

as ally or tool – has occupied authors for centuries. In the passion plays of the Middle Ages and in the J. Bale's *Johan Baptystes* (1538), J. Wedderburn's *Beheading of St John the Baptist* (1539), and G. Buchanan's *Baptistes* (1544), the figure of the ascetic John stands as the central focus, while the intrigue of Herodias serves as the focal point in J. Krüginger's *Tragoedie von Herode und Joanne dem Tauffer* (1545), J. Schöpfer's *Johannes decollatus* (1546), and H. Sachs' *Tragedi die Enthauptung Johanns* (1550), among others. In the libretto for J. Massenet's opera *Erodiade* (1881), G. Flaubert features the antagonism between mother and daughter whom John wants to save: the true puller of strings is Herodias, while Salome is deployed only as a medium for seduction; similar to J. Lauff's *Herodias* (1896), here a despairing Salome throws herself from the battlements of the palace.

The nameless daughter of Jairus also carries no real weight in the literature about Jesus: she is only mentioned as an example of paternal grief or Jesus' mission. Solely in F. Braun's one-act play *Die Tochter des Jairus* (1944) is she the central figure. Years later in search of her savior, she rejects the "bridegroom" which her father chose for her.

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Magda Motté

See also → Dinah; → Jephthah, Daughter of

Daughters of Lot

→ Lot (Person)

David

- I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament
- II. New Testament
- III. Judaism
- IV. Christianity
- V. Islam
- VI. Literature
- VII. Visual Arts
- VIII. Music
- IX. Film

I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

David (MT *Dāwīd*/*Dāwīd*; LXX Δαυιδ), son of Jesse, is remembered as the Bethlehemite shepherd, musician, warrior, and poet who rose to become king over a united Judah and Israel. According to the biblical traditions, at the age of thirty David was anointed ruler over the southern kingdom of Judah and reigned from the city of Hebron for seven and

a half years; after the assassination of the Israelite king, Ishbaal (2 Sam 4:6–7), David was subsequently anointed king over the northern kingdom of Israel and ruled both realms jointly for thirty-three years from his new capital at Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:4–5). Taking at face value the regnal years of the kings of Israel and Judah preserved in the biblical record and coordinating them with the chronology of foreign rulers cited in other ancient Near Eastern accounts, David would have lived and reigned sometime around 1000 BCE.

1. David in History. Attempting to discern the faint outlines of a historical David amidst the prominent tales of David's life within the biblical narratives remains a challenging task, and one that has been the object of intense scholarly debate. Complicating this pursuit is the absence of archaeological evidence in the southern Levant that can be securely linked to any of the biblical stories about David. No material remains attesting to the king's achievements have been recovered in the region, nor does any contemporary ruler or rival kingdom in the ANE mention David's exploits. Furthermore, the Jerusalem of David, much like the highland region in which it was situated, appears to have been only a rustic, modestly populated site in the early Iron II era of David's time (Finkelstein, Mazar).

Such considerations have led a number of scholars to question the historical significance of the biblical presentation of David. Though the Davidic narratives were once considered among the oldest exemplars of history writing in ancient Israel (von Rad), a new generation of researchers has maintained that these biblical stories were composed many centuries after David would have lived and written for purposes connected to the social, political, and religious concerns of these later, post-exilic authors (Thompson; Davies; Van Seters). Consequently, the biblical tales of David were deemed late literary constructs detached from and mostly unaware of the world of the southern Levant in the early Iron IIA period. According to this perspective, to read the biblical texts about David for historical information would be to misread their intent as theological/ideological works for an audience who lived at a considerable remove from the Davidic era (Whitlam; Thompson).

Quite recently, however, a significant inscription has come to light that suggests a more nuanced approach is required for understanding the complex relationship between the biblical tales of David and the individual of history. Inscribed onto the memorial stele of an Aramean ruler unearthed at the site of Tel Dan in northern Israel, the Tel Dan Inscription cites the "House of David" (Fragment A, Line 9) as a vanquished enemy whose defeat provided the motivation for the stele's construction. Though offering little information on the life of the historical David, this late 9th/early 8th century BCE

Aramaic text is nevertheless of historical consequence precisely because it stands as an extra-biblical, foreign citation of an eponymous “David” also remembered in the biblical text as the founder of a dynastic house in Jerusalem. That a few centuries after David lived a foreign ruler was still inclined to refer to his southern Levantine enemy by a dynastic designation bearing David’s name considerably tempers those attempts to reduce the biblical king to a wholly legendary, fictional construct unrelated to the history of Judah and Israel.

2. David in the Biblical Record. To provide a more robust image of the renowned ruler it is necessary to undertake a careful exploration of the biblical traditions that concern David’s life. Outlaw and king, adulterer and giant-slayer, murderer and messiah – the depth and complexity of David’s character is one of the most sophisticated in the literature of antiquity. The artistry with which David’s life is portrayed in the biblical record is a testament to the power conveyed by the king’s memory, a story that continues to shape the identity and history of those communities who claimed him as their own.

The first, and largest, collection of stories pertaining to David are the forty-one chapters devoted to his life within 1 Sam 16 – 1 Kgs 2. Spanning from David’s youth to his last days as king, these narratives are most often divided into two primary components: The first, identified as “The history of David’s Rise,” originates in 1 Sam 16 and continues until the account of David’s coronation over Israel in 2 Sam 5:3. After a three chapter interlude documenting David’s relocation to Jerusalem, the divine blessing offered him there by the prophet Nathan, and the military victories he won over his enemies (2 Sam 5:6 – 8:18), the second large section of David’s story, termed the “Succession Narrative” or “Court History,” begins at 2 Sam 9 and continues until David’s death in 1 Kgs 2 (with a four chapter addendum placed within this story in 2 Sam 21–24).

Included within “the history of David’s Rise” are the tales of David’s humble beginnings as a shepherd and his stunning ascent to king over Judah and Israel. David’s early life is an enchanted one. Embarking on a warrior’s career in his youth with the slaying of the mighty Goliath (1 Sam 17), David suddenly finds himself the celebrated leader of King Saul’s army and the object of both the princess’ love and the crown-prince’s deep friendship and loyalty (1 Sam 18). David’s fame in battle and prominence at court however come at a cost: igniting the jealousy and suspicion of Saul, David is forced to flee the king’s presence and live an outlaw’s life amidst the enemy Philistines (1 Sam 27) and among discontents roaming the desert fringe of southern Judah (1 Sam 22:1–2). Twice David’s life is saved by one of Saul’s children (1 Sam 19, 20)

and twice David spares Saul’s own life (1 Sam 24, 26). Exiled, and ruling over the remote border-town of Ziklag in the hinterland of Judah (1 Sam 27), David’s fortunes change once again on the report of the deaths of Saul and his sons in battle (1 Sam 31). David is summarily anointed king over Judah at Hebron (2 Sam 2:4), prevails in the wars conducted against the remainder of the House of Saul (2 Sam 3–4), and is consequently anointed king over Israel (2 Sam 5:3).

David’s rise to power culminates with YHWH’s vow that a Davidic king would rule eternally from Jerusalem (2 Sam 7). The peace and tranquility of David’s kingdom depicted in these chapters however are shattered by the events related in the “Court History” (2 Sam 9 – 1 Kgs 2) that follows. Haunted by David’s affair with Bathsheba and the murder of Uriah (2 Sam 11), the favor and blessing of YHWH once bestowed on David become, after Uriah’s death, a divine curse (2 Sam 12:11–12). David is depicted most frequently in these narratives as a forlorn father unable to alter the fate he has helped to shape: the predominant mood of this David is one of grief (2 Sam 12:16; 13:31, 37; 15:30; 19:1) exemplified in David’s anguished lament over the death of the son who attempted to overthrow him: “O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! Would that I had died in place of you, O Absalom my son, my son!” (2 Sam 19:1) The stories embedded in the “Court History” are thus tales primarily of disharmony, of multiple rebellions against David’s rule (2 Sam 15–20) that conclude with an image of an impotent, unwitting, and vindictive ruler on his deathbed (1 Kgs 1–2). The composite portrait of David provided in 1 Sam 16 – 1 Kgs 2 is one of an utterly human, highly complex character: both a virtuous, heroic leader and a tragic, abased king.

The second collection of stories devoted to David occur in 1 Chr 11 – 29, written after the narratives of Samuel-Kings and dependent on them for the substance of the Chronicler’s history. Most conspicuous about these stories in 1 Chr is the idealized image of David: the Chronicler, writing in a post-exilic context marked by an acute nostalgia for the reigns of David and Solomon, did not permit negative images of David to be included within the story of Judah’s past. In 1 Chronicles David does not have an affair with Bathsheba, and Absalom does not rebel against the throne. Rather David is the king who acquires provisions for the temple (1 Chr 22) and pays scrupulous attention to the order and structure of the rituals of Israel’s religious life (1 Chr 23; 25; 28–29). No longer the vengeful, elderly king, the David of the Chronicler concludes his life by offering an eloquent speech to Solomon instructing the young prince on how to rule (1 Chr 28–29).

Though not a narrative of David’s life, the Psalms offer another subtle image of the way in

which David was remembered as a musician and poet. Of the 150 canonical psalms, 73 make explicit reference to David in their titles. Though the headings of the Psalms were written later than the poems themselves and reflect a wide-spread tendency in the ancient world to attribute authorship to well-known figures, David's presence throughout the Psalter is a notable indication of David's lasting influence on the writings of ancient Israel.

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II. New Testament

1. Occurrence in the New Testament. The name David occurs 59 times in the NT; he is mentioned (1) 37 times in the Synoptic Gospels (17 in Matthew, seven in Mark, and 13 in Luke), (2) eleven times in Acts, and (3) eleven times in other NT books (once in 2 Timothy; twice in John's Gospel and Hebrews, respectively; and three times in Romans and Revelation, respectively). David has an important role in the NT in the sense that he mostly serves Jesus by signifying his messianic status.

2. The Synoptics. a. The Gospel of Mark. All the references to David in Mark are paralleled in the other Synoptics. In 2:23–28 (//Matt 12:1–8; Luke 6:1–5), Jesus' disciples are criticized by the Pharisees because of their action on the Sabbath. But Je-

sus defends them, referring to David's action in 1 Sam 21:1–9 (for David as a legal authority see *tKil* 5:6). David appears again at the episode of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. Mark prepares his readers with the notice that Jesus is the "Son of David," the expected Messiah (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:21), in the episode of his healing a blind man (Mark 10:46–52//Matt 20:29–34; Luke 18:38–39). Then Jesus enters into Jerusalem as the Davidic king (Mark 11:10//Matt 21:9, 15). Afterwards, in Jerusalem's temple, Jesus raises a messianological question when he asks about the "Son of David" and quotes Ps 110 (Mark 12:35–37//Matt 22:41–45; Luke 20:41–44). Jesus' point is that the Messiah is not only the "Son of David," he is also "David's Lord" (12:37). In this "Jesus as more than David/the Son of David" theme, the former episode of the comparison between David and Jesus in 2:23–28 becomes meaningful in Mark (especially 2:28). Thus, David serves Jesus, pointing to his messianic status; Jesus is the Davidic Messiah, meaning that he is both the "Son of David" and "Lord."

b. The Gospel of Matthew. Apart from the references to David in the Synoptics, in Matthew David is mentioned in Jesus' genealogy, birth story, and several healing accounts. The Gospel begins: "A record of the genealogy of Jesus Christ the son of David, the son of Abraham" (1:1). Jesus' Davidic line is emphasized (1:6, 17, 20). In addition, the genealogy consists of three series of "fourteen generations" (v. 17); 14 is the numerical value of the sum of the Hebrew consonants of "David" (4+6+4), and David is the 14th on the list. Then David appears in the christological title, the "Son of David," in Jesus' healing accounts (9:27–31; 12:22–23; 15:21–28). It has often been claimed that Matthew's emphasis on the therapeutic "Son of David" comes from the early Solomon-exorcist tradition (e.g., *L.A.B.* 60:3; *T. Sol.* 4:8). However, it is better to interpret the therapeutic "Son of David" in Matthew as based on the Davidic shepherd tradition in Ezek 34 (vv. 12, 16; cf. 4Q521). Thus, although the same Davidic theme in Mark is assumed, Matthew highlights the Messiah's Davidic lineage and David-like shepherd role while presenting Jesus as the Messiah.

c. The Gospel of Luke. Besides the references to David in the Synoptics, in Luke David appears in Jesus' birth story and genealogy accounts. Fulfilling the Davidic promise, Jesus is said to sit on "the throne of his father David" (1:32, 69). Jesus is a descendant of David (1:27; 2:4), indeed the "son of David" (3:31), so he is said to be born in Bethlehem, the "town of David" (2:4, 11). Thus, in addition to sharing the same Davidic theme with Mark and Matthew, Luke emphasizes the legitimacy of Jesus' Davidic sonship through the above references to David.

3. Acts. The book of Acts presents several aspects of David's life. David is an ideal king after God's heart (13:22), and he has zeal for building the temple (7:45–46; cf. *MekhY* Shirata 1.1.6). But the most prominent thing about David in Acts is that he is not only a psalmist but also a prophet (2:30; cf. 11QP^a XXVII; *Targ.* on 2 Sam 22:1; 23:1). The Davidic Psalms prophesy the incidents surrounding Jesus' death and resurrection: Judas' betrayal (1:16–20); Jesus' suffering (4:25–28); his resurrection (2:25–32; 13:33–35); and his ascension (2:33–34). The messianological question that is raised in Luke 20:41–44 is answered in Acts: Jesus is "Lord and Christ" (2:36). Thus, the life of David is typologically compared with that of Jesus. So David's death is mentioned (2:29; 13:36) in order to emphasize Jesus' resurrection and ascension; Jesus is more than David/the Son of David. Furthermore, the kingdom of David is also compared with that of Jesus (15:15–18). Even the whole life of David is fused with the life of the Davidic messianic figure (in the reference to Isa 44:28 in Acts 13:22). In Acts David serves to present Jesus as the Davidic Messiah not only genealogically (13:23) but also typologically.

4. Other NT books. Davidic themes seen in the Synoptics and Acts are also reflected in other NT books. David is one of the men of faith (Heb 11:32). Jesus' authority (control over the kingdom) is compared with that of David ("the key of David" in Rev 3:7; cf. Isa 22:22). David is the author of the Psalms (Rom 4:6), and the Davidic Psalms are often prophetic (Rom 11:9–10; Heb 4:7). David serves to show Jesus' messianic identity; he is a descendant of David (John 7:42; Rom 1:3). In Rev 5:5 and 22:16, Jesus' Davidic lineage is emphasized when he is called "the Root of David" (cf. Isa 11:1, 10). Concerning the issue of Jesus' messianological identity, interestingly, the same idea seen in Jesus' messianological question in Mark 12:35–37 and its parallels appears in Rom 1:3–4 (cf. 2 Tim 2:8). David serves Jesus, pointing to his messianic status; Jesus is both the "Son of David" and "Lord (/the 'Son of God').")

5. Conclusion. There are several images of David in the NT. David is an ideal king who is a man of faith after God's heart and who has zeal for building the temple. He is also a man of authority. David is not only a psalmist but also a prophet; Davidic Psalms prophesy Jesus' life, particularly the incidents surrounding his death and resurrection. This is related to the important messianic theme in the NT that Jesus is not only the "Son of David," he is more than David/the "Son of David," namely "Lord." In sum, David is an indicator of the Messiah. Jesus is not only the Messiah who is the descendant of David, he is also the David-like Messiah. Thus, David in the NT serves to indicate both genealogically and typologically that Jesus is the Davidic Messiah.

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Yuzuru Miura

III. Judaism

■ Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism ■ Rabbinic Judaism ■ Medieval Judaism ■ Modern Judaism

A. Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism

1. Biblical Post-Exilic Representations of David. David was "the engine for Israel's imagination and for Israel's public history" (Brueggemann: 2). This statement encapsulates David's significance for the post-exilic period in general, and forms the foundation for what follows. David was a socially constructed figure, one who profoundly influenced the literature of Second Temple Judaism, together with its underlying ideology. For any reconstruction of David in Second Temple Judaism, it seems logical to begin with the earliest post-exilic representations of this figure, which Brueggemann has isolated in two Psalms and three other texts. The Psalms are 89 and 132, both of uncertain historical location. Various scholars have situated them from the late-First Temple to early exilic periods. The other three texts containing post-exilic representations of David are Lam 3:21–27; Isa 55:3; and 1 Chr 10–29. Brueggemann analyzes these texts according to their theological shaping of David within an eschatological vision for a future ideal Kingdom of Israel – a vision that is religious as opposed to political, uncritically hopeful, and liturgically shaped (Brueggemann: 88–90).

Among these texts, the first four pericopae (Ps 89:1–4 [Eng. superscript + 1–3]) develop the theme of YHWH's steadfast love (Hebrew *hesed*) and faithfulness (*ʿēmûnâ*) in a time of exile and disaster, thereby maintaining the connection with the covenant of David (cf. 2 Sam 7). Somewhat later, the Chronicler's David carries forward these same ideals, though now politicized into an expression of community devotion that is far more tangible (Brueggemann: 101–2).

2. Representations of David in Early Judaism.

Kenneth E. Pomykala locates Chronicles as the post-exilic starting point of discussion. He sees the primary function of the “Davidic dynasty” as the legitimization of the centralized Temple cult in Jerusalem, but also as part of a nationally celebrated cultic community – in sharp contrast to the later developing image of David as progenitor of the messianic line. The Chronicler’s work is instead permeated with the counter-representation of David as founder and patron of the Jerusalem Temple and its services (cf. Klein: 44). The close association of David and the Davidic kings with the cult and its ceremonies was a central theme in Second Temple Jewish treatments of the David traditions (for example, in Ezra-Nehemiah, 1 Esd 1; Sir 47:8–10; 11QPs^a XXVII, 2–11) (Pomykala: 109).

In the LXX, three features emerge that may indicate an interpretive shift from earlier treatments of David:

a. Highlighting of the Temple. In 2 Sam 7:11b, the Greek text reflects a reading different from that of the MT, with the dynastic oracle delivered to David now emphasizing his prominence in connection to the building of the temple (Pomykala: 129). William Schniedewind (107–16) has argued that LXX 1–4 Kingdoms exhibits a consistent “pro-temple tendenz” in a similar fashion to the Chronicler’s handling of David.

b. Eschatological Expectation. There seems a greater emphasis on the eschatological expectation for a “new” David in the prophetic literature, as suggested by the inclusion of “David” in Ezek 34:23–25, and in the translation of the “branch” (Hebrew *šemaḥ*) with “rising” (ἀνατολή) in Jer 23:5; Zech 3:8; 6:12. According to D. C. Duling (61), this replacement purposely functioned to highlight texts from the Davidic dynastic tradition. Such examples are evidence of a theological program in operation, but the complicated textual history of the LXX cautions against any simple conclusion (cf. Pomykala: 130–31).

c. Additional Davidic Superscriptions. The LXX shows an increased number of Davidic superscriptions for individual Psalms (although in some cases the existence of a superscription in the Hebrew *Vorlage* should be considered). This practice corresponds to later attempts at rewriting the earlier accepted history of David, with a stronger emphasis on his renown for prayer and expectation of divine deliverance (Johnson: 7). David’s projection as a model of contrition served to confirm God’s reputation for mercy, and fitted within elevated Second Temple Jewish concerns for liturgical practices and the temple service.

David features twice in Ben Sira (ca. 198–75 BCE), in both cases as part of the hymn of praise for the men of renown (αἰνέσωμεν δὴ ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους; 44:1). Sirach 45:25 mentions the covenant with

David that guarantees royal succession through familial descent, as an analogy to show the same principle at work for the Aaronic priesthood (Pomykala: 139–42). Sirach 47:2–11 is dedicated to David’s rule and reinforces four features: his reputation as a warrior and military hero (vv. 2–7); his penitence and singing ability (vv. 8–11a); his organization of the temple services and calendar (vv. 9–10); and the removal of his sins (v. 11a). While David’s political distinction is mentioned by Ben Sira, the purpose in drawing attention to him is governed by David’s relationship to the temple and its services. Burton Mack regards Ben Sira’s hymn of praise as structured in order to elevate the high priesthood in the temple as the embodiment and fulfillment of all Israel’s covenants, including the office of king, which was secured in the Davidic covenant (Mack: 35–61).

3. David in the Scrolls found at Qumran. David was an even more prominent figure for the writers and collectors of the Qumran Scrolls (250 BCE to 68 CE). It should first be mentioned that the book of Psalms (or portions of it) is more highly represented at Qumran than any other book (37 MSS). All of these Psalms texts were in one way or another allocated to the Davidic tradition by their copyists.

To the central feature of David’s cultic piety that dominates other Second Temple treatments, the Qumran Scrolls add two more: (a) the messianic import of David’s rule and covenant and (b) David as a prophetic figure.

a. The Davidic Messianic Tradition. Qumranic messianic expectations have long been regarded as inspired by a common vision of the Davidic dynasty, for example, in the first *peshar* on Isaiah (4QpIsa^a [4Q161]), the *Commentary on Genesis A* (4QCommGen^a [4Q252]), the *Florilegium* (4QFlor [4Q174]), and *Sefer ha-Milhamah* (4QSM [4Q285]). 4QpIsa^a cites Isa 11:1–5, a passage on the rising of a “shoot from the stump of Jesse.” The interpretation that follows identifies him as the “Branch of David who will stand in the Last Days,” possessing military might, and serving as an ideal teacher and instructor (cf. Pomykala: 197–203; Evans: 193). 4QSM 5 1–6 echoes the same Scripture and interpretation in its description of an eschatological battle. In similar vein, 4QFlor 1 10–13 interprets the covenant declaration from 2 Sam 7:11b–14a as referring to this very figure (cf. Pomykala: 191–97; Evans: 192).

CommGen A also describes David in conjunction with a messianic figure, who will arrive in the day of Israel’s dominion. The interpretation of Gen 49:10a is aided by language derived from Jer 23:5–6 and 33:15–17; David’s future descendant is called the “righteous branch” who will one day establish an eternal kingdom (cf. Pomykala: 180–91; Evans: 192–93). In all these examples the figure of David is depicted as a coming agent of divine restoration and military supremacy. As messiah he will inaugurate a new kingdom of peace and prosperity

for the ideal community of Israel in the Last Days. Craig Evans assesses the Davidic messianic tradition as important in the Scrolls, but affirms with Pomykala that it is not a dominant element of the Qumranites' ideology, and suffers from a lack of detail (Evans: 193–95; cf. Pomykala: 212–14).

b. David as a Prophetic Figure. The Qumran scrolls reflect a marked perspective of David as a “prophet,” as he is similarly projected in NT passages such as Acts 2:29–31. In the Great Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a [11Q5]), David is remembered for having “spoken through prophecy” (XXVII, 11), a distinction reinforced by the two Psalms *peshtarim* (4QpPs^a [4Q171] and 4QpPs^b [4Q173]) found in Cave 4 (Brooke: 275). Further evidence that David’s writing was considered authoritative is the likely citation from the Hymn to the Creator 6 (cf. 11QPs^a XXVI, 13) in the *Admonition on the Flood* (4Q370) I, 1–2. Such usage indicates that the Hymn at least was viewed as a Davidic composition (cf. Bowley: 357–58).

In his monograph on the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls, Peter W. Flint argues that 11QPs^a is the foremost representative of the “11QPs^a-Psalter,” which features the 364-day solar calendar, is thoroughly Davidicized by virtue of its structure (such as groupings that include Psalms with Davidic superscriptions), and includes several Psalms – not found in the MT-Psalter – that affirm Davidic authorship (Flint: 172–201). A somewhat similar position is taken by Michael Chyutin, but with narrower focus on both the 11QPs^a-Psalter and the Masoretic Psalter as representing different sides of the “calendar wars” that took place in the early-to-mid second century BCE. The first, he argues, was structured in accordance with the 364-day solar calendar, and the second in accordance with the 354-day lunar calendar (Chyutin: 367–95). The notion that the Psalms were collected and redacted in an effort to correspond to either of these calendars serves to confirm allusions from elsewhere in Qumranic literature that David was regarded as a “prophet” who dispensed divine revelation through the song and liturgy of the First Temple.

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Peter W. Flint

B. Rabbinic Judaism

Rabbinic texts continue the “rewriting” of the David story which began in 2 Chronicles. David is portrayed much less as a warrior, more as an educated Torah scholar, a repentant sinner, a writer of songs and praises, and the essential builder of the Temple.

1. Ancestry, Youth, Married Life. David was generally considered to be a descendant of Ruth, though this was sometimes debated (*bYev* 76b–77a, etc.), and his ancestry is “extended”: He was foreseen by Adam (*bSan* 38b; *BemR* 14:12), was a descendant of Miriam (*bSot* 11b), was destined from the womb to be king (*MidTeh* 54:3), and was one of thirteen men born circumcised (*MidTeh* 9:7). God assured him his portion in the world to come (*PesRK* 11.14).

His youth, election as king, and anointment were full of wonders (*MidShem* 20 et al.), the best known being the victory over Goliath; miracles also accompanied him while he was being pursued by Saul (*MidTeh* 18 et al.).

He had eighteen wives (*bSan* 21a). The rabbis concentrate on Abigail, Michal, and Bathsheba. Abigail is portrayed as a prophetess, full of wisdom and beauty. Her dialogue with David in 1 Sam 25 is explained and enriched – with ironical asides on David’s sexual desire – in *bMeg* 14a.

Michal is a model of the beautiful, pious, woman, even wearing phylacteries (*MekhY* Pisha 17; *yBer* 2; 3; 4c; *bEr* 96a); but she was punished for her mockery of David (2 Sam 6:20), remaining childless for a long time, and dying of childbed fever (*bSan* 21a).

2. David as Sinner and Model Repentant. Palestinian and Babylonian traditions depict David as a less than perfect king. But the Palestinian traditions tend to focus on the positive portrayals of his life, excuse David’s sins, and emphasize his repentance as well as his appeals to God for forgiveness. So for example, *BerR* 63:8 distinguishes between Esau and David, who are both called “red” (Gen 25:25 and 1 Sam 16:12). David killed only “by order of the Sanhedrin” while Esau “slew on his own impulse.”

The Babylonian Talmud tends to be more explicitly critical of David's behavior. "Rav Judah said in Rav's name: Had David not paid heed to slander, the kingdom of the House of David would not have been divided, Israel would not have engaged in idolatry, and we would not have been exiled from our country" (*bShab* 56b). David's attitude toward idol worship (*bSan* 107a) is criticized; he is blamed for the slaughter of the inhabitants of Nob (*bSan* 95a) and for his songs after the downfall of Saul (*bMQ* 16b); he is also rebuked for speaking disparagingly of his predecessors (*bSan* 93b) and for taking a census (*bBer* 62b). There is ambivalence in the rabbinic evaluation of David's behavior in the Bathsheba-Uriah affair. On the one hand, it is treated as a severe transgression, followed by punishment and repentance (e.g., *bSan* 107a). For his sin, David was "smitten with leprosy, the Sanhedrin was removed from him, and the Shekhinah departed from him" (*bYom* 22b). On the other hand there is a tendency to exonerate David (*bSan* 107a; *bSot* 21a; *bQid* 43a). Some voices defend David from every accusation of sin (*bShab* 56a), and he is often praised for his repentance (e.g., *bMQ* 16b, cf. *MidTeh* 40:2; 51:1, 3).

David reproached Doeg and Ahitophel, and foresaw the character of his descendants. He suffers a lot from Absalom's rebellion, and the tears he shed after Absalom's death raised him from hell and gave him the chance to enter the world to come (*bSot* 10b).

3. David as Sweet Singer of Israel (2 Sam 23:1). David was a spiritual role model. He praised God intensively, with his entire body (*PesRab* 9:2, etc.). He is identified as the author of the Psalms (*BBB* 14b/15a; *bPes* 117a; *MidTeh* 1:6). With his 15 psalms of ascents (120–34) he prevented the world from being annihilated by the chaotic ground-waters (*bSuk* 53ab). David uttered the psalms as songs and praises to the community and/or himself, and the Shekhinah rested upon him (*bPes* 117a).

The intimate connection between David and the community is often emphasized (*bSot* 40a; *MidTeh* 25:5). "R. Ilai b. Yevarekhyah said: Had it not been for the prayer of David, all Israel would have been sellers of grease, as it is stated: Grant them esteem, O, Lord (Ps 9:21)" (*bSot* 49a).

Certain Psalms are linked with events in the life of David; Ps 51, e.g., with David's adultery with Bathsheba. *Talmud Bavli Sanhedrin* 107a connects this story with David's demand: "Examine me, O Lord, and try me" (Ps 26:1). God then put him to the test and he stumbled (cf. *MidTeh* 17:7).

Mishna Megillah 4:10 and *tMeg* 3:38 preserve a ruling that states that the story of David (and Bathsheba) is to be neither publicly read nor translated.

4. David as Torah Scholar. David is frequently depicted as an expert in halakhah. He excluded the Gibeonites from Israel for their improper behavior (*yQid* 4.1.64b–c; *bYev* 78b–79a; *MidTeh* 1; *MidShem*

28). He was "skillful in asking [legal] questions"; "he was well versed in the battle of the Torah"; "he understood [how to deduce] one thing from another"; "he sustained his rulings by weighty reasons," and "everywhere the halakhah is determined in accordance with his views" (*bSan* 93b, cf. *bMak* 10a; *MidTeh* 16:9; 35:2). This expertise is explained by various examples from his life (2 Sam 23 – *BBQ* 60b; 1 Chr 28:19 – *bBek* 17b etc.). He was the one, who – in Ps 15 – reduced the Torah to eleven central elements (*bMak* 24a). Famous is the story of David's harp (*bBer* 3b–4a; *bSan* 16a; *PesRK* 7.4 etc.), which started sounding by itself every midnight, blown by the north-wind, waking David to study Torah; he would study all night and then the scholars would come to consult him (cf. *MidTeh* 25:4; 57:4; 108:2; 119:28). According to some opinions he did not need any sleep; he studied Torah day and night, and composed psalms after midnight; no wonder he is compared to Moses (*bYom* 86b; *bSot* 9a; *bAZ* 36b; *bZev* 102a).

5. David and the Temple. The temple was called the House of David, because he devoted his life to building it (Ps 30:1) (*MekhY* Shira 1; *WayR* 20:1; *BemR* 12:9; *PesRab* 2:4, etc.). *Pesiqta Rabbati* 2 argues that a temple built by David would be indestructible (thus could not deflect God's wrath from Israel). But in *PesRab* 6:7 he was not allowed to build it, because he gathered objects of value for the temple in a time of famine. He is preferred to Solomon according to 1 Kgs 3:4. *Qohelet Rabbah* 4:3 and *MidTeh* 7:6 mention that Solomon was unsuccessful in lighting the flame of sacrifice during the consecration of the temple until he recalled David's good deeds.

6. David's Death and Afterlife. God revealed to David that he would die at the age of 70 on a sabbath (*bShab* 30a; *RutR* 3:2). The angel of death could not take him as long as he kept studying Torah, so the angel went into the garden and rustled the leaves of the trees; David went into the garden to see who was there, climbed a ladder, and it broke under him; he fell silent (from his studies) and died (*bShab* 30b).

David's corpse was not touched by worms (*BBB* 17a). He will have a role as judge on the day of judgement (*bSan* 38b); his "afterlife" (embellished in late midrashim) is connected with the function of the Messiah. Here too the rabbinic texts continue a theme that started in the Bible itself (e.g., Psalms). There exist different concretizations of this issue ranging from identification to difference (cf. e.g., *bSan* 98b where the eschatological relationship of the Messiah and David is compared to an emperor and a viceroy, etc.). The eternal existence of David's dynasty is emphasized in the midrash (*MidTeh* 24:2; *PesRab* 88.7 or *PRE* 51), and the Jewish Patriarchs and Exilarchs are usually seen as David's successors.

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Gerhard Langer

C. Medieval Judaism

Medieval Jewish biblical commentators and philosophers, like the Sages of the Talmud, whose traditions they considered authoritative, always looked back to the HB as their sacred foundational scripture in which to anchor their notions of ethics, law, and theology. They were consequently challenged by a text where no personality even remotely subscribed to their own religious *Weltanschauung*. This "anomaly" was particularly acute in the cases of personalities who were Judaism's most prominent heroes and nation builders, such as King David. They therefore tended to mould David in their own rabbinic image out of a portrait in the biblical narrative of relatively epic proportion that could not be more antithetical to the medieval rabbinic ethos.

God's commitment to a Davidic dynasty gained such importance that it evolved into one of three foundational elements of Judaism alongside the priesthood and the Torah, enshrined in a trinity of "three crowns", of which the crown of kingship is David's exclusive entitlement. Thus Moses Maimonides (1138–1204) codifies him as both the progenitor of, and rabbinic model for the Messiah who will arise "from the House of David, who meditates on the Torah, and occupies himself with the commandments, as did his ancestor David ..." (*MishT*, Laws of Kings 11:4). Maimonides' David is also fashioned in his own supremely rationalist image, one that viewed the intellect as the immortal aspect of the human being. David becomes therefore a philosopher and divinely inspired composer of the Psalms, whose legacy to his son Solomon is an exhortation to engage in apprehending God through reason.

Moses Nahmanides (1194–1270), however, one of the major medieval exponents of Jewish mysticism, accordingly views David as a biblical hero who mirrors divine governance in his conduct. Since David's dominant attribute was justice, or a certain strictness and inflexibility, he was disqualified from constructing the Temple which Nahmanides associates with divine mercy, an attribute of compassion antithetical to justice. Subsequent kabbalistic tradition associates David with the *sefirah Shekhinah* (in-

dwelling), also known as *Malkhut* (kingship), the lowest component in the hierarchy of *sefirot* that constitute the inner dynamic of the divine godhead. Although the lowest in the sefirotic hierarchy, in many ways it is the most important and relevant for human beings since it is the portal between the lower world and the divine realm.

One of the most problematic episodes of David's life for medieval Jewish exegetes is the infamous Bathsheba affair, in which David commits adultery with the wife of one of his most trusted warriors, then has him murdered, conduct unbecoming, to say the least, of a spiritual hero and ancestor of the Messiah. Despite the frank account of the biblical narrative and the explicit prophetic condemnation of it which immediately follows, there is a common resistance to classify David's offences as adultery and murder, two of the three most heinous crimes known to Judaism. Some, like Rashi (1040–1105), the classic medieval exegete of Northern France, defer to rabbinic traditions that attempt to whitewash David's actions so as to conform to his spiritual configuration as a biblical hero. Thus, to relieve David of the crime of adultery, it is explained that Uriah's death triggered a bill of divorce given conditionally by every soldier to their wives prior to battle, which took effect retroactively should they become missing in action. There are those like Gersonides (1288–1344), who accept classical rabbinic rationalizations that legalistically relieve David of these sins, while at the same time conceding that David's life unfolds catastrophically thereafter in familial and political disintegration designed as a precise, "measure-for-measure" retribution for the Bathsheba affair. Just as David slept with another man's wife, so his own son sleeps publicly with David's concubines, and just as he orchestrates a murder of one of his own by foreign enemies, so do foreign enemies ceaselessly wage war against him. Another major exegete, Joseph ibn Kaspi (1279–1340), at times considers the biblical narrative to accentuate David's sordid actions, and even foreshadows them as inevitable in an earlier encounter with Abigail, also another man's wife, whom he marries after the husband's convenient death. Cognizant of the problems posed by this biblical portrayal of a revered figure in Jewish tradition, his response is simply to gloss over David's crimes with divine clemency for "whatever the case may be, God still forgave David, God's messiah and servant, for everything." Isaac Abarbanel (1437–1508), an opponent of the monarchic system as a politically viable option, distances himself from the rabbinic rationalization of David's infamous affair with Bathsheba by taking the biblical account of him as a murderer and adulterer at face value. Despite his heinous conduct, David still becomes a spiritual model for all future penitents in his sincere confession and atonement for these crimes. His death-bed testament to his son Solomon

is transformed by medieval Jewish exegetes into a comprehensive rabbinic legacy to observe all the commandments consistent with rabbinic classifications, as well as the law of the king in Deut 17 taken by Joseph Qara (ca. 1165–1135) as the referent of “as written in the Torah of Moses” (1 Kgs 2:3). David’s final advice to Solomon “to be a man” (2:2) entails, according to David Qimhi (1160–1235), self-control and suppression of desire, ironically the antithesis of the David consistently depicted by the biblical narratives.

David is also portrayed as the ethical paradigm of humility. Both Maimonides and Bahya ibn Paquda (11th cent., Saragossa) cite his ecstatic dance at the head of the procession transferring the ark to the City of David and his insistence on celebrating God along with the common people as demonstrating devotion to God even at the cost of diminishing his royal stature. Likewise, since the Psalms are traditionally ascribed to David’s authorship, they provide rich details about his character and biography beyond the strict narratives of the books of Samuel. For example, the verse “but I am a worm and no man” (Ps 22:7) is further evidence of this posture of extreme humility. Psalm 86, which is titled “A Prayer of David,” is considered a supplication composed by David during the desperate period when he was hunted by King Saul.

Finally, David’s image also appears frequently in illuminated medieval manuscripts of the Bible, rabbinic texts, and the Passover Haggadah. The scenes most often depicted are David as a harpist and as the slayer of Goliath, thus capturing disparate dimensions of the warrior-king – the embodiment of courage, leadership, and spirituality.

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James A. Diamond

D. Modern Judaism

The turn towards biography that characterizes much of modern Jewish Bible reception inevitably focused attention on David, whose biblical portrait is closest perhaps to modern aesthetic sensibilities. David has been a hero to modern Jews second to

none, but his failures and abuses of power have also attracted much modern Jewish commentary.

Even Hasidism, in spite of its rejection of so much that is modern, joined in the modern Jewish celebration of David. In Hasidic thought, David represents the regal ideal of the Hasidic master (*tsaddiq*). Rabbi David of Talne is said to have had a sort of throne with the inscription, “David King of Israel still lives” (Assaf: 217; cf. *BRH* 25a). But David’s sin with Bathsheba and his subsequent repentance also symbolize the process of spiritual descent and recovery, *yeridat ha-tsaddiq*, a concept at the heart of Hasidic thought (cf. *BAZ* 5a).

David’s messianic associations add to his meaning for Hasidic *tsaddiqim*, many of whom played at the edges of explicit messianic claims. Hasidic dynasties are among many modern Jewish families who claim genealogical descent from David.

Among enlightened Jews of the 19th and 20th centuries, David was inevitably seen in a romantic light. A classic expression is the poem “The Love of David and Michal” by Judah Leib Gordon. David’s physical beauty, his pastoral origins, his courage in battle, his love affairs, his intense emotions and the expression that he gave to them in poetry – all of these recommended him to modern Jews as the consummate romantic hero. That he was in addition passionately religious was cause for greater admiration, at least in the 19th century.

If Gordon’s poetry represents one side of the Jewish romantic interpretation of David, Graetz’s Jewish history represents the second, complementary to the first. The historical David of 19th-century Jews was hardly less romantic than the David of poetry and romantic legend. David’s victories over the Philistines and his establishment of a united kingdom have been treated in nearly all Jewish histories as accomplishments that shaped all of subsequent Jewish history, and as ideals which modern Jews might aspire to emulate.

The Zionist movement especially took to heart this political David. In Zionism and later in modern Israel, David has been associated with the independence of the Jewish state. David is also closely associated with Jerusalem, and the battles for that city and its contested political status in the 20th century have lent significance to David’s capture of the city of the Jebusites, and to his establishment of it as the royal seat.

The romantic image of David, however, has been challenged throughout the 20th century, as anti-romantic sensibilities have often come to the fore. Reform Judaism, for instance, has often focused attention on the prophet Nathan, his confrontation with David, and his parable of the poor man’s lamb (2 Sam 12:1–6), taking Nathan, not David, as the true exemplar of Judaism.

David’s love affairs have also been seen in a different light. Itzik Manger is only one of many Jew-

ish writers whose David is the loveless old man who needs a young woman, Abishag, to keep him warm (1 Kgs 1). A second, skeptical look at David's amorous conquests has suggested to some that he is self-absorbed, loved by all, but himself unloving and unloved.

Most of all, David's manipulations of power seem cold and Machiavellian to many 20th- and 21st-century Jewish interpreters. While few if any go as far as Voltaire in denouncing David as a monster, Baruch Halpern has offered a biography of David the bandit and murderer, and interpreted the book of Samuel as a whitewash and cover-up. Halpern's historical scholarship was preceded by more than a generation of Jewish writers and novelists, who had used David as a symbol of the abuse of power. Already in the 1930s, Itzik Manger imagined Bathsheba as acceding (romantically?/unromantically?) to the harsh realities of power: "It isn't the ring, the ring that counts/but the king who rules the land" (Manger: 24).

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Joseph Davis

IV. Christianity

- Greek and Latin Patristics and Orthodox Churches
- Medieval Times and Reformation Era ■ Modern Europe and America

A. Greek and Latin Patristics and Orthodox Churches

Among early Latin exegetes, the name David was taken to mean "strong hand" or "the one longed for" (Jerome, *Nom. hebr.*; Augustine, *Faust.* 22.87), and these epithets were understood to allude to Jesus Christ. David was thought to have lived before Plato (Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.1.18). Indeed, according to Theophilus, David died 4,436 years after the creation of the world and 1,259 years before the death of Emperor Aurelius Verus in 180 CE (*Autol.* 3.28). The tomb of David was variously located in Bethlehem (1 Kgs 2:10; Eusebius, *Onom.* 1.42), Jerusalem (Petrus Diaconus, *De locis sanctis*), and Hebron (Antoninus [= Anonymus] Placentinus, *Itinerarium*).

Theologians of the Patristic period portrayed David as the full embodiment of humanity in the biblical sense (Ambrose, *Off.* 2.7.32–38), a "man after God's heart" (Acts 13:22; John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 3.5). This becomes manifest in the epithets attributed to him. Thus, David is regarded as

"the great physician" (Gregory of Nazianus, *Or.* 17.4.2), a composer of hymns and a musician (Marius Victorinus, *Adv. Arrium* 1.20), the royal shepherd (Augustine, *Ep.* 138.4), the servant of God (cf. Didymus, *Ps.* 231.1–10), the sage (Origen, *Cant.* 4), and the prophet who in Psalms foresees salvation history (Acts 2:29; Ambrose, *Isaac* 6.56; John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 39.1; Augustine, *Civ.* 17.15).

David is the ideal king to whom all other kings are compared; he is repeatedly referred to as "Saint David" (*sanctus David*) and "Blessed David" (*beatus David*). Interpreters lauded his humility (Ambrose, *Off.* 1.6.21), patience (Cyprian, *Pat.* 19), and discretion (Ambrose, *Off.* 1.10.34–35). He is regarded as the progenitor of Jesus Christ, who descended from him through Mary's lineage (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.9.2; Athanasius, *Ep. Marcell.* 6). In spite of all this idealization, however, the Patristic theologians did not conceal David's sins. On the one hand, David typifies humankind, the full realization of which would be achieved through the incarnation of Jesus Christ (Melito of Sardis, *Peri pascha.* 69; Augustine, *Ep.* 55.17). Accordingly, Jesus might be considered the "true David" (Origen, *Hom. Num.* 19.1; Ambrose, *Apol. Dav.* 17.81). On the other hand, David also represents Adam the sinner whose descendants constitute the church (Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 50.22). In this respect, Augustine fittingly claimed that one and the same David personifies both Christ and the Body of Christ (Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 53.1).

Many church fathers related 1 Sam 17–18 typologically to the battle between Christ and Satan, and the stone that killed Goliath (Maximus of Turin, *Serm.* 85.3; John Chrysostom, *Anom.* 2.6) as David himself, a type of Christ (cf. Hippolytus, *De David et Goliath*; Ambrose, *Exp. Ps.* 118 21.11; Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 143.2; *Serm.* 335K). Other interpreters attempted to interpret the account morally by claiming that it was faith that enabled the unarmed David to defeat the armed Goliath (Zeno of Verona, *Tract.* 1.36; John Chrysostom, *Hom. Gen.* 46). As for his relation to Saul, David's benevolence, patience, willingness to forgive, and the love for his enemies are emphasized, for he did not avenge himself upon Saul even though he had the opportunity to do so (cf. 1 Sam 24:26; Cyprian, *Pat.* 10; Ambrose, *Off.* 3.9.60–62). Yet other exegetes identified Saul as a symbol for Satan, while David, fleeing from the presence of Saul, was a symbol for Christ (Jerome, *Tract. Ps.* 52). Christ came into this world and took on a human body that concealed his divinity (Cassiodorus, *Ps.* 56.1).

David dancing before the ark of the covenant was seen as an expression of his immense love for God (Ambrose, *Off.* 1.43.214).

2 Samuel 11–12 attracted wide interest among the church fathers whose moral interpretation highlights David's readiness to return and do penance, thus serving as a shining example for Christi-

anity (John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 26.6–8; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 2.11–12). Typologically, Bathseba represents the church, who, once married to the devil, now washes herself in the baptismal water and is ready to embrace Christ (Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 3.2.38–39; *Opus imperfectum in Matt.* hom. 1).

Augustine construed David's escape from his son Absalom as a symbol for the passion of Christ, typologically interpreting the entire narrative as well as its discrete elements, such as his passing over the brook Kidron, the feeling of abandonment and taunt (*Enarrat. Ps.* 3.1).

The portrayals of David are especially rich in the theology of the Psalms. David is seen as the great supplicant who devotes all available moments to prayer (John Chrysostom, *Hom. Gen.* 30). Varying answers are given as to whether David is the author of the book of Psalms. Opinions ranged from David being the author of all psalms (Augustine, *Civ.* 17.14) to his being the author only of those psalms whose superscriptions mention him as their composer (Hilary of Poitiers, *Tract. Ps. Praef.*). Generally, the psalms were seen as prophetic literature, which means that in many cases David would not speak on his own behalf, but in *persona Christi* (Ambrose, *Enarrat. Ps.* 38.12.1; *Quodvultdeus, De promissionibus* 1.14), in *persona spiritus* (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.14.105), in *persona ecclesiae* (Ambrose, *Enarrat. Ps.* 39.20; Augustine, *Enarrat. Ps.* 19.1; 22.1), or (only rarely) in *persona patris* (cf. John Cassian, *Collationes patrum* 3.6; John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa.* 2.10). Especially wide-spread was the interpretation relating to Christ owing to the fact that many aspects mentioned in Psalms do not apply to David (Irenaeus, *Epid.* 49; Tertullian, *Marc.* 3). Didymus distinguished between "Psalms by David" and "Psalms for David," the former of which were actually composed by David, while the latter were composed by others and only ascribed to him (*Ps.* 24.76–77). Concerning the order of the individual psalms, Didymus was convinced that they were not arranged in a chronological order referring to the life of David, but rather according to their moral perspectives and content (*Ps.* 26.218–19).

Much commented upon and of special dogmatic relevance were Ps 110 and Matt 22:42–46 (cf. e.g., Augustine, *Serm.* 51; 91; 92; *Enarrat. Ps.* 109). These were seen as the declaration that Jesus is both David's son and David's master and therefore could serve to support the "Two-Nature" theory.

In orthodox liturgy, David is worshiped as a saint whose feast in most rites is celebrated either shortly before or after Christmas (Hennig: 158). In the troparion of the Sunday following Christmas, as well as in the *theotokion* of 06/29, David is called a θεοπάτωρ (progenitor of God) (Hennig: 158).

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Christiana Reemts

B. Medieval Times and Reformation Era

David is a central figure in the history of biblical tradition both in medieval times and the Reformation era.

1. Musician and Psalmist. Following illustrations of David from late antiquity, the psalter illustrations of the early Middle Ages developed the type of the "royal singer" and *rex et propheta*, which can be found until the early modern era. In the Middle Ages, David was honored as founder of sacred music (cf. 1 Chr 16:37–43). The illustrations of Emperor Henry VI in the high and later medieval *Liederhandschriften*, especially in the Codex Manesse, show him in the role of "David rex et propheta," so that not only the emperor but also David appear as archetypes of the noble Minnesinger. In the 16th and 17th centuries, David became the patron saint of the Meistersinger.

2. Prefiguration of Christ. In early Christian times, the belief in a *concordia veteris et novi testamenti* led to the interpretation of David as a prefiguration of Christ (*typus Christi*). This typological relation is strengthened by the opinion of Jesus being the son of David (Mark 12:35–37), an opinion which has its visual expression in the illustrated "Trees of Jesse." The allegorical, Christ-centered interpretation of certain episodes in the history of David plays an important role in the typological illustrations in the *Biblia pauperum* and *Biblia moralisée* in the later Middle Ages.

3. King. As prefiguration of Christ, who is the king of kings (1 Tim 6:15; Rev 17:14; 19:16), David was also considered as *typus regis* par excellence. The medieval mirrors of princes refer back to biblical rulers as *exempla regis*. David was the embodied standard of an ideal king, especially because of his rich biography. However, until the 8th century we only have few examples for David as *exemplum regis* in the Byzantine Empire, as well as in the Frankish Realm. The summit of the medieval David-kingship was the period of Charlemagne, who adopted the name of David in the erudite circle at the Carolingian Court. The canonization of Charlemagne in 1165 was not by chance celebrated on the 29th of December, the feast day of David. After Charlemagne, almost every medieval ruler was compared to David. The effect of this comparison always depended on the political context and the intention of the speaker.

a. King David as Penitent. The parenthetic emphasis on David's penance by Saint Ambrose established an important direction for the medieval mirrors of princes. Especially in works of the 9th century, Da-

vid's penance and his *humilitas* became a key aspect (cf. Anton: 424–29). Even in later writings, the penance of David was a *tertium comparationis* for the comparison between OT and medieval rulers, e.g., Henry the Lion in the epilogue of the Middle High German version of the Song of Roland (vv. 9066–76). In the Investiture controversy Gregory VII used the admonition of David's *humilitas* to claim obedience from Henry IV (cf. Herkommer: 413).

b. King David as Opponent of Paganism. The Missale of Bobbio (7th/8th cent.) contains a *missa pro principe*, in which the ruler's obligation of fighting against the pagans is exemplified in the battle between David and Goliath (cf. Lowe: 153). Alcuin characterized Charlemagne to be like David as *rex et propheta (sacerdos)*, one who defends Christian faith (cf. Anton: 111–12, 420–22). In the Song of Roland, Henry the Lion is seen as *novus David* because of his merits in the fight against the pagans (vv. 9039–49).

c. King David as the Lord's Anointed. The adoption of royal unction in the Frankish Realm in 751 not only made king Pepin the Short into a *Christus domini*, but also sacralized the whole Carolingian dynasty and underlined their close connection to the papacy. In the 8th and 9th centuries, some of the Carolingian kings were characterized as *novus David* by several popes (cf. Ewig: 45–47.; Kantorowicz: 57 n. 148). The comparison with David can also be found in the *Laudes regiae* (cf. Kantorowicz: 56 n. 147, 69 n. 15) and the anointing formula of medieval coronation orders (Vogel: 1.252–53; cf. Kantorowicz: 55 n.142), some of which were in use until the 19th century.

d. King David and Absalom as Example for Conflicts between Father and Son. The rebellion of Absalom and the indulgent behavior of David (2 Sam 15–19) was often consulted as an example for conflicts in the royal family, e.g., in the cases of Louis the Pious and Lothar I, Otto I the Great and Liudolf, Emperor Henry IV and Henry V, and Emperor Frederick II and Henry (VII) (cf. Herkommer: 405, 414–16). In 1572, the English episcopate reminded Elisabeth I of the hesitant and “effymate” behavior of David to prompt the Queen to drastic measures against Mary Stuart (cf. Hartley: 1.278–82).

The close connection between medieval kingship and the kingship of David found a unique expression in the Imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire. The back-left plate shows David holding a scroll with the words of Ps 99 (98):4, *Honor regis iudicium diligit*. In addition to *iustitia*, David was often connected with the virtues *humilitas*, *pietas*, *miseri-cordia* and *patientia* (cf. Anton: 426–30) in contradiction to the *superbia* of Saul. In political theory David was often seen – unlike Saul – as an example of a legitimate and divinely ordained ruler. Especially in works from the Reformation era (e.g., Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, Zwingli, Beza, Bodin), the relationship between David and Saul was a major para-

digim in the controversy about the divine right of kings and a legitimate right of resistance (cf. Metzger).

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Andreas Kosuch

C. Modern Europe and America

In the decades following the Reformation, King David remained part of political debates about monarchy and its limits; especially as monarchs pushed towards divine right absolutism. Since a corollary to absolutism was suppression of religious dissent, the issue became particularly acute in England as tensions escalated to rebellion in the 1640s, with Puritans playing a major role.

As one of the few ‘good’ kings of the Bible, David was a unique figure. Those seeking limits on royal authority noted that David enjoyed God's favor because he respected God's law, submitted to God's will and was sensitive to the needs of the people. This left open the question of wicked kings, of which the Bible had no shortage. That David was selected by God despite not having a royal lineage was also observed. For monarchists, David's respect for Saul as God's anointed showed that even wicked monarchs are to be obeyed. At the same time, however, the Geneva Bible, favored by Puritans, observed in a note to 1 Sam 26 : 9, that David refrained from killing Saul only because God had not commanded it. It then added a reminder that on God's order, Jehu had killed two kings.

In the Enlightenment, David's morality was often at question. Deists often pointed to his failings to challenge Christianity as a worthy moral foundation. The *Philosophical Dictionary* of Pierre Bayle gave a list of David's sins. More pointed was the French philosophe, N.-A. Boulanger who said of Christianity's elevation of a “brigand in revolt against his

legitimate sovereign, an usurper, a monster of cruelty, an infamous adulterer, an assassin, in a word, a David, as a great saint; or even by excellence, as the man of God's own heart!" (Boulanger, *Critical Examination of the Life of St. Paul*, London 1823: 43) Conversely, the English bishop Joseph Butler, defended Christianity by citing David as an example of human weakness to which even the best of men, Deist and Christian alike, is susceptible.

Moving into the 19th century applying David to temporal issues faded. While royalists might occasionally refer to David, his use as a political archetype had limited relevance to a secular and democratic age. Similarly, the scholarly trend to read the Bible as a historical and literary document tended to distance David from debates about morality and biblical authority.

Modern interpretations of David in the 19th and 20th centuries continued to be influenced by the methods of higher biblical criticism developed in the early modern period. These investigations into the biblical depiction of David were primarily concerned with historical considerations. J. Wellhausen's immensely influential *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1883), for example, attempted to discern and isolate various written sources about David in order to assess their historical significance. Paradigmatic of this era of scholarship, Wellhausen's interpretation of David rested principally on political observations about David's rise to power and reign over the kingdoms of Judah and Israel: David's greatness, on this view, was not to be located in the realms of morality or piety, but rather in David's capacity to defeat his enemies abroad and establish his capital Jerusalem as an enduring dynastic legacy.

The historical orientation of interpretive approaches advanced by Wellhausen and his contemporaries reverberated within those studies of David produced by the biblical scholars who followed in their wake. The emphasis of following generations of Davidic scholarship, particularly among German scholars, were the literary fissures, editorial insertions, and apologetic leanings found throughout the biblical account of David's story. Building on the work of previous scholarship, L. Rost (1926) provided a seminal study on the biblical traditions of David, maintaining that many of the later stories of David's kingship were taken from a distinct, independent source composed shortly after David's death in order to provide a justification for Solomon's succession to the throne. Later, A. Weiser (1966) and P. McCarter (1980) argued, in a similar vein, that the traditions of David's rise to the throne in 1 Sam 16–2 Sam 5 were collected and composed near the time in which David reigned in order to provide a defense of David's overthrow and dissolution of the House of Saul.

Consensus regarding both the interpretive importance of historical criticism and the historical

credibility of the biblical traditions about David's life were subject to a veritable upheaval in the final decades of the 20th century. The presence of ever more detailed archaeological evidence from the region challenged previous assumptions regarding the influence and scope of David's kingdom, as the material remains from the region failed to provide direct confirmation of a large Davidic realm during the early 10th century BCE. Absent of concrete archaeological evidence regarding Davidic rule, interpreters sought new approaches to an understanding of the biblical portrayal of David's life. One method, as witnessed in the work of D.M. Gunn (1978) and W. Brueggemann (1985), gives interpretive priority to the literary artistry and theological framework of David's story. A second approach has been to reconsider the question of how certain traditions of David arose in ancient Israel and why they came to be preserved. From this perspective, the biblical narratives about David may not have been intended as an accurate historical record composed during David's life, but rather as a collection of meaningful traditions written and reshaped over the course of many centuries in order to reflect the enormous impact of David's memory on the political, social, and religious fate of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

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James Deming and Daniel D. Pioske

V. Islam

David (*Dā'ūd*, *Dāwūd*) is considered a prophet in Islam. Although not one of the major prophets, he is a familiar figure in both the Qur'an and later Islamic sources.

In the Qur'an, David is mentioned sixteen times by name. The most coherent passage on him comes in Sura 38, which is also known under the variant title *Sūrat Dā'ūd*. The themes associated with David include his role as the deputy (*khalīfa* "Caliph" S 38: 26) of God on earth, as well as his reputation as a maker of coats of mail (S 21: 80; 34: 10–11), as a judge (S 21: 78; 38: 21–24), as the killer of Goliath (*Jālūt*, S 2: 251) and as the prophet to whom was revealed the *Zabūr*, one of the four revealed books mentioned by name in the Qur'an. In contrast to most prophets of Islam, David and Solomon are

presented as kings and rulers, which made them important models for the Caliphs. David's wisdom is specifically mentioned in the Qur'an (27: 15).

Based on S 27: 15–16 and 38: 18–19, David, like Solomon, is said to have understood the language of birds. David's reputation in later Islamic literature as a singer ultimately comes from the Bible and may already have influenced S 21: 79 and 34: 10, although the references are equivocal.

The enigmatic passage in S 38: 21–25 echoes the story of Bathsheba. Later tradition often downplays the sinful behaviour of David, as it came to be understood that prophets were protected from sin (*ma'sūm*). It should be emphasized that in general, the history of David as narrated in the Bible and Rabbinic literature has left rather few traces in the Qur'an. The qur'anic David is a somewhat stereotyped link among others in the chain of prophets from Adam to Muḥammad.

According to the Qur'an, David received a revealed book (*Zabūr* S 4: 163; 17: 55), which differentiates him from the other prophets. Although S 21: 105 gives a brief quotation from the Psalms (37: 29) as coming from the *Zabūr* (*al-Zabūr*, only here with the definite article), it is uncertain how clearly this book was equated with the Biblical Psalms in the Qur'an. The *Zabūr* was perhaps a vaguely defined revealed – and lost – book, connected with the name of David and presumably associated with the word *zabūr*, a term used in the Qur'an for scriptures in general. In post-qur'anic times, the *Zabūr* was identified with the (original) Psalms revealed to David, not with the (corrupt) biblical book of Psalms, just like *al-Injil*, revealed to Jesus, is not considered identical with any of the Gospels. In Christian and Jewish Arabic literature, the biblical Book of Psalms was well known, especially in the translation by Saadia Gaon (d. 942), and the biblical Psalms occasionally even influenced Muslim Arabic poetry, but various apocryphal Muslim *Zabūrs*, which are only vaguely related to the biblical book, were also in circulation. None of these has been generally accepted as the *Zabūr*.

In historical and popular "tales of the prophets" (*qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*), the story of David is told in more detail. In comparison with the Bible, however, Islamic authors relate David's story sketchily. E.g., al-Ṭabarī (Brinner: 134–53) knows, besides the qur'anic material, the story of David's election and anointing in three different versions, a detailed version of the slaying of Goliath in two versions – the Qur'an merely mentions the fact – the two attempts by Saul to murder David, Absalom's rebellion, the beginning of the construction of the temple and the attempted census of the Israelites. But it is the story of Bathsheba that has captured the imagination of al-Ṭabarī, too, and takes up exactly half of the chapter on David. These elements draw a picture of a prophet and a holy, though erring, man.

Similar to al-Ṭabarī, the more popular *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature selects some highlights of David's life. Al-Kisā'ī (Thackston: 270–300) basically tells the same episodes, but with much embellishment and a great deal of detail, adding legends about David's judgments, his relations to his son, Solomon, and his death. A detail worth pointing out is the legend of David fleeing from Saul and hiding in a cave across the entrance of which a spider wove its web, a theme reused for the biography of prophet Muḥammad. Partly these legends are derived from Jewish and Christian lore, partly, it seems, freely invented by the early Islamic narrators of *Isrā'īliyyāt*, "Israelite stories", on whom al-Kisā'ī ultimately depends for much of his material.

In Islamic mysticism, David is seen as an archetypal ascetic, perhaps based on S 38: 17–19, as well as the stories of his excessive penitence after the episode with Bathsheba, as narrated, e.g., by al-Ṭabarī. His Orphic association with music, charming both men and wild animals, has strengthened this image for those Sufis who used *samā'*, ecstatic dance and listening to music, as a part of their ritual.

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Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila

VI. Literature

■ General ■ Modern Hebrew

A. General

As a literary entity, David's importance is intertwined with the sense of him as the author of the Psalms. In the 9th-century *Golden Psalter* of St. Gallen, he is depicted as a type of Christ and as precursor of the Carolingian kings. The *Winchester Psalter* (12th cent.) signposts the importance of David in the Middle Ages as a figure associated with the veneration of the Virgin.

In the 12th-century Limoges *Ordo Prophetarum*, David takes his place as one of six OT prophets

warning the Jews to repent in time for the coming of Christ, and in the *Processus Prophetarum* in the Towneley play, he is one of four (the others being Moses, the Sibyl, and Daniel) who foretell the coming redemption. In *The Golden Legend* David is cited as an example of the sin of lechery and as an example of repentance, and both this and the 14th-century OT metrical paraphrase have David compose Ps 51 as an act of penance after the episode with Bathsheba, though in medieval literature generally David was a symbol of fortitude, as in Guillaume's *Pèlerénage* (1331). In Petrarch's *Triumph of Love*, David withdraws to a dark cave as penance before being restored to divine favor. In the *Cornish Ordinalia* Gabriel replaces Nathan (as in Muslim legend) as the one who tells the story of the man who steals his neighbor's sheep. David pleads with God for forgiveness, and begins reciting Psalm 1 "under the rood tree" and goes on to compose the rest of the Psalter there. Here David is stopped from building the temple specifically because of his destruction of Uriah. The idea of the Psalms as the outworking of David's penance, also present in the *South English Legendary*, enlarges upon the traditional idea of Pss 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143 as the Seven Penitential Psalms, prescribed in various combinations to overcome the effects of the Seven Deadly Sins. Sir Thomas Wyatt later harnessed these "Certayne Psalmes" to form a psychological portrait of David's mind.

The *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Ems (1254) introduces romance elements into the friendship of Jonathan and David, whilst Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* (1271) seems concerned to downplay the negative aspects of David as a political role model for princes (cf. Sherwood-Smith).

While Dante compared David and Goliath to Hercules and Antaeus (in *De monarchia*, ca. 1313), Renaissance literature mixed the medieval sense of the David and Bathsheba story as an exemplum with the classical motif of Venus and Adonis. Sometimes, as in Remy Belleau's *Les Amours de David et Bersabee* (1572), the love story predominated; elsewhere the moral lesson, as in Brunetto's tragedy *David Sconsolato* (1556) and Hans Sachs' comedy *Der David mit Batseba im Ehbruch* (1560). Shakespeare's *Hamlet* has been seen to owe some of its structure (though not diction) to 1 Samuel, following the alignment of the David story with English tragedy in George Peele's play *David and Bethsabe* (1593), a work written in the wake of *The Spanish Tragedy*. Peele's play combines the influences of Ovidian poetry and Senecan drama in the service of a colorful Protestant lesson about sin.

Michael Drayton's *David and Goliath* (1630) makes David the subject of an epic poem, paving the way for *Paradise Lost*. Drayton is largely faithful to the biblical text, modifying it in places to emphasize David's heroic qualities and assimilating him

to Orpheus. The central passage describing the encounter with Goliath reflects romanticized accounts of medieval English military history.

Abraham Cowley's *Davidis* (1656) was another epic. Much shorter than planned, *Davidis* concentrates on the love of David and Jonathan, leading to the contemplation of God ("Loves mysterious Face"). Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) is a landmark in the ironic and polemical use of biblical rewriting, with Charles II as David determined to suppress his enemies, no matter how ruthlessly.

David was treated as a military model in Puritan sermons of the 17th and early 18th centuries, but in Handel's oratorio *Saul* (1739), he serves both as a soothing counterfoil to the mad Saul and also (in Jennens' libretto) as the idealistic image of the Hanoverian succession. Then in Christopher Smart's *A Song to David* (1763) and throughout that poet's oeuvre, David becomes the very embodiment of poetry itself as a form of spiritual devotion, a new Orpheus. Smart's metrical versions of the Psalms christianize the fierce God of the HB/OT as well as acting as the vehicle for Smart's own identification with David. But *A Song to David* places David at the center of a theology of praise. David is "the best man," a person of angelic qualities. The episode of the murder of Uriah, his "fall," is the occasion of David's exemplary repentance as he acts as the interim stage between Moses and Christ. As the Psalmist, David fashions the perfect praise of the Creator and, though not perfect, is the matchless human being.

Vittorio Afieri's *Saul* (1784), a masterpiece of Italian classical tragedy, contrasts the selfless heroism of David with the passion-driven, God-defying Saul. Lamartine's drama *Saül* (1818) is remarkable for stressing David's love of Michal and for its quasi-Hegelian dialectic between the personas of David and Saul. Friedrich Rückert's *Saul und David* (1843) follows the constantly shifting attitude of Saul towards David, ending not with the tragic deaths of Saul and Jonathan at Gilboa, but with David's coronation, paralleling Saul's coronation at the end of the author's twin play, *Sauls Erwählung*. Karl Beck's *Saul* has the otherwise charismatic David admitting to Jonathan his pessimistic vision of the Jewish future. Robert Browning's *Saul* (1845) focuses on David's soothing of Saul's rages through music and poetry. J. G. Fischer's *Saul* (1862) has David resuming Saul's struggle against the priesthood. André Gide's *Saul* (1896) has Saul overwhelmed by his compulsive attraction to David. In Thomas Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886) the relationship of Henchard and Farfrae echoes that of David and Saul. Stephen Phillip's *The Sin of David* (1904) relocates the story of David and Bathsheba to an English civil war setting.

Rilke's poems "Abishag" and "David Sings Before Saul" (1907/8) explore the age-gap between Da-

vid and the other two figures as metaphors for the meeting-point of the Hellenic and Hebraic cultures. D. H. Lawrence's early references to David seem positive – as in Anna's imitative naked dance in *The Rainbow* (1915) – but, by the time of the play *David* (1926), KJB language is harnessed in a drama about religious vitality declining through the reigns of Saul and David. The play's original title was *Saul* and even in his final hour Saul is closer to the divine fire than David.

Siegfried Sassoon's poem "Devotion to Duty" (1919) marks Uriah's brave death on the battlefield, with the King calling "Bathsheba must be warned that he is dead./ Send for her. I will be the first to tell/ This wife how her heroic husband fell." But Richard Beer-Hofmann's *Der junge David* (1933) sees the Hitler-like Saul finally defeated by the rise of David. William Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom* (1936) rewrites the David story, but in an oblique way. The relationship between David and the novel's main protagonist Thomas Sutpen is best seen in terms of both similarities and discontinuities, with Sutpen finally as a sort of tragic parody of David. The novel is remarkable for its various versions of the Sutpen story, mimicking the Bible's more general reworking of its own stories.

J. M. Barrie's engaging light play *The Boy David* (1936) expands upon the biblical pretext with scenes of David's life with his older siblings and later an after-life meeting between Saul and Samuel. Walter Kaufmann's "David" poem-cycle (1943) treats the major moments in David's story, ranging from David beholding Abigail to his faltering words to Abishag. Max Zweig's *Saul* (1948) has Saul as the victim of post-Holocaust despair, finally able to acknowledge the hope that David offers for the future.

In Christopher Fry's verse drama *A Sleep of Prisoners* (1951), the aggressive David King is counterpoised to the passive Peter Able, echoed by the contrast in the dream-section between a warlike David and a peace-seeking Absalom. Lionel Abel's *Absalom* (1956) finds existentialist themes in David's quest for a successor. The poetry of Theodore Roethke draws on the sense of the Davidic voice in the Psalms to forge a contemporary utterance of religious joy. Early poems of Yehuda Amichai deal with the use of the biblical figures of Saul and David as resources in constructing a modern Israeli identity. Kingsley Amis in his poem "After Goliath" (1956) has David bemused by the array of fans and hangers-on at his debut as a warrior. Now he must fight a mental battle "For faith that his quarrel was just,/ That the right man lay in the dust."

Dan Jacobson's *The Rape of Tamar* (1970) gives the story from the perspective of Yonadab. Stefan Heym's popular novel *The King David Report* (1972) is a Marxist retelling of the biblical story, with David and Solomon and their henchmen as power-

hungry villains. Charles Reznikoff's poem "Autobiography, New York" (1977) destabilizes the David myth by suggesting that somebody else killed Goliath. Nathan Zach's poem "And Perhaps Only Music" (1977) has David's singing conjure up the severed head of Goliath and so induce Saul to cast his spear. Joseph Heller's *God Knows* (1984) has a David cut off from communication with God after the death of his child with Bathsheba, finally sharing Saul's experience of God's silence and merging with the identity of his predecessor. Allan Massie's novel *King David* (1995) converts the biblical material into a first-person apologia written by David, an Updikean figure living in a world of emergent monotheism. Modern reworkings of the David story reflect the political and religious exigencies of their time, leaving behind the mythic and typological David. When they subvert the story, it is less by invoking the fate of Uriah than through new plot-twists.

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Anthony Swindell

B. Modern Hebrew

Modern Hebrew literature, starting from the period of the Enlightenment, has addressed considerable attention to the the first kings of Israel – Saul and David.

Over time the literary attitude towards these two characters has changed from one of admiration for both characters to misgivings about David and a preference for Saul. This position may be due to the secular nature of modern Hebrew literature: King Saul, in his rebellion against the prophet, is a symbol of the political figure who rebels against the religious, rabbinical establishment.

J. L. Gordon (1830–1892), a major Hebrew poet of the Enlightenment, admired David and wrote about him extensively ("David and Barzilai," "The Love of David and Michal," and the epic "David's War Against the Philistines"). For Gordon, both Saul and David symbolized national heroes who delivered their people from their enemies. In contrast,

M. J. Berdichevsky (1865–1921), a founding father of the Revival movement and its literature, which exhibited an extreme rejection of Judaism, viewed David as an unworthy leader. His polemical approach towards the Bible was expressed in his justification of Saul over David. Saul Tchernichowsky (1875–1943) and Zalman Shneour (1887–1959), poets who were also members of the Revival movement, admired Saul while rejecting David. In his poem “Men of Valor of the Region” (1936), Tchernichowsky disdainfully calls David “this Bethlehemite servant,” while Shneour, in his “Lament for the House of Saul” (1942), elaborates on David’s immoral actions with a series of audacious labels (e.g., “great-grandson of Moabites”). Similar pro-Saulide and anti-Davidic attitudes have characterized most of the subsequent generations of poets, playwrights, and authors.

Over the years, growing numbers of artists have treated the character of King David in a wide range of literary genres. These include prose (e.g., Moshe Shamir’s (1921–2004) novel, *Poor Man’s Lamb* – 1959), drama (e.g., Yaakov Shabtai’s (1934–1981) *Crowned* – 1969), and poetry. In poems set to music and popular theater, too, King David has occupied a central place.

While the Revival era poets primarily address the national dimension of David’s character, other poets active around the time of the establishment of the State of Israel and onwards treat David’s character from a human-psychological angle. Later poets especially tend to highlight his universal human aspects, his individual experiences, and his psychological weaknesses. Their poems show a marked tendency to focus on David’s desires and transgressions; his pain – as a father – over the death of his son Absalom, his relations with his wives, his pathetic old age, and his poetical and musical side (e.g., “Saul, and David Playing Before Him,” Dan Pagis, 1959; “David Playing,” Yaakov Orland, 1978).

Most prominent among the poems adopting a critical position toward David are those which focus on his wives (e.g., “Michal, Life Story,” Malka Shaked, 1996). At the same time, there are poems which are empathetic and forgiving towards David, even concerning the episode of Bathsheba. Examples include some of Yehuda Amichai’s (1924–2000) poems in his collection *Open Closed Open* (1989). These express a position even more strongly in favor of David than that of the Bible itself.

The secret of David’s appeal, giving rise to such a wealth of literary output, lies in the contradictory elements of his personality. On one hand he is presented as a courageous youth who prevails against the Philistine Goliath and develops into a fearless warrior. On the other hand, David is a psalmist and musician, an artist with a sensitive soul. The following description, capturing both aspects of David’s

character, was written by the author S. Y. Agnon, who often expressed his fondness for David:

A mighty king who was continually occupied with wars against the Philistine Goliath and all the other villains, while the Jews, for their part, certainly troubled him greatly, too; nevertheless, he would take time to play the lyre and to compose psalms for all those who were miserable and downtrodden – How could I not love this king? (*Only Yesterday*).

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Rachel Ofer

VII. Visual Arts

■ Jewish ■ Christian

A. Jewish

David has been one of the most popular heroes in the history of Jewish visual arts. Scenes from his life start to appear in Late Antiquity and continue to dominate modern and contemporary Judaic works. On account of the nature of Jewish art and its historical development, the figure of King David was central first in the realm of ancient Jewish art and later primarily in the art of European Jewry. It was uncommon in the lands of Islam, where the Jews, influenced by local approaches to the visual arts, avoided figurative imagery.

The earliest surviving Jewish monument to include scenes from the life of David is the ancient synagogue of Dura Europos (244/45 CE), Syria, discovered in 1932, whose walls are covered with paintings depicting stories and heroes of the HB. Along with Moses and Elijah, David was a central figure in the eyes of the Dura community. It is not always easy to identify the scene in which David is being portrayed. One panel, only a fragment of which is preserved in the synagogue’s mostly destroyed east wall, likely depicted David, accompanied by Abishai, in the camp of Saul in the wilderness of Ziph, approaching the sleeping king (1 Sam 26:5–12). The artist possibly wished to emphasize here the virtue of David who spared his rival. Another panel, centrally located to the right of the Torah shrine on the west wall, depicts his anointment by Samuel (1 Sam 16:13). In this striking hieratic scene, young David stands amid his admiring brothers, while Samuel pours the oil on his head. Inspired by contemporary royal prototypes, David is dressed in a purple garment, symbolic of imperial authority, while the brothers salute him with their

raised right arms (Roman *acclamatio*). David's sovereignty and kingship are further reflected in the panel above the Torah shrine, which was painted over several times, one layer of which depicts King David elevated as the ruler of Israel. The zone below this image portrays David the psalmist. The iconography of the image is modeled on the pagan image of Orpheus playing a lyre among wild animals who are pacified by the music. The idyllic scene was adapted to the imagery of David as a means to allude to the afterlife and messianic days associated with the biblical king in Jewish tradition. This scene continued to be used in Jewish art during the Byzantine period. In 1965, the discovery of a floor mosaic in an early 6th-century synagogue from the ancient port at Gaza revealed a similar image (see fig. 5). Dressed as a contemporary emperor, the Orpheus-like David is shown playing the lyre among calmed beasts, identified by the Hebrew inscription of his name.

From the Middle Ages to the Baroque periods, Jewish biblical imagery moved from the Near East to Europe and from the synagogue to illuminated and printed books. A relatively wide range of texts was deemed appropriate for illustration with the image of David in medieval manuscripts. Biblical codices from Germany, Spain, and Italy, show the king playing his harp either at the opening of the Book of Kings (1 Kennicott Bible, Spain, 1476 – Oxford, Bodleian Lib. Kenn. 1, fol. 185r), or more commonly at the start of Psalms (e.g., Kalonymus Bible, Germany, 1237/38 – Wrocław, University Lib. MS. M 1106, fol. 305r) – illustrating the initial word *ashrei* (Ps 1:1), a direct influence of *Beatus* in Christian Bibles. Likewise, the musician king appears in a legal codex, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS. A 77/III, fol. 1r), alluding to the music played by the Levites in the Temple (Book 8 – Laws of the Temple Service). The same manuscript shows the tiny, crowned David confronting the giant Goliath as an illustration to Book 7, Laws of Agriculture (A 77/II, fol. 118r), associating the two with the "agricultural" story of Ruth, whose descendant is David, while Goliath descended, according to the *midrash* (cf. *bSot* 44b), from impious Orpah. The battle between the two also appears in illuminations of Passover Haggadot (e.g., Second Nuremberg Haggadah, South Germany, ca. 1465–70 – London, David Sofer Coll., fol. 40r), highlighting David as one of the heroes of ancient Israel who saved his people. The Jewish miniatures also closely reflect current artistic styles and trends. Thus, for example, in an Italian Hebrew manuscript of the Renaissance (Rothschild Miscellany, North Italy, ca. 1465–70 – Jerusalem, Israel Museum, MS. 180/51, fol. 1v, see → plate 5.a), the joyous spirit of the times dominates the opening panel of Psalms, which displays the elaborately dressed musician king in a naturalistic, pastoral landscape.



Fig. 5 King David playing the lyre (early 6th cent.)

The invention of printing gave rise to new episodes and the expansion of Jewish iconography, making biblical images more common, accessible, and popular. Title pages of Hebrew books were often decorated with an architectural framework, en-

riched by figures and scenes, mostly biblical. While Moses and Aaron are the most common figures embedded in these settings, David appears as well, at times illustrating the mishnaic concept of the "Crown of Kingship" (one of the three crowns, the other two being the crowns of Torah and Priesthood; *mAv* 4:13, see: "Crown"), or often paired with his son, Solomon. Other title pages bear various narrative scenes from the life of David. In one book, printed in Amsterdam in 1669, no fewer than five episodes allude to the name of the printer David de Castro Tartas. This association of David with contemporary figures occurs on other Judaic objects of the Baroque era. Most typical of this trend are 17th- and 18th-century Italian *ketubbot* in which scenes depicting the heroism and piety of David serve as models for bridegrooms whose first name is David. Similarly, monument makers for the Portuguese community of Amsterdam employed David's figure in the striking bas-reliefs carved on the tombstones of the deceased bearing the king's name. The image of King David created for the noted Amsterdam Haggadah (1695), though based on a Christian prototype, was copied and imitated, along with other images, in many later haggadot, whether in manuscript or printed form. Eventually, these images made their way even into selected haggadot printed in Islamic lands in the 20th century.

Jewish artists of the 20th century approached the image of David from novel angles. For example, Marc Chagall (1887–1985) dedicated to the biblical king numerous works in various media – e.g., the stained glass windows in the Cathedral of Metz (1958–62), or the tapestries in the Knesset in Jerusalem (1963–69). Chagall declared that the biblical king was close to his heart because he was, like him, an artist. David's iconic figure playing the harp in Chagall's works in some instances serves as a timeless merciful witness to the crucial events in the long history of the Jewish people. The use of the image of David for intrinsic contemporary self-expression is exemplified in the work of the Jerusalem artist Ivan Schwebel (1932–2011), who sets the events in the life of the king in contemporary Jerusalem and alludes through them to his personal life story and conflicts.

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Shalom Sabar

B. Christian

David's long and eventful life, his role as a king, writer of the psalms, prophet, prefiguration and ancestor of Christ, have made him into one of the most popular, varied, and complex figures in Christian iconography. The part of his life or role that comes to the fore, as well as the function of the representation, varies according to time and place. In the late antique and early Byzantine periods, David's early life and victory over Goliath are most important. As a small and powerless boy, David destroyed the enemy of Israel with God's help. As such, he prefigures Christ's victory over Satan and also symbolizes the human soul that overcomes malevolent forces and death. During the 13th and 14th centuries, almost every episode from his life was compared to the life and significance of Jesus. In the Middle Ages, David figures most frequently as the royal writer of the psalms. As an ideal king, he is the prototype of earthly kings, and as writer of the psalms, he foretells the coming of Jesus and figures as his prophet. As direct forefather of Jesus, the royal psalmist and son of Jesse is present in the so-called Tree of Jesse that represents Jesus' ancestors. From the time of the Renaissance, artists have been captivated by David's intriguing and conflicting character, adding a non-religious symbolism to this biblical figure.

1. Narrative Representations. The identification of the figure of Orpheus playing the lyre from the Roman catacombs as David is debated. From the 3rd till the 6th century, all representations of David concentrate on his confrontation with the giant Goliath and the events leading up to this miraculous victory. Four narrative cycles from between the 4th and 8th century picture how the shepherd boy receives the messenger of Samuel, is anointed by Samuel, arrives at Saul's court, wears Saul's armor, plays his harp before the depressed and deserted king, and fights and beheads Goliath. On the silver plates that were found at Cyprus (613–29/30), the marriage of David and Michal, symbolizing his rightful kingship, concludes the cycle. In the paintings that illustrate David's youth from the Egyptian monastery of Apa Apollo near Bawit, from the 7th or 8th century, at least four more events from David's later life were represented. Apart from the bond between David and Jonathan, all these panels were already lost when the chapel was discovered. A shorter version of the same cycle can be found on a relief that probably originates from the same monastery. Singular scenes illustrating various events from David's youth survive in Coptic textiles, illustrating

the popularity of the young hero in Christian Egypt. Of special note in the above-mentioned cycles illustrating David's youth is the emphasis on divine assistance – represented either by an angel or by the hand of God.

Following Kurt Weitzmann, many scholars assume that the early cycles of David's youth were inspired by an illustrated Septuagint or a book of Kings. No ancient Jewish illustrated manuscript has come down to us. The Quedlinburg Itala fragments (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. theol. lat. fol. 485) prove that an illustrated book of Kings existed in the 5th century. However, what little survives of the book does not include illustrations from the life of David, but miniatures depicting the Abner story described in 2 Sam 3, events that are not represented in other media. Later manuscripts such as the Vat. Gr. 333 (11th cent.) and the Sacra Parallela, Cod. Paris B.N. Gr. 923 (9th cent.) suggest that the paintings from Bawit were indeed inspired by an illustrated book of Kings.

Scenes from David's life as described in the books of Samuel and Kings also illuminate medieval Psalters (see fig. 6). In so-called monastic Psalters redactions, events from David's life are often marginal illuminations and included as prefigurations of Christ or within a larger biblical landscape, as can be seen in the extensively illustrated Utrecht Psalter. The illustration of Psalm 151, a psalm summarizing David's youth, is particularly copious and frequently pictures the young musician among his sheep, David fighting the lion and the bear, his anointment by Samuel, and his fight with the Philistine Goliath. A selection of the same scenes can be found in Byzantine Psalters, such as the 9th century Chludov Psalter now in Moscow. Aristocratic psalters were often filled with lavish illustrations, the Paris Psalter offering a 10th-century Byzantine example, though there are many important examples from the West. The image of David as musician, was usually the introductory image to the psalms, the "author's portrait."

In French psalters of the mid-13th century, word-illustrations are common before Pss 1; 26; 38; 52; 68; 80; 97, and 109, marking the liturgical time of daily Matins and Sunday. In addition to David the musician, who figures before Pss 1 and 80, a penitential David who points to his eye in Ps 26, to his mouth in Ps 38, and who opposes the fool who denies the existence of God in Ps 52, are popular subjects.

David's struggle with the lion was popular in the sculptural decoration of western medieval churches, as were single and multi-figural reliefs and statues on capitals, tympana, portals, etc., usually depicting the king with his lyre. His affair with Bathsheba was popular from the later Middle Ages onwards for its moralizing quality, as was the repentant king with the prophet Nathan.



Fig. 6 King David with a harp and musicians (Tiberius Psalter; 11th cent.)

In the Renaissance and subsequent periods, events from David's life remained popular themes with artists. The young, victorious David was one of the most popular themes in Florentine art of the 15th and early 16th century, the city adopting the biblical figure as a civic emblem that demonstrated triumph through God rather than brute strength. Donatello's bronze David is celebrated for its effete beauty while Michelangelo's large marble is the embodiment of unleashed power. In the 15th–17th centuries, the young David carrying Goliath's severed head was particularly popular with Italian, French, and Dutch painters. In Dutch paintings of the 17th century, David's affair with Bathsheba offered a pretext for erotic scenes. In historical paintings, artists like Rembrandt stressed David's eastern character and picture the old bearded king in oriental dress with a turban.

2. Psalmist, King, and Prophet. In the Middle Ages, the figure of a David as writer of the psalms became extremely popular. Since David foretold the coming of Christ in his songs, he is also considered a prophet. Several representations picture him as a young shepherd, playing his lyre amid his flock –

an image modeled upon ancient representations of Orpheus. Most frequently, however, he is pictured as a bearded king, wearing the dress of contemporary rulers. His attribute is the harp or another musical instrument; less frequently he is pictured carrying a scroll with a psalm verse that foretells the coming of Christ.

From the 6th century onwards, the royal musician David is pictured on the frontispiece or in the initial letter of the first psalm in illustrated psalters. Early illustrated manuscripts picture David enthroned, often flanked by musicians or dancers. From the 14th century onwards, most manuscripts picture David without accompanying figures. Sometimes a dove symbolizes the divine inspiration of the psalmist. David the musician also figures on 9th-century ivory book covers. From the 12th century onwards, the aged psalmist frequently figures in the sculptural decoration of Gothic cathedrals. In the Italian Renaissance, the preoccupation with David's youth and beauty occasionally resulted in a youthful portrayal of the prophet. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the psalmist became the patron of musicians. As such, David developed into a representative of music, who is frequently pictured on books and musical instruments, such as organs in the 18th century.

In the East, a medallion portrait of David figures as one of the prophets in the 6th-century apse mosaic in the Church of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai. The youthful king is modeled after the emperor Justinian. Later representations of the prophet-king picture him aged and bearded. In an 8th-century painting from the monastery of Baouit in Egypt, he holds a scroll with a psalm verse that foretells the coming of Christ. From the Byzantine period up to the present, David is frequently pictured among other prophets on iconostases and in icons.

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Lucinda Dirven

VIII. Music

■ General ■ Jewish Music

A. General

In European music history, the biblical narratives about David have given rise to numerous texts and musical settings in liturgical and other contexts. These include interpretations which, within different genres and contexts of performance, have reflected the historical, political, and religious significance ascribed to David. This musical reception equally testifies to a fascination with the multifaceted dramatic narrative of the life of David, expounding some basic themes and structural conditions of human existence, such as love, lust, sin, repentance, friendship, loyalty, obedience, virtue, and piety. The figure of David in music represents a wide thematic field that relates to various parts of the Bible, first and foremost the OT, but also NT receptions within hermeneutical strategies pertinent to the perspective of Christian salvation history.

As far as the life of David is concerned, the historical narratives of 1 Sam 16–1 Kgs 2 (cf. 1 Chr 10–29) provide the basic material and plot for a considerable number of musicalizations of the story of David.

Since the early Middle Ages, the narratives have had their place in liturgy in the shape of plainchant recitations, for readings of the texts of 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings were prescribed in the Holy Office (from after Trinity and until Saturday before the first Sunday of August), and references to David were also taken up in the group of responsories and versicles related to the readings of the "Historia Regum" (1 Sam 18:7: *Saul percussit mille, et David decem millia* and 1 Sam 21:11: *Nonne iste est David*).

Later musical interpretations cover various themes and subplots of the David narratives. In particular, attention has been focused on the dramatic sequence of "David and Goliath" (see "David and Goliath VI. Music"), the story of "Saul and David," including the important topos of the "power of music" relating to the episode of "David playing the harp (or 'lyre') to soothe the anger and resentment of Saul," (cf. 1 Sam 16:14–23 [in particular v. 23]; 18:10–11; 19:9), "David's friendship with Jonathan," "David's lamentation for the deaths of Saul and Jonathan," "the affair with Bathsheba" and the "Absalom incident." The musicalizations of the thematic material may appear as isolated narrative segments or as part of greater narrative and dramatic structures.

Interpretations covering the more extended story line relating to "Saul and David" (which may

include the David and Goliath incident or references to it) are displayed especially in the large-scale genres, the oratorio, and the opera, from the 17th century onwards. Francesco Foggia's (1604–1688) *David fugiens a facie Saul* (relating to 1 Kgs 18:6–20; 21:10–22:40) written for use in the “Oratorio of SS Crocifisso” in Rome is an example, and so are Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Mors Saülis et Jonathae* (early 1680s) and *David et Jonathas* (1688; libretto: Père Brettoneau), both performed at the theatre of the Jesuits in Paris as interludes to a school tragedy. Although they emphasize the relation between David and Jonathan, they also include other themes relating to David, such as the jealousy of Saul and references to Achish and the Philistines. Among 18th-century productions, Telemann's oratorio cycle, *Der Königliche Prophet David als ein Fürbild unsers Heylandes Jesu*, for which the music has been lost (first performed 1718; libretto: Johann Ulrich von König), written for a “Collegium musicum” in Frankfurt am Main, should be mentioned. Francesco Bartolomeo Conti's sacred drama (*azione sacra*), *David* (first performed 1724 in the Royal Chapel, Vienna 1724; libretto: Apostolo Zeno), is a remarkable specimen of the oratorio genre. It displays a register of emotional states and dramatic situations, where David's relation to Michal and Jonathan, his virtue and piety come into focus. Its highlight is the representation of Saul's fury in the passage, *Lasciatemi a stesso*, and the subsequent harp playing (in a “Preludio,” carried out by a theorb) and Psalm singing, *Quanto mirabile ... tuo nome* (cf. Ps 8) of David (set for alto castrato). A most impressive representation from the same epoch is G.F. Handel's grand-scale oratorio *Saul* (first performed in 1739 at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, London; libretto: Charles Jennens). The work covers episodes from 1 Sam 15–2 Sam 5, but the librettist also drew on other sources, notably Abraham Cowley's poem, *Davideis* and the biblical drama *The Tragedy of King Saul* by the Earl of Orrery (both 17th cent.). The magnificent orchestration, the wide emotional range exposed in the vocal conduct, and the dramatic structure together make the work a significant contribution in the musical interpretation of the David narrative. Even if Saul is the central (and tragic) character, the role of David is prominent. The human dimension and the affective universe of the story are accentuated throughout. Apart from being celebrated as a triumphant war hero, the character of David is sketched around the themes of love (in the relation to Michal), of friendship (in relation to Jonathan), and his loyalty (generally, and specifically in relation to Saul and Jonathan), pointing to an ideal of human virtue, very likely not without connections to ideas of contemporary moral philosophy. Also the music of David and its effects on Saul are thematized (cf. 1 Sam 18) and set in relation to the idea of universal harmony in the

libretto. As the tragic fate of Saul would remind an 18th-century English audience of recent (17th-cent.) dethronements of kings or regicide, and of the risk of solving contemporary political issues through similar means, David's slaying of the Amalekites at the end and the final elegy on the death of Saul and Jonathan assume an additional political meaning expressing a dismissive attitude to the removal of the anointed king and remorse pointing to a new national beginning and unity (cf. Ruth Smith). William Boyce's oratorio *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan*, based on a nondramatic libretto by John Lockmann (first performed in London, 1736), and John Christopher Smith Jr.'s musical setting of a modified version of Lockmann's text (performed in London, 1740) may also be seen in this historical context. 19th-century productions inspired by the oratorio style of Handel are Bernhard Klein's *David* (1830; libretto C.G. Körner) and Ferdinand Hiller's *Saul* (first performed at the Niederrheinische Musikfest, 1858; libretto: Moritz Hartmann). The romantic melodious lyricism colors oratorios like Carl Reissiger's *David* (first performed in the Royal Chapel, Dresden, 1852; libretto based on Bible texts), and George Macfarren's *King David* (first performed at the Leeds festival 1883; libretto based on biblical texts).

Important 20th-century contributions include Carl Nielsen's opera *Saul og David* (first performed in Copenhagen, 1902; libretto Einar Christiansen), which constitutes an outstanding example of an elaborate, monumental and psychologically oriented interpretation. Throughout the work, the figure of David is musically characterized by the lyrical and bright tone, displayed in the amorous relation to Michal and further, and in particular, as a contrast to Saul over whose divided mind the Davidic music only exercises a limited power. As a consequence, his final victory is postponed despite the dethronement of Saul, leaving unresolved conflicts a matter of hope and future reconciliation. Arthur Honegger's symphonically varied and orientally coloured oratorio/stage work *Le roi David* (subtitle: *Psaume Symphonique*; 1921, rev. concert version 1923; based on a biblical drama by René Morax) for small instrumental ensemble, soloist, choir, and a narrator is based on modified biblical texts (i.e., Psalms, or prophetic texts and narratives), covering the principal stations from the “childhood of David” (the shepherd), and the “Goliath incident” until his death, including also the “Bathsheba affair,” the “rebellion of Absalom,” and the “crowning of Salomon.” Another work, Darius Milhaud's monumental opera, *David* (1954; libretto: Armand Lunel), also represents a comprehensive interpretation. It covers the entire story of David, taking its point of departure in the visit of the prophet Samuel at the house of Jesse, and ends with the representation of Abishag, the death of David and King Solomon's

ascension to the throne, associating ancient Davidic kingdom with modern Israel. Later 20th-century productions include Christopher Brown's *David: A Cantata* (1970; libretto: biblical texts and Christopher Smart), Flavio Testi's *Saul* (first performed at the Maacerata festival, 2007), and the musical *King David* by Tim Rice (first performed on Broadway, New York, 1997). An instrumental representation of the harp-playing David (cf. 1 Sam 16) is a subject taken up in Johann Kuhnau's *Musicalische Vorstellung Einiger Biblischer Historien, In 6. Sonaten / Auff dem Klaviere zu spielen* (1700).

The relationship between David and Jonathan, though interwoven with the story of Saul and David, has been further emphasized in a considerable number of productions, including oratorios and shorter musical forms. The Absalom incident is present in some of the works covering the greater narrative on David, as in the works by Klein, Honneger and Milhaud. But it is also taken up as a separate theme in a number of oratorios between the 17th and 19th centuries (as in works by Caldara, A.K. Kunzen, Cimarosa, F. Bertoni, and W.H. Longhurst), as well as in less extensive forms. In these subplots of the history of David, musical representations have often assigned a prominent place to the lamentations of David in relation to the deaths of Saul and Jonathan (cf. 2 Sam 17–27) and the death of Absalom (cf. 2 Samuel 18:33; 19:4). A special focus is given to this theme also in small-scale forms in which notable expressive means are introduced to reflect the emotional content of the text. Among the early musico-poetical interpretations of “David’s lamentation for the deaths of Saul and Jonathan,” Pierre Abélard’s most original monophonic and highly expressive *planctus, Dolorum solatium* (12th-cent.) stands out. In liturgical context, the lament on the death of Jonathan is the subject of the medieval plain-chant antiphons. *Montes Gelboe, Saul et Jonathas*, and *Doleo super te*, and so is the death of Absalom in the antiphon *Rex autem David*, all of which are based on texts from 2 Samuel. In later musical representations, the textual basis have been various texts or text constellations collected from these antiphons, from 2 Samuel, or biblical paraphrases. Examples of Renaissance polyphonic interpretations are the 16th-century settings of the *Rex autem David* antiphon by Matthieu de Gascoigne, Clemens non Papa (including the lamentation on Jonathan in part 2), Bernardino de Ribera, and an anonymous composer in the collection *Symphoniae iucundae*, published by Georg Rhau, 1538. Among the early 16th-century contributions, one should mention the emotionally loaded High Renaissance motet, *Fili mi Absalom*, probably written by Pierre de la Rue but earlier ascribed to Josquin des Prez, and *Lugebat David Absalom* (also attributed to Josquin), as well as *Considera Israel* (2 Sam 1:18) by Pierre de la Rue. A number of English works

thematize the Davidic lamentations. These include the anthems, *When David Heard* (on Absalom), *O Jonathan* by Thomas Weelkes (d. 1623), *When David heard* and *Then David Mourned* by Thomas Tomkins (d. 1656), and the canon, *O Absalom, My Son* by Henry Lawes (d. 1662). Notable 17th-century versions in the early Baroque style are seen in Ludovico Viadana’s *Fili mi, Absalom* and *Doleo super te* (Concerti Ecclesiastici, 1602) for solo voices and basso continuo, and the highly emotionally-charged musicalization, *Fili mi, Absalom* by Heinrich Schütz from the collection *Symphoniae Sacrae I* (1629). Charles King’s catch, *O Absalom, My Son* (A Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees, London, 1763), the American composer William Billings’s anthems, *The beauty of Israel* (from *Psalm Singer’s Amusement* [Boston, 1781; 2 Sam 1:19] and *David’s Lamentation* (from *The Singing Master’s Assistant*, [Boston 1778] on Absalom), David Diamond, *David Mourns for Absalom*, for solo voice and piano (1946), and Eric Whitacre, *When David heard* for choir (1999) are examples of further later contributions.

The uses of the figure of David also reflect hermeneutical strategies related to the perspective of Christian salvation history, advancing a messianic understanding of Jesus Christ. In the NT context it applies to the idea of the royal kinship of Jesus, as he belongs to the “house and lineage of David” (cf. Luke 2:4), with which the divine messianic promise (cf. 2 Sam 7, and the prophetic literature [in particular Isaiah]) and hopes were closely associated, at the same time as the christological title “Son of David” (Matt 1:1; 21:9) points to the fulfillment of the promise in Christ. Also, references to the city of David, Bethlehem (Luke 2:4) as the birthplace of Jesus, and to expressions like the “root of David” (Rev 5:5, cf. Isa 11:10 [“root of Jesse”]), “key of David” [Rev 3:7, 22:16], cf. Isa 22:22) point to the same. This view constitutes a typological interpretation where David appears as a model or figure anticipating the reality of Christ, in whom finally the “true David” is to be perceived. This understanding is widely attested in music. In liturgy, in the so-called “O Antiphons” to the Magnificat used in the Vespers in the last days of Advent, a reference to David is given in *O Clavis David* (“O Key of David”), which relates to the prophecy of Isaiah and the messianic understanding of Christ. In addition to the plain-chant version, later polyphonic settings were composed by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (early 1690s), and in modern times by Arvo Pärt in *Sieben Magnificat-Antiphonen*, for mixed a cappella choir (1988/1991). The numerous interpretations related to the Annunciation (Luke 1:28–38), and the Christmas story (Luke 2:1–20), whether they are based on the biblical text, paraphrases, or Christmas hymns, contain references to the figure of David, his house, city, and kingship. Also musicalized are the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem (Matt 21:9),

where the people's acclamation "Hosanna" to the son of David appears. This is evident in the antiphon, *Osianna filio David*, in the Roman Catholic liturgy for Palm Sunday, and in Liszt's oratorio, *Christus* (first performed 1873 in Weimar). The "son of David" title is also echoed in the procession hymn for the day, *Gloria, laus et honor tibi* by Theodulf of Orléans (760–821), and it is referred to in Josquin's motet, *O Jesus fili David* and in Philipp Nicolai's *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* (1599) (stanza 1), set by Michael Praetorius, in a motet from the collection *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), and J. S. Bach (cantata nr. 1 [first part] for the Annunciation; 1725). Jesus as "the root and offspring of David" (cf. Rev 22:16) is interpreted in Johann Hermann Schein's motet *Ich bin die Wurzel des Geschlechtes Davids* in Italian madrigal style from the collection *Fontana d'Israel, Israelis Brünlein* (Leipzig, 1623).

Since Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages the significance of David in relation to music history can also be observed in the musico-theological thought in which basic categories for the understanding and legitimization of the religious music culture in Europe were introduced. In this discourse, displayed in a variety of text genres, but also reflected in visual representations, the biblical figure of David stands out as a model for later approaches to the religious uses of music. A number of biblical passages were to appear in this topical field, that relate to reflections covering the nature, function and institutional aspect of music. A locus classicus was the account of David's harp playing to cure Saul (1 Sam 16:14–23; see fig. 7), which served as an exemplum of the ethical or medical power of music something which came to be a recurrent theme in Christian doctrines of music, see for instance Isidor Hispalensis (d. 636), *Etymologiae* III, 17,3; IV, 13,3, Johannes Tinctoris (d. 1511), *Complexus effectuum musices* (c. 9) (after 1475), Martin Luther, *Prefatio* to the *Symphoniae iucundae* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw 1538), Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, I, 213–17 (Rome 1650). In addition to the account of the lamentations on Saul, Jonathan, and Abner (2 Sam 1:19–27; 3:33), and the "last words of David," referring to his divine inspiration (2 Sam 23:1), it was in particular the book of Psalms, by tradition attributed to David, and the central position it occupied in Christian liturgies from the early church and onwards that contributed to the maintainance of the idea of David as the divinely inspired poet and singer. In this capacity he was considered a normative figure in the context of Christian worship, where the musico-poetical achievement of the Psalms was established as an unequalled paradigm of devotion, occasioning a broad spectrum of musicalizations from plain chant to polyphony, thus contributing significantly to European music culture. The Christian interpretations

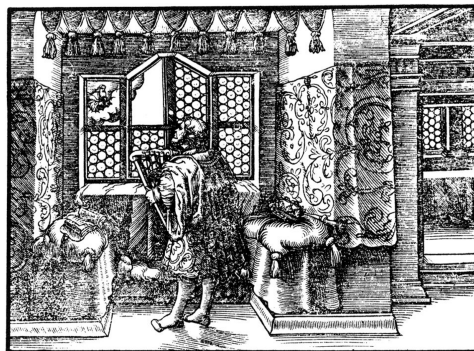


Fig. 7 David playing the harp (Luther bible 1545)

point to hermeneutical strategies that on one level have recognized the religious experiences (repentance, lamentation, grief, and praise) of the historical David in the book of Psalms, some of which, according to some of the titles, relate to specific events of his life. So for instance the Psalm of repentance, "Have mercy upon me" (Ps 51; Latin incipit: *Miserere mei*), which is indicated to be occasioned by the judgement of Nathan the prophet after David's adultery with Bathseba. The connection of the Psalms with the life experiences of David may be considered a part of an implicit pre-understanding shared by Christian communities, but it may also be explicitly stated, as for instance in the title of Mozart's oratorio *Davide Penitente* (first performed 1785), which is based on paraphrases of various sections from the Psalms. The integration of the Psalter in Christian worship was, however, closely linked to and conditioned by the typological understanding of the OT. In the same way as the historical David was perceived as a prophet and a prefiguration of Christ, so the Psalms were subject to allegorical/typological readings in which the articulations of the psalmist were understood to point to Christ, or to the Christian church, a perspective that transformed the OT Davidic Psalms into a prophetic testimony and a comprehensive pattern of religious experience to be recapitulated in the individual Christian life.

In Christian discourses on music and liturgy, the significance of David has also been emphasized with respect to the institution of church music. It was in particular on the basis of the account of the translation of the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15–16), where David appears as the organizer of ceremonial activities of well-ordered structure relating to the cult, that a model of ritual musical performance could be recognized. It was in the first place in relation to his establishment of conducted choirs of singers (with the Davidic chapel leaders Asaph, Heman, Ethan, and Jeduthun) indicated in Chronicles, that David in Christian traditions from Late An-

tiquity and onwards was considered the founder of church singing and as such an example to follow in a liturgical context, cf. for instance *Bede* (d. 735), *Preface to the Commentary on The Psalms*, Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*, and Amalar of Metz, *Liber officialis* (both 9th cent.), and Polycarp Leyser, *Preface to Cantional Oder Gesangbuch Augspurger Confession* by Johann Hermann Schein (1627). The introduction of an instrumental apparatus, also mentioned in *Chronicles*, comprising harps, citers, cymbals, trumpets, together with the references to instruments in the Book of Psalms (cf. Ps 150), offered a possibility of legitimizing instrumental music within liturgy, which for instance Michael Prætorius carried through in a Lutheran context in his historico-theoretical work *Syntagma Musicum I* (1615).

As a symbol and epitome of sacred music the figure of David has also been recurrently visually represented since the Middle Ages. In numerous cases, his attribute is a harp, but also other instruments, for instance bells and the organ have been applied. As a part of the Christian imagination the figure appears in various contexts, including medieval illuminated manuscripts (the Psalter), in hymn books, or collections of music, on organ facades, in addition to a considerable number of paintings.

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Sven Rune Havsteen

B. Jewish Music

As musician to the brooding King Saul (see 1 Sam 16:14–23), young David is credited with special virtuosity in playing the lyre. Commentators observe that the apparently superfluous reference to his playing the instrument "with his hand" (1 Sam 16:16, 23; 18:10) means that he refrained from us-

ing a plectrum, as was the custom of others. David is also credited by tradition with having authored much of the book of Psalms. His abilities as lyricist and performer earned him rabbinic regard as the "sweet singer of Israel" (*ne'im zemirot Yiśra'el*), an inspiration to generations of musicians. However, it is as a warrior, a successful king, and the progenitor of the Messiah, that David is recalled in Jewish song. Popular tunes lauding his exploits were written in 20th-century Israel and disseminated to Jewish communities around the world. In "We-David yefeh 'enayyim," Israeli composer Matityahu Shelem took inspiration from the description of David as a "bright-eyed" shepherd boy (1 Sam 16:12) who was anointed to succeed Saul, and later became a military hero who surpassed his predecessor: "Saul has slain his thousands; David, his tens of thousands!" (1 Sam 18:7). "Mayyim le-David ha-Melekh," a popular song by the former Israeli parliamentarian Akiva Nof, describes the efforts of David's warriors (*gibborim*) to satisfy the king's craving for water from a well beside the Philistine camp (2 Sam 23:15–17). Still, to this day, the best known paean to the Israelite king is the ubiquitous "David, King of Israel, lives and endures," repeated as the text for various anonymous melodies sung at Hasidic celebrations and danced as Israeli horas. A more recent setting of "David, King of Israel" was written by Israeli composer Mordechai Zeira, while another song with the same title, released by Israeli songstress Chava Alberstein on a 2008 children's album, returns to the image of the young shepherd, playing his flute and lulling his flocks to sleep.

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Marsha Bryan Edelman

IX. Film

The compelling story of David has appeared on the silver screen more often than that of almost any other biblical character besides Jesus. The abundant source material available in 1–2 Samuel, 1 Chronicles, and the Psalter is necessarily condensed by David films, most of which focus only on a few key episodes. Conversely, filmmakers have also been obliged to add material to fill gaps and resolve tensions within the biblical text, sometimes even rewriting parts of the story to make David more palatable and relevant to later audiences.

1. Silent Films. David's afterlife in cinema began shortly after the birth of the medium with the production of several short silent films that highlight isolated episodes from the biblical story. Henri Andréani's *David et Goliath* (1910) is typical in this regard. The three primary characters are visually introduced during the opening credits but are visually distinguished – young David cuddles a dog

and sheep while Saul and Goliath each stare stoically at the camera. The film's few scenes closely follow the biblical storyline, which also provides the text of the intertitles (1 Sam 17:12-51). However, Andréani introduces two incidents that have only a loose biblical precedent in David's boast to King Saul (1 Sam 17:34-37). In an early scene, David defends his father's sheep against an eagle (rather obviously stuffed and suspended on a wire) and later fights off bandits singlehandedly when bringing provisions to his brothers. While these incidents do not involve the lions and bears David boasts of killing, they do establish his heroic credentials and skill with a slingshot before the encounter with Goliath. Other silent films based on the story of David include *David and Goliath* (dir. Sidney Olcott, 1908), *Saul and David* (dir. J. Stuart Blackton, 1909), *David et Saül* (dir. Henri Andréani, 1911), *Absalon* (dir. Andréani, 1912) and *David* (dir. Harry Southwell, 1924).

2. Biblical Epics as Theatrical Releases. David reappeared onscreen during the golden age of biblical epics in Twentieth Century Fox's costume drama *David and Bathsheba* (dir. Henry King, 1951), which featured Gregory Peck and Susan Hayward at the height of their careers. Although more of a dialogue-driven character study than the lavish visual extravaganza typical of this period, it was the highest grossing film of the year and was nominated for five Oscars. Its screenplay combines the David and Bathsheba story (2 Sam 11-12) with the transport of the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6), but earlier episodes in David's life also intrude through dialogue and flashbacks.

Although the Hayes Code would not allow adultery to go unpunished in 1950s films, *David and Bathsheba* reads the biblical story in ways that excuse David's behavior and garner audience sympathy for the star-crossed lovers. Peck's manly David is first seen in action fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with common soldiers, unlike the biblical king who remains behind in Jerusalem while his army goes out to battle (2 Sam 11:1). The film carefully establishes his sexual relationship with Bathsheba as a consensual romance between two lonely people trapped in loveless arranged marriages. Even the murder of Bathsheba's husband is mitigated by Uriah's own request to be placed at the forefront of battle.

The film departs radically from the biblical account once Nathan makes his initial accusation. God's judgment in the film is manifest through drought and famine, which will continue unless Bathsheba is handed over to the crowd for stoning as required by the Law of Moses. Ultimately, the film contrasts two theological images: the unforgiving God of Nathan and the merciful God that David recalls from his youth as a shepherd. Bypassing the

prophet, David appeals directly to God before the ark of the covenant to save his beloved. Daring to touch the ark (cf. 2 Sam 6:6-8), the jaded king's memory is flooded with flashbacks of his boyhood days. In the end, David's theological vision is affirmed over Nathan's when rainfall signals God's forgiveness.

The 1960s saw a series of low budget Italian-made films about David. The most notable of these films, *David e Golia* (dir. Richard Pottier and Ferdinando Baldi, 1961) featured an aging Orson Welles as King Saul alongside a cast of unknown Italian and Croatian actors whose lines are poorly dubbed into King James English. The film suffers from bad acting and a weak script very loosely based on 1 Sam 16-18. Following the tragic death of his childhood sweetheart and his anointing by the prophet Samuel, David travels to Jerusalem (which is inexplicably the location of Saul's capital). Young David represents simple faith and morality in contrast to the immorality of the city and the underhanded politics of the royal court where Abner and Merab are plotting a palace coup. David denounces the immorality of Jerusalem and later faces the Philistine champion Goliath to secure a return of the captured Ark of the Covenant. The film ends awkwardly when Saul unexpectedly saves David from Abner and awards him Michal's hand in marriage.

David returned to the silver screen in *King David* (dir. Bruce Beresford, 1985), a highly compressed version of the biblical story starring Richard Gere. Beresford achieved a level of historical realism never before attempted in David films, but his movie proved unpopular with audiences and critics. Gere was even nominated for a Razzie Award based on his lackluster performance as David, including an extremely awkward dance before the ark of the covenant. In his haste to cover 1-2 Sam in two hours, Beresford does not adequately develop his characters. Instead he attempts to tie the story together with frequent references to the biblical account of Jacob, who wrestled with God and presumably saw the deity face-to-face (Gen 32:22-32). This story becomes a metaphor for Saul's descent into madness as he dreams of wrestling with a mysterious man whose face he can never see. David also repeatedly expresses an interest in seeing God face-to-face, a presumption that religious leaders gently rebuke. Michal twice suggests that David has a God complex. Holding a mirror before him, she says sarcastically, "Behold, the King of Glory face-to-face!" David is also called to account by Nathan for liberally interpreting the law of Moses in order to spare women and children taken in battle and to spare the life of his beloved son Absalom. Like King's 1951 *David and Bathsheba*, Beresford's film seems to contrast David's image of a merciful God with the unmerciful God of institutionalized religion. How-

ever, Beresford does not decide clearly in favor of either theological vision. David is punished for circumventing the law, and, following the death of Absalom, the narrator solemnly intones that David “sinned no more.” Yet on his deathbed, David tells Solomon that God speaks to men through the heart alone, no matter what the prophets might say. The end result is a very confusing film that seems more interested in trekking through the biblical story than making sense of it.

3. Television Biopics and Adaptions. Biblical miniseries began to appear more frequently on television in the 1960s and 70s and David films were no exception. Columbia Pictures produced a made-for-TV feature called *The Story of David* (dir. David Lowell Rich and Alex Segal, 1976), which attempted for the first time to portray David’s entire life story – airing over two nights with part one focusing on David’s relationship with Saul and part two on the succession narrative.

The role of David is split between two actors, a youthful Timothy Bottoms and a more mature Keith Michell. Both segments begins with an image of Michelangelo’s *David* which fades into the face of the actor whom the audience is told will bring the legend to life. This opening provides an apt visual metaphor for a film that attempts to humanize the legendary biblical hero. David has a genuinely affectionate relationship with Saul, who jokingly advises him never to let an old man pour oil on his head. The film eases the Saul/David bond by delaying the latter’s fateful anointing by Samuel until his fugitive days. Even then David demonstrates obvious reluctance to claim the throne of his friend and mentor. Gradually, however, a more world-wise David emerges to insure his own survival and consolidate his power. Tellingly, when King David directs scribes to record Israel’s oral traditions, he bids them to “write down their sins, their stubbornness, their weakness – for that makes them men!”

Another TV miniseries *David* (dir. Robert Markowitz, 1997) broke the twelve-year hiatus in David films that had been brought about by the disastrous failure of Beresford’s *King David* at the box office. Markowitz’s film extends from the selection of Saul as Israel’s king to the death of Absalom. Unfortunately, David (portrayed by Nathaniel Parker) is the film’s least interesting character, especially alongside Leonard Nimoy’s Samuel and Jonathan Pryce’s Saul. Rather than evolve as a character over the course of time, Parker’s David recites excerpts from the Psalter for all occasions throughout the film. Potentially humanizing episodes, such as his adultery with Bathsheba and murder of Uriah, are recounted briefly and followed by immediate repentance. In the latter half of the film, David seems strangely removed from the turmoil in his family. Nathan assures him that it is those God loves the

most who are punished the most severely, and David stoically agrees that this indeed is the price of God’s glory. Overall, this installment in TNT’s *The Bible Collection* does not live up to the artistic storytelling quality of other offerings in the series.

More recently in 2009, the story of David reappeared on television in a very different form. The short-run dramatic series *Kings*, created by Michael Green, transposed the biblical story into a modern-day mythical setting. The series, which is comprised of a two-hour pilot and eleven additional one-hour episodes, presupposes that King Silas Benjamin (portrayed by Ian McShane) had been chosen by God and endorsed by Reverend Samuels (Eamonn Walker) to unite the fictional kingdom of Gilboa. But as the king’s policies in the war against Gath begin to draw criticism from the reverend, a good-hearted and naïve soldier named David Shepherd (Christopher Egan) emerges into the spotlight. Having become an overnight hero after facing down a presumably unstoppable Goliath tank, David finds himself drawn into national politics and the private machinations of the royal family. As the series moves forward, David slowly loses his naïveté but retains his integrity and his loyalty to King Silas. The existing first season of the show begins with David’s “anointing” by Rev. Samuels and ends with his flight into Gath as a reluctant expatriate.

While loosely following the plot of 1 Samuel, *Kings* infuses the biblical story with contemporary concerns such as gay rights and the realities of a military industrial complex. Because no one in the morally ambiguous Kingdom of Gilboa is ever totally evil or completely blameless, the series encourages audiences to sympathize with almost every character. However, the clear parallels with 1 Samuel lend an air of inevitability to the series for viewers familiar with the biblical story. Silas, Gilboa’s capital city Shiloh, and David’s romance with the king’s daughter Michelle surely would have come to no good end had the series continued. Moreover, knowledgeable viewers have the added enjoyment of identifying the show’s frequent biblical allusions.

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See also → Bathsheba; → Crown; → David and Goliath, Story of; → David and Jonathan, Story of; → David’s Champions; → Goliath; → Psalms, Book of; → Saul