes that 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4–5 refer to another oracle than 2 Sam 7, which seems to me unlikely.

appear at the end of Kings.[873] The book never announces a definitive loss of power of the Davidic dynasty, not even in the parts of the texts where the fall of the temple, Jerusalem and Judah are announced (cf. e.g. 2 Kgs 21,12f.).[874] There may be a link between this fact and the ambivalence of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5. In the immediate context, the conditional reformulation of the dynastic promise explains the loss of power of the Davidides over Northern Israel; on the other hand, as a reinterpretation of Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7, the passages of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 may suggest an explanation of the fall of the Davidic kingship in general. A certain caution towards the concept of the Davidic dynasty in these passages need not be due to an actual influence of the Davidides, but rather to the importance that the Davidic ideal had already acquired. In any case, these texts cannot be understood as a part of the same authorial/redactional level as 2 Sam 7.

This marking off of 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 has some irritating effects on the redactional classification of some other mentions of the Davidic dynastic promise in Kings that I previously placed among the texts that are rather compatible with the concept of the promise in Samuel. We have seen that in 1 Kgs 11,37f., the firmness of Jeroboam's dynasty is conditioned by the piety of the founder of the dynasty, Jeroboam, which corresponds to the concept of the dynastic promise in Samuel. The problem is that the condition of building a dynasty in v. 38a is formulated in a manner quite similar to the condition in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5, and also to the rejection of Solomon in 11,11. Does it mean that Ahijah's oracle containing the promise given to Jeroboam, the mention of David's firm house (v. 38) and the prediction of the preservation of David's ניר in Jerusalem (and the remaining passages with ניר in 1 Kgs 15,5 and 2 Kgs 8,19) should be seen rather on the same redactional level as the conditioned reformulations of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5?[875] It is possible, but it should be mentioned that the proximity of the texts 1 Kgs

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[873] So McKenzie, Kings, p. 138. McKenzie was at this time still a defender of "the Cross's model" and this observation leads him to conclude that should 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 be secondary in relation to Dtr1 or not, the author is definitely not Dtr2 responsible for 2 Kgs 23,26-25,26. The absence of a conditioned Davidic promise at the end of the books of Kings is remarkable even outside Cross's model.

[874] For details, see Oswald, Nathan, p. 97-98.

[875] Kasari, Promise, p. 133-134, 176-177, 198-199, 227-229 ascribes all the conditions in the examined conditioned formulations of the Davidic promise to DtrS, as well as 1 Kgs 11,38.

2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 to each other is greater than the similarity between them and 11,37f. (and 11,11-13) – apart of the specific formulation of the dynastic promise with the verb כרת niph., 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 use the image of "walking before Yhwh" that is not present in 1 Kgs 11. We may, for instance, consider the possibility that the "nomistic" redactor who inserted 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5[876] also reworked Ahijah's oracle that, in its older form, was already in the older version of the text.

Despite the problematic nature of 1 Kgs 11,37f., this overview of mentions of the dynastic promise in Kings could be concluded in the following manner: Kings contain mentions of the promise to David which seem to assume unconditional validity of the promise and which are formulated by a vocabulary that is close to 2 Sam 7 (1 Kgs 2,24.33.45; 11,38); the passages with ניר (1 Kgs 11,36; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19) have a different vocabulary than 2 Sam 7, but the first occurrence of them appear in the immediate vicinity of 1 Kgs 11,38; the whole of 1 Kgs 11,36-38 referres to the validity of the promise given in 2 Sam 7 and at the same time introduces the image of David's ניר to express the lasting of the dynasty for the time after Solomon. The passages with ניר also presuppose the unconditonality of the promise. On the other hand, the books of Kings contain sections where the power of the Davidic kings is explicitly conditioned by eternal loyalty of David's descendants to Yhwh (1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5). These texts formulate the dynastic promise in a different manner than 2 Sam 7.

Observations of this kind have been evaluated within various models of Dtr history in the past decades (classical examples were mentioned above). As noted by P. Kasari, Noth's idea of one author of the entire Dtr history (Dt-Kgs) was quite rapidly rejected by most (though not all) scholars. Noth's theory became prominent primarily as a hypothesis that these books form a series that had a common redactorial history. Today, this aspect of the hypothesis is also being criticised by some scholars, e.g. E. A. Knauf does not oppose the existence of various "dtr" texts in the books of Former Prophets, but in his opinion these books together with the Deuteronomy never formed one literary work that would be written by one author or a

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[876] There is probably no need to say that the conditional formulations of the promise were most likely inserted as parts of larger texts. It is impossible to treat here in detail the passages where they appear.

homogeneous group.[877] As for the books of Samuel and Kings, it is usually thought that their relationship is closer than that of Sam-Kgs towards other books of the classically delimited Dtr history. A hypothesis that only the books of Sam-Kgs formed the oldest version of Dtr history gained some prominence during the past years.[878] Contrary to that, E. Eynikel and most recently J. Hutzli stressed the differences between Samuel and Kings, surmising that the first pre-exilic "dtr" redaction(s) of Kings did not affect the books of Samuel.[879]

The results of our research confirm a certain redactorial unity of Sam-Kgs, but they also indicate that the books had a different history of transmission since some time; the books might also have separate developments before they were linked by the "dynastic redaction." The mentions of a dynastic promise in the books of Kings that are compatible with Nathan's oracle (1 Kgs 2,24.33.45 and perhaps 11,36-38; 15,4; 2 Kgs 8,19) may be ascribed to the same redaction as 2 Sam 7, no matter if we ascribe all the mentions of the dynastic promise in Samuel to one or two authors. W. Oswald, deriving from the work of S. L. McKenzie, ascribed the oracles against the dynasties ruling in Nothern Israel to the same author as 2 Sam 7, an author that he considers responsible for the first redaction of the books of Samuel and Kings (DtrG).[880] McKenzie demonstrated that all the utterances against the Northern dynasties and the related fulfillment notices (1 Kgs 14,7-18; 15,27-30; 16,1-4.11-13; 21,20-24*; 2 Kgs 9,7-10*.25-26.36-37*; 10,1a.10-17) are likely to be the work of one dtr author, though for the fulfillment notices this author could draw on other historiographical sources describing the kings' deaths.[881] McKenzie noticed that the oracles against the dynasties of Jeroboam and Baasha are addressed to their founders, although they are fulfilled long after the announcement. The latter also applies to the oracle against Ahab's dynasty, although, unlike the addressees of the other oracles, he is not the founder of his dynasty. This corresponds to the concept we observed mainly in 1 Sam 13,7b-15a (Saul);

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[877] Knauf, Historiography, p. 388-98.

[878] E.g. Provan, Hezekiah, p. 158-163; Kratz, Komposition, p. 174-175.

[879] Eynikel, Reform, p. 362-364; Hutzli, Erzählung, p. 222-254; Id., Relationship, p. 505-519.

[880] Oswald, Nathan, p. 94-101.

[881] McKenzie, Kings, p. 61-80. In this book McKenzie still holds the view that the Dtr history comes from the time of Josiah. He later turned to the exilic dating – see e.g. McKenzie, Kingship, p. 286-314.

1 Sam 25; 2 Sam 23,5; 1 Kgs 11,32.36; 15,4f.; 2 Kgs 8,19 (David); 1 Kgs 11,37f. (Jeroboam); 2 Kgs 10,30 (Jehu) and which considers the piety of the founder the main criterion for Yhwh's promising or not the firmness to the dynasty. In Sam-Kgs then, both dynastic promises and judgments against dynasties depend on the piety of the dynasty's founder (or, in case of Ahab, its another "prominent" member).

This conception of the history of the Judean and Israelite kingdoms is by no means "unbiased". We have observed that in Samuel, the focus on the importance of the eternal dynastic promise to *David as founder of the dynasty* is largely determined by the historical situation of the Davidides after the loss (or radical downfall) of their power in the 6th or 5th c. B.C.E. Now it seems that the whole concept of the history of Israelite and Judean royal dynasties as told in Sam-Kgs is connected to this situation. The whole of Sam-Kgs reworked by this redaction form an "apology of the Davidic dynasty" and dates back to the 6th or the 5th c. B.C.E.[882]

W. Oswald calls this author of the Davidic apology DtrG and believes that the first version of Dtr history was formed only by the books of Samuel and Kings.[883] The text of Nathan's oracle does not point in this direction unambiguously. The issue of the dynastic promise to David appears only in Sam-Kgs (as a matter of fact, an allusion to the motif probably appears in Deut 17,20, yet, as I argue in the addendum, this text is very late). On the basis of the study of occurrences of the dynastic promise to David in Sam-Kgs, we cannot say whether the author of these texts was active in the previous books of Dtr history. But we have seen that 2 Sam 7,10–11aα summarizes the history of Israel with help of motifs of rest and oppression in accord with the image formed by the books of the so-called Dtr history in today's form. The author of these verses regards his work in a literary horizon of traditionally delimited Dtr history, or a horizon even wider (Exod-Kgs). Oswald regards these verses as a secondary addition, but I do not find his arguments convincing. Moreover, 2 Sam 7,1b is most likely to refer to Deut 12,9–11; and also 2 Sam 7,6-7 gives a vague account of the period since the exodus from Egypt until the time of David.

All this indicates that whether the "dynastic redactor" was active in other books or not, he approached his work within a broader narrative whole.

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[882] The expression "Apologie der Davididen" is used by Oswald, Nathan, p. 101. For the system of prophetic oracles in Sam and Kgs see p. 94–101.
[883] Oswald, Nathan, p. 101.

Should we regard the forming of the so-called Dtr history in Deut-Kgs (or Exod-Kgs) as a gradual process of bringing these books closer to one another under the influence of some Deuteronomic concepts, a process that took place since the 7th century B.C.E. at least until the Persian period[884], the "dynastic" redaction of Sam-Kgs must be located in quite a late stage of this process. The question whether the author of the dynastic oracles in Sam-Kgs was also the first compiler of these books, as suggested by Oswald, may not be answered on the basis of our study of the Davidic promise in Samuel. The differences between Samuel and Kings stressed by Hutzli, namely the weak presence of the so-called "dtr" elements in Samuel, together with the fact that these "dtr" themes are prominently linked in Kings to the characters of Hezekiah and Josiah, might suggest that the first redaction(s) of the "dtr" type in Kings is/are older than the dynastic redaction linking Samuel and Kings.[885] In this case, our "dynastic redaction" may have been the first to link these books in one literary composition. I leave open the question to what extent is the "dynastic" redaction linked to the composition of the books of Samuel.[886]

There may thus be little doubt that the books of Samuel and Kings formed a coherent composition at some period of time. The conditioned formulations of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 indicate, however, that since some moment, the books of Samuel and Kings had (again?) a different history of transmission. The redaction explaining the fall of the Davidic dynasty with a conditioned formulation of the promise did not affect the books of Samuel. The conditioned formulations in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 must have appeared in the text before the composition of Chronicles, since 1 Kgs 8,25 have a parallel in 2 Chr 6,16. A limitation of the redaction to the books of Kings is probably given by the fact that the redactor copied only the scroll (or scrolls?) of Kings, but not the scroll of Samuel.

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[884] For this understanding of Dtr history see primarily Römer, So-Called; and Nihan, « Deutéronomiste » et « deutéronomisme ».

[885] There were many works published in the past decades dealing with the reconstruction of the (pre)history of the books of Kings. For the history of research on the composition and redaction of Kings, see mainly Halpern - Lemaire, Composition, p. 123-153; Knoppers, Theories, p. 69-88; and Knauf, 1-2 Rois, p. 392-393.

[886] Cf. Wagner, Geist, p. 356-383 and *passim*, who recently argued for the composition of Samuel "in das letzte Drittel des 6. Jh. v. Chr."

In this connection, it is noteworthy that the conditioned promise first appears in 1 Kgs 2,3-4. In the Lucianic manuscripts of LXX, 2 Reigns ends with a report of David's death in 1 Kgs 2,11; the καί γε section βγ ends at the same place. 1 Chronicles also end with the death of David in 29,28–30. J. Trebolle deduced from this evidence that the boundaries between the sections καί γε and non- καί γε in the books of Reigns reflect a division that differed from the division of the books in MT and it is this non-Masoretic division that was received in the Chronicles.[887] According to R. F. Person, if I understand him well, the division in 1 Kgs 2,11 is older than the division of the books in MT.[888] However, the occurrences of the secondary conditioned formulations of the dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5 indicate that the division of books known from MT is older than the one attested in the Lucianic mss of LXX. Also the location of what is usually considered to be additions in v 2 Sam 21-24, including David's last words in 23,1-7, testify rather for the ancient origin of the division attested in MT.[889]

The question of the division between 2 Sam and 1 Kgs brings us to a final note on the time of origin of the "dynastic redactions" in Sam-Kgs. We have seen that the oracle against the Elides in 1 Sam 2,27-36 is fulfilled, among other things, by Solomon's banishment of Abiathar in 1 Kgs 2,26-27. The oracle of the man of God against the Elides could have been composed with regard to the older text describing Abiathar's fate in 1 Kgs 2,26; the fulfilment notice in 1 Kgs 2,27, however, necessarily presupposes the oracle. It seems most likely, as with the oracles against the royal dynasties, that the same scribe is the author of the oracle and of the fulfilment notice. The oracle against the Elides probably presupposes the existence of the temple and other aspects of the situation of the Persian period. Now, should we accept the earlier suggested dating for 2 Sam 7 and should DRS1 encompass also the dynastic oracles of promise and judgment in Kings, the fulfilment notice in 1 Kgs 2,26-27 would force us to admit that the second pro-Davidic redaction of Samuel (DRS2?)[890] affected Kings as well. That is not implausible. But we may also regard 1 Sam 2,27-36 + 1

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[887] Trebolle, Divisions, p. 96-108.
[888] Person, History, p. 90.
[889] Mathys, Dichter, p. 156.
[890] As we have noted, the relation of 1 Sam 2,27-36 to 2 Sam 7,18-29; 22,51 and 23,1-7 is not very specific.

Kgs 2,26-27 as a part of the primary system of prophecies promising blessing and doom to royal dynasties; after all, the oracle against the Elides includes a decision on the future of the dynasty on the basis of evaluating their long gone ancestral figure (though not exactly a founder in this case). If 1 Sam 2,27-36 were a part of the basic system of dynastic prophecies in Sam-Kgs, it would probably be necessary to accept the second suggested dating of 2 Sam 7,1-17. Nathan's oracle, together with the current organisation of Sam-Kgs by means of dynastic oracles, would then probably date back to the 5th century B.C.E.

Appendix: Royal Dynasty in Deuteronomy 17,14–20

In the books traditionally assigned to Dtr history, the dynastic promise to David appears only in the books of Samuel and Kings. In the book of Deuteronomy there is, however, the so-called "Law of the King" (Deut 17,14-20) according to which the king should obey the law in order that "he may prolong the days over his kingdom, he and his sons, in Israel" (v. 20). It seems reasonable to suppose that this mention of the durability of a royal dynasty might allude, among others, to the theme of the permanence of the Davidic dynasty.

As the dynasty only appears in the last verse of this text, it is unnecessary to include here a complete study of Deut 17,14-20. The question of the historical context of the passage will, however, require a brief discussion of the text in its entirety.[891]

A case for the (relative) unity of Deut 17,14–20

It is often affirmed that Deut 17,14-20 is not the work of a single author.[892] Any reconstruction of older layers in this text seems, however, rather difficult, and several scholars have therefore argued in favor of a basic unity of the King's Law.[893]

Some scholars[894] postulate, at the outset of the text's literary development, a set of prohibitives in vv. 16f. – not many horses, not many wives, and not too much gold and silver – constituting a kind of "Königsspiegel", most likely limited to vv. 16aα^1.17aα.17b and analogous to the precepts for the judges in Deut 16,19–20[895]. This original set of

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[891] For a recent discussion of the entire passage, see primarily Achenbach, , p. 216-233. On many counts, I agree with Achenbach's conclusions.

[892] Bibliographical references to several literary-critical reconstructions may be found in Achenbach, Königsgesetz, p. 216. References to individual problems follow in the notes below.

[893] Schäfer-Lichtenberger, Josua, p. 69-85; Achenbach, Königsgesetz, passim, especially 216-219.

[894] Rabast, Recht, p. 10f.; Gerstenberger, Wesen, p. 67-68; Mayes, Deuteronomy, p. 270; Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 66; Zobel, Prophetie, p. 110, 117. Cf. also Merendino, Gesetz, p. 180-181, 185, 404; Nielsen, Deuteronomium, p. 181.

[895] However, Deut 16,19f. is written in 2nd person, whereas Deut 17,16f in 3rd person. Rabast (*ibidem*) reconstructs a pre-dtr form of the Königsspiegel formulated in the 2nd

prohibitives is usually considered as pre-dtr by those who believe in its existence, but this reconstruction is very hypothetical.

As a matter of fact, there are very few literary indices in Deut 17,14-20 which would allow for a well-founded diachronic analysis. The most conspicuous tension in the text is the one between v. 15a and 15b. According to the first half of the verse, the people should appoint as king only the person chosen by Yhwh, which means that the choice is entirely in God's power. Contrary to that, v. 15b contains a practical precept describing the circle of persons out of which the people can appoint a king to themselves. Many scholars have considered this tension between 15a and 15b to be due to a diachronic development of the text. According to some of them 15b is secondary[896], while for others an addition is to be found in 15aβ (אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך בו)[897]. I am not convinced that *this kind* of inconsistencies must necessarily indicate redactional seams. A concept or an ideology may itself contain inconsistencies and tensions, whether it was put in writing by one author or not. In the present case, the tension between vv. 15a and 15b may have been occasioned simply by the "inconsistent" purpose of a scribe who, on the one hand, accepts the idea widespread in the royal ideology of the ancient Near East that the king must be divinely elected, yet who, on the other hand, desires to limit the circle of persons eligible for becoming king in Israel. After all, this kind of inconsistency is, as a rule, present in royal ideologies where the accession to the throne is presented as a result of divine election, and at the same time organized by other more controllable means.[898]

Several scholars consider v. 16aα²βb to be a later insertion (in fact, 16b is sometimes considered as even later than 16aα²β).[899] The reasons for this

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person. Gerstemberger compares Deut 17,16f with the sets of prohibitives in Lev 21 and Deut 23 (*ibidem*, p. 38-39, 68-68).

[896] Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 118; Horst, Privilegrecht, p. 108-109; Zobel, Prophetie, p. 115-116 (if I understand him well); Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 224-225.

[897] Koch, Geschichte, p. 216; Boecker, Beurteilung, p. 49; Merendino, Gesetz, p. 180; Mayes, Deuteronomy, p. 271. According to García López, Roi, p. 284-285, both 15aβ and 15b are additions by different hands.

[898] Cf. B. Lincoln's reflections on the combination of dynastic and charismatic elements in Achamenian kingship, in Religion, p. 33-49.

[899] Merendino, Gesetz, p. 180, 407; García López, Roi, p. 286-287; Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 60; Zobel, Prophetie, p. 117, 143-144; Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 225-226; Nielsen, Deuteronomium, p. 180; Albertz, Legislation, p. 280-281. – V. 16bβ is presented as a previously proclaimed word of Yhwh, but there is no such Yhwh's word in HB. For

were recently summarized by R. Albertz: "The sentence deviates from the surrounding terminology. This is not a general restriction on royal power, but a very special prohibition of a specific act of foreign policy. In closing, the statement reverts to the general theme of V. 16aα¹, the acquisition of horses, but with the collective singular סוס instead of the plural used before. Here then is a clear case of a varying *Wiederaufnahme*."[900] These arguments for the separation of v. 16aα²βb are not entirely convincing. As noted by C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger[901], the same shift from סוסים to סוס appears in 2 Kgs 6,14f., a passage which can hardly be separated in several layers. As to Albertz's description of vv. 16-17 as a set of general descriptions out of which v. 16aα²βb deviates because of its quality of "special prohibition", things seem to me more complicated. The basic structure of vv. 16f. is given by the threefold parallelism formed by the three restrictions on the multiplication of horses, women, and silver and gold (16aα¹.17aα.17b). Each time, the first two restrictions are followed by an expansion in vv. 16aα²βb.17aβ. Now, if we mark off v. 16aα²βb as a later addition for its being a "special prohibition", the text we obtain in vv. 16-17* will be formed by an almost perfect threefold parallelism, if not for the disturbing clause 17aβ after the second element. This being so, it will only seem logical to go all the way with those who exclude v. 17aβ from the primitive text as well, and reconstruct an original shape of vv. 16-17* formed exclusively by the parallel prohibitives.[902] All this, however, is quite speculative, and it seems easier to assume that the author of v. 16-17 was willing to expand briefly the basic restrictions in various ways as he considered fitting. Moreover, both 16aα²βb and 17aβ may be understood as giving a kind of substantiation for the prohibitions which precede them: the king shall not multiply his possession of horses, and (so) he will not cause the people to return to Egypt; he shall not multiply women, and (so) his heart will not turn away. If we read vv. 16aα²βb.17aβ in this way, the specificity of v. 16aα²βb becomes of minor importance for diachronic analysis.

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various suggestions as to the intended point of reference of this „quotation", see commentaries and references cited in Albertz, Legislation, p. 281.

[900] Albertz, Legislation, p. 280.

[901] Schäfer–Lichtenberger, Josua, p. 75.

[902] So e. g. Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 60-61; Zobel, Prophetie, p. 117; Nielsen, Deuteronomium, p. 180.

Scholars also often assume that vv. 18f. constitute an addition.[903] This is based mainly on the observation that, in the present form of the text, the third prohibition (v. 17b: not too much gold and silver) is exceptional in that, unlike the other prohibitions, it is not followed by an explanation; at the same time, v. 20aα would perhaps make more sense if attached to v. 17 as such an explanation rather than in its present position after v. 19.[904] In this form, the argument ceases to be operative if vv. 16aα²βb and/or 17aβ are considered as later additions. Yet even R. Albertz, who crosses out v. 16aα²βb, may argue in more general terms that "the prohibitory legislative goal in v. 20 to prevent the king's hubris would be better inserted directly after the restrictions (vv. 16-17)."[905]

The problem with these suggestions is that v. 20aβ seems to presuppose vv. 18-19, for which reason Steuernagel considers vv. 20aβb to be an addition on the same level as 18-19.[906] At this moment, however, the reconstructed process becomes very complicated, because the interpolator would have inserted vv. 18-19 after vv. 17b and thus separated v. 17b from 20aα, then he would have continued after his insertion with the more original 20aα (starting in the middle of the sentence, with a sub-ordinating conjunction!), and then inserted another addition in 20aβb. I am not sure if this complicated development is the most probable reconstruction of the redactional process. Be that as it may, I will not use vv. 18-19 in my discussion of the possible date of the text's origin, so that the question whether they are an original part of the text or not may theoretically remain open, even if I tend to see them as part of the original text.

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[903] Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 119; Alt, Heimat, p. 254; G. Seitz, Studien, p. 233; Rad, Deuteronomy, p. 119; Nicholson, Deuteronomy, p. 93, 111-112; Mayes, Deuteronomy, p. 273-274; García López, Roi, p. 287, 296; Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 61-64; Zobel, Prophetie, p. 119; Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 226; Nielsen, Deuteronomium, p. 179-180; Albertz, Legislation, p. 279.

[904] It is also often pointed out that in these verses the Torah is understood as a written document. This fact alone, however, is not an argument for seeing vv. 18f. on an another level than the rest of Deut 17,14-20. (For a similar criticism, cf. Albertz, Legislation, p. 279.

[905] Albertz, Legislation, p. 279.

[906] Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 119; similarly Mayes, Deuteronomy, p. 274; García López, Roi, p. 286-287. – Yet cf. Albertz, Legislation, p. 279, who on the contrary says that vv. 18-19 "only underline what is already said in v. 20aβ, that the king is subjected to the rule of law." Similarly Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 226-227 ascribes v. 20aβb to DtrN and vv. 18f. to a still later DtrN².

The question of v. 20b is more important, for it is above all this final motivation of the King's Law which interests us in this study. As we have seen in the previous paragraph, Steuernagel considered v. 20aβb as an addition, and similar opinions were expressed by a few other scholars.[907]

The secondary character of v. 20b cannot be proved on the basis of the supposed secondary character of v. 20aβ since the latter, as we have seen, is highly hypothetical. Admittedly, vv. 19f. present a rather long series of final clauses, but this in itself may not be used as a decisive argument in diachronic analysis.[908] Moreover, the motivation in v. 20b is not on the same level as the finite clauses in 20aα (and 20aβ), and thus not a real doublet.[909] Whereas the final clauses in 20a still belong to the part of the text describing the king's behavior as required by the Law, v. 20b motivates the king to act in this way by promising him a long life and rule (for similar constructions in Deuteronomy, see 5,29; 6,1-2; 30,6). There are thus no compelling reasons to separate v. 20b from the rest of the law.[910]

To sum up, major literary developments in Deut 17,14-20 do not seem likely. Yet, even if it could be proved that the text was interpolated in vv. 16 and 18f., it would not affect the following discussion of the passage. The points important for our study are clear: it is very difficult to assume the existence of an independent, pre-dtr Königsspiegel; it is impossible to separate the historicizing introduction from the law itself; and there is no conclusive evidence to separate v. 20b from the rest of the law.

The purpose and the origin of Deut 17,14–20

The debate about the historical context of Deut 17,14-20 is very rich, not the least because, as it was noted by G. Seitz, the Law of the King was used more frequently than other Deuteronomic laws to ascertain a date for

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[907] García López, Roi, p. 287, 295. According to Zobel, Prophetie, p. 118, the final motivation in v. 20b was added "während einer späteren deuteronomischen Überarbeitung"; Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 226-227, 237, ascribes v. 20aβb to DtrN's revision of the King's Law (the original form being, in his view, from DtrH's pen). Cf. also F. Horst, Privilegrecht, p. 109; Nicholson, Deuteronomy, 111-112.

[908] Similarly Schäfer-Lichtenberger, Josua, p. 80, quoting Exod 8,18; Josh 11,20; Isa 65,8; Jer 44,7f.; Ezek 20,9.14.22 as examples of similar constructions.

[909] Pace Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 226-227.

[910] For the suggestion of von Rad, Deuteronomy, p. 119, to consider the words "he and his children"as a later addition, see below.

the book of Deuteronomy in general.[911] The discussion of the historical context of this law is closely related to the question whether it was meant to function as a real law or not, and we may use this issue to schematically summarize the various approaches to Deut 17,14–20.

One kind of approach to Deut 17,14–20 is well represented by Patricia Dutcher-Walls who tried to explain the restrictions imposed on the king's ability to acquire horses, wives and riches (16aα.17aα.17b) in the context of 7th century Judah.[912] With an eye to Judah's internal political situation, the prohibitions would aim at circumscribing the king's capacity to exclude other parties from sources of power; in view of the international context, the prohibitions would serve to defend Assyrian interests while at the same time securing the survival of the Judean monarchy on the periphery of the Assyrian empire. Dutcher-Walls confined her analysis to vv. 16aα.17aα.17b, and she does not say whether the "dynastic blessing" in v. 20 stems from the same context. Other scholars, however, are of the opinion that the blessing in v. 20 was part of the pre-exilic law attempting to limit the king's powers.[913] In such a context, the purpose of the conditioned formulation of the dynastic promise would be to incite the king to obey the propounded law and to discourage him to come at variance with it. The dynasty concerned would first and foremost be the one in power, that is the Davidides, even if, as noted by R. Nelson, the designation of the dynasty as potentially long-lasting but not eternal could also be understood as coined with an eye to the repeated dynastic changes in northern Israel.[914]

Several other scholars find more or less the same meaning as Dutcher-Walls in Deut 17,14–20, but date it to the exilic or even later period, sometimes stressing the law's utopian character.[915] But in this later setting, an entirely different meaning of the text may be imagined. Deut 17,14–20

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[911] Seitz, Studien, p. 231. A recent attempt along these lines may be found in Albertz, Legislation, p. 271–296.

[912] Dutcher-Walls, Circumscription, p. 601–616.

[913] Seitz, Studien, p. 231–235; Mayes, Deuteronomy, p. 270, 274; García López, Roi, p. 295; Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 50–66, 89–93; Knoppers, Deuteronomist, p. 335; Nelson, Deuteronomy, p. 225. Numerous scholars consider the "law of the king" in general as pre-exilic, without saying anything specific about v. 20, e. g. Levinson, Reconceptualization, p. 511–534.

[914] Nelson, Deuteronomy, p. 225.

[915] E.g. Horst, Privilegrecht, 108–113; Schäfer-Lichtenberger, Josua, p. 69–85. Cf. Davies, Josiah, p. 65–77, especially p. 73–74.

is one of the Deuteronomic laws where possessing the land and other events mentioned in their historicizing introductions represent the point of time from which the particular law becomes relevant and valid. According to N. Lohfink, "in many cases, these texts are not real 'laws' but proleptic sections of the [Deuteronomistic] historical work: corresponding texts later in the work record whether or not the requirements were carried out" – cf. for example Deut 25,19 (destruction of the Amalekites) and 1 Sam 15.[916] Lohfink counts Deut 17,14 as one of these Deuteronomic prolepses, with 1 Sam 8-12 being the corresponding text. In the same vein and more radically, T. Römer described Deut 17,14-20 as "a table of contents of the accounts about monarchy in Judges, Samuel and Kings", introducing "the story of the failure of monarchy as related in the exilic edition of the book of Samuel and Kings."[917] In such a case, the dynasty alluded to in v. 20 would in the first place be that of David, but the final conditional blessing would in fact be a confirmation of the death sentence – since, as it will be seen in the subsequent narrative, the Davidic kings did not keep the law, their kingship must have to come to an end.

It is thus clear that the question whether Deut 17,14-20 was intended to function as a law (in pre-exilic Judah or after the expected restoration), or was only meant as a prolepsis of the events described in the books of Samuel and Kings, is of great importance for our study. In the former case, v. 20 contains a conditioned dynastic promise, while in the latter the conditioned benediction only functions as an explanation of the disappearance of the Davidic dynasty. I will now look more closely on those elements in the text which may be useful in establishing the text's date, and then return to the meaning of v. 20 in its historical context.

The historicizing introduction in Deut 17,14

The book of Deuteronomy in its current form presents itself as Moses's farewell speech to the children of Israel, proclaimed by Moses in the Transjordan before his death and before the people set on to conquer the land under Joshua's leadership. This "historical" context of Moses's speech is not given exclusively by the narrative framing of Deuteronomy at the beginning, the end and several other places of the book where an

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[916] Lohfink, יָרַשׁ, p. 368-369; *Id.*, Kerygmata, p. 96–97.
[917] Römer, So-Called, p. 79-80, 139–141.

anonymous extradiegetical narrator comes into play without Moses's mediation. Indeed, *Moses's oration itself* contains many passages which, time and time again, bring the context of the speech to the reader's attention[918]. This is notably the case of several laws introduced by protases called "historicizing introductions" which, unlike the protases of the casuistic law, do not describe a legal case but present the entry into the land (or, as the case may be, other later circumstances) as a presupposition for the validity of the given law, thereby implying that, at the present moment, Israel is not a part of the land.[919] Deut 17,14a is such a historicizing introduction, and this means that at least the introduction to the Law of the King presupposes the shape of the Deuteronomy as Moses's speech before Israel's drive into the Cisjordan.

The incessant reminding of the context in which Moses's speech is delivered indicates that Israel's situation in the book has some relevance for the implied recipients of the text. In Deuteronomy, the motif of the promised land becomes an elaborate theologumenon, and several scholars have noticed that the situation of the Israelites in the desert before the entry into the land is very much similar to the situation of the exiled community waiting to – or being encouraged to – enter the land again.[920] All this seems to suggest that the massive historicizing of the Deuteronomic code, while presumably linking up with an older exodus tradition, originated in the Exile.[921]

This conclusion has recently been questioned by R. Albertz, who asks if "there ever [was] a Deuteronomic legal corpus that was not stylized as a speech of Moses just before the occupation of the land, so that we can regard all historicizing remarks in the laws as secondary."[922] This question cannot be seriously studied here, and I will only make one remark. It is true that even some of the passages generally considered to belong to the oldest

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[918] Lohfink, Kerygmata, p. 90. Lohfink mentions the following places: 6,1.18f; 7,1f.17–24; 8,1.7.20; 9,1–6; 10,11; 11,5.8–12.22–25.29.31f; 12,1f.10.29; 15,4; 17,14; 18,9–14; 19,1f.14; 21,1; 23,21; 25,19; 26,1; (27,2–4.12); 28,21.63; 29,1–7; 30,16–18. A glance at these passages indicates that they cannot be the work of one author.

[919] Seitz, Studien, p. 95–101.

[920] E. g. Römer, Search, p. 117–118.

[921] Cf. already Lohfink, Kerygmata, p. 91, according to whom the presentation of the Deuteronomic laws as Moses's speech before the entry into the land of Canaan presupposes the narrative context of Dtr history. See also Schäfer-Lichtenberger, Josua, p. 56–69; Achenbach, Königsgesetz.

[922] Albertz, Legislation, p. 276.

form of the book are not entirely free from traits apparently presupposing the book's current form as Moses's speech. So, for example, from the three forms of the commandment of centralization in Deut 12, the oldest (supposedly pre-exilic) is usually looked for in vv. 13-18(19)[923] which are relatively free from historicizing literary form – the people addressed are well established in their cities (v. 18), and it is not clear who is the speaker. Yet even here, the historicizing fiction is not entirely absent, since the wording of the centralization formula (v. 14aα) expects the election of the "place" in the future (במקום אשר יבחר יהוה), as it is always the case in Deuteronomy, but never in Kings. It seems to me, however, that the difficulty that this and similar passages pose for the reconstruction of a pre-exilic *Urdeuteronomium*, supposedly not formulated as Moses's speech, cannot be a reason not to recognize the fact that the developed structure of Israel's non-natural relation to the land, as it is present in the historicizing introduction in Deut 17,14 and elsewhere in the book, presupposes the Babylonian exile.

The historicizing introduction in Deut 17,14a is thus most likely exilic at the earliest. This, admittedly, does not necessarily mean that *all* the Law of the King must originate from the same time as its introduction. On the other hand, as already observed by G. Seitz, the v. 15, where the law itself begins, may hardly be dissociated from the introduction in v. 14.[924] As a matter of fact, there are no concluding source-critical indices enabling us to dissociate the historicizing introduction from the King's law itself.[925]

Deuteronomy 17,14–20 and the beginnings of Monarchy in Israel (1 Samuel 8–12)

The people's desire to have a king anticipated in Deut 17,14 becomes reality in 1 Sam 8,5 where the elders of Israel ask Samuel to appoint a king for them. These two verses resemble one the other to such an extent that there must be some kind of dependency between them.

| Deut 17,14b | ואמרת אשימה עלי מלך ככל הגוים אשר סביבתי |
| 1 Sam 8,5 | ויאמרו ... עתה שימה לנו מלך לשפטנו ככל הגוים |

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[923] See Römer, Maison, p. 49–80.
[924] Seitz, Studien, p. 232.
[925] Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 54-55; Albertz, Legislation, p. 278.

Cf. also 1 Sam 10,19: ‏ותאמרו לו כי מלך תשים עלינו‎. We may imagine three possibilities: Deut 17,14 and 1 Sam 8,5 may both be the work of one author[926], or one passage may be dependent on the other. Most scholars[927] believe that 1 Sam 8,5 hints to Deut 17,14; according to some other scholars[928] Deut 17,14 depends on 1 Sam 8,5.

It is difficult to make a decision. As far as I know, the most extensive case for the thesis that the exilic dtr composition 1 Sam 8-12 presupposes Deut 17,14-20 was made by C. Nihan in his article "De la loi comme prétexte" where he attempts to expose how 1 Sam 8-12 works with Deut 17,14f. as an intertext *necessary* for the understanding of the events related to the establishment of the monarchy in Israel. In Nihan's view, both the text (i. e. the composition 1 Sam 8-12) and the intertext (Deut 17,14f.) come from the exilic Deuteronomist.[929] Inspired by the works on intertextuality by M. Riffaterre, Nihan describes 1 Sam 8-12 as a text indicating to its readers that it may be properly understood only in connection with an another text. The text itself (1 Sam 8-12) contains various intratextual anomalies ("ungrammaticalities within the idiolectic norm") which cannot be explained from their context alone (i. e. the structure of the text itself), and which are caused by the fact that the text works with an absent intertext (Deut 17,14f.). The reader notices the ungrammaticalities in the structure of the text, and to explain them, he is forced to create the text's relationship to the intertext. In such a case, the text's reference to the intertext is nothing secondary ("a felicitous surplus"); it on the contrary belongs to the text's own coherence and is essential for establishing the text's meaning.

The following notes on the relationship between Deut 17,14-20 and 1 Sam 8-12 are to a large extent based on C. Nihan's analysis of 1 Sam 8-12 presented by him in his article "Le(s) récit(s) dtr de l'instauration de la monarchie en 1 Samuel". But, unlike him, I am not convinced that 1 Sam 8-12 necessarily presupposes the Law of the King in Deuteronomy. Rather,

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[926] According to Särkiö, Weisheit, both verses were written in two stages by two authors – DtrH and DtrN.

[927] Alt, Heimat, p. 264; Mayes, Deuteronomy, p. 271; Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 58; Nihan, Instauration, p. 154, 165, 169; and *Id.*, Loi., p. 43-72; Albertz, Legislation, p. 276-277.

[928] Staerk, Deuteronomium, p. 19; Dietrich, History, p. 322-323; Achenbach, Königsgesetz, p. 222-224.

[929] Nihan, Loi, p. 71.

I am under the impression that the literary influence goes from 1 Sam 8-12 to Deut 17,14-20.

The existence of the Deuteronomic King's Law assures that an informed reader of 1 Sam 8-12 will always read this text in connection with Deut 17,14-20. It seems to me, however, that in itself the description of the origins of monarchy in Israel in 1 Samuel does not distinctly presuppose the knowledge of Deut 17,14-20. On the contrary, the story in 1 Sam 8-12 often develops as if the Deuteronomic Law of the King would not exist. Without the knowledge of the Deuteronomy in its present form, the reader could in no way deduce from the narrative of 1 Samuel itself that the establishment of monarchy in Israel was reckoned on from Moses's time. On the synchronic level of reading it may even be said that the knowledge of Deut 17,14-20 and the necessity to read 1 Sam 8-12 in relation to Deut 17,14-20 bring numerous interferences into 1 Sam 8-12.

In all of 1 Sam 8-12, Samuel acts as if he would not know that the institution of monarchy in Israel was already expected by Moses.[930] The people's request for the appointment of a king (1 Sam 8,5) makes Samuel discontent (v. 6), and he himself (12,12.17.20) as well as Yhwh (8,7f; 12,17f) evaluate the people's request as apostasy from Yhwh.[931] As a warning, Samuel then announces to the people the "Law of the King" (משפט המלך – 1 Sam 8,9.11; cf. משפט המלכה in 10,25) describing various forms of oppression which the kingship will bring about. In the plot of 1 Sam 8, this משפט המלך has a clear function – the people's desire for a king was provoked by Samuel's sons' "abuse of authority" in their office of judges, in particular by their greediness. The kingship, however, will produce injustice to a far greater extent. Now, this "Law of the King" is in complete contradiction to Deut 17,14-20 which precisely endeavors to limit the growth of both royal power and the king's "hubris", the latter stemming

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[930] Cf. already Dillmann, Bücher: "in den Verhandlungen über die Einführung des Königthums 1 Sam 8 ff. [wird] von keiner Seite auf vorhandene gesetzliche Bestimmungen darüber zurückgegriffen." Now also Achenbach, Königsgesetz, p. 223.

[931] In 1 Sam 12,19 the sinfulness of the request for a king is confessed by the people themselves. Nihan, Loi, p. 64-66, assumes that Samuel's and Yhwh's anger is provoked by the fact that the elders and the people do not ask for the king exactly according to the formula from Deut 17,14, but add the motivation "to judge us" (vv. 5f.20), and so (unlike the formulation in Deut 17,14) violate Yhwh's prerogatives. – Yet this procedure, allegedly adopted by the author of the composition 1 Sam 8-12, would be subtle up to unintelligibility, especially if, as it seems, its author would later obscure it in 1 Sam 12,1.12.13.17.19 where the people's sin simply consist of their demand of a king.

from the former.[932] How could Samuel inform the people about the oppressive משפט המלך, had he known about the Mosaic law aiming directly against it?

The comparison of the function that the people's demand has in Deut 17,14 and 1 Sam 8,5 leads to similar conclusions. G. Knoppers rightly observed that all offices in Deut 16,18-18,22 are "divinely mandated", except for the kingship which is established on the people's request granted by Yhwh.[933] The prophet is "raised" (קום hiph. – 18,15.18) by Yhwh, and the Levitical priests are chosen (18,5) by him. As to the local judges and officers, the people themselves should appoint (נתן) them, but it occurs on Yhwh's primary commandment. Only with the kingship is it anticipated that, at its establishment, the initiative will come from the people (though then, the king will be elected by Yhwh, and the people will appoint him in his function – v. 15).

The people's request in Deut 17,14 might seem to be formulated as to stress the exogenous character of kingship in Israel – the people wishes to have a king "like all the nations around me." To follow the practices of the surrounding peoples is always evaluated in a strongly negative way in dtr texts (Deut 6,14; 13,8; Judg 2,12; 2 Kgs 17,15)[934]. The same holds true for the practices of the nations which Israel is supposed to drive out or wipe out – in a close context of our text, Israel is warned not to imitate them in Deut 18,14 (cf. also vv. 9.12). Yet as to the Law of the King in Deut 17,14-20, the phrase "like all the nations around me" brings in an irritating disturbance (at least for a reader adept in dtr texts), because the people's revolting request is here approved by Yhwh. U. Rüterswörden is entirely right when he says that, unlike 1 Sam 8, in Deut 17,14 the people's request

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[932] As already noted by Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 118.

[933] Knoppers, Deuteronomist, p. 334. Similarly Albertz, Legislation, p. 278

[934] In the first three of these texts, we find the phrase "from the gods of the peoples who are around you (them)" (הם)מאלהי העמים אשר סביבותיכם. The nations are thus always designated by the word עמים. In 2 Kgs 17,15, we do not have this phrase, the nations are designated here as גוים, and the meaning of the clause is somewhat obscure – Israel and Judah are blamed for that they "went after the nations". Moreover, the whole sentence 15bβ-δ is most likely a secondary addition, as it is indicated by the fact that ואחרי modifies once more the verb וילכו, in spite of the fact that there is between them the verb ויהבלו. – Note that our text Deut 17,14, too, speaks about גוים. The variants of the phrase "הגוים אשר סביבת + pronominal suffix" also appear in Lev 25,44; Neh 5,17; 6,16; Ezek 5,7bis.14.15; 11,12 (cf. also Ezek 5,6; 36,7.36; 37,21.

is *not* presented as apostasy from Yhwh; in the law of the king, we learn nothing about a sharp contradiction between human and divine kingship.[935] The wording "I will set a king over me like all the nations around me" in Deut 17,14 is thus difficult to explain if we consider Deut 17,14-20 as a primary "dtr" text, not dependent on another text. On the other hand, this wording may be explained by the fact that the author of the King's Law adopted here a formulation used already before him in 1 Sam 8[936], in order to introduce the anticipated constitution of the kingship in Israel in agreement with the later "historical events." At the same time, the author of Deut 17,14 had to leave out the motivation "to judge us" (לשפטנו) from the people's request because in Deuteronomy the task of judging was already assigned to judges in the immediately antecedent text 16,18-17,13.[937]

Contrary to that, in 1 Sam 8 the people's request is well integrated into the plot. The people's desire for a king is condemned by both Samuel and Yhwh (1 Sam 8,6-8; 12,12.17f.20), and the phrase "like all the nations" is no doubt intended to demonstrate the perversity of the request, in agreement with the usual evaluation of any imitating of the "nations" in dtr texts.[938] This clearly transpires among others from the escalation of the people's perversity in 1 Sam 8,20 where they want no less than to *be* like all the other nations (והיינו גם אנחנו ככל הגוים).[939] At the same time, the people's request for the king in the introduction of 1 Sam 8 entirely corresponds to the flow of the chapter, its aim being, as described by C. Nihan[940], to demonstrate that all responsibility for the introduction of the kingship in Israel falls on the people who, despite Samuel's warning, did

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[935] Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 58. The same already in Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 118.

[936] Similarly Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 118.

[937] So also Dietrich, History, p. 323. It is not necessary to study here in detail the law of the judges in Deut 16,18-17,13. Together with other scholars, I think that this text (or at least its core) is older than the Law of the King.

[938] Dietrich, History, p. 22-33, distinguishes in 1 Sam 8 between an older dtr text which is by no means negative towards the kingship (vv. 1-5.20b.-22a) and two later layers in vv. 6-20a which are critical or even hostile to the kingship. I am unconvinced by this literary analysis, for arguments against it see Nihan, Instauration, p. 152-154.

[939] So Nihan, Instauration, p. 156 (and the authors quoted by him). Nihan (*ibid.*, p. 155) may also be right when saying that the people's infidelity is meant to appear in the fact that in 1 Sam 8,20 the people ascribe to the king Yhwh's function in the "holy war" (cf. Josh 23,3.10; Judg 4,14; 2 Sam 5,24); to this, see already Boecker, Beurteilung, p. 32-34.

[940] Nihan, Instauration, p. 155-156.

not abandon their desire, but on the contrary obstinately persisted in their foolishness (similar development may be found in ch. 12). Moreover, it seems that the establishment of the kingship in Israel on the people's *request* is unfolded in 1 Sam 8-12 with an eye to the name of the first (unsuccessful) king. The people ask (שאל – 1 Sam 8,10; 10,22; 12,13.17.19) for a king, and they receive Saul (שאול). The use of the root שאל is particularly striking in Samuel's speech in ch. 12 where the people is finally brought to realize how evil it was to ask for a king (vv. 13.17.19). And it seems symptomatic as well that the older (perhaps pre-exilic) tradition of the establishment of the first king in Israel in 1 Sam 9,1-10,16*; 11*; 13-14* does not work with this pun presenting Saul as the king who had been requested by Israel.

Summed up: The plot in 1 Sam 8-12 unfolds as if there had not been a Law of the King since Moses's time. Rather, on the contrary, the knowledge of this law brings disturbances into 1 Sam 8-12. The wording of the people's request for a king is perfectly functional in the plot of 1 Sam 8-12 but surprising in Deut 17,14. All this suggests that the King's Law in Deut 17,14-20 presupposes the existence of the composition 1 Sam 8-12 and tries to anticipate the origin of the monarchy as it is described in Samuel.

Deuteronomy 17,16–17 and Solomon

Apart from the somewhat general requirements to read in the Torah every day, to fear Yhwh and to keep all the words of the Law, the prohibitions in Deut 17,16–17 constitute the only specific stipulations of the King's Law for the exercise of royal power. As noted by numerous scholars, these statutes are probably somehow related to the description of Solomon's rule in 1 Kings. If we read 1 Kings 1-11 through the prism of Deut 17,14-20, Solomon will appear as the first king who exemplarily violated all the stipulations of the Deuteronomic Law of the King: he had many horses (1 Kgs 5,6; 10,25-29), much gold and silver (9,14.28;10,2.10.14-25), and many (foreign) wives (11,1-4) who finally turned his heart away. As in the previous section, we can ask if Solomon's portrait is (at least in one of its layers) deliberately painted with an eye to the Deuteronomic Law of the King[941], or if, on the contrary, this law is

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[941] So e. g. Brettler, Structure, p. 91-97; Mulder, *1 Kings 1-11*, p. 547.

formulated with respect to an already existing dtr depiction of Solomon's rule.

Before launching into the study of the relationship between Deut 17,14–20 and the portrayal of Solomon's rule in 1 Kings, let us note that it is rather surprising that in the books of Kings a certain link to the Law of the King is found only in connection to Solomon. As correctly noted by G. Knoppers, the accumulation of wealth, horses and women is by no means a productive criterion for the evaluation of Israel's and Judah's kings in the Dtr history.[942] In more general terms, it was even pointed out that Deut 17,14-20 contains a concept of kingship different from that of the Dtr history.[943]

There is no need to study here in detail the composition of the history of Solomon's rule. Numerous scholars have noted that at least in some (maybe already dtr)[944] layer of the text, Solomon's wealth is judged positively. So, for instance, right at the beginning of Solomon's rule, Yhwh reveals himself to Solomon in Gibeon, and as a reward for the king's pious and unselfish request of the "understanding heart", Yhwh promises him also "wealth and glory" in addition (1 Kgs 3,4-15). For some scholars, the summary of Solomon's riches in 1 Kgs 10,14-29 is critical of the king, at least in the present dtr form of the passage.[945] Nevertheless, even in this section, Solomon's wealth is explicitly presented in parallel with his wisdom: "King Solomon excelled all the kings of the earth in wealth and in wisdom" (10,23, see also vv. 24f.).[946] Explicit criticism of Solomon starts only in ch. 11 in connection to the theme of his foreign wives.

A closer look at the relationship of Solomon's story to Deut 17,16f. reveals that a real parallel to the Deuteronomic Law of the King is constituted by 1 Kgs 10,14–11,10, where on a small space we find in quick succession the themes of all three prohibitions from Deut 17,16f. – gold and silver, horses and (foreign) women. There are also linguistic parallels. Deut 17,17 commands the king not to acquire many wives lest his heart turns

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[942] Knoppers, Deuteronomist, p. 337.

[943] Albertz, Legislation, p. 276–278, 290-292.

[944] So Knoppers, Deuteronomist, p. 337-344. This paragraph follows Knoppers's line of reasoning.

[945] So e. g. Brettler, Structure, p. 87-97. Brettler believes, however, that originally the passage comes from a source where the king's wealth served to illustrate his wisdom.

[946] For several authors, this verse presents the fulfillment of Yhwh's promise given to Solomon in Gibeon: Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 207; Knoppers, Deuteronomist, p. 339.

away (ולא ירבה לו נשים ולא יסור לבבו), and it is said about Solomon that he "loved many foreign women" (נשים נכריות רבות – 1 Kgs 11,1), namely 700 princesses and 300 concubines, who in the end "turned away his heart" (ויטו נשיו את לבו – v. 3, cf. vv. 2.4.9; the verb is different than in Deut 17).[947] According to 1 Kgs 10,28f, Solomon imported horses from Egypt[948], and Deut 17,16 especially warns the king against acquiring many horses from Egypt.

We have seen that the depiction of Solomon's riches in 1 Kgs 10,14-29 was in itself probably not meant as a criticism but on the contrary was intended to arouse admiration. It cannot be said with certainty whether this positive portrayal of Solomon was originally followed by an admirative description of the king's large harem. When looking for such a positive layer in the section about Solomon's women, we would most likely reconstruct it from the beginning of v. 11,1MT (והמלך שלמה אהב נשים) and v. 3aMT (ויהי לו נשים שרות שבע מאות ופלגשים שלש מאות): "The King Solomon loved women. He had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines."[949] As a matter of fact, this reconstructed text entirely corresponds to the reading of LXX in 11,1a.[950]

Admittedly, the positive layer in the description of Solomon's harem is hypothetical, but there are a few arguments for it. The preceding positive description of Solomon's wealth emphasizes the huge quantity of his possessions, sometimes in lists of articles of similar kind. So, for example, 1 Kgs 10,16-17 describe the shields of זהב שחוט (beaten gold?), mentioning

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[947] Apart from Solomon's case, the idea that a foreign woman had a detrimental religious effect on a king appears in the book of Kings twice with Ahab (1 Kgs 16,31f.; 21,25). Yet only with Solomon is it said that the foreign women turned his heart away.

[948] It has been frequently assumed that in place of Egypt, 1 Kgs 10,28f had originally mentioned a land called Muṣri, located somewhere in Cappadocia, north of Cilicia (see e. g. the apparatus of BHS). This Cappadocian Muṣri is now considered to be a scholarly invention; see Tadmor, Que, p. 143-150; Naʾaman, Notes, p. 100-101.

[949] This or similar reconstruction of an older text in 1 Kgs 11,1-13 (whether pre-dtr or written by a first Deuteronomist) is defended by: Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 212-224 (vv.1a*.3a – DtrH, but Särkiö at the same time says that "vor-dtr Material in der Schicht des DtrH stellen V. *1a.3a dar." [p. 219]); Cf. also Noth, Könige, p. 244-249, who finds pre-dtr sources in vv. 3a.7a, or Römer, So-Called, p. 150-151, reconstructing an original sequence 1*.3a.4.5-7*.9-13. – For the view that 1 Kgs 11,1-10 stems from one author, see Knoppers, Nations 1, p. 145 and references cited there.

[950] The reading of LXX is considered as more original by BHS; Knoppers, Nations 1, p. 140-141. – Barrick, Loving, p. 432, thinks that ἦν φιλογύναιος represents אהב נשים רבות. If so, the word רבות from v. 1aMT could perhaps be included in our reconstruction; see, however, Knoppers, *Ibid.*, p. 140-141.

the numbers of the shields and the weight of the gold used for them; vv. 18-20 describe the ivory throne overlaid with זהב מופז (finest gold?); and v. 21 goes on to say that Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold, and the vessels of the House of the Forest of Lebanon were of the זהב סגור (refined gold?), while silver was not considered to be anything in Solomon's days.[951] Similarly, v. 26 gives the numbers of Solomon's chariots (1,400)[952] and horses (12,000). The following section about the king's harem also begins with similar numerical list of Solomon's wives (700) and concubines (300) (1 Kgs 1,1aLXX = 1a+3aMT). It seems quite probable that these data originally had the same purpose as those about other Solomon's possessions, namely to illustrate the king's greatness.[953] There is also a stylistic feature pointing in this direction. In the section about Solomon's wealth in 1 Kgs 9,10-10,29, he is several times called "the king Solomon" (המלך שלמה – 9,11.15.26.28; 10,13bis.16.21.23).[954] This designation is more solemn than just "Solomon" or "the king", and it serves to suggest Solomon's greatness, as is apparent in 10,13aβ[955]. It is thus logical that the passages critical of Solomon in ch. 11 do not use this title. Yet, "the king Solomon" appears in 11,1a, which supports the idea that the information about the huge number of Solomon's women was originally intended to illustrate the king's greatness. Furthermore, it is largely agreed that in 1 Kgs 10,8, the reading of LXX and Syr "blessed are your wives" is more ancient than MT's reading that refers to Solomon's men[956]; this may also indicate

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[951] Other numbers concerning Solomon's gold already appear in 1 Kgs 9,14.28; 10,20; 10,14, cf. also 10,25.

[952] 4000 in LXX[B]. For an argument in favour of this reading, see Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 209.

[953] So e. g. Noth, Könige, p. 246-248. One might even speculate that already the original positive notice about the number of Solomon's women contained some information about their origin, in analogy with similar information about the provenance of other Solomon's possessions (see 1 Kgs 9,10.14.28; 10,2.10-12.14f..22.25.28f.). Cf. Sweeney, Kings, p. 155, who notes that the list of nations in 1 Kgs 11,1 does not coincide with the list in Deut 7,1, enumerating seven Canaanite nations with which Israel is forbidden to intermarry. Given that there apparently is a relationship between 1 Kgs 11,2 and Deut 7,1-6, the differences in the lists may indicate "a secondary redactional effort to apply the Dtr injunction to Solomon rather than an original author's effort to demonstrate Solomon's violation of this command."

[954] The expression appears numerous times in previous chapters as well.

[955] Cf. the translation of NJB: "besides those presents which he gave her with a munificence worthy of King Solomon."

[956] E. g. Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 185. Otherwise Mulder, 1 Kings 1-11, p. 518.

that in some phase of its development, the text was not hostile to Solomon's women.

Later on, a dtr redactor reinterpreted the information about Solomon's harem in 1 Kgs 11, so that in the present text it appears critical of Solomon. (As a matter of fact, according to some scholars the chapter contains several dtr layers critical of Solomon.[957] For our study, it is unnecessary to discuss these suggestions in detail.) This dtr criticism refers to a word of Yhwh violated by Solomon: the king loved (or took in LXX) many foreign women "from the nations concerning which Yhwh had said to the children of Israel: 'You shall not go in to them, and they shall not go in to you, for surely (LXX: lest…) they will turn away your heart after their gods'" (1 Kgs 11,1-2). Surprisingly, the redactor does not refer to the Law of the King in Deut 17,17 ("and he shall not multiply to himself wives, lest his heart turn away"), but rather to Deut 7,3f. and Jos 23,7.12, i. e. the stipulations addressed to Israel in general, not only to the king. This seems curious especially in view of the fact that some kind of relationship between 1 Kgs 10,14-11,10 and Deut 17,14-20 is unmistakable. It thus appears that the author of the final form of 1 Kgs 11,1-2 did not know the Deuteronomic Law of the King, and the influence went again from 1 Kgs 10-11 to Deut 17,16-17. The latter verses were most likely built with regard to the portrayal of Solomon's wealth and fall in 1 Kgs 10,14-11,10.[958]

It should also be noted that the clause ולא יסור לבבו in Deut 17,17aβ is an ellipsis, and it is completely unclear from this text alone from where or in which direction the king's heart should not incline. Neither is Deut 17,17a clear enough when put in connection with Deut 7,3-4. According to the latter "you shall not intermarry with them: you will give your daughter to his son, and you will not take his daughter for your son. For that will turn your son away from me, and they will serve other gods…" In Deut 7, the problem is thus intermarriage with foreigners in general, not the quantity of women. Only when Deut 17,17a is read in connection with 1 Kings 11, it becomes clear why many women could incline the king's heart, and from where and in which direction: according to 1 Kings 11, Solomon had many women, including foreign women, and these turned his heart after other gods. We must thus conclude again that the elliptical

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[957] Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 212-224.
[958] Similarly Achenbach, Königsgesetz, p. 229-230.

expression in Deut 17,17a is likely to presuppose the more complete formulations in 1 Kgs 11,1-10.[959]

To conclude this section, I would like to point out that all the mentioned passages concerning the prohibition of intermarriage (Deut 7,3f.; Jos 23,7.12-13; 1 Kgs 11,2) are in all probability relatively late – in the terminology of the Göttingen school, they are ascribed to the so-called nomistic redactors (DtrN)[960], while in T. Römer's model they fall within the phase of dtr scribal activity during the Persian period[961]. If then 1 Kgs 11,2 hints to Deut 7,3f. and Jos 23,7.12, but apparently does not know Deut 17,17, the Law of the King should indeed be dated relatively late. In view of the preceding analysis, and in the context of the present discussion on the development of dtr editing of the Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets, any earlier date than the last quarter of the 6th century seems impossible to me.[962] Later dates are possible, of course. If, for example, we follow P. Davies[963] in placing the main bulk of Deuteronomy in the 5th century, we will be obliged to shift the date of the King's Law considerably, given its position in the relative chronology of various dtr texts as described above.

A more precise dating in terms of absolute chronology is difficult without entering into the question of Deuteronomy's origin in general, a problem which I am unable to attend to here. I will nevertheless add one more very tentative suggestion.

In terms of structure, the closest text to Deut 17,14-20 from the whole of Deuteronomy is Deut 12,20-25(28).[964] Both texts begin with the conjunction כי followed by the historical introduction leading into the pf. cs. ואמרת which, for its part, introduces Israel's direct speech expressing an

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[959] Cf. the reading of the Temple Scroll where the ellipsis is mitigated: ולוא ישירו לבבו מאחרי (11Q19 LVI 18-19). – Cf. already Gerstenberger, Wesen, p. 67, who notes that an object is missing in Deut 17,17aβ. He believes the clause is a late interpretation, but there is no reason to single it out, unless we postulate with Gersternberger an original series of prohibitives in vv. 16-17 (for which see *supra*).

[960] Särkiö, Weisheit, p. 214, 223-224; Pakkala, Monolatry, p. 94-98, 140, 154.

[961] Römer, So-Called, p. 150, 170, 172.

[962] Cf. Achenbach, Königsgesetz, p. 219: "… frühestens aus der Periode des Beginns der Perserherrschaft nach 539 v. Chr.…."

[963] Davies, Josiah.

[964] Cf. also the remarks by Merendino, Gesetz, p. 179-180; Schäfer-Lichtenberger, Josua, p. 71.

intention which the people will conceive in the circumstances described in the historical introduction. The verbs used are in sg. of cohortative. Subsequently, Israel's desire is sanctioned; the verbs used are in 2nd p. sg. impf. The approval is in either case emphatic: according to Deut 12,20b "you will eat meat according to all the desire of your soul"; in Deut 17,15, figura etymologica (שום תשים) is used[965]. This general authorization is followed by several "procedural regulations" which nail down the way the affair in question should be pursued. Among these instructions, we find one qualification whose fulfillment seems to be fundamental (the prohibition of the consummation of blood in Deut 12,23-25 and the prohibition of the accumulation of horses, women and silver in 17,16f.). This stipulation is in both texts introduced by the particle רק. Lastly, the fulfillment of the instructions is in both passages motivated by a blessing concerning the posterity – according to Deut 12,25 (and 28), the people should do what is right in Yhwh's eyes so that all goes well with them and their children after them; according to Deut 17,20, the king must not turn aside from the commandment, "in order that he may prolong the days over his kingdom, he and his sons, in Israel."[966]

Deut 12,20-28 cannot be discussed here in detail. A. Rofé put forward the suggestion that this text seeks to harmonize the Deuteronomic permission of profane slaughter (Deut 12,15) with Lev 17,3-7 where, on the contrary, any slaughter of cattle, sheep and goats outside the central sanctuary is prohibited.[967] This interpretation of Deut 12,20-28 was later adopted by T. Römer.[968] If this understanding of Deut 12,20-28 is correct, Deut 12,20-28 must be later than the Holiness Code which, following C. Nihan's argumentation[969], was written in connection with the first publication of the Torah at the end of the 5th century B.C.E.

Can the proximity of Deut 12,20-25(28) and Deut 17,14-20 be useful for the dating of the Law of the King? May we deduce that both texts are from the same time or even the same hand? Such a conclusion seems

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[965] It could be argued here that figura etymologica already emphasizes the point of the next (subordinate) clause, i. e. that the king must be chosen by Yhwh. In any case, the fact remains that Israel's intention expressed in v. 14 is approved of.

[966] To be sure, the "democratic" form of the promise concerning all the people appears elsewhere in Deuteronomy as well: 4,40; 5,29; 6,2; 11,21.

[967] Rofé, Deuteronomy, p. 8 (the article was originally published in Hebrew in *Beit Miqra'* 32 (1986/7), p. 206-216).

[968] Römer, Centralization, p. 171.

[969] Nihan, Torah, p. 545-575.

uncertain, since structural similarities in the texts may result from scribal habits which may had been handed down for tens or even hundreds of years. Yet, in view of the position of Deut 17,14-20 in relative chronology of Dtr texts, as it was established in previous paragraphs, the possibility that Deut 17,14-20 was written by the same author as the post-H text Deut 12,20-25(28) should not be excluded.

Apart of this, the comparison of Deut 17,14-20 to Deut 12,20-25(28) suggests a more general conclusion regarding the similar function of these texts. Both texts seem to approve of and authorize a practice or an institution which already was radically questioned and is therefore no more a matter of course (in case of profane slaughter, we know that it was questioned in Lev 17,3-7). Deut 17,14-20 thus probably presupposes a discussion about legitimacy or suitability of kingship in Israel.[970]

It should be mentioned at the close of this section that R. Albertz recently arrived at a very different conclusion concerning the date of origin of the King's Law.[971] His suggestion is based on the analysis of Deut 17,16aα²βb. In Albertz's view, this stipulation constitutes a later addition to the law, and it concerns a more specific behavior of the king than the rest of the prohibitions in vv. 16-17 (yet, as we have seen, the relationship of 17,16aα²βb to its context may be understood differently).[972] For these reasons, Albertz searches for a specific historical context of this insertion. Together with numerous other scholars, Albertz is convinced that the prohibition 17,16aα²βb concerns the exchange of Judean mercenaries sent to Egypt in return for Egyptian horses and chariots. He further believes that the prohibition has in view a specific historical event which he identifies with a supposed military arrangement between Zedekiah and Psammetichus II, coming to existence on the occasion of Psammetichus's Nubian campaign in 593/2: "Zedekiah supported Psammetichus II's campaign against the old Ethiopian rival in the south…; he sent a large group of Judaean soldiers. In return Psammetichus II delivered horses and chariots to Zedekiah in order to strengthen his military power for an encounter with the Babylonians."[973] Considering the date of the insertion

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[970] Cf. Steuernagel, Deuteronomium, p. 118.
[971] Albertz, Legislation.
[972] See the discussion above.
[973] Albertz, Legislation, p. 288.

of Deut 17,16aα²βb, Albertz says that it "can be narrowed down to between 594 and 590 B.C.E.," which further leads him to argue that this date constitutes a "*terminus ad quem* of most of the Deuteronomic legislation."

There are a few problems with this thesis. First, it is not sure at all that v. 16aα²βb is a later addition to the Law of the King. Albertz's arguments for a relationship between this stipulation and the supposed military arrangement between Zedekiah and Psammetichus II on the occasion of the Pharaoh's Nubian campaign in 593/2 seem plausible, but this connection does not constitute a real reason for the dating of the text between 594 and 590 B.C.E. As a matter of fact, the text could have been written any time after this date, as long as the fact that Judean mercenaries were sent to Egypt in exchange for the king's horses was remembered. As we may deduce from the letter AP 30 = TAD A4,7 written by the Jews in Elephantine, they knew in 407 B. C. that their ancestors were in Egypt "already in the days of the kings of Egypt" (AP 30,13 = AP 31,12; AP 30 reads king, but AP 31 has the plural; conversely, AP 31 reads "day"), before "Cambyses came into Egypt" (*ibid.*). Moreover, the Letter of Aristeas still mentions that the first Jews coming to Egypt had been sent there "as allies/auxiliaries to fight against the King of the Ethiopians together with Psammetichus."[974] And the Temple Scroll correctly develops Deut 17,16 into "only he will not multiply the cavalry to himself and he will not cause the people to return to Egypt <u>on account of war</u> (למלחמה) in order to multiply to himself the cavalry and the silver and the gold…" (11Q19 LXVI 15-16).[975] Admittedly, neither the letter from Elephantine nor the Letter of Aristeas contains the idea that Judean soldiers were exchanged with Egypt for horses for the king of Judah. Still, these passages show that some circumstances of the Judeans' arrival to Egypt, arguably at the beginning of the 6th c. B.C.E., were remembered for a long time. There is thus no reason to believe that Deut 17,16aα²βb, supposedly alluding to Zedekiah's deal with Psammetichus II, could only have been written during

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[974] For the discussion of the identity of Psammetichus, see Albertz, Legislation, 284–289.

[975] The Temple Scroll may be dated to the mid-second century B. C. according to García Martínez, Temple Scroll, p. 931-932. Note, however, that scholars usually suppose that the author of the Temple Scroll took the King's Law from an older Midrash to Deuteronomy, dating back to the Maccabean period according to García Martínez, *Ibid.*, p. 932.

Zedekiah's reign. In fact, if this verse really is somehow connected to the involvement of Judean mercenaries in Psammetichus II's Nubian campaign in 593/2, this date only constitutes a *terminus a quo* for Deut 17,16aα²βb.

Royal Dynasty in Deuteronomy 17,20

In Deut 17,20, the king's obedience to the Law is motivated by the long duration of his and his sons' days in their kingship in Israel. The expression האריך ימים in the sense "to prolongate (one's) days" (most often meaning "to live long") occurs 20x in HB, out of which 14x in Dtr history (11x in Deuteronomy itself).[976] It frequently appears in parenetical contexts, as a motivation for obedience of various commandments. Apart of Deut 17,20, it is never said that *somebody and his sons* should prolongate their days (even if occasionally, the sons seem to be included it the "you" addressed in Moses's speech – see e. g. Deut 6,2). The specific interest in the prolongation of the son's days in Deut 17,20 thus indicates that we encounter here the theme of the duration of a royal dynasty.

In the "royal context", the expression appears in HB with Solomon in 1 Kgs 3,14 ("And if you will walk in my ways to keep my statutes and my commandments, as David your father walked, then I will prolong your days.")[977], and a related turn of phrase appears also in the royal Psalm 21,5 ("you gave him length of days [אֹרֶךְ יָמִים]).

As noted by M. Weinfeld[978] and U. Rüterswörden[979], the expression "to prolong (one's) days" also appears in several West-Semitic inscriptions, frequently in respect to a king.

It occurs in several Phoenician royal inscriptions:

KAI 4 – The inscription of Yaḥimilk, king of Byblos, ca. 950 B.C.E.
l. 3-6: יארך . בעל שמם . ובעל⟨ת⟩ (4) גבל . ומפחרת . אל גבל
(5) קדשם . ימת . יחמלך . ושנתו (6) על גבל

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[976] The occurrences are: Exod 20,12; Num 9,19; Num 9,22; Deut 4,26.40; 5,16.33; 6,2; 11,9; 17,20; 22,7; 25,15; 30,18; 32,47; Jos 24,31; Judg 2,7; 1 Kgs 3,14; Pro 28,16; Ecc 8,13; Isa 53,10.

[977] In Deuteronomy, the subject of the verb is either the potentially blessed man or the days, while in 1 Kgs 3,14 it is God.

[978] Weinfeld, School, p. 345.

[979] Rüterswörden, Gemeinschaft, p. 65-66.

… May Baal/Master of Heavens and Baala<t>/Mistress of Byblos/Gubal and the assembly of holy gods of Byblos/Gubal prolong the days of Yaḥimilk and his years over Byblos/Gubal…[980]

KAI 6 – The inscription of king Elibaal, king of Byblos, ca. 900 B.C.E.
l. 2-3: תערך . בעלת [. גבל] (3) [ימת . א]לבעל . ושנתו . על . [גבל]

… May Baalat/Mistress [of Byblos/Gubal] prolong [the days of E]libaal and his years over [Byblos/Gubal].

KAI 7 – The inscription of Šipiṭbaal, king of Byblos, the end of 10th c. B.C.E.
l. 4-5: תערך . בעלת גבל (5) ימת . שפטבעל . ושנתו . על . גבל

… May Baalat/Mistress of Byblos/Gubal prolong the days of Šipiṭbaal and his years over Byblos/Gubal.

KAI 10 – The inscription of Yeḥawmilk, king of Byblos, ca. the middle of the 5th c. B.C.E.
l. 8-9: תברך בעלת גבל אית יחומל֗ך (9) מלך גבל ותחוו ותארך ימו ושנתו על גבל

… May the Mistress of Byblos/Gubal bless Yeḥawmilk, king of Byblos/Gubal, may she keep him alive, and may she prolong his days and his years upon Byblos/Gubal…[981]

The phrase attested in KAI 6 and KAI 7 may be reconstructed in the inscription of Abibaal, king of Byblos (ca. 925 B.C.E., KAI 5,2), and a similar expression, using a genitive phrase instead of the verb with a direct object, appears in the *Phoenician inscription of Azatiwada, an agent of Awariku, king of the Danunians, from ca. the end of 8th – the beginning of the 7th c. B.C.E. (KAI 26 A III 5.; C III 20,):*

"may Baʿal KRNTRYŠ (and all the gods of the city) give Azatiwada length of days (ארך ימם) and multitude of years…".[982]

In Aramaic, cognate phrases are attested in:

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[980] The translation is by S. Segert, COS II, p. 146.
[981] The translation is by S. Segert, COS II, p. 151.
[982] The translation is by K. Lawson Younger, COS II, p. 150.

KAI 226 – The tomb inscription of Siʾgabbar, priest of Sahar, early 7ᵗʰ c. B.C.

l. 3: שמני שם טב והארך יומי

… He gave me a good name and prolonged my days…[983]

The bilingual (Assyrian-Aramaic) inscription of Hadad-Yithʿi, king/governor[984] of Guzan, Sikan and Azran, ca. third quarter of the 9ᵗʰ c. B.C.[985]

The Aramaic text, l. 7-8: לחיי : נבשה : ולמארך : יומוה (8) ולכבר : שנוה

… So that his (= the king's) soul may live, and his days be long, and to increase his years…[986]

Cf. the Assyrian text, l. 10-11: *ana bulluṭᵘᵗ napšāti-šú arāk ūmē-šú (11) šúm-ud šanāti-šú*

… For the life of his soul, the length of his days, the prolongation of his years…

In this inscription, however, the Aramaic text has a genitive phrase where the *nomen regens* is the infinitive of peal of ארך, and the Assyrian text has, similarly, a genitive phrase where the nomen regens is the infinitive of the G stem of arāku(m).[987]

To these inscriptions, we may now add one Philistine inscription:

The inscription of Akhayus, king(?) of Ekron, ca. 680-665 B.C.[988]

l. 4: ותארך ימה

… And may she (= the goddes *Ptgyh*) prolong his days…

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[983] The translation is by P. K. McCarter, COS II, p. 185.

[984] Hadad-Yithʿi is called "governor" (*šākin māti*) in the Assyrian text, and "king" (*mlk*) in the Aramaic text. For the discussion of his status, see Abou-Assaf – Bordreuil – Millard, La statue, p. 109–112.

[985] For the text, see Abou-Assaf – Bordreuil – Millard, La statue.

[986] The translation is by A. Millard, COS II, p. 154.

[987] For the Aramaic form, see Abou-Assaf – Bordreuil – Millard, La statue, p. 31, 55; for other occurrences of cognate Akkadian expressions, see *Ibid.*, p. 19, 69; and CAD I.2., arāku; these expressions appear in various contexts.

[988] The text was published in Gitin – Dothan – Naveh, Inscription, p. 1–16. Akhayus's title in the inscription is שר עקרן. It is generally felt as surprising that he is not called מלך עקרן. For the discussion of the title used in the inscription, see *ibid.*, p. 11 and K. L. Younger in COS II, p. 164.

In Deut 17,20, the prolongation of the king's and his sons' days "over his kingdom" serves as a motivation for the king's obedience to the law. This "dynastic blessing" in Deut 17,20 is thus essentially conditioned, and as such may be compared to the conditional formulations of the dynastic promise to David in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4–5. As we have already seen, the idea that a king's power is conditioned by his obedience to a god's will is *not* an uncommon feature of ANE royal ideologies, and this may be observed also in the adduced inscriptions. In Yaḥimilk's inscription, for instance, the prayer for prolongation of the king's days and years over Byblos is followed by a justification: "for (כ) [he] (is) the righteous king and just king at the face/before the holy (gods) of Byblos/Gubal"[989] (KAI 4, l. 6-7; a similar justification appears in Yeḥawmilk's inscription – KAI 10, l. 9). The long life and rule of Yaḥimilk and Yeḥawmilk over Byblos are presented as *merited*, thus implicitly conditioned by Yaḥimilk's and Yeḥawmilk's qualities as kings. The prayer for a long life and reign apparently was part of the traditional phraseology of the West-Semitic royal inscriptions in 1st millennium B.C., and it is thus not surprising that the author of Deut 17,14–20 used the prolongation of the king's days over his kingdom as a motivation for the king's obedience to the Law.

Deut 17,20 seems exceptional in another respect, however. All the adduced inscriptions speak about the prolongation of the days of individual persons, regularly a king, in one case a priest (KAI 226). The same use of the formula appears in 1 Kgs 3,14 where Yhwh conditionally promises Solomon to prolong his days, and in Ps 21,5 where a king is given אֹרֶךְ יָמִים. Deut 17,20 is the only place where the expression appears in connection with the idea of a royal dynasty.[990] It seems obvious that the concept of the "prolongation of one's days", as it is attested in various West Semitic languages, had originally been used in respect of an individual's life, and its application on the duration of a dynasty in Deut 17,20 is a secondary development, most likely *ad hoc*.

As a matter of fact, the king's obedience to the Law could well be motivated by the long reign of the king himself, without any mention of his sons. The application of the phrase האריך ימים on the duration of a

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[989] Translation by S. Segert, COS II, p. 146.

[990] Admittedly, the deuteronomic passages like e. g. Deut 5,33 most likely think of the life of Israel as a *nation*, thus a period encompassing several generations. Still, the specifically dynastic thought comparable to Deut 17,20 is lacking in these passages.

royal dynasty is somewhat clumsy, and therefore in all likelihood reflecting a specific situation and purpose.[991] Given our previous conclusions as to the date of origin of Deut 17,14-20, it seems reasonable to suppose that this innovative use of the expression reflects the author's awareness of the end of the Davidic kingship, or at least his awareness of the fact that the reign of the Davidic dynasty has been radically questioned.[992] The expression בקרב ישראל at the end of the verse should perhaps be seen in this context. It is sometimes assumed that the usual neutral expression is "to reign over Israel" – מלך על ישראל, and that the use of the preposition "in the middle" (בקרב) instead of "over" (על) in Deut 17,20 stresses the author's rejection of monarchical absolutism.[993] This, however, seems unlikely because vv. 14f. have no problem to speak about the establishment of a king "over Israel", with the preposition על being used three times, in the people's request as well as in the legislator's answer. More plausibly, the expression בקרב ישראל in the conditioned dynastic promise in v. 20 simply reflects the fact that the author is thinking here in terms of the very existence (or non-existence) of a ruling dynasty "in Israel".[994]

We may now come back to the question whether Deut 17,14 was meant to be a law or rather an introduction to the history of monarchy in Israel and an explication of its failure[995]. To deny any positive legal purpose to Deut 17,14-20 seems difficult to me. Even if the text is written in post-monarchical period, it may aim (among others) at drawing some basic

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[991] Cf. Rad, Deuteronomy, p. 119, who considered the words "he and his children" an addition "in a somewhat clumsy style". According to him, the introduction of the dynastic thought into the King's Law should be considered as an *interpretatio judaica* of the Law which originally reflected conditions in the Northern Kingdom where kingship "had a charismatic basis." – In my view, the innovative use of the expression האריך ימים does not have to be understood as a result of a superposition of several layers in Deut 17,20. Cf. also Merendino, Gesetz, p. 181-182.

[992] Let me note, for the sake of clarity, that this line of reasoning is not affected by the fact that the phrase האריך ימים also appears in other than royal contexts. My point is that it apparently belonged to the phraseology describing the blessings of a good king (e. g. in royal inscriptions) in various West Semitic languages, and that the term normally (in various contexts) expressed the length of an individual's life, or the length of a period of an individual's life, but not the duration of a dynasty.

[993] E. g. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, Josua, p. 85.

[994] Cf. how the preposition בקרב is used to express the presence or absence of various phenomena in Deut 1,42; 6,15; 7,21; 13,2.12.15; 16,11; 17,2; 18,2; 19,10.20; 23,15.17; 26,11; 28,43; 29,10; 31,17.

[995] The latter possibility was suggested by Römer, So-Called, p. 79-80, 139-141.

prescriptions for the case that there would be (again) a king in Israel.[996] This may be indicated for example by the Law's insistence that the king cannot be a foreigner. Also the comparison of the structure of Deut 17,14-20 and Deut 12,20-28 suggests that both texts may have a similar purpose in their conceding and regulating something previously contested.

On the other hand, the anticipating aspect of Deut 17,14-20 is very strong. We have seen that v. 14 is composed with an eye to the narratives about the establishment of kingship in 1 Sam 8-12, and Deut 17,16-17 presupposes and anticipates 1 Kgs 10,14-11,10. The innovative use of the expression האריך ימים in v. 20 has an anticipating aspect too. The scribe modifies the expression in order that the king's obedience to the Law becomes the condition not only for his long reign, but for the duration of his dynasty. Meanwhile, Deut 17,14-20 does not comprise the idea of the decisive role of the edict of the dynastic promise – the prolongation of the king's rule and the lasting of his dynasty are conditioned by his continuous obedience, since the king is obliged to read and observe the law all the days of his life. In this way, *the dynastic blessing in v. 20 serves to explain the end of the disobedient Davidic dynasty*.

In this respect, Deut 17,20 corresponds to the use of the conditioned dynastic promise in 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5. Taking in consideration our conclusions on the relative chronology of Deut 17,14-20 and other dtr texts in Samuel-Kings, especially the fact that Deut 17,14-20 is of later origin than several texts traditionally assigned to DtrN, it seems most probable that Deut 17,20 takes up the "negative" use of the conditional dynastic promise from 1 Kgs 2,4; 8,25; 9,4-5.

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[996] Similary Achenbach, Königsgesetz, p. 218-219.

Bibliography

Bibliographical abbreviations usually follow S. Schwertner, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie. Abkürzungverzeichnis*, Berlin–New York, 1994². In addition, following abbreviations are used:

ABD = Freedman, David Noel – Herion, Gary A. – Graf, David F. – Pleins, John David – Beck, Astrid B. (eds.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 3. H – J*, New York, Doubleday, 1992

BBLA = *Beiträge zur biblischen Landes und Altertumsbunde*

Brooke – McLean – Thackeray = BROOKE, A. E. - M^CLEAN, N. – THACKERAY, H. St J., *The Old Testament in Greek. According to the text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial manuscripts, with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint*, Cambridge: University Press, 1906–1940.

CTAT 1 = BARTHÉLEMY, D. (ed.). *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. 1. Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie* (OBO 50/1), Fribourg / Göttingen: Éditions universitaires / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.

DDD = VAN DER TOORN, K. - BECKING, B. – VAN DER HORST, P. W. (eds), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible. DDD. Second extensively revisited Edition*, Leiden / Grand Rapids: Brill / Eerdmans, 1999

DSD = *Dead Sea Discoveries*

EDSS = SCHIFFMAN, L. H. – VANDERKAM, J. C. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls. 1–2*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000

JNSL = *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*

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