Kingship Remembered and Imagined: Monarchy in the Hebrew Bible and Postmonarchic Discourse in Ancient Judah

by

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ABSTRACT

This study addresses the question of how *post*monarchic society in ancient Judah remembered and imagined its monarchy, and kingship in general, as part of its past, present, and future. By way of a thorough analysis of Judean discourse in the late Persian period, the study argues that ancient Judeans had no single way of remembering and imagining kingship. In fact, their memory and imaginary was thoroughly multivocal, and necessarily so. Various views of the past and of the future shaped and balanced one another, maintaining a polyvalent remembering of kingship in postmonarchic Judean society.

Chapter 1 lays out the methodological and theoretical framework for the study, situating its historical and historiographical interests within the literate community of late Persian-period Judah, and arguing for a particular, systemic understanding of social memory that draws on cultural anthropology and narratology. Chapter 2 then examines the law of the king in Deuteronomy (17:14–20) and the pre-monarchic figures of Moses and Joshua, showing how this law and these figures functioned as primary frames for kingship-discourse, and thus for the social remembering of kingship, in ancient Judah. Chapter 3 argues that multivocality and overdetermination in the discourse's transition from judgeship to kingship gave rise to and informed the multiple discursive potentials that play out in the rest of kingship's story: the issues of dynasty's successes and failures, of cultic devotion and apostasy, of divine promises, and so forth. With regard to these issues, kingship was doublethought, simultaneously possible and impossible. Chapter 4 focuses on David and Davidic kingship, especially with regard to the multiple discursive potentials highlighted in Chapter 3. Instead of limiting the discourse, instead of

attempting to reduce it to a single voice, the contribution of David and Davidic kingship was to encourage and maintain the multivocality, as they were keyed to the mnemonic framework of the Deuteronomic king-law and the doublethought rise of kingship in the first place. Chapter 5 shows how, in prophetic literature, the remembered *future* was keyed to the remembered past. Prophetic literature drew on the discursive themes of the remembered past, as it was construed in historiographical books and in the prophetic books themselves. Images of the future, in the corpus of prophetic literature, balanced memories of the past. Judah's model *of* past kingship reflected its model *for* future kingship, thus bringing a sense of balance and unity to the discourse as a whole and to Judah's social remembering of monarchy.

Chapter 6, the study's concluding chapter, then considers a major implication of the foregoing analysis. This chapter argues that—on account of the prophetic literature's discursive relationship with historiographical literature, and on account of its key function in Judah's socio-mnemonics of kingship—the prophetic books participated in what might be called "metahistoriography." It was a kind of historiography, but one with a pronounced speculative outlook; it reflected and took part in discourse about the past, but with a view of future potentials always firmly in mind. This study therefore reconsiders the generic function of Judean prophetic books in particular, as well as the interrelationship between historiographical and prophetic books in general, within Judean discourse.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Ian Douglas Wilson. Some of the research conducted for the thesis appears in revised and expanded form in peer-reviewed publications by the same author.

Portions of Chapter 2 appear in Ian Douglas Wilson, "Yahweh's Anointed: Cyrus, Deuteronomy's Law of the King, and Yehudite Identity," in *Political Memory in and after the Persian Period* (ed. Caroline Waerzeggers and Jason M. Silverman; SBLANEM; Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming 2015).

Portions of Chapter 4 appear in Ian Douglas Wilson, "Joseph, Jehoiachin, and Cyrus: On Book Endings, Exoduses and Exiles, and Yehudite/Judean Social Remembering," *ZAW* 126 (2014): 521–34; and in Ian Douglas Wilson, "Chronicles and Utopia: Likely Bedfellows?" in *History, Memory, Hebrew Scriptures: A Festschrift for Ehud Ben Zvi* (ed. Ian Douglas Wilson and Diana V. Edelman; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming 2015).

Portions of Chapter 5 appear in Ian Douglas Wilson, "Faster than a speeding bullet, more powerful than a locomotive, able to rule by sense of smell! Superhuman Kingship in the Prophetic Books," forthcoming.

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many to mention them all; but they know who they are, and I thank them for their input. Frauke Uhlenbruch, organizer of the EABS research group "Science Fiction and the Bible" and the EABS panel "Chronicles and Utopia," deserves special mention. The sessions she organized on these topics pushed me to try new approaches and provided the opportunity to think through many of the ideas in this dissertation. She is a superb colleague and friend. I am also especially grateful to Christophe Nihan of the University of Lausanne, who served on my examining committee, and whose off-the-cuff suggestion (at the 2013 EABS meeting in Leipzig) to think more about genre had a profound impact on this study's development. I would like to thank Carol Newsom of Emory University, too, for her praise and encouragement, and for her insightful criticisms. She served as the study's external reader, and her perceptive comments, especially those concerning historical-critical method, set the stage for a lively and collegial discussion at my doctoral defense.

Finally, my Hebrew Bible professors at the U. of A. deserve special thanks. Francis Landy taught me that the wonder and beauty of biblical literature is to be found within its paradoxes and complexities, something that has a central place in my thinking and scholarship. More importantly, he has become a life-long friend. And of course Ehud Ben Zvi, my supervisor, has had a profound impact on my scholarly training and on this dissertation. A quick glance at my bibliography reveals as much. His intellectual guidance helped a young (and foolish?!) scholar take a seemingly impossible topic and turn it into something fruitful. His criticism was always constructive, his mood always jovial, and his door (and email) always open. He was and is a fantastic scholarly mentor, and will also be a life-long friend.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AB Anchor Bible
ABD Anchor Bible Dictionary (6 vols.; ed. David Noel Freedman)
Akk. Akkadian
ANET Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (3d ed., with
      Supplement; ed. James B. Pritchard)
AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament
SBLANEM Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near East Monographs
BETL Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHS Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BibInt Biblical Interpretation
BJS Brown Judaic Studies
BTB Biblical Theology Bulletin
BQS Biblical Qumran Scrolls (3 vols.; ed. Eugene Ulrich)
BZAW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (ed.
      Martha T. Roth et al.)
CANE Civilizations of the Ancient Near East (4 vols.; ed. Jack M. Sasson)
CAT Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts (2d ed.; ed. Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and
      Joaquín Sanmartin)
CBQ Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBR Currents in Biblical Research
CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
ConBOT Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
COS Context of Scripture (3 vols.; ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger)
DDD Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (2d extensively rev. ed.; ed. Karel
      van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst)
DH deuteronomistic historiography
Eng. English
ESHM European Seminar in Historical Methodology
FAT Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL Forms of Old Testament Literature
FRLANT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GKC Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (2d ed.; trans. and ed. E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley;
      Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922)
HALOT Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament (ed. Ludwig Koehler and
      Walter Baumgartner; trans. M. E. J. Richardson; Leiden: Brill, 1994)
HBT Horizons in Biblical Theology
Heb. Hebrew
HeBAI Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel
HSM Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS Harvard Semitic Studies
HThKAT Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR Harvard Theological Review
ICC International Critical Commentary

IEJ Israel Exploration Journal
JAJ Journal of Ancient Judaism
JAJSup Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JANER Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL Journal of Biblical Literature
JHS Journal of Hebrew Scriptures
JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNSL Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages
JPSTC Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary
JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements
JTS Journal of Theological Studies
KAI Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften (ed. H. Donner and W. Röllig; 3 vols.;
        Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971)
LHBOTS Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies (formerly JSOTSup)
LXX Septuagint
MT Masoretic Text
NCBC New Century Bible Commentary
NICOT New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV New International Version of the Bible
NJPS New Jewish Publication Society Translation of the Tanakh
NRSV New Revised Standard Version of the Bible
OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBT Overtures in Biblical Theology
OTL Old Testament Library
OTS Oudtestamentische Studiën
PHSC Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and its Contexts
SBLAIL Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and its Literature Series
SBLANEM Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near East Monographs
SBLDS Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSymS Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLWAW Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World Series
SemeiaSt Semeia Studies
SHANE Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SJOT Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament
SR Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses
TA Tel Aviv
UF Ugarit-Forschungen
VT Vetus Testamentum
VTSup Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZABR Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDPV Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

CHAPTER 1
Introduction: Historiography, Memory, and Imagination in Judean Society

Memory believes before knowing remembers. Believes longer than recollects, longer than knowing even wonders.[1]

Unlike the animals, who knew only the present, Man had acquired a past; and he was beginning to grope toward a future.[2]

The past is never dead. It's not even past.[3]

Couched within the infamous story of David, Bathsheba, and Uriah the Hittite is a telling

passage (2 Sam 11:18–21; NRSV):

> Then Joab sent and told David all the news about the fighting; and he instructed
> the messenger, "When you have finished telling the king all the news about the
> fighting, then, if the king's anger rises, and if he says to you, 'Why did you go so
> near the city to fight? Did you not know that they would shoot from the wall?
> Who killed Abimelech son of Jerubbaal? Did not a woman throw an upper
> millstone on him from the wall, so that he died at Thebez? Why did you go so
> near the wall?' then you shall say, 'Your servant Uriah the Hittite is dead too.'"

The narrative import of the passage is clear enough: the revelation of Uriah's death

should assuage David's anger over the ill-advised battle tactic—the apparently foolish

maneuver was enacted intentionally, in order to exterminate Bathsheba's husband, as per

David's command (2 Sam 11:15). The passage, however, also contains an important

statement of (hi)storical consciousness. Joab has a pronounced and clear expectation that

David would know the story of Abimelech (Judges 9), a figure from a distant past, and

that David would have learned something from this story. At least in Joab's mind, the

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1. William Faulkner, *Light in August*, in *Novels 1930–1935: As I Lay Dying, Sanctuary, Light in August, Pylon* (ed. Joseph Blotner and Noel Polk; New York: Library of America, 1985 [original 1932]), 399–774 (487).
2. Arthur C. Clarke, *2001: A Space Odyssey* (New York: New American Library, 1968), 33.
3. William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun* (New York: Vintage, 1975 [original 1951]), 80.

lesson of Abimelech's story is: avoid standing too close to an enemy's wall—you might get crushed by a big rock. At first glance, Joab's interpretation of Abimelech's demise is rather thin (though not without its merits in the immediate context of 2 Samuel 11). However, the acknowledgement of and expectation for (hi)storical consciousness and thought in ancient Israel is deeply important, and provides an appropriate launching point for this study.[4]

This anecdotal beginning is not meant to make any claims about what a historical Joab or David might (or might not) have thought about the Abimelech narrative in the book of Judges. Nor is it meant to comment on any historical era of Israelite/Judahite kingship. Indeed, as will become clear in the discussion below, this study does not offer historical reconstructions of Israel's or Judah's monarchic (or pre-monarchic) history. However, the study does make a contribution to our knowledge of Judah's *post*monarchic history. Following Mario Liverani's sage advice concerning historiographical literature,[5] I take this passage from the book of Samuel as revealing something about how the ancient tradents of this book—the book's primary community of composition and

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4.   Of course, this is not the only text that hints at historical consciousness in ancient Israel. Another salient example is Jephthah's recounting of events and details of the exodus (Judg 11:14–27). In fact, almost every book of the Hebrew Bible is concerned with the past, in one way or another. This reveals a deep concern for the past and its meaning(s), throughout ancient Israel's history. Gary N. Knoppers writes, "[A] variety of Israelite scribes, working at different times and places, possessed not only a strong consciousness of the past, but also strong views about the past. The creative expression of such a historical consciousness took a variety of literary forms" ("Periodization in Ancient Israelite Historiography: Three Case Studies," in *Periodisierung und Epochenbewusstsein im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld* [ed. Josef Wiesehöfer and Thomas Krüger; Oriens et Occidens 20; Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012], 121–45 [122]).
5.   That is, an historiographical document is not necessarily a source for knowledge of the events depicted in the document; it is "*a source for the knowledge of itself*," a source for understanding the author(s) of the document, whose sociocultural and historical contexts might be quite different from the events narrated in the document. See Mario Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," *Orientalia* 42 (1973): 178–94 (quote at 179; italics original). Cf. also Robert P. Carroll's warnings about using literary texts to reconstruct supposed social and historical contexts: e.g., erroneously using Jer 36 to discuss how prophets might have composed prophetic scrolls ("Prophecy and Society," in *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives* [ed. Ronald E. Clements; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989], 203–25, esp. 206–207).

readership—remembered and thought about their past, as it was represented in their literature. As I will argue below, the ancient tradents of this literature are to be located in Judah's postmonarchic era.

In very broad terms, this study addresses this very issue: how the postmonarchic Judeans[6] remembered and imagined their past, that is, how discourse[7] about Judah's past

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6.   Throughout this study, simply put, "Judean" refers to the people of postmonarchic Judah. The term "Judahite" refers to the people of Judah during its monarchic era. "Israelite" refers either to the people of Israel during its monarchic era (i.e., people of the Northern Kingdom), or to the people of "Israel" as an ideological construct that emerged sometime after the fall of the Northern Kingdom and solidified during the postmonarchic era. Within the Hebrew Bible, "Israel" and, to a lesser extent, "Judah" are not stable terms, and carry a number of potential meanings. See, e.g., the survey of the problem in Philip R. Davies, *The Origins of Biblical Israel* (LHBOTS 485; New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 1–35; and, for another take, Daniel E. Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3–35. I employ these terms carefully, with due attention to context and ideological implications.

7.   I use the term "discourse" frequently in this study. My understanding of discourse here is fundamentally Foucauldian. That is to say, by discourse I mean the utterances of diverse statements within a system of knowledge(s) in a particular sociocultural milieu (or, as Foucault might say, within a particular locality). See Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1972; repr., New York: Vintage Books, 2010), esp. 1–63 and 79–117. In other words, the texts of the Hebrew Bible represent multiple views of kingship, which offer different perspectives on how one is to understand monarchical rule, its history and its relevance for the society's present and future, all of which coexisted, informing and balancing one another, within the literate community of Persian-period Jerusalem and its temple, in the written texts that circulated among that community (see more below). Carol Newsom, who utilizes a similar conceptual understanding of discourse in her study of Qumran, puts it this way (*The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* [Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 3–4):

> To analyze discourse is to investigate culture through the metaphor of conversation. ... Each participant [in the coversation] tries out ideas on others. But the conversation itself, what passes between persons, belongs neither to the one nor to the other but is a product of their interaction. ... There is always some difference of opinion or perspective that moves things along. Conversations are not like Euclidian proofs; there is no theoretical point at which there is nothing more to say. ... Someone leaves, someone else comes up, and the conversation lurches off in an entirely new direction. ... Culture consists of particular utterances; yet the whole of the thing is never finished but continuously in motion and divided among an indefinite number of participants.

Discourse is, thus, dynamic and open-ended, creative and even playful. That said, Newsom emphasizes that "[d]iscourse is about the formation of human communities through symbolic interchange, but it is also about the excercise of power within those communities. The image of conversation may obscure the element of struggle that is present in discursive practices" (*Self as Symbolic Space*, 4). In addition, then, there is the question of the location of discourse within society. By speaking of a literate and temple-centered group—the only group to which the written texts give us some level of direct access—I speak of what one might call an "elite" segment of society, but this does not mean that the discourse was confined to this segment, nor does it mean that the discourse emerged solely from and exclusively for this social subgroup. Within any society there are subgroups, but discourses generally reach across these internal social boundaries, forging shared sentiments and ideological preferences for the society as a whole (see, e.g., Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classifiation* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1989], 8–11). These internal cohesions across sub-

(re)shaped the community's understandings of its present and future identities. My study is thus both historical and historiographical.[8]

Specifically, I have chosen the concept and issue of kingship as the primary vehicle for exploring these larger historical and historiographical issues. Hence the relevance of the above passage from 2 Samuel. The small but important detail pointed out above, that David (according to Joab) would have known the story of Abimelech and even used it rhetorically in his response to the messenger, would not have been lost on the ancient tradents of this text. Moreover, the meaning of this detail thickens when one realizes, as ancient literati no doubt would have, that Joab is citing the story of Israel's disastrous first attempt at kingly rule (Judges 8–9), a deeply complex narrative about kingship in its own right. The web of potential literary links and implications is elaborate,

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boundaries are what enable us to identify a society like "Judah" in the first place. In an ancient Near Eastern setting, discourses of an elite subgroup (like the Judean literati) would spread throughout "lower" levels of society (i.e., non-literate Judeans) via public ritual and teaching, iconography, word of mouth, etc. Cf. Mario Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire," in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (ed. Mogens Trolle Larsen; Mesopotamia 7; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 297–317, esp. 300–303; Ehud Ben Zvi, "Introduction: Writings, Speeches, and the Prophetic Books—Setting an Agenda," in *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Anceint Near Eastern Prophecy* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Michael H. Floyd; SBLSymS 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 1–29, esp. 18–24; also Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 10–14.

8.   As such, my work is keenly interested in the integration of historical and literary concerns. It is a work of historical criticism of the Hebrew Bible, but probably not in the classical sense. A better descriptor is "critical historicism," i.e., a "literary study that is thoroughly historicist in orientation" (F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Rethinking Historical Criticism," *BibInt* 7 [1999]: 235–71 [236]; cf. Martti Nissinen, "Reflections on the 'Historical-Critical' Method: Historical Criticism and Critical Historicism," in *Method Matters: Essays on the Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David L. Peterson* [ed. Joel M. LeMon and Kent Harold Richards; Resources for Biblical Study 56; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009], 479–504). In the words of Robert P. Carroll, "[T]he Bible is a complex collection of historically embedded texts and textually embedded histories which cries out for a theoretically sophisticated scrutiny" ("Clio and Canons: In Search of a Cultural Poetics of the Hebrew Bible," *BibInt* 5 [1997]: 300–23 [302]). Cf. also Jon L. Berquist's recent essay, "Identities and Empire: Historiographic Questions for the Deuteronomistic History in the Persian Period," in *Historiography and Identity (Re)Formulation in Second Temple Historiographical Literature* (ed. Louis Jonker; LHBOTS 534; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 3–13.

and this is only one example. In Judean literature, there exists a myriad of texts that evince complex thinking about kingship as part of Judah's/Israel's ongoing story.

Thus, the primary question of this study is: How did postmonarchic society in Judah remember and imagine its monarchy, and kingship in general, as part of its past, present, and future? What we will find is that the ancient Judeans had no single way of remembering and imagining kingship. In fact, their memory and imaginary was thoroughly multivocal, and necessarily so. Various views of the past and of the future shaped and balanced one another, maintaining a polyvalent remembering of kingship in postmonarchic Judean society. This thesis, I argue, will push us to reconsider the generic function of the prophetic books in particular as well as the interrelationship between historiographical and prophetic books in general, within Judean discourse.

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This introductory chapter aims to unpack my understandings of these issues, to orient the reader with regards to my methodological and theoretical approach to the questions and texts, and to give the reader a full sense of where I am heading before embarking on my analyses of the memories and images of kingship in ancient Judah.

I begin with a discussion of the evidence and its milieu. The books that now reside in the Hebrew Bible are literary artifacts from ancient Judah, and a great many of them emerged as such in the late Persian period in Judah's history, at a time when Jerusalem regained its status as a provincial center and when the population and economy were very slowly recovering from the Babylonian campaigns of the early sixth century BCE. As compositions, so to speak, of the late Persian era, they are primary sources for our knowledge of this era. Below I discuss this literary evidence as well as the

sociocultural setting for which the literature serves as evidence. What do we have to work with and to what sociocultural context does the evidence point? I then provide a brief introduction to kingship-discourse in this context, emphasizing its multivocality and polyvalency, and proceed to outline an approach to the discourse that utilizes studies of social memory and narrative. Finally, the chapter concludes with some brief comments on subsequent chapters.

Literature in Ancient Judah and Its Sociocultural Setting

During the late Persian(/early Hellenistic) period in the ancient Levant—that is, *roughly* the fourth century BCE[9]—the Pentateuch, deuteronomistic historiography (hereafter DH) (a.k.a. "Former Prophets"),[10] the prophetic books (a.k.a. "Latter Prophets"), and

9.   The advent of the Hellenistic period in the ancient Near East is usually marked by the arrival of Alexander and his army in the 330s BCE. However, in the southern Levant, archaeological evidence reveals a general continuity in settlement patterns and governmental administrative systems from the Achaemenids to Alexander to the Ptolemies, and widespread Hellenistic sociocultural influence was not manifest until well into the third century BCE and later. See, e.g., Oded Lipschits and Oren Tal, "The Settlement Archaeology of the Province of Judah," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 33–52. In this study, therefore, I refer simply to the "late Persian period" in Judah, which includes the entire fourth century and perhaps the first few decades of the third.

10.   By "deuteronomistic historiography" I mean the interrelated books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—books that are sometimes anachronistically called the "Former Prophets," in line with Jewish tradition. Throughout this dissertation, the adjective "deuteronomistic" refers to material from the historiographical books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, whereas "Deuteronomic" refers to material from the book of Deuteronomy itself. I understand the deuteronomistic books as part of a collection of literature that is generically historiographical, that draws on the language of the book of Deuteronomy, and that ultimately centers upon the *Leitmotiv* of Judah's/Israel's failure to adhere to the divine teachings of Moses, which results in Babylon's conquering the promised land and exiling the people of Judah/Israel from that land. It is clear that these books are interconnected. But in my mind it is doubtful that they constitute a unified "history," as Martin Noth understood them (see his seminal work, originally published in 1943: *The Deuteronomistic History* [2d ed; JSOTSup 15; Sheffield: Sheffied Academic Press, 1991], trans. of *Überheferungsgeschichthche Studien* [2d ed; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957], 1–110). Since Noth's work, an immense amount of scholarly writing has focused on the interrelationship of these books and their composition. See, e.g., the detailed history of scholarship in Thomas Römer and Albert de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH): History of Research and Debated Issues," in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 24–141, which covers scholarship up to the mid 1990s; also Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Literary and Historical Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2007); and Diana V. Edelman,

Chronicles were beginning to take shape as works of Judean literature, as written texts with some amount of authority for Judean readers.[11] In addition, many of the Psalms probably also attained some level of authoritative significance during this era, although it is more difficult to say which ones.

According to Diana Edelman, this late Persian era "is the first period ... when scholars can plausibly try to understand the mnemonic effects of these texts, which were understood to encode the collective experience of members of the community, providing them with a common identity by offering a sense of shared past while defining aspirations for the future."[12] There is no doubt that many of these literary texts have their roots in much earlier periods, and that many underwent a long, complex process of scribal reception, editing, and expansion that took place over many centuries. But one can convincingly argue, as Edelman and others do, that these literary texts as we have them now, preserved as books in the MT, are mostly late Persian-period compositions,[13] since

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"Introduction," in *Deuteronomy–Kings as Emerging Authoritative Books: A Conversation* (ed. Diana V. Edelman; SBLANEM 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 1–25.

11.   One could perhaps add Proverbs, Song of Songs, Qohelet, and Ezra/Nehemiah to the list. Concerning Ezra/Nehemiah, however, evidence suggests that they did not attain an authoritative status till a later date (some might argue they did not even exist in the fourth century); cf. James W. Watts, "Scripturalization and the Aaronide Dynasties," *JHS* 13 (2013): article 6, esp. pp. 8–15 (online: http://www.jhsonline.org); Lisbeth S. Fried, *Ezra and the Law in History and Tradtion* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), 28. Daniel, which of course also has much to say about kingship (see, e.g., Carol Newsom, "Political Theology in the Book of Daniel: An Internal Debate," *Review and Expositor* 109 [2009]: 557–68), is excluded because it almost definitely emerged in a later context.

12.   Diana V. Edelman, "Introduction," in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), xi–xxiv (xii).

13.   I use the word "composition" as follows: to compose is simply to write or create; but writing or creating may occur from scratch, or it may happen by combining or rearranging pre-existing elements. (To be sure, all acts of creativity are informed by something prior, be it knowledge, experience, etc.; the difference is whether or not the writer/creator consciously utilizes preexisting material.) In any case, *a new thing is constituted*. With the Bible, one can say that many of its books were initially "composed" in the late Persian period (see below), but this statement does not make any absolute claims about the pre-history of composition. Some of the material that constitutes the books was created from scratch in the Persian period, and some of it was not. But the *books themselves*, in toto, are likely compositions of that period, and as such they deserve attention as sources for understanding the community responsible for the composition and its reception as an authoritative work. Text-, source-, and redaction-criticism supply tools for

it is during this time that they probably took their authoritative shapes. Adele Berlin,

discussing the versions of *Giglamesh* and their literary histories, makes an important

point that is relevant here:

> The editor(s) of the Old Babylonian version and of the late version made creative
> and purposeful contributions, and, more important, *produced a unifi d structure
> and discourse*. So even though they drew on earlier sources, their products
> deserve our serious consideration in their own right.[14]

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discerning what parts of books might be "pre-compositional" (the older souces and layers that might have
helped to constitute the composition) or even "post-compositional" (very brief expansions added after the
text reached its essential form), but making precise statements regarding the history of the books'
compositions and their possible literary precursors is exceedingly difficult. Cf. Ehud Ben Zvi, *A Historical-
Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah* (BZAW 198; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991), 347–53 and passim; see
also Robert Carroll's comments on the creation/composition of the prophetic book, which apply to other
ancient book-types as well ("Prophecy," 208). However, there is also the question of whether or not the
readership(s) would even recognize pre- or post-compositional elements in a book. In some cases, there
may be internal literary markers that designate the incorporation of older material into a new composition:
e.g., the so-called *Wiederaufnahmen* pointed out by redaction-critical scholars (e.g., the repetitive nature of
Amos 7:9 and 7:17, which might indicate 7:10–17 as an addition to the text; cf. Thomas Römer,
"Introduction: The Book of the Twelve—Fact and Fiction?" in Ehud Ben Zvi and James Nogalski, *Two
Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of the Twelve/the Twelve Prophetic Books*
[Analecta Gorgiana 201; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009], 1–10 [8]; see also the extensive treatment in
Brian Peckham, "Writing and Editing," in *Fortunate the Eyes that See: Essays in Honor of David Noel
Freedman* [ed. Astrid B. Beck et al.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995], 364–83). And of course there
are large blocks of text that one finds in multiple books, clearly indicating shared pre-compositional
material (e.g., 2 Kgs 18–20; Isa 36–39; 2 Chron 32). However, there is no definitive evidence that ancient
readerships read these books as palimpsests, and even in the case of *Wiederaufnahmen*, there is no way to
tell whether or not a reader would actually recognize these as intentional markers of the incorporation of
older material (or how and why that would even matter to the reader), especially when most of the books
contain strong markers of internal *coherency*, suggesting that they were meant to be read as distinct works
in their compositional forms (*pace* Peckham, "Writing," 382, who asserts, "Editing was *always* marked and
meant to be noticed" [italics added]). See, e.g., with regards to the prophetic books in particular, Ehud Ben
Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Obadiah* (BZAW 242; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996), 2–6; also
idem, *Two Sides of a Coin*, 54–63. Of course one is still left with the problem of identifying compositional
forms in an ancient context, setting the boundaries of an ancient work or "book"—i.e., when one
approaches a work as a whole, "what is a whole?" (see Francis Landy, "Three Sides of a Coin: In
Conversation with Ben Zvi and Nogalski, *Two Sides of a Coin*," *JHS* 10 [2010], article 11, p. 9; online:
http://www.jhsonline.org). With the Pentateuchal books, prophetic books, and Chronicles the compositional
boundaries are fairly clear cut, but with the DH they are more porous. See, e.g., Christoph Levin, "On the
Cohesion and Separation of Books within the Enneateuch," in *Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch?
Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings* (ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Thomas Römer, and
Konrad Schmid; SBLAIL 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 127–54.

14.   Adele Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: Almond, 1983), 132
(italics original). Cf. the approach of Yairah Amit in *Reading Biblical Narratives: Literary Criticism and
the Hebrew Bible* (trans. Yael Lotan; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 22–32.

The same may be said of the ancient compositions found in the Hebrew Bible, which, like *Gilgamesh*, had a long and complex history, and which, also like *Gilgamesh*, eventually took authoritative forms. As compositional products of late Persian-period Judah, the "books" mentioned above are literary artifacts from that period, windows into the community that put finishing touches on the texts, read and studied them, maintained them and made them a foundational aspect of their intellectual world.

The evidence for reading the Pentateuch, DH, prophetic books, and Chronicles as literary artifacts from the late Persian period is strong. First, as Ehud Ben Zvi has shown in a number of studies, although these books display diversity in content and style, they have in common a number of broad but essential ideological/theological talking points: for example, (1) the creation, downfall, and recreation of Yahweh's chosen people Israel in the promised land of Canaan, and the concomitant theme of exile from and restoration in that land; (2) the centrality of Jerusalem as Yahweh's chosen city and the (re)construction of his temple there; (3) the importance of authoritative writing as divine instruction (תורה "Torah"), and the reading, remembrance, and memorialization of this writing (i.e., a literary culture).[15] These three overarching motifs taken together strongly

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15.   Ben Zvi identifies these motifs, along with others, as overarching discourses likely representing a small group of literati in late Persian-period Jerusalem; on these issues, see several of his seminal essays, e.g., "The Urban Center of Jerusalem and the Development of the Literature of the Hebrew Bible," in *Aspects of Urbanism in Antiquity: From Mesopotamia to Crete* (ed. Walter E. Aufrecht, Neil A. Mirau, and Steven W. Gauley; JSOTSup 244; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 194–209; "Looking at the Primary (Hi)Story and the Prophetic Books as Literary/Theological Units within the Frame of the Early Second Temple: Some Considerations," *SJOT* 12 (1998): 26–43; "Introduction," 1–29; and "What is New in Yehud? Some Considerations," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era* (ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking; Studies in Theology and Religion 5; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 32–48. See also two recent, concise statements of his approach to these matters: "Towards and Integrative Study of the Production of Authoritative Books in Ancient Israel," in *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud* (ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi; London: Equinox, 2009), 15–28; and "Reconstructing the Intellectual Discourse of Ancient Yehud," *SR* 39 (2010): 7–23; each with additional references.

suggest that these corpora of books emerged as compositions in a postmonarchic, Persian-period community in Judah.[16]

Second, one should seriously consider, within many of these books, the numerous polemics against the Assyrian and Babylonian imperial programs (e.g., Isaiah 10; 14), and the noted *lack* of criticism toward (and even marked preference for) Persian imperial rule, which indicates the Persian period as a likely compositional milieu. The Achaemenids were shrewd rulers who learned from the mistakes of their predecessors. The policies and ideology of the Persian imperial system promoted a sense of close connection between center and periphery. There was a strong sense that ruler and subject shared a "common destiny"—the periphery directly supported the economic needs of the center, while the center facilitated sociocultural continuity and political stability on the periphery, ostensibly for everyone's equal benefit (though of course the ruling elites of

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16.   Cf. Reinhard Achenbach, "The Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Torah in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E.," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century*, 253–85, who highlights a number of important connections between the corpora of books, and so states, "[W]e may consider the redaction history of the Pentateuch and the Prophets [i.e., Former and Latter] to be complementary, to a certain extent" (253). Naturally, the scholarship on this issue is immense. Recent noteworthy monographs on the history of Judean literature include: David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Konrad Schmid, *The Old Testament: A Literary History* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012). Carr, *Formation*, 221–24, argues that the "Torah of Moses" (i.e., the Pentateuch) and the "prophetic" books (i.e., both the Former and Latter Prophets), along with a number of psalms, emerged in the Persian period as authoritative collections for the literate elite. Schmid sees things similarly, especially concerning the Pentateuch. Both, however, argue for expansion and restructuring of some books in the third century, during the reigns of the Ptolemies (e.g., parts of Isaiah and Zecheriah; see Carr, *Formation*, 180–203; Schmid, *Old Testament*, 183–209). I agree that scribes might have made minor post-compositional changes to some books in the third century and beyond, but—given the complimentarity of the Pentateuchal, deuteronomistic, and prophetic corpora noted by many scholars—it seems likely that the compositions of these corpora emerged within the same overarching discursive context, prior to the full advent of Hellenism in the southern Levant. Cf. Carr's own comments concerning the difficulty of spotting Hellenistic-era expansions in the books (*Formation*, 188). In any case, as Gary Knoppers has recently argued with regard to the Pentateuch, although the books remained fluid to a certain extent throughout antiquity, the scribal "interventions" as it were remained within the bounds of an idea of Torah as an "integrated, self-consistent, and seamless work"; Knoppers then writes, "What the scribes created at the paradoxical cost of altering the text they knew and revered was a longer text that more accurately reflected the text they thought the Pentateuch should be" (idem, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013], 183).

the center benefited most, especially economically).[17] As a result, "provincial elites often

oriented themselves towards the standards set by the great kings."[18] This was certainly

true in Judah, as texts such as Isaiah 45 evince.

Third, the books also contain strong polemics against Egypt, the enemy of the

exodus (e.g., Exod 15:1–21, the Song of the Sea). Egypt revolted against Persia several

times and, while the Achaemenids dealt with succession issues, it finally escaped Persian

rule around 400 BCE.[19] In response to Egypt, which was a serious threat to imperial

stability, Persia turned its eyes toward the southern Levant and actively supported the

shoring up of administrative resources in Judah and the surrounding areas.[20] The southern

Levant thus became the frontier of the empire, and Egypt a de facto imperial enemy,

effecting significant sociocultural and sociopolitical changes in the Levantine region.[21] To

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17. Cf. Josef Wiesehöfer, "Achaemenid Rule and Its Impact on Yehud," in *Texts, Contexts and Readings in Postexilic Literature: Explorations into Historiography and Identity Negotiation in Hebrew Bible and Related Texts* (ed. Louis Jonker; FAT 2.53; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 171–85.
18. Wiesehöfer, "Achaemenid Rule," 172.
19. See Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (trans. Peter T. Daniels; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 615–37; also Stephen Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire, 525–332 BCE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 35–40. The Achaemenids would recapture Egypt in 343, shortly before Alexander's conquests.
20. On (re)formulations of Egyptian and Judean (i.e., Israelite) identities during this era, see, e.g., Donald Redford, "Some Observations on the Traditions Surrounding 'Israel in Egypt'," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 279–364, esp. 315–24; cf. F. V. Greifenhagen, *Egypt on the Pentateuch's Ideological Map: Constructing Biblical Israel's Identity* (JSOTSup 361; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), esp. ch. 6 (225–55). On possible administrative and sociopolitical changes in Judah during the late Persian period, see, e.g., Diana Edelman, *The Origins of the 'Second' Temple: Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem* (London: Equinox, 2005), esp. ch. 5 (281–331), who argues that Persia increased its interest in Judah during the reign of Artaxerxes I in the mid-fifth century (when there was a major Egyptian revolt); and contrast with, e.g., Oded Lipschits and David Vanderhooft, "Yehud Stamp Impressions in the Fourth Century B.C.E.: A Time of Administrative Consolidation?" in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century*, 75–94; and Alexander Fantalkin and Oren Tal, "The Canonization of the Pentateuch: When and Why? (Part I)," *ZAW* 124 (2012): 1–18, esp. 5–9; who point to the *end* of the fifth century as the likely moment for increased Persian involvement in the area. In either case, it is clear that during the latter half of the Persian era, Egypt became a recurring problem and the empire turned its attention toward the Western frontier, which included Judah. This, of course, would have affected Judean perceptions of both Egypt and Persia, and shaped the compositions of Judah's literature.
21. Indeed, Egypt was probably the most consequential case of revolt by a subjugated people under Persian rule; cf. Wiesehöfer, "Achaemenid Rule," 172. However, there were other major revolts in the

be sure, Egypt had a long history of sociocultural and political involvement in the Levant, stretching back millennia, and Israelite/Judahite/Judean polemics against it probably had a long history too. But the sustained anti-Egyptian bent in these books, combined with other evidence pointing to the late Persian era, further indicates roughly the fourth century BCE as a likely timeframe for the emergence of these books in their compositional forms.

Fourth, the book of Chronicles, a composition few would place outside the confines of the late Persian(/early Hellenistic) period, makes clear references to texts from the Pentateuch, DH, prophetic books, and various Psalms, suggesting that the community responsible for it was keenly familiar with these literary texts and considered them authoritative on some level.[22] "[T]he Chronicler," writes Christine Mitchell, "did not just work with traditions, but worked with a specific body of literature or literary production. ... [He] both had read widely and had reflected on what he had read."[23] Chronicles, thus, plays a double role. It serves as a source for knowledge of the late Persian-period literati in Judah, and reinforces our supposition that the Pentateuch, DH, and prophetic books were authoritative texts for that same community.

Unfortunately, the above evidence comes from the Bible itself, which inevitably forces one into circular argumentation—an almost unavoidable trap for historical-critical

Persian era: e.g., the Babylonian revolt of Nebuchadnezzar III in 522 BCE; and the Ionian revolt of the early fifth century, on which Herodotus places great importance (but which might not have been a pressing issue for Darius at the time; see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 148–49).

22. On Chronicles' use of and interaction with other literary works, see, e.g., Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (AB 12; New York: Doubleday, 2004), 66–71; and Ehud Ben Zvi, "Who Knew What? The Construction of the Monarchic Past in Chronicles and Implications for the Intellectual Setting of Chronicles," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century*, 349–60. On Chronicles' date, see Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, 101–17, with numerous references to other studies.

23. Christine Mitchell, "Chronicles and Ben Sira: Questions of Genre," in *Rewriting Biblical History: Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honor of Pancratius C. Beentjes* (ed. Jeremy Corley and Harm van Grol; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 7; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 1–25 (1–2).

studies of this literature.[24] However, there is also very good *non*-biblical evidence for placing the compositional forms of these books within roughly the fourth century BCE. Hecataeus of Abdera, the scrolls found near Qumran, the translations of the Hebrew literature into Greek (the LXX), and especially the praises of "famous men" in Ben Sira 44–50, all suggest that, by the late third and second centuries BCE, the aforementioned books had attained authoritative status in forms that are essentially similar to the books that now reside in the Hebrew Bible.[25] There are some notable exceptions that one must acknowledge and deal with when necessary: for example, the book of Jeremiah, which existed and circulated in multiple versions, well into the Hellenistic period.[26] Nevertheless, it is highly likely that the era of the fourth century—i.e., the latter decades of the Persian empire and the decades leading up to the advent of Hellenism—was the sociocultural and historical milieu in which these books emerged and were initially read in their authoritative forms.

To be sure, the books mentioned above do not necessarily represent the entire corpus of literature in late Persian-period Judah. There were probably other important works that have long since disappeared. However, the collection of texts that we have represents a very large sample and provides an abundance of evidence for discussing the

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24.   Cf. John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Studies* (2d ed.; London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1996), 52–55; see also Ben Zvi, "Introduction," 15–16.

25.   For detailed presentations and discussions of the evidence, and additional references, see Lester Grabbe, "Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period* (ed. Lester Grabbe; JSOTSup 317; ESHM 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 129–55; idem, *A History of Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (2 vols; Library of Second Temple Studies 47; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 1:331–43; idem, "The Law, the Prophets, and the Rest: The State of the Bible in Pre-Maccabean Times," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 13 (2006): 319–38.

26.   Compare MT Jeremiah with LXX. See, e.g., Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah* (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989; repr., London: T&T Clark, 2004), 21–30, with additional references.

literate community in ancient Judah during the late Persian period and beyond. Our knowledge of this community's literary repertoire will never be exhaustive, but we have more than enough information to confidently discuss its intellectual discourses and their functions within its milieu.

The Literati of Judah under the Persian Empire

As mentioned above, the literature of ancient Judah points to a literary culture, one in which authoritative writing was taken to be divine instruction (תורה "Torah").[27] This is self-evident, tautological: literate people produce works of literature. What is remarkable is that this literary culture was centered in (or at least intently focused upon) Jerusalem and its temple, in the Persian imperial province of Judah (Yehud). To put it bluntly, Judah, with its cultic center Jerusalem, was an imperial backwater.

Since we are dealing with a literary culture in a backwater of an ancient empire, we lack extensive *external* evidence for this group. The contemporary Persians and Greeks, for instance, had nothing to say about Judean literati. In order to investigate the social make up of this group, we are forced to work inductively with the literary works

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27.   E.g., Deut 17:18; 28:58; Josh 1:8; 8:31; 2 Kgs 14:6//2 Chron 25:4; 2 Kgs 22:8//2 Chron 34:15; Ezra 7:6; Neh 8:1–18; 2 Chron 17:9. Cf. David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 112–13, with additional verse references and discussion. This is also true for the prophetic books in toto, which are construed as authoritative speech (דבר) from Yahweh, spoken (i.e., through the mutual acts of writing and reading) via the prophetic figures, as they are represented in the books (e.g., Isa 2:1; Jer 1:1–2; Hos 1:1; etc.); cf. Ben Zvi, "Introduction," 6–8. Concerning prophetic books, one should not confuse the act of writing/reading the books with the ancient Near Eastern phenomenon of prophetic activity itself; cf. Carroll, "Prophecy and Society"; see also Philip R. Davies, "The Audience of Prophetic Scrolls: Some Suggestions," in *Prophets and Paradigms: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker* (ed. Stephen Breck Reid; JSOTSup 229; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 48–62; and the questions posed by Ben Zvi, "Introduction," 24–29. Also, despite the strong emphasis upon authoritative writing and divine instruction, one should note that the literati in ancient Israel were not considered infallible (cf. Jer 8:8).

they composed and read.[28] At the very least, we can say that the community consisted of "wise" (חכם) individuals, highly educated sages as it were. The literature hints at this in several places (e.g., Hos 14:10a [Eng. 14:9a]),[29] as do later texts (e.g., Sir 38:34–39:5).

In general, this is perhaps indicative of a scribal group. Scribal communities trained in and devoted to the practices of writing were widespread in the ancient Near Eastern/Mediterranean world, and were a necessary component to any bureaucracy, be it governmental or cultic (or a combination of the two, as was often the case).[30] Since the dawn of writing, there were scribes and groups of scribes. But the "wise" probably indicates something different, something more than merely typical scribes who produced and copied simple records, and so on; "wise" would have to indicate *advanced* scribes, highly regarded teachers and sages, who not only simply wrote but also *composed and created*. It could, in addition, refer to persons who were not "scribes" at all, not professional writers of texts per se, but rather persons who were especially adroit at reading and contemplating texts. In a society like Persian-period Judah, these "wise" folk were no doubt a small portion of the literate community (see more below), and were probably the ones responsible for maintaining, via writing and speech, the Judean intellectual traditions.[31]

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28. Cf. Davies, "Audience," 59.
29. "He who is wise [חכם] will consider these words; he who is prudent will take note of them" (NJPS).
30. See, e.g., Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1998), esp. 15–36 and 74–88; Carr, *Writing*; Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*. Note also Davies' most recent contribution to the discussion, "The Dissemination of Written Texts," in *Writing the Bible: Scribes, Scribalism, Script* (ed. Philip R. Davies and Thomas Römer; Durham: Acumen, 2013), 35–46.
31. Cf. Ben Zvi, "Introduction," 5–6.

Hence my use of the term "literati," which refers specifically to a small group of intellectual elite, those who could write and compose, but who could also *read* and think and speak well, who valued learning, devoting time and energy to complicated literature, its meanings, and its preservation as part of Judean society and culture.[32]

This rightly invites questions about "reading" in this ancient context, questions of literary genre, implied authors and audiences, hermeneutics, and so forth. These sorts of questions will continue to crop up throughout this study, but a few words are in order here. Taking the prophetic book of Isaiah or Jeremiah, for example, most any modern reader is understandably perplexed by its disjointedness, its seemingly haphazard structure and its multivocal and sometimes esoteric treatments of many issues and themes. These are not books to be read with a single meaning or purpose in mind; they are certainly not novels or even collections of interrelated short stories.[33] These are books that invite and encourage *re*reading, exploring potential meanings in ambiguities and intertextuality, and that evince a community that preferred this type of text.[34] Now, in contrast, a modern reader working through the DH will find more coherent literary forms, narratives with structured stories, overarching themes, and so on. But a close and careful reading of these books also reveals extensive multivocality and polyvalency, sometimes to the point of undermining and disintegrating its own apparent purposes.[35] In this sense,

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32.   Cf. Joseph Blenkinsopp's discussion of "The Sage," in *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 9–65, though I am not convinced by his dichotomizing of sages and priests prior to the Hellenistic period. On the social roles of highly literate individuals in Judah, see Christine Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 291; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 309–12; also Davies, "Dissemination," 43–44. It appears that an administrative official in Persian Judah could play various and overlapping roles, including "scribe," "priest," and even tax collector or governor; see more below.
33.   Davies, "Audience," 60.
34.   Cf. Ben Zvi, *Obadiah*, 2–6; also, e.g., idem, *Micah* (FOTL 21B; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000); idem, *Hosea* (FOTL 21A/1; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005).
35.   See, e.g., Robert Polzin's discussion of Judg 1:1–3:6, *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary*

DH is also unlike a novel, in the classical understanding of the genre, but is perhaps, for a reader in the present-day, something like the (post)modernist works of the 20th century, consistently challenging itself and its own narrative aims.[36] I return to these issues below and in subsequent chapters.

In any case, the literati may have been professional scribes, but they need not to have been so exclusively. Indeed, Ben Sira—the Judean intellectual figure par excellence of the Hellenistic era—presents himself (or the implied author presents himself) as a learned scribe, but also as a teacher (51:23) devoted to divine law, prophetic writings, proverbial wisdom, and even to the service of government (38:34–39:5).[37]

Moreover, in the corpora of late Persian-era literature, one should note the ubiquitous emphases upon divine instruction, proper devotion to the divine as outlined in the instruction, and the central importance of Jerusalem and its temple, which indicate some sort of cultic setting for the literati, or at least intimate knowledge of and a deep concern for the cultic milieu there. The apparent cultic focus of the literature has led to a general consensus in biblical scholarship that intellectual "scribal" culture in late Persian-era Judah was at least partly the product of "priestly," temple-based society, and/or vice

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Study of the Deuteronomistic History, part 1, *Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges* (New York: Seabury, 1980), 153–56. On the Bible's multivocal character in general, see, e.g., Carol Newsom, "Bakhtin, the Bible, and Dialogic Truth," *Journal of Religion* 76 (1996): 290–306, esp. 296–302, where she discusses polyphony in Job and in Gen–2 Kings.

36.   E.g., William Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!* which weaves together various narrative voices, exploring the fuzzy boundaries between past and present in the postbellum American South. Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 48–49, with his usual panache, writes that Faulkner's

> whole work was in some sense ... about how particular imaginations are centered by others standing off in the cultural and temporal distance; how what happens, recountings of what happens, and metaphoric transfigurations of recountings of what happens into general visions, pile, one on top of the next, to produce a state of mind at once more knowing, more uncertain, and more disequilibriated....

We will see that Judean kingship discourse reveals a similar state of mind.

37.   See Blenkinsopp, *Sage*, 15–20. Note that, according to Ben Sira, such a life requires a lot of free time, and is not for the common working person (38:24–25).

versa.[38] That said, one should be careful not to fall into the trap of conflating literati with

the "priesthood" (Aaronid or not), or to create sharp distinctions between "scribes,"

"priests," and other "elite" administrative roles in Judah and Jerusalem in the late Persian

period.[39] There were clearly such *roles* in Judean society, which a single individual or

group of individuals might have played at any given time, and which contributed to the

(re)shaping of individual and group identities, but *exclusively* "scribal" or "priestly"

social groups per se probably did not exist in this milieu.

Thus, when attempting to articulate our understandings of Judean literati, one

might speak of scribal priests or priestly scribes or some other designator within the

spectrum of intellectual and cultic society in (or at least intently focused upon) Jerusalem

and its temple.[40] Such social contexts appear to have been ripe for the development of

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38.   Indeed, one of the few claims that almost all critical biblical scholars agree upon is that there is a "priestly" strand of thought running throughout the literature of the Hebrew Bible, especially evident in the Pentateuch, and that this strand was integral to the historical development of the literature (cf. Carr, *Formation*, 108–110). For a recent and detailed treatment, see Christophe Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus* (FAT 2.25; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

39.   Cf. Schams, *Jewish Scribes*, 310–11. See also John W. Wright, "'Those Doing the Work for the Service in the House of the Lord': 1 Chronicles 23:6–24:31 and the Sociohistorical Context of the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Period," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century*, 361–84, esp. 361–66, who problematizes the Weberian notion of "priesthood" as it relates to Judah and the ancient Near East in general. For recent studies working toward a more nuanced concept of these social roles in postmonarchic Judah, see Wright, "Those Doing the Work"; and Louis Jonker, "David's Officials According to the Chronicler (1 Chronicles 23–27): A Reflection of Second Temple Self-Categorization?" in *Historiography and Identity (Re)Formulation*, 65–91.

40.   There is still the question of Judahite/Judean diaspora, and of nearby Samaria and its cultic milieu, in this time period. There were certainly other Yahwistic cultic centers outside Jerusalem (Elephantine on the Nile perhaps being the most well-known example), and recent excavations at Mt. Gerizim (near Shechem) have uncovered remains of a Persian-period Yahwistic cultic installation, which grew into a well-established temple complex by the Hellenistic period (famously discussed by Josephus: e.g., *Antiquities* 11.342–46 and 13.74). The question is: What might have been the interrelationship between these Yahwistic, temple-centered communities and the literati, and how might the interrelationship have shaped the compositions and readings of the literature? Our evidence is slim, so any approach to this and related questions is necessarily speculative to a large degree. Regarding diaspora, it seems doubtful that such communities would have had any impact on the literati associated with the literature in its *compositional* forms in the late Persian era. Earlier literati among the Babylonian diaspora may have had some impact on *pre*-compositional forms, as many scholars have posited, but it seems that late Persian-era literary activity was centered in Judah itself. The community at Elephantine, our best example of diaspora in the period, and one for which we actually have some concrete evidence, seems to know little if anything

literature throughout the ancient Near East. In other words, an intellectual-cultic milieu seems to have facilitated the "ritualization" or "scripturalization" of written texts, the solidification of fluid written traditions into relatively stable and even sacred literature.[41] But beyond these general (and somewhat vague) descriptors, it is difficult to say much more about the literati and their actual social roles in Judah and Jerusalem.

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Archaeological research, however, has given some insight into the demographics of Judean and Jerusalemite society in the Persian era, which at least gives us some indication as to the size of the literate community, and, in turn, helps us better understand the setting of the group's discourses.[42]

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of the Judean literature. Moreover it turned to Judah and Samaria in a time of need, further suggesting the importance of Judah/Israel as ideological "center." On Elephantine, the identity of its community, and its temple to YHW (Yahweh), see, e.g., Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Second Temple of Jeb and of Jerusalem," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 247–64; and Bob Becking, "Yehudite Identity in Elephantine," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 403–19; each with numerous additional references. The diaspora obviously existed and was on the minds of the Judean literati (cf. Jeremiah), but this does not detract from the centrality of Jerusalem in its discourse. With Samaria the issue is more complicated. Obviously, there was something of a rivalry between the South and North, which had its roots in the monarchic era and was in full bloom by Roman times (cf. John 4). And of course the Samaritans developed their own Pentateuchal literature, which favors Mt. Gerizim over Jerusalem, and the history of which literature the Dead Sea Scrolls have helped to illuminate. Nevertheless, the latest archaeological evidence suggests that, during the Persian era at least, the relationship was not nearly as contentious as scholarship has often supposed. And certain texts in the Judean literature are ambiguous enough that they could have easily referred to Judah and/or Samaria, depending upon context (e.g., Deut 12). On these issues, see the extensive and very recent work of Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, passim. Nonetheless, the literature at hand has an explicit and extensive discursive preference for *Jerusalem* as the central location for Judean cultic life and practice, which suggests that our primary locality for situating the literati and its discourse should be Judah and its main cultic center.

41.   E.g., Russell Hobson, *Transforming Literature into Scripture: Texts as Cult Objects at Nineveh and Qumran* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2012); Watts, "Scripturalization." However, *pace* Watts, in his discussion of ritualization/scripturalization of the Pentateuch, I disagree with his exclusive focus on the "priesthood." Without a doubt cultic functionaries had some role in this process, but, as noted above, one should probably not credit it to "priests" alone.

42.   E.g., among many studies, Charles E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study* (JSOTSup 294; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Oded Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), esp. 267–71; Avraham Faust, "Settlement Dynamics and Demographic Fluctuations in Judah from the Late Iron Age to the Hellenistic Period and the Archaeology of Persian-Period *Yehud*," in *A Time of Change: Judah and its*

First, in Judah's postmonarchic, pre-Hellenistic era (roughly the sixth to third centuries BCE), there are two marked demographic trends: (1) an overall decrease in total population throughout the region, a result of Babylon's conquests;[43] and (2) a decrease in urban populations coinciding with an *increase* in the number of small rural settlements.[44] In other words, Judah's population decreased dramatically and Iron Age city-life essentially collapsed. In the mid-twentieth century, William Albright estimated that 10–15,000 persons inhabited late Persian-era Jerusalem, and that 50,000 dwelled in the province of Yehud.[45] This figure is still accepted today in some scholarly circles.[46] However, more recent interpretations of the available data suggest that, at the most, late Persian-period Jerusalem contained around 1,500 persons, with the provincial population being approximately 20–30,000;[47] and at the least, Jerusalem contained around 500 persons, and the entire province 15,000.[48]

Second, literacy rates across the ancient Near East were extremely low, *one percent or less by some estimates*, and literacy (i.e., a high level of reading

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Neighbors in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods (ed. Yigal Levin; Library of Second Temple Studies 65; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 23–51; Israel Finkelstein, "Jerusalem in the Persian (and Early Hellenistic) Period and the Wall of Nehemiah," *JSOT* 32 (2008): 501–20; Oded Lipschits, "Persian Period Finds from Jerusalem: Facts and Interpretations," *JHS* 9 (2009): article 20; online: http:/ /www.jhsonline.org; Israel Finkelstein, "Persian Period Jerusalem and Yehud Rejoinders," in *Focusing Biblical Studies: The Crucial Nature of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: Essays in Honor of Douglas A. Knight* (ed. Jon L. Berquist and Alice Hunt; LHBOTS 544; New York: T&T Clark, 2012), 49–62.

43. Population in Judah during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods was anywhere from 20–35% of its Iron Age peak, but no higher. Cf. summaries in Faust, "Settlement Dynamics," 36–41.

44. Cf. Carter, *Emergence*, 43.

45. See William F. Albright, *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra: An Historical Survey* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 87, 110–11. Albright estimates that the province grew from around 20,000 in 522 BCE to around 50,000 by 440 BCE. This growth he attributes to "natural increase and continuing influx of immigrants from the *golah*" (111).

46. See Lipschits, "Persian Period Finds," 1, for references.

47. Cf. Carter, *Emergence*, 201–202; Lipschits, *Fall and Rise*, 270–71. Lipschits had suggested that Jerusalem's peak population was around 3,000 (*Fall and Rise*, 271), but more recently he estimated between 1,000 and 1,500 ("Persian Period Finds," 19–20).

48. Cf. Finkelstein, "Jerusalem," 507; idem, "Persian Period Jerusalem," 49–50.

comprehension) was limited to sociocultural "elites"—royal and cultic functionaries and the like, those with extensive formal education.[49] It appears, then, that we are dealing with a very small number of literati in late Persian-era Judah. Jerusalem, being the main provincial center, probably contained a higher concentration of literate individuals than any other locale, but the number still would have been very small. And what I am calling literati—the highly literate ("wise") ones of Judah—were, without a doubt, only a minute percentage of Judah's population.

Such a small population thus limits the possibility of having separate "schools" of thought or large competing sociological factions among the literati. It does not exclude the possibility, of course, only makes it less likely. The late Persian-period demographics seem to point, instead, to a single group in which a number of ideas—some old and some new, some complementary and some contradictory—were floated and discussed. The data suggests a group that worked together closely, which fostered a discourse that spanned at least several generations, up to the major sociocultural and demographic shifts of the Hellenistic period. In other words, given the demographics, evidence of competing ideologies/theologies in the discourse does not likely point to multiple sociological groups or sects.[50] Moreover, the discourse itself points to a preference for multivocality

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49.   Christopher A. Rollston, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 132–34. Rollston's study focuses on the Iron Age, but his observations are applicable to the Persian period as well, when literacy was, without doubt, even less common. Cf. Ben Zvi, "Introduction," 5–6; Carr, *Writing*, 13–14.

50.   Notably, one may observe a similar phenomenon in late Persian- and Hellenistic-era Babylon, where one finds different opinions in different narrative forms within the "active lifespan" of the Babylonian library at Esagil: it seems that, for the literati there, remembering the transition from Babylonian kingship to Persian rule presented a "hermeneutical problem" that allowed for multiple and divergent interpretations of the past (Caroline Waerzeggers, "Babylonian Kingship in the Persian Period: Performance and Reception," in *Political Memory in and after the Persian Period* [ed. Caroline Waerzeggers and Jason Silverman; SBLANEM; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, forthcoming]). On Babylonian literary culture in general, see Michael Jursa, "Curneiform Writing in Neo-Babylonian Temple Communities," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture* (ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson;

within an individual group. Take the book of Isaiah, for example. The book presents

divergent views on a number of key themes, including kingship, as I show in detail in

Chapter 5. Thus, for the book's readership, its implied author (the prophet Isaiah) appears

as a figure with multiple and competing opinions, as one whose ideas stand (and stood) in

paradoxical tension. If the society envisaged its past heroes, such as Isaiah, as multivocal

personalities, then we should expect the society itself to be multivocal and have a

preference for multivocality. This is an important point to keep in mind as I discuss and

analyze kingship discourse throughout this study.

Before moving on, I should also mention the important recent finds at Ramat

Raḥel—a large palatial, administrative complex, roughly four kilometers south of

Jerusalem.[51] The site was initially constructed sometime in the eighth or seventh century

BCE, under Assyrian imperial rule. From the start, it apparently functioned as a Judahite

governmental center, where agricultural commodities (mainly wine and olive oil) were

collected and distributed, perhaps under Assyrian oversight.[52] The site's so-called "royal"

architecture is impressive, and from the late Neo-Assyrian period on, it boasted palatial

courtyards and a garden of exotic plants, including citron from India.[53] Notably, the

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Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 184–204.

51.   See Oded Lipschits, Yuval Gadot, Benjamin Arubas, and Manfred Oeming, "Palace and Village, Paradise and Oblivion: Unraveling the Riddles of Ramat Raḥel," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 74 (2011): 2–49; also Oded Lipschits, Yuval Gadot, and D. Langgut, "The Riddle of Ramat Raḥel: The Archaeology of a Royal Persian Period Edifice," *Transeuphratène* 41 (2012): 57–79, with references to earlier studies.

52.   In the 1990s archaeologist Gabriel Barkay asserted that the site was a Judahite royal residence (cited in Andy G. Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999] 39–40). Later, Nadav Na'aman suggested instead that it functioned as an Assyrian administration center ("An Assyrian Residence at Ramat Raḥel?" *TA* 28 [2001]: 260–80). The most recent excavators of the site, who conducted six seasons of excavation there (2005–2010), suggest that it was a Judahite administrative complex, but they do not rule out the possibility of Assyrian officials being present in order to oversee imperial taxation (Lipschits, Gadot, and Langgut, "Riddle," 67, 77).

53.   See Lipschits, Gadot, and Langgut, "Riddle," 71–73.

Babylonians did not destroy Ramat Raḥel at the turn of the sixth century; the site

continued operating as a major administrative center in Judah throughout the short-lived

Neo-Babylonian period, and it actually reached its peak during the fifth and fourth

centuries (the Persian era), when significant palatial additions were constructed. Given

the luxuriousness of the site in the late Persian period and its history as an administrative

center for Judah, it is likely that Ramat Raḥel served as both the Persian governor's

residence and the seat of imperial administration for the province.

I mention this site because of the impact it must have had on Judean sociopolitical

discourses. That Persian imperialism and the rule of the "Great King" affected Judean

understandings of kingship is obvious—as noted above, the success of the Persian

imperial system hinged upon a sense of mutual respect and fruitful exchange between

center and periphery. But the new discoveries from Ramat Raḥel help reify the impact

Persian imperialism surely had on the primary tradents of the Judean literary corpus. For

the present study, the import of the site is its palatial impressiveness *combined with* its

physical nearness to Jerusalem. Jerusalemite literati did not have to travel to Persepolis to

marvel in the glories of the Persian empire; they only had to walk a few kilometers. There

they would have found, for example, its luxurious garden (גן/גנה/פרדס), unmatched in the

immediate environs of Jerusalem, which would have informed their envisioning of

gardens royal, divine, and metaphorical, within their literature (e.g., Gen 2:15; 2 Kgs

25:4; Ezek 31:9–8; Song 4:12–16).[54] This is especially important when one considers the

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54.   See, e.g., Diana Edelman, "City Gardens and Parks in Biblical Social Memory," in *Memory and the City in Ancient Israel* (eds. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming 2014).

overall economic state of Judah and Jerusalem at the time: a countryside and city still devastated from the Babylonian destructions two centuries earlier. There was a marked contrast between typical Judean life and the life lived at Ramat Raḥel, and Judean literati, "elite" as they were, certainly had contact with both.[55] And these points of contact between the ruler and ruled, the center and periphery, surely shaped discourse on kingship and understandings of what kingship might mean in the context of ancient Judah.

Kingship Discourse among the Literati in Postmonarchic Judah

It is a truism to say that the texts composed and read by Judean literati are largely concerned with kingship, its glories and its failures. This statement needs no defense. It is perhaps also a truism, at least within present-day critical biblical scholarship, to say that the texts' attitudes toward kingship are multivocal, polyvalent, and even sometimes contradictory. Codified in the Judean literature is a pronounced discourse on kingship.

Even a cursory reading of the book of Judges, for example, reveals fuzziness in its view of kingship. In Judges 17–21 life in Israel *without* royal rule is envisioned as chaotic and violently disintegrative—this section of the narrative emphasizes that there was no king in Israel during this time, and "everyone did what was right in his own eyes" (Judg 17:6; 21:25; cf. 18:1; 19:1). However, the book of Judges also notes extended periods of peace during this kingless era (e.g., Judg 2:18; 3:11, 30; 5:31; 8:28); and in the crucial passage of Judges 8–9, Gideon apparently rejects and denounces human kingship, and

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55.   Note that, in the late Iron Age at least, ritualistic feasting apparently took place at the site. Cf. the pottery assemblage in L14109 (2008 season), which includes flat- and rim-type drinking bowls, jugs and chalices, and figurines (Lipschits et al., "Palace and Village," 14).

Abimelech's violent ascension to kingly power is sharply criticized. The fact that these tensions remained in the narrative even as the composition reached its authoritative form says something about the mindset of the community that produced and perpetuated these texts, elevating them to authoritative status. The literature's attitude toward kingship is clearly multivocal and polyvalent, even to the point of paradox in some narratives, the most famous example being the fate of Davidic rule: David is promised an enduring house and an everlasting throne (2 Sam 7:12–16), and yet Babylon dismantles the Judahite monarchy and sends it into exile. What do these tensions say about the Judean literati and their sociocultural milieu? Thinking of these same issues, Peter Machinist writes, "What kind of society, for the biblical authors, should Israel be? Or, put more abstractly, how does the Hebrew Bible conceive of the good society? There is no easy or uniform answer to this question. But whatever answer is given must reckon with the institution of kingship."[56]

The Hebrew Bible's shifting and hard-to-pin-down opinions on kingship and politics have fueled scholarly discussion on the texts' historical, diachronic development for well over a century.[57] As we shall see, this study does not intend to make a contribution to the redactional history of the texts with regards to kingship, nor does it intend to make any claims about how kingship's role in Judean society and culture might have shifted over extended periods of time, over the long and variegated history of

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56. Peter Machinist, "Hosea and the Ambiguity of Kingship in Ancient Israel," in *Constituting the Community: Studies on the Polity of Ancient Israel in Honor of S. Dean McBride, Jr.* (ed. John T. Strong and Steven S. Tuell; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 153–81 (153).

57. This issue will probably be discussed ad infinitum. For a recent and thorough treatment, see Reinhard Müller, *Königtum und Gottesherrschaft: Untersuchungen zur alttestamentlichen Monarchiekritik* (FAT 2.3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). For more opinions on these issues, with additional bibliography, see Jeremy Hutton's review essay of Müller's work, "Monarchy and Its (Persian-Period?) Discontents," *JHS* 9 (2009): n.p.; online: http://www.jhsonline.org.

ancient Israel and Judah.[58] As outlined above, my study is primarily synchronic in nature, with the goal of clarifying our views of one, crucial era in *la longue durée* of Judahite/ Judean sociocultural history. I am concerned with how kingship and kingly power functioned within the sociocultural discourse(s) of a particular period, specifically among the literati of Jerusalem in the late Persian period, discussed above. Following a similar train of thought, Philip Davies comments:

> It is ... frequently remarked that many of the prophetic books seem to follow different orbits around the theme of world order: is Israel to have final victory over its enemies? Or will all come to Zion? Will the world-ruling Yahweh finally vanquish them all, or forgive them all? ... [T]he claims of a monotheistic cult whose local deity is also identified as the high God provoke questions such as whether or not a foreign king [i.e., Cyrus] may not be Yahweh's anointed, the descendent of David, Temple-builder even. In much of the 'prophetic' literature can be detected the kind of interest in the political implications of such a colonial monotheism....[59]

Investigating these diverse discursive statements can give us new insight into how at least one ancient community dealt with questions of sociopolitics in a postmonarchic, imperialized (or: colonial) setting.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Now, what more can one say about the polyvalent attitude toward kingship in this literature and within this sociocultural setting? Central to the discourse on kingship in the texts is the fact that monarchy and monarchical rule were important (if not dominant) elements of the literate community's *ideas of its past*, and that kingly images occupied a significant portion of its *visions for the future*. In terms of function, kingship discourse in

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58.　　To be clear, I am not saying these issues are unimportant, only that they are not the central focus of this study.
59.　　Davies, "Audience," 61.

postmonarchic Judah was expressly historiographical. It helped create (hi)story past, present, and future in Judean thought.[60] Kingship functioned as an essential framework for thinking about Judah's past, and how that past affected (and effected) the present and future. This is clear, of course, in Judah's historiographical books, the bulk of which tells the narratives of Israel's and Judah's past monarchies (e.g., Samuel, Kings, Chronicles). As Davies' comments above indicate, it is also quite clear throughout the prophetic books, which offer numerous oracles concerning indigenous and foreign kings, and which present various visions of the reestablishment of Israelite kingship, in one form or another.

One can also say that the *kingship of Yahweh* is a constant in the discourse. This is evident in many places: for example, in the people's declaration of Yahweh's kingship upon crossing the Reed Sea (Exod 15:18) and in Yahweh's claim that the people have rejected him as king (1 Sam 8:7); in overt statements in the prophetic books (e.g., Isa 6:5) and in a number of psalms (e.g., Ps 93).[61] Yahweh's kingship, and its extensive presence in the discourse, reflects the Judean community's imperialized, ancient Near Eastern

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60.　　On the "creation" of history and historiography in the texts of the Hebrew Bible especially, see the introductory comments in Marc Zvi Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1–7, with additional references.

61.　　On Yahweh's kingship, see, e.g., Marc Brettler, *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor* (JSOTSup 76; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989); also J. A. Wagenaar, "King מלך," in *DDD*, 483–86, with further references. Brettler's work provides a comprehensive discussion of kingly language and description in the Hebrew Bible and how this relates (and does not relate) to conceptualizations of Yahweh. His understanding of Yahweh's kingship strictly as a metaphor, however, is problematic (cf. Francis Landy, "On Metaphor, Play and Nonsense," *Semeia* 61 [1993]: 219–37; and David H. Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities: Metaphor, Semantics, and Divine Imagery* [Leiden: Brill, 2001], esp. 33–41). Given what we know about the cultural framework of the ancient Levant, it seems unlikely that Yahweh's kingship would have been understood always and completely metaphorically. Ancient Judeans (and Israelites and Judahites) saw Yahweh as ruler of the divine realm, and as having control of human kings and of humanity. He was, in their minds, a *literal* king with real power to rule both the heavens and earth. His kingship was understood to be different than David's or Solomon's, for example, but it was nonetheless an actual kingship. As Aaron shows, in the Hebrew Bible's linguistic context, there is nothing intrinsic in the phrase "God is King" that requires one to understand it as a metaphor.

context.[62] The Judean literature construes Yahweh as King of kings, God of gods.[63]

Similarly, the Persian emperor in Persepolis was "one king over many, one lord of many

… the great king, king of kings."[64] The Great King of Persia (and his predecessors in

Babylon and Assyria) was depicted as the giver of divine law, the one who upheld justice

and squelched evil with his unmatched might.[65] When one thinks of Yahweh along these

lines, the imperial nature of his kingship is obvious.[66] But Yahweh's kingship, despite its

apparent constancy in the discourse, is not completely straightforward. As mentioned,

Yahweh ostensibly "loses" his kingship over Israel when the people request a king; he

claims this himself (1 Sam 8:7). And yet his sovereign power over Israel (and Judah)

remains intact throughout the monarchic period of Israel's story, and the prophetic

books—many of which contextualize themselves in the monarchic era—affirm Yahweh's

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62.   See, e.g., Erhard S. Gerstenberger, "'World Dominion' in Yahweh Kingship Psalms," *HBT* 23
(2001): 192–210; and Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Yehudite Collection of Prophetic Books and Imperial Contexts:
Some Observations," in *Divination, Politics, and Ancient Near Eastern Empires* (ed. Alan Lenzi and
Jonathan Stökl; SBLANEM 7; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 145–69. Understandings of
the divine realm often reflect political realities on the ground; cf. Lowell K. Handy, *Among the Host of
Heaven: The Syro-Phoenician Pantheon as Bureaucracy* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994).
Moreover, the idea of god as king of the cosmos was ubiquitous throughout ancient Near Eastern history.
Cf. Marduk in Babylonia, Assur in Assyria, and El in Ugarit. Of course, in each case there were variations
and exceptions in the overarching traditions. At Ugarit, for instance, although El was ultimately king of the
gods, his rule was rather passive; the Baal Cycle (*CAT* 1.1–6) reveals that El would grant rulership to lesser
deities in the pantheon's hierarchy, nonetheless retaining his status as *mlk 'lm* ("king of eternity"). See
Wagenaar, "King," in *DDD*, 484; also Mark S. Smith, "The Baal Cycle," in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (ed.
Simon B. Parker; SBLWAW 9; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997), esp. 84. With Yahweh, rule
is never granted to another deity, but, as we will see, the Judean literature plays with the idea of Yahweh
losing his kingship to the Israelite kings, a central issue in the discourse.
63.   These ideas are present throughout the literature. A few prominent examples suffice. Yahweh's
rule over human kings: e.g., Isa 10:5–6, 15; Jer 18:7–10. Yahweh's rule over divine beings: e.g., Deut 32:8
(cf. LXX and 4QDeut^j);1 Kgs 22:19; Pss 29:1; 82:1; 89:6–7; Job 1:6.
64.   Cf. the inscription on Darius I's tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam; see Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near
East c. 3000–300 BC* (2 vols.; London: Routledge, 1995), 2:676.
65.   See Wiesehöfer, "Achaemenid Rule," 175–81.
66.   Although Yahweh's kingly rule is similar to ancient Near Eastern imperialism in many ways, in
some places it differs significantly. This is most evident in the prominent role of Torah under his rule.
Torah is meant to hold a primary position in the sociopolitical sphere of Judah (e.g., Deut 17:18–20), and
indeed in the entire cosmos (e.g., Isa 2:2–4).

kingship through it all.[67] Even when it comes to the overarching sovereignty of Israel's deity, the literature presents differing perspectives.

Again, identifying diverse and even contradictory statements in the discourse is not the problem; the issue is how to unpack the discourse and make some sense of it as a polyvalent whole within its setting. Paul Ricoeur, commenting on metaphorical discourse on the level of the sentence, states, "[T]o understand discourse is to interpret the actualizations of its polysemic values according to the permissions and suggestions proposed by the context."[68] In other words, to understand the complex issue of kingship in postmonarchic Judah, one must first interpret the potential actions and interactions of kingship statements within their discursive world, and then begin to reconstruct the overarching implications of the discourse.[69]

In recent years, the emerging academic disciplines of memory studies have provided some helpful tools for thinking about historiographical discourses and the social creation of pasts, presents, and futures. Memory studies provide a number of instructive understandings of how discourses about the past actually work and how to interpret such discursive actualizations, to use Ricoeur's terms. Because of the complexity of memory studies, and the complexity of applying them to the study of history and historiographical discourse, the issue of memory deserves its own section, in order to clarify precisely what I am trying to accomplish by appealing to the concept.

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67. E.g., Hos 8:4 and 13:9–11; see Machinist, "Hosea," 171–73.
68. Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language* (trans. R. Czerny; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 322.
69. For analyzing discourse, Foucault's method, what he calls "archaeology"—that is, describing discursive statements, the knowledges to which they contribute, and thus revealing the dominant and subjugated ways of thinking—is also instructive, at least as a starting point. See Foucault, *Archaeology*, esp. 135–40 and 178–95; also idem, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* (ed. Colin Gordon; New York: Pantheon, 1980), 78–85.

Memory, Remembering, and Imagining: Past, Present, and Future in Society and Culture

"Memory" is a slippery signifier in the academy. It is something of an academic buzzword, and has been for centuries, even millennia, appearing in all sorts of studies from the humanities to the biological sciences. This is not surprising given that memory is perhaps the key component of human thought. It is the subject of philosophical treatises, neurological charts of the brain, and countless other scholarly inquiries. It is what Plato thought of as the present representation of an absent thing, and what Aristotle understood as the mental recollection of something past.[70] It happens voluntarily and involuntarily, as Marcel Proust famously demonstrates in the opening chapter of *Du côté de chez Swann* (*Swann's Way*). In light of the extremely long and variegated history of memory studies in almost all academic disciplines, a few words are necessary to clarify my own use of the term "memory" and its methodological import in this study. The import of memory for the study of a society's ideas of past, present, and future is a given, but precisely how one understands this import in a sociocultural context is not.

First of all, memory is a cognitive function of the individual mind. It consists of the many ways in which the human mind stores and recalls information, consciously and unconsciously.[71] In the humanities, in general, we have mostly been interested in what

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70. See Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 7–21.

71. Pascal Boyer, "What Are Memories For? Functions of Recall in Cognition and Culture," in *Memory in Mind and Culture* (ed. Pascal Boyer and James V. Wertsch; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3–28; cf. Francis Landy, "Notes Towards a Poetics of Memory in Ancient Israel," in *Remembering and Forgetting in Early Second Temple Judah* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin; FAT 85; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 331–45 (esp. 331–36).

cognitive psychologists call "episodic" memory, that is, how our minds store and recall information about specific persons, places, events, etc.[72] According to recent research, one's mind continuously (re)organizes episodic memories into narrative(s), creating an autobiography that helps construct a sense of self and a personal identity. From around the age of five, the constantly evolving autobiographical sense of self impacts the ways in which episodic memories are stored in the mind, and vice versa: the changing sense of self continuously alters the ways in which one constructs, prioritizes, and narrativizes episodic memories.[73] Thus, the remembering (and forgetting) of life's phenomena, the ongoing construction of personal narratives out of those phenomena, and one's evolving sense of self all contribute to a cognitive feedback loop that continues throughout one's life, constantly shaping and reshaping one's memories and personal identity—this is an important point to which I return at the end of this section, and in the following section.

These individual mnemonic processes, however, do not occur in isolation. Humans are social beings; we live in society, constantly interacting with other individuals. Thus, for at least the last century, scholars have explored the ways in which society shapes and reshapes our individual memories, how society impacts memory, and vice versa.[74] Again, I am interested in how a particular community, the literati of ancient Judah, remembered and imagined their past, and specifically how kingship functioned

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72. Although cognitivists often distinguish between different types or categories of memory (e.g., semantic, episodic, etc.), it is important to note that each of the various types are, in some way, dependent upon one another. Semantic memory, which is how our minds process a present sensory experience based on prior sensory experiences, helps contribute to episodic memory and provides the cognitive framework that makes it possible. Cf. Boyer, "What are Memories For?" 9.

73. Cf. Boyer, "What Are Memories For?" 5–9.

74. See the surveys of scholarship in Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 105–40; Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003); and, with an eye toward biblical studies, Ritva Williams, "BTB Readers' Guide: Social Memory," *BTB* 41 (2011): 189–200.

within this sociocultural setting. In this case, the frameworks of memory, especially at the

social level, provide an excellent heuristic tool for exploring the sociocultural discourse

of this community. This brings us to what the academy calls "social" or "collective"

memory: simply put, "the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts"[75]; or, in

the words of Maurice Halbwachs, often called the founder of present-day social and

collective memory studies: "a reconstruction of the past [that] adapts the image of

historical facts to the beliefs and spiritual needs of the present."[76]

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75.   Astrid Erll, "Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* (ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, with Sara B. Young; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 1–15 (2).
76.   Maurice Halbwachs, *La Topographie légendaire des évangiles en Sainte Terre* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941), 7; cited in Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 5. Halbwachs saw memory and history as antonyms (cf. Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 (German original 1992)], 28–31). Today, a reader might question the difference between Halbwachs' definition of collective memory and postmodern conceptualizations of history and historiography. In the wake of postmodernism, poststructuralism, the so-called "linguistic turn," and so on, the concept of memory, in some works, has merged with and even become a *synonym* for the concept of histor(iograph)y, which flips Halbwachs antonymic position on its head. Thus, Kerwin L. Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (2000): 127–50, criticizes this turn to memory studies in the discipline of history and, in the end, does not see memory as a helpful analytical category. Klein's criticisms of the use of "memory" are well-taken. However, for at least the last decade and a half, there has been a conscious and critical effort to reflect on and refine the theoretical and methodological import of social memory as a concept in the study of history and historiography. See, e.g., the thoughts of Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *The American Historical Review* 102 (1997): 1386–1403; Olick and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies," 110–12; Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, 9–12. Memory and history can be productive conversation partners, if brought together with due attention to their interrelationship. It is important not to collapse the concepts of history and memory into one and the same, but neither should one see them as completely distinct and separate. Cf. the thoughts of Hayden White, "Guilty of History? The *longue durée* of Paul Ricoeur," in *The Fiction of Narrative: Essays on History, Literature, and Theory 1957–2007* (ed. Robert Doran; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 318–39 (320):

> It is memory, after all, that compels us to confront the enigma of how what is past can perdure into the present and, no matter how we might wish it, that refuses to go away on command but remains present to consciousness, even getting in the way of perception and pressing for attention however distracted we may be by current affairs. Memory, or a sense of absent presence, is the basis of a particularly historical consciousness, even if history has conventionally been presented as a corrective to memory and a more reliable approach to the study of the past than "memorization." … History seeks to discipline memory by setting up standards regarding what should be remembered and in what manner and what form. Thus, history is memory cultivated in the interest of producing a "collective" past on the basis of which a collective identity can be forged. In many respects, therefore, historical knowledge is disciplined memory, based on some extra-historical criterion of what can be legitimately remembered and, indeed, what ought to be remembered and what ought to be forgotten by members of the community.

One should note, however, that there is no such "thing" as social or collective memory.[77] There is no "mystical group mind," as Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins put it; there are, instead, "sets of mnemonic practices in various social sites."[78] An individual actually has distinct memories; a society does not. This perhaps goes without saying, but it is worth mentioning in order to avoid the pitfall of thinking about a group's social memory as a monolithic entity that one can discover or reveal by studying said group. In theorizing about social memory, one may transfer what we know about the processes of individual cognition to the level of society, but only metaphorically and heuristically. Astrid Erll writes, "Societies do not remember literally; but much of what is done to reconstruct a shared past bears some resemblance to the processes of individual memory, such as the selectivity and perspectivity inherent in the creation of versions of the past according to present knowledge and needs."[79] Therefore, in line with Olick, it is perhaps more productive to speak of mnemonic practices and social *remembering*, to avoid reifying social or collective memory as an entity.[80]

It is also worth noting that there is no practical way for the historian, especially one working on antiquity, to separate individual and social processes of remembering.[81] Just as one cannot reify social memory as a monolithic entity, so too one cannot

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Pace Jan Assmann, who writes, "[M]emory has nothing to do with the study of history" (*Cultural Memory*, 60). See also the thoughts of Hans M. Barstad, "History and Memory: Some Reflections on the 'Memory Debate' in Relation to the Hebrew Bible," in *The Historian and the Bible: Essays in Honour of Lester L. Grabbe* (ed. Philip R. Davies and Diana V. Edelman; LHBOTS 530; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 1–10.

77.   Cf. Olick and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies," 112; also James V. Wertsch, "Collective Memory," in *Memory in Mind and Culture*, 117–37, esp. 118–24.

78.   Olick and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies," 112.

79.   Erll, "Cultural Memory Studies," 5.

80.   Jeffrey K. Olick, *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 10.

81.   Cognitive psychologists and neuroscientists are able, to a certain extent, to separate these processes better, but that is because they are working with living individuals in the present day.

effectively separate individual memories from their sociocultural milieu. Individuals

remember independently, of course, but everyone's memories are shaped and informed

by cultural preferences, common narratives, mutual experiences, and so on, which are

known and shared within social contexts. Any historical investigation into an individual

memory from the past necessarily says something about that individual memory's place

within a larger complex of social remembering. The individual remembers, a cognitive

function that is socially shaped; the society shares certain elements of a past that shapes

individual remembering; and the individual, as part of the society, acknowledges and

legitimizes these shared elements of a past by integrating them into his/her memory—the

processes are contingent upon one another.

With regard to social memory, then, what the historian *can* do is investigate those

shared elements in a particular social setting, the *lieux de mémoire* of a society, in order

to gain some insight into how social remembering happens.[82] One can explore the *lieux*

on which mnemonic practices are focused. "Sites of memory," as the phrase is often

translated,[83] help bridge the gap between individual and collective mnemonic processes.

These are anything that carries a "symbolic aura," whether material or non-material in

nature, actual or abstract, which is widely circulated and/or experienced in a given

society.[84] These can be, for example, places (the Coliseum in Rome), events (9/11 in the

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82.   See Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24. See also the helpful introduction to the concept, Pim den Boer, "*Loci memoriae—Lieux de mémoire*," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, 19–25.

83.   Nora's initial use of the term, in the 1970s and 80s, was rather limited in scope: it referred especially to ideologically loaded, nationalistic symbols (e.g., propagandistic monuments, etc.) that, he argued, could not be value neutral (cf. Den Boer, "*Loci*," 21). As the term has spread in the academic world, its meaning has become more abstract. This is apparent in Nora's own work. For example, in an essay for a German publication in 2001, Nora translates his own term variously, using *Herde* (centers), *Knoten* (knots), *Kreuzungen* (crossings), and *Bojen* (buoys) for *lieux*, thus suggesting the multiple functions of a simple "site" of social memory (cf. Den Boer, "*Loci*," 22–23).

84.   Cf. Nora, "Between Memory and History," 13–14.

United States), persons (Napoleon in France), works of literature (the *Mahabharata* in India), or even a concept or idea (Darwinian evolution in the scientific community), among many other things—it is important not to limit "sites" to physical (or even real) places and things. Of course one could classify each of these examples in another situational category (in many ways Napoleon is both a person and an event). And a site may have different functions in different sociocultural contexts, different time frames, etc. So, for example, the figure of Napoleon means something different in France than he does in Russia, and he meant something different to inhabitants of Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries than he does to Europeans today. This is also true for various subgroups within larger sociocultural milieux. 9/11 obviously has different meanings for the countless identifiable geographical, political, religious (the possible adjectives go on) groups in North America and throughout today's globalized world. The most salient sites of social memory are often overdetermined.[85] The social matrix that informs remembering represents a huge network of cultural signification, and the various sites of memory are signified in different ways.

One must consider social memory and remembering, then, within the "symbolic universe available to the society," within the sociocultural matrix that informs and guides group identity and experience.[86] One might suggest that this semiotic understanding of

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85.   See, e.g., Edward Said's discussion of memory and geographical space, "Invention, Memory, and Place," *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000): 175–92. Said argues that present-day sites like Auschwitz and Jerusalem, for example, are overdetermined, so their construction in sociomental and mythological landscapes overrides their literal existence, to the point that the myriad of "symbolic associations totally [obscures] the existential reality" (180).
86.   Cf. Confino, "Collective Memory," 1391. Sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel speaks of sociomental "topography," a helpful metaphor for understanding the complex networks of memory sites in social contexts. See his *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1–10. Mental topographies or maps of *lieux de mémoire* help guide social remembering, and social remembering involves the mental cartography of such maps (again, a feedback loop). To take the metaphor even further, exploring and interpreting these maps—via a society's literary,

social memory is akin to Geertzian cultural anthropology. Without a doubt, Clifford

Geertz's influential understanding of culture, and how one should study it, has had an

impact on social memory studies.[87] Geertz, tipping his hat to Weber, thought of culture as

the discursive "webs of significance" spun by humans within a localized social

environment.[88] More specifically, in his oft-quoted formulation, culture "denotes an

historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited

conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate,

perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."[89] Of course, as

Geertz admits, "[T]erms such as 'meaning,' 'symbol,' and 'conception' cry out for

explication."[90] He thus devoted his career to explicating his theory of culture with

exempla such as religion, ideology, cockfights (probably his best known), common sense,

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artistic, architectural, and other artifacts—can help us reconstruct sociocultural discourses of past, present, and future within a historical society. Zerubavel writes, "A *socio*mental topography of the past helps highlight this pronouncedly social dimension of human memory by revealing how entire communities, and not just individuals, remember the past. The phenomenology of history it provides is thus grounded in a *sociology* of memory" (*Time Maps*, 2 [italics original]). Compare Jan Assmann's discussion of "figures of memory," in *Cultural Memory*, 23–28. James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 7–8, makes the same point concerning physical monuments and memorials, that their meaning and interpretation depends upon their placement in a topography: e.g., a Holocaust memorial that stands alone near a shopping center means something different than one that stands amid the National Mall in Washington, D.C. In biblical studies, e.g., Francesca Stavrakopoulou, *Land of Our Fathers: The Roles of Ancestor Veneration in Biblical Land Claims* (LHBOTS 473; New York: T&T Clark, 2010) shows how stories of the patriarchs and Moses, functioning as sites of memory, contributed to sociomental maps that might have made claims to territory in postmonarchic Judah. N.B. it is important not to get lost in the metaphor here. As Zerubavel shows, and as I discuss below, sociomental topography does not exclusively refer to *geographical* topography and cartography; it may also refer to the plot lines of narratives—the mapping of story.

87.   Cf. Erll, "Cultural Memory Studies," 4.

88.   Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

89.   Geertz, *Interpretation*, 89. See also ibid., 33–54 ("The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man"). Interestingly, Geertz himself was uncomfortable with labeling his work as "theoretical" in any way; see Arun Micheelson "'I Don't Do Systems': An Interview with Clifford Geertz," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 14 (2002): 2–20.

90.   Geertz, *Interpretation*, 89. Nancy K. Frankenberry and Hans H. Penner, "Clifford Geertz's Long-Lasting Moods, Motivations, and Metaphysical Conceptions," *Journal of Religion* 79 (1999): 617–40, argue at length that Geertz never does properly explicate these terms, but they consider only one essay in Geertz's oeuvre (i.e., "Religion as a Cultural System," in Geertz, *Interpretation*, 87–125). Frankenberry and Penner are interested specifically in this single famous essay and its impact on religious studies.

art, and even kingship.[91] Memory per se was not a socially systemic conception to which

91.   Some of his sharpest critics have also pushed to further explicate his thoughts, without flatly rejecting them: e.g., on Geertz and religion in particular, see Talal Asad, "Anthropological Conceptions of Religion: Reflections on Geertz," *Man* 18 (1983): 237–59; also William E. Arnal, "Definition," in *Guide to the Study of Religion* (ed. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon; London: Continuum, 2000), 21–34 (esp. 26–30). On Geertz's wide-reaching legacy in the Humanities and Social Sciences, see the essays and reflections in *Clifford Geertz by His Colleagues* (ed. Richard A. Shweder and Byron Good; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); also *Interpreting Clifford Geertz: Cultural Investigation in the Social Sciences* (ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Philip Smith, and Matthew Norton; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Please note, in appealing to Geertz and Geertzian anthopology here, I think it important to recognize what he was trying to do (and *not* trying to do) in his study of these *exempla*. Although his work came to be associated, in some instances, with extreme relativism and postmodernism in the 1980s and 1990s (see Sherry B. Ortner, "Introduction," in *The Fate of "Culture": Geertz and Beyond* [ed. Sherry B. Ortner; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999], 1–13, esp. 3–4), we should be careful not to throw the baby out with the bath water (cf. Micheelson, "I Don't Do Systems," 13–14). In his own words, he "[sought] out and [analyzed] the symbolic forms—words, images, institutions, behaviors—in terms of which, in each place, people actually represented themselves to themselves and to one another" (*Local Knowledge*, 58). This does not, however, constitute a push toward completely emic description or absolute cultural relativism. Cf. these thoughts from near the end of his career (in *Available Light: Anthropological Refl ctions on Philosophical Topics* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000], 16):

> To discover who people think they are, what they think they are doing, and to what end they think they are doing it, it is necessary to gain a working familiarity with the frames of meaning within which they enact their lives. This does not involve feeling anyone else's feelings, or thinking anyone else's thoughts, simple impossibilities. Nor does it involve going native, an impractical idea, inevitably bogus. It involves learning how, as a being from elsewhere with a world of one's own, to live with them.

His interest in phenomenology was thus necessarily paired with hermeneutics and anchored in specific and observable ethnographic cases (see Micheelson, "I Don't Do Systems," 10). Many of his most cogent critics in the human and social sciences, it seems to me, are working toward the same end, even if they do not subscribe to phenomenology or hermeneutics. Although it is not entirely correlate, Geertz's anthropological work is not too far off from, for example, Willi Braun's recommendation (drawing on Durkheim and Smith) of "translation" of social phenomena. Braun, who is wary of Geertz-like interpretive approaches and of any desire to "go native," has warned strongly (and rightly) against the dangers of postmodern proliferations of meanings and relativization of thought-systems (see Willi Braun, "Introducing Religion," in *Introducing Religion: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Z. Smith* [ed. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon; London: Equinox, 2008], 480–98, esp. 489–90). Braun urges us to critically study "phenomena that *seemingly* and *passively* present and promulgate themselves in asocial, ahistorical, natural, idealist, non-anthropocentric terms, coming to understand them instead in terms of social, historical, material, anthropocentric categories," thus to do a kind of "translation" ("Introducing Religion," 487; italics added). Moreover, commenting on the study of religious phenomena, specifically conceptualizations of divinity, Braun states, "Taking seriously that it is people who think and do things and that ideas do not think themselves means that we should adopt a thorough-going 'anthropocentrism,' in which our object of study is the people (which includes their behaviors and institutions) who discursively think the gods into existence" ("Introducing Religion," 483; cf. idem, "Religion," in *Guide to the Study of Religion* [ed. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon; London: Continuum, 2000], 3–18, esp. 11–14). In my understanding, in the end, for Geertz and for Braun, one is working toward making the unfamiliar familiar, and the unknown known. Geertzian anthropology and the Braunian study of religion and religious sociocultural phenomena are thus striving toward similar goals and can (and should), I think, become productive conversation partners.

he turned his thoughts,[92] but one can certainly think of the process(es) of social remembering as a Geertzian cultural system.[93]

Indeed, the American sociologist Barry Schwartz has done just that.[94] In his important work on the figure of Abraham Lincoln in American social memory, Schwartz convincingly shows how sites of memory function systemically in the negotiation of past and present. In particular, he shows how various representations of Lincoln (including written and visual) helped reflect, program, and frame discourses about leadership, democracy, and national unity in twentieth-century America. For instance, in 1963, Lincoln became the go-to symbol for thinking about the assassination of John F. Kennedy, helping frame the unexpected tragedy of Kennedy's death. And as a corollary, Lincoln's memory—the grandeur of which had somewhat diminished in the years after World War II—received new life via the figure of Kennedy.[95] In this way, the process of social remembering is dualistic:

> The past is matched to the present as a model *of* society and a model *for* society. As a model *of* society, collective memory reflects past events in terms of the needs, interests, fears, and aspirations of the present. As a model *for* society, collective memory performs two functions: it embodies a *template* that organizes and animates behavior and a *frame* within which people locate and find meaning

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92. Though he was certainly concerned with questions of the mind: e.g., "The Way We Think Now: Toward an Ethnography of Modern Thought," in *Local Knowledge*, 147–63; or "Culture, Mind, Brain/ Brain, Mind, Culture," in *Available Light*, 203–17.
93. Famously and ironically, Geertz once wrote, "I don't do systems" (*Available Light*, x). Geertz may not have *done* systems, but he certainly found them good to think with; cf. Joseph Errington, "On Not Doing Systems," in *Interpreting Clifford Geertz*, 33–41 (41).
94. See, e.g., his "Memory as a Cultural System: Abraham Lincoln in World War II," *American Sociological Review* 61 (1996): 908–27; "Frame Images: Towards a Semiotics of Collective Memory," *Semiotica* 121–1/2 (1998): 1–40; as well as the monograph-length studies that followed these articles, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*; and *Abraham Lincoln in the Post-Heroic Era: History and Memory in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). Schwartz has also contributed to biblical studies, in his essays "Christian Origins: Historical Truth and Social Memory" and "Jesus in First-Century Memory—A Response," in *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity* (ed. Alan Kirk and Tom Thatcher; SemeiaSt 52; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 43–56 and 249–61, respectively.
95. Schwartz, "Frame Images," 23–28; cf. idem, *Abraham Lincoln in the Post-Heroic Era*, 221–28.

for their present experience. Collective memory affects social reality by *refl cting*, *shaping*, and *framing* it.[96]

Thus, when one views a particular image through the frame of memory, one envisages that image within its cultural background, within a myriad of symbolic, cultural associations that help shape the frame itself.[97] That said, it is important to note that this dualistic nature of social memory is distinguishable only from an analytic perspective. In mnemonic practice, both aspects are present simultaneously. Schwartz explains,

> Memories must express current problems before they can program ways to deal with them, for we cannot be oriented by a past in which we fail to see ourselves. ... On the other hand, the programming and framing functions of memory are what make its reflexive function significant, for we have no reason to look for ourselves in a past that does not already orient our lives.[98]

So, in 1963, one must have understood Kennedy as somehow evoking Lincoln before Lincoln could become a frame for understanding Kennedy; yet for Kennedy to evoke Lincoln, one must have already had Lincoln in mind (consciously or unconsciously) as a past figure that could orient thinking about the present. From the Hebrew Bible, one thinks of Josiah presented as another David, or Elijah as Moses.[99] In the words of Jeffrey Olick, "[M]nemonic practices express neither the past nor the present but the changing

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96.   Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, 18 (italics original); cf. idem, "Memory as a Cultural System," 910. Here Schwartz draws directly on Geertz, *Interpretation*, 93–94.
97.   Although I am using Schwartz's metaphor of viewing an image in a frame, please note that this concept is *not* limited to the study of visual representations.
98.   Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, 18–19.
99.   Another example is the return from exile as a "second exodus." Bringing up these examples from the Hebrew Bible, I must also give a caveat: a person or event evoking an earlier person or event in mnemonic discourse says nothing about the compositional history of the texts that represent these sites of memory. E.g., by saying Elijah is another Moses and evokes the figure of Moses, I am not saying that the written texts about Moses necessarily predate those about Elijah. Any supposed compositional history is beside the point. In the minds of the literati, Moses is primary in the discourse because he came first in the timeline represented in the texts. Thus, Elijah can be construed as Moses redivivus, but Moses can never be Elijah redivivus.

interactions between past and present: Past meanings are malleable to varying degrees and present circumstances exploit these potentials more or less."[100]

Lincoln is a fantastic example of memory as a cultural system because, as a widespread symbolic site of memory whose meaning is contingent upon sociocultural and temporal contexts, he became a multivocal and polyvalent figure that framed thinking about many different persons and events in American society, thus supporting sometimes contradictory ideals. In the pre-Great Depression era, for example, Lincoln was symbolized both as an everyman and as an unmatched (super)hero, simultaneously embodying egalitarianism and a strongly defined political hierarchy, and revealing divisions in thought about what America is and what its leadership should be.[101] This discourse continues even today.[102]

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One can think of the Hebrew Bible's kingship discourse in the same way. Schwartz's theoretical insights are clearly apposite to the issue of kingship in postmonarchic Judah, a concept that appears both overdetermined and polyvalent in Judah's literary repertoire, and that shaped and was shaped by sociopolitical concerns in the discourse. What one finds in Schwartz's work is a number of *narratives* about Lincoln, each of which contributed unique statements to mnemonic discourse—Lincoln the Emancipator, Lincoln the Self-Made Man, Lincoln the Savior of the Union, etc.—and

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100.   Olick, *Politics of Regret*, 55–56. He emphasizes that this is never a one-time event, but an ongoing interaction and negotiation.

101.   Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, 256–92.

102.   E.g., Steven Spielberg's Oscar-winning film, *Lincoln* (2012). The film stirred up much discussion about history, politics, and popular film. On November 15, 2012, the Obama administration screened the film at the White House for a select group of Congresspersons (all Democrats—apparently Republicans were invited, but none attended), bringing the film directly into the contemporary political arena.

each of which provided a model *of* and *for* American society in particular twentieth-century cultural settings. In the Hebrew Bible one has literary artifacts that represent a text- and temple-centered community in an imperialized ancient Near Eastern milieu, and in these written texts one finds a number of interconnected and sometimes even competing narratives about kingship as a socio- and religio-political institution in ancient Judah.

Understanding social remembering, then, requires an understanding of the continuities and discontinuities in the various strands of narrative thought in social memory, how these act and interact as sociocultural models. Memory, in my usage, is a sociocultural system that helps construe communally shared narratives about the past. These narratives interact with one another, reinforcing particular episodes and ideas and forgetting (or: bracketing) others. They are constantly (re)shaping the past and its meaning and import for the present and future. Thus, like an individual who constantly forges personal identity via the (re)shaping of one's autobiographical narrative, societies continually (re)construct group identity via shared narratives about their past, narratives that often complement each other but sometimes paradoxically contradict one another, as ancient Judah's kingship discourse evinces. Further, as Olick emphasizes, a number of mnemonic practices consciously and unconsciously facilitate the processes of social remembering and the (re)shaping of shared narratives and group identity.[103] These include ritual observances, visiting and viewing commemorative monuments (and their construction in the first place), pilgrimages to ideologically loaded locales, and the production and dissemination of authoritative texts and their ideas, among other things.

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103.   Cf. Olick, *Politics of Regret*, 27–30.

This brings me back to the issue of (hi)storiographical discourse and the creation of (hi)story. As stated above, kingship-discourse in postmonarchic Judah was expressly historiographical; that is, it was concerned with the making of story, with the meaningful interconnection of events past, present, and future in Judah's authoritative *written* texts.[104] In Judah, historiographical discourse and mnemonic discourse obviously went hand in hand and worked together. One could not exist without the other. This study, as I discussed above, presumes the codification of the written aspect of the discourse within the literate postmonarchic Judean community, so my primary focus is on the *mnemonic* aspect of the discourse, on the texts' evocation of memory, *not on the discursive practice of writing or composing itself*. It is a slight distinction, but an important one. The processes of Judean writing and historiography—the actual composition of the texts—are extremely difficult to access, given the evidence we have (though it is certainly possible to offer reasonable reconstructions of these processes, as many have done). However, the compositions themselves remain sources for understanding the mnemonic discourse of the community, and one may use them to reconstruct social remembering in ancient Judean society during the era in which the compositions likely gained authoritative status.

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My approach, it is worth mentioning, is quite different from Jan Assmann's influential work on memory.[105] His work has spawned great academic interest in what he

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104.   To be clear, here I refer to "historiography" in a generic sense, as the creation and composition of (hi)story in textual form. I do not mean to say that Judean kingship discourse was limited to the so-called historiographical books (Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, et al.). Obviously, kingship discourse was codified in various types of literature in ancient Judah, from legal material (e.g., Deuteronomy) to the prophetic books.
105.   Outlined clearly in his *Cultural Memory*; and put to practice in his *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

calls "mnemohistory," investigating "the history of cultural memory"[106]—that is, how a particular subject from the past is treated discursively over long periods of time, "over generations and centuries, even millennia, depending on institutionalizations of permanence such as writing, canonization, educational and clerical institutions, and so forth."[107] Assmann's work, then, is ultimately an exploration of transmission of the past. Moreover, he understands "cultural memory" as transmissive in the first place. It is "the handing down of meaning" via significant acts of communication.[108] So cultural memory is transmission of the past on a micro-scale, while mnemohistory is the macro.

Such an approach has been influential in biblical scholarship, where "cultural memory" and "mnemohistory" have more or less become ciphers for composition- and redaction-history.[109] For example, in the conclusion to his book *Memoirs of God*—which aims to introduce the concepts of collective and cultural memory into biblical studies— Mark Smith traces various strands of thought in the Hebrew Bible concerning Sinai and the experience of God there.[110] He notes four major reinterpretations of the Sinai event and argues that these are the result of collective/cultural remembering over time:

> With these massive alterations in the memory of Sinai, we see a deliberate process of modifying the past. The changes in cultural memory here function in a rather deliberate, programmatic manner. Perhaps some changes may have been less deliberate, but on the whole these literary alterations bear the marks of conscious reformulation of cultural memory. In this way, collective memory re-created Israel's origins in the image and likeness of its later commemorialists. The Sinai

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106.   Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 15.
107.   Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 15–16.
108.   Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 6.
109.   E.g., Mark S. Smith, *The Memoirs of God: History, Memory, and the Experience of the Divine in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004); Ronald Hendel, *Remembering Abraham: Culture, Memory, and History in the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Hendel draws on Assmann explicitly in his methodological approach, whereas Smith does not. Smith's work, however, is clearly in line with Assmann's.
110.   Smith, *Memoirs of God*, 140–51.

complex of texts is a stunning example of programmatic change in cultural memory. For in adding collections to the Sinai event, Israel's later priestly and Deuteronomic writers would attribute to ancient revelation what had developed later during the monarchic, exilic, and postexilic periods.[111]

Pace Smith, whose work is indeed full of interesting discussion, this analysis differs little, if at all, from a classical historical-critical approach to the Hebrew Bible. What he calls "conscious reformulation of cultural memory" could easily be called "editing" or "redaction." And he tips his hand by crediting these reformulations to "priestly" and "Deuteronomic" writers throughout Israel's history.[112] Similarly, Ron Hendel, who cites Assmann as a major influence, locates traces of a Late Bronze/Early Iron Age reality (namely, Egyptian political hegemony in the Levant) in the exodus narrative, arguing that Israelite cultural memory filtered these traces, and that the (historical) figure of Moses provided a unifying symbol by which the traces could form an identity-building narrative later in the Iron Age.[113] Again, *pace* Hendel, his study is not all that different from earlier historical-critical work on Moses and the exodus narrative, which sought to find "historical kernels" from the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age imbedded in the texts of the Hebrew Bible. Although insights from social memory studies are beginning to impact methodological considerations in biblical studies, historical critics of the Bible have struggled to incorporate these insights in creative ways. This is apparently due, at least in part, to Assmann's insistence on the transmissive nature of cultural memory, and the affinity of such an approach with redaction-criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

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111.   Smith, *Memoirs of God*, 150.
112.   Also, Smith's discussion of cultural and collective memory comes only at the *end* of the volume, after he has presented a 123-page historical-critical analysis of the Hebrew Bible, in which he reconstructs various stages of Israel's history and situates different strands of theological thought within these stages.
113.   See Hendel, *Remembering Abraham*, 57–73.

Now, I should state that Assmann does acknowledge the importance of (essentially) synchronic, socio-mnemonic shaping of identity, which I emphasize here in my own approach. He calls this "communicative memory," and distinguishes it from cultural memory because it lacks the transmissive aspect.[114] However, I find this distinction overly schematic. The lines between "the everyday and the festive, the profane and the sacred, the ephemeral and the lasting, the particular and the general,"[115] are not so easily drawn. To a certain extent, his schema are insightful from an analytic perspective, but the distinctions break down in real time. Indeed, everyday experiences shape the experience of ritual festivals, and vice versa. It is difficult to untangle them in the complex social processes of signification. The same is true for the interrelationship between the mythic (which Assmann sees as part of "cultural" memory) and the recent or living (part of his "communicative" memory). For example, one thinks of Martin Luther King Jr. giving his famous "I Have a Dream" speech before the Lincoln Memorial, a speech that also directly alluded to the Gettysburg Address and the Emancipation Proclamation; or King's stepping into the role of Moses in his final public appearance, via the speech "I've Been to the Mountaintop." Is King, a figure within living memory in the U.S., any less mythic or foundational in American culture than Lincoln or Moses? And are any of these figures somehow excluded from shaping our everyday experiences (our "biographical" memory, in Assmann's term) because they are not properly "communicative" memories?

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114.   See Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 6–7 and 34–44.
115.   Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 43.

My own work is a work of history and a literary investigation of ancient historiography, in the vein of cultural history and social memory studies. However, it focuses not on how literate Judeans actually composed their histories and (re)formulated their ideas about history over extended periods of time, but on how late Persian-period Judean society might have remembered and imagined its past, present, and future *with* that literature. This approach, which I explicate further in the next section, gives us fresh sociocultural insight into at least one historical milieu of the imperialized Levant in the ancient Near East.

Social Memory and Narrativity: A Good Working Relationship

Social remembering is a discursive process, one that inherently deals with past, present, and future, and as such it is inherently narratival. Thus, before returning to the issue of kingship in postmonarchic Judah in particular, it is necessary to explicate my thinking on narrative as an aspect of mnemonic discourse, and how this impacts my thinking on the issue of kingship in Judean social memory.

"[N]arrative," said Paul Ricoeur, "includes an entire range of discourse that goes back to the earliest times. People have always told stories."[116] As an individual, telling stories about oneself helps define one as a person, helps construct a personal identity. One may think of identity as an "ongoing [process] of construction in narrative form."[117] The Self is indeed a "storyteller."[118] The continual (re)construction of an autobiography

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116.   From an interview originally published in *Magazine littéraire* (September 2000), available in translation as "Paul Ricoeur: A Philosophical Journey," in William C. Dowling, *Ricoeur on Time and Narrative: An Introduction to* Temps et récit (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 103–113 (109).
117.   Olick and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies," 122.
118.   Cf. Jerome Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 111–16.

out of episodes in life is intimately related to individual memory. However, like remembering, biographical storytelling is not confined to the individual; it also happens within groups of individuals. "Communities," write Robert Bellah et al.,

> have a history—in an important sense they are constituted by their past—and for this reason we can speak of a real community as a "community of memory," one that does not forget its past. In order not to forget that past, a community is involved in retelling its story, its constitutive narrative, and in so doing, it offers examples of the men and women who have embodied and exemplified the meaning of the community. These stories of collective history and exemplary individuals are an important part of the tradition that is so central to a community of memory.[119]

Individuals have always told stories about themselves that (re)shape self-understanding, and so have social groups. Moreover, as discussed above, the individual and the social are practically inseparable and are mutually reliant. Individual narratives, autobiographies, emerge within and are (re)shaped by social contexts; societies, of course, consists of individuals, and individuals (re)shape and (re)affirm socially shared and preferred narratives.

If the shaping of individual as well as group identity is intricately linked to the shaping of narratives about the self/group, then narrative construction—where the stories start and end, the ordering of chronology, what is emphasized and deemphasized (or left out), the syllogistic reasoning of causation in the plots, and the ideological preferences in the narratives—reveals at least one essential element in the workings of identity

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Of course, the Self is a complicated storyteller. One tells many stories about oneself, but also about others, and others tell stories about oneself too, all of which contribute to the construction of personal identity.
119.   Robert N. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 153. Cf. Bellah's more recent statement in his *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 279: "Not only do we get to know persons by sharing our stories, we understand our membership in groups to the extent that we understand the story that defines the group" (see also ibid., 32–37).

construction. Therefore, as one might expect, narrative criticism has been a helpful tool in studies of social and collective remembering.[120] Indeed, Barry Schwartz likens the modeling process of social memory, the framing of the present with past images, discussed above, to the process of emploting a historical narrative: within a mnemonic system, sites of memory that function as frames for the present (and future) define "the meaning of problematic events by depicting them as episodes in a narrative that precedes and transcends them."[121] Of course, this is also the case for non-problematic events, persons, and so forth.

This is especially true when one is studying a *literary* culture, a text-centered community. The reading and *re*reading of authoritative written texts was a central, if not *the* central mnemonic practice of the Judean literati, the sociocultural group to which these works of literature attest.[122] To be sure, viewing and thinking about actual physical landscape was also an important mnemonic practice. The literati undoubtedly thought about the physical state of Jerusalem in the postmonarchic era, with its ruins from the Babylonian conquest and its diminished population (a reality they encountered daily), and compared it to their imaginings about past and future Jerusalem—this is clearly evident

120. Cf. Wertsch, "Collective Memory," 120, 128–32. See also James Fentress and Chris Wickham's comments on memories as narratives that function as guides to identity, in *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 87–88.
121. Cf. Schwartz, "Frame Images," 8. Here Schwartz is discussing actual visual images—specifically images of Lincoln in which he is depicted alongside George Washington, John F. Kennedy, and other historical figures—and how these relate to representations of Lincoln in general, but his observation is relevant in any case.
122. Cf. Ben Zvi, *Obadiah*, 2–6; idem, "Introduction," 5–16. On literature and memory, see also Renate Lachmann, "Mnemonic and Intertextual Aspects of Literature," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, 301–10; and Assmann's comments on discourse and textuality in *Moses the Egyptian*, 15–17, though I am not concerned here with what Assmann calls "mnemohistory" (see above). This text-centered community of (re)readers of course helped give rise to Judaism as a "religion of the book," with Torah (in its narrower and broader senses) being central in the culture (compare also Islam and the Quran). See, e.g., David M. Carr, "The Rise of Torah," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 39–56.

throughout the written texts. They also surely thought about, heard stories of, and perhaps even visited the imperial administrative center at Ramat Raḥel, with its impressive architecture and fantastic garden, mentioned above.[123] These are important aspects of social remembering that should not be ignored.[124] But our evidence for this group is primarily written text, and the content of the writing points to a literary culture to boot. So the emphasis on (re)reading written text as the primary mnemonic practice within the community is necessary.[125] How did these texts communicate meaning in the minds of Judean literati? What types of stories did these texts tell about kingship past, present, and future? How did the stories in the texts contribute to the narratival processes of social remembering and identity formation in the late Persian era? And how does one go about answering these questions?

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In the last several decades the historical critic Hayden White has done much to increase our awareness of the interplay between historiographical (and thus mnemonic) discourse and narrative. Embedded in a historiographical document's "narrativity" (i.e., how a document narrativizes events), White argues, is a discursive statement about

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123.   Despite Ramat Raḥel's elevated locale, one cannot actually view it directly from the City of David (Lipschits, Gadot, and Langgut, "Riddle," 61). This, however, would not have diminished its import as a site of memory among the Jerusalemite literati.
124.   In general, one should not overemphasize writing and reading as a mnemonic practice, to the exclusion of other aspects of social remembering; cf. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 4. Visiting physical locales and witnessing public acts of ritual and commemoration obviously also contribute to the shaping of group identity; see, e.g., Young, *Texture of Memory*. In biblical studies, see the very recent work of Daniel D. Pioske, "David's Jerusalem: A History of Place" (Ph.D. diss.; Princeton Theological Seminary, 2012), who looks at the physical place of Jerusalem in the early and late Iron Ages and in the Persian period, and how memory of this locale shaped (and was shaped by) representations of David in the books of Samuel/Kings and Chronicles.
125.   In any case, the texts do provide some interesting information about other mnemonic practices, as mentioned.

<center>49</center>

historical consciousness, about the meaning and import of the past for the present. He states, "When the reader recognizes the story being told in a historical narrative as a specific kind of story—for example, as an epic, romance, tragedy, comedy, or farce—he can be said to have comprehended the meaning produced by the discourse. This comprehension is nothing other than the recognition of the form of the narrative."[126] The form (narrative) therefore has content (narrativity), which operates within and reveals something of the document's historiographical and mnemonic discourse. To get at this discourse, White emphasizes the means by which the (hi)story is told: the structure of the plot, the modes of argumentation employed, and the worldviews embedded in the document.

It is narrative, and specifically the *emplotment* of narrative—i.e., the *narrativity* of historical thought—that enables human societies to make sense of their places within the progression of time.[127] Jan Assmann puts it this way, "Memory enables us to orient ourselves in time and to form out of the stuff of time a 'diachronic identity.' Political myths [i.e., traditional narratives] are about forming a collective or political identity, and they achieve this by giving time the form of a narrative structure and charging this structure with values, emotions, and ideals."[128] This is true for any society, ancient or

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126.   Hayden White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 26–57 (43). See also his seminal work, "Introduction: The Poetics of History," in *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 1–42. See also Stuart D. Beeson, "Historiography Ancient and Modern: Fact and Fiction," in *Ancient and Modern Scriptural Historiography (L'historiographie biblique, ancienne et moderne)* (ed. George J. Brooke and Thomas Römer; BETL 207; Louvain: Peeters, 2007), 3–11; and Ian D. Wilson, "Conquest and Form: Narrativity in Joshua 5–11 and Historical Discourse in Ancient Judah," *HTR* 106 (2013): 309–29, esp. 314–15.

127.   Cf. Paul Ricoeur's monumental philosophical work, *Time and Narrative* (3 vols.; trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984–1988).

128.   Jan Assmann, "Memory, Narration, Identity: Exodus as a Political Myth," in *Literary Constructions of Identity in the Ancient World* (ed. Hanna Liss and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, Ind.:

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modern, that has a historical consciousness, as Judah no doubt did. Looking back on the past, one recognizes a narrative structure that leads to the telos of the present (or future), and one reads/recalls this narrative both "backward" (one has some idea where it is headed) and "forward" (one has to piece together the "whys" of the narrative as it unfolds); narrative temporality thus has two sides.[129] In other words, one has a preconceived idea of what type of narrative one's past is (tragic, comic, etc.) and thus of its trajectory over time, yet one also has to figure out how the narrative went from one episode to another through time (causality), giving *some* sense of meaning to the process.[130] According to Ricoeur, *anagnorisis* (an Aristotelian concept, the aha! moment in a narrative)[131] occurs when these two perspectives converge, when one's narrative expectation is realized in the unfolding and interconnected events of the plot. For a narrative to be successful, this moment must be persuasive and provide a certain amount of catharsis for the reader.[132] "Men in the middest," writes Frank Kermode, "make

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Eisenbrauns, 2010), 3–18 (14); cf. his comments in *Moses the Egyptian*, 14–15.

129.   See Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 1:45–77; also Dowling, *Ricoeur*, 10.

130.   There are, however, always limits to knowledge when thinking about the past and the progression of time and events from past to present to future. Take the DH as an example. Once a reader is familiar with the narrative and its trajectory, it becomes clear that this corpus of literature has an identifiable teleology: it is concerned with, among other things, Israel's entrance into and eventual demise in the promised land, with the people's establishment of Yahweh's temple there and the people's ongoing struggle to obey Torah, and finally with the punishment of exile to Babylon. It is a tragic story, foreshadowed in the book of Deuteronomy, perhaps with a tinge of hope at the end, depending on how one understands the comments about Jehoiachin at the conclusion to 2 Kings. This much a reader can more or less take for granted. See, e.g., Flemming A. J. Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History: Herodotus and the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 251; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 114–60. But many of the minute details of the narrative, the finer points of emplotment, are sometimes chaotic and inexplicable—results of the whims of Yahweh. Sometimes they are malleable and allow room for exploration, as any comparison of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles reveals. In any case, the emplotment of Israel's story is incredibly complex and at times even confounding. This inherent complexity in Judah's narrative of kingship, I argue below and throughout this study, was the key element in the social remembering of kingship in the postmonarchic era.

131.   E.g., in the film *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), Darth Vader's famous declaration to Luke Skywalker: "I am your father!"

132.   Cf. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 1:49–50.

considerable imaginative investments in coherent patterns which, by the provision of an end, can never be *permanently* falsified."[133] The (re)shaping of social memory and identity occurs as groups make these realizations in their shared narratives: Where and when did we come from? How did we get here now (and how will we get to our future)? When and why did that and this happen to us, for better or worse?

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Following this line of thinking, I submit here that meaning within mnemonic discourse is first and foremost a function of narrative emplotment. Other narrative elements, such as characterization of important past persons, certainly contribute to one's interpretation of the past, but these elements are at least partially dependent upon emplotment.[134] This approach to narrative criticism (i.e., reducing narrative elements such as characterization to functions of plot) is common but not without its critics.[135] While it is true that plot and characterization are interdependent, in the case of historiographical discourse and social remembering I argue that perception of a past person's character happens secondarily to the perception of telos in the person's story. What one contributes to the ongoing narrative of society is more important than the perception of an individual's overall "goodness" or "badness." In the end, socially shared narratives and their emplotments tend to emphasize certain contributions and outcomes in a person's life; they encourage readers to remember certain details, while forgetting, bracketing, and deemphasizing others.

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133. Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction with a New Epilogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 17 (italics original).
134. Cf. David Jobling, *1 Samuel* (Berit Olam; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1998), 6–7.
135. See, e.g., Coleman A. Baker, *Identity, Memory, and Narrative in Early Christianity: Peter, Paul, and Recategorization in the Book of Acts* (Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick, 2011), 21–22, with addtional references.

For example, how one perceives Samson's character largely depends upon whether or not one thinks his life is a success, whether or not his narrative contributes something positive to Israel's overarching story, and in what ways it does or does not (see Judges 13–16).[136] As a selfish brute with a penchant for foreign women, he certainly is not a "good" Israelite in accordance with Torah. Nevertheless, in 1 Samuel, Samuel himself recalls Samson as a successful deliverer of the people (1 Sam 12:11; cf. LXX, Peshitta, Targums), and the book of Hebrews in the New Testament commends the life of Samson, along with Gideon, Barak, Jephthah, David, and Samuel (all less than "good" characters in one way or another)—men "who through faith conquered kingdoms, administered justice, obtained promises, shut the mouths of lions, quenched raging fire, escaped the edge of the sword, won strength out of weakness, became mighty in war, put foreign armies to flight" (Heb 11:33–34; NRSV). Consider Solomon, too. According to 1 Kings 11–12, his life ends tragically and his exogamy and idolatry leads directly to the division of Israel. Solomon, however, was also conceived as a model king, as the one who ultimately fulfilled the promise to David by building Yahweh's temple (cf. 1 Chron 28:5–6). In Chronicles the exogamy and idolatry are forgotten, and Solomon stands on par with David as a benchmark for Israelite/Judahite kingship and for Yahwistic devotion (cf. 2 Chron 30:26; 33:7).[137]

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136. See, e.g., *Samson: Hero or Fool? The Many Faces of Samson*. (ed. Erik Eynikel and Tobias Nicklas; Themes in Biblical Narrative 17; Leiden: Brill, 2014). See more in Chapter 3.

137. Solomon is, obviously, a complicated case. For instance, Sir 49:4 does not list Solomon among the great kings of Judah. See more in Chapters 2 and 4. Nonetheless, his narrative in Chronicles nicely demonstrates my point here. On the Davidic promise(s), and its relation to issues of dynasty, temple, and Torah, see Gary N. Knoppers, "David's Relation to Moses: The Contexts, Content and Conditions of the Davidic Promises," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 91–118.

Present-day mnemonic discourse provides another good example of the primary importance of emplotment in social remembering. We in North America (and abroad) are currently in the process of remembering the technological innovator Steve Jobs, cofounder of Apple Inc., who died in 2011. It is widely acknowledged that Jobs was a very difficult person to spend time with and to work for. Put bluntly, he apparently was not a very likeable character. But this perception of Jobs' personal character does not seem to negatively affect the public's generally positive view of him as the leading mind behind Apple and its products. In short, because people think Apple turned out great, people think Jobs is great. Journalist Megan Garber puts it extremely well:

> We tend to recognize people of this caliber, through history's fuzzy filter, not so much for who they were but for what they did. And that pragmatic approach to progress tends to reduce greatness, in turn, to binary questions of person and product. Newton gave us gravitivity and Einstein gave us relativity and Madison gave us representative democracy, and all the other details of their lives and their characters tend to erode, in the public mind, with the wash of time. Were the Great People of history kind? Were they funny? Were they jerks? It doesn't much matter in retrospect, because they—their work—made the world better. The other stuff, the human stuff, is inconsequential.[138]

Of course, retrospection might change as time wears on; if for some reason down the road Apple's technologies are judged to have had a *negative* effect on society, then Jobs' character will be judged accordingly (a kind of confirmation bias). Within Judean discourse, if Solomon had turned to foreign women and idolatry without building the temple, perhaps he, and not Jeroboam, would be judged as the great failure and negative ideal. Another example: if Josiah had mysteriously died at the hands of Neco before

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138.   Megan Garber, "*Jobs*'s Great-Man Theory of Technology," *The Atlantic* (August 16, 2013): n.p.; online: http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2013/08/-i-jobs-i-s-great-man-theory-of-technology/278720/. Garber's essay is a critique of the biographical film *Jobs* (2013), which depicts Jobs heroically. On the issue of character and reputation in social remembering, see also Olick and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies," 130–33.

finding the law book and reforming the cultus, perhaps he would have gone down as another Manasseh. At least in these types of discourse, the contribution of one's life to society's ongoing (hi)story, to the trajectory of its plot, ultimately trumps one's characterization.

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In postmonarchic Judah, then, mnemonic discourse functioned primarily within narrative frameworks of thought shaped by authoritative written texts, which had structured plots, inherent understandings of historical causality, and preconceived ideas about social praxis (i.e., ideologies). These narratives linked together different sites of memory within the texts (e.g., persons, places, events), shaping larger sociomental matrices, and contributing to an overarching mnemonic system, which was a model *of* and a model *for* Judean society. As part of an ongoing, discursive feedback loop, the mnemonic system (re)shaped understandings of the narratives and, in turn, group identity. Such (re)shaping happens via conscious and unconscious contestation (what to remember? what to forget?), and via the intrinsic malleability of socially shared stories about the past, present, and future.[139]

The problem is, when one approaches the issue of kingship in Judah's authoritative texts, one finds a discourse that is clearly multivocal and polyvalent, as

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139.   Cf. Olick and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies," 122–30. To return to the example of Lincoln, one can question/contest certain narratival aspects of his story (e.g., what exactly drove his desire for the abolition of slavery? ethics/morals? economics? political gain?), thus reshaping our understanding of his presidency; but the story is only malleable to a certain extent (e.g., one could not successfully argue that Lincoln was opposed to the 13th Amendment). One finds the same in the historiography of Samuel/Kings and Chronicles; see Ehud Ben Zvi, "Malleability and Its Limits: Sennacherib's Campaign Against Judah as a Case Study," in *'Like a Bird in a Cage': The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup 363; ESHM 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 73–105; idem, "Shifting the Gaze: Historiographic Constraints in Chronicles and Their Implications," *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2006), 78–99.

discussed briefly above. In a typical narrative, the "system of emplotment," the logic of

the narrative that unites its events within a temporal framework, works toward a

meaningful telos in one's mind, especially when one *re*reads a well-known narrative.[140]

But not all narratives are typical. Polyvalent and multivocal narratives often lack a strong

sense of ending; they contain extensive instances of *peripeteia* (the falsification of a

narrative expectation, another Aristotelian concept), which leads to overdetermination.[141]

What does one do, then, with a central concept in a corpus of literature that appears to

lack a resolute moment of *anagnorisis*, in the Ricoeurean sense of the term? Or, more

precisely: What does one do when a narrative's moment of *anagnorisis* is also a

peripeteia, when a narrative resolutely undermines itself? For that is what one encounters

in Judean kingship discourse about the past, especially in the historiographical books.

And in the prophetic books, one finds a multiplicity of visions of future kingship, further

confounding narrative expectations in Judah's overarching story of monarchical rule.

In this study I am not wanting to "solve" the problem or smooth out the

difficulties. I do not want to explain away the polyvalency and multivocality by arguing

for a unified teleological understanding of biblical kingship (i.e., the texts are, in the end,

"pro" or "anti" kingship), nor to I want to resort to the notion of "ambivalence," an

indecisiveness that connotes a lack of pressing concern, i.e., avoiding an issue because of

mixed feelings. Doubtless, the issue was of central importance to the literate community

in Judah—it is not something about which they were ambivalent. And the various voices

in the discourse are too strong and well-developed to argue that one necessarily wins out

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140.   Cf. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 1:65–68, who interacts with Kermode.
141.   Cf. Kermode, *Sense of an Ending*, 18–22.

over the others. The question is: How did such a polyvalent discourse, which was clearly a central aspect of Judean (hi)storical consciousness and identity, function as a model *of* and *for* Judean society? Having sketched my theoretical and methodological influences, I can now begin to approach the problem.

Moving Forward

In subsequent chapters, drawing on the theories and methods introduced above, I present analyses of the discourse, of the various kingship narratives told in the Pentateuch, DH, prophetic books, and Chronicles. To conclude this chapter I offer a few glimpses of where the study is headed, to give the reader some idea of the study's contribution to the complex issue of kingship in the literature.

I have organized the analyses according to the narrative trajectory established by the texts themselves. That is, I begin with Moses and the "law of the king" (Deut 17:14–20)—the opening statement, as it were, of the discourse (Chapter 2). Then I move on to the the eras of judgeship, monarchy, and postmonarchy, respectively. Thus, Chapter 3 addresses the beginnings of kingship in the books of Judges and Samuel, Chapter 4 deals with Davidic kingship and its outcomes, and Chapter 5 examines kingship, past and *future*, in the prophetic books.

As I hope to have made clear by now, we will find that this literature does not have a univocal attitude toward kingship. Following David Jobling's work on 1 Samuel, I think that the literature fails to control its subject matter, and that the contradictions in the narratives reflect "*contradictions within the mindset that receives them*."[142] The literate

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142.   Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 19. Italics original.

Judean community maintaining and reading these texts had not wholly come to terms with its monarchic past and the meaning and import of this past for its postmonarchic present. Social remembering strives to achieve meaning in history, a society's place in the passage of time, understanding the present via the past, and vice versa, however complex the processes might be. The literature's obvious multivocality on the issue of kingship reflects the postmonarchic community's memory and remembering, its rendering of sociopolitical identities in the midst of what it saw as an ongoing and unresolved story within its authoritative texts.

Worth mentioning here is E. Theodore Mullen Jr.'s book, *Narrative History and Ethnic Boundaries*, which takes a similar approach, addressing the narratives synchronically, attempting to unpack their complex discourse to better understand the (re)shaping of group identity in the postmonarchic era.[143] Exploring only the DH, Mullen shows how the "Golden Age" of David and Solomon served as an ideal past for postmonarchic writers (whom he places in the Neo-Babylonian era), and yet the ideal past paradoxically comes to a tragic end.[144] This portrait of the past, he argues in a very brief postscript (pp. 283–86), helped to orient the postmonarchic community toward the future.[145]

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143.   E. Theodore Mullen, Jr., *Narrative History and Ethnic Boundaries: The Deuteronomistic Historian and the Creation of Israelite National Identity* (SemeiaSt; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

144.   See also, e.g., Lauren Chomyn, "A Utopian Moment: Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, and the Negotiation of Utopia and Tragedy in 1 Kgs 1–11" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 2014).

145.   Also worth mentioning is Antony F. Campbell and Mark A. O'Brien, *Rethinking the Pentateuch: Prolegomena to the Theology of Ancient Israel* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2005), a work that promotes a similar line of thinking. They encourage one to think about the Pentateuch not "as a record of Israel's *remembering its past*," but rather "as a record of Israel's *pondering its present*" (ibid., 9; italics original). As I have shown above, remembering the past and pondering the present are not mutually exclusive, but Campbell and O'Brien's approach to the Judean literature is to be commended nonetheless.

My study, although it takes a similar approach and follows similar lines of thought, pushes these ideas into new territory. Mullen's work, because of its exclusive focus on the DH, cannot fully grasp the issue of kingship in postmonarchic society. In addition to the obvious import of historiographical literature, the prophetic books also provide insight, perhaps the most important insights, into Judah's social mnemonics in the postmonarchic milieu. To quote Yosef Yerushalmi, "The meaning of history is explored more directly and more deeply in the prophets than in the actual historical narratives."[146] It is only with these liminal books, which stand with feet in the monarchic past and the postmonarchic present, but orient themselves toward the imminent future, that one can begin to develop an idea of Judah's social remembering of kingship. But one finds too that the prophetic books hardly have their subject matter under control. Different ideas about kingship, its past and its place in the future, coexist in the prophetic corpus, sometimes within an individual book (e.g., Isaiah). This further supports Jobling's suggestion that the postmonarchic mindset was not univocal. Prophetic ruminations on monarchy and human leadership converse with Israel's historiographical record, engaging various and competing strands of thought present in the Pentateuch and historiographical books. For example, will some form of judgeship reemerge (Obad 21)? Will a superhuman Davidide function as Yahweh's regent in a utopian world (Isa 11:1–9)? Or will Israel, the people itself, become ruler of nations, a sort of democratic idea (Isa 55:3–5)?[147]

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146.   Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), 15.
147.   Cf. Isa 49:7–13, 22–23; 60:3, 10–16. See also Zech 12:7–8, which, in addition to calling the house of David divine, says that the downtrodden of Judah and Jerusalem will be "like David," i.e., like Yahweh's chosen king.

In seeking to describe or unpack kingship-discourse in the authoritative books of ancient Judah, I look for continuities and discontinuities between various memories of kingship past and visions of kingship future, the emplotments of the monarchical story, from the perspective of the postmonarchic community. As the literary texts construct narratives about kingship, how does kingship past frame kingship present and future, and how is the future keyed to those representations of the past? How do the stories of past leadership figures (e.g., Moses, Samuel, David, Yahweh himself), as represented in historiographical literature, (re)shape images of future leadership in prophetic books, and vice versa? The polyvalency of the historiographical books, I end up arguing, actually *engendered* the diverse visions of kingship in the prophetic books. And the diversity of future images in the prophetic books, in turn, *reinforced* the multivocality of kingship in the historiographical literature.

This line of thought, I suggest, invites us to rethink the function and genre of the prophetic book in ancient Judah. The prophetic book served as the outlet for the tensions inherent in Judah's social memory of its monarchic past. The prophetic book was a sort of "speculative fiction," to borrow a generic term from modern literary criticism, that enabled the literati to envision multiple, diverging paths for their sociopolitical future. With its speculative fictionality, its charting of potential futures, and with its strong sense of the past, its discursive relationship with historiography, the prophetic book participated in metahistoriography: it drew upon memories of Israel's past, dialogued with that past, and informed thinking about the past, all with a view of the future in mind.

CHAPTER 2
The Law of the King, Moses and Joshua: Torah and Its Guardians

I am Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries containing all kinds of men, king on this great earth far and wide ... Ahuramazda when he saw this earth in commotion, thereafter bestowed it upon me, made me king; I am king. By the favour of Ahuramazda I put it down in its place; what I said to them, that they did, as was my desire.[1]

From the Hundred Year War to the Crimea
With the lance and the musket and the Roman spear
To all of the men who have stood with no fear
In the service of the King.[2]

Ancient Judean kingship-discourse officially begins in the book of Deuteronomy. Although kings appear early and often in the Pentateuch (e.g., Gen 14), and God tells Abraham and Jacob that they are to be fathers of kings (Gen 17:6, 16; 35:11), only in Deuteronomy does one attain specific knowledge concerning the institution of Israelite kingship. Thus, the discourse's opening statement, so to speak, is the law of the king (Deut 17:14–20), in which Yahweh, via Moses, acknowledges the inevitability of kingship in the promised land and even hints at its usefulness—the king should be a purveyor of Yahweh's Torah. However, the law sets unrealistic standards for any kind of actual rule, stripping the royal office of its conventional power (horses, wives, wealth), thereby establishing an obviously *un*conventional, perhaps even "utopian," expectation for Israelite kings. This is not the sort of kingship that was on display in Achaemenid Persia (nor anywhere else in the ancient Mediterranean world for that matter),[3] nor is it

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1. From the inscription on the tomb of Darius I at Naqshi Rustam. Cited in Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–300 BC* (2 vols.; New York: Routledge, 1995), 2:676–77.
2. The Clash, "The Card Cheat," *London Calling* (CBS Records, 1979).
3. In general, kings in the ancient Mediterranean world were rulers with great military, economic, and political power (*or at least they wanted to be seen that way*), power which, according to the prevailing

the sort that Joe Strummer of The Clash had in mind in his poignant rumination on the fate of a common soldier. The king-law in Deuteronomy is something different altogether, atypical for antiquity and modernity alike. Deuteronomy's king is decidedly *unkingly*. This curious law, which is codified in Torah and ultimately concerned with Torah's promulgation, is the precedent for kingship-discourse in ancient Judah. The law is set within a particular narrative timeframe—the expected entrance into and settlement

systems of thought, was a product of the relationship between king and deity. On Persia in particular, see, e.g., Erica Ehrenberg, "*Dieu et mon droit*: Kingship in Late Babylonian and Early Persian Times," in *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond* (ed. Nicole Brisch; Oriental Institute Seminars 4; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2008), 103–31; and Margaret Cool Root, "Defining the Divine in Achaemenid Persian Kingship," in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (ed. Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville; Rulers & Elites: Comparative Studies in Governance 2; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 23–65, with an extensive bibliography. See also, in the volume *Every Inch a King*, the contributions by Christopher Tuplin ("Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*," 67–90), Lynette Mitchell ("Alexander the Great," 91–107), and Kyle Erickson ("Seleucus I, Zeus and Alexander," 109–27), which discuss various aspects of kingship in the Hellenistic world. For more on kingship in the ancient Near East, e.g., Peter Machinist, "Kingship and Divinity in Imperial Assyria," in *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Relgion* (ed. Gary M. Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis; BJS 346; Providence, R.I.: Brown Judaic Studies, 2006), 152–88; Brisch, ed., *Religion and Power*; Hermann Spieckermann, "God and His People: The Concept of Kingship and Cult in the Ancient Near East," in *One God – One Cult – One Nation: Archaeological and Biblical Perspectives* (ed. Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann; BZAW 405; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 341–56; and Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Pious King: Royal Patronage of Temples," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture* (ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 725–51. Although Deuteronomy's king-law wants to undermine the conventional powers of ancient Near Eastern kingship, we will see throughout this study that the Judean literature presents some of Israel's most celebrated rulers (e.g., David and Solomon) as quite conventional ancient Near Eastern kings. That said, one should keep in mind that the kings of the ancient Levant never actually had the kind of extensive power that Egyptian, Mesopotamian, or Persian kings wielded. In the late Bronze/early Iron Age, for example, there were no great palatial structures in the southern Levant, at least nothing like what was on display elsewhere in the ancient Near East. The Amarna letters attest to the existence of kings and kingdoms in the region, but these kings were certainly not like the "Great Kings" of the era. Ugarit in the northern Levant (Ras Shamra in modern-day Syria) provides strong evidence for practices that reflect understandings of divine kingship (this is well-documented and widely discussed; see, e.g., Dennis Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* [ed. Theodore J. Lewis; SBLWAW 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002] texts 6–28, "Prescriptive Sacrifical Rituals" [pp. 25–116]). But the contemporary and nearby city of Emar, where the king apparently did *not* play a central role in socioreligious culture, provides a corrective to overemphasizing the culture of Ugarit in our studies of Levantine kingship (see, e.g., Daniel E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar* [HSS 42; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992], 99–100, 109–10; also *COS* 1:427–43). In any case, it is possible (though perhaps not probable) that some Levantine societies understood the sociopolitical and socioreligous roles of their kings to be somewhat limited, and that this was partly the case in ancient Judah, and that, therefore, the Detueronomic law of the king is perhaps not entirely out of the ordinary. All that considered, the depictions of David and Solomon in the Judean literature nevertheless provide strong evidence that *at least* the Judean literati had ideas about kingship that fell in line with ideas found in the literature of neighboring Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia. Thus, in my estimation, the law of the king is, in its ancient Near Eastern milieu, a strange law indeed.

within the promised land—but as part of the book of Deuteronomy and as part of Torah, it also has an atemporal quality; it creates an ideal for Israelite kingship across time. And, when *re*read in light of Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, it fuels the never-reconciled multivocality of Judean kingship-discourse.[4]

The narratives of Moses and Joshua, too, contribute important statements to the discourse. Whereas the imagined Deuteronomic king is an unkingly king, Moses and Joshua are portrayed as kingly *non*-kings. Moses, of course, is the mediator who speaks Torah to the people (a role normally reserved for kings in the ancient Near East) and who, in the process, elevates the authority of Torah over and above human leadership in Israel. Joshua, his successor, conquers the divinely promised land (another typically kingly duty in the Near East), but the success of the conquest and Israel's continued presence in the land is entirely dependent upon the people's obedience to Torah under Joshua's leadership. The actions of Moses and Joshua, which partially prefigure the deeds of (in)famous Israelite/Judahite kings and which set narrative precedents in the discourse,

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4.   This has been a touchpoint for scholarship on the formation and interrelation of the deuteronomistic books. See, e.g., Jon D. Levenson, "Who Inserted the Book of the Torah?" *HTR* 68 (1975): 203–33; Gerald Eddie Gerbrandt, *Kingship According to the Deuteronomistic History* (SBLDS 87; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 103–16; Gary Knoppers, "The Deuteronomist and the Deuteronomic Law of the King: A Reexamination of a Relationship," *ZAW* 108 (1996): 329–46; idem, "Rethinking the Relationship between Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History: The Case of Kings," *CBQ* 63 (2001): 393–415; J. Gordon McConville, "King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 271–95; Bernard Levinson, "The Reconceptualization of Kingship in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History's Transformation of Torah," *VT* 51 (2001): 511–34; Reinhard Achenbach, "Das sogenannte Königsgesetz in Deuteronomium 17,14–20," *ZABR* 15 (2009): 216–233; Ernest Nicholson, "*Traditum* and *Traditio*: The Case of Deuteronomy 17:14–20," in *Scriptural Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane* (ed. Deborah A. Green and Laura S. Lieber; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 46–61; Thomas Römer, "La loi du roi en Deutéronome 17 et ses fonctions," in *Loi et Justice dans la Littérature du Proche-Orient ancien* (ed. Olivier Artus; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 99–111; Christophe Nihan, "Rewriting Kingship in Samuel: 1 Samuel 8 and 12 and the Law of the King (Deuteronomy 17)," *HeBAI* 2 (2013): 315–50.

are thus complementary to the law of the king itself: each simultaneously reinforces and complicates memories of kingship in ancient Judah.

Taking all of this into account, this chapter works toward understanding the king-law and the figures of Moses and Joshua as primary frames within which the Judean literati remembered kingship. These are foundational memories by which the literati both confirmed and challenged various ideas about kingship past and future in Israel. But before taking a close look at the king-law and the narratives of Moses and Joshua in Judean social memory, I offer a few thoughts on Deuteronomy, the book, which is of course the law of the king's discursive vehicle, and which provides a theological and ideological touchpoint for Judean historiography and for the prophetic books as well.

The Law's Deuteronomic Setting

The king-law in Deuteronomy is indeed curious, but the book itself is curious too. Its genre is elusive: it contains literary features that one might classify as law, prophecy, wisdom, and even historiography, and each generic feature contributed to the book's sociocultural function(s) among its ancient Judean readership.[5] Also, within its larger literary context, at the close of the Pentateuch and the beginning of the DH, the book clearly has a "*boundary* character," as Patrick Miller puts it: "On the one hand the book is shaped or understood by what has preceded it. ... At the same time, Deuteronomy is quite self-consciously instruction for the future, not simply record of the past."[6] It is a liminal

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5.   Cf. Ehud Ben Zvi, "On the Term *Deuteronomistic* in Relation to Joshua–Kings in the Persian Period," in *Raising Up a Faithful Exegete: Essays in Honor of Richard D. Nelson* (ed. K. L. Noll and Brooks Schramm; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 61–71.

6.   Patrick D. Miller, *Deuteronomy* (Interpretation; Louisville, Ky.: John Knox, 1990), 9. Italics original.

book, a multivocal "hinge" that links the first four books of Moses with the historiographical books that follow.[7] While its historiographical character gives it a sense of temporality, its prophetic character gives it a sense of timelessness, and its various other generic tendencies hover between the temporal and atemporal. As such, it is a cornerstone of ancient Judean mnemonic discourse.

Deuteronomy is, as another scholar says, "an act of communication about an act of communication ... a combination of two levels of communication."[8] And within this duality of communication, there are multiple instances of speech. Via a recounting of Moses' final oration, the book looks back at the seminal moments of Israel's youth, recapitulates the divine instruction by which Israel is to live, and serves as a harbinger for Israel's future.

It begins with the statements: "These are the words that Moses spoke to all of Israel" (1:1); "Moses spoke to the Israelites according to all that Yahweh had commanded him (to speak) to them" (1:3); and "Moses began to explain this instruction/ Torah [תורה], saying..." (1:5). In this way it is akin to the prophetic books, representing a dialectic of divine revelation and human mediation in the form of a written text. Notice, however, that the dialectic is couched in third-person narrative, and it has a definite sense of place and time ("the other side of the Jordan," following the long wandering through

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7.　　Thomas C. Römer and Marc Z. Brettler, "Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch," *JBL* 119 (2000): 401–19 (402). Because of the book's liminal character, its place on the border between the Pentateuch and DH, debates over its date and setting have been central in historical-critical scholarship. See, e.g., the lively discussion and bibliographies in Juha Pakkala, "The Date of the Oldest Edition of Deuteronomy," *ZAW* 121 (2009): 388–401; Nathan MacDonald, "Issues and Questions in the Dating of Deuteronomy: A Response to Juha Pakkala," *ZAW* 122 (2010): 431–35; and Juha Pakkala, "The Dating of Deuteronomy: A Response to Nathan MacDonald," *ZAW* 123 (2011): 431–36.
8.　　Jean-Pierre Sonnet, "The Fifth Book of the Pentateuch: Deuteronomy in Its Narrative Dynamic." *JAJ* 3 (2012): 197–234 (198).

the wilderness between Egypt and the promised land [1:1–5]). This gives the dialectic a

historiographical function, by way of an omniscient narrator.[9] Indeed, third-person

notices are a recurring feature in the book, guiding the reader with regard to the contents

of Moses' (and Yaweh's) speech, and the time frame in which the various statements

have occurred or are occurring.[10] One reads both present speech (e.g., Moses' account of

the wilderness wanderings in chs. 1–3) and past speech via quotation or recapitulation

(e.g., Moses' *re*counting of Yahweh's commands on Horeb in 5:5–19), and the various

acts of speech are interlaced with one another. To cite a few more examples, the book

provides its readership with restatements of: divine instruction (תורה), that is, the decrees,

statues, and rules given to Israel when they left Egypt (4:44–45); the words of the

covenant made with Israel in the land of Moab (28:69); and the words of a certain song,

spoken by Moses and Joshua (31:30; cf. 32:1–44) (composed for this occasion or

earlier?). One reads all of these, and more, within the prophetic and historiographical

vehicle of Moses' last address to the people in the land of Moab.

The book thus communicates the voices of Yahweh, of Moses, and of history as it

were, in such a way that the individual voices are overlapping and often difficult to

distinguish.[11] For its late Persian-period readership, it was simultaneously a recounting of

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9.　　The same can be said of the prophetic books. See, e.g., Jer 1:1–3. Indeed, in terms of *function* (but not necessarily form), the prophetic books are often historiographical, i.e., they reveal something about how the Judeans thought about the past, present, and future via written discourse—an important point to keep in mind throughout this study.

10.　　In addition, there are various historical footnotes, as it were, that supplement Moses' speech (e.g., 2:10–12; 3:11).

11.　　On this multivocality in Deuteronomy, see, e.g., the important contributions of Robert Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History*, part 1, *Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges* (New York: Seabury, 1980), 25–72; idem, "Reporting Speech in the Book of Deuteronomy: Toward a Compositional Analysis of the Deuteronomistic History," in *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (ed. Duane L. Christensen; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 3; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1993 [original 1981]), 355–74; and Jean-Pierre Sonnet, *The Book within the Book: Writing in Deuteronomy* (Biblical Interpretation Series 14; Leiden: Brill, 1997). See also

the past and a (re)statement of seminal divine instruction. Because of this, the book looked both backward and forward in time. Again, the story itself was temporal, set on the plains of Moab in the distant past, but its application was atemporal, timeless.

Within Deuteronomy, Yahweh's instruction (תורה), as communicated and written down by Moses in the land of Moab, represents a defining moment in Israel's past, a specific set of remembrances and teachings meant for the people entering the promised land;[12] but it also points to something bigger, to the *concept* of Torah—that is, Yahweh's choosing of and providing for Israel, his overarching guidance of his people, as narrated in the five books of Moses. תורה refers to the specific instructions outlined in the book of Deuteronomy, but it also functions symbolically for *all* of Yahweh's divine instruction, meant to guide Israelite life in perpetuity. In other words, "this תורה" in Deuteronomy (e.g., 4:44)—though it specifically references Moses' speech and its codification in Moab (e.g., 27:3)—becomes a kind of synecdoche for Torah in general, for the memory of Israel's origins and for Yahweh's/Moses' law in its entirety, as recounted in the Pentateuch as a whole (e.g., 31:9–13).[13] תורה, then, simultaneously refers to Moses' final

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the recent work of David A. Bergen, *Dischronology and Dialogic in the Bible's Primary Narrative* (Biblical Intersections 2; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009).

12.   Note, within the book, Moses' insistence on continued teaching of the law at all levels of society (cf. Deut 4:9–10; 6:4–9, 20–25; 31:10–13); see Patrick D. Miller, "'Moses My Servant': The Deuteronomic Portrait of Moses," in *A Song of Power*, 301–12, esp. 303–304.

13.   Cf. Sonnet, "Fifth Book," 202, also 210; idem, *Book within the Book*, 260–62, where he refers to Deuteronomy as a "surrogate" of Mosaic Torah. Sonnet disagrees with those who argue that Deuteronomy, as a book, explicitly refers to *itself* as "Torah" (e.g., Erhard Blum, "Pentateuch-Hexateuch-Enneateuch? Or: How Can One Recognize a Literary Work in the Hebrew Bible?" in *Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch? Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings* [ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Thomas Römer, and Konrad Schmid; SBLAIL 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011], 43–72, esp. 58–59, with additional references). Sonnet's point is well taken: within Deuteronomy's narrated world, the "instruction/Torah" refers specifically to Moses'/Yahweh's recounted speech in Moab (with all its textual complexity), but not to the "book" itself. Thus, I tend to agree with Sonnet that, in these instances, "Torah" does not refer first and foremost to the *book* of Deuteronomy. However, Blum rightly emphasizes that the codification of "instruction/Torah" in Deuteromony also functions as a "metatextual" reference (Blum's terminology), which, within the larger corpora of Judean literature, implicates the book of Deuteronomy (and the entire Pentateuch) as Yahweh's Torah. Hence, one reads repeated references to the "Book of

speech, to the books of Moses (the Pentateuch), and perhaps even to Yahweh himself, as embodied and conceived in his divine instruction and in the authoritative literature of his people (cf. Ps 119).[14] Within the corpora of Judean literature, references to תורה are overdetermined and polyvalent. This is especially relevant for thinking about the law of the king, in which the Israelite king is required to live and to rule by "this תורה."

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Within the liminal, multivocal book of Deuteronomy, one finds the king-law in the book's legal core, in its official record of the "statutes and rules" (החקים והמשפטים) Israel is to follow (chs. 12–26).[15] Moses recites the collection of laws after repeatedly admonishing the people to observe (שמר) them and to observe *themselves*—to remember Yahweh's miraculous rescuing of the people, his covenant with them, and to teach these things to their children—so that they may live long in the promised land.[16]

And within the legal core, the king-law is set amidst a passage of legislation concerned primarily with the official bureaucracy to be established once the people settle in the land, and with the bureaucracy's relation to the cult (16:18–18:22).[17] For the

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Torah"/"Torah of Moses," which point back to the Pentateuchal material in general as a record of divine instruction (cf. Josh 1:8; 8:31; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; 23:25; Mal 3:22) (cf. Thomas Römer, "From Prophet to Scribe: Jeremiah, Huldah, and the Invention of the Book," in *Writing the Bible: Scribes, Scribalism, and Script* [ed. Philip R. Davies and Thomas Römer; Durham: Acumen, 2013], 86–96, esp. 88–89).

14. In this, the longest of Psalms, to know Torah is to know Yahweh; to cling to the divine commandments is to cling to the deity himself. See also Ben Sira, in which Torah embodies wisdom in all its manifestations, that is, as it manifests itself through divine knowledge imparted specially to Israel but also through divine knowledge revealed generally in all of Yahweh's creation. Cf. Otto Kaiser, "Covenant and Law in Ben Sira," in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson* (ed. A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 235–60.

15. Marked by the inclusio of 12:1 and 26:16. Before actually reciting the laws, Moses refers to them a number of times: e.g., 4:1, 5, 8, 14, 45; 5:1, 31; 6:1, 20; 7:11; 11:32.

16. E.g., 4:9, 23, 40; 5:1; 6:2–3; 7:8–9; 8:1–2; 10:13; 11:31–32; etc.

17. Commentators often treat this passage as a unit. E.g., A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (NCBC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1979), 261; Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (JPSTC; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 159 and 453–54; Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 210 and 226; and cf. Miller, *Deuteronomy*, 140–42, who treats this passage along with ch. 19 as a unit. Its unity, however, is a point of debate (see below, n. 19). In any case, it is clear

Judean literati, there was no separation of church and state, so to speak. The legislation—
which sets precedents for kingly as well as judicial, priestly, and prophetic authority—is
directly related to the maintenance of Deuteronomic cultic norms, how Israel and its
leadership are to uphold justice in the face of apostasy (cf. 17:2–13). Notice that the
passage emphasizes "the place that Yahweh your god will have chosen" (המקום אשר יבחר
יהוה אלהיך בו) (17:8; cf. 17:10; 18:6),[18] tying Israel's official bureaucracy back to the key
issue of cultic centralization, which is addressed at the very beginning of the book's legal
core (cf. 12:2–7).[19] Thus, the passage looks forward to a time when Yahweh will have

that various leadership roles are a central theme throughout this passage of text. Also, one should note, the passage interacts with and builds upon legal material found elsewhere, especially material in Deut 12–13. Cf. Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 98–143. On the passage's place in the history of Judean legal and political thought, see also, e.g., Norbert Lohfink, "Distribution of the Functions of Power: The Laws Concerning Public Offices in Deuteronomy 16:18–18:22," in *Song of Power*, 336–52; Lothar Perlitt, "Der Staatsgedanke im Deuteronomium," in *Language, Theology, and the Bible: Essays in Honour of James Barr* (ed. Samuel E. Balentine and John Barton; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 182–98; Walter Dietrich, "History and Law: Deuteronomistic Historiography and Deuteronomic Law Exemplified in the Passage from the Period of the Judges to the Monarchical Period," in *Israel Constructs its History* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 315–42; Anselm C. Hagedorn, *Between Moses and Plato: Individual and Society in Deuteronomy and Ancient Greek Law* (FRLANT 204; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 108–71; Nicholson, "*Traditum*," 47–48, with additional references.

18. This is common Deuteronomic phraseology (cf. 12:5; 14:23; 15:20; 16:2; 26:2; 31:11; etc.). See Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972; repr., Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 4 and 324–26. The book of Deuteronomy never identifies the location of this place, but the book of Kings associates it with Jerusalem (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:44; 11:13; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:27). Scholars have, therefore, long associated this phraseology, sometimes called the "centralization formula," with the rise of Jerusalem as the premier and central cultic site in Israel/Judah. However, the historical context for the phraseology's emergence (and the emergence of Deuteronomic law in general)—whether in the monarchic or post-monarchic period—remains a significant point of scholarly debate. See, e.g., Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 56–65, for discussion. For a detailed survey of Israelite and Judahite cultic sites, see Diana Edelman, "Cultic Sites and Complexes beyond the Jerusalem Temple," in *Religious Diversity in Ancient Israel and Judah* (ed. Francesca Stavrakopoulou and John Barton; London: T&T Clark, 2010), 82–103.

19. Lohfink famously argues that this passage of law served in the postmonarchic period as "a comprehensive piece of legislation concerning the principal functions of power in Israel"; that is, a kind of "constitution" in which the officials of judge, priest, king, and prophet share the power of government but are ultimately subservient to Yahweh's Torah, at the centralized locale of the deity's choosing (see his "Distribution," 343–49 [quote at 345]; cf. Levinson, "Reconceptualization," 512). I agree that the passage elevates Torah as the ultimate source of authority, over and above any official bureaucracy, but seeing this section of legislation as a unified and comprehensive "constitution" is not without problems. Although there are thematic links throughout the passage, it is not necessarily a coherent whole, concerned

finally established a unique abode for himself in the promised land (cf. 12:5), a place where his chosen people will devote themselves to his worship, and where specially appointed officials will ensure the sanctity of such devotion. For the literati of the late Persian period, this place was Jerusalem, home to Yahweh's temple(s) and the seat of Israelite kingship, as it actually was and as it was imagined.[20] Here, amidst legislation in the book of Deuteronomy, is where one finds the law of the king.

The Law

Deuteronomy 17:14–20, the law of the king, reads:

(14) כי־תבא אל־הארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך וירשתה וישבתה בה ואמרת אשימה עלי מלך
ככל־הגוים אשר סביבתי: (15) שום תשים עליך מלך אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך בו מקרב אחיך תשים
עליך מלך לא תוכל לתת עליך איש נכרי אשר לא־אחיך הוא: (16) רק לא־ירבה־לו סוסים ולא־ישיב
את־העם מצרימה למען הרבות סוס ויהוה אמר לכם לא תספון לשוב בדרך הזה עוד: (17) ולא
ירבה־לו נשים ולא יסור לבבו וכסף וזהב לא ירבה־לו מאד: (18) והיה כשבתו על כסא ממלכתו
וכתב לו את־משנה התורה הזאת על־ספר מלפני הכהנים הלוים: (19) והיתה עמו וקרא בו כל־ימי
חייו למען ילמד ליראה את־יהוה אלהיו לשמר את־כל־דברי התורה הזאת ואת־החקים האלה לעשתם:
(20) לבלתי רום־לבבו מאחיו ולבלתי סור מן־המצוה ימין ושמאול למען יאריך ימים על־ממלכתו
הוא ובניו בקרב ישראל:

> [14] When you come into the land that Yahweh your God is giving to you, and you take possession of it and settle in it, and you say, "I will set over me a king, like all the nations that surround me," [15] you may indeed set over you a king, whom Yahweh your God will choose. From among your brothers you may set over you a king; you may not put over you a foreigner, who is not one of your brothers. [16] However, he shall not acquire for himself many horses, nor shall he bring the people back to Egypt in order to acquire many horses, for Yahweh has

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exclusively with the distribution of bureaucratic power. For instance, 18:1–8 deals with payments due to the levitical priests, but has nothing to say about their duties or roles as officials. Moreover, the prophet in 18:15–20, though he certainly commands great power as Yahweh's spokesperson, is not a government official per se. Cf. Nicholson, "*Traditum*," 47–48, who draws on the work of Perlitt, "Staatsgedanke."

20.   That is, those reading the entire corpora of Judean literature would have understood "the place that Yahweh your god will have chosen" as Jerusalem; taking into account the DH, Chronicles, etc., one would be hard pressed to see this locale as anywhere other than the Judean capital. However, one should also keep in mind that the Pentateuch, and thus Deuteronomy, was a text shared with Samaria. Deuteronomy does not specifically identify this locale (cf. Deut 12), and so Samaritans in the north could have easily understood the text as referring to their own capital. See, e.g., Gary N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 178–216.

said to you, "You may never again return on this path." [17] And he shall not acquire for himself many wives, lest he turn aside his heart;[21] neither great amounts of silver nor gold shall he acquire for himself. [18] As soon as he sits upon the throne of his kingdom, he shall write for himself a copy of this instruction/Torah upon a scroll in the presence of the levitical priests. [19] It shall remain with him and he shall read from it all the days of his life, so that he may learn to fear Yahweh his God, to keep all the words of this instruction/Torah, to do these prescriptions, [20] neither exalting his mind/heart above his brothers, nor turning aside to the right or the left from this commandment, so that the days of his kingdom (he and his descendants) may be long in the midst of Israel.

Notice that the law begins with כי "when," and recall that the book presents itself as a record of Moses' past speech, which, in its own temporal present, deals with both past and future. Deuteronomy—in its duality of communication and its blending of prophetic and historiographical functions—establishes a *plupast* and a *future past* for its readers.[22] From the vantage point of the distant Mosaic past, it looks, at once, backward and forward in time. One way it looks forward is through its many "if/when" statements, like the one found in 17:14. Mark Hamilton observes, "Deuteronomy accomplishes the neat trick of writing history predictively in part by placing in Moses' mouth statements beginning with 'when you come into the land',"[23] and he comments further, "All of these passages offer, then, a view of Israel's future from the point of view of 'Moses.' Yet from the point of view of the readers of the book, this survey is in fact retrospective."[24]

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21.   On reading ולא יסור לבבו as a dependent clause, see GKC §109g.
22.   On the concept of plupast, see *Time and Narrative in Ancient Historiography: The 'Plupast' from Herodotus to Appian* (ed. Jonas Grethlein and Christopher B. Krebs; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
23.   E.g., Deut 6:18; 7:1; 17:14; 18:9; 23:21; 26:1, 3; 27:3; 30:16. Mark W. Hamilton, "The Past as Destiny: Historical Visions in Sam'al and Judah under Assyrian Hegemony," *HTR* 91 (1998): 215–50 (233).
24.   Hamilton, "Past as Destiny," 235. Of course, this "neat trick" is common to all prophetic books, which write history predictively via the mouths and points of view of their eponymous prophets, who stand in the past.

These "when" statements, within the narrative framwork of Deuteronomy,

themselves generate "mini-plots" for the readership; they create anticipation with regard

to the immediate temporal setting of the narrative (the people's preparing to enter

Canaan), and with regard to the legal import of the statements for the community going

forward (the people's ongoing dedication to Torah).[25] The statements function within the

immediate narrative context of Deuteronomy, and within the larger, ongoing story of

Israel as a people devoted to Yahweh's Torah.

With the law of the king, in particular, its opening statement seems to have a more

"concrete temporal import, associated to a non-repeatable history," in the words of Jean-

Pierre Sonnet.[26] Unlike the more general laws (If a man does so and so...), which are

"omnitemporal,"[27] the law of the king is linked with what immediately follows in the

overarching narrative—the entry into and conquest of the land. It is even given specific

qualifiers. Not only does it say, "When you come into the land..."; it also says, "(When)

you take possession of it and settle in it," and then, "(When) you say, 'I will set over me a

king...'." According to this piece of predictive history from the mouth of Moses, which

has its own future-oriented mini-plot, the people will ask for a king only once the land is

entered, possessed, and settled.[28] As we will see in detail later in this study, this has

ramifications for how one understands the emergence of kingship narrated in 1 Samuel,

and how one understands the purpose(s), successes, and failures of kingship throughout

the Judean literature.

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25.   Cf. Jean-Pierre Sonnet, "If-Plots in Deuteronomy," *VT* 63 (2013): 453–70.
26.   Sonnet, "If-Plots," 460.
27.   Sonnet, "If-Plots," 459.
28.   Cf. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 223: "The two preliminary requisites for kinship [*sic*] are a completed conquest and a wish to have a king. The initial *kî* is both temporal and conditional: 'when' you enter and 'if' these conditions are met."

Now, I certainly agree with Sonnet's point concerning the concrete temporality of the "when" statement in 17:14, but it is important not to write off the *omnitemporal* quality of the king-law as a whole, within its Deuteronomic context. The opening clause in 17:14 provides a temporal context for the initial request for a king, but the Deuteronomic conceptualization of kingship, presented by the prophet Moses and codified in Torah, would presumably apply to any Israelite king going forward. After all, here in Deuteronomy the ultimate goal of kingship is to obey and promote Torah, *so that the king's dynasty may endure*, presumably indefinitely (cf. 17:20; more below). As an important aspect of Mosaic Torah and as the opening statement of kingship-discourse, I argue, the law of the king serves as a principal framing device for the Judean memory of kingship. As such it would not have been easily forgotten, nor would it lack import for understandings of postmonarchic kingship in Judah. Without a doubt, the king-law would have continually informed (and haunted) memories and imaginings of kingship among the Judean literati.

With the law of the king serving as a principle frame, going forward, one finds two basic narrative paths regarding kingship, which are mostly at odds with one another, and which become fully realized in the DH and Chronicles (See more in Chapters 3 and 4). On the one hand, the king, as envisioned in Deuteronomy, has limited political power—in traditional Near Eastern terms—but this limitation of power is meant to *empower* Torah and the people's obedience to it. In this case, the limitation or restriction of traditional kingly power benefits the people by turning the king into a supreme example of Torah-devotion. On the other hand, there are David and Solomon, the ideal kings of Israel's "Golden Age" who, in some ways, ironically embody the political power

that Deuteronomy wants to avoid—military clout, great wealth, foreign political

alliances, active cultic leadership, and so on—and who, by utilizing such kingly power,

are able to build an extensive and successful Israelite kingdom and build Yahweh's

temple in Jerusalem.[29] In this case, traditional Near Eastern kingly power actually serves

as a plus for the people by fulfilling the Deuteronomic vision of cultic centralization in

"the place that Yahweh your god will have chosen," and thus it serves as an affirmation

of Torah. In the midst of these two narrative perspectives, during the story of Israelite

kingship's emergence, one finds Samuel's speech about the king (1 Sam 8:11–18), which

argues that *both* perspectives are impossible. Kings will, by necessity, attain great

political power, and this power will be used not for the people's benefit (or for the

promulgation of Torah), but to the detriment of the people (see Chapter 3). The

Deuteronomic king-law opens up this discourse.

On top of all this, one cannot forget that the king is understood to be optional.

Deuteronomy 17:14 predicts that the people will, in fact, make the request for a king, but

Deuteronomy never presents the institution as essential or necessary for realizing

Deuteronomic norms, for guaranteeing the success of the Israelite people.[30] It is a desire

of the people, a desire that will be granted by Yahweh; but in Deuteronomy the institution

is not seen as foundational, and it may exist only under certain conditions.

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29.   On Solomon in particular, see, e.g., Lauren Chomyn, "A Utopian Moment: Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, and the Negotiation of Utopia and Tragedy in 1 Kgs 1–11" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 2014).
30.   Unlike kingship in Mesopotamia, for example, which was understood to be the basis for civilization, culture, and human contact with the divine. See, e.g., the Sumerian King List, in which kingship is described as descending from heaven at the dawn of civiliation ("The Chronicle of the Single Monarchy," in Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles* [ed. Benjamin R. Foster; SBLWAW 19; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004], 117–26).

The second half of 17:14 is a direct quotation of the people's predicted desire.

The people proclaim, "I will set over me a king, like all the nations that surround me."

The phrase ככל־הגוים ("like all the nations") provides a conundrum for readers.[31] What

exactly does it mean to have a king "like all the nations"? Is it not problematic to institute

a political office that brings Israel in line with the surrounding people groups? Being

similar to the peoples of Canaan is something that the book of Deuteronomy repeatedly

and explicitly warns against (e.g., 7:1–5).[32] Having a king will necessarily make the

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31.   Grammatically, the phrase could function either adverbially or prepositionally. So NJPS, for example, translates, "...*as do* all the nations...," suggesting that the *action* of setting a king over oneself is akin to the actions and practices of other nations. NRSV takes the prepositional approach (as I do here), rendering the phrase, "...*like* all the nations...." This latter option suggests that Israel desires a particular political office, kingship, which one finds in the neighboring nations. In the Hebrew, the adverb/preposition כ follows directly on the heels of the noun מלך, which implies the latter reading. Although the distinction is subtle, it does have implications for how one understands the text in its Deuteronomic context. The former option, which makes it seem that Israel is acting like Canaanites, has a more condemnatory tone—acting like a Canaanite is certainly something an Israelite should not do (cf. 18:9). However, as I argue below, the latter option makes the request purely political, stripping it of any sociocultural, ethnic overtones.

32.   The book of Deuteronomy, as a whole, bridges concerns of sociocultural(/ethnic) and geopolitical(/national) identities. It is concerned with the definition of, interrelationship between, and maintenance of cultural and geographical boundaries in ancient Israel(/Judah). Cf. E. Theodore Mullen Jr., *Narrative History and Ethnic Boundaries: The Deuteronomistic Historian and the Creation of Israelite National Identity* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 55–85. As Carly Crouch argues in her recent work, many of the sociocultural concerns and debates reflected in the book likely have their roots in the late Iron Age, during Judah's monarchic period, especially in the seventh century BCE (*The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy* [VTSup 162; Leiden: Brill, 2014]; cf. Ian D. Wilson, "Judean Pillar Figurines and Ethnic Identity in the Shadow of Assyria," *JSOT* 36 [2012]: 259–78, which investigates the role of material culture in Judah's identity discourse during the Neo-Assyrian era). However, *pace* Crouch, I seriously doubt that Deuteronomy's king-law has any roots in the monarchic era (see Crouch, *Making of Israel*, 177–84). It is difficult to see how a strongly political text such as Deut 17:14–17 would have had any cultural capital among literati in monarchic Judah, who were almost certainly associated in some way with the *actual* Judahite king. Do we know of any highly literate groups in the ancient Near East who were *not* directly connected to and in support of the political powers that be? In what monarchic-period social context would the production of such a text likely have taken place? In other words, why would the literati bite the hand that fed them? This, to me, is the biggest problem for any attempt to date the king-law to the monarchic era, and the problem often goes unaddressed by scholars who see the king-law as a monarchic-era product (e.g., most recently, Baruch Halpern, "Between Elective Autocracy and Democracy: Formalizing Biblical Constitutional Theory," in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist* [ed. David S. Vanderhooft and Abraham Winitzer; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2013], 165–83, esp. 176–82). There are texts from the ancient Near East that, one can argue, represent somewhat critical stances against the institution of kingship; the Kirta legend from Ugarit (*CAT* 1.14–16) is an example (see Edward L. Greenstein, trans., "Kirta," in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* [ed. Simon B. Parker; SBLWAW 9; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997], 9–48, for text, translation, and commentary; also *COS* 1:334–43); cf. Gary N. Knoppers, "Dissonance and Disaster in the Legend of

Israelites similar to the Canaanites in terms of *political structure*. However, the rest of the king-law makes it clear that having a king does not necessarily make one *culturally* similar to the surrounding nations. Kingship, in and of itself, is simply a political office. מלך is the title for a monarchical leader, not a sociocultural norm or practice per se. This is clear in the stipulations Yahweh places upon the office in Israel. The issue is not the office *an sich*, but the function and powers of that office within the society. Later, within the same passage of legislation (16:18–18:22), the very same issue comes up concerning the functions of cultic figures (18:9–14): Israel has (and will have) priests and prophets, but they are not to perform tasks such as child sacrifice and necromancy, things that the surrounding nations do. From Deuteronomy's perspective, Israel's Canaanite neighbors have kings—and "priests" and "prophets" as well—but the Israelite understanding of these institutions is wholly other. Yahweh thus grants the right to establish kingship upon entering and settling in the promised land, but, in the same breath, fundamentally alters the political institution as it is known in the ancient Near Eastern world, creating a distinctly Israelite version of the political office, just as Israelite priests and prophets were also to be distinct.

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The Israelites may have the political office of king, like the other nations, but Yahweh, Israel's chief deity (cf. 6:4; 32:8–9 [LXX]), has specific ideas concerning the nature of the office. First of all, Yahweh himself will choose (בחר) the king, just as he

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Kirta," *JAOS* 114 (1994): 572–82; also Nicolas Wyatt, "The Hollow Crown: Ambivalent Elements in West Semitic Royal Ideology," *UF* 18 (1986): 421–36. The Deuteronomic king-law, though, is not a legend that offers a veiled critique of the institution and its problems in general; it is a legal text that puts direct limitations upon the office of king in Israel. Thus, I have difficulties envisioning the law of the king as a creation of monarchic-era literati.

chose/will choose the people themselves (e.g., 4:37; 7:6; 10:15; etc.), the central place of worship (e.g., 12:5; 14:23; 16:2, etc.), and the levitical servants and priesthood (e.g., 18:5; 21:5). Carly Crouch writes, "If Israel's king cannot be distinguished from non-Israelite kings in his royal capacity as such, he should be distinguished by virtue of the Israelite deity who renders him royal."[33] The king is to be an exclusive Yahwist by association (Yahweh alone appoints him; 17:15) and by practice (he devotes himself solely to Yahweh; 17:19). Moreover, the king is to be exclusively Israelite. The law leaves no doubt about this, giving both positive and negative commands with regards to the king's family lineage: he is to be from among the Israelites ("your brothers") and *not* a foreigner. Notice that the prohibition on foreigners uses the particularly forceful verb לא תוכל ("you may not/are not allowed").[34] Notice, too, that the law places the successful king and dynasty "in the midst of Israel" (בקרב ישראל) (17:20), a phrase with great import for the discourse (more below).

The no-foreigner stipulation, which one would think goes without saying,[35] is obviously directly related to issues of social identity, and points to a discourse concerned with international politics and perhaps even imperialism. Within the Judean literature, it sets the stage for narratives that have a pronounced negative take on foreign influences on the monarchy: for example, Jezebel the Phoenician's marriage to Ahab (1 Kgs 16:29–33);[36] or Ahaz's submission to Tiglash-pileser III, which makes the Assyrian a de facto

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33. Crouch, *Making of Israel*, 179; cf. the comments of Assnat Bartor, *Reading Law as Narrative: A Study in the Casuistic Laws of the Pentateuch* (SBLAIL 5; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 47.
34. Cf. Ernest Nicholson, "'Do Not Dare to Set a Foreigner Over You': The King in Deuteronomy and 'The Great King'." *ZAW* 118 (2006): 46–61 (47–48); cf. idem, *Deuteronomy and the Judaean Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 117–34, which contains a revision of the *ZAW* article.
35. Kings were, naturally, meant to be locals, or at least were construed that way.
36. E.g., Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 272.

ruler of Judah (2 Kgs 16:7–9).[37] In any case, the prohibition on foreigners in the office of king, in the words of Andrew Mayes, "strengthen[s] the positive demand that the king must be a member of the covenant people."[38]

Beyond the literary context, however, within the larger context of Persian Judah's cultural system, the stipulation helped defend the boundaries of Judean identity with regard to ideal political leadership in a postmonarchic, imperialized milieu. It helped conceive an ideal for kingship that is wholly Yahwistic and wholly "Israelite," within an ancient Near Eastern political climate dominated by non-Judean/Israelite power. By the late Persian period, Judah had been under the control of imperial governance for several centuries. The prohibition of foreign kings, as codified in the prophetically historiographical (or historiographically prophetic) book of Deuteronomy, framed the memory of Israelite/Judahite kingship past, and it guided the imagination of ideal kingship future.

With the law, one could find support for placing some amount of historical blame on outsiders: it justifies readings of the literature that would emphasize the impact of foreign figures—like Solomon's wives, for example, or Mesopotamian emperors—on the eventual downfall of Judah's kingdom in the past. To be sure, there is never actually a foreign king seated directly on Israel's or Judah's throne in the historiographical literature, but by allowing a foreign royal family to marry into the Israelite royal line, or by ceding any power to rule to a foreign entity, one is granting some level of power within the Israelite/Judahite political realm to a foreigner. In other words, from this

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37.   E.g., Nicholson, "Do Not Dare"; also idem, "*Traditum*," 51–52; and cf. idem, *Deuteronomy*, 108–109 and 120–22. Note, however, that 2 Chron 28:20 claims that Tiglath-pileser did not come to Judah's aid, balancing the picture one finds in 2 Kings.
38.   Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 272.

historiographical perspective, if only Israelite kingship had avoided foreign influence and connections, the litany of apostasies that eventually led to the kingdom's collapse might never have happened. Note, for example, how Chronicles depicts Ahaz's apostasy as a corollary of his turning to foreign aid in a moment of desperation (2 Chron 28:22).[39] Of course, Judean literati could not have seen this as an excuse for the kings of old, for Torah had warned them all along of the disastrous effects of outside influence, as the historiography makes clear (e.g., 2 Kgs 17:13–21).

For the Persian-period community, the law, too, combined with the anti-foreign-influence readings of Israelite law and historiography, established a precedent for any and all future Israelite kings imagined in the Judean literature. Any king over Israel was to be a Yahwist and an Israelite, or he was nothing. This was obviously true for the images of Yahweh as king, as it was for the various depictions of a future Davidide. The "shoot" from the "stump of Jesse" in Isaiah 11 is a prime example. This Davidide is imagined as one who will rule with superhuman senses. He is a type of ruler the world has never seen. Within the passage of Isaiah 10–12, this future Davidic king is juxtaposed with the

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39.　　This is part of the Chronistic tendency to keep foreigners and Israelites categorically separate. In Chronicles, there are seemingly only insiders and outsiders; making political alliances represents a grey area that goes against the book's ideological grain. See, e.g., Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (trans. Anna Barber; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2009 [original 1989]), 261–74. One finds a similar system of thought in Assyria, where the king was understood to be the only person capable of and necessary for his divinely appointed tasks; to make alliances, as weak foreign kings did, was to question the absolute power of Assur and the Assyrian pantheon. See, e.g., Mario Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire," in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (ed. Mogens Trolle Larsen; Mesopotamia 7; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 297–317, esp. 310–11; also C. L. Crouch, *War and Ethics in the Ancient Near East: Military Violence in Light of Cosmology and History* (BZAW 407; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 38–48 and passim. This tendency is also present, to a certain extent, in the DH. See, e.g., Nadav Na'aman, "The Deuteronomist and Voluntary Servitude to Foreign Powers," *JSOT* 65 (1995): 37–53. There are, however, notable exceptions. Asa's alliance with Ben-Hadad of Aram (1 Kgs 15:18–20) perhaps receives some implicit criticism in the literature (cf. Na'aman, "Deuteronomist and Volunatry Servitude," 45), but on the whole the king's life and deeds garner a very positive assessment in the DH (cf. 1 Kgs 15:9–15). And Hiram of Tyre is portrayed as a *positive* foreign influence on the Israelite monarchy. As an ally of David and Solomon, he helps advance Israel's economic power, and supplies builders and building supplies for the Jerusalem temple.

Assyrian tyrant in such a way that promotes a unique vision of Israelite kingship, while subverting ancient Near Eastern conventions of power and promoting Yahweh's absolute control over the cosmos (see more in Chapter 5). Thus, the king of Israel was to be Israelite in terms of his lineage, a part of Yahweh's covenant people, which set him apart from other kings, but he was also to be distinct in his method of rule, making the *practice* of Israelite kingship unique (more below).

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This raises the question: What is an Israelite? This is a question that I can hardly begin to approach here,[40] but suffice it to say that the discourse on kingship stretches the boundaries of Israelite identity, as it is conceived throughout most of the Judean corpus of literature.

Cyrus of Persia is the foremost example.[41] Although the literature never refers to Cyrus as "king of Israel," readers certainly construed him as such. He is Yahweh's anointed (משיח), one whom the deity knows personally, and for whom the deity fights (Isa 45:1–7).[42] In Chronicles, there is a strong thematic link between the temple, David and

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40. There is an abundance of work on Israelite identity, both as it appears in the Judean literature and in the archaeological record. In addition to the already mentioned works of Mullen, *Narrative History*; and Crouch, *Making of Israel*; see, e.g., Peter Machinist, "The Question of Distinctiveness in Ancient Israel" in *Essential Papers on Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. Frederick E. Greenspahn; New York: NYU Press, 1991 [original 1990]), 420–42; Kenton L. Sparks, *Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Israel: Prolegomena to the Study of Ethnic Sentiments and Their Expression in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998); Avraham Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis: Settlement, Interaction, Expansion, and Resistance* (London: Equinox, 2006); Philip R. Davies, *The Origins of Biblical Israel* (LHBOTS 485; New York: T&T Clark, 2008); James C. Miller, "Ethnicity and the Hebrew Bible: Problems and Prospects," *CBR* 6 (2008): 170–213.

41. See Ian Douglas Wilson, "Yahweh's Anointed: Cyrus, Deuteronomy's Law of the King, and Yehudite Identity," in *Political Memory in and after the Persian Period* (ed. Caroline Waerzeggers and Jason M. Silverman; SBLANEM; Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming 2015).

42. Isa 45:4–5 emphasizes the point that Cyrus had not known the deity, but this is ultimately inconsequential with regard to Cyrus's "Israelite-ness." It is clear, in the context of Isa 44:24–45:7 and in the discourse as a whole, that Cyrus is meant to learn and know of Yahweh's identity and purposes. Cf. 2 Chron 36:23, where the Persian king calls the deity יהוה אלהי השמים ("Yahweh, god of the heavens") and knows the deity's plans for him. Contrast this with the Greek views of Cyrus, which saw the Persian as an

Solomon, and Cyrus: the temple is David's initiative, passed down to his son Solomon (1 Chron 28), and Chronicles' historiography concludes with Cyrus restoring the Davidic initiative, as per Yahweh's command (2 Chron 36:22–23; cf. Isa 44:24–28). Yahweh has charged the Persian king with restoring the temple in Jerusalem, to reunite the people with Yahweh there. Therefore, Cyrus—remembered as the one who defeated Babylon and restored Israel to its promised land and city[43]—was imagined as David, Yahweh's shepherd and temple builder, the foremost Israelite king (Isa 44:28; cf. 2 Sam 5:2//1 Chron 11:2). The Persian was thus cast in the same mold as Yahweh's anointed son (cf. Ps 2). "Cyrus," writes Joseph Blenkinsopp, "has taken the place of the Davidic royal house, at least for the time being...."[44]

This is curious, for Cyrus is clearly not an "Israelite" in the typical sense of the term. He is not a descendent of Jacob, nor did Yahweh rescue any of his ancestors from Egyptian bondage and bring them to the promised land. Moreover, Cyrus seems an unlikely fit for the role of Deuteronomic king, whose dynasty is meant to last long "in the midst of Israel" (בקרב ישראל) (Deut 17:20)—Cyrus is never remembered explicitly as an *Israelite* dynast *in* Israel, a definite tension in the discourse. Blenkinsopp therefore states,

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admirable ruler, but which nonetheless understood him to be entirely "other" and thus ultimately flawed. Cf. Lynette Mitchell, "Remembering Cyrus the Persian: Exploring Monarchy and Freedom in Classical Greece," in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 283–92.

43. See also Ezra 1.

44. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55* (AB 19A; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 249. Blenkinsopp argues that all of Isaiah 40–48 pertains to Cyrus as Yahweh's servant. See also his recent comments on the issue in *David Remembered: Kingship and National Identity in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013), 64–70; and cf. John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34–66* (WBC 25; Waco: Word Books, 1987), 109–79.

"[W]e suspect not all of the prophet's audience would have agreed with [this affirmation of Cyrus]."[45]

On account of this, Anselm Hagedorn suggests that the non-foreigner injunction in Deut 17:15b, in its postmonarchic context, was meant to counter the Isaianic (and Chronistic) depiction of Cyrus as one of Yahweh's specially chosen kings.[46] Hagedorn makes an important observation here, but one that I would approach from a slightly different angle. Rather than seeing the king-law's distaste for foreigners as a response to pro-Persian statements in Judean discourse, I suggest that the images of Cyrus, as part of Judah's mnemonic system in the late Persian era, provided a minority report—"radical" in its formulation and implications[47]—on what it meant to be an Israelite king, and by extension, what it meant to be an Israelite altogether. In other words, instead of having the king-law provide a corrective to pro-Cyrus (and thus pro-foreigner) sentiments, these hopeful visions of Cyrus provided another authoritative take on what constituted the identity of Israelite political leadership in the postmonarchic era. Not all of Isaiah's or Chronicles' audience would have agreed with this affirmation of Cyrus, but some certainly did. To support Cyrus's role as Yahweh's anointed king and temple builder, literati would have sought continuities between Cyrus and Israelite kingship. There was no past king that represented Israel more than David; Cyrus was, therefore, remembered as a kind of Davidide, as an Israelite king par excellence. From this symbolic perspective, I argue, the "foreigner" Cyrus remained partly within the bounds of the Deuteronomic

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45.   Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, 249.
46.   Hagedorn, *Between Moses and Plato*, 141.
47.   Blenkinsopp, *David Remembered*, 70.

king-law (at least as much as David did) and concomitantly altered what it meant to be a "foreigner" with regard to that law.

That said, I do not want to give the impression that memories of Cyrus somehow fulfilled the Deuteronomic king-law. He is not the king Deuteronomy envisions: the discourse never portrays him as reading or meditating upon Torah. But one can say the same about Israel's own great kings. Indeed, as mentioned above, David himself has a hard time meeting the requirements of Deuteronomy (Solomon too). Via David, Cyrus carries the mark of "Israelite-ness," but he is nonetheless the "king of Persia" (cf. 2 Chron 36:22–23). In some respects he remains an outsider, simply an agent of Yahweh's purposes, like all other foreign kings. Again, we must wrestle with what amounts to two discontinuous strands of thought: (1) the Torah-promulgating king of Deuteronomy, who has no real political power; and (2) the politically powerful Near Eastern king, embodied in David and Solomon (and Cyrus), whose divinely-granted powers ensure the construction of Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem. Despite the *con*vergence between Cyrus and David, there is an undeniable *di*vergence between Cyrus (and David and Solomon) and the law of the king. The relationship between Cyrus and David likely stretched understandings of the king-law, but it did not eliminate the general discursive tension that existed between the king-law and Davidic kingship.

Also, one is still left with the problem of a dynasty בקרב ישראל (Deut 17:20). Historically speaking, we know that Cyrus's own dynasty became a problem,[48] and the narratives of Samuel and Kings portray David's dynasty as no less problematic. Perhaps

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48. On the troubles of Cyrus's dynasty and Darius's rise to power, see, e.g., Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East*, 2:664–67; Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (trans. Peter T. Daniels; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 107–38.

not surprisingly, dynasty is a recurring issue in the discourse (more below). But what about the qualification "in the midst of Israel"? In Deuteronomy, the phrase בקרב ישראל refers to presence among the *people* of Israel, not necessarily presence in the land.[49] As Yahweh's anointed, as one functioning in the role of a Davidide, the readership could have easily understood Cyrus to be a symbolic member of the Israelite people—one "in their midst," despite a lack of physical nearness to or presence in the land.[50] Like the Mesopotamians Noah and Abraham, then, Cyrus functions as an important symbol of "Israelite-ness," one who faithfully responds to Yahweh's call to service, despite his not actually being an Israelite. In this way he certainly shaped the literati's understandings of empire and of kingship, as it is framed in the discourse.[51]

These tensions aside, the undeniable convergence in the figures of Cyrus and David must have impacted readings of the king-law in the late Persian period. There is no question that David was understood to be an Israelite, and there is no question that Cyrus was understood to be a type of Davidide. Cyrus's "otherness," writes Ehud Ben Zvi, "is consistently blurred."[52] This fuzzy vision of Cyrus's identity, in turn, would have forced the literati to (re)consider the meaning of the prohibition against foreigners in the king-

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49.   See Deut 11:6; 21:8; also cf. Exod 17:7; 33:5; Num 11:4; Josh 7:13; 1 Sam 4:3; etc. However, in a few instances the phrase may refer to either the people or the physical land (e.g., Josh 6:25). Of course, on the whole, the people and the land are practically inextricable, but at least here within Deuteronomy the phrase points toward the people.

50.   Similarly, those in the diaspora were thought to be part of "Israel" despite their distance from the land of Israel, and, in at least one strand of thought, literati looked forward to the day when all would return to the land (e.g., Isa 11:11–15).

51.   While Persian kingship is glorified, Assyrian and Babylonian kingship is denigrated, especially in the prophetic books (with the occasional exception of Nebuchadnezzar; cf. MT Jer 25:9; 27:6; 43:10 [but not LXX]; see Jonathan Stökl, "Nebuchadnezzar: History, Memory, and Myth-Making in the Persian Period," in *Remembering Biblical Figures*, 257–69, esp. 262–67). Assyria and Babylon function as foils to Persia in the kingship-discourse, presenting a strongly negative take on imperialism and foreign kingship. See more in Chapter 5.

52.   Ehud Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2006), 279.

law, and would have pushed the limits of Israel's (the people's) sociocultural boundaries. The convergence between David and Cyrus likely provided one means for balancing out criticisms of empire, and for helping Judah deal with the realities of its marginalized and subjugated place in an imperialized world. Israelite and Persian kingship were hybridized. The literati, in this way, partly appropriated the Great King of Persia as their own, and in turn expanded the horizons of Israelite kingship-identity in Judah's postmonarchic era. In certain cases, within Judean memory, even a Persian emperor could function as a proper, Yahwistic king of Israel, with his Davidic persona fulfilling the requirements of identity as prescribed in Deuteronomy's king-law.[53]

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While Deut 17:15 is concerned with identity, who can be king of Israel and who cannot, 17:16–20 outlines what an Israelite king, once installed, should and should not *do*. The limitations placed upon him and the main action required of him (to read and meditate upon Torah) made the ideal king of Israel decidedly *non*-kingly, at least by the ancient Near Eastern conventions for the office.[54] This Torah-ideal ultimately complicated the process of remembering past kingship in postmonarchic Judah.

According to the law, the king must not acquire many horses, nor may he send the people back to Egypt to acquire horses (17:16). The law even provides what one might call a divine "prooftext" for this injunction ("You may never again return on this path"),

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53. Notice, too, that Cyrus' military power, his wealth and prestige, any hints of self-aggrandizement, etc., are conveniently *forgotten* in the Judean depictions of him (unlike the depictions of Assyrian and Babylonian kings). To be sure, he is credited with great power and even "goods/treasures" (אוצרות) (Isa 45:3), but the literature makes it clear, especially in Isaiah 45, that these actually belong to Yahweh, and that these divine gifts are for the exclusive purpose of making known Israel and Yahweh himself.
54. Cf. McConville, "King and Messiah," 276–77.

although the Judean literature contains no other text that actually cites this quote from Yahweh.[55] Symbolically, the stipulation functions on multiple levels in the discourse.

First, as commentators often point out, it implies that having "many horses" is an act of haughtiness, even hubris: to revel in the quantity (and/or quality)[56] of one's posessions or to rely on the strength of those possessions instead of Yahweh's might is not becoming of an Israelite leader and is ultimately cause for divine judgement (cf. Isa 2:7–9; Mic 5:9–14 [Eng. 5:10–15]).[57] One can say the same with regard to the injunction against amassing great amounts of silver and gold, in 17:17.

Second, the command not to send people to Egypt for horses had symbolic sociopolitical ramifications for the Judean literati. Egypt was a constant thorn in the Persian empire's side, and its successful revolt against the empire around 400 BCE subsequently led to an increased Persian presence in the southern Levant, a presence that no doubt impacted Judean views of Egypt and the empire.[58] To imagine engaging in any kind of trade with Egypt, especially trade for military or prestigious resources, would have been to upset the ideal status quo within the imperial regime. Now, this is *not* to say that Judeans (or even Persians) were not trading goods with Egyptians during the fourth century—they most definitely were. Also, the province of Yehud had no military and,

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55. See Gerhard von Rad, *Deuteronomy* (trans. Dorothea Barton; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), 119–20. The closest one finds is Exod 14:13 and especially Deut 28:68, but these are promises rather than commands (cf. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 167). In light of these verses, it is possible to read Yahweh's quote in 17:16 as a promise, but such a promise, within its legal context, would necessarily imply a command too (cf. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 224).
56. Yutaka Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (ed. Tomoo Ishida; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 215–38, shows that kings of the ancient Near East often attained horses and chariots (via purchase or gift/tribute) for ornamental and ceremonial purposes, not only for their obvious military value.
57. E.g., Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 272; Miller, *Deuteronomy*, 148; Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 224.
58. See Chapter 1.

according to the archaeological record, had very little wealth,[59] so acquiring Egyptian horses is probably not something Judeans would have seriously considered. The point is, the king-law's barring of horse trade with Egypt contributes to an extensive pro-Persia/anti-Egypt ideology, that is, a thought-system in which Persia's political enemies are Judah's, and in which to deal with the enemy leads to destruction (cf. Jer 2:18; 24:8–10; 42:13–22). One finds texts with similar resonance in the prophetic books, in which Yahweh calls Israel/Judah "rebellious children" for considering an alliance with the Egyptians and their horses (Isa 30:1; cf. 31:1–3).[60]

Finally, and in close relation to the previous point, the law warns against a reversal of the exodus. Commentators are unsure whether the verse implies sending people to Egypt as *purchasers* of horses, or sending people to Egypt as *payment* for the horses, i.e., engaging in slave trade.[61] Either reading is possible. The latter, of course, makes the symbolic link with the exodus even more poignant. But in either case, in barring economic dealings with the Egyptians, the law warns against people returning to Egypt, an act which would constitute a symbolic reversal of the exodus.

Here, in the injunction against acquiring horses from Egypt, one finds a classic example of Barry Schwartz's idea that memory functions as a model *of* society and a

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59.   Excepting the luxuries of Ramat Raḥel, which probably belonged to the Persians anyway (see Chapter 1).
60.   Cf. Crouch, *Making of Israel*, 177–84, who offers the same insights but within the context of the seventh century BCE, another period when Egypt caused troubles for an imperial power, in that case Assyria. See also, e.g., Patricia Dutcher-Walls, "The Circumscription of the King: Deuteronomy 17:16–17 in Its Ancient Social Context," *JBL* 121 (2002): 601–16, who likewise makes pertinent observations with regard to the text and its possible sociopolitical fucntions, but within the context of the Assyrian empire. I agree that the text has something to say about Judean sociopolitical thought and identity in an imperial context, but I hesitate to place its composition in the Judahite monarchic period (see above, n. 32).
61.   Cf. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 224.

model *for* society.[62] For Judeans, the injunction—remembered via the book of Deuteronomy—revealed concern for subjugation and even enslavement as foundational aspects of Israel's/Judah's *past*. These were embodied primarily in the story of the exodus from Egypt and in the figure of Moses himself (the one directly speaking the law within Deuteronomy's narrative), and secondarily in the narrative of exile and return, which is keyed to the exodus narrative in the Judean literature.[63] The injunction was thus a model *of* the society. And it simultaneously reflected Judean sociopolitical concerns in the society's place on the periphery of an imperial milieu in the *present and future*. Who were Judah's ideological enemies in the Persian era? The king-law provided (and reinforced) one potential answer. The injunction was thus a model *for* the society. Indeed, the entire law of the king, as the opening statement of Judean kingship-discourse and as a main framing device within the Judean mnemonic system of kingship, functioned as one potential model *of* and *for* postmonarchic Judean society, as I argue below.

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The next injunction, in 17:17, bars the Israelite king from having many wives, "lest he turn aside his heart/mind," presumably away from Yahweh and toward other gods (cf. Deuteronomy's general "monotheistic" tendency),[64] but perhaps also away from

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62.   See Chapter 1.

63.   The relationship between the narratives of exodus and exile/return is not something I can dwell on here. Suffice it to say that the two narratives are closely modeled on one another, and are part of a symbolic system of deportation, displacement, and return that is pervasive in the Judean literature. See, e.g., Robert Carroll, "Exile, Restoration, and Colony: Judah in the Persian Empire," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Leo G. Perdue; Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 102–16; and for another take, Adele Berlin, "The Exile: Biblical Ideology and Its Postmodern Ideological Interpretation," in *Literary Constructions of Identity in the Ancient World* (ed. Hanna Liss and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 341–56.

64.   Although Deuteronomy contains one of the Hebrew Bible's most cogent statements on monotheism (Deut 6:4), and is clearly concerned with the supremacy of Yahweh, it does contain comments that assume monolatry/henotheism as well (e.g., Deut 4:7; 32:8 [LXX]). For a recent discussion of the themes of monotheism and monolatry in ancient Israel and in the literature of the Hebrew Bible, see

his duties in general (cf. Prov 31:3). The law itself does not clarify. As Jeffrey Tigay

notes, the law, taken on its own, likely has "in mind other types of dereliction in addtion

to idolatry."[65] Indeed, the plain meaning of the text is that the king should not be

distracted in any way at all, by having too many wives.

However, within the discursive contexts of ancient Near Eastern politics in

general and the Judean literary corpus in particular, the verse points to more specific

issues. It is a clear limitation of traditional kingly power in the ancient Near East, as

having many wives was a sign of great prestige (as was having many horses) and having

both indigenous and foreign wives was a means of maintaining local and international

political alliances.[66] Within Judean kingship-discourse, it is nearly impossible to separate

this injunction from the memory of Solomon, who, one reads, "loved many foreign wives

including the daughter of Pharaoh" (1 Kgs 11:1; cf. 3:1), a habit which the literature

claims led him to apostasy. 1 Kings 11:4 reads, נשיו הטו את לבבו אחרי אלהים אחרים

("[Solomon's] wives led his heart astray after other gods"), using language that is

strikingly similar to what one finds in the king-law and in Deut 7:3–4.[67] Thus, the

memory of Solomon's downfall is doubly framed by the Deuteronomic law of the king

and by Deuteronomic injunctions against marriages to and interactions with foreigners.[68]

Benjamin D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 145–74.

65.   Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 167–68. Tigay points to the early second-millennium BCE correspondance between Shamshi-Adad I of Ashur and his son Yasmah Addu, who sat on the throne in Mari. Apparently, Yasmah Addu was distracted by the women of his palace and, according to his father, was neglecting his duties as ruler. Cf. Marc Van De Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000–323 BC* (2d ed.; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2007), 109.

66.   Cf. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 224.

67.   Knoppers, "Deuteronomist," 343, claims that 1 Kgs 11:1 has Deut 7:3 in mind but *not* Deut 17:16. While I agree that Solomon's transgression is largely associated with exogamy and not polygamy per se, I also think that the references in 1 Kgs 11:1–5 to "many" wives who "led his heart astray" would undoubtedly call to mind the injunction in Deut 17:16, in addition to Deut 7:3–4.

68.   With this in mind, compare also Ahab's marriage to Jezebel (1 Kgs 16:31).

In addition, as discussed above, the influence of foreign women on the office of king, including the foreign political alliances that these marriages imply, poses a threat to the boundaries of Israelite identity—recall that only a proper Israelite may be king, as per Deut 17:15. So the injunction against many wives, with its implications for political power and for potential idolatry, indirectly plays into the debate over Israelite identity, via its larger discursive context. The memory of the foreign-women-loving and idolatrous Solomon, then, shaped the way literati read Deuteronomic law as part of the overarching discourse, contributing to a symbolic web of intertexts regarding kingship, the royal harem, Israelite identity, and apostasy against Israel's chief deity Yahweh.

Of course, Solomon's place in the discourse vis-à-vis the king-law is one of the great paradoxes of Judean social remembering of kingship. I have reserved most of this discussion for later in this study (see Chapter 4), but a few comments are in order now. It seems obvious enough to link the law of the king and its specific injunctions with the depiction of Solomon in the DH, in one way or another.[69] The book of 1 Kings claims that the famous son of David had: thousands of horses and chariots, expensive ones from Egypt no less (1 Kgs 5:6; 10:26–29);[70] many wives, including foreign ones that turned him toward other gods (1 Kgs 11:1–5); and extensive riches and luxuries, wealth greater than any other king on earth (1 Kgs 10:10–25). However, Solomon receives explicit

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69.   See, e.g., Marc Z. Brettler, "The Structure of 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 49 (1991): 87–97; Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Critique of Solomon in the Josianic Edition of the Deuteronomistic History," *JBL* 114 (1995): 607–22; also David A. Glatt-Gilad, "The Deuteronomistic Critique of Solomon: A Response to Marvin A. Sweeney," *JBL* 116 (1997): 700–703, who sides with Brettler's view.

70.   Solomon's horses are not only excessively numerous put also excessively priced, emphasizing the prestige of his stables; cf. Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade," 218–27. Inflating numbers, including prices, in historiographical and propagandistic documents was a common ploy to aggrandize a king's prestige in the ancient Near East. See, e.g., David M. Fouts, "Another Look at Large Numbers in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," *JNES* 53 (1994): 205–11.

criticism for only *one* of these, for having many foreign wives. Indeed, the narrativity of

1 Kings 1–10 is mainly heroic and aggrandizing.[71] Following his unlikely ascent to the

throne (aided by the slyness of his mother Bathsheba and the prophet Nathan: 1 Kgs

2:11–31), he proceeds to garner exceptional divine favor (1 Kgs 3:4–15) and to build

Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem, as the deity had promised David his father (1 Kgs 6–8; cf.

2 Sam 7:12–13). Gary Knoppers likewise argues, "Solomon's opulence, power, and

international trade are regarded as signs of divine *favor* in the Deuteronomistic

History"—not Deuteronom(ist)ic criticisms.[72] Yahweh himself states that Solomon's

matchless wealth and prestige is a divine gift (1 Kgs 3:13). It is only in 1 Kings 11, with

the outright condemnation of his foreign wives and idolatry, that one finds blatant

criticism of the legendary Israelite king. The emplotment of Solomon's narrative in 1

Kings, then, is sharply tragic. After a lengthy and steady building up of the king's

greatness, in which he is praised for his opulence and foreign diplomacy, he takes a

particularly hard fall at the end of the narrative, in his old age, because of his exogamy.[73]

On account of this, there exists a great tension in the discourse on kingship. As

Jon Levenson emphasizes, Deuteronomic law and the historiographical books "show a

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71.　　This is the traditional interpretation of the Solomon narrative in the DH, understanding 1 Kgs 1–10 as generally positive and 1 Kgs 11 as negative. Cf. Brettler, "Structure," 87, who provides numerous references to earlier studies.

72.　　Knoppers, "Deuteronomist," 337; italics added. *Pace* Brettler, "Structure"; and Sweeney, "Critique"; who, in different ways, argue for pronounced anti-Solomon content in 1 Kgs 1–10. Also, I disagree with Thomas Römer's recent statement: "[The law of the king] was probably written in order to summarize the Deuteronomistic discourse about kingship" ("Moses, The Royal Lawgiver," in *Remembering Biblical Figures*, 81–94 [86]). There is, to the contrary, good evidence to think that the king-law is *at odds* with the DH's discourse.

73.　　1 Kings 11:4 emphasizes that Solomon was "old" (זקנה) when his wives turned his heart away from Yahweh. Exogamy is clearly the central issue here, but the discourse also suggests that the king's age may have partly effected his turning to other gods. Note that Solomon practices exogamy from the outset of his reign (cf. 1 Kgs 3:1), but only in his old age does it lead to apostasy. Samuel and David, too, lose their abilities to lead successfully as they grow older. Note, though, that Moses is remarkable in his old age (cf. Deut 34:7). See more in Chapter 4.

wide divergence."[74] On the one hand there is the law of the king and its clear injunctions against typical kingly power, and on the other there is Solomon, who receives a fair amount of praise in the DH and in Chronicles (cf. 2 Chron 9:22–31)[75] for the sort of kingly power that Deuteronomy outlaws.[76] And the tension spans not only the king-law and Solomon (along with the other lionized Israelite and Judahite kings), but also the king-law and Yahweh himself. After all, in the narrative of 1 Kings it is Yahweh who is ultimately responsible for Solomon's great wealth (1 Kgs 3:13). So whether one reads the accounts of Solomon's wealth as damning (the less likely reading, but an option nonetheless) or as aggrandizing (more likely), it is clear that *Yahweh* is the one who has circumvented the law—his own divine law—being the only one truly capable of doing so.

It is worth mentioning again, however, that despite this overarching tension between Deuteronomic and Solomonic(/Davidic) kingship, there exists interesting convergences between the two within the discourse. Take the injunction against acquiring many horses, discussed above. Although Near Eastern kings did gather horses for

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74.   Levenson, "Who Inserted the Book of the Torah?" 228. Levenson therefore reverses the (still) widely held opinion that the composition of Deuteronomic law preceded and influenced the composition of the DH, arguing instead that the legal code was a late addition, inserted during the postmonarchic period.
75.   Solomon's tragic downfall in Kings is tempered with the account of his life in Chronicles, which does not recognize (i.e., it forgets) his exogamy and related idolatry. But Chronicles also reinforces a reading that prefers to aggrandize Solomon's wealth, furthering the tension with Deuteronomic law. Brettler, who argues that 1 Kgs 3:1–2 and 9:24–25 frame an *anti*-Solomon message in 1 Kgs 9:26–10:29, comments, "[I]t seems that because of his intense pro-Solomonic biases, the Chronicler missed the structure implied by 3:1–2 || 9:24–25, and instead perceived 9:26–10:29 as material which aggrandized Solomon" ("Structure," 96). This Chronistic "misreading," as Brettler would have it, clearly indicates that the Judean literati preferred a narrative that approved of, and even praised, Solomon's opulence. See more in Chapter 4.
76.   Solomon is not the only king whose actions stand in tension with the Deuteronomic guidelines. The oft-praised Josiah, for example, in his public reading of the covenant (2 Kgs 23:1–3) and his leading of the passover festival (2 Kgs 23:21–23), performs tasks reserved for the priesthood (cf. Deut 31:9–13) and the people as a whole (Deut 16:1), respectively. He thus stands at the head of the cult, which clashes with the Deuteronomic visions of both cultus *and* kingship. See Knoppers, "Deuteronomist," 336; Levinson, "Reconceptualization," 525–26; more below.

prestige and for ceremonial purposes, the animals were also commonly acquired and used for warfare.[77] Notably, the only other references to horses in the book of Deuteronomy refer to the war horses of Egypt and Israel's enemies (cf. 11:4; 20:1). A likely reading of Deut 17:16 is, then, that the king is not to acquire horses to build a powerful army—having a powerful military is to lack trust in Yahweh as the people's warrior. Solomon indeed acquires many horses and chariots (1 Kgs 5:6; 10:25–26), but his reign is one marked by *unparalleled peace* (1 Kgs 5:1–5 [Eng. 4:21–25]).[78] He fights no wars, and he receives tribute from other kingdoms far and wide. Thus, in the case of horses at least, how far does Solomon actually stray from the Deuteronomic ideal, and how did his narrative therefore (re)shape readings of the king-law? In addition, David, who apparently does not have any horses or chariots, is the king famous for slaying "tens of thousands" (1 Sam 18:7; 21:12). Thus, does David partially reinforce the Deuteronomic ideal by proving that horses and chariots are not the source of military success (Yahweh is; cf. Deut 20:4)? Even amidst the major divergences and discontinuties in the discourse, there are minor (but nonetheless important) continuities and convergences that shape and guide the social remembering of kingship.

The Deuteronomic legislation provided a framework for the mnemonic discourse, a frame that was reworked as the literati read narratives of Israel's monarchy. This created a feedback loop that informed (re)readings of the law and the historiographical narratives, and thus informed the processes of social remembering. I already demonstrated briefly how Cyrus the Great King of Persia was keyed to the legislation

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77. See, e.g., Louis L. Orlin, *Life and Thought in the Ancient Near East* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 80–88.
78. Cf. Mic 4:4. However, 1 Kings 11 notes that Solomon and Israel faced adversaries ("raised up" by Yahweh) during Solomon's reign because of the king's apostasy.

concerning identity, and Solomon's relationship with the socioeconomic injunctions in the law provides another salient example. Moreover, the king-law and its mnemonic intertexts helped construe a universal deity, Yahweh, who was actively involved in shaping the sociopolitics of Judah at its core (he, via Moses, speaks the foundational legislation concerning the people's governance). Yet the discourse also construes a Yahweh who could and would *re*shape sociopolitical norms and expectations at any moment in time—and in any political arena, even in the imperial courts of Judah's overlords, as I hope to make clear as this study moves forward.[79] The buck stopped with Yahweh, so to speak. Ultimately, the royal prerogative was his.

Thus, Judean literati looked to Torah as authoritative divine instruction—predictable in its very nature as a written and codified text standing at the center of the society[80]—but they also imagined a deity who proved time and again his *un*predictability, his willingness to step into history at any given time and (re)direct the trajectory of Judah's story with regard to its political framework and ideals. Remembering the law of the king was, then, a paradoxical process, one in which the predictability of authoritative (written) divine instruction was repeatedly challenged by the unpredictability of its divine source, Yahweh, as he was construed in the discourse of Judean literature. The paradox, which has its roots in the Deuteronomic statement on Israelite kingship, was at the heart of Judean kingship-discourse and fueled the polyvalence and multivocality inherent in its accounts of Israel's past.[81]

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79.   See especially Chapter 5.
80.   Cf. Peter T. Vogt, *Deuteronomic Theology and the Signifi ance of* Torah*: A Reappraisal* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 112.
81.   One should note, the king-law continues to hold a central place in Judean thinking about kingship in the Hellenistic era, when the Hasmoneans reestablished indigenous rule in Judah. The *Temple Scroll* from Qumran (11Q19=11QT^a), a text which most likely dates to the mid- or late-second century BCE, is a

This process of remembering Torah vis-à-vis Judean historiography would have naturally sought a means to synthesize these strongly antithetical statements concerning kingship: first, kingship's non-kingly ideal in Torah; and then, the praise of Davidic/ Solomonic kingship in the historiographical books. Often, societies will emphasize certain memories to the exclusion of others, creating a more balanced and focused picture of the past that better informs their present (and future).[82] But in ancient Judean kingship-discourse we find a different process. Tipping my hand a bit here, later in this study and in more detail I argue that the paradox, rather than finding resolution or harmony, found a

parade example. The passage of 11QT^a 56.12–59.21 begins by restating the Deuteronomic law, with some very slight but important changes, and then offers a lengthy addition to the law, which alludes to texts like 1 Sam 8:11–18 (esp. v. 12) and which delineates further instructions for and constraints on the Israelite king. For example, whereas Deut 17:18 states "he shall write for himself a copy of this instruction/Torah," 11QT^a 56.20–21 says "*they* [i.e., the priesthood] shall write for him this Torah," thus removing the king from the role of inscribing Torah. Also, 11QT^a 57.5–15, for example, places the king under the watch of "princes/leaders" [נשׂיאי], priests, and Levites, who are to keep him in check and to aid him in judgement and proclamation of the law. This section reads:

> He [the king] shall select from among them one thousand by tribe to be with him: twelve thousand warriors who shall not leave him alone to be captured by the nations. All the selected men whom he has selected shall be men of truth, God-fearers, haters of unjust gain and mighty warriors. They shall be with him always, day and night. They shall guard him from anything sinful, and from any foreign nation in order not to be captured by them. The twelve princes of his people shall be with him, and twelve from among the priests, and from among the Levites twelve. They shall sit together with him to (proclaim) judgement and the law so that his heart shall not be lifted above them, and he shall do nothing without them concerning any affair [trans. Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997), 213].

The *Temple Scroll*'s king-law, then, seeks to subordinate kingship to the priesthood, which is probably a reaction to the Hasmoneans' conflating of priestly duties with the duties of the king. This reaction is perhaps partly polemical, but it is also probably exegetical in nature; it was meant to clarify ambiguities in the Deuteronomic law. Cf. Steven D. Fraade, "The Torah of the King (Deut 17:14–20) in the Temple Scroll and Early Rabbinic Law," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. James R. Davila; Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 25–60, esp. 31–39. For text, translation, and commentary on the scroll, see Yigael Yadin, ed., *The Temple Scroll, Volume Two: Text and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983); Johann Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (JSOTSup 34; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985); Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*. See also Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Introduction: The Enigma of the *Temple Scroll*," in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008), xvii–xxxvi, with additional references.

82.   See, e.g., Barry Schwartz, "Collective Forgetting and the Symbolic Power of Oneness: The Strange Apotheosis of Rosa Parks," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 72 (2009): 123–42; also, in biblical studies, Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Study of Forgetting and the Forgotten in Ancient Israelite Discourse/s: Observations and Test Cases," in *Cultural Memory in Biblical Exegesis* (ed. Pernille Carstens, Trine Hasselbach, and Niels Peter Lemche; PHSC 17; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2012), 155–74.

mutually reinforcing outlet in the prophetic books.[83] Polyvalent and multivocal visions of

the future, a prominent feature of the propehtic book, enabled and engendered these

paradoxical understandings of the past.

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The final segment of the king-law (Deut 17:18–20) only strengthens the saliency

of the paradoxical relationship between the Deuteronomic legislation and the

historiography of Israel's and Judah's monarchies, for it subjugates the king to Torah

itself. He must read from it every day, observing *all* of its prescriptions (17:19), which

would include of course any legistlation pertaining to governance and kingship itself.

This, according to the law, will keep him from becoming haughty and will, as a result,

maintain his dynasty for a very long time (17:20).

A couple of points are crucial here. First, the law's final command entirely

subverted the longstanding and normative view of kingship and justice in the ancient

Near East. The Deuteronomic king was unlike Babylonian kings, for example, who saw

themselves as speaking divine justice into being.[84] For the literati, the Deuteronomic king

was wholly unlike the Persian king, too, who claimed to have sole authority over all the

earth, a gift from Ahuramazda.[85] In Deuteronomy, Israelite kingship, once instituted, is

bound to *preexisting* Torah and has no real juridical power.[86] The law precedes the

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83.   See Chapters 5 and 6.
84.   Cf. the Prologue of the Laws of Hammurabi: "When the god Marduk commanded me to provide just ways for the people of the land (in order to attain) appropriate behavior, I established truth and justice as the declaration of the land, I enhanced the well-being of the people" (V.14–24). Trans. Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (2d ed.; SBLWAW 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997), 80–81.
85.   See this chapter's first epigraph.
86.   Cf. Knoppers, "Rethinking the Relationship," 402–403. See also the thoughts of Bernard Levinson, "Rejecting both the conventional privilege of the elders and the conventional power of the king, the authors of Deuteronomy substitute a new structure of judicial and public authority: the Deuteronomic Torah" (*Deuteronomy*, 127).

Israelite king's existence, and other officials actually carry out the law's enforcement. Priests and judges, for example, are to settle disputes according to it (17:11), and Joshua, when he leads the people into the land, is to memorialize it with a monument on Mount Ebal (27:3, 8, 26; cf. Josh 8:30–35). But the king is merely to read the law, to study it and learn to live by it, to become an exemplar for his people. Notice that the command assumes a high level of literacy for the Israelite king—the law is not to be read or interpreted for him; he should actively read (קרא) and learn (למד) from it for himself.[87] This brings the Deuteronomic image of kingship into the social realm of the Judean literati, who were not givers of Torah (even though they may be thought of as its "composers"),[88] but were readers and interpreters of it.[89] According to Deuteronomy, in Israel the authority of Torah is to be over and above any kingly authority, and the primary task of kingship is to maintain and promulgate Torah. The typical ancient Near Eastern king was the source of divine law, and its enforcer and guardian; the Deuteronomic king is subject to the preeminence of the law, his sole duty being to live by and exemplify it.

Second, a minor point but an extremely important one to keep in mind as this study progresses: *Israelite kingship is meant to be dynastic*. Deuteronomy does not provide outright legislation for a kingly dynasty, but its admonishing the king to follow Torah so that *he and his descendents* may reign for a long time obviously assumes

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87.　Note also that 17:18 indicates that the king is actually to write down his own copy of the law, as per my translation above. However, the final phrase of the verse, מלפני הכהנים הלוים, leads some to read the main verb כתב as passive: "he shall have a copy of this law written for him in the presence of the levitical priests" (NRSV; cf. NJPS). Whether or not the king writes the copy, it is still clear that he is understood to be highly literate, as 17:19 states.

88.　See Chapter 1.

89.　Vice versa, it brings the literati into the realm of Deuteronomic kingship. As Deuteronomic "kings" of the postmonarchic era, the literati were to read and learn from Torah, so that they might serve as models for Judean society, and so that their community would persist into the future.

dynastic rulership as the ideal. The issue of dynasty, for kings as well as for judges, comes up repeatedly, and it has ramifications for the emplotment of the Davidic line in the Judean literature and memory. Furthermore, the qualification that the dynasty should reign long "in the midst of Israel" (17:20) has implications for understandings of Israelite identity in the postmonarchic era, how the literati thought about sociopolitics in a time of empire, as discussed above.

The king-law thus ends with a cogent statement on the essence of Israelite kingship (and, by extension, the essence of the literati themselves) as imagined in the book of Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy 17:14, with its Deuteronomic "mini-plot," ensures the reality of the institution in Israel's future. The injunctions in 17:15–17 then set political guidelines for the office, and the final two verses demonstrate the office's ultimate purpose. The king is not to be a source of legal authority, but a promoter of it. He is not to speak Yahweh's law into earthly existence, but to demonstrate its preexisting authority by modeling it for his people.

Moses and Joshua, Kings and Conquerers: Revising Monarchy in a Postmonarchic Milieu

With the above observations regarding 17:18–20 in mind, one should also consider Moses' place in the kingship-discourse. He, not the Israelite king, is the human mediator who speaks divine Torah into existence, and he appoints for himself a successor, Joshua, who is to carry on Mosaic leadership as Israel makes its way into, conquers, and ultimately settles in the promised land. For the literati, Moses' relationship with Torah was, then, rather like the relationship between ancient Near Eastern kings and their law

collections: Moses, like an Egyptian or Mesopotamian ruler, functioned as the giver of his people's divine law.[90]

Moses' narrative, too, evinces other ancient Near Eastern kingship tropes. For example, Exodus 2 shares much with the birth narratives of Sargon and Cyrus, a point famously emphasized by Otto Rank (in 1909) and Sigmund Freud (in 1939).[91] Moreover, Moses' narrative shares formal elements with the narratives of various Israelite kings, including David and Jeroboam I.[92] Moses is forced into exile until the opportunity arises to take his position of power, and in exile he spends time with one of Israel's traditional enemies, the Midianites (Exod 2:15–22; and see Num 31:1–4; Judg 6:1–7). David and Jeroboam also spend time in exile. And David, fleeing from Saul, finds refuge with a hated enemy, the Philistines (1 Sam 27–30).[93]

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90.   See, e.g., Römer, "Moses, The Royal Lawgiver"; and idem, "Moïse: un héros royal entre échec et divinisation," in *Interprétations de Moïse: Égypte, Judée, Grèce et Rome* (ed. Philipe Borgeaud, Thomas Römer, and Youri Volokhine; Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 10; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 187–98, esp. 192–93. See also McConville, "King and Messiah," 285, who calls Moses (and Joshua) a "quasi-regal" figure, following the lead of Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972; repr., Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 170–71. Recently, Danny Mathews, *Royal Motifs in the Pentateuchal Portrayal of Moses* (LHBOTS 571; New York: T&T Clark, 2012), taking Exod 7:1 and Hellenistic texts (e.g., Philo, *Life of Moses*, 1.334) as his starting points, argues that Moses' exalted, superhuman and royal features are key for understanding his character in the Pentateuch.
91.   See Freud, *Moses and Monotheism* (trans. Katherine Jones; New York: Random House, 1939), 7–11, who credits Rank as a precursor but also slyly takes credit for Rank's earlier insights. See also Römer's discussion of the birth narratives ("Moïse: un héros royal," 189–90; idem, "Moses, The Royal Lawgiver," 82–85; each with additional references).
92.   Cf. Römer, "Moïse: un héros royal," 190–92. On Moses' connections with Jeroboam, see also Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period* (2 vols.; trans. John Bowden; OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 1:141–43.
93.   This trope had a long history in the ancient Near East. See, for example, the story of Idrimi, recounted in Akkadian on a late Bronze-Age (votive?) statue from the temple at Alalakh (*COS* 1:479–80). Idrimi, while waiting to take his place on the throne, wanders with the *habiru*, social outcasts and miscreants. For discussion of the Idrimi statue and its text, see, e.g., Mario Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts." *Orientalia* 42 (1973): 178–94, esp. 182–83; also Nadav Na'aman, "A Royal Scribe and His Scribal Products in the Alalakh IV Court," *Oriens Antiques* 19 (1980): 107–16; Jack M. Sasson, "On Idrimi and Šarruwa, the Scribe," in *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman* (ed. D. I. Owen and M. A. Morrison; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 309–24. And on the *habiru* in the late Bronze Age, e.g., Nadav Na'aman, "Ḫabiru and Hebrews: The Transfer of a Social Term to the Literary Sphere." *JNES* 45 (1986): 271–88; and also Brian R. Doak, "'Some Worthless and Reckless Fellows': Landlessness and Parasocial Leadership in Judges,"

Moses' story is, without doubt, partly couched in such kingly tropes, but one should note that these tropes constituted only one discursive motif in a complex mnemonic system in the sociocultural context of the Persian period and later.[94] Notice that, for instance, in the book of *Jubilees*, one of the most popular texts at Qumran, Moses is "a rather pale figure" in comparison to the patriarchs and other heroes of Judah's distant past; he is not portrayed as royal and exalted.[95] *Jubilees*, in this regard, was something of a Hellenistic minority report on Moses, tempering the lionizing tendencies of writers like Philo and Josephus.[96] Also, the kingly portrait of Moses was always perceived in light of his more prominent portrait as Israel's preeminent prophet (cf. Deut 18:15; 34:10). In Deuteronomy, Moses knows of the imminent failures of Israelite leadership, even kingship, and foresees the people's exile (cf. 28:36–37, 49–57; 29:9–28). In the Pentateuchal narrative, Moses is never explicitly called a king, despite

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JHS 11 (2011): article 2, esp. pp. 2–6; online: http://www.jhsonline.org.

94.   Cf. Mathews, *Royal Motifs*, who argues that the royal motif is part of a larger "cluster" of "floating" motifs. The concept of a "motival cluster" comes from David H. Aaron, *Etched in Stone: The Emergence of the Decalogue* (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 50 and passim. See also David H. Aaron, "Reflections on a Cognitive Theory of Culture and a Theory of Formalized Language for Late Biblical Studies," in *Remembering Biblical Figures*, 451–73.

95.   See James Kugel, "The Figure of Moses in *Jubilees*," *HeBAI* 1 (2012): 77–92 (77). Note, however, that the book still sees Moses as a rather special figure. The narrative's setting is Mount Sinai (see *Jub.* 1:1–4). Ascending the "mount of God" to speak directly with the deity is not something that any normal Israelite could do. *Jubilees* obviously assumes knowledge of the Pentateuch, and we know for certain that persons at Qumran were reading *Jubilees* along with the Pentateuch. Thus the book serves to round out the Pentateuchal depictions of the patriarchs et al. while adding little to the Pentateuchal depiction of Moses.

96.   See the discussion of Moses in Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 374–442, which contains many references to Josephus' works as well as other Hellenistic writers.

his many kingly connections,[97] but his prophetic role is stated outright.[98] It is, indeed, his *non*-kingliness that would have helped Judeans legitimize the authority of Torah in a postmonarchic setting. In the minds of the literati, the monarchy had collapsed, but that did not negatively affect the status of Torah, because it was established by Moses, not by a king. Remembering Moses as the giver of divine law enabled the Judeans to accept Persian imperial rule while still crediting special authority to Torah.[99]

Moses was thus a hybridized figure that functioned within and beyond ancient Near Eastern sociocultural conventions, contributing to discourse about the authority of Torah in its postmonarchic, Persian imperial setting, and challenging hegemonic cultural norms in the ancient Levant. Moses' hybrid role as non-king lawgiver subverted normative cultural patterns in the region. On the one hand, he was necessarily depicted as kingly, according to the Near Eastern expectations, because he was the people's source for divine law; yet on the other, he could not have been an *actual* king, because the source of Torah, the mediator of Yahweh's divine instruction, could not be tied to Israel's

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97.   Deuteronomy 33:4–5 provides the only potential exception. These verses read, תורה צוה-לנו משה מורשה קהלת יעקב: ויהי בישרון מלך בהתאסף ראשי עם יחד שבטי ישראל: ("Torah/instruction Moses commanded to us, a possession for the assembly of Jacob. He was in Jeshurun a king, when the heads of the people gathered, together with the tribes of Israel"). Scholars have often made Yahweh the subject of v. 5 (cf. 33:3), in order to reconcile the fact that nowhere else is Moses called a king, and to emphasize the kingship of Yahweh: e.g., Martin Buber, *Kingship of God* (3d ed.; trans. Richard Scheimann; New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 130–35; Von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 205; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 400; also Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 322, with further references. However, the syntax of these verses certainly allows for Moses to be the subject, and indeed some scholars argue for this reading (e.g., J. R. Porter, *Moses and Monarchy: A Study in the Biblical Tradition of Moses* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963], 14–15). Miller, *Deuteronomy*, 238–39, following others, suggests that the ambiguous v. 5 anachronistically refers to the rise of kingship in Israel (i.e., "*There was* in Jeshurun a king…": another possible reading)—thus, the tribes' well-being in the future, post-Moses, depends upon Yahweh's institution of proper kingship, as outlined in the Deuteronomic king-law.
98.   Cf. also later Hellenistic- and Roman-era references to Moses as prophet: e.g., Philo, *Gig.* 56; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.329; Acts 3:22 and 7:37. See, e.g., John Lierman, *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.173; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 32–64.
99.   Cf. Römer, "Moses, The Royal Lawgiver," 82.

ephemeral past monarchy. In other words, within the Judean discourse, Moses could not be king *and* function in his role as law-giver; this would have transgressed the conceptualization of kingship in Torah itself (the same applies to the figure of Joshua as conqueror of the promised land; see below). This hybridity was the product of a society living a postmonarchic existence under foreign imperial rule, a society which saw its written literary traditions, inclucing its legal collections, as documents containing the authoritative statements of a universal deity. Judeans were accounting for the fact that they no longer had an indigenous king, yet they had an indigenous Torah that they understood to be fully legitimate and ultimately authoritative. Thus, the original giver of Torah, Moses, was remembered as a kingly non-king, a memory that revised common understandings of who could and could not speak divine law into being.

There are, therefore, at least two major subversions of typical ancient Near Eastern kingship in the Pentateuch: (1) the kingly tropes in Moses' narrative redefined cultural expectations for the mediation of divine law; and (2) as discussed above, the Deuteronomic king-law placed—from the perspective of the literati's distant past—any future Israelite king under the authority of a preexistant divine law, the very law that was mediated by the non-king Moses.

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With these subversions in mind, I turn briefly to the figure of Joshua, who is introduced into the narrative as Moses' servant and who takes over Moses' leadership role after the great prophet's death.[100] Following in Moses' footsteps, Joshua too is a kind

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100.   See esp. Num 27:15–23; Deut 3:21–22, 28; 31:1–8, 14–15, 23; 34:9; cf. Josh 1:1–5.

of kingly non-king.[101] For one thing, he plays the role of conqueror, the divinely assisted warrior-king, and functions as Israel's "shepherd" (רעה) (Num 27:17; cf. 2 Sam 7:7). "Joshua is appointed king in all but name," writes Axel Knauf.[102] The conquest account in the book of Joshua has clear and oft-discussed parallels with royal inscriptions from Assyria and elsewhere in the Near East: e.g., the miraculous crossing of a river (cf. Joshua 3), and the divine messenger who encourages the warrior leader (cf. Josh 5:13–15).[103] Joshua's narrative contains common kingly tropes, but he, like his predecessor, is no king.[104]

Moreover, this kingly non-king foreshadows and sets precedents for the deeds of future Israelite/Judahite kings. For example, Joshua's succession as Israelite leader (esp. Josh 1:6–9) is in dialogue with other texts that describe *royal* succession, most notably Solomon's ascension to the throne in 1 Kgs 2:1–4 and in 1 Chron 22:6–16.[105] In addition, Joshua's passover celebration (Josh 5:10–12) and his memorialization and reading of Torah (Josh 8:30–35) thematically link up with the actions of Josiah, the reformer king in the latter days of the Judahite monarchy (see 2 Kgs 22–23; cf. also Hezekiah's

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101.　See McConville, "King and Messiah," 285–87, with additional references.
102.　E. Axel Knauf, "Remembering Joshua," in *Remembering Biblical Figures*, 106–27 (110). As Knauf notes, in Samaritan tradition, Joshua becomes the first king of Israel when he succeeds Moses as the people's leader. In the Samaritan Chronicle (a.k.a. "Samaritan Book of Joshua" [Sam Josh]: a text from the medieval period) God, via Moses, "invest[s] him with kingly authority" (Sam Josh 2), and throughout the book Joshua is called "the king." See *The Samaritan Chronicle, or The Book of Joshua the Son of Nun* (trans. Oliver Turnbull Crane; New York: Alden, 1890); also Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, 205, with further discussion of Sam Josh and additional references.
103.　See, e.g., John Van Seters, "Joshua's Campaign of Canaan and Near Eastern Historiography." *SJOT* 4 (1990): 1–12; also Ian D. Wilson, "Conquest and Form: Narrativity in Joshua 5–11 and Historical Discourse in Ancient Judah," *HTR* 106 (2013): 309–29, esp. 317–20.
104.　See more in Chapter 3.
105.　Cf. J. Roy Porter, "The Succession of Joshua," in *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies* (ed. John I. Durham and J. R. Porter; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1983), 102–32, esp. 117–26; also Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua und Salomo: Eine Studie zu Autorität und Legitimität des Nachfolgers im Alten Testament* (VTSup 58; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

reinstitution of passover in 2 Chron 30).[106] It even appears that Joshua's devotion to ספר

תורת משה ("the book of the instruction/Torah of Moses") (Josh 8:31; cf. 1:7–8) is in line

with Deuteronomic law's command for kings to meditate upon and faithfully observe

תורה (cf. Deut 17:18–20).[107]

In this way, Joshua functioned as a prototypical and framing memory for thinking

about successful Israelite kingship. This is not surprising. One would expect the ancient

Judeans to find continuities between the various narratives of their past great leaders, as

societies tend to do—thematic links between American memories of George Washington

and Abraham Lincoln, or Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King Jr., provide excellent

examples.[108] However, Joshua, as a *non*-king, also complicates the remembering process,

as does the king-law itself.

First, the transfer of leadership from Moses to Joshua partly models the dynastic

principle commanded in the law of the king, but also problematizes it. Joshua is to be

"strong and courageous" (חזק ואמץ) before the people, and this is to be an example for

them, in line with Moses' written Torah, the "book of instruction" (Josh 1:6–9; cf. Deut

3:28; 31:6–7, 23). At the close of the book of Joshua, it is emphasized that "Israel served

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106.   Cf. Richard D. Nelson, "Josiah in the Book of Joshua," *JBL* 100 (1981): 531–40; idem, *Joshua*, 22. See also Lori L. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence: A New Historicist Analysis* (JSOTSup 226; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), who, following the lead of Nelson, reads Joshua's narrative as a kind of political tract for Josiah's purported ambitions in the late seventh century BCE. Nelson's proposal is problematic because, as most critics contend, Josh 5:10–12 and 8:30–35, the linchpins of his argument, are most certainly postmonarchic texts. And Rowlett's work, in my estimation, overemphasizes the political aspect of the conquest account. I have argued that the conquest account indeed reflects late seventh-century socioreligous concerns, but I see those concerns reflected in the narrativity of the account, especially in its presentation of the Gibeonite episode (Joshua 9), and not in Joshua's passover or any supposed Josianic politics of conquest (see my "Conquest and Form").
107.   Thus, Axel Knauf calls him "a warrior who became a student of Torah" ("Remembering Joshua," 108–14).
108.   See Chapter 1; also the many examples in Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 37–54.

Yahweh all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who outlived Joshua and had known all the work that Yahweh did for Israel" (Josh 24:31; after NRSV; cf. Judg 2:6–10). Thus, there is a marked emphasis upon the success of Joshua as a leader, one who follows Torah with strength and courage, who remembers the mighty deeds of the deity as they are memorialized in Torah, and who inspires his successors (the elders) and the people as a whole to do the same. Notably, in 1 Kgs 2:1–4, David encourages Solomon in a similar manner. The expectation for an Israelite dynasty *founded upon and guided by Torah* is, therefore, introduced in the law of the king and implicitly reinforced in Joshua's role as Moses' successor. However, Joshua is not Moses' son or even one of his descendants. Yahweh *appoints* Joshua (cf. Num 27:15–23). The succession is not hereditary. (After all, neither of them is actually a king.) This is important because it complicates the nature of succession in Israelite leadership in general. As we will see, the question of hereditary versus non-hereditary leadership arises continually in the discourse, and it has its foundation in the succession of Moses to Joshua. The succession recalls the law of the king and the law's emphasis on Torah obedience, but the succession also disconnects itself from the king-law via the non-hereditary power transfer between these two pre-monarchic leaders.[109]

Second, the kingly deeds that Joshua foreshadows stand in partial tension with the Deuteronomic vision for kingship vis-à-vis other bureaucratic roles in Israel. In Deuteronomic legislation, observing the passover and publicly reading Torah are the responsibilities of the people as a whole (Deut 16:1) and the levitical priests (Deut 31:9–

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109.   See more in Chapter 3.

13), respectively.[110] Joshua, whose precise role as a leader is never clearly defined or stated, functions in a number of roles.[111] Accordingly, he is a fitting successor to Moses: the priestly, kingly, and judicial prophet.[112] It is appropriate, then, that Joshua's Torah-based, Mosaic leadership should inspire the people's ongoing practice of passover, and that he should read Torah to the people. The question is, is this type of Mosaic leadership appropriate for Israelite *kingship*? As explained above, although Moses is kingly, he is not a king, and he is fundamentally different than the king envisioned in Deuteronomy, a ruler who is necessarily subordinate to preexistent Mosaic Torah. Put another way, do the actions of Hezekiah (in 2 Chron 9) and Josiah (in 1 Kings 23), which are partially prefigured in the leadership of Joshua (and Moses), exceed the bounds of kingship as imagined in Deuteronomy? One could add to this question the sacrifices offered by Saul, David, Absalom, Adonijah, Solomon, and of course Jeroboam—kingly cultic acts that receive mixed reviews in the narratives, depending upon the offerer and situation.[113] Ultimately, the problem may be reduced to a question of cultic leadership: Was the king to be head of the cultus?[114] How did the literati conceive of past kingship in relation to the

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110.   Cf. Knoppers, "Deuteronomist," 336; Levinson, "Reconceptualization," 525–26.
111.   On the dynamism of Joshua's character, see Sarah Lebhar Hall, *Conquering Character: The Characterization of Joshua in Joshua 1–11* (LHBOTS 512; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), who writes, "[Joshua] is not merely a royal, prophetic, or priestly figure; rather, he exercises, and often exemplifies, the many different types of leadership that feature in the former prophets" (9).
112.   Sonnet, "If-Plots," 468, argues that, in the message communicated by the book of Deuteronomy, Joshua is actually to be the prophet like Moses proclaimed in Deut 18:15 (cf. Sir 46:1), and that this is confirmed in Deut 34:9. See also Sonnet, "Fifth Book," 204–207; and Knauf, "Remembering Joshua," 107, 126–27.
113.   See 1 Sam 13:9; 2 Sam 6:17; 15:12; 1 Kgs 1:9, 19, 25; 3:3–4; 8:63–64; 12:32–13:5; 2 Kgs 23:20.
114.   Another figure to consider here is Melchizedek, king of Salem, who is called כהן לאל עליון ("priest to God Most High/El Elyon") (Gen 14:18; also Ps 110:4). Melchizedek appears only twice in the books of the Hebrew Bible, but he becomes an important site of memory in Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity. See, e.g., Josephus, *J.W.* 6.438, *Ant.* 1.179–180; Philo, *Abr.* 235, *Congr.* 99, *Leg.* 3.79–82; in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 11QMelch; and in the New Testament, Heb 5:5–10; 6:20; 7:1–19. Melchizedek is important for this study because, for the literati, he would have functioned as a mnemonic link between Davidic kingship and the priesthood (cf. Ps 110:4; also 89:28), and thus would have contributed a statement to the discourse concerning the relationship between the king and cult. See more in Chapter 4.

cultic rituals prescribed in Torah? It seems that the role of the king as cult leader in Israel's past was an unsettled question. On the one hand, the memory of Joshua is positively reflected in, and in apparent conversation with, the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah; and yet, on the other hand, the foremost Israelite and Judahite kings, those who receive the most praise (Solomon, Josiah, et al.), consistently come across as much more powerful than the imagined Deuteronomic king.

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Leaving that issue aside for the time being, what can one definitively say with regard to *consistency* in the memories? If the relationship between Torah, Moses and Joshua, and the great kings of the monarchic era provided some sense of discontinuity in the overarching narrative, what was construed as definitely *continuous*?

First, at the heart of the issue is Torah itself and its promulgation, which brings one back to the fundamental command of the king-law. The various narratives have diverse takes on what the king may or may not do, what he may acquire or how bold his cultic actions may be, but the narratives, nonetheless, have a consistent telos in mind: the primacy of Torah. Throughout Judean literature, there is a marked and repeated concern for upholding and maintaining Torah among the community.[115] The literature consistently acribes to Israelite leadership the task of defending and modeling Torah for the people of Israel, be it priests and judges, Joshua, Samuel, Solomon, or the eponymous figures of the

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115.   See Chapter 1.

prophetic books.[116] All of Israel's leadership is geared toward this goal, including kingship, especially as Deuteronomy represents it.

Second, but less fully realized in the narratives, the successful upholding of Torah *should* lead to ongoing success among the community's leadership and its people as a whole. The transitions from Moses to Joshua and from David to Solomon are key examples. Keeping Torah primary and central among the community generally results in Yahweh's blessing of the community and his defense of it. Living under Torah, ideally, results in long and successful dynastic leadership, as the law of the king clearly states. When Torah-leadership breaks down, as one apparently finds in the book of Judges (cf. 2:11–19) and in the division of the monarchy (cf. 1 Kgs 11–13), the people lose divine favor and face disaster.

Irony and paradox remain, though. At times, protecting and promulgating Torah comes at the cost of challenging the bounds of its legislation, as I have shown above. Moreover, the dynastic principle becomes problematic in the narratives. For instance, how does one account for sinful Manasseh's 55-year, politically trouble-free reign? or for Josiah's untimely death, despite his righteousness and divine favor? or for the tragic fall of the Davidic monarchy in Judah, a royal line that, in at least one statement, is supposed to last "forever" (2 Sam 7:13)? These are important, and in some cases unresolved, questions for the discourse. I return to these issues throughout this study.

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116.   Similarly, Ehud Ben Zvi, in two recent conference papers, has shown that, regardless of political structure, there is always a leading "prophetic" guardian of the community, responsible for Torah. If the guardian is present and the people are willing to listen, then the well-being of the community is sustained (see his "Memory and Political Thought in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Yehud/Judah" [2013 EABS, Leipzig]; and "Readers, Social Memory and Deuteronomistic Language & Memories" [2013 SBL, Baltimore]). One can define this "guardian" figure as functionally "prophetic" (à la the the typical actions of Israelite/Judahite prophets, especially as construed in the prophetic books, and in accordance with Moses as prophet), but one does not have to be an actual "prophet" *an sich*.

The Law as a Mnemonic Frame

In the law of the king, we find the roots of these continuities and discontinuities. In this chapter, I have tried to show how the king-law functioned as a kind of opening statement in the discourse, as a primary frame through which the subsequent memories in the narrative were viewed and evaluated. I have also hinted at how subsequent developments in the narrative shaped the way literati likely read the king-law, briefly laying some groundwork for discussions in the following chapters. As a textual site of memory that Judean readers visited repeatedly, it functioned as a model *of* and *for* Israelite society. It reflected present (and future) concerns while also shaping understandings of the past.

Within the discourse, the law cuts two ways: it is both restricting and enabling. It limits what a king can do in comparison with other Near Eastern kings but also helps define what it means to be Israelite. It restricts power, at least in terms of traditional Near Eastern politics, but at the same time enables Israelite uniqueness. Moreover, in conjuction with the narratives of Moses and Joshua, the law emphasizes the import of Torah for the ongoing success of Israelite leadership—in all its roles and functions—and for the prosperity of Israel as a whole. Israelite leaders, including kings, are to guard Torah, to pass it on from generation to generation, and to model it for the people.

However, as I hope to have shown clearly above, the law and the figures of Moses and Joshua also stand in tension with historiographical accounts of Israelite kingship. They contribute essential discursive statements to an overarching narrative that lends itself to paradoxical thinking about kingship's place in Israel's past. As one might expect, the processes of social remembering created some sense of continuity between the great

kings of Israel/Judah and the great pre-monarchic Israelite leaders like Moses and Joshua. But, those same great kings were remembered as rather *un*like the kind of kingship legislated in Yahweh's/Moses' Torah. The narrative wants to have it both ways. The various strands of thought serve different purposes in the discourse: Deuteronomy foresees a sage and learned king without much political power, one who devotes his life to the study and promotion of Torah; whereas the historiographical books (discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4) envision politically and cultically powerful kings who bring Yahweh's temple to fruition in the promised land.

Within this context, the law of the king becomes, in the words of Bernard Levinson, a "utopian manifesto";[117] or, as M. H. Segal calls it, "the height of impractical idealism."[118] Its vision for the future—though couched in a historiographical narrative, in what appears to be a concrete temporal setting—becomes patently *unreal* as the narrative unfolds, and as its readers (re)evaluate its prescriptions vis-à-vis Israel's most successful kings and vice versa.[119] In subsequent chapters I continue to flesh out the various statements in the discourse, in order to examine more closely how they interact, where they converge and diverge, and what all this implies for Judah's late Persian-period literati.

Clearly, Judeans were thinking deeply about kingship and its trappings, even at a time when they had no Judean king. One should always keep in mind, however, that

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117.   Levinson, "Reconceptualization," 512.
118.   Quoted in Knoppers, "Deuteronomist," 336.
119.   Note, too, Deut 28:36, the only other instance of an Israelite king (מלך) in the book (excluding the ambiguous 33:5; see above, n. 97). In this verse, Moses promises that Yahweh will send the people and its king into exile if they do not obey the deity and all his commandments (cf. Deut 28:15). Rereading the narratives of kingship in light of Torah makes Deuteronomy's king-law become more and more *un*real, while the book's curses become realized.

Judean society was never actually *without* a king, so the society's interest in kingship should not come as a surprise. Literati in Judah had always been subject to kingly rule, be it Judahite, Assyrian, or Babylonian. Literati of the late Persian period were no different. The "Great King" of Persia was, for the time being, their ultimate ruler on earth, and, in their minds, above him was the universal deity Yahweh. This postmonarchic yet imperial setting proved to be fertile ground for sowing and reaping memories and images of what kingship was, is, and could be. The literati were thinking inside the kingship box, but their thoughts reshaped the box itself. The law of the king was an important tool in this process, a frame for Judean memory and imagination.

CHAPTER 3
Cruxes of Leadership: Samuel and Saul and the Institution of Kingship

To know and not to know, to hold simultaneously two opinions which canceled out, knowing them to be contradictory and believing in both of them, to use logic against logic ... to believe that democracy was impossible and that the Party was the guardian of democracy, to forget whatever it was necessary to forget, then to draw it back into memory again at the moment when it was needed, and then promptly to forget it again, and above all, to apply the same process to the process itself.[1]

A key concept in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is the mental process of doublethink. Close readers of the Bible know well that its books engage in a sort of doublethink when it comes to kingship and the monarchy. Indeed, in this chapter's epigraph, if one replaces "democracy" and "the Party" with "monarchy" and "Yahweh," Orwell's thoughts might apply directly to Judges and Samuel: to believe simultaneously that monarchy is impossible and that Yahweh is the guardian of monarchy. This doublethinking about kingship, though, is not entirely akin to Orwell's; it certainly was not related to governmental coercion or manipulation. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the protagonist Winston (and thus Orwell) laments doublethink and its role in totalitarianism, but in ancient Judean historiography, doublethinking functions as part of the process of social remembering. The doublethinking one finds in the Bible is evidence of a society that was exploring various understandings of its past, and that was trying to gauge the import of this past for understandings of its present and future. In this way, I argue, one may consider doublethink to be a productive and positive aspect of Judean social memory.

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1.   George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (New York: Harcourt, 1949), 36.

This chapter takes a look at the kingship-doublethink on display in the books of Judges and Samuel, ultimately centering its focus on the figure of Samuel himself and his liminal role in the transition from judgeship to kingship in Israel's story. Paradoxically, these books want to elevate the priest-prophet-judge Samuel while also making him a cause for the monarchical institution, they want to lionize Davidic kingship while criticizing monarchy in general, and they want to expose the weaknesses inherent in dynastic leadership while even at times promoting an "everlasting" Davidic rule. They remember a crucial past moment, a major transition between two different forms of human government, but in the end they decide upon neither.[2] The books are truly multivocal.

These multivocal memories of transition, I argue, provided another major frame for kingship-discourse in ancient Judah—probably the most important one. The figure of Samuel and his narrative engendered doublethinking about kingship, and the paradoxical transition from judgeship to kingship enhanced multivocality in the prophetic books' imagination of future kingship in the postmonarchic era. Images of future leadership are diverse: Yahweh alone as king? a superhuman Davidide? the so-called "democratization" of kingship in Israel?[3] This multivocality reflects a mnemonic system in ancient Judah that thought deeply about human monarchy—the common mode of polity in the ancient Near Eastern world—but the system did not settle on any one vision. In this chapter, I will begin to work toward the idea that the diverse political ideas concerning kingship's

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2.   The writings of Robert Polzin (esp. *Samuel and the Deuteronomist* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989], 18–125) and David Jobling (esp. *1 Samuel* [Berit Olam; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1998], 41–125) have strongly influenced my thinking on this issue.
3.   See discussion of the prophetic books in Chapter 5.

future in Israel found inspiration and reinforcement in the social memory of Israel's *past* political transitions.

Setting Up Samuel

Scholars have asserted that the books of Judges and Samuel, in their postmonarchic context, are debating two opposed governmental systems, the various merits and weaknesses of judgeship and kingship.[4] But neither side really wins the debate. The narrative goes in such odd directions throughout Judges and 1 Samuel that it is difficult for it to sustain an argument for either. Moreover, there is a significant amount of overlap between the systems. The boundaries between categories are fuzzy: Moses and Joshua are kingly, but they are primarily prophets and not kings (see Chapter 2); the judges "rule" over Israel, but at the same time king Yahweh reigns over them (Exod 15:18; Judg 8:22–23; 1 Sam 8:7); and Saul, the first official human king of Israel, is at times more judge-like than kingly (cf. his depiction in 1 Sam 11). Moreover, in each of these cases there is the problem of succession: Is political leadership meant to be dynastic or not? what are the problematic issues inherent in dynasty and non-dynasty? and, if kingship is understood to be necessarily dynastic, what then does this say about the kingship of

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4.   Cf. Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 43; also Walter Dietrich, "History and Law: Deuteronomistic Historiography and Deuteronomic Law Exemplified in the Passage from the Period of the Judges to the Monarchical Period," in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 315–42 (318). Geoffrey P. Miller, *The Ways of a King: Legal and Political Ideas in the Bible* (JAJSup 7; Göttingen: V&R, 2011), esp. chs. 11 and 12, argues that the biblical text ultimately portrays kingship as the preferred mode of government. See my review of Miller, *JHS* 13 (2013): n.p.; online: http://www.jhsonline.org.

Yahweh, who, in the Judean literature, has no divine children (nor a wife for that matter)?[5]

At the center of this narrative of diverse and overlapping governments is the figure of Samuel. He is the prime aporia of the text, the paradox that initiates and fuels the narrative's political doublethink. He at once stabilizes and destabilizes kingship (and political succession), becoming a site of memory within the discourse that can either support or detract from kingship.

Reading the book of Judges alone, one might conclude that judges could be extremely effective leaders (e.g., Ehud in Judg 3:12–30), and yet eventually the era of judgeship descended into civil war and social chaos (Judg 17–21). Notice, however, that the book of Ruth casts the period of Judges in positive light. Ruth, which begins with "In the days when the judges judged/ruled" (Ruth 1:1), suggests that this time was characterized by peace, so much so that two women could travel from Moab to Bethlehem, alone, without encountering any noteworthy problems (see Ruth 1:19).[6] The book of Ruth thus implies that judgeship ruled the land with great effect, an implication that is contrary to what one finds in Judges 17–21. In 1 Samuel readers meet Samuel himself, who, in the first seven chapters of the book, becomes a priestly figure, a prophet, and the nation's preeminent judge to boot. Under Samuel it appears that judgeship is in fine shape. Yet this very leader becomes a primary impetus for kingship when he reaches

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5. Unlike, for example, El and his son Baal in Ugaritic literature, or Enki/Ea and Marduk in Babylonian. In these cases there are dynastic transfers of divine kingly power.

6. Cf. the ideology of Rameses II's "Marriage Stela," which claims: "And so it was that, if a man or a woman proceeded on their mission to Djahy, they could reach the land of Hatti without fear around their hearts, because of the greatness of the victories of his [maj]esty" (cited in Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–300 BC* [2 vols.; New York: Routledge, 1995], 1:208). In other words, Rameses' victories (including his marriage to the princess of Hatti, itself cast as a great conquest for Egypt) secured such peace that anyone could travel the length of the Levant without problem.

old age and his treacherous sons fail to live up to his precedent (1 Sam 8:1–5). David Jobling comments on the narrative's surprising turn: "[K]ingship emerge[s] not at judgeship's nadir but at its zenith,"[7] and "[I]t is more than ironic that the stalwart foe of kingship [i.e., Samuel] should become its cause."[8] Read side by side, these books are neither pro-kingship nor anti-kingship (nor are they pro- or anti-judgeship for that matter); they are multivocal and polyvalent.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Let us begin, then, with the book of Judges and its contribution to the discourse, how it sets up the figure of Samuel and the transition to kingship in the narrative. On account of its concluding refrain ("In those days there was no king in Israel; everyone did what was right in his own eyes" [17:6; 21:25; cf. 18:1; 19:1]), the book has frequently been an object of inquiry with regard to Israelite kingship.[9] The book seems to decry the

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7.   Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 58. This is a consistent theme in Israel's overarching storyline: Joshua inspired the people to serve Yahweh faithfully (Josh 24:31; Judg 2:7), but shortly after his death, within a couple generations, the people turn to apostasy (Judg 2:10–13); and David and Solomon bring the kingdom of Israel to unprecedented greatness, building the temple in Jerusalem, but Solomon, in his old age, turns to other gods and the kingdom unravels shortly after his death (1 Kgs 11–12). Note that all this is foreshadowed in Moses' speech in the book of Deuteronomy (e.g., chs. 27–31). One comes to expect unexpected turns. See more below.
8.   Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 63; see also idem, *The Sense of Biblical Narrative II* (JSOTSup 39; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 87.
9.   Recent scholarship has predominantly understood the book of Judges as an ideological introduction to the books of Samuel, one that preps readers for the downfall of Benjaminite king Saul and the rise of Judahite king David. See, e.g., Marc Brettler, "The Book of Judges: Literature as Politics," *JBL* 108 (1989): 395–418; idem, *The Book of Judges* (London: Routledge, 2002), esp. 111–16; Robert H. O'Connell, *The Rhetoric of the Book of Judges* (VTSup 43; Leiden: Brill, 1996); Marvin Sweeney, "Davidic Polemics in the Book of Judges," *VT* 47 (1997): 517–29; Yairah Amit, *The Book of Judges: The Art of Editing* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; Biblical Interpretation 38; Leiden: Brill, 1999), esp. 114–17; eadem, "The Book of Judges: Dating and Meaning," in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded* (ed. Gershon Galil, Markham J. Gellar, and A. R. Millard; VTSup 130; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 297–320. However, the book's ideological stance is far from clear, especially given the ambiguity of Gideon's flirtation with kingship and the book's place within its larger deuteronomistic literary context; see, e.g., Andrew D. H. Mayes, "Deuteronomistic Royal Ideology in Judges 17–21," *BibInt* 9 (2001): 241–58; and Dennis T. Olson, "Buber, Kingship, and the Judges: A Study of Judges 6–9 and 17–21," in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts* (ed. Bernard F. Batto and Kathryn L. Roberts; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 199–218. See more below.

lawlessness and anarchy that increasingly dominate the land during this pre-monarchic era, especially in the interregna between judges, when the Israelites turn to apostasy. But its precise take on the institution of kingship is difficult to ascertain.

The book's concluding refrain clearly helps cast its conclusion in negative light. Throughout the ancient Judean literary corpus, there is no question that one should do what is right in *Yahweh's eyes*, not what oneself deems right.[10] This is evident in Judges itself, when the Israelites are punished for doing what is evil in Yahweh's eyes (e.g., 13:1). Therefore, the book concludes on a tragic note, clearly on a downturn in the apostasy-oppression-delivery cycle that features so prominently in the book's central stories (cf. 2:10–19). Israel is a far cry from the days of Joshua's leadership, when the people faithfully served (עבד) Yahweh (2:7; cf. Josh 24:2, 14–24, 31). It is a far cry, too, from the days of successful judgeship, the upturns in the cycle.[11] The book remembers the events of chs. 17–21 tragically, providing a narrative crux for ancient Judean kingship-discourse. The period of judgeship, at least according to the book of Judges, was a crucial moment in Judah's memories of its distant past, an unsettling time when the people and its leadership dissolved into chaos, before the era of kingship.

Frequently, therefore, scholars understand the book as an advertisement for kingship to come. Marc Brettler, for example, argues that the book sets the stage for the

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10.   Cf. Olson, "Buber," 214–15. *Pace* Susan Niditch, *Judges: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 180–82, who argues that the refrain "is not, as some have suggested, an indictment of early times of chaos, but an accepting commentary on a romantic, battle-ridden, foundation period in the history of the nation" (180). Note, however, in more recent work Niditch seems to concede that the period of judges is at least partly characterized by chaos (see below). See W. J. Dumbrell, "'In those days there was no king in Israel; Every man did what was right in his own eyes': The Purpose of the Book of Judges Reconsidered," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 23–33, who reads the refrain as critical of the disintegration on display in chs. 17–21, but without seeing it as an outright endorsement for kingship.
11.   As I mentioned above, figures like Ehud are said to have presided over many decades of peace and prosperity during this era (in Ehud's case, 80 years, double the standard symbolic timeframe of 40 years; cf. Judg 3:30).

failure of Saul's reign, and that it is decidedly pro-David in ideology and narrative structure.[12] He calls Judges a "prefiguration" of the book of Samuel.[13] The book's infamous conclusion disparages Benjamin, characterizing the men of Gibeah as "worthless/wicked/good for nothing" (בני־בליעל) (19:22), and the book appears to lionize Judah, especially in its opening and closing narratives, crediting the tribe with completing the conquest of the land (1:1–11) and emphasizing the tribe's special, divinely chosen status (e.g., 20:18). Some hesitate to adopt Brettler's particular emphasis on Davidic polemics, but scholars generally acknowledge pro-Judah, anti-Benjamin, and anti-North slants within the book.[14] I too acknowledge these ideologies, even if they are not as dominant as some scholars argue. I also agree that, on the whole, the book presents the period between Joshua and kingship as a time characterized by social disintegration and even chaos.[15]

Granting that these ideological biases are at play, one might still ask: Is Judges ipso facto *pro*-kingship? Does it actually promote the institution of kingship as an effective arbiter of social justice in the land of Israel? Many scholars today claim "yes," again usually pointing to the book's concluding chapters.[16] But the answer is far from

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12.　Brettler, "Book of Judges"; idem, *Book of Judges*, 111–16.
13.　Brettler, *Book of Judges*, 115–16.
14.　E.g., Brettler, "Book of Judges"; Sweeney, "Davidic Polemics"; O'Connell, *Rhetoric*; Amit, "Book of Judges," 319, comments that, in the book, "the pro-Judah line cannot be questioned, but the pro-Davidic undercurrents are too difficult to find." However, these polemics are tempered: Ehud is a successful Benjaminite, and the North is not all bad (or at least not worse per se than the South); see Olson, "Buber," 207–208, 215; also Susanne Gillmayr-Bucher, "Framework and Discourse in the Book of Judges," *JBL* 128 (2009): 687–702.
15.　Cf. Olson, "Buber," 214–15.
16.　E.g., Brettler, "Book of Judges"; Gale Yee, "Ideological Criticism: Judges 17–21 and the Dismembered Body," in *Judges and Method* (ed. Gale Yee; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 146–70; O'Connell, *Rhetoric*, 268–304; Sweeney, "Davidic Polemics"; Amit, *Book of Judges*, 114–17; idem, "Book of Judges." Of these, Amit is again the most reserved, stating that the book ultimately promotes kingship, but it also knows the limitations of the office (see esp. "Book of Judges," 310).

clear—after all, early on in the book, when judges are actually doing their job (during upturns in the cycle), things go quite well for Israel (e.g., Othniel, Ehud, Deborah, Gideon to a certain extent). Moreover, during the events of the book's infamous conclusion, there is certainly no king, as the text states, but there is no judge either. It is an interregnum, when one is to expect the chaos. If the book looks forward to the time of kingship, serving as a kind of advertisement for Davidic kingly rule, then it certainly forgets many of the details in the interim; it does not look forward to what happens in Samuel's story, to his successful turn at judgeship, and to his criticisms of the people and kingship, the messy beginnings of monarchy in 1 Sam 1–7. The opening chapters of 1 Samuel, which are closely tied to the book of Judges, counter any outright pro-kingship sentiment in Judges. The sentiment may indeed be there, but it must be understood as part of the larger mnemonic system (more below).

In a recent essay, Susan Niditch explores the kingship question and concludes that the book is not necessarily pro-kingship *an sich*.[17] The judges, she argues, are heroes like those often found in early national histories, and heroes are complicated figures. For example, Samson has major shortcomings, but his story, one can argue, also concludes with a "heroic apotheosis."[18] In any case, David—whose rule the book of Judges

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17.   Susan Niditch, "Judges, Kingship, and Political Ethics: A Challenge to the Conventional Wisdom," in *Thus Says the Lord: Essays on the Former and Latter Prophets in Honor of Robert R. Wilson* (ed. John J. Ahn and Stephen L. Cook; LHBOTS 502; New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 59–70.

18.   Niditch, "Political Ethics," 67. To be sure, this is something of an overstatement. Samson's character and his success as a judge (or lack thereof) have frequently been objects of study in the history of biblical scholarship. For a view that opposes Niditch's, see, e.g., Amit, *Book of Judges*, 266–67. For additional takes and full bibliographies, see the recent volume, *Samson: Hero or Fool? The Many Faces of Samson* (ed. Erik Eynikel and Tobias Nicklas; Themes in Biblical Narrative 17; Leiden: Brill, 2014). It is true that Samson is a failure on some level. Despite his lofty beginnings as a child dedicated to Yahweh, he never successfully removes Philistines presence from Israel, so Samuel must complete the task much later (1 Sam 7:13) (more below). He does give the Philistines major headaches (cf. Judg 16:24), but his exploits are always for personal gain, not for the glory of Yahweh or Israel. Even in destroying the Philistine temple, he claims revenge for his blinded eyes as self-motivation (Judg 16:28). Proper Yahwistic devotion

supposedly promotes—is no more apt than the judges at preventing moral bankruptcy in

the land (e.g., 2 Sam 13).[19] Niditch concludes her study with these insightful comments:

> The book of Judges offers a complex and ambivalent view of kingship that
> acknowledges its role in Israelite polity without endorsing it or propagandizing in
> favor of the monarchy. ... The final voice of Judges is steeped in Israelite
> tradition. Judges presents the traditional-style tales of Israelite heroes and the
> people's foundation myths, while acknowledging these narratives as a source of
> identity and a critical repository of group memory.[20]

From my perspective, Niditch's problematizing of the popular pro-kingship reading of

Judges is, on the whole, convincing. There are noteworthy pro-Judah and anti-Benjamin

statements in the book, but these are not pro-kingship arguments per se. The book casts a

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is never a part of his story. Nonetheless, Yahweh is clearly the source of Samson's strength, and the deity
works through the judge throughout the story (e.g., Judg 13:24–25; 14:6, 19; 15:14). In addition, the deity
answers Samson's prayer at the end of the judge's life in order to secure a great victory over the Philistines
(Judg 16:29–30) during the cycle of Philistine oppression (cf. Judg 13:1, 5), which is Niditch's point (cf.
her *Judges*, 154–55). See also J. Cheryl Exum, "The Theological Dimension of the Samson Saga," *VT* 33
(1983): 30–45, who highlights the actions of Yahweh in the story. One should note, too, that a number of
ancient communities read the Samson narrative in this way, seeing him as a successful judge and even a
person of great faith, despite his character flaws. See esp. 1 Sam 12:11, which, in several Greek
manuscripts, in the Syriac Peshitta, and in the Aramaic Targums, includes Samson among its list of great
judges; and also compare Heb 11:32 in the New Testament.

19.   Cf. Amit, *Book of Judges*, 339.

20.   Niditch, "Political Ethics," 70. I find this comment insightful and compelling, but I must also offer
some qualifications. Niditch hears three major voices in the book, each voice representing a stage of
composition/redaction, and each ultimately informing one another (cf. *Judges*, 8–13). According to her
analysis, chs. 17–21 (along with ch. 1) are to be associated with the final voice, what she calls the
"Humanist" (because of its emphasis on humanity and human actions, with God and the cult mostly in the
background), and which she dates to the late Persian era. This voice, she argues, is ultimately responsible
for the entire book, and the voice preserved its "inherited traditions" with a "light hand" (*Judges*, 13). (For
additional views on the history of the book's composition, see the recent survey in Barry G. Webb, *The
Book of Judges* [NICOT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2012], 20–32.) However, one should note that
Niditch, within her particular approach, allows for the existence of multiple, competing "parties" in Persian
Judah (cf. *Judges*, 12–13)—an approach that I find problematic, given the demographics of the region in
this time period (see Chapter 1). Thus, her observations about the "composers" of Judges 17–21 do not
necessarily apply, mutatis mutandis, to my understanding of the Persian-period literati. The issue is, the
literati were responsible for and were reading a number of other books, including the books of Samuel,
Kings, and Chronicles. These readings would have necessarily interacted with understandings of the book
of Judges, and would have shaped how the literati thought about kingship with regard to that book. In other
words, Judges offers several important statements to the kingship-discourse, statements that Niditch lucidly
identifies and analyzes, but these statements are part of a larger, more complex system of thinking about
kingship; they are not the product of one particular literate faction among many in Persian Judah.

dark shadow on the chaotic periods of apostasy and the interregna between judges, but it also provides examples of great Israelite leadership.

Given the obvious multivocality concerning kingship and judgeship *throughout* the Judean corpus of literature, not only in the book of Judges, one must then ask: How did Judges' polyvalent view of past leadership contribute to other understandings of leadership, and vice versa, among the Judean literati reading this book vis-à-vis other books? In other words, how did this "critical repository of group memory" work together with other memories of kingship and judgeship in the Judean mnemonic system? Judges itself has a complex take on the issue, and when read alongside other texts in the Judean corpus the discourse becomes even more complicated. In the rest of this chapter, and throughout this study, I hope to show that there are no singular or definitive answers to these questions; the answers are paradoxical, doublethought.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

To approach these questions, one must situate the book of Judges within its discursive context, to begin to understand how the book, with its concluding chapters that appear to long for the justice of kingship, might work within the emplotment of Israel's kingship story. First of all, one should note that Judges contains a number of literary connections with the book of Samuel that link the texts discursively. For example, there are salient tribal and geographical correspondences: the overarching emphases upon Judah and Benjamin; the conspicuous mention of Gibeah, Ramah, and Jerusalem in Judg 19:10–14, as well as the house of God (בית־האלהים) at Shiloh in Judg 18:31—topoi that feature prominently in the narratives of 1 Samuel.[21] In addition, Samuel himself forms a

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21. Cf. Klaas Spronk, "From Joshua to Samuel: Some Remarks on the Origin of the Book of Judges,"

kind of inclusio with Samson, whose life introduces Philistine oppression in the era.[22]

Both stories feature the barren mother motif and the vows of unshorn hair (Judg 13:1–7; 1 Sam 1:1–11),[23] and there is each figure's subduing of the Philistines (Judg 13:5; 16:30; 1 Sam 7:13). But their respective narratives, considered in toto, do not follow similar trajectories. They are two different sides of a coin, or perhaps two different coins all together. One carouses with Philistine women and tears apart lions with his bare hands, whereas the other receives prophetic messages directly from Yahweh and makes burnt offerings for the people, encouraging proper Yahwistic devotion. Most importantly, Samson—despite successfully slaughtering thousands of Philistines—fails to bring an end to the cycle of Philistine dominance;[24] thus, the task is left for Samuel, who indeed drives the enemy out of the land (at least for a time; see below). Nonetheless, the texts imply that Samuel's narrative falls within the period of the Judges, specifically in the span of Philistine oppression, introduced in Judg 13:1 and typified in the book of Judges by the Samson cycle.

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in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort* (VTSup 124; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 137–49 (141). Reinhard Müller points to a number of other salient connections (see his "1 Samuel 1 as the Opening Chapter of the Deuteronomistic History?" in *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History* [ed. Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala; SBLAIL 16; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013], 207–23). See also Serge Frolov, "Rethinking Judges," *CBQ* 71 (2009): 24–41; idem, *Judges* (FOTL; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013), esp. 11–29. Frolov argues that the interconnections between Judges and its surrounding books undermine any attempt to read Judges, in its canonical-book form, as a distinct literary unit.

22. See, e.g., Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 48–49; O'Connell, *Rhetoric*, 282; Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 50–51; Spronk, "From Joshua to Samuel," 143–44; also Frolov, "Rethinking Judges," 30; idem, *Judges*, 17–18. *Pace* Antony F. Campbell, *1 Samuel* (FOTL 7; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 93, who argues that Samuel is *not* characterized as a judge in 1 Sam 7.

23. 4QSam^a 1:22 actually reads that Hannah dedicates Samuel as a nazirite (נזיר), which makes the connection with Samson even stronger (cf. Judg 13:7). Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 5.347. The נזיר reference in lacking in the LXX and MT, however. See *BQS* 1:260–61. For further discussion of the nazirite vow in relation to Samuel, see Rachelle Gilmour, *Representing the Past: A Literary Analysis of Narrative Historiography in the Book of Samuel* (VTSup 143; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 55–56.

24. However, one can still argue that ancient Judeans saw Samson as a partly successful judge, despite his obvious shortcomings (cf. the ancient versions of 1 Sam 12:11; also Heb 11:32; and see above, n. 18).

Given the mnemonic placement of Samuel in the period of Judges, one would expect some amount of discursive continuity between the book of Judges and the figure of Samuel as interconnected sites of memory, and this is precisely what one finds. Judges is a multivocal, polyvalent book, and Samuel is a multivocal, polyvalent figure. Neither may be reduced to a single statement or meaning within the discourse.

As discussed above, the book of Judges both enables and undermines kingship. Its closing chapters hint at kingship's ability to quiet chaos (cf. 17:6 etc.), and yet the Gideon-Abimelech saga (chs. 6–9)—by verse count the longest narrative cycle in the book—seems to reinforce Yahweh's kingship (8:22–23) and reveals the potentially disastrous nature of human dynasties (ch. 9, esp. 9:6–20) (see more below). Kingship, according to Judges, is multifaceted and complex, like the kings and judges themselves. The traditional institutions of human leadership in Israel's past are both undergirded and undermined in multiple ways, within the narrative structure of an individual book.[25]

Similarly, the opening chapters of 1 Samuel, in which one finds the story of Samuel himself, present diverse takes on the issue of kingship, both acknowledging its part in Yahweh's divine plan (e.g., 1 Sam 9:15–16) and decrying the inevitable abuses of royal power (e.g., 1 Sam 8:10–18), abuses that are linked to the rejection of *Yahweh's*

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25.   That said, the book of Judges does help construe a generic concept of ideal leadership, be it royal or not, within Judean society. The book, on the whole, develops a set of interrelated, dialectical themes. First and foremost, rulership ultimately belongs to Yahweh. Second, those seeking power for personal advantage will meet a catastrophic end. And third, leaders cannot rely on personal strength, but only on Yahweh's might (cf. J. P. M. Walsh, *The Mighty from Their Thrones: Power in the Biblical Tradition* [OBT 21; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1987], 73–75). Samson, discussed above, walks the line between themes two and three, serving as a prooftext for both. His victories are all personal, and he meets a catastrophic end. Yet his story reinforces that his strength to accomplish these victories (selfish as they are) comes entirely from the deity. It should also be noted, these dialectical themes are found in royal ideology throughout the ancient Near East. The success of human rulership is typically contingent upon the human ruler's subservience to divine rule. See, e.g., the surveys in Keith Whitelam, "King and Kingship," *ABD* 4:40–48; and J. N. Postgate, "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Sumer and Akkad," in *CANE* 1:395–411.

kingship and oversight (cf. 1 Sam 8:7, 18).[26] Of course, this was the reason behind

Wellhausen's famous source-critical division of the text over a century ago.[27] Source- and

redaction-critical questions aside, the postmonarchic *book* of 1 Samuel retained this

multivocal narrative structure with regards to kingship, a multivocality that clearly

reflects Judean social remembering of kingship in its postmonarchic milieu. As David

Jobling puts it, the books of Judges and Samuel are "neither pro-monarchic nor anti-

monarchic, nor balanced between the two. [They let] monarchy be seen for good or bad,

and judgeship for good or bad."[28] Ultimately, these books enable and support the rise of

the Judean king David, the prototypically good Israelite king, but they also, in part,

undermine the legacy and necessity of Israelite kingship in general.

The Trouble with Transitions

There is little doubt that the book of Judges is intentionally linked to the books that

precede and follow in the traditional sequence. It narrates events at the time of Joshua's

death, and it does appear to serve as an introduction to the books of Samuel. It thus

bridges the gap between conquest and kingship, without promoting or condoning the

latter per se. Of course, this line of argument is essential to understanding Judges as some

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26. "You will cry out on that day, on account of your king whom you have chosen, and Yahweh will not answer you on that day" (1 Sam 8:18). Note that Chronicles balances this out by making Davidic kingship a regency under the kingdom of Yahweh (e.g., 1 Chron 28:5); cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCBC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), 26–28. See more below and in Chapter 4.
27. For recent studies, see, e.g., Reinhard Müller, *Königtum und Gottesherrschaft: Untersuchungen zur alttestamentlichen Monarchiekritik* (FAT 2.3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), esp. 119–96; Christophe Nihan, "1 Samuel 8 and 12 and the Deuteronomistic Edition of Samuel," in *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History* (ed. Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala; SBLAIL 16; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 225–73; Jeremy M. Hutton, "'Long Live the King!': Deuteronomism in 1 Sam 10:17–27a in Light of Ahansali Intratribal Mediation," in *Is Samuel?* 275–323.
28. Jobling, *Sense of Biblical Narrative II*, 87.

sort of polemical introduction to Samuel, whether pro-kingship or not. These issues raise

a series of important questions concerning social memory and kingship-discourse: If

Judges somehow introduces Samuel, as I argued above, how does Joshua introduce

Judges? What discursive trends does the book of Joshua establish? Moreover, how does

Samuel himself, his story, actually fit into the discourse? Scholars often point to the links

between the book of Judges and the figures of Saul and David; but what about Samuel,

the judge-priest-prophet who stands in between?

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Judges's much discussed "double prologue" (1:1–3:6) contains a Judah-centric

version of the conquest and a complicated theological exposé of Israel's ongoing

difficulties in the land. The so-called prologue serves as the book's thematic introduction

and strongly links it to the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua.[29] Joshua's second death

notice in Judg 2:6–9, linked with Josh 24:28–31,[30] makes a point of Israel's faithfulness

to Yahweh under Joshua's leadership, an ideal generation under an ideal leader. The

Judean readership, doubtless, had the book of Joshua (and Deuteronomy) in mind as they

took up the book of Judges. So how would Joshua have informed the literati's reading of

Judges with regard to kingship?

Looking at the book of Joshua, the literati would be tempted to characterize the

book's eponymous hero as a warrior-king who single-handedly slaughtered entire

coalitions of enemy kings (see esp. Joshua 10–11). There is certainly an element of

unmatched kingliness in Joshua's role as conqueror of the promised land; a number of

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29.   See O'Connell, *Rhetoric*, 58–59; also Barry G. Webb, *The Book of Judges: An Integrated Reading* (JSOTSup 46; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 81–122.

30.   Brettler, *Book of Judges*, 94–96, following Smend, labels Judg 2:6–9 a *Wiederaufnahme*, arguing that Judg 1:1–2:10 was originally an appendix to the book of Joshua.

common ancient Near Eastern warrior-king tropes appear in the book.[31] However, from the beginning of the actual conquest account, when the supernatural "captain of Yahweh's army" (שר צבא יהוה) shows up (Josh 5:13–15),[32] it is clear that Yahweh is the true warrior-king, not Joshua. The Israelite army, and the glory of its victories, belongs to the deity, as Josh 24:31 and Judg 2:7 clearly state. The mighty deeds were Yahweh's alone.[33] Israel did not need a human king to conquer and settle the land long ago; they only needed Joshua son of Nun, Moses' former servant, and their all-powerful deity. In this way, Joshua was a hybridized figure, like his predecessor Moses. He functioned within and outside ancient Near Eastern conventions. Since, in the literature, both Moses and Joshua act as kings but are actually *not* kings, their narratives end up subverting ancient Near Eastern expectations for kingship: Moses redefined who could mediate divine law,[34] and Joshua redefined who could conquer divinely promised land.

These points would not have been lost on the literati, who lived in a Persian province with little to no sociopolitical or economic capital, and whose own Judahite monarchy was no more. In the literati's thinking, kings were not the only ones who could foster divine law and conquer enemies—priestly and judge-like prophets could do so too. Thus, Joshua's non-king status would have helped legitimize and justify Judah's

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31.   See Chapter 2.
32.   Note the parallel in Assurbanipal's Prism B, in which Ishtar of Arbela appears to a "visionary" (*šabrû*) in a dream, holding a bow and a drawn sword, in order to encourage Assurbanipal in his battle against Elam. See Martii Nissinen, with C. L. Seow and Robert K. Ritner, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (SBLWAW 12; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), text 101 (esp. pp. 147–48); also John Van Seters, "Joshua's Campaign of Canaan and Near Eastern Historiography." *SJOT* 4 (1990): 1–12, esp. 9–11.
33.   Cf. Josh 6:2; 8:1–2; 10:8–11, 42; 11:6–9, 18–20. See also Ian D. Wilson, "Conquest and Form: Narrativity in Joshua 5–11 and Historical Discourse in Ancient Judah," *HTR* 106 (2013): 309–29, esp. 317–20.
34.   See Chapter 2.

subjugated status under the Persian empire: remembering a great Israelite leader from

long ago—one who was priestly and judge-like and prophetic, but who was not a king—

likely would have assuaged ill feelings concerning Judah's lack of an indigenous king in

the present day, at least to a certain extent. Of course, one must think of the conquest

account as having symbolic (certainly not literal) import for Judean society, since there is

no evidence of any kind of Judean offensive during the Persian era and, in any case, the

province had no military. The account was not linked with any real geopolitical

aspirations.[35] By recounting the summary of Joshua's leadership, the book of Judges

reinforces this memory of the hybrid Joshua—the successful conqueror who was no

king—within the mnemonic system. Joshua's leadership was an ideal time, when

Yahweh worked through Moses' successor to accomplish miraculous acts for the people.

The discourse also makes a point of the primary *reason* for Joshua's success. At

the outset of the book of Joshua, readers discover (via the voice of Yahweh) that Joshua's

success is contingent upon his ability to faithfully observe the instructions given to

Moses. Day and night Joshua is to study the "book of Torah" (ספר התורה) (Josh 1:7–8).

This clear reference to Deuteronomy recalls the law of the king (Deut 17:14–20),

discussed fully in Chapter 2. When Israel enters into the promised land, the law states, it

may appoint a king (17:14–15a). That king shall not be a foreigner, nor shall he have

many horses or many wives or excessive wealth (17:15b–17). Furthermore, and most

importantly, a "book/scroll" (ספר) of "this Torah" (התורה הזאת) shall remain with the king

and be his guide, his conduit for divine instruction for his entire life (17:18–19). The

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35.   The same may be said for its import in any earlier era. If the conquest account has its origins in the late monarchic period, as many scholars argue, then even at that time the account would have had only symbolic function. Cf. Wilson, "Conquest and Form," esp. 325–29.

future king must be bound to Torah, just like Joshua. The text foresees the institution of kingship in the land, and requires this institution to be subject to Torah, just as Joshua is to be subject to Torah in his role as conquerer of the land.[36] The law also claims that, if the king follows Torah, he and his descendants will reign long in the midst of Israel (17:20).

By twice emphasizing the unqualified success of Joshua's leadership (Josh 24:31; Judg 2:7), the discourse strongly implies that Joshua did indeed faithfully observe Torah, that he meditated upon it day and night and thus proved to be a strong example for the people. What, then, of the issue of dynasty, of descendants and ongoing leadership in Israel? After Joshua's death there emerges a theological and sociopolitical crisis: the people forsake Yahweh for other gods, and accordingly Yahweh no longer fights for Israel, allowing the people's enemies to gain the upper hand. The text in Judges credits this to the people's lack of memory (they had not experienced Yahweh's miracles in person) (cf. Judg 2:10–11), but one can infer from the discourse that the ultimate cause is a lack of proper Torah leadership. The discourse implies that, if Joshua's successors had continued observing Torah, modeling it for the people and reminding them of Yahweh's might, the people would have faithfully served their deity alone and had ongoing success in the land.

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Here, in the mnemonic linkage between Joshua and the king-law of Deuteronomy, and in the transition from Joshua to the era of Judges, one finds the first rumbles of

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36.   As noted in Chapter 2, it also foresees the role of the literati in the land, the ones who observe and study Torah for the benefit of society, for the sake of the society's success and longevity.

ongoing problems with succession and dynasty. The discourse lays out several narrative paths with regard to these issues, winding paths that seemingly cross over one another and double back, and that ultimately find their mnemonic frame in the king-law and in these pre-monarchic moments of transition in Israel's human leadership. I return to these issues below and in subsequent chapters, but it will be helpful to briefly outline them now.

First, the king-law implies that kingship in Israel is meant to be dynastic, that is, to be hereditary (cf. Deut 17:20).[37] It also states outright that the dynasty's success is contingent upon the king's devotion to Torah: only if the king commits himself to Torah-obedience and humility before his people will the dynasty be successful.

Second, Joshua is not a king, but his succession to Israel's leadership has strong connections with kingship and kingly succession.[38] Joshua is to follow Torah, just as the Deuteronomic king is. However, Joshua's rise to leadership is obviously not a hereditary succession. Joshua is not Moses' son or one of his descendants; rather, Yahweh chooses Joshua as successor (cf. Num 27:15–23). Moses, therefore, does not establish a dynasty per se. The discourse, in this pre–monarchic era, creates a succession of leadership whose line is not hereditary. The leaders are chosen by Yahweh himself, not by family lineage. These leaders may be (and are) kingly in certain regards, but they are not dynasts. This is the system in place for most of the Judges period, Gideon and Abimelech being the exception (Judg 8–9).

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37.   See Chapter 2.
38.   See Chapter 2.

Third, as successful as Joshua is, Israelite leadership collapses not long after his death. Within a couple generations, the people turn to apostasy (cf. Judg 2:10–19). This brings us to the cyclical element of Judges: the turns of apostasy-oppression-deliverance, of which the deity eventually grows tired (cf. Judg 10:10–16), and which culminate in the book's chaotic conclusion. The discourse appears to say here that non-hereditary leadership of this sort does not and cannot succeed in the long run. However, within this same discursive setting, there is the narrative of Gideon and Abimelech, which plays devil's advocate by problematizing hereditary leadership as well. After Gideon's death, his seventy sons form something of an aristocracy, but Abimelech, claiming that one ruler is better than seventy, seizes power by murdering his brothers. Then Jotham, the one surviving brother, criticizes the events with a striking fable. The entire episode in Judges 9 ends up highlighting the problematics of hereditary rule, in the midst of a book that, for the most part, devotes its text to problematizing *non*-hereditary succession (more below).

Fourth, looking ahead to the era of monarchy, one finds yet another take on the problem in the narratives of Davidic kingship. Like Moses to Joshua, the transition of power from David to Solomon is based upon an admonition to live and lead by Torah.[39] Again, for a time the people are immensely prosperous, and they devote themselves to Yahweh, even building his temple in Jerusalem. Yet also again, the leadership falls apart, this time in only a single generation (cf. 1 Kgs 11–12), and the deity eventually grows weary of disobedience (cf. 2 Kgs 17:13–20).[40] However, there are some important

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39.   Note the similarities between Josh 1:6–9 and 1 Kgs 2:1–4. However, note too that, unlike Moses to Joshua, the transition from David to Solomon is anything but smooth. In the DH, the end of David's life and the lead up to Solomon's accession (Amnon and Tamar, Absalom's revolt, Adonijah's [legitimate] claim to the throne) are troublesome times indeed. See Chapter 4.

40.   One of the many divine "turning[s]/rotation[s] of political rule" in Judah's historiographical accounts, a common Near Eastern trope. See, e.g., Peter Machinist, "The Transfer of Kingship: A Divine

differences to note too. With Davidic kingship, of course, the succession is hereditary. Yet even with a divinely approved dynasty in place, Israelite leadership does not, in the end, model and uphold Torah obedience. The vision of Deut 17:20 is not realized. And there is the problem of tension between Davidic/Solomonic kingship and the king-law in general, between the kings and Torah itself, which plays a part in the memory of kingship's downfall in the DH and, to a lesser extent, in Chronicles.[41] So here the discourse again suggests that dynasty, like non-hereditary succession, cannot succeed in the long run.

In sum, the narratives of Moses/Joshua and David/Solomon follow similar trajectories, but the devil is in the details, so to speak. In these narratives, there are convergences and divergences with regard to issues of succession and Torah-based leadership. In both cases, one finds the accessions of divinely approved leaders who successfully guide the people to possess Torah, to settle in the land, to establish peace in the land, and to build Yahweh's temple. Then, in both cases, the leadership quickly collapses, resulting in the eras of judges and the divided monarchy, respectively. And finally the collapses result in lengthy and cyclical struggles with apostasy. Within each case, however, one also finds disagreement concerning the *nature* of succession (hereditary or non-hereditary? power consolidation or distribution?). The texts point to the potential pitfalls inherent in transitions of power, and in doing so, they reflect a central concern for the literati contemplating their past: How did these ongoing problems with succession relate to Israel's failures under different types of leadership? And what

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Turning," in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman* (ed. Astrid B. Beck et al.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), 105–120 (120).

41.   See Chapter 2, and more in Chapter 4.

does all this say about the state of Israel's/Judah's leadership in the postmonarchic present and future?

The discourse constructs two mirror-like subplots of Judah's past, each of which explores issues of succession and dynasty, non-hereditary leadership versus hereditary, and what happens during interregna. The subplots explore various types of leadership—priests and judges and prophets and kings (and various combinations of each)—and whether or not these types are able to successfully guard Torah and inspire obedience to it over long periods of time, over the course of a long succession of leaders. Within the overarching story there are a number of parallels and juxtapositions, different paths to explore, which, for the literati, contributed to the social remembering of kingship (and other types of leadership too). Notably, the figures of Samuel and Saul, who are microcosms of the larger problems of leadership—succession and dynasty, Torah obedience and disobedience—appear in the very middle of the overarching plot, at the transition from pre-monarchy to monarchy. They form a kind of *mise en abyme* within the discourse, and in doing so they provide perhaps the most important framing device for the entire mnemonic system.

That said, before further developing these thoughts, before I focus on Samuel, Saul, and the institution of kingship specifically, I must take one final look at the book of Judges, for it has more to say about the issues of succession and dynasty, particularly in its telling of the Gideon story.

Gideon and Abimelech: Serious Family Issues

In the book of Samuel, Saul becomes Israel's first official human king, but Israel's first flirtation with human kingship actually occurs in the book of Judges, in the Gideon and Abimelech episodes (Judg 6–9).[42] This narrative in Judges, with its affirmation of Yahweh's supreme rule over Israel (8:22–23) and its seemingly critical fable of kingship (9:8–15), obviously contributes to kingship-discourse. Its discursive import, however, goes beyond merely reaffirming the deity's reign and criticizing human monarchic rule. The narrative explores the problem of succession and dynasty within the cyclical era of judgeship, ultimately providing a counterbalance to narratives that seemingly prefer hereditary leadership, kingly or otherwise. It thus makes a specific contribution to the issues introduced above, and deserves an extended discussion before moving on.

At the beginning of Gideon's story, he is a timid figure who shies away from Yahweh's call (6:11–18),[43] but soon enough he is chasing Midianite kings across the Jordan and brutally killing those who refuse him bread along the way (ch. 8), quickly warming up to his position of power. Notably, upon being apprehended, the Midianite rulers claim that Gideon looks like a king's son (8:18). After the decisive victory over Midian, the Israelites want Gideon to rule [משל] and found a dynasty (8:22).[44] Gideon responds: "I will not rule [משל] over you, nor will my son rule over you; Yahweh will rule over you" (8:23). Scholarship has often interpreted this statement as anti-monarchy, but within the literary context this interpretation is far from clear.[45] The motivation behind his refusal might be dubious. This apparently pious statement is perhaps just a

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42.   That is, excluding the somewhat kingly figures of Moses and Joshua.
43.   Cf. Moses, Jeremiah, and others.
44.   Though the people do not request a "king" (מלך) it is clear that this is what they want. משל often refers to the rule of kings, throughout the Hebrew Bible. See *HALOT*.
45.   See discussion and references in Olson, "Buber," 208–12.

declaration of false humility in the midst of an outright power grab. After refusing to establish a dynasty, Gideon nevertheless acts very kingly, at least according to the ancient Near Eastern conventions. He subdues his enemies for forty years, collects copious amounts of gold, acts as a cultic leader, and produces a coterie of children with many wives (8:24–32). Gideon essentially becomes an anti-Deuteronomic king, so perhaps we should not put too much weight in his supposedly pious rejection of dynastic rulership. He rules like the king Israel is not supposed to have, and thus begins the downward spiral of judgeship that plays out in the remainder of the book. Somewhat like Manasseh, who reigns an astounding fifty-five years in spite of his wickedness (2 Kgs 21:1–18), Gideon leads forty years of peace in Israel despite his bad-king behavior, which includes his creating a cult object (אפוד) to which Israel "prostitutes" (זנה) itself (8:27). In the remainder of Judges, though, following the Gideon narrative, the periods of foreign oppression become longer and the periods of peace become shorter, leading to the book's chaotic conclusion.[46]

After Gideon's death, the people again abandon Yahweh for the Baals, as they are wont to do (8:33–34). But then, curiously, the narrative seems to put in a good word, so to speak, for dynastic judgeship, despite Gideon's previous rejection of dynasty. Judges 8:35 states that Israel had turned from Yahweh and *from the house of Gideon*, indicting the people for their disloyalty to the family of a judge who delivered them. This is the only instance in Judges in which there is an expectation for loyalty to a judge's descendants.[47] Keep in mind, too, that Gideon is the most kingly of the judges.[48] The

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46.   Cf. Olson, "Buber," 205–206.
47.   Cf. Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 47.
48.   Again, excluding Moses and Joshua from consideration.

narrative appears to be testing discursive possibilities, the various paths for Israelite government and governmental succession, already laid out in Deuteronomic law and in the transition from Moses' leadership to Joshua's. Gideon has rejected human kingship and affirmed divine rule, and yet he acts just like a Near Eastern king, which transgresses Torah and leads the people into idolatry. Nonetheless, the discourse demands respect for Gideon's heirs; it promotes a kind of aristocratic judgeship that, up to this moment in the narrative's timeline, had remained out of sight and out of mind. The conclusion to Gideon's story is, in effect, a condemnation of conventional kingship (it confirms Deuteronomy's fears of such rule) and, at the same time, it is an affirmation of hereditary succession, heretofore untested. Moreover, the Abimelech story in Judges 9, a continuation of Gideon's story, implicitly *re*affirms the legitimacy of hereditary succession by also assuming that rulership should somehow pass on through Gideon's house. In this way, these episodes look back to and converse with the king-law's expectation for dynastic rule while challenging the non-hereditary precedent set by Moses-Joshua and subsequent judges up to Gideon. Moreover, the Gideon-Abimelech episodes frame the story of Samuel, who, in his narrative, actually attempts to establish a hereditary judgeship in his lifetime, and who lambasts the sort of kingship that Gideon partly embodies (1 Sam 8; see below).

This brings readers to Abimelech, one of Gideon's many sons, whose name conspicuously means "My father is king."[49] The key issue in this story is the transfer and

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49.   The implications here are legion. The name may be understood as theophoric (cf. Jeaneane D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew: A Comparative Study* [JSOTSup 49; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988], 50–53). In this sense the name emits a strongly ironic tone, since it promotes the deity's kingship while the one who bears it attempts to become king himself (cf. 1 Sam 8:7). It is also obviously playing with Gideon's previous refusal of dynastic rule and Abimelech's attempt to consolidate dynastic power anyway. Cf. Niditch, *Judges*, 115. Also, to read into the story, if Abimelech were to see his name as

distribution of power in light of the aforementioned dynastic expectation (Judg 9:1–2). In the vacuum after his father's death, Abimelech recognizes the potential for a kind of aristocratic oligarchy, in which power is distributed among his dozens of brothers (and thus their family lines). He means to put a stop to it. Who wants seventy rulers (משל) in Shechem, he declares, when there could be one?[50] In his rhetoric he appeals specifically to issues of lineage, emphasizing that the "seventy rulers" are all the sons of Gideon, and implying that, even if he takes sole possession of rulership, the brothers will remain politically linked because he is their "bone and flesh." His argument amounts to: "No one likes infighting and power struggles, so let me take sole control, but I'll still keep you in the loop since you're my brothers!" Thus, concerning succession, in this story, the question is not one of hereditary versus non-hereditary, but *what kind* of hereditary rulership. However, in its criticisms of the situation (via Jotham's fable), the story nonetheless inherently challenges the taken-for-granted status of familial power.

Much has been said about Abimelech's brief reign as king (מלך) (9:6) and his brother Jotham's fable of kingship (9:7–21), so I will not dwell on it here.[51] Scholars have posited that the passage is critical of monarchy itself, of those not willing to take on

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legitimizing his rise to power, it would be a hollow claim, for his brothers (including Jotham, who levels criticisms at the situation) are also Gideon's sons and thus sons of the "king."

50.   The seventy sons motif appears also in 2 Kgs 10:1–7 and in the Panamuwa II inscription from ancient Sam'al (Zinçirli) (*KAI* 215). See comment in Brian R. Doak, "Some Worthless and Reckless Fellows," *JHS* 11 (2011), article 2, n. 12, with additional references; online: http://www.jhsonline.org.
51.   Recent examples include Müller, *Königtum*, 96–117; Walter Groß, with Karten von Erasmus Gaß, *Richter* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2009), 477–527; Jeremy Schipper, *Parables and Confl ct in the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 23–40; Niditch, "Political Ethics"; Gordon K. Oeste, *Legitimacy, Illegitimacy, and the Right to Rule: Windows on Abimelech's Rise and Demise in Judges 9* (LHBOTS 546; New York: T&T Clark, 2011); Miller, *Ways of a King*, 241–44; Brian P. Irwin, "Not Just Any King: Abimelech, the Northern Monarchy, and the Final Form of Judges," *JBL* 131 (2012): 443–54; Susanne Gillmayr-Bucher, "What Did Jotham Talk About? Metaphorical Rhetoric in Judges 9:7–20," in *Conceptual Metaphors in Poetic Texts: Proceedings of the Metaphor Research Group of the European Association of Biblical Studies in Lincoln 2009* (ed. Antje Labahn; PHSC 18; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2013), 31–45.

leadership, of the people's apparently unsuitable choice for a king, or some combination of these options.[52] For our purposes it is important to think about the text in relation to the issue of dynasty and dynastic succession, introduced in the Gideon episode and continued with Abimelech's ruthless consolidation of power after his kingly father's death. Although it has been popular in the history of scholarship to label the text as overtly "anti-monarchic,"[53] one should keep in mind that its criticism is leveled at the immediate situation, not at monarchy in general.[54] It invites a plethora of readings in this literary context.[55] Recognizing the polyvalence, Baruch Halpern actually calls Jotham's fable both "the most devastating critique and strongest endorsement of kingship in the Hebrew Bible."[56]

Without getting further into the finer points of the text's interpretation, one can say at least this: sometimes less-than-desirable rulers end up making blood-soaked power grabs; and sometimes the ruling lineage unwittingly enables the rise of such ruthless

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52. See Gillmayr-Bucher, "Jotham," 32–33, for references.
53. The prime example being Martin Buber, "Books of Judges and Book of Judges," in his *Kingship of God* (3d ed.; trans. Richard Scheimann; New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 66–84.
54. Cf. Amit, *Book of Judges*, 106–107; Müller, *Königtum*, 34; also Niditch, "Political Ethics," 64–66; and Miller, *Ways of a King*, 242. Irwin, "Not Just Any King," 447–53, suggests that Abimelech is meant to parallel the early kings of the North and is thus a polemic against northern kingship in particular, which broke off from the Davidic line and had recurring problems with succession. Note the parallel between Judg 9:4 and 2 Chr 13:7. See also the classic essay by Albrecht Alt, "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (trans. R. A. Wilson; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), 311–35, in which he juxtaposes his understandings of the "strictly dynastic monarchy" of the Judahite kingdom and the more "charismatic monarchy" of the North (and note the critique in T. C. G. Thornton, "Charismatic Kingship in Israel and Judah," *JTS* 14 [1963]: 1–11). On "charismatic" kingship in general, with special regard to its conceptualizations in Weberian sociology, see Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 121–46.
55. Cf. J. G. McConville, *God and Earthly Power: An Old Testament Political Theology* (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 126–27; Gillmayr-Bucher, "Jotham," 44.
56. Baruch Halpern, "Between Elective Autocracy and Democracy: Formalizing Biblical Constitutional Theory," in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist* (ed. David S. Vanderhooft and Abraham Winitzer; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 165–83 (166).

autocrats, thus bringing about its own demise. Dynasties and ruling families can be messy businesses. On the surface, Judges 9 takes hereditary succession for granted, but by exposing the messiness of dynastic *Realpolitik*, it implicitly criticizes this mode of succession. Thus, the kingship-discourse is of two minds with regard to dynasty.[57] It sets up an expectation for long-lasting dynastic rule (Deut 17:20) and finds fault in the people for lacking dynastic loyalty (Judg 8:35), but it also questions the viability of a dynastic system by problematizing the politics within such a system (Judg 9). Indeed, Jobling comments that Judges 8–9 sets up a dynastic double-bind between a worthy refuser (Jotham) and an unworthy accepter (Abimelech)—Gideon, the father, who refuses rule but acts kingly nonetheless, simultaneously embodies both.[58] From the perspective of Judges 8–9, dynasty may seem impossible. However, the idealized, Torah-reading king of Deuteronomy is always in the background: keep in mind that Gideon's de facto kingship is the Deuteronomic anti-type. The Deuteronomic king, however impossibly imagined, makes dynasty seem possible.

Now, as already mentioned, at this point the book of Judges starts its downward turn towards chaos and social disintegration, with its increasingly long periods of foreign oppression, and its harrowing conclusion that features brutal rape, violence, and civil war. Following the Gideon and Abimelech episodes, the narrative claims that Yahweh had had enough of the apostasy-oppression-deliverance cycle, and so the deity refuses to continue delivering the people (cf. Judg 10:10–16). "In effect," writes Jack Sasson, "as Jephthah is about to move on stage, God had pulled out of the rescue business, leaving Israel to its

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57.   Which, of course, has import not only for kingship, but for the priesthood too (more below).
58.   Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 49–50.

own devices."[59] It seems that "the experiment in giving rule to Israel via God-selected judges had run its course."[60] Non-hereditary succession becomes increasingly problematic too, so much so that Yahweh is bent on abandoning it. The discourse thus mnemonically frames the story of Samuel and the institution of kingship with a catch–22 concerning dynasty and the succession of divinely chosen leaders in Israel's past.

The Aporia of Samuel, Dynasty, and Divine Promises

To borrow Marc Brettler's intentionally tautological quip, the point of a book's introduction is to introduce it.[61] Although the book of Samuel ultimately deals with the institution of monarchy in Israel and the establishment of Davidic rule in particular, the introduction to the book is the narrative of Samuel himself. It is the figure of Samuel who sets the stage for Saul's fall and David's rise, and it is Samuel who continues to haunt the narrative—literally and figuratively—long after his main scene has concluded.

I have already outlined above the strong connections between the books of Judges and Samuel, which place Samuel chronologically within the age of judgeship, specifically during the period of Philistine oppression begun with Samson's story. This is what, at least on the surface, makes the beginning of 1 Samuel so surprising as part of the larger discourse on kingship. The book of Judges implies that human leadership mostly failed in this period, but then a powerful and faithful Ephraimite[62] judge—who happens

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59. Jack M. Sasson, "Jephthah: Chutzpah and Overreach in a Hebrew Judge," in *Literature as Politics*, 405–20 (406).
60. Sasson, "Jephthah," 420.
61. Brettler, *Book of Judges*, 111. See also Polzin, *Samuel*, 18.
62. Samuel's father, Elkanah, is said to be "from the hills of Ephraim" (מהר אפרים), while his distant ancestor, Zuph, is labeled an "Ephratite" (אפרתי), perhaps linking Samuel's ancestry with the tribe of Judah, and therefore with David (1 Sam 1:1; cf. 17:12; Ruth 1:2). See discussion in Mark Leuchter, "Jeroboam the Ephratite," *JBL* 125 (2006): 51–72 (60–61). Elsewhere, however, אפרתי clearly indicates someone from

also to be a priestly figure (1 Sam 2:11, 18) and a prophet (1 Sam 3)—emerges to quell

Philistine oppression (1 Sam 7:13). With this, he finally purges Israel of its Baalim and

Ashtaroth, so that they may serve (עבד) Yahweh alone (1 Sam 7:4; contrast Judg

2:11,13,19; 3:6–7). In recent years a good deal of work has addressed the issue of

Samuel's characterization, especially with regard to his variety of leadership roles.[63]

Samuel's role as a prophet is perhaps most dominant in the Judean literature, as it is in

later textual traditions.[64] But the overarching emphasis on Samuel as prophet does not

diminish his priestly and judge-like characteristics in the narrative at hand. In fact, prior

to the elders' request for a king and the appearance of Saul, Samuel's story ultimately

emphasizes his role as judge.[65] In line with what one finds in the book of Judges, the

priest Eli—Samuel's mentor—judges (שפט) Israel for forty years (1 Sam 4:18), and after

Eli's death, Samuel's most significant achievements, defeating the Philistines and

purging idolatry, are judge-like activities. In any case, the text spells it out directly,

saying that Samuel judged (שפט) Israel all his life (1 Sam 7:15), and that he appointed his

sons to carry on the task (1 Sam 8:1). At this point, then, the narrative construes Samuel

Ephraim (Judg 12:5), so the reference in 1 Sam 1:1 is ambiguous. Complicating matters further, in the genealogies of Chronicles, Samuel is a Levite (1 Chr 6:13,18). See more below.

63.   E.g., Marti J. Steussy, *Samuel and His God* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), esp. 27–47; Mark Leuchter, *Samuel and the Shaping of Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), with references to additional works. See also Gilmour, *Representing the Past*, 53–56, who shows how the various aspects of Samuel's character are possibly foreshadowed in his birth narrative.

64.   In addition to 1 Sam 3, see 1 Sam 9; 19:20; 1 Chr 9:22; 11:3; 2 Chr 35:18; Sir 46:13–20, each of which associates him with prophetic activity. Cf. Leuchter, *Samuel*, 41, 83–86.

65.   Cf. also Samuel's actions in 1 Sam 11, which are very judge-like, and the statement in 1 Sam 12:11. See Steussy, *Samuel*, 34–35.

as a priestly judge who prophesies and leads Israel with great success.[66] Here, his role as judge in particular has special import in the larger narrative construction.

Samuel's rise to prominence as a judge ostensibly suggests that judgeship is in fine shape. Samuel does exactly what judges are supposed to do, which forces one to bracket or temporarily forget Yahweh's words in Judg 10:13–14 and the increasingly ineffective cycles of judgeship remembered in the book of Judges. But then there is 1 Sam 8:1–5. At this point in the narrative, when one might expect *anagnorisis*—the reestablishment of ongoing, proper judgeship under Yahweh's rule, a result of Samuel's great success—one instead encounters *peripeteia*. The narrative thus undermines itself (as is its habit).[67] Instead of engendering answers, it raises more questions.

Samuel has grown old (זקן),[68] and despite all his righteousness and accomplishments, his sons turn out to be scoundrels. As in Judges 8–9, the text here explores issues of ancestral power transfer. Samuel appoints his scandalous sons as שפטים in his stead, but the elders (זקני ישראל) do not trust the sons in this role. Previously in the era of judges, Gideon had denied a dynasty, yet his ruthless son tried to start one anyway; here, Samuel tries to start a dynasty, yet his sons are inept to rule. Gideon and Abimelech and Samuel and his sons offer variations on a theme: having dynasty means taking the

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66.   The blending of roles is to be expected anyway: e.g., Deborah, the prophet-judge (Judg 4:4), or of course Moses, with whom Samuel shares many characteristics (see Leuchter, *Samuel*, 33, 36, 51–52). The narratives construe a distant past in which a single person could conduct the activities of judgeship, prophecy, and priesthood. In the ancient Near East there is concrete evidence for such overlap. In Egypt, for instance, priestly officials also conducted prophetic duties. See Diana V. Edelman, "Of Priests and Prophets and Interpreting the Past: The Egyptian ḥm-nṯr and ḫry-ḫbt and the Judahite nābîʾ," in *The Historian and the Bible: Essays in Honour of Lester L. Grabbe* (ed. Philip R. Davies and Diana V. Edelman; LHBOTS 530; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 103–12; cf. Leuchter, *Samuel*, 43–44.
67.   See Chapter 1.
68.   Compare the reference to Solomon's old age in 1 Kgs 11:4. In the DH, the discourse suggests a correlation between old age and incompetence in leadership. Moses, of course, provides the exception that proves the rule (Deut 34:7). See more in Chapter 4.

son(s) along with the father, the bad apples along with the good, which has all kinds of potential ramifications.

In response to Samuel's dynastic failure, the elders request a king (מלך) to "rule/ judge" (שפט) like all the other nations (8:5).[69] On one level, the request is ironic, because *kingship itself is dynastic*.[70] It will not solve their problem in the long run—kings, too, will no doubt have sour offspring. However, the elders obviously have in mind *Deuteronomic kingship* (their request clearly alludes to the king-law; see below), which, along with its peculiar restrictions, imagines dynasty as possible. This is a strongly aporetic moment, framed in the discourse by Deuteronomic law, by Moses and Joshua and the transition to the cycles of judgeship, and by the various judges themselves, their successes and failures. (It also, of course, looks ahead to Saul and David and Solomon and the successes and failures of monarchy.) It is "a moment when the strain in the text becomes unavoidably apparent."[71] Various paths for leadership have been explored and tested—including kingly, hereditary succession and *non*-kingly, *non*-hereditary succession—and it seems that all meet the same end: failure to consistently inspire Torah obedience among the people (and failure of the leadership itself to follow Torah). Now, the people request a king, as Deuteronomy projected they would, but the question is:

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69.   Note the contrast between Samuel's growing old (זקן) and the elders' (זקנים) doubting his sons, and the sons' appointment as שפטים versus the elders' desire for a king's שפט. There is some irony here; old age brings both folly and wisdom. Also, compare this request and the request to Gideon, in which a judge was asked to rule like a king. The line between judgeship and kingship is blurred.
70.   Cf. Barbara Green, *How Are the Mighty Fallen? A Dialogical Study of King Saul in 1 Samuel* (JSOTSup 365; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), who writes, "The elders approach Samuel with some cause, even with urgency, and while referring to the deficiency of their dynastic experience, they ask for something too closely resembling it" (181).
71.   Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 14.

How will it change anything? Kingship appears to be a new beginning, but it is, in effect, nothing new. The failure of dynasty (and thus kingship), then, is a fait accompli.

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Consider, too, a passage earlier in the book of Samuel, the failure of Eli's sons and Elide priesthood (1 Sam 2:12–36; cf. 4:1–11), which I have skipped over till now, but for good reason. Eli plays an important supporting role in Samuel's story, and his subplot in the Samuel narrative serves to reinforce the points above about the failures of dynasties, but also introduces another key problem into the discourse: the issue of divine promises.

Scholarship tends to make light of Eli, who appears somewhat dimwitted (e.g., 1 Sam 1:13–14) and suffers a death that one might call darkly humorous (1 Sam 4:18).[72] The narrative, however, suggests that at one time Eli and his ancestry (and posterity) had great potential. 1 Samuel 2:30 offers a key revelation: "A declaration of Yahweh, God of Israel—Surely I had said your house and your father's house would walk [הלך Hithp.] before me forever [עד עולם], but now—a declaration of Yahweh—far be it from me! for those who honor me I honor, and those who despise me are despicable."[73] This changing

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72. E.g., Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 51, calls him a "parody" of judgeship; and Miller, *Ways of a King*, 13, calls him "hapless" and argues that Eli's lack of a backstory is a kind of condemnation by the author (cf. ibid., 220–22). Perhaps, though, we should not be so hard on Eli. He is, after all, very old (זקן מאד) when he enters the picture (cf. 1 Sam 8:1; 1 Kgs 11:4), and, *pace* Miller, it is not surprising that we read nothing of Eli's younger days, because Samuel is the primary focus of the narrative, not Eli. Gilmour, *Representing the Past*, 56–62, presents a more balanced view, comparing and juxtaposing Eli's character with that of Hannah.

73. Yahweh has apparently changed his mind, contra Num 23:19; 1 Sam 15:28. On divine promises and repentance, see, e.g., Jean-Pierre Sonnet, "God's Repentance and 'False Starts' in Biblical History (Genesis 6–9; Exodus 32–34; 1 Samuel 15 and 2 Samuel 7)," in *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007* (ed. André Lemaire; VTSup 133; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 469–94. Sonnet, however, passes over the Eli text, which does not contain the verb נחם, Sonnet's central talking point. On God's repenting, with particular focus on 1 Sam 15, see also Yairah Amit, "'The Glory of Israel Does Not Deceive or Change His Mind': On the Reliability of Narrator and Speakers in Biblical Narrative," *Prooftexts* 12 (1992): 201–12; and J. Richard Middleton "Samuel Agonistes: A Conflicted Prophet's Resistance to God and Contribution to the Failure of Israel's First King," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Ancient Israelite Historiography* (ed. Mark J. Boda and

of the divine mind is significant, since it overturns a promise meant to last עד עולם.[74] In

the words of Ehud Ben Zvi, the text construes Yahweh as a deity for whom yesterday's

עד עולם is not necessarily today's or tomorrow's עד עולם.[75] After annulling this promise,

Yahweh immediately makes another one, stating his intention to replace Eli with an

enduring (נאמן) priest for whom he will build an enduring (נאמן) house—a priest who will

walk (הלך Hithp.) before Yahweh's anointed (משיח) (1 Sam 2:35). Of course, this new

promise prefigures and frames thinking about Yahweh's promise to David, which also

guarantees a house that will endure (אמן Niph.) forever (עד עולם) (2 Sam 7:16). Note, too,

the promise of service before the משיח. Many have interpreted this as a reference to the

Zadokites in Jerusalem.[76] This is a valid reading of the new promise, but in its immediate

context the promise clearly links up with Samuel, who, in this very passage is juxtaposed

with Eli's failed sons and who is reared in priestly service (1 Sam 2:18–21; 3:1).[77]

Lissa M. Wray Beal; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 69–91, esp. 81–83, with additional references. See also Geoffrey P. Miller, "The Political Function of Revelation: Lessons from the Hebrew Bible," *Touro Law Review* 30 (2014): 77–101, who outlines how divine revelation (including promises) functions as a "wild card" in the biblical narratives and how it nevertheless operates within certain discursive constraints.

74.   The identity of Eli's ancestry, who received the promise, is not entirely clear in the literature. Following Wellhausen, Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 195–98, suggests that Eli is meant to descend from Moses; cf. Leuchter, *Samuel*, 33, who posits a connection between 1 Sam 2:35 and Num 12:7. But perhaps a more obvious connection is with the eternal covenant made with Aaron's grandson Phinehas (Num 25:10–13)—notice that one of Eli's sons is also named Phinehas; cf. Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 53. One can make a case for linking Eli's house with either Moses or Aaron. Cross, who maintains Wellhausen's assertion that Eli's ancestry is Mosaic/Mushite, states nevertheless, "It is quite impossible to separate this account [Num 25:6–15] from the story leading up to the rejection of the Elid (Mushite) priestly house in 1 Samuel 2:22–25" (*Canaanite Myth*, 202). These fuzzy links and disconnects between the Levitic houses of Moses and Aaron, and the related tensions between the various priestly genealogies, reflect another complex mnemonic system in postmonarchic Judah, a topic that would require another major study.

75.   See Ehud Ben Zvi, "A Balancing Act: Settling and Unsettling Issues Concerning Past Divine Promises in Historiographical Texts Shaping Social Memory in the Late Persian Period," in *Covenant in the Persian Period: From Genesis to Chronicles* (ed. R. J. Bautch and Gary N. Knoppers; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming). Note also that this sets the stage for Yahweh's rejection of Saul in 1 Samuel 15 (more below).

76.   Recent examples include Keith Bodner, *1 Samuel: A Narrative Commentary* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2008), 35; and Steussy, *Samuel*, 29–30.

77.   Cf. Polzin, *Samuel*, 39–44. See also Leuchter, *Samuel*, 33–34, who is sympathetic with the

Moreover, it is Samuel who eventually anoints (משח) both Saul and David as Israelite

kings (1 Sam 9:16; 10:1; 15:1, 17; 16:passim). So at least on one level—probably the

most obvious one—this new promise is meant for *Samuel*, not for some unnamed future

priest.[78] But what to make of the new promise? Apparently, "forever" is not forever, as

the fall of Eli's house evinces.[79] As I mentioned above, the discourse tends to argue that

dynastic failure is inevitable.

Much more could be said here about covenants, priests, messiahs, and so forth,

but I want to remain focused on the issue of Samuel's failed sons and the elders' request

for a king. The overarching narrative has already introduced dynastic succession,

positively and negatively, kingly and pseudo-kingly, in Deuteronomy 17 and in Judges 8–

9, respectively. The opening chapters of 1 Samuel then bring the issue of *divinely*

promised dynasties into the discourse. The aporetic passage of 1 Sam 8:1–5 confirms the

discourse's suspicions about dynasty as it simultaneously reifies the dynastic institution

of kingship in the land of Israel. It thus confounds expectations for divinely sanctioned

dynasties. First Eli's divinely sanctioned priesthood is revoked, and then Samuel's

promising house becomes a failure. This is in addition to the repeated failures of non-

hereditary leadership in Israel's story, the apostasy after Joshua's death and the

increasingly difficult cycles of appointed judges. The unsure nature of Yahweh's

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Zadokite interpretation, but ultimately agrees that the reference is to Samuel.

78.　　See also 1 Sam 1:22: Hannah says Samuel will remain in Yahweh's presence עד עולם, a statement
that looks forward to 1 Sam 2:30–36 and 2 Sam 7:14–16; cf. Polzin, *Samuel*, 29.

79.　　Again, this has interesting implications for understandings of priesthood in Persian-era Judah,
because the priesthood *was* understood to be ancestral (see above, n. 74). For a good overview of the texts
and issues involved, see Merlin D. Rehm, "Levites and Priesthood," *ABD* 4:297–310. Notably, the Elide
priesthood does not actually come to an end with Eli (cf. the Elide Abiathar, priest at Nob, who eventually
serves alongside Zadok under David; see 1 Sam 22:11; 23:6; 30:7; 2 Sam 8:17; 15:24; 1 Kgs 2:27; etc.).
The history of Zadokite priesthood, too, is a much debated issue (see, e.g., Alice Hunt, *Missing Priests: The
Zadokites in History and Tradition* [LHBOTS 452; New York: T&T Clark, 2006]).

promises and the repeated failures of succession in a variety of pre-monarchic political situations ultimately frame the memory of monarchy's foundations.[80] In the rest of the story, in the narratives of Saul and David and the divided monarchy, the successes and failures of kingship are overdetermined.[81] Why does Saul's house fall while David's succeeds? Is Yahweh's promise to David eternal or not? And how then are we to understand the historical fall of Judah and Davidic kingship? The narratives provide no clear answers to these sorts of questions (to which I return in the following chapters). Moreover, Chronicles, with its curious inclusion of Saul's death (1 Chr 10) and its Davidic focus, provides another narrative take on the institution of monarchy, further complicating the discourse. These discursive complications concerning the past, I will argue below and later in this study, find their match in the prophetic books' discourse on the past and *future*.

<center>***</center>

To conclude this section, it is worth noting that the Judean literature offers no other narrative account of Samuel's early life, of the fall of Eli's house, and of the failure of Samuel's sons and the subsequent request for monarchy. Samuel's backstory, as recounted in 1 Sam 1–8, therefore serves as the sole narrative frame for other references to the figure of Samuel in Judean mnemonic discourse. Any mention of Samuel would necessarily recall his origin story in the DH, for those reading and rereading the literature. The brief glimpses of Samuel outside his eponymous book thus do not alter the overarching trajectory and telos of his narrative, but instead provide perspectives that

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80.   Cf. Polzin, *Samuel*, 48.
81.   Cf. Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 99–100.

balance understandings of that narrative's essential information. The genealogies of Chronicles, for example, list Samuel among the Levites (1 Chr 6:13,18). Other texts, too, point to a Levitic connection: Jer 15:1, which associates him with Moses; and Ps 99:6, which groups him with Moses, Aaron, and Yahweh's priests. Given this data, one could argue that Samuel's primary role in the Judean literature is Levitical.[82] The Levitic ancestry in Chronicles is, however, at odds with the genealogical information in 1 Sam 1:1, which is itself potentially confused, stating that Samuel's ancestors are both from Ephraim and Ephratites (i.e., possibly originally from Judah, but not necessarily so).[83] The information in Chronicles does not alter the course of Samuel's story, but it does create tension in our knowledge of his character.

This confusing tension, I suggest, is a correlate to Samuel's liminal story, which bridges the gap between judgeship and kingship. Samuel is a polyvalent figure because he is central to the doublethinking about kingship. His variety of ancestral backgrounds is, in part, a function of the kingship-discourse and the aporetic turn to monarchy. He is both a northerner and a southerner, the outspoken critic of kingship who also anoints and supports kings, eventually damning Saul while serving David. His origin story introduces him as an Ephraimite but holds out the possibility of distant Judahite connections. Moreover, although his actions in 1 Samuel 1–8 are more judge-like than anything, his depiction in Chronicles is that of Levitical(/priestly) prophet (1 Chr 9:22; 11:3; 2 Chr 35:18). This balances and rounds out Samuel's multifaceted character. In 1 Samuel he

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82.   Cf. Leuchter, *Samuel*, esp. 22–40, who calls 1 Sam 1–3 "a repository of Levitical thought and praxis" (31).

83.   See above, n. 62. Leuchter gets around the problem of Ephraimite/Levite by claiming, as many have, that "Levite" was primarily a social-functional designation in ancient Israel/Judah and not a tribal one.

acts mostly like a judge, even though he is introduced as priest and prophet. In Chronicles the priestly and prophetic roles come to the fore, and Samuel's judgeship is forgotten. The priestly and prophetic focus in Chronicles thus mitigates, to a certain extent, the downfall of Samuel's judicial dynasty in 1 Samuel. According to the perspective advanced by Chronicles, Samuel's role as judge is not worth remembering. He was, instead, a prominent priestly prophet who worked closely at David's side (1 Chr 9:22).

Here, in the figure of Samuel and the site of memory he creates, we get another glimpse of how the literature wants it both ways, to criticize human monarchies and to lionize Davidic kingship, to remember the unfortunate failures of Israel's Benjaminite ruler and to forget the tragic sins of its Judahite one. In the midst of it all stands Samuel. Mark Leuchter comments, "When one looks at the *Gestalt* of Samuel's literary depiction, he is liminal, standing in the space between diverse theological and political polarities, yet engaging them at various turns in the narrative."[84] As I hope to have shown here and in the next section, no turn is sharper than the failure of Samuel's sons and Israel's subsequent and aporetic turn to kingship in 1 Sam 8:1–5.

Yahweh, Samuel, Saul: Rivalries of Political Identification in 1 Samuel 8–12[85]

After Israel abruptly turns from its judge and requests a king, the deeply complex passage of 1 Sam 8–12 continues to negotiate between kingship and judgeship, problematizing the relationship between human kings and Yahweh (king of the cosmos), and establishing Saul's kingly rule while still promoting Samuel's ongoing leadership.[86] In this

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84.   Leuchter, *Samuel*, 6.
85.   Employing the phrase "rivalries of identification," I take my cue from Middleton, "Samuel," 72.
86.   In addition to the standard commentaries and the works already cited above, there is an abundance of scholarship on this passage and the institution of Saul's kingship in general. E.g., among many others,

negotiation, the discourse realizes the key paradox of kingship: How to reconcile the standard conventions (and harsh realities) of Near Eastern kingly rule (1 Sam 8:11–18) with the utopian expectations for Israelite kingship set up by Deuteronomic law, which envisions a polity built upon Yahweh's Torah and absolute devotion to it (see Chapter 2)? In the end—as we shall see throughout this study—neither judgeship *nor* kingship is able to empower Torah-obedience in Israel's past(s), as the people continually fall away from its best leaders, whatever their political function, and return to apostasy.[87]

Bruce C. Birch, *The Rise of the Israelite Monarchy: The Growth and Development of I Samuel 7–15* (SBLDS 27; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976); David Gunn, *The Fate of King Saul* (JSOTSup 14; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1980), esp. ch. 4; John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983; Repr., Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 250–64; Lyle M. Eslinger, *Kingship of God in Crisis: A Close Reading of 1 Samuel 1–12* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1985); idem, *Into the Hands of the Living God* (JSOTSup 84; Bible and Literature Series 24; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989), esp. 81–121; Gerald Eddie Gerbrandt, *Kingship According to the Deuteronomistic History* (SBLDS 87; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), esp. 140–58; Peter D. Miscall, *1 Samuel: A Literary Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), esp. 41–80; Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 181–204; V. Philips Long, *The Reign and Rejection of King Saul: A Case for Literary and Theological Coherence* (SBLDS 118; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Diana V. Edelman, *King Saul in the Historiography of Judah* (JSOTSup 121; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); E. Theodore Mullen Jr., *Narrative History and Ethnic Boundaries: The Deuteronomistic Historian and the Creation of Israelite National Identity* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), esp. 163–207; Steven McKenzie, "The Trouble with Kingship," in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean–Daniel Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 286–314; Carl S. Ehrlich, ed., with Marsha C. White, *Saul in Story and Tradition* (FAT 47; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); Walter Dietrich, *The Early Monarchy in Israel: The Tenth Century B.C.E.* (trans. Joachim Vette; Biblical Encyclopedia 3; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), esp. 28–57; Paul Borgman, *David, Saul, and God: Rediscovering an Ancient Story* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Jeremy M. Hutton, *The Transjordanian Palimpsest: The Overwritten Texts of Personal Exile and Transformation in the Deuteronomistic History* (BZAW 396; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), esp. 289–363; Otto Kaiser, "Der historische und der biblische König Saul (Teil I)," *ZAW* 122 (2010): 520–45; idem, "Der historische und der biblische König Saul (Teil II)," *ZAW* 123 (2011): 1–14; Johannes Klein, "Für und wider das Königtum (1 Sam 8–15): Figurenperspektiven und Erzählsystem," in *For and Against David: Story and History in the Books of Samuel* (ed. A. Graeme Auld and Erik Eynikel; BETL 232; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 73–90; Katherine J. Dell, "Incongruity in the Story of Saul in 1 Samuel 9–15: A Methodological Survey," in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon* (ed. Geoffrey Kahn and Diana Lipton; VTSup 149; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 49–64; and Philip R. Davies, "Saul, Hero and Villian," in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 131–40.

87.   The cycle of apostasy-punishment-deliverance does not end with the period of the Judges. It continues, of course, throughout the monarchic period, as one reads of bad kings (many) and good kings (few) and eventually the collapse of monarchy and the people's exile. The deuteronomistic books conclude without realizing the next deliverance in the cycle. See, e.g., Gary N. Knoppers, "Periodization in Ancient

The elders' request for a king, in and of itself, would not be entirely surprising to one familiar with the literature.[88] In response to Samuel's old age and his untrustworthy sons, they state, "Now, set a king over us [שימה־לנו מלך], to rule/judge [שפט] us, like all the nations [ככל־הגוים]" (8:5; cf. 8:20). This request for a king to rule mirrors the request in the Deuteronomic law of the king: the two statements correspond almost word for word (cf. Deut 17:14).[89] The elders' request is thus mnemonically linked to Moses' final speech, his prophetic magnum opus in the Transjordan. As I argue below, there are many points of contact between this passage and the king-law,[90] and the two would have worked together to frame thinking about kingship in Judean social memory.

To begin, recall the context of the elders' request. The end of 1 Samuel 7 states that Samuel has finally brought peace back to the land, bringing the cycle of Philistine oppression to an end (for now at least). The Philistines were subdued and Israel's lost territory was restored, and even the troublesome Amorites were no longer a problem (7:13–14). Then recall that Deuteronomy states: when (כי) Israel enters (בוא) the land, takes (full) possession (ירש)[91] of it and dwells (ישב) there, only *then* will the people

Israelite Historiography: Three Case Studies," in *Periodisierung und Epochenbewusstsein im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld* (ed. Josef Wiesehöfer und Thomas Krüger; Oriens et Occidens 20; Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012), 121–45 (esp. 127–32).

88.   Cf. Edelman, *King Saul*, 39.

89.   The law acknowledges that, upon entering the land, Israel (the people) will say, "I will set a king over myself [אשימה עלי מלך], like all the nations [ככל־הגוים] that are around me." See above and Chapter 2 for additional discussion of the law.

90.   See also, e.g., Thomas Römer, "La loi du roi en Deutéronome 17 et ses fonctions," in *Loi et Justice dans la Littérature du Proche-Orient ancien* (ed. Olivier Artus; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 99–111, esp. 105–106; and the detailed discussion of Nihan, "1 Samuel 8 and 12," esp. 227–40.

91.   The verbal root ירש occurs frequently in Deuteronomy with regard to the people's taking of the promised land. Never does it indicate partial or incomplete possession (e.g., Deut 3:18–20, in which the Transjordanian tribes are told that the entire land must be taken before they may return to their own allotments and settle down).

request a king, a request that Yahweh will grant (Deut 17:14–15). This moment, the afterglow of Samuel's great victory, is as ripe as any to finally request a king. The failure of Samuel's sons, the problem of dynasty and kingship, is aporetic, but the request to replace judgeship with kingship is *not* per se. Concerning the request for a king, one's narrative expectations via Deuteronomy are met, thus reinforcing the import and validity of Deuteronomic law in the mnemonic system, at least in this discursive statement.[92]

The passage, though, tells us that the request did not please Samuel, and that it elicited a prayer to Yahweh (8:6).[93] Yahweh's response to Samuel's prayer (a prayer that goes unstated in the text) gives the reader some insight into Samuel's disappointment, but also hedges quite a bit. Samuel feels, apparently, that the people's request is a rejection of his own leadership—one can infer at least this from Yahweh's response.[94] "It is not you they have rejected," states Yahweh, "it is me they have rejected from reigning [מלך] over them" (8:7). Here, in v. 7, Yahweh plainly states that Samuel is not really being rejected, but he then goes on, in a round about sort of way, to say that Samuel *is* being rejected:

ככל־המעשים אשר־עשו מיום העלתי אתם ממצרים ועד־היום הזה ויעזבני ויעבדו אלהים
אחרים כן המה עשים גם־לך

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92.   However, Bernard M. Levinson, "The Reconceptualization of Kingship in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History's Transformation of Torah," *VT* 51 (2001): 511–34, esp. 518–19, argues that, in asking for a king to "judge" (שפט), the elders are actually contradicting (and thus challenging) the standards of governance set out in Deuteronomic law (esp. Deut 16:18–17:13). This is a valid reading, but whether or not the elders are aggrandizing the role of the king, seeking to give the king undue power, does not affect their legal right to ask for one in the first place.
93.   Numerous commentators have questioned Samuel's motivations at this point in the narrative, trying to read between the terse lines of text, which clearly state the judge's emotional response (וירע הדבר בעיבי שמואל "the matter was evil/displeasing in Samuel's eyes"; 1 Sam 8:6) but do not elaborate on his psychology. See, e.g., Polzin, *Samuel*, 87; Miscall, *1 Samuel*, 47; Edelman, *King Saul*, 42; Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 71–72; cf. Leuchter, *Samuel*, 5.
94.   Cf. Gunn, *Fate of King Saul*, 59.

> Just like all the things they did from the day I brought them up from Egypt to this day—they forsook me and served other gods—*thus they are doing even to you*[95] (1 Sam 8:8)

Who, then, is being rejected? Yahweh? Samuel? Both? There are several things to consider here.

First of all, despite Yahweh's claim to be losing his kingly status, there is, of course, no indication in the Judean literature that Yahweh actually loses any real power over Israel in particular or over the cosmos in general. The issue is not that Yahweh will lose any real kingly power, but that the people fail to acknowledge his absolute rule. Yahweh in fact remains the king of the universe and has ultimate control over human kings and their doings, according to the prevailing argument in the discourse as a whole. Indeed, as will become clearer in subsequent chapters, the prophetic books, along with a number of psalms, affirm this.[96]

That said, Yahweh's statement in 1 Sam 8:7–8 creates a memory, a potential plot line in the discourse, in which Yahweh's kingship of Israel is "replaced" by human kingship. To be sure, again, it is not that Yahweh's power is diminished or lost, but that, as a result of the people's choosing a human king, the deity may choose to no longer use this power as the kingly defender of Israel. Yahweh's rule and justice is replaced, as it were, by a human's. In this line of thought, the presence of a human king in Israel means

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95. *Pace* Scott L. Harris, "1 Samuel VIII 7–8," *VT* 31 (1981): 79–80; and Eslinger, *Kingship*, 265–66; who emend this last clause to read "so they are also making a king." The emendation they suggest, which removes the contradiction in Yahweh's statements, is entirely speculative. There is no evidence from the ancient versions to support such a reading.
96. E.g., Hos 8:4 and 13:9–11, which, Peter Machinist argues, allude to 1 Sam 8 ("Hosea and the Ambiguity of Kingship in Ancient Israel," in *Constituting the Community: Studies on the Polity of Ancient Israel in Honor of S. Dean McBride, Jr.* [ed. John T. Strong and Steven S. Tuell; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005], 153–81, esp. 171–73).

the absence of King Yahweh, a foolhardy trading of divine might for human. Yahweh, in this particular statement, may be hedging his bets on Samuel and the judge's role going forward, but in any case he clearly sees the people's choice of a human king as a failure to acknowledge his own kingship. This statement by the deity creates the potential for a past in which the rejection of the deity results in his eventual refusal to come to the people's defense (cf. 1 Sam 8:18).

Also, as others have noted, the Deuteronom(ist)ic language of 1 Sam 8:8 makes the people's rejection of Yahweh's kingship on par with apostasy.[97] These comments from Yahweh (and Samuel's speech, which follows) set the stage for the many failures of Israelite kingship and the resultant downfall of the Judahite kingdom. This is one plot line that plays out in the rest of the narrative, one major statement in the discourse.

Moreover, this memory offers an additional angle for viewing the king-law in Deuteronomy 17. The law forecasts the people's request for kingship, allowing for a human king but placing a number of steep limitations on the office. Thinking about the law with regard to Yahweh's comments in 1 Sam 8:7–8 forces readers to question the validity of human kingship in the first place. Not only is having a human king a risky proposition (it involves keeping the king on a short leash—no women, horses, or wealth); it also results in the rejection of the deity's might. Having a human king, according to this point of view, trades divine strength for human weaknesses and shortcomings, divine guidance for human leadership's inability to rescue the people from its failures.

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97.   E.g., Timo Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1977), 56–57; P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *I Samuel* (AB 8; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980), 157; Eslinger, *Kingship*, 266.

The final turn to kingship in 1 Samuel 8, therefore, ultimately frames kingship's polyvalency, its multivocality. This is the crux upon which the doublethink is ultimately fixated. In the literature's construal of the pre-monarchic era, one finds the groundwork for the diffusion of discursive memories and images, as I have discussed, but here—in Samuel's dynastic failure, the people's request for a king, and Yahweh's and Samuel's responses—is the actual parting of ways, so to speak. Here the narrative presents an impasse for the reader, a moment of simultaneous *anagnorisis* and *peripeteia*, which forces the readership to consider a number of various understandings of what has happened and what is to come in the narrative. Judgeship fails, yet again, but this time things are slightly different: this is a failed attempt at *dynastic* judgeship. The people therefore request a king, which, according to Deuteronomic law, is allowable and even envisioned as beneficial; but the failure of Samuel's judgeship, along with all of judgeship's previous failures, implies that kingship will never work anyway. Moreover, the deity, the source of Deuteronomic law and the cycles of judgeship in the first place, suggests that the whole affair is tantamount to apostasy. And then Samuel, at Yahweh's command, goes on to explain why the people's turn to kingship will only result in even greater hardships (1 Sam 8:10–19; see below). This is the moment when narrative expectations in the discourse are both met and undermined. This paradoxical moment of doublethink, which converses outright with the king-law in Deuteronomy, provides the major frame for the memories of kingship throughout Israel's historiography. Israelite kingship, at the moment of its actual inception, is at once approved and disapproved, accepted and rejected.[98]

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98.   Cf. Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 60–65.

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Yahweh of course honors the people's request for a king, instructing Samuel: ועתה

שמע בקולם אך כי־העד תעיד בהם והגדת להם משפט המלך אשר ימלך עליהם "Now, listen to their

voice, but warn them indeed, and tell about them the *mishpat* of the king that will reign

over them" (1 Sam 8:9). There is some deliberate play in Yahweh's words here, which

point to the central crux of the matter.[99] The people have requested a king to rule/judge

(שפט) them (1 Sam 8:5): Yahweh grants this, but also instructs Samuel (the current שפט)

to warn them about the *mishpat* (משפט) of the king to come. משפט can connote "practices"

or "ways," as most modern translations render it (cf. NJPS, NRSV). However, given the

obvious wordplay between שפט and משפט, rendering משפט as "justice" or even "rule" or

"law" makes more sense.[100] What is interesting, from the perspective of Judean memory,

is that Moses had *already* given the people a legal framework for kingship before they

entered the promised land. As already noted in the elders' request for a king, this passage

openly converses with Moses' giving of the king-law.

Now, this is *not* to say that משפט here refers specifically to the legislation in

Deuteronomy 17:14–20; rather, the text creates a link with Deuteronomic law and Mosaic

Torah, which mnemonically frames one's reading of this passage in 1 Samuel. Here in

Yahweh's statement to Samuel, the reasoning seems to be as follows: if Yahweh's

kingship (*his* justice) is being revoked, then the people should know what the justice of a

human king will look like. At the same time, Samuel's speech is keyed to the

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99.   Cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 157; Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 72–73.

100.   Eslinger, taking his cue from Martin Buber, argues that the clause העד תעיד בהם (which I translate "warn them indeed") could connote something like "stipulate a stipulation against them," implying that Samuel, by giving this *mishpat*, is establishing a "legal framework" for the new political institution of kingship (see his *Kingship*, 268–69).

Deuteronomic law, thus multiplying potential understandings of Moses' speech long ago. The justice of a human king, as laid out for the people by Samuel, forces one to (re)consider the actual benefits of human kingship, whether Deuteronomy allows the institution or not.

Since Deuteronomic law is in mind throughout, it is interesting to recall that human kingship in Deuteronomy is dependent upon Torah: Yahweh's instruction, given to Israel via Moses. Even if Yahweh is not functioning as king, the chosen human replacement should model his rule on divine instruction. The king's devotion to Torah should be absolute.[101] Thus, in effect, Torah should rule the king, so that the king may properly rule the people according to Yahweh's standards. In the outlook of Deuteronomy, when Israel installs a human king, *the justice of Torah, Yahweh's mediated instruction, is effectively standing in for the direct justice of Yahweh himself*. In other words, ideally, when Israel institutes human kingship, Yahweh—via his Torah— should be nonetheless in control of Israel's rulership. However, as discussed above, the outlook of 1 Sam 8:7–8 challenges this very idea. The words of Yahweh himself suggest that the institution of human kingship functions, in reality, as a rejection of Yahweh's rule and as a continuation of the people's ongoing apostasy, which began immediately after the exodus (and which will continue until the exile).

Within this mnemonic framework, the literati approached Samuel's speech in 1 Sam 8:10–18, which begins: ויאמר שמואל את כל־דברי יהוה אל־העם "Samuel spoke all the words of Yahweh to the people." Presumably these are the divine words one just read in vv. 7–9. In v. 11, however, there is another ויאמר "He spoke," which then introduces an

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101.   See Chapter 2.

exposition of the king's *mishpat*. Here there are layers of speech upon speech. Like Moses'/Yahweh's recounting of Torah in Deuteronomy, Samuel's speech is dialectical, a complex act of communication that overlays multiple instances of speech: the voices of the deity, of the great Israelite priest-prophet-judge Samuel, and of history, as it were.[102] This text, like Deuteronomic law, is at once historiographical and prophetic.

In addition, although Samuel's exposition of the king's *mishpat* is not a restatement of Deuteronomy's king–law, its contents are strikingly similar, making the linkage between Deuteronomic speech and Samuel's speech even stronger. Samuel's vision is, in fact, partly a negative image of the Deuteronomic king.[103] Samuel envisions a king who enlists Israelite men as charioteers and horsemen for a great army, who employs a large court and has an abundance of agricultural resources, some of which he takes from his own people (i.e., he's wealthy and powerful).[104] The Deuteronomic king is, on the contrary, *not* to have many horses (Deut 17:16), nor is he to amass wealth (Deut

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102. On the dialectical nature of Deuteronomy, see Chapter 2.

103. Cf. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 251–52. Müller, following others, points out that there are no direct textual links between 1 Sam 8:11–17 and Deut 17 (*Königtum*, 208); but the thematic parallels are, nevertheless, quite strong, and in any case the mnemonic link between the two passages is firmly established when the elders request a king.

104. This is not the only ancient Near Eastern text that is critical of this sort of regime, i.e., kingship that exploits its own people for resources and labor. Compare, e.g., lines 15, 23–25, 31–32, 41, 55–57 of the Babylonian "Advice to a Prince" (*Fürstenspiegel*), an early to mid first-millennium BCE text that gives a series of warnings, in the style of omens (see W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1960], 110–15; and for another ancient text that is critical of kingly power, see Herodotus, *Histories* 3.80–83, which, via the voice of the democrat Otanes, asks, "How can monarchy be a fit thing, when the ruler can do what he wants with impunity?" [3.80.3; trans. A. D. Godley]). Jonathan Kaplan, "1 Samuel 8:11–18 as 'A Mirror for Princes'," *JBL* 131 (2012): 625–42, argues cogently that Samuel's speech takes part in this same ancient Near Eastern discourse. Moshe Weinfeld makes a similar argument with regard to the law of the king in Deut 17:14–20 (*Deuteronomy 1–11* [AB 5; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991], 56–57), that the law is a kind of *Fürstenspiegel*. To be sure, the Babylonian text contains a colophon that encourages the young ruler to read the advice constantly, which parallels the law in Deut 17:19 (see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11*, 56). The *Fürstenspiegel*, though, does not place extreme legal constraints on the king's power, as one finds in the Deuteronomic law; it assumes that the Mesopotamian king will posses great power while encouraging him to use that power justly. The Babylonian text and the Deuteronomic king-law, therefore, are fundamentally different in their aims (cf. Gary N. Knoppers, "The Deuteronomist and the Deuteronomic Law of the King: A Reexamination of a Relationship," *ZAW* 108 [1996]: 329–46 [n. 2]).

17:17). Moreover, Samuel says that Israel will become slaves (עבדים) to this king, and that the people will cry out (זעק) to Yahweh on account of him, an image that clearly represents the experience of slavery in Egypt under Pharaoh (cf. Exod 2:23; also Deut 17:16).[105] Given Samuel's speech, Israel's crying out (צעק) for a king on account of foreign oppression—which one reads in the very next chapter—conveys a strong sense of irony (1 Sam 9:16; cf. 12:12).

Of course, in its ancient Near Eastern historical context, Samuel's vision of kingship was realistic, its polemicism notwithstanding. Powerful monarchies did in fact do all of these things.[106] Samuel's exposition of the king's *mishpat*, then, thickens the problem of the Deuteronomic ideal. It truly reveals the non-kingly nature of the Deuteronomic king, and the possibility of things going horribly awry once a human king is in place.[107] According to the discourse, divinely approved kingship is necessarily non-kingly, and the acceptance of human kingship requires a change in relationship status between Israel and Yahweh, replacing Yahweh's direct rule with Torah rule. The *mishpat* of the king in 1 Samuel 8, with its clear discursive connection to the Deuteronomic ideal, functions as an admonition to appoint a king who will adhere to Torah, such that Yahweh's rule is properly replaced with Torah justice; and it is, simultaneously, a projection of what will become of Israel if an *anti*-Deuteronomic king is put in place, if Torah justice is substituted for with normative Near Eastern human rule.[108] Since, from

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105.   On this issue, see more in Chapter 2.

106.   Samuel's speech has ignited much debate concerning its relationship with actual monarchic practices in ancient Israel and the Near East. For a recent survey of scholarship, see Kaplan, "1 Samuel 8:11–18," 626–30.

107.   Cf. also the depiction of Gideon after his *rejection* of kingship (Judg 8:22–32), discussed above. He turns down the people's offer and affirms Yahweh's kingship, but he proceeds to act like an anti-Deuteronomic ruler anyway.

108.   Note that, in the subsequent stories and depictions of kingship (human and divine), kingly *mishpat*

the perspective of the literati, Samuel's vision proved itself true (kingship failed, and Israel and Judah suffered destruction), Deuteronomy's vision of kingship functioned more as a utopian ideal projected into the community's future than an attainable reality in the community's past or present. Ultimately, the king-law's discursive function was more prophetic than historiographical.

<center>***</center>

Now Saul arrives on the scene. Conspicuously, Saul's introduction in 1 Samuel 9 mirrors the story of Samuel's origins in 1 Samuel 1. The lineages given in 1:1 ("There was a certain man ... from the hills of Ephraim") and 9:1 ("There was a man from Benjamin") share an almost identical syntactical structure.[109] Moreover, and more importantly, the name Saul (שאול) means "one who is requested/asked for" (from שאל), which is linked to Hannah's naming of *Samuel*: ותקרא את־שמו שמואל כי מיהוה שאלתיו "She named him Samuel because she had asked Yahweh for him" (1 Sam 1:20; cf. 1:17, 27–28; 2:20). The precise etymology of the name Samuel, a well-attested West Semitic name, is unknown,[110] but it certainly does not mean "asked for," as Hannah suggests and as Eli's comments support. As nearly every commentator points out, there seems to be a conflation of origins.[111] The boundaries between Israel's last judge and its first king are

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frequently appears with a positive connotation: e.g., 1 Kgs 10:9//2 Chr 9:8; Isa 32:1; Jer 23:5 (cf. Ezek 37:24); Ps 72:1; Prov 29:4; 1 Chr 18:14. But it also sometimes carries a negative sense: e.g., Ezek 7:27.

109.   These verses, along with similar statements in Judges (e.g., 17:1), have been fodder for a recent debate over the composition-history of these texts. See Mark Leuchter, "'Now There Was a [Certain] Man': Compositional Chronology in Judges–1 Samuel," *CBQ* 69 (2007): 429–39; Serge Frolov, "'Certain Men' in Judges and Samuel: A Rejoinder to Mark Leuchter," *CBQ* 73 (2011): 251–64. See also Müller, "1 Samuel 1," 211–16. Considering these statements as part of a mnemonic system in late Persian-era Judah, I understand 1 Sam 1:1 as a frame for thinking about 1 Sam 9:1, but—just to be clear—this understanding makes no claims about composition-history one way or the other. See Chapter 1.

110.   Options include "Sumu/Name [שם] is God [אל]" and "God [אל] is exalted [שמה]"; cf. *HALOT*. See also Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names*, 119, 124.

111.   E.g., Leuchter, *Samuel*, 31, with additional references. Many argue that Samuel's origin story in 1 Sam 1 originally belonged to Saul (cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 63–66 and 172). Note also that Samuel's story

fuzzy. The people approach Samuel, the child Hannah asked for, in order to ask for a

king (1 Sam 8:10), and in response they receive Saul, literally "the one asked for."[112]

The identity confusion between Samuel and Saul becomes a rivalry, as Richard

Middleton aptly puts it,[113] a rivalry rooted in the tension between judgeship and kingship

and the paradox of the transition. Mark Leuchter calls 1 Samuel 9 a "passing of the torch"

from Samuel to Saul, highlighted by a ritualistic meal at the shrine (vv. 22–25), after

which Saul too becomes a cult-like figure (cf. 1 Sam 10:10–12).[114] Moreover, Yahweh

calls upon Saul to rescue (ישע Hiph.) his people from foreign oppression (1 Sam 9:16),

like Samuel and the judges before him (cf. Judg 2:16). This is indeed a liminal episode in

the narrative, a torch passing, but one should note that Samuel is, in the transition,

reluctant to let go of the torch. As Yahweh hedges in his support of human kingship in

Israel, Samuel reluctantly hands over the reins of leadership to Saul. And the wavering

figure of Saul juxtaposes Samuel's reluctance. These two figures and their interwoven,

liminal stories serve as microcosms of the larger discourse. Together, they are the *mise en*

abyme at the discourse's core, pointing backward and forward to the problems of

judgeship and kingship alike, but ultimately deciding upon neither mode of political

leadership. These figures and their narratives are doublethought, just like kingship itself.

Interestingly, it is Yahweh who brings the rivalry to the fore, via his revelation in

1 Sam 9:16. The deity tells Samuel that he is to anoint (משח) a man from Benjamin as

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recalls *Samson's*, as mentioned above. Thus, a web of interrelated significance is cast between three sites of memory in the era of transition from judgeship to kingship (cf. Miscall, *1 Samuel*, 51–52).

112.   Chronicles plays with Saul's name too (1 Chr 10:13–14): Saul died for being unfaithful to the word of Yahweh, for "asking" (שאל infinitive) a necromancer for guidance instead of Yahweh (cf. 1 Sam 28).

113.   Middleton, "Samuel," 72.

114.   Leuchter, *Samuel*, 3.

ruler (נגיד)[115] of Israel (cf. 1 Sam 10:1), and that this man will rescue the people *from the hands of the Philistines*. This pronouncement is curious, for it contradicts what readers know, from other texts, about both Samuel and Saul. It looks back at Samuel's success, implying that he was in fact unsuccessful, and looks forward to Saul's failure, his inability to control the Philistines during his reign. It is yet another paradox in the narrative that fosters another take on Samuel's time as judge of Israel and the transition to Saul's reign. Why would Yahweh need to provide a kingly figure to deliver his people from the Philistines when, apparently, Samuel already finished that job (cf. 1 Sam 7:13–14)? Why would the deity claim that the people cried out (צעק; cf. זעק) for such help when what they had actually asked for was relief from *Samuel's sons* (cf. 1 Sam 8:5)? And why does Samuel later say that the people had called for help against *Ammon* (1 Sam 12:12)? Finally, why would Yahweh promise Saul's success (והושיע "he will rescue") only to have him fail, a failure that results in his death (cf. 1 Sam 31; 1 Chr 10)? Both men have their successes, and both their failures. In the moment, read linearly, Yahweh's pronouncement makes little sense. But in the process of remembering the throes of political transition, it prepared and strengthened the rivalry between the old guard and the new, contributing to memories of the successes and failures of each.

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115. A synonym for kingship (cf. Ps 76:13), which literally means "called/declared one," often used in reference to persons Yahweh has appointed as kings; cf., e.g., 1 Sam 13:14 (David instead of Saul); 1 Kgs 1:35 (Solomon); 14:7 (Jeroboam); 16:2 (Jehu); 2 Kgs 20:5 (Hezekiah). See also Sir 46:13. But the term can also refer to other categories of leadership, especially in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chr 26:24; 2 Chr 11:11). Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 220, drawing mainly on Old Aramaic evidence from the Sefire inscriptions (8th cent. BCE), suggests that the term originally indicated a military leader, and thus in 1 Sam 10:1 Saul is anointed as a kind of commander, but not yet as a king per se. See also Baruch Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy in Israel* (HSM 25; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981), 1–11, for a thorough discussion with additional references. But read within the context of Judean literature, it is clear that Samuel's appointment is meant to be kingly from the beginning (Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 220 n. 5, admits as much: "[The term lost] its precise connotations in its use in Judah after the fall of Samaria").

Samuel and Saul, as prominent and overlapping sites of memory, opened up

avenues of mental exploration for the Judean literati reading these texts, who were

remembering the peculiar difficulties of Israel's major political transition long ago, all the

while envisioning and contemplating political transition(s) in the future. The details

concerning the rise of kingship, rather than being irreconcilables in the narrative, reflect

the social memory of ancient Judah and the negotiation and contestation of various

sociopolitical and theological identities within a small, tightly knit group of Judeans.[116]

The narrative's multivocality indicates, nevertheless, that the literati were not single-

minded (either as a group or as individuals), that its members actually preferred (or at

least accepted and maintained) literature that engendered multiple causes and outcomes

in its narrativity.

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First, Saul—Yahweh's initial choice for the kingship—appears both well- and ill-

suited for the task, with his flaws especially standing out because of confirmation bias in

the minds of those reading the narrative. The postmonarchic Judeans knew well the

story's outcome.

One first meets the Benjaminite Saul as a young man who is astonishingly tall,

and who is more handsome than any Israelite (1 Sam 9:2; cf. 10:23–24).[117] Saul also leads

a decisive and judge-like victory over the Ammonites (1 Sam 11; cf. 14:47–48).[118] But

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116.   See Chapter 1.
117.   Male beauty is a kingly trait (cf. Ps 45:3). On Saul's beauty, see Michael Avioz, "The Motif of Beauty in the Books of Samuel and Kings," *VT* 59 (2009): 341–59, esp. 346–47.
118.   There is thus a faint pro-Saul voice in the text, one that is, however, ultimately drowned out by an anti-Saul, pro-David bias. See Marc Zvi Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London: Routledge, 1995), 91–111; Gregory Mobley, "Glimpses of the Heroic Saul," in *Saul in Story and Tradition*, 80–87; and Joseph Blenkinsopp, *David Remembered: Kingship and National Identity in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013), 38, which provides additional references. See also See Brian R.

<p style="text-align:center">162</p>

one also learns that he lacks respect among some groups (1 Sam 10:11–12, 27; 11:12), and that he is potentially cowardly, or at least somewhat aloof (1 Sam 10:21–22). Literati (re)reading these narratives knew how things ended up in the story—Saul's kingship fails miserably and gives way to David's—so, from this perspective, it would have been easy to place blame on the apparent ineptness of Saul's character. And the negative perspective was reinforced by the historiographical account in Chronicles, which—following the genealogies—begins with the story of Saul's disgraceful death at the hands of the Philistines, and includes a condemning evaluation of Saul's actions as king (1 Chr 10:13–14).[119] Such an opinion, too, would have been primed by the ideology of Judges 19–21, which depicts Benjamin as a seedy and troublesome tribe in the first place (also note that Saul himself has little faith in his tribe and clan; 1 Sam 9:21).

Then there is the doublethought Samuel. He does little to allay any suspicions concerning Saul's aptitude for leadership (of any kind).[120] 1 Samuel 10 is telling in this

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Doak, "The Fate and Power of Heroic Bones and the Politics of Bone Transfer in Ancient Israel and Greece," *HTR* 106 (2013): 201–16, who observes a heroic thematic at play even in Saul's demise, in 2 Sam 21:10–14, the tale of David's transferring of Saul's bones. In another recent essay, Dawn Maria Sellers, "An Obedient Servant? The Reign of King Saul (1 Samuel 13–15) Reassessed," *JSOT* 35 (2011): 317–38, argues that, since Saul never falls into the traps of kingship as described in 1 Sam 8, interpreters should take a more sympathetic view of the king. In other words, although Saul fails to obey Yahweh's instructions (via Samuel) concerning sacrifice (1 Sam 13) and the Amalekites (1 Sam 15), he nevertheless shows concern for the people (e.g., 1 Sam 15:24), and so one should not be too quick to condemn Israel's first king as a total failure. However, *pace* Sellers, one might argue, to "fear" and "obey" the people (1 Sam 15:24) instead of fearing and obeying the deity is ultimately detrimental to the very people Saul is supposed to lead. In any case, in the end, the portrayal of Saul is certainly conflicted, as discussed below.

119. Why Chonicles' account begins with this episode, and not a full telling of Saul's life, has long puzzled scholars. For one thing, in any given social context, historiography is malleable only to a certain extent, so the account in Chronicles, which clearly knows of 1 Samuel, has to include information about Israel's first king—the text cannot deny his place in Judah's past. But the long-standing tension between Judah and Benjamin is probably also a factor. It seems that the text wishes to place blame directly on Saul the individual, while mitigating the criticism against Benjamin as a whole in the late Persian period. Cf. Gary Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29* (AB 12A; New York: Doubleday, 2004), 526–31, with references to other studies. See also P. J. Sabo, "Seeking Saul in Chronicles," in *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography* (ed. Paul Evans and Tyler Williams; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 43–63, esp. 45–49, who rightly asks why this "beginning" should bother us in the first place.

120. Polzin, e.g., therefore sees Samuel's entire career as a disappointment, as a failure to live up to his

regard. Samuel anoints Saul as ruler (נגיד), according to Yahweh's instructions (v. 1; cf. 1

Sam 9:16).[121] He then predicts a series of events (vv. 2–6), which includes Saul's

receiving divine spirit (רוח), prophesying (נבא), and turning into "another man" (ונהפכת

לאיש אחר) (v. 6). Of course the events are realized (vv. 9–13). Saul is becoming like

Samuel.[122] But in the midst of Samuel's predictions is also a series of imperative clauses,

instructions from Samuel to Saul. Verses 7 and 8 read:

> והיה כי תבאינה [תבאנה] האתות האלה לך עשה לך אשר תמצא ידך כי האלהים עמך:
> וירדת לפני הגלגל והנה אנכי ירד אליך להעלות עלות לזבח זבחי שלמים שבעת ימים תוחל
> עד־בואי אליך והודעתי לך את אשר תעשה:
> Now when these signs meet you, do [imperative] whatever you see fit to do, for
> God is with you. And you shall go down [*weqatal*] to Gilgal ahead of me; then I
> will come down [participle] to you to present burnt offerings and offer sacrifices
> of well-being. Seven days you shall wait [*yiqtol*], until I come to you and show
> you what you shall do." (NRSV)

The NRSV is formally equivalent to the Hebrew here, translating the second-person

weqatal/*yiqtol* forms as "you shall." However, following the imperative in v. 7, these

verbal forms continue to carry the imperative sense of command, and should be translated

accordingly. Thus, the force of Samuel's words is, "Do whatever you see fit to do ... Go

down to Gilgal ... Wait seven days...." In these commands, Samuel backtracks on, even

contradicts, his own words.[123] Samuel tells Saul to do whatever he (Saul) thinks is best,

because God will be with him, but then Samuel immediately gives him very precise

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prophetic potential (cf. *Samuel*, 152–55 and passim).

121. LXX 1 Sam 10:1 adds, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις ἐν λαῷ κυρίου, καὶ σὺ σώσεις αὐτὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ κυκλόθεν. καὶ τοῦτό σοι τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι ἔχρισέν σε κύριος ἐπὶ κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἄρχοντα "And you will rule the people of the Lord, and you will save it from the hand of its enemies all around. And this [will be] to you the sign that the Lord anointed you ruler over his inheritance," bringing Samuel's words more precisely in line with Yahweh's in 1 Sam 9:16, and also with the summary statement in 1 Sam 14:47. It is likely that the Greek represents the original, and that these clauses were lost in the Hebrew due to haplography (McCarter, *I Samuel*, 171). NRSV thus follows the Greek.

122. Cf. Leuchter, *Samuel*, 3.

123. Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 68, 85–86.

instructions. The final command starkly contrasts the first: "Do whatever you see fit ...

Wait seven days till I come to you and *show you what to do*." In the Hebrew there is

express emphasis on the time period: "seven days" stands at the beginning of the clause,

drawing attention to the exact amount of time Saul is to wait (an important point to keep

in mind). Samuel's non sequitur gives the freshly anointed king Saul free reign but keeps

the judge's political position in tact.

Samuel's hedging in 10:7–8 is then complemented by yet another conflicted

portrait of Saul in 10:20–24. At a gathering in Mizpah, Samuel again addresses the

people's request for a king, reemphasizing that the move from Yahweh's kingship to

human kingship involves the *removal* of Yahweh in the role of deliverer (10:17–19).

Again, reference is made to Israel's time in Egypt and Yahweh's rescuing the people

from oppression there (cf. 1 Sam 8; see above). In this episode, the choosing of Saul

takes place before all the tribes, by casting of lots. As expected, the lots indicate Saul, but

the young man is nowhere to be found. Yahweh himself reveals, "Look! he is hiding

among the baggage" (הנה־הוא נחבא אל־הכלים) (10:22). Immediately following this

revelation is a reference, perhaps sardonic, to Saul's great stature, another statement of

his noteworthy height (10:23; cf. 1 Sam 9:2). There is, therefore, an ongoing conflict of

representation, as many commentators observe, a physically impressive man who is

portrayed as potentially great and mighty, but at the same time shies away from his duty,

hiding in the baggage at the moment of his accession.[124] The discourse engages openly in doublethinking about both Samuel and Saul.

Notice, too, that the assembly takes place at Mizpah (10:17), the same place where Samuel decisively routed the Philistines and commemorated the victory (1 Sam 7), which further increases the tension between Samuel and Saul. Samuel decisively defeats Israel's main enemy at Mizpah; Yahweh, after the fact, paradoxically claims that *Saul*, as king, will deliver the people from that same enemy (1 Sam 9:16; see above); and then Samuel gathers the people at Mizpah to publicly proclaim Saul in this role. Samuel's presentation of Saul to the people at Mizpah is thus, not surprisingly, loaded with sarcasm, a tongue in cheek condemnation of the anointed king: "Do you see whom Yahweh has chosen? There is no one like him among all the people!" (10:24a). In other words, what other Israelite man with such physical endowment and beauty would hide from the opportunity to be king? From Samuel's perspective, at this precise point in the narrative, not only is Saul's rise to kingship seemingly unnecessary (the Philistines have already been subdued), it is also farcical: the mighty, divinely chosen man hides from his appointed task, at the very locale where Samuel had proven his worth as a leader.

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124.   Notably, Rabbinic midrash describes Saul as a humble character (cf. his actions in 1 Sam 10:14–16; and see Tanḥuma B Lev. 2b:4). This is another potential understanding of Samuel's hiding in the baggage (see McCarter, *I Samuel*, 184 and 196; cf. Edelman, *King Saul*, 56–57, who offers a similar reading, but without appealing to the midrash). In this line of thought, Saul's hiding is a positive character trait (cf. Moses' humility in Num 12:3). Nonetheless, early Jewish interpreters struggled with how to understand Saul. This is not surprising, given the contradictory presentation of the Israelite king throughout the Judean literature. Rabbinic texts generally praise him, Pseudo-Philo criticizes him, and Josephus, devoting much attention to him, provides something of a middle ground. See, e.g., Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' View of Saul," and Hanna Liss, "The Innocent King: Saul in Rabbinic Exegesis," in *Saul in Story and Tradition*, 214–44 and 245–60, respectively; also Joachim Vette, "Samuel's 'Farewell Speech': Theme and Variation in 1 Samuel 12, Josephus, and Pseudo-Philo," in *Literary Constructions of Identity in the Ancient World* (ed. Hanna Liss and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 325–39.

At the assembly's conclusion, Samuel officially codifies the *mishpat* of kingship, presumably the same pessimistic speech found in 1 Sam 8:11–18—Samuel writes the *mishpat* "in the book" (בספר) and places it (נוח Hiph.) before Yahweh (10:25).[125] There is now an official record of kingship's negative ideal, a statement that, taken on its own, seems to rival the positive Deuteronomic ideal within the discourse. At this juncture in the narrative, the question is: When Saul takes his place on Israel's new throne, which type of human kingly justice will emerge, the king envisioned in Deuteronomy's king-law or Samuel's vision of kingly *mishpat*, which is essentially the negative reflection of the Deuteronomic king? As the Judean readership knew all too well, the ongoing narrative bears witness to the truth of Samuel's vision within the discourse, reinforcing the inverse and reciprocal relationship between his vision and the king-law. Conventional Near Eastern kingship indeed proves to be burdensome to Israel (cf. 1 Kgs 12:1–19), as Samuel imagined. This negatively reinforces the argument that ideal Israelite kingship should be decidedly *non*-kingly, but at the same time makes the non-kingly king of Deuteronomy an unrealistic option—a point which I emphasized above. The assembly at

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125.   Van Seters, *In Search*, 253, points out that this action mirrors Moses' writing of a law-book and placing it before Yahweh (cf. Deut 31:24–26). However, *pace* Van Seters, I disagree with him and others who try to make a distinction between משפט המלך ("*mishpat* of the king") in 1 Sam 8:9,11 and משפט המלכה ("*mishpat* of the kingdom") in 10:25. In this view, the משפט המלכה is seen as an official "law" or "regulation" for the kingdom-to-be, meant to mitigate the משפט המלך ("ways/practices of the king") described in 8:11–18. Van Seters even suggests that משפט המלכה is meant to reference the Deuteronomic king-law itself. See also, e.g., Halpern, *Constitution*, 224–25; idem, "Between Elective Autocracy and Democracy," 181; J. G. McConville, "King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 271–95 (289). First, to argue for a difference in the meaning of *mishpat* in these instances is to split a semantic hair. The same goes for differentiating between המלכה ("the kingdom") and המלך ("the king") in order to argue for two separate *mishpatim*. Second, setting aside Halpern's speculations about "Samuel's impulse to limit monarchic power" (*Constitution*, 223), I find no reason in the narrative itself to make such a distinction. From a literary perspective, the reference in 10:25 comes quickly on the heels of Samuel's speech concerning the *mishpat* in 8:11–18, within a series of interrelated events (Saul's accession), and thus it is highly unlikely that a reader would *not* see these references as essentially one and the same.

Mizpah in 1 Samuel 10, alongside 1 Samuel 8, presents a key statement in the discourse: using negative reinforcement, it effectively underscores and expands Deuteronomy's vision of ideal Israelite/Judahite kingship, thus (re)shaping the memory of the law itself.[126]

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In response to all of this, the people, though they collectively shout "Long live the king!" (10:24b), go home divided in opinion (10:26–27).[127] Those who support Saul are called "the valorous, whose minds God had touched" (החיל אשר־נגע אלהים בלבם), while those against him are called "worthless/wicked/good for nothing" (בני בליעל).[128]

This is an interesting division, in light of how these terms are used elsewhere in the discourse. Looking forward, the "valorous" (חיל)—a descriptor also used for Saul's father (1 Sam 9:1)—points to the victories of Saul and those who fight alongside him (1 Sam 14:48, 52), but it also presages David (1 Sam 16:18), the young man who will take Saul's place and fuel Saul's eventual madness. The literature consistently construes the valorous David, who usurps Saul's throne, as one who is actually deferential to and in

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126.   However, it is worth mentioning yet again, what is ideal is not entirely clear cut in the DH (cf. Chapter 2). Davidic kingship collapses tragically, but David and Solomon are, in part, great Near Eastern kings that secure peace in the land, acquire great power, and construct the deity's temple—activities for which they receive great praise. The dichotomy is less apparent in Chronicles, in which Davidic kingship receives a less critical evaluation throughout, and in which Yahweh appoints Cyrus (not an Israelite per se, but still a David-like king; cf. Isa 45), to renew Jerusalem and Judah (2 Chr 36:22–23). See more in Chapter 4.

127.   In the MT, 10:27b reads ויהי כמחריש "But he [Saul] was like one who keeps silent," i.e., he pretended not to mind that some men refused to support him (cf. NJPS). However, 4QSam^a reads ויהי כמו חדש "About a month later," which ties the passage to what follows in ch. 11. LXX supports the 4QSam^a text, suggesting that this short expository comment concerning Saul's reaction was not originally present in the Judean literature. See *BQS* 1:271.

128.   This dichotomy appears already in Samuel's birth story in 1 Sam 1–2. Note that Hannah tells Eli not to think of her as a "worthless woman" (בת בליעל) (1 Sam 1:16), and after she conceives a child (Samuel) she famously prays, "Bows of the mighty [i.e., the arrogant] are broken, but stumbling ones put on valor [חיל]" (1 Sam 2:4). Then, Eli's sons end up becoming "worthless men" (בני בליעל) (1 Sam 2:12), whom Samuel replaces.

support of Saul (e.g., 1 Sam 24:5–8; 2 Sam 1). In this way, one of Saul's valorous

supporters ironically supplants him. Also, the בני בליעל who oppose Saul frame later

developments in the David story. David too runs into worthless fellows who oppose him

(e.g., Nabal [1 Sam 25:17, 25][129] and Sheba the Benjaminite [2 Sam 20:1]). He even

employs some in his army, calling them his "brothers," despite their ignoble attitudes (1

Sam 30:22–23).[130] But after the deaths of Saul and Jonathan, one of Saul's relatives calls

David a worthless person (איש הבליעל), an insult that the king acknowledges, accepts, and

forgives (2 Sam 16:5–14; 19:19–24).[131] In remembering these persons, the line between

valorous and worthless, between the supporters of kingship and its detractors, becomes

fuzzy.

Now, looking back to the book of Judges, the literati knew that the boundary

between valorous and worthless/wicked was already blurry, even before the Israelites

divide in opinion over Saul. For example, Yahweh's messenger calls Gideon a "warrior

of valor" (גבור החיל) (Judg 6:12).[132] Gideon, of course, successfully routs his enemies and

supposedly reaffirms the kingship of Yahweh. But he also acts, a posteriori, as an anti-

Deuteronomic king, a type of ruler that is of no value in Yahweh's eyes. Gideon goes

from destroying an altar of Baal and its accompanying Asherah (Judg 6:25–32) to

creating his own idolatrous cult object to which the people "prostitute" (זנה) themselves,

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129.   Whose name means "fool" (1 Sam 25:25; cf. Isa 32:6). See discussion in McCarter, *I Samuel*, 398.
130.   LXX lacks "my brothers" (אחי), reading instead μετὰ (= אחרי). McCarter, *I Samuel*, 433, thus follows the Greek tradition, but admits, "Comparison of the witnesses yields no satisfactory reading." Although the Hebrew of the MT is without "good parallels" (McCarter's phrase), it is not nonsensical. I prefer to leave it as is. Note also in this passage David's comment about those who, during battle, remain with the baggage (הישב על־הכלים) (1 Sam 30:24). Those who stay back with the baggage, David argues, deserve an equal share of the spoils of war. There is, perhaps, a faint echo here to Saul's hiding among the baggage in 1 Sam 10:22—in battle, even those like Saul deserve credit. Of course, David's men were not hiding; seemingly they stayed behind with the baggage because of exhaustion (cf. 1 Sam 30:9, 21).
131.   Though, later, David implores Solomon to avenge the insult anyway (1 Kgs 2:8–9).
132.   Jephthah, notably, is also described this way (Judg 11:1).

and which becomes a "snare" (מוקש) for the people—i.e., they worship it as they would a foreign god (Judg 8:27).[133] At the end of Gideon's life he has become, in essence, בן בליעל (cf. Deut 13:14). Moreover in Judges, Saul's Benjaminite ancestors receive mixed reviews, as discussed above. Certain Benjaminites are commended as "men of valor" (אנשי־חיל) (Judg 20:46; compare also the portrayal of Ehud in Judg 3:15–30). And yet others of his tribe are described as בני בליעל (Judg 19:22; 20:13). The wicked fellows, not the valorous Benjaminites, are perhaps most salient in relation to Saul because they are from Gibeah, Saul's home. The image of Gibeah as a den of sexual miscreants sharply contrasts with the image of the anointed king Saul returning to the same locale with valorous, righteous companions (1 Sam 10:26).

Like Mizpah, then, Gibeah is polyvalent in the discourse. As Saul's home, it is a symbol that sends multiple messages, that calls attention to different aspects of the discourse at different times.[134] This is to be expected for geographical locales that carry great import within particular sociocultural milieux. As Edward Said reminds us, geographical "space" plays an "extraordinarily constitutive role … in human affairs."[135] In Said's thinking (and he is certainly not alone), when it comes to memories and histories, present-day sites like Auschwitz and Jerusalem, for example, are overdetermined, so their construction in sociomental and mythological landscapes overrides their literal existence, to the point that the myriad of "symbolic associations totally [obscures] the existential reality."[136] The same was true in the ancient world.[137]

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133. Cf. Exod 23:33; 34:10–16; Lev 17:7; 20:5–6; Deut 7:16; 31:16; Josh 23:13; Judg 2:3, 17.
134. Cf. Polzin, *Samuel*, 115; Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 108.
135. Edward W. Said, "Invention, Memory, and Place," *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000): 175–92 (180).
136. Said, "Invention," 180. Cf. Aidan Southall, *The City in Time and Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
137. See my own contribution to some of these issues, "The Seat of Kingship: (Re)Constructing the

Therefore, when the people divide, with the valorous following Saul home to Gibeah and the worthless remaining in protest, the text presents a dichotomy that is already falsified. And the falsification proves true as the story continues. There is slippage in the seemingly clear cut division between those who support Saul and those who do not. Men of valor can, at times, prove to be worthless; and likewise, worthless men (and the places where they reside) can, in certain cases, prove useful. As Saul's narrative evinces, having valorous men at one's side does not guarantee political success. And, at least in the memories shaped by 1–2 Samuel, David walks the blurry line between חיל and בליעל.

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1 Samuel 8–10 introduces numerous rivalries of identification, questioning the roles and functions of different forms of political leadership in Israel's past, with all their positives and negatives and their various supporters and detractors, thus exploring the divergent paths of memory. 1 Samuel 11–12, then, firmly establishes these rivalries in the minds of its readers. In what follows, I focus specifically on the narrative divergences in these two chapters, in order to begin to develop a total concept of the kingship-discourse's polyvalency and import in Judah's social remembering.

1 Samuel 11 tells of Saul's victory over the Ammonites, a clearly judge-like success that brings his character even closer in line with Samuel's, and that directly answers the detractive question of the worthless fellows: "How can this one rescue [ישע] us?" (1 Sam 10:27). Here, Saul again receives divine spirit (רוח אלהים), but this time it

City in Isaiah 24–27," in *Urban Dreams and Realities: Remains and Representations of the Ancient City* (ed. Adam Kemezis; Mnemosyne Supplements 375; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 395–412.

empowers him for battle instead of prophecy (11:6; cf. 10:6, 10). As commentators often notice, the passage has a mostly positive, pro-Saul bent.[138] He comes to the aid of his fellow Israelites, who are suffering under an Ammonite oppressor.[139] In the wake of victory, Saul shows mercy to his detractors (11:12–13), and then Samuel calls the people to Gilgal to complete Saul's inauguration as king (11:14). Worship of Yahweh and celebration ensue (11:15). This is indeed Saul's most redeeming moment in the narrative.

However, placing the passage in its discursive context, one still finds hints of rivalry between Saul and Samuel, and there are minor details in the passage that aid in the mnemonic framing of Saul's eventual failure. First, Saul calls the people to battle, but he tells them to follow himself *and Samuel* into the fight (11:7). Saul is anointed king, but Samuel still stands at the head of the pack. Second, after the battle is won, the people go to *Samuel* for justice, but Saul answers instead (11:12–13). Who is the leader here? What is one to make of this new judge-like king who brings the old guard alongside him in battle? Why do the people consult Samuel concerning Saul's problems? One might argue that Saul has not yet *fully* become king, as the passage's conclusion implies, and so his

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138.   E.g., McCarter, *I Samuel*, 205; Miscall, *1 Samuel*, 66; Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 102; Middleton, "Samuel," 77.

139.   4QSam^a provides background information to this episode, which is lacking in the MT and LXX. It states that Nahash the Ammonite was an oppressor who had gouged out the right eye of every Israelite man in the Transjordan, with the exception of 7,000 that escaped to Jabesh-gilead (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 6.68–71; NRSV). With this in mind, Nahash's besieging of Jabesh-gilead in 1 Sam 11:1 is given something of a motive. For a reconstructed text of 4QSam^a, see McCarter, *I Samuel*, 199; cf. *BQS* 1:271. Note, too, that after Saul's death the residents of Jabesh-gilead rescue the bodies of Saul and his sons, which they burn (a decidedly non-Israelite practice), subsequently burying Saul's bones (1 Sam 31:11–13). The account of Saul's burial, in connection with 1 Sam 11, seems to emphasize that the Jabesh-gileadites, though they may be a part of the kingdom of Israel, are not necessarily Israelites (cf. 2 Sam 2:4–7). These texts, along with many others (e.g., Num 21; 32; Judg 11; 21), reflect the complex role the Transjordan played in Israelite/ Judean identity negotiation; see Jacob L. Wright, *David, King of Israel, and Caleb in Biblical Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 66–79. And the story of Saul's bones does not stop there. They make a reappearance in 2 Sam 21:1–14, where, along with the impaled bodies of Saul's descendants, they also play a strongly political role. In that account, "[David] solves the Gibeonite problem and the problem of Saul's surviving—and possibly rival—heirs, while simultaneously honoring Saul and his family with the patrimonial burial at Saul's home in Gibeah" (Doak, "Fate and Power of Heroic Bones," 214).

and the people's deference to the old judge is to be expected. But it is nonetheless curious

that the passage, Saul's only real heroic moment in the limelight, reveals this sharing of

leadership, especially when he has already been specially chosen by Yahweh, anointed by

Samuel as ruler, and received divine power. It creates the potential for hesitation in one's

memory of kingship's beginnings. The narrative remains unsure about the rise of

kingship and demise of judgeship, which would have effected a dualistic memory for

Judean readers, memory which would have invited considerations of the pros and cons of

both forms of leadership, and of both leaders as individuals.[140]

Moreover, this passage has strong connections with episodes in Judges that shape

the way one remembers Saul. As already mentioned several times above, Judges 19–20—

which depicts Gibeah and the Benjaminites rather unfavorably (with the exception of the

fallen fighters in 20:46)—contributes to anti-Saul thinking in the discourse, sullying

Saul's ancestry. And Saul's actions in 1 Sam 11:7 directly parallel the actions of the

Levite in Judg 19:29 (cf. Judg 20:6). Saul cuts the yoke of oxen into pieces and sends

them throughout Israel, to summon the tribes as one, as the Levite did to his Judahite

concubine.[141] Of course, the criticism is inverted. In Judges, the Judahite woman is

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140.   This is true still today. The issue of Samuel's and Saul's characterizations, and how they function in the plots of 1–2 Samuel, remains a significant point of scholarly debate (see the numerous references above, n. 86). Here I have emphasized the aspect of rivalry in the narrative, but there is another angle. Given several prominent cases of dual leadership in the Judean literature (e.g., Deborah and Barak; Judg 4–5), including beneficial relationships between prophets and kings (e.g., Nathan and David; 2 Sam 7; 12:1–25), the stories of Samuel and Saul may also speak to the issue of shared leadership, of the partnership between prophecy and kingship: e.g., Samuel "mourns/grieves" over Saul's losing the kingship (1 Sam 15:35; 16:1), and the prophet, without complaint, anoints David (1 Sam 16) and supports the young David when he flees from Saul (1 Sam 19:18; and cf. their relationship in 1 Chron 9:22). Nevertheless, Samuel's view of kingship tends to be more contentious than supportive, at least when he is dealing with Israel's first king.

141.   The parallel is thematic and linguistic. The pieces of flesh, in both cases, are sent (שלח) among all the territory of Israel (בכל גבול ישראל). The verbal root נתח ("cut into pieces"), which is uncommon, occurs only in these two passages and in Exod 29; Lev 1; 8; 9; 1 Kgs 18; and Ezek 24. But only in Judges and 1 Samuel are the cut pieces sent out as messages (in Ezekiel, they are central symbols within a metaphor for Judah's destruction, but they are not the message itself).

slaughtered to instigate action against the wicked Gibeahites of Benjamin, while in 1

Samuel a heroic Gibeahite (cf. 11:4) slaughters oxen to instigate action against a foreign

oppressor. In one story, the enemy is within, and the Gibeahites are the problem. In the

other, the enemy is external, and a Gibeahite is the solution. Notice, too, that 1 Samuel 11

unexpectedly draws attention to the Judahites. One reads that, of 300,000 Israelite

warriors, 30,000 were from Judah (v. 8). Why emphasize the Judahite involvement? No

other tribe is mentioned specifically in the passage, and Judah has yet to appear at all in 1

Samuel. This seemingly unnecessary detail strengthens the salience of the link between

these episodes. In Judges, a Judahite suffers an atrocity at the hands of Gibeah (and, one

can surely argue, at the hands of her Levite master), and Yahweh specifically calls upon

Judah to lead the fight against Benjamin (Judg 20:18).[142] Here in 1 Samuel, Judah is the

only tribe that receives special attention for its involvement in the fight against Ammon.

Adding yet another layer of complexity, Saul gathers the Israelites at Bezek (11:8), an

obscure locale that features only here and in Judg 1:4–7, another episode in which

Yahweh specially chooses Judah to lead the Israelites to victory (cf. Judg 1:1–2).[143] This

mention of Judah also looks forward, of course. It implies that Israel and Judah are not

entirely one, setting a precedent for the division of the kingdom already during the reign

of Israel's first king.

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142. Immediately after this the Benjaminites secure a small victory against the Israelite army (Judg 20:21). Thus, some see this as a *condemnation* of Judah and its leadership. In the end, however, Israel wins the war, and there is no indication that Judah lost its status as head tribe in the fight. Moreover, the text implies that Israel was hamstrung by its hesitance to fight against its own relatives (cf. Judg 20:23), not because of any failure by Judah.

143. The intertexts do not stop there. The worthless fellows from Gibeah in Judg 19 of course parallel the Sodomites at Lot's house in Gen 19 (see Brettler, *Book of Judges*, 85–88, with additional references). So there is a thematic and linguistic linkage of episodes that begins with the story of Lot and ends with Saul's victory over the Ammonites. Interestingly, as Peter Sabo reminded me during one of our many chats about these texts, Gen 19 ends with the revelation that Lot, after unknowingly committing incest with his daughters, becomes the ancestral father of the Ammonites. The intertextual linkage comes full circle.

What all this meant for the literati was twofold. First, the passage balanced the memory of Gibeah and Saul; it somewhat tempered the anti-Benjamin/Gibeah ideology present in the book of Judges and in the mnemonic system as a whole. There is no doubt that Saul is the victor here, and in addition he shows his political restraint and his devotion to Yahweh at the conclusion of the episode (11:13). And yet the passage would have failed to completely squelch the rivalry between Saul and Samuel in the memories of readers. The old priest-prophet-judge continues to linger on the scene, asserting his power.[144] Also, the passage, though it must have tempered the negative depiction of Gibeah and Benjamin, nevertheless brought Judah even more into the forefront of the discourse, preparing the way for David's eventual usurpation of Saul.

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Saul's long and winding path to kingship finally reaches its end in 1 Samuel 12, with Samuel's "farewell" speech at Gilgal (though it is anything but a goodbye). In the book of Joshua, Gilgal is a site of commemoration and of disappointment. It is home to Joshua's monument, dedicated upon finally crossing into the promised land (Josh 4:19–20), where the Israelites perform the rite of passover for the first time in the land (Josh 5:9–10), and it is the place where the Gibeonites scheme their way into an alliance with Israel, thus ensuring the presence of a non-Israelite group in the land, against Yahweh's instructions (Josh 9).[145]

In 1 Samuel, too, the site has a double function in the discourse. It is the site of kingship's inauguration and of its first major failure. Recall that, after secretly anointing

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144. Again, this may partially speak to the necessity of a productive relationship between kings and prophetic figures.
145. See Wilson, "Conquest and Form," esp. 322–25.

<center>175</center>

Saul as ruler, Samuel instructs the anointee to proceed to Gilgal and wait there for seven days (1 Sam 10:8). Then, in 1 Samuel 11—after the battle against Ammon in the Transjordan—Samuel, with Saul apparently by his side, calls all the people to follow him to Gilgal, which they do immediately, offering sacrifices and celebrating Saul's kingship (vv. 14–15). So is Saul waiting in Gilgal as per Samuel's earlier instructions, or is he fighting the Ammonites with Samuel before proceeding to Gilgal? One could argue that the chronology here is simply non-linear, i.e., the victory over the Ammonites in 1 Samuel 11 occurs before the events depicted in 1 Samuel 10. Samuel's speech, however, suggests otherwise: he refers to Yahweh's anointed (משיח), presumably Saul (1 Sam 12:3), suggesting that the episode in ch. 10 is already behind them. The other possibility is that Samuel's speech does not take place at Gilgal (the site is never mentioned in ch. 12), but this seems unlikely given the statements in 11:14–15, which provide the immediate literary context for the speech. In the world construed by the text, it is hard to imagine the speech taking place anywhere else. In any case, the sequence of events is difficult to reconcile, and the subsequent narrative in ch. 13 does not clear things up. 1 Samuel 13:1–7 implies that Saul was indeed waiting at Gilgal, and that he and his son Jonathan had been battling the *Philistines* (not Ammon) in the meantime.

These issues of dischronology and problematic geography are addressed by nearly all commentators. I have more to say about these issues, below and in the next section, but a few preliminary comments are in order now. Judean literati, who were, obviously, deeply familiar with their literature's content, would not have been blind to the chronological and geographical fractures in the text.[146] Additionally, 1 Samuel 8–12 is a

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146.   See Chapter 1.

narrative passage that the literati would have read as a unit; it is not a haphazard collection of stories, meant to be consumed in piecemeal fashion.[147] The question is: How to make sense of the fractures as part of the discourse on kingship, as part of the processes of social remembering? How did these fractures convey meaning(s) in Judah's social memory? These are obvious tensions in the text, and they must have contributed to the literate Judeans' understandings of their past and its political institutions. What these fractures actually do is multiply the voices of the past, contributing to various ideas about the events of transition, raising questions concerning causality and ideology/theology inherent in the narrative structure. Who might have been where, and when? Why? How might the actions of Samuel and Saul (and the locales in which their actions purportedly took place), of which various accounts are given, provide insight into the pros and cons of judgeship and kingship, and into the troublesome transition between the two? By providing a disjointed narrative account of the events between Saul's anointing and the assembly at Gilgal, the narrative raises these questions, but it does not provide any answers, leaving the debate for its readers. The literati were responsible for and maintained a conspicuously multivocal text that became authoritative within the society, so we should not explain the multivocality away. Rather, we should embrace the questions of the text, and attempt to discern what memories (complementary and/or contradictory) these questions might have evoked in the minds of the Judean readership of the literature.

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147.   See, e.g., Long, *Reign and Rejection*, 195–233; also McKenzie, "Trouble with Kingship," in *Israel Constructs Its History*, esp. 307–308.

That said, chronology and geography are not the only (or even the most important) issues in Samuel's speech. A statement in 1 Sam 12:2 is telling: "As for me, I am old and gray, but my sons, see! they are still with you!" Here Samuel expresses faith in his sons, whom the elders of Israel gave a vote of no confidence (cf. 1 Sam 8:5). He then calls on Yahweh as a witness to the past leadership of Moses, Aaron, and various judges (12:5–11). Note that Samuel lists himself, in the third person, as a successful savior of the people (12:11).[148] In typical fashion for the DH, his account highlights Israel's repeated worship of Baals and Asherahs, its inability to follow divine Torah. It draws attention to the cycles of apostasy-oppression-deliverance that characterize the book of Judges (cf. Judg 2:11–19) and Samuel's own story, especially in 1 Sam 7 (see above).[149] Then, in the climax of his oration, Samuel claims that fear of Nahash the Ammonite led to the request for a king (12:12), which provides yet another perspective on kingship's causes, another argument concerning the rise of kingship. So here, at Saul's inauguration at Gilgal, Samuel claims that his sons are indeed adequate replacements for himself, even though the elders stated otherwise. And he claims that Ammonite oppression was the impetus for kingship, even though the elders previously said it was his sons, and Yahweh previously said it was the Philistines (cf. 1 Sam 9:16). These narrative wrinkles diversify the memories evoked by the text, forcing readers to reconsider the discursive options.

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148. His other examples of successful judgeship are interesting. Alongside himself, he lists Jerubaal (the expressly *Canaanite* name of Gideon, who had his problems; see above), Barak (cf. LXX) (but not Deborah or Jael, the real heroes of the story), and Jephthah, who routs the Ammonites but consequently (and infamously) has to sacrifice his daughter. Also, the ancient versions suggest that Samson was originally referenced as well (see more above, n. 18).
149. See also Yahweh's speech in Mic 6:1–8, in which the deity appeals to the exodus events, and which Jan Joosten recently compares to 1 Sam 12 in "YHWH's Farewell to Northern Israel (Micah 6,1–8)," *ZAW* 125 (2013): 448–62, esp. 452–56.

Specifically, in this case, Samuel's comments would have invited the literati to reconsider the issue of judgeship and its effectiveness as a governmental system. Here it is the Ammonites that are the problem, not the Philistines, which, by implication, reinforces the memory of Samuel's subduing of the Philistines (1 Sam 7)—a decidedly pro-judgeship viewpoint. This text reminded the readership that Samuel, and the judges that went before him, had great successes. Moreover, Samuel's faith in his sons holds out the possibility that dynasty could in fact be successful. It rehashes the issues of succession, of divine promises and modes of Israelite polity. Precisely what does successful, ongoing Israelite leadership look like? Where does one find it in Israel's memories, and how to maintain the proper political institutions? The discourse repeatedly comes back to these questions.

Samuel's take is clearcut, at least here. He criticizes the people's request for kingship, stating, "You said to me, 'No! A king should reign over us,' but Yahweh your god is your king" (1 Sam 12:12; cf. 8:7–8; 10:19). This criticism echoes the words of Yahweh himself. However, it also stands in tension with a key element of Deuteronomy's kingship law: that is, if the human king is a Torah king, then Yahweh is, in essence, still the king of Israel via his divine instruction (see above and Chapter 2). At least here in Gilgal, Samuel's comments do not draw attention to the Deuteronomic requirement for the king to be a devoted guardian and purveyor of Yahweh's Torah. Thus, Samuel remains a dissenting voice in the discourse, one which doubts the human king's ability to function as the ideal type as presented in Deuteronomy.

This dissenting voice continues in 12:13, in which Samuel claims that the people have chosen (בחר) the king, that they have asked (שאל) for him.[150] As Reinhard Müller puts it, this comment engages in a "polemischen Uminterpretation des Erwählungsmotivs aus 10,24 in 8,18."[151] It links to a number of other texts that concern themselves with who did (or did not) actually choose the king, texts which are all framed by the king-law's insistence that, in the sure instance that Israel asks for a king, Yahweh will be the chooser (cf. Deut 17:15).[152] On the one hand, after the people request kingship, Yahweh chooses Saul, the man, to be king, not once but twice (1 Sam 9:16; 10:21; cf. 10:24).[153] On the other, Samuel insists that the people have chosen the king, the office, to their own detriment (cf. 1 Sam 8:18). To boot, Samuel requests a miraculous sign from Yahweh to confirm the people's misdeed in asking for a king, and the deity complies (12:16–22).

Moreover, Samuel encourages the people to fear (ירא) Yahweh, to serve (עבד) him and to listen (שמע) to his voice, to avoid his wrath (12:14–15; cf. vv. 24–25), which recalls central motifs in the book of Deuteronomy and in the DH, as Martin Noth emphasized more than half a century ago.[154] But Samuel also tells the people that, even with the king in place, he (Samuel) will instruct (ירה)[155] them in the way of goodness and righteousness (12:23), thus somewhat undermining the king's role as the people's leading

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150.   Here, as elsewhere, there is a clear pun: they have "sauled" a king, whose name is Saul.
151.   Müller, *Königtum*, 189.
152.   Nihan comments, "At first sight, it is not evident why 1 Sam 10:17–27 places such emphasis on the fact that Saul, the first king, was chosen by YHWH himself, nor does that follow from the story of the people's request in chapter 8. When 1 Sam 10:20–25 is read against the background of Deut 17, however, such emphasis makes good sense" ("1 Samuel 8 and 12," 233–34).
153.   See also Josh 24:15, 24; which, using the same language, deals with the issue of the people choosing Yahweh as its sole deity. Cf. Müller, *Königtum*, 225–26. Note that Müller also finds strong links between Josh 24 and 1 Sam 12 (see *Königtum*, 184–85; cf. Nihan, "1 Samuel 8 and 12," 259–62).
154.   See Noth, *Deuteronomistic History*, 51 and 89–99.
155.   The verbal root of Torah.

Torah devotee (cf. Deut 17:18–20).[156] Again, the narrative both confirms the Deuteronomic king-law as its mnemonic frame and (re)shapes the Deuteronomic framework. It fulfills the prophetic element of Deuteronomic legislation, but places the onus of blame for kingship's future failures directly on the people. This way, the people are ultimately held culpable for kingship in general, should it (that is, when it does) fail (cf. Deut 28:36).

The causes of kingship, its identity and its ideological/theological import for Israel, are thus unclear in the narrative. The story's emplotment is inconsistent, which elicits a picture of kingship's beginnings and of the past in general that is fuzzy, a memory that is blurred and invites many readings and considerations of political transition. As throughout the DH, the overarching problem is failure to adhere to Torah— that is, disobedience and its consequences—but in this particular instance one cannot reconcile the precise details. Samuel and Saul's narrative is riddled with overdetermination, multiple causes and plot lines leading to the same outcome: Israelite kingship.[157]

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156.   Deuteronomy does not claim that the king is to teach Torah. Also, it is Levitical priests who are responsible for providing the king with Torah, and Samuel has a Levitical and priestly side to his character (see above). However, implicit in the Deuteronomic law is the idea that the king's devotion to Torah should stand as a parade example for the people ("he should not think himself better than his brothers"; Deut 17:20); cf. S. Dean McBride Jr., "Polity of the Covenant People: The Book of Deuteronomy," *Interpretation* 41 (1987): 229–44, esp. 241. And explicit in Samuel's speech is a critical stance toward kingship, strongly suggesting that Samuel does not trust the king to represent Torah to the people. Thus Samuel takes it upon himself.

157.   Edelman, *King Saul*, 30–32, argues convincingly that the episodes concerning Saul's rise to kingship are structured in a way that reflects typical ancient Near Eastern rites of king–making: the candidate is (divinely) designated, tested via military challenge, and then finally coronated after a successful military victory (see also her "Saul's Rescue of Jabesh-Gilead (I Sam 11.1–11): Sorting Story from History," *ZAW* 96 [1984]: 195–209). She thus states, "The ancient Judahite audience should have been familiar with the three-part coronation ceremony both from royal investitures that they might have witnessed and from cultic myths about Yahweh and the national gods of surrounding lands" (*King Saul*, 31). Cf. Tryggve N. D. Mettinger's discussion of the divine election and approval of Saul (see his *King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings* [ConBOT 8; Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1976], 97–98); and also Halpern, *Constitution*, 51–148, who looks closely at the evidence from

In the end, then, Samuel's speech in 1 Samuel 12 only complicates one's

understanding of the past institution of kingship in Israel vis-à-vis its Deuteronomic ideal.

Deuteronomy allows for kingship, even forecasts it, whereas Samuel persistently offers a

troubling take on the institution. Adding to the polyvalency, Samuel's worldview appears

to be at least partially Deuteronomic, despite his obvious distaste for kingly rule and his

insistence that he is to be the people's ongoing source for instruction. The rivalry

between Samuel and Saul, between competing representations of past Israelite polity,

thus remains unsettled.[158] The overdetermination and polyvalency in this key moment of

transition is, I argue, ultimately a function of the mnemonic system in Judah, in which

one finds a multivocal feedback loop between historiography and prophetic literature, a

Mesopotamia, the Levant, and the Hebrew Bible, ultimately offering a reconstruction of king-making rites in ancient Israel. Similarly, Jeffrey L. Cooley argues in a recent article that the "redactor" of 1 Sam 9–10 included multiple and contradictory episodes of Saul's election to represent the ancient Mesopotamian tradition of "mantic confirmation using multiple divinatory means" ("The Story of Saul's Election (1 Samuel 9–10) in the Light of Mantic Practice in Ancient Iraq," *JBL* 130 [2011]: 247–61 [249]). This comparative work helps us understand the structure of the narrative's composition as a whole, but does not shed light on the narratival function of the composition's multivocality. In her recent work, Gilmour, *Representing the Past*, 63–72, appeals to Edelman's and Halpern's insights in an attempt to explain the overdetermined causation in the episodes of Saul's accession. The narrative, she argues, presents two perspectives on Saul's rise, one private and the other public (cf. Borgman, *David, Saul, and God*, 18–21). Hence the seemingly repetitive and contradictory episodes: "Saul is appointed king both because of God's direct personal command to Samuel, and through the official avenues of the assembly, approval of the people and proof of his military prowess. The private and public processes are linked together by the common theme of divine causation and the common result of Saul established as king" (*Representing the Past*, 71–72). Here Gilmour successfully expands upon the insights of Edelman and others, but one is still left with the problem of outright confusion and contradiction in the narrative's own statements concerning the cause(s) for kingship. Toward the end of her work, using 1 Samuel 17 as a test case, she cogently shows how juxtapositions and contradictions could have had express meaning and significance in Judean historiography (unlike modern historiography, which intentionally avoids such things), but she does not return to the issue of Saul's problematic accession (see *Representing the Past*, 225–300).

158.　Nihan makes a similar observation, though he makes it from a different methodological perspective: "This transition [from judgeship to kingship] is presented as being both inevitable *and* potentially problematic, especially because of the risk that the king will abuse his power" ("1 Samuel 8 and 12," 255). Nihan's essay is thoroughly redaction-critical, but it complements my own work here by highlighting the importance of Deut 17 for understanding the passage of 1 Sam 8–12. Cf. also Nihan's "Rewriting Kingship in Samuel: 1 Samuel 8 and 12 and the Law of the King (Deuteronomy 17)," *HeBAI* 2 (2013): 315–50.

discourse between past and future. These rival and discursive memories of the past provided the occasion for and reinforcement of diverse hopes for the future.

Outcomes of Rivalry and Aporia: Kingship's Beginnings in Israel

Samuel has his failure in 1 Samuel 8, and then Saul has his own in 1 Samuel 13. In both cases, judgeship and kingship alike, one finds a heroic figure who emerges to rescue the people from a tragedy of leadership. Samuel replaces Eli, saving the people from the corruption of Eli's sons and from Philistine oppression, and Saul replaces Samuel, saving the people from the corruption of Samuel's sons and/or Ammonite (or Philistine?) oppression. Yet in both cases the narratival reasoning for the leader's downfall is multivocal and thus overdetermined.

To repeat, Samuel's failure is ultimately aporetic; the strain of hereditary and non-hereditary succession, of judgeship and kingship, and of divine promises, becomes quite apparent in the first few verses of 1 Samuel 8. The aporia only thickens, then, as the Benjaminite Saul is introduced, and as additional details concerning kingship's rise and the struggle between judgeship and kingship are revealed in 1 Samuel 9–12. Saul's aporetic moment (1 Samuel 13) complements Samuel's, being made possible by the doublethink already established in the discourse in the previous turn of events. Framed by Samuel's dynastic failure as well as the tension between Deuteronomic law and Samuel's *mishpat* of kingship, Saul's downfall is a predictable—one might say even preferable—outcome in Judean social memory. A proven form of leadership (judgeship under Samuel) fails on account of problems with dynasty, and the dynastic form of leadership

that replaces it (kingship under Saul)[159] fails to prove its ability to lead. Kingship's

unlikely rise at judgeship's expense is matched by its immediate and unlikely fall,

confirming both sides of the doublethink.

Of course, David and his narratives speak to these same problems (see Chapter 4).

The Judahite's ability to maintain his place on the throne and salvage his "eternal"

dynasty before Yahweh—despite his great failures with Bathsheba and Uriah and his

children—provides a slight counter to the dynastic failures of Samuel and Saul before

him. David and the lengthy Davidic line, which includes the only other truly "good"

kings in Israel/Judah, tip the discourse, however slightly, toward the side of kingship and

dynasty. Yet, in the DH at least, kingship remains consistently problematic: the latter part

of David's life is a mess, Solomon succumbs to apostasy in his old age, the kingdom

splits, and most of the kings, north and south, are awful leaders. In due narrative time, as

the DH concludes, the Davidic dynasty falls on account of its incessant apostasy and is

taken away to Babylon, where it *seemingly* meets its end (2 Kgs 25:27–29).[160] This, in

turn, balances the discourse back to center, back to the *mise en abyme* of Samuel and Saul

and the transition from judgeship to kingship. Within the DH, when addressing the

problem of kingship, one remains essentially right where one starts, with the issues of

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159.   *Pace* those who argue that Israel's first monarchy under Saul was meant to be conditional, i.e., essentially non-dynastic: e.g., Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 219–23, who references and discusses the similar ideas of Alt, "Monarchy"; and recently Jeremy Hutton, who states "The office to which Saul was selected was most likely viewed as a function of rotational and complementary ad hoc leadership. As such, Saul's 'monarchy' was not conceptualized by the earliest authors as a hereditary monarchy" ("Long Live the King!" 276). The literati of postmonarchic Judah, though, never would have thought in this way (cf. Deut 17:20).
160.   Cf. Sir 49:1–7, which states that David, Hezekiah, and Josiah were the only good kings in Judah, and which emphasizes the monarchy's role in Judah's downfall to "a foreign nation" (ἔθνει ἀλλοτρίῳ). Of course, the meaning of the end of Kings is not so clear, and Chronicles offers additional takes on all of this. See Chapter 4.

dynasty, succession, and the (ab)uses of conventional kingly power, all in hand, and with

a plethora of narrative voices speaking to their interrelated meanings.

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"Saul was . . . years old when he began to reign; and he reigned . . . and two years

over Israel" (1 Sam 13:1; NRSV). So begins the account of Saul's kingship.[161] Although

the ellipses in this translation were certainly unknown to the literati, they are strangely

fitting. What follows in the narrative is full of gaps and inconsistencies with regard to

Samuel and Saul and their related stories, only multiplying the discursive paths of

memory for its readership.

Here in 1 Samuel 13 the Ammonite threat has disappeared, presumably due to

Saul's victory recounted in 1 Samuel 11, but the Philistines are a problem again. This

lends credence to Yahweh's statement in 1 Sam 9:16, but detracts from the narrative's

evaluation of Samuel's life in 1 Sam 7:13.[162] Indeed, according to the details of 1 Samuel

13, the Philistines have an established martial presence (נציב)[163] in Benjaminite territory

(13:3; cf. 10:5). Notice, too, they seemingly have a high level of socioeconomic power

over Israel (13:19–22).[164] The implication here is that judgeship, under Samuel, indeed

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161.   In the MT, the verse actually reads "Saul was a year old when he became king, and for two years he reigned over Israel." In at least one Greek manuscript, the verse is omitted. Probably, out of respect, the scribes of the Greek tradition chose to leave it out rather than supply a correction (cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 222). However, there is no reason for us to omit the verse, which was probably extant in the Judean text, and which falls in line with introductory statements of other reigns (cf. 2 Sam 2:10; 5:4; 1 Kgs 14:21; etc.).
162.   In 1 Sam 13:5–6 one reads that the Philistines—"as numerous as the sand upon the seashore" (a metaphor typically reserved for descriptions of *Israel*: e.g., Gen 22:17)—marched all the way to Michmas, well into the Israelite territory of Benjamin, causing fear and chaos in Israel. This does not agree with the statement in 1 Sam 7:13.
163.   Either an overseer of some sort (cf. Sir 46:18) or an entire garrison.
164.   Naturally, these verses have led to historical reconstructions of the sociopolitical landscape of the early Iron-Age southern Levant, though it is difficult to say much about the reality of early Israelite and Philistine relations. Some scholars have argued recently that the relationship was initially "friendly" (*friedlich*), before the advent of a relatively formidable Israelite polity (Kaiser, "König Saul (Teil II)," 9; cf. Siegfried Kreuzer, "'War Saul auch unter der Philistern?' Die Anfänge des Königstums in Israel," *ZAW* 113 [2001]: 56–73; idem, "Saul—Not Always—at War: A New Perspective on the Rise of Kingship in

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failed to drive the enemy Philistines out of the land, a narrative setup that would have invited support for kingship's establishment, in contradistinction to the argument of 1 Samuel 12.

However, in light of these observations, one should also note that supporting kingship as a means to drive away enemy presence (of any kind) does not fall in line with Deuteronomy's vision of kingly rule. Recall that in Deut 17:14, the land is to be fully occupied and secure, and only then will Israel ask for a king. In 1 Sam 9:16 Yahweh cites the Philistines, in 12:12 Samuel cites the Ammonites, and in 13:3 the narrative revives the Philistine problem (cf. 9:16). But none of these plot lines match Moses' vision of kingship's establishment. Again, the narrative lays out multiple paths for its readers, various opportunities to debate understandings of kingship, its causes, and its identity and import as a political institution in Israel's/Judah's past.

Now, Saul, presumably in response to the powerful Philistine presence, places a special Israelite garrison in Michmas, which he accompanies, while he sends Jonathan

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Israel," in *Saul in Story and Tradition*, 39–58). There is some evidence that the Philistines maintained a presence in the western part of Benjamin during the Iron I–IIa transition (sometime in the 10th cent. BCE). Nadav Na'aman, "Ḫirbet ed-Dawwāra – a Philistine Stronghold on the Benjamin Desert Fringe," *ZDPV* 128 (2012): 1–9, points to a site just south of Michmash and just east of Geba, where excavators found a distinctly Philistine lion-headed cup. The site, however, contains no Philistine pottery, a problem that Na'aman addresses by speculating that ʿApiru mercenaries hired by the Philistines (but not Philistines themselves) occupied the site (see 1 Sam 14:21). Given this dearth of evidence, any such historical reconstruction is tentative at best. In any case, within the narrative and the mnemonic discourse, the important point is that the Philistines have a strong presence in Benjamin at the outset of Saul's reign. The historical veracity of these verses is ultimately inconsequential. Moreover, if one understands the Philistine presence to be centered in Gibeah, a plausible reading (cf. 1 Sam 10:5), then it adds yet another layer to the polyvalent memory of that site within the discourse. In this era, as the literature construes it, Gibeah is home to the wicked and the worthless, Saul and the valorous (see above). And it is also home to the Philistines, Israel's primary "Other." Benjamin and Gibeah within it are thus major sites of Israelite identity construction. On the Philistines and identity, for a more historical perspective, see Peter Machinist, "Biblical Traditions: The Philistines and Israelite History," in *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (ed. E. D. Oren; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2000), 53–83; for a more literary one, see Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 212–43.

(appearing here for the first time) with another garrison to Gibeah/Geba (13:2).[165] War

then erupts between Israel and Philistia when Jonathan strikes (נכה) the Philistine נציב in

Benjamin (13:3). In the very next verse, however, credit for the action goes to *Saul*; the

language is precisely the same: הכה שאול את־נציב פלשתים. Saul thus becomes wrapped up

in another rivalry, and this time, as one learns after the fact, the rival is his own son (cf.

13:16).[166]

After the scene is set, with its marked emphases on Israelite/Philistine and Saul/

Jonathan relations, one reads that Saul is *still* in Gilgal (ושאול עודנו בגלגל) (13:7). This of

course makes the geography of the episode problematic. Even more importantly, it recalls

Samuel's instructions to Saul in 1 Sam 10:8. Thus, this narrative thread in 1 Samuel 13 is

tied to the events directly following Saul's anointing. According to the text in 1 Samuel

13, Saul waits seven days in Gilgal, exactly as he was instructed, but Samuel *does not

show up as promised*. So Saul takes matters into his own hands and presents the offering

and sacrifice that Samuel had planned. Naturally, Samuel finally arrives just after Saul

completes the offering, and the old judge is not pleased. In a key moment in the

discourse, Samuel condemns Saul's actions:

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165.   The Benjaminite sites of Gibeah and Geba are confused here in the MT and in the ancient versions
(compare, e.g., 1 Sam 10:5; 13:2, 3, 16; 14:5). Text criticism has offered no satisfactory explanation for the
confusion (cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 225). For a recent attempt to reconcile the geography in the narrative,
see Anson F. Rainey and R. Steven Notley, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World*
(Jerusalem: Carta, 2006), 145–46.

166.   And of course later a third party, David, enters the fray. At the heart of the issue is the strained
father/son relationship between Saul and Jonathan, and the need for Saul's anointed successor (David) to be
a rightful heir. In effect, David becomes not only Jonathan's brother and beloved (cf. 2 Sam 1:26), but his
surrogate father too. Scholars have explored this triangular relationship at great length, from the political
perspective as well as others. See, e.g., David Jobling, "Saul's Fall and Jonathan's Rise: Tradition and
Redaction in 1 Sam 14:1–46," *JBL* 95 (1976): 367–76; idem, *The Sense of Biblical Narrative I* (2d ed.;
JSOTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 12–30; idem, *1 Samuel*, 93–99; Polzin, *Samuel*, 176, 187–94;
Mark K. George, "Assuming the Body of the Heir Apparent," in *Reading Bibles, Writing Bodies: Identity
and the Book* (ed. Timothy K. Beal and David M. Gunn; London: Routledge, 1997), 164–74; Joel Baden,
The Historical David: The Real Life of an Invented Hero (New York: HarperOne, 2013), 70–76; and
additional references in these works. See also below.

ויאמר שמואל אל־שאול נסכלת לא שמרת את־מצות יהוה אלהיך אשר צוך כי עתה הכין
יהוה את־ממלכתך אל־ישראל עד־עולם: ועתה ממלכתך לא־תקום בקש יהוה לו איש כלבבו
ויצוהו יהוה לנגיד על־עמו כי לא שמרת את אשר־צוך יהוה:

Samuel said to Saul, "You have done foolishly; you have not kept the commandment of Yahweh your God, which he commanded you. Yahweh would have established your kingdom over Israel forever, but now your kingdom will not continue; Yahweh has sought out a man after his own heart; and Yahweh has appointed him to be ruler over his people, because you have not kept what Yahweh commanded you." (1 Sam 13:13–14; after NRSV)

Saul, like the readers of the literature, finds himself in a catch-22, and, as such things go, there is no satisfactory way out. As discussed above, Samuel's instructions are paradoxical. Saul, the anointed of Yahweh, is to do whatever he sees fit, and yet at the same time he is to wait for Samuel's specific guidance (1 Sam 10:7–8). Here at Gilgal Saul does what he sees fit to do as king, but in the process he loses his kingship.[167]

The literature thus recounts three instances of failed dynasties that were meant to last "forever" (עד עולם): Eli's, Samuel's, and now Saul's. The discourse consistently argues that divinely chosen dynasties are to last indefinitely, except when they do not because of failure to obey Yahweh. From its inception, the discourse construes the possibility of and creates hope for successful dynasties (cf. Deut 17:20), but at the same time casts serious doubt on whether or not such a dynasty could ever actually have come about in Israel's past. Saul is given divine power to act as king, yet he fails to follow Yahweh's commands (1 Sam 13:13)—the language here, of course, directly refers to

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167.   See Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 86. Of course, commentators have long analyzed the complexities and paradoxes of this passage: Is Saul's action in fact disobedient? Is he conscious of any disobedience in his act of sacrifice? Why was Samuel apparently late? Can we trust the speeches of the two figures? etc. The narrative provides no commentary itself, nor does Yahweh intervene to make any direct proclamations. The readership only has the conversation between Samuel and Saul to work with. See, e.g., Gunn, *Fate of King Saul*, 33–40; and Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 121–27; for discussion and additional references. For this study, answering these sorts of questions is not necessary; the main thing is the presence of complexities and paradoxes in and of itself.

Torah disobedience. The discourse, in this way, suggests that, regardless of Saul's catch-22 (there is no right course of action, no escape from his predicament), he nevertheless transgressed Torah, disobeyed Yahweh, and will lose the kingship on account of it. Samuel's words are, this time at least, perfectly clear.

Notice, too, this episode confirms and solidifies Gilgal's polyvalency in Judean social memory. It is a site of both triumph and mistake (cf. Joshua), of both kingship's institution and its rejection. Nearly every geographical locale associated with the transition between judgeship and kingship is polyvalent and multivocal in the discourse.[168]

Yahweh now has another ruler (נגיד) in mind, one "after his [Yahweh's] own heart" (איש כלבבו) (13:14). To be sure, this statement prefigures king David (cf. 1 Kgs 3:6; 11:4; 14:8; etc.; also Acts 13:22). However, it also recalls the promise in 1 Sam 2:35 (probably to Samuel), and it is reminiscent of Saul himself (cf. 1 Sam 10:9). Within the historiographical literature, all of this frames thinking about the rise of David, Yahweh's apparent predilection for him, and the survival (and eventual collapse) of his Judahite dynasty. Judean literati could not read David's dramatic story of kingship without some understanding of the previous failures of dynastic leadership, and Yahweh's statements concerning these dynasties. And, as I will argue in the next chapter, David's dynastic promise looks back to these earlier episodes, (re)shaping and nuancing the framework of the mnemonic discourse.

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168. Cf. Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 108

Saul's story continues, but by this point the doublethinking of kingship is firmly entrenched in the narrative. 1 Samuel 14 only belabors the problems of Saul's identity as leader and his authority. The story relates how the actions of Jonathan, not Saul, lead to a victory over Philistia—actions that also lead to Jonathan's near execution at the hands of his father. Nonetheless, the story commemorates the military successes of Saul, even success over Philistia (14:47–48),[169] only then to note Saul's ongoing *diffi ulties* with the Philistines in the same breath (14:52). The story, too, juxtaposes Jonathan's near execution with Saul's rise to kingship: both Jonathan and Saul are indicated by lots (compare 1 Sam 14:41–42 with 10:20–21), and the people's refusal to punish Jonathan mimics Saul's own refusal to punish his detractors after the battle with Ammon (compare 1 Sam 14:45 with 11:12–13). Saul's rivalry with Samuel takes a back seat, for a moment, only to be replaced by a rivalry with Jonathan, which ultimately sets up the rivalry with David to come.

Then in 1 Samuel 15, with Samuel himself back on the scene (and proclaiming his authority as priest-prophet-judge with more verve than ever [cf. v.1]), Saul fails yet again, finalizing what was already set in motion. Saul seemingly cannot succeed, even when he thinks he has done right (15:13–21),[170] and so Yahweh changes his mind (נחם)

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169.   MT of v. 47 reads, "Wherever he turned he made himself guilty [ירשיע]." The statement fits the critical stance toward Saul elsewhere (even within this chapter), but is entirely out of place in its immediate context of vv. 47 and 48—the very next line celebrates his victory over Amalek and his rescuing of Israel from plunderers. LXX has, "Wherever he turned he saved [ἐσῴζετο = יושיע]," which is a more likely reading, especially given the potential confusion between ר and ו in the script of the Hellenistic era (cf. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 254).

170.   Saul's perspective, though it does seem to contradict Yahweh's specific instructions to him (15:3), is not entirely out of line with understandings of חרם ("ban/devote to destruction") elsewhere in the Judean literature (see Gunn, *Fate of King Saul*, 45–50). חרם sometimes refers to militaristic destruction (cf. Num 21:2; also the Mesha inscription [*KAI* 181]), as it apparently does here, but can also indicate property devoted to Yahweh via the cult (cf. Lev 27:21–29; Num 18:14; Ezek 44:29). In the book of Joshua one finds a convergence of these connotations (esp. Josh 7). See Wilson, "Conquest and Form," 326; also Lauren A. S. Monroe, "Israelite, Moabite and Sabaean War-ḥērem Traditions and the Forging of National

about the Benjaminite, rejecting his kingship (15:11, 35). Saul quickly admits his mistake and asks for forgiveness (15:24–25), but Samuel, with thick irony, says that *Yahweh is not one to change his mind* (נחם) (15:29).[171] Yahweh's not changing his mind, even in response to great sin, is an important theme for the Davidic dynasty (2 Sam 7:12–16; cf. 2 Sam 12), which I explore further in Chapter 4. But here, as with Eli earlier, the discourse depicts a deity who can and will change his mind about his chosen leadership, despite Samuel's comment to the contrary.[172] The divine fickleness on display in the transition from judgeship to kingship reifies the possibility, within the narrative, that power can be taken away from any subsequent human leader or dynasty in Israel, seemingly regardless of promises or special appointments. Possible narrative outcomes are multiplied; Judean social memory, rather than limiting its narrative scope, expands it.

Of course, even Davidic kingship in Judah, apparently Yahweh's favorite choice, falls at the hands of Babylon. Indeed, as I argue below and later, all of this—overdetermination in emplotment, paradoxical details in the rise and fall of Israelite/Judahite kingship, and so on—constructed a mnemonic framework that gave rise to and supported the unique images of future kingship, including a revival of Davidic rule, as found in the prophetic books. And these images, in turn, maintained the viability of polyvalency in memories of kingship past.

Identity: Reconsidering the Sabaean Text RES 3945 in Light of Biblical and Moabite Evidence," *VT* 57 (2007): 318–41. Yahweh instructs Saul to חרם the Amalekites and all their belongings, to "kill/execute" (מות Hiph.) everyone and everything, sparing nothing. Saul and the soldier's plan to sacrifice to Yahweh the best of Amalek's possessions does not really break the rules. However, even taking into account the larger literary context, it is difficult to justify his sparing of Agag, Amalek's king.

171. See above, and references in n. 73.

172. Cf. Ben Zvi, "Balancing Act," forthcoming.

To the Heart of the Issue

There is no satisfactory way to smooth out these problems in the DH's account of the beginnings of Israelite kingship. And one should always keep in mind that the original tradents of the literature in ancient Judah did not smooth them out either. I again quote David Jobling on this issue: "1 Samuel struggles with contradictions in the tradition it receives *because these are still contradictions within the mindset that receives them*. The community creating and living by this text was not of a single mind about what the past had bequeathed them."[173] Disagreements and fractures in the narrative (and also in its ancient versions) represent "hesitations" about the past and its meaning(s) for the community that read these texts—when we encounter these hesitations in the literature, the focus should be on what the hesitations signify in the larger mnemonic discourse.[174]

If it seems that I have belabored these hesitations in the stories of Samuel and Saul, it is for good reason. For the literati, the texts concerning Samuel and Saul construed a past that was hazy. In the literature, the vision of kingship's establishment in the distant past is dim, not only in the sequence of events and in the geographical locales, but also in the causes for kingship's institution and the legitimacy of that institution in the first place. The thoroughly aporetic 1 Samuel 8–12—with Samuel's failure and the people's request for a king, the problems of dynastic rule and divine promises, the rivalry between judge-of-old and king-to-be, and the explicit challenges to kingship's legitimacy in the face of kingship's establishment—overdetermines and confounds any narrative expectations with regard to Deuteronomic law and Israelite polity in the past.

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173.   Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 19. Italics original.
174.   Cf. Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 19–20.

Deuteronomy allows for a non-kingly king in Israel, even predicts the office's institution, whereas Samuel proclaims that kings in that day and age are necessarily anti-Deuteronomic. The crucial passage of 1 Samuel 8–12, along with the full realization of Saul's failure in 1 Samuel 13–15, is thus the epicenter for kingship doublethink in the Judean literature. It is the very heart of the discourse.

Now, as I argue in more detail as this study unfolds, the ongoing narrative, represented in both the DH and Chronicles, continues to doublethink Israel's/Judah's past kingship, as kings succeed miraculously and fail miserably. However, the prophetic books, I contend, balance things out by providing numerous images of successful kingship in the *future*. These images of kingship future, however, despite their mostly positive take on kingly rule, are nonetheless multivocal and polyvalent, just like the stories of kingship past. Davidic kingship, in superhuman manifestation, may return to rule as Yahweh's regent, or it may not. The people in toto may function as a kind of king of the earth, or a new kind of judgeship may reemerge. In ancient Judah's mnemonic system of kingship, prophetic literature, with all its complex multivocality, provided a model *of* the past and a model *for* the present. The prophetic book, in terms of genre, was particularly apt for this type of thinking. In its diversity and polyvalency it mimicked the historiographical literature's doublethinking, and the historiographical doublethinking enabled the polyvalency of the prophetic imagination. The doublethinking narratives of kingship past thus enabled the complex images of kingship future, and the diversity of future images maintained and encouraged the doublethink of the past. Hence a mnemonic feedback loop that continually (re)shaped Judean thinking about sociopolitics and identity in the late Persian period.

To conclude this chapter, the doublethinking about kingship is, I repeat, not Orwellian in the sense that a person of power was attempting to pull the wool over someone's eyes, or to promote control over social thought. Rather, it reflects a society's honest attempt to remember the past, to wrestle with and represent a monarchic past in a postmonarchic present. To quote F. Scott Fitzgerald, another prominent twentieth-century writer, "The test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function. One should, for example, be able to see things as hopeless and yet be determined to make them otherwise."[175] This, I think, is true for societies as well as individuals, ancient or modern.

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175.   From the first part of the essay "The Crack-Up," originally published in the February 1936 issue of *Esquire*, now available online: http://www.esquire.com/features/the-crack-up.

CHAPTER 4
O How the Mighty Have Fallen! or: How Have the Mighty Fallen? Remembering/ Forgetting David and Davidic Kingship

I have been told he is a very cunning fellow.[1]

Part I: By what means Redmond Barry acquired the estate and title of Barry Lyndon
Part II: Containing an account of the disasters and misfortunes which befell Barry Lyndon
Epilogue: It was in the reign of George III that the aforesaid personages lived and quarrelled; good or bad, handsome or ugly, rich or poor they are all equal now[2]

All action requires forgetting, just as the existence of all organic things requires not only light, but darkness as well. A human being who wanted to experience things in a thoroughly historical manner would be like someone forced to go without sleep, or like an animal supposed to exist solely by rumination and ever repeated rumination. In other words, it is possible to live almost without memory, indeed, to live happily, as the animals show us; but without forgetting, it is utterly impossible to live at all.[3]

Remember David, that he was a man of piety, and that he was also saved from many troubles and pardoned.[4]

In Chapter 2, I argued that Deuteronomy's king-law provides a kind of opening statement

for Judean kingship-discourse: it functions as one of the discourse's primary mnemonic

frames. In Chapter 3, I argued that the complex interplay between multivocality and

overdetermination in the transition from judgeship to kingship gives rise to and informs

the multiple discursive potentials that play out in the rest of kingship's story: the issues of

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1. King Saul commenting on the young David, 1 Sam 23:22 (NJPS).
2. Intertitles from Stanley Kubrick's film *Barry Lyndon* (1975). The film's narrative, with its seemingly (even boringly) straightforward narration, is ripe with ambiguities. In this way, it is not unlike David's story, especially as his story is told in 1–2 Samuel. On the film and its narrative devices and narration, see especially Mark Crispin Miller, "*Barry Lyndon* Reconsidered," *The Georgia Review* 30 (1976): 827–53.
3. Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Utility and Liability of History for Life," in *Unfashionable Observations* (trans. Richard T. Gray; The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche 2; ed. Ernst Behler; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 83–167 (89). Cf. Jorge Luis Borges' short story, "Funes, His Memory," in *Collected Fictions* (trans. Andrew Hurley; New York: Penguin, 1998), 131–37.
4. 4Q398(=4QMMT C); trans. Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997), 228.

dynasty's successes and failures, of cultic devotion and apostasy, of divine promises, and so on.

This brings us to David. The question is, and has been for a very long time, what kind of story is David's?[5] And concomitantly, how did this story contribute to Judean social remembering of kingship?

Here I refer to David's "story" in the singular for convenience sake. But of course there is no single story of David. When one considers the many statements and narrative voices that relate to David in Judean literature, the king becomes "a huge collage of dissociated scenes in a style resembling that of a Picasso—an impassioned rendering of the soul's perception with warped connections to ordinary physical reality."[6] Rather than refining and limiting the memory of David and Davidic kingship to individual and unified ideas, the Judean literature encourages *multiple* memories and understandings of this figure and his kingly lineage. The David story, including the subsequent and related

5.	Scholarship on David, Davidic kingship, and the related narratives in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles is, as one might imagine, immense. Among recent and noteworthy monographs (not to mention articles and collections of essays) are: K. L. Noll, *The Faces of David* (JSOTSup 242; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997); Marti J. Steussy, *David: Biblical Portraits of Power* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1999); Steven L. McKenzie, *David: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001); Stanley Isser, *The Sword of Goliath: David in Heroic Literature* (Studies in Biblical Literature 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003); Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman, *David and Solomon: In Search of the Bible's Sacred Kings and the Roots of the Western Tradition* (New York: Free Press, 2006); Klaus-Peter Adam, *Saul und David in der judäischen Geschichtsschreibung: Studien zu 1 Samuel 16–2 Samuel 5* (FAT 51; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Walter Dietrich, *The Early Monarchy in Israel: The Tenth Century B.C.E.* (trans. Joachim Vette; Biblical Encyclopedia 3; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007); André Heinrich, *David und Klio: Historiographische Elemente in der Aufstiegsgeschichte Davids und im Alten Testament* (BZAW 401; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009); John Van Seters, *The Biblical Saga of King David* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2009); J. Randall Short, *The Surprising Confi mation and Election of King David* (Harvard Theological Studies 63; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010); Joel Baden, *The Historical David: The Real Life of an Invented Hero* (New York: HarperOne, 2013); Joseph Blenkinsopp, *David Remembered: Kingship and National Identity in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013); Jacob L. Wright, *David, King of Israel, and Caleb in Biblical Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) (cf. idem, *King David and His Reign Revisited: New Perspectives in Biblical Scholarship* [Aldina Media, 2013]). Again, this is only a sampling of an immense body of scholarly writing. I provide additional references throughout the chapter.
6.	Steussy, *David*, 5.

story of the Davidic monarchy, is repeatedly at odds with itself, both glorifying the

greatness of David and Solomon (and Hezekiah and Josiah) and yet reminding the

readership that the dynasty can and will fall. Davidic kingship as an institution, too,

remains in partial tension with the vision of political and cultic leadership presented in

Torah and represented in the figures of Moses and Joshua. Davidic kingship—as typified

in the iconic figures of David and Solomon and their "righteous" heirs—oversteps the

bounds of kingly rule as prescribed and forecasted in Torah (see Chapter 2).[7] The literati,

thus, had no single memory of their political past; they had, instead, "institutionalized

alternatives" concerning leadership (monarchic and otherwise) in that past.[8]

These memories are naturally in dialogue, interrelated, informing and balancing

one another. Following thinkers like Nietzsche and Borges, however, I recognize that

memories cannot proliferate infinitely within mnemonic discourse; forgetting is a

necessary ballast for remembering.[9] In other words, multiple memories can and do

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7.   Cf. also Christophe Nihan, "Rewriting Kingship in Samuel: 1 Samuel 8 and 12 and the Law of the King (Deuteronomy 17)," *HeBAI* 2 (2013): 315–50, esp. 319–22.

8.   James R. Linville, *Israel in the Book of Kings: The Past as a Project of Social Identity* (JSOTSup 272; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 103.

9.   It has often been observed that societies tend to emphasize certain memories to the exclusion of others, creating a more balanced and focused picture of the past that better informs their present (and future). Extensive "forgetting" or "bracketing" usually takes place, a single primary cause or event is usually emphasized, and a single person or entity gains recognition or takes the fall. See, e.g., Barry Schwartz, "Collective Forgetting and the Symbolic Power of Oneness: The Strange Apotheosis of Rosa Parks," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 72 (2009): 123–142. Given the prominence of David in Judah's remembered past, the thoroughgoing ambiguity concerning the import and outcome of Davidic kingship is indeed remarkable. When the discourse concerns David and his dynasty, there is no sense of oneness of mind, no unified memory, no clear teleology. The same is true, of course, for Judah's past kingship in general. Just to be clear, I do not mean to imply that historiographical discourse, in any context, is necessarily uniform in its sense of the past and the outcomes of that past, nor do I mean to suggest that societies do not have ambiguous and multivocal memories of prominent individuals from the past. Anyone today can think of a number of past U.S. Presidents, for example, who inspire a variety of narratives concerning their successes and failures, their impact on the past and present, etc. But in a milieu such as early Second Temple Judah, this kind of discourse calls out for an explanation, or at least piques our critical interest as something out of the ordinary. The long-standing source- and redaction-critical fascination with the narrative in 1 Samuel 8–12, for example, evinces this very interest.

coexist and stand in tension with one another, but only to a certain extent. Inevitably one must, at times, tune out certain statements to avoid discursive cacophony. Multivocal and polyvalent remembering happens within discursive limits. Moreover, there were certain agreed upon "facts" about Davidic kingship and the monarchic past that were unequivocal in Judah's social remembering: Solomon was David's successor and built the temple, Sennacherib did not conquer or destroy Jerusalem, and Zedekiah was the last Davidic king to rule in Jerusalem, inter alia.[10] The book of Chronicles and its presence in the discourse provides a perfect illustration of these processes in the context of ancient Judah. The Judean corpus of literature contained at least two lengthy and sophisticated historiographical takes on the monarchy and Israel's/Judah's monarchic past: Samuel-Kings *and* Chronicles. The Judean literati read both. Each historiography "forgets" or "brackets" information found in the other text; each constructs its own unique plot indebted to and informing particular ideological and theological needs and interests. Despite these differences, in late Persian-era Judah, both became authoritative texts that the literati read time and again, and both texts contributed to Judean social remembering. For the literati, to read one encouraged and even required bracketing some information known from the other. But it also required utilizing some information from the other to inform one's readings, consciously and unconsciously.

Moreover, as I have stated in the previous chapters, this multivocal and polyvalent remembering of Israel's/Judah's *past* kingship informed, and was informed by, the remembering of Israel's/Judah's *future* kingship in the prophetic books. Instead of

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10.   Cf. Ehud Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2006), esp. 78–99; also idem, "Malleability and its Limits: Sennacherib's Campaigns against Judah as a Case Study," in *'Like a Bird in a Cage': The Invastion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE* (ed. L. L. Grabbe; JSOTSup 363; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 73–105.

reducing the multivocal monarchic past to an unequivocal narrative, a (hi)story that resolutely condemned or confirmed kingship as part of their shared past, the Judean literati found a mnemonic outlet that would allow them to *maintain* the multivocality. They found this in the prophetic book, a form of written text that allowed and even encouraged multivocal perspectives about the future. In the late Persian period, a number of Judean books that talked about and encouraged remembering of the past emerged in their compositional forms (including the books of Gen–Kgs, Chron, etc.). These books found a mutually reinforcing partnership, as it were, with the prophetic literature.[11] The remembered *future*, therefore, was keyed to the remembered *past*, achieving a sense of balance in Judah's social memory.

In what follows, I make a number of observations along these lines, paying particular attention to: (1) the discursive relationship between the different versions of David's story, Davidic kingship in general, and other major tropes, in Samuel-Kings and in Chronicles; (2) the emplotment(s) of the Davidic promise and its ongoing import for Judah (or lack thereof), which is directly related to the issue of dynasty and dynastic rule in Israel's past; and (3) the problem of the king's power and his cultic function, especially with regard to Deuteronomic law. In the end I will argue that David, as a site of memory in ancient Judah, maintained and reinforced the doublethinking on past kingship, thus offering no resolution as it were to the tension in the historiographical discourse.

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11.   Cf. Konrad Schmid's comments on the interrelationship between the "major historical work of Genesis–2 Kings" and the "*corpus propheticum*" in the Persian period (*The Old Testament: A Literary History* [trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012], 161): "The fact that Genesis–2 Kings as a whole ends as a theological zero-sum game indicates that this body did not come into being for itself. Nor should we attempt to discover the decisive insight into the future beyond the judgment in the last four verses in 2 Kgs 25:27–30. Instead, the *corpus propheticum* continues, thematically speaking, the historical depiction and contains the corresponding perspectives on salvation."

Nevertheless, his memory also functioned as a major *link* between kingship past and future, a link which contributed to an overall sense of balance in Judah's social remembering. This chapter, therefore, functions as a bridge in my overall argument, just as David and his story functioned in Judah's mnemonic system of kingship, connecting and unifying the multivocality in the discourse as a whole. I draw primarily on the narrative material in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, but I also occasionally mention the Davidic Psalms and their relevance to the discursive processes of remembering. In doing so, my aim is to continue mapping out the narrative trajectories of kingship past, which interact with and even depend upon the visions of kingship future, as they are mapped out in the prophetic books.

David as Character, Plot, Narrative in Samuel–Kings and Judah's Social Memory

In recent years, scholarship on David in Samuel–Kings has continually circled around the question of the king's characterization within the overarching narrative of Israel's and Judah's monarchic past in these books. Is David a cunning and ruthless usurper (cf. 2 Sam 16:7–8), a humble and pious recipient of Yahweh's favor (cf. 1 Sam 18:14), or perhaps somehow both at once? The question of character has, more often than not, arisen as a corollary to the search for a historical David: Can one trust the literature, with its lionizing *and* inculpating accounts of the king, as historical source material? What do these accounts tell us about the "real" David? Scholars have, in this line of thought, probed the David(s) found in Judean literature as a potential source for reconstructing the supposed life of the king who founded the Judahite dynasty.[12] As one might imagine, any

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12.   E.g., McKenzie, *David*; Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*; and Baden, *Historical David*. Baden,

search for a historical David is fraught with hermeneutical and historiographical difficulties (not to mention a dearth of non-biblical evidence).[13] As I stated in Chapter 1, this study does not directly contribute to this search and so does not offer any reconstructions of a historical David (or any other actual king of Israel/Judah, for that matter). The question of how one understands David and his narrative(s), though, is central to our understanding of how the postmonarchic community remembered David and his kingship. In this section, I too address the oft-discussed issue of David's character, but in doing so I want to move the discussion away from characterization per se and toward plot, toward the construction of narratives (note the plural) and the social remembering of Israel's greatest king.

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for instance, whose recent work follows the same general methodological approach as McKenzie and Halpern, writes that scholars "must first remove the non-historical pro-David elements from the story, to expose the basic events underneath," with the aim of bringing "the historical David to life by reaching back through the accumulated legend, beyond the pro-David agenda of the biblical text, into the ancient world in which David roamed" (*Historical David*, 10, 13). Cf. McKenzie, *David*, 25–46; Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 107–32.

13.   See Bob Becking, "David between Ideology and Evidence," in *Between Evidence and Ideology: Essays on the History of Ancient Israel* (ed. Bob Becking and Lester L. Grabbe; OTS 59; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1–30; also idem, "David at the Threshold of History: A Review of Steven L. McKenzie, *King David: A Biography* (2000), and Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* (2001)," in *Enquire of the Former Age: Ancient Historiography and Writing the History of Israel* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; ESHM 9; LHBOTS 554; New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 197–209. Outside the texts known from the Hebrew Bible, the best evidence for David in the ancient Levant is the Tel Dan stele (see Becking, "David between Ideology and Evidence," 16–18, for brief discussion and additional references— too many to recite here). The stele, a victory monument erected by an Aramean king in ninth century BCE, refers to a ביתדוד.ך[] ("[kin]g of the house of David") (ll. 8–9) (for the editio princeps see Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 43 [1993]: 81–98 [86–90]; also idem, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," *IEJ* 45 [1995]: 1–18. There has been some debate over Biran and Naveh's initial reading of the inscription, but I am convinced, with the vast majority of scholars, that it is correct). The inscription, however, is certainly not direct evidence for the king himself. What it reveals is that, one to two centuries after David supposedly lived, another people group (Aram) identified Judah with the Davidic dynasty, which strongly suggests that Judahite rule itself identified with David and his lineage. "What we can know about David epigraphically," writes Baruch Halpern, "is that he was thought of as a dynasty founder, which in any other Near Eastern context would mean that he was one" ("David and the Historical Imagination: A Counterpoint in Evocation," in *Enquire of the Former Age*, 210–14 [213]). I agree with Halpern that the evidence is strongly suggestive of there having been an actual David who founded the Judahite dynasty. What ninth-century or earlier Judahites might have thought further about David is, however, unknowable, in my estimation.

On numerous occasions the discourse of Samuel–Kings paints David as one

whose heart or mind was in line with Yahweh's (e.g., 1 Kgs 3:6; 11:4; 14:8; etc.; cf. 1

Sam 13:14; 16:7), and of course communities in the late Second Temple era and later

remembered him in this way (e.g., Acts 13:22).[14] Without doubt, David is remembered as

Israel's foremost king. He is the benchmark, the king to which all others are compared,

implicitly or explicitly.[15] But the books also reveal ruthlessness in David: many are left

devastated and dead in the wake of his rise to the top, and his dealings with Nabal (1 Sam

25) and with Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam 11) put on display his selfishness and cunning (cf. 1

Kgs 2:5–9).[16] The discourse does not try to hide this aspect of David (cf. 1 Sam 23:22,

one of the epigraphs to this chapter). Some scholars, therefore, maintain that the

historiography in 1–2 Samuel in particular has an apologetic or propagandistic *Gattung*.[17]

A number of scholars label the story of David's rise in these books (usually demarcated

as 1 Sam 16–2 Sam 5) as a formal apology, a work of propaganda, meant to justify the

king's act of usurpation and the establishment of the Davidic line in lieu of Saul's

kingship.[18] There is something of a recognizable dichotomy in this text between the

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14. Cf. Diana V. Edelman, "David in Israelite Social Memory," in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 141–57, esp. 152–56. Note, however, that the rabbis were somewhat ambivalent about David. Palestinian rabbis tended to lionize David, whereas Babylonian rabbis made little effort to whitewash the king. Cf. Richard Kalmin, *The Sage in Jewish Society of Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1999), 83–93.

15. See, e.g., Alison L. Joseph, "Who Is like David? Was David like David? Good Kings in the Book of Kings," *CBQ* 77 (2015): 20–41.

16. See also David's comments about himself in 1 Chron 22:8. As Alison Joseph argues, David himself seems not to live up to the Davidic standard (eadem, "Who Is like David?").

17. Cf. Becking, "David at the Threshold," 206–208, who cites and interacts with McKenzie's and Halpern's works in particular.

18. E.g., in addition to McKenzie and Halpern, inter alia, see P. Kyle McCarter, "The Apology of David," *JBL* 99 (1980): 489–504; Michael B. Dick, "The 'History of David's Rise to Power' and the Neo-Babylonian Succession Apologies," in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts* (ed. Bernard F. Batto and Kathryn L. Roberts; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 3–19; Robert Rezetko, "David over Saul in MT 2 Samuel 6,1–5," in *For and Against David: Story and History in the Books of Samuel* (ed. A. Graeme Auld and Erik Eynikel; BETL 232; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 255–71, esp. 256–57;

righteous, pious David and David's *Realpolitik*.[19] But these two aspects of the king need not be mutually exclusive. "[T]he biblical text," writes David Bosworth, "allows both readings, and they are not as contradictory as may at first appear."[20] In the story, David supplants Saul as Israel's king—there is no getting around it—but this usurpation (if one can call it that) is a divinely commissioned and supported act.[21]

In any case, David's rise to power constitutes only part of the king's story as it is presented in Samuel–Kings. There is a noticeable shift that takes place after David's accession to Israel's throne and his conquest of Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:4–16). After moving Yahweh's ark to the new capital and "frolicking and whirling" (מפזז ומכרכר) in his underwear in the street (2 Sam 6:12–23; cf. 1 Chron 15:29),[22] David receives a great promise from Yahweh, the guarantee of an "everlasting" dynasty (2 Sam 7; cf. 1 Chron

Baden, *Historical David*, 43–46.

19.   Cf. David A. Bosworth, "Evaluating King David: Old Problems and Recent Scholarship," *CBQ* 68 (2006): 191–210 (197, 200–201). See also Noll, *Faces of David*, 40–75.

20.   Bosworth, "Evaluating King David," 192.

21.   Cf. Short, *Surprising Election*, 129–92. I recognize the "apologetic tone" of the account of David's rise in 1–2 Samuel, which seeks (at least in part) to legitimize and glorify the Davidic line. Cf. Bosworth, "Evaluating King David," 192, 200. See also Mario Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," *Orientalia* 42 (1973): 178–94, esp. 182–83 which mentions the David story vis-à-vis the Idrimi narrative (the latter being inscribed on a votive statue from the late Bronze Age site of Alalakh in southern Turkey); and Katherine Stott, "Herodotus and the Old Testament: A Comparative Reading of the Ascendancy Stories of King Cyrus and David," *SJOT* 16 (2002): 52–78, which compares the story of David's rise in 1–2 Samuel with the story of Cyrus's rise in Herodotus 1.95–131. In any case, it is clear that 1–2 Samuel follows conventional ancient Near Eastern tropes related to usurpation and its justification. But the account is not an ancient Near Eastern apology per se. Its style (third-person, not first-person), its implied authorship and readership (Judean literati and their Judean community, not the king himself and his court and gods), and its literary and sociocultural milieux (collections of scrolls in postmonarchic Judah, not a monumental inscription in a monarchic polity) differ substantially from those of the so-called apologies to which it is often compared (Hittite, Assyrian, Babylonian). Cf. Nadav Na'aman, "Saul, Benjamin and the Emergence of 'Biblical Israel' (continued, Part 2)," *ZAW* 121 (2009): 335–49, esp. 343–45; Van Seters, *Biblical Saga*, 54–60; Short, *Surprising Election*, 51–98. See also Bosworth, "Evaluating King David," 197–204; and Wright, *David*, 9–10. Instead of apology, a better label for this portion of the story is heroic literature. Cf. Isser, *Sword of Goliath*, 100–47; also Becking, "David at the Threshold," 206, who writes, "The biblical authors portray David as a hero, albeit a very human hero with weak features"; and Brian R. Doak, *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel* (Ilex Series 7; Cambridge, Mass.: Ilex Foundation, Harvard University Press, 2012), 99–118, who discusses David's role as giant-slaying hero.

22.   On the interpretation of Michal and her criticism of David, see, e.g., Ellen White, "Michal the Misinterpreted," *JSOT* 31 (2007): 451–64.

17). The story then recounts additional military victories under David's leadership (2 Sam 8) and more Davidic politicking (2 Sam 9–10). After that comes the infamous story of Bathsheba and Uriah (2 Sam 11–12), and then David and his dynasty seemingly take a turn for the worse. There is incest, rape, and rebellion, shameful activities that David himself enables and even facilitates. There is exile and espionage, too, as well as the king's physical decline and infighting and scheming over the impending succession (2 Sam 13–20; 1 Kgs 1–2).

The narrative's general shift in 2 Samuel, from the cunning and exceedingly successful David to the David who apparently loses control of his family and kingdom, has served, for well over a century, as a (perhaps *the*) central talking point for scholarship on David.[23] As John Van Seters remarks, Julius Wellhausen in his famed *Prolegomena* provided the foundation for scholarly discussion unto the present day.[24] Wellhausen made a point of identifying and contrasting the two major parts of David's life in Samuel–Kings, which he saw as two separate works: the first being 1 Sam 14:52–2 Sam 8:18; and the second, 2 Sam 9–1 Kgs 2.[25] "Both works," Wellhausen famously suggests, "are marked by an essentially historical character. ... The second [2 Sam 9–1 Kgs 2] is the better work of the two, and frequently affords us a glance into the very heart of events, showing us the natural occasions and human motives which gave rise to different actions."[26] Again setting aside the question of historical veracity, I mention this issue to

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23.   For example, at the 2014 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, the "Current Historiography and Ancient Israel and Judah" section contained no less than three papers (those of Mahri Leonard-Fleckman, Andrew Knapp, and Daniel A. Frese) that dealt directly with this issue.
24.   See the excellent survey of scholarship in Van Seters, *Biblical Saga*, 3–39.
25.   See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1957 [German original 1883]), 262–63.
26.   Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 262. Scholars have come to a variety of conclusions, historical and literary, concerning the latter portion of David's life in the DH. Some of the noteworthy references are:

highlight the narrativity of the discourse in these books. When read together, the two major parts of David's life in the DH combine to form a narrative arc that is either explicitly tragic or at least implicitly so. Even if the Judean readership construed the latter portion of David's life as affirming of David's leadership, it is clear in the narrative of 2 Samuel 9 to 1 Kings 2 that David never re-reaches the heights of success he attains in the first half of his life.

It is, indeed, difficult to assert that the kingdom is in good shape at the end of David's reign, as it is represented in the bulk of 2 Samuel and the opening chapters of 1 Kings. Ultimately, the king cannot control himself, cannot control his house, and thus cannot control his kingdom. There are texts that militate against the generally tragic arc: the psalm in 2 Sam 22 (cf. Ps 18) and David's final words in 2 Sam 23:1–7, which reinforce a memory of David's great successes and Yahweh's "everlasting" favor toward David; also David's building of an altar on a Jebusite threshing floor in 2 Sam 24:25, an action which appeases Yahweh's anger in the moment and is probably meant to prefigure the building of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem (cf. LXX; also 2 Chr 3:1).[27] (And there is,

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Leonhard Rost, *The Succession to the Throne of David* (trans. Michael D. Rutter and David M. Gunn; Sheffield: Almond, 1982 [German original 1926]), esp. 65–114; Gerhard von Rad, "The Beginnings of Historical Writing in Ancient Israel" and "The Deuteronomic Theology of History in I and II Kings," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch: And Other Essays* (trans. E. W. Trueman Dicken; London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 166–204 and 205–21 respectively; David Gunn, *The Story of King David* (JSOTSup 6; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1978); John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983; repr., Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 277–91; idem, *Biblical Saga*, esp. 270–344; Serge Frolov, "Succession Narrative: A 'Document' or a Phantom?" *JBL* 121 (2002): 81–104; Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Literary and Historical Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 94–95, 145–49; Dietrich, *Early Monarchy*, 72–88; Steven L. McKenzie, "*Ledavid* (*For* David)! 'Except in the Matter of Uriah the Hittite'," in *For and Against David*, 307–13; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Another Contribution to the Succession Narrative Debate (2 Samuel 11–20; 1 Kings 1–2)," *JSOT* 38 (2013): 35–58; Wright, *David*, 80–116, 222–25.
27.   On the Jebusite's threshing floor, see Francis Landy, "Threshing Floors and Cities," in *Memory and the City in Ancient Israel* (ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 79–97 (esp. 81–87, with references to many additional studies), who focuses on the "hybridity" of the site—Jerusalem is a complex and hybrid place, consisting of Israelites and Canaanites (Josh 15:63;

of course, as mentioned, his role as kingship's benchmark in the balance of 1–2 Kings.) These generally positive statements in the last few chapters of Samuel, however, simply reflect the thoroughgoing tension in David's story, the multivocal discourse about David throughout the whole of Samuel–Kings. 2 Samuel 22//Psalm 18, for example, certainly contributes to a heroic memory of David, a memory of the king and his descendants fighting with the favor and power of the deity "forever" (עד עולם) (2 Sam 22:51//Ps 18:50), but then Psalm 89 counters such a memory with a picture of David losing his special status before the deity, an image of Yahweh spurning the anointed ruler (Ps 89:39–46). Likewise, although the narrative in 2 Samuel has its share of episodes favorable to David, these are set within the generally tragic trajectory of his life and reign, as depicted in 2 Samuel 9 to 1 Kings 2.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

2 Samuel 8–10 already lays some groundwork for David's forthcoming troubles—there is a latent tension between Yahweh's making a name for David (e.g., 2 Sam 7:9) and David's making a name for himself (e.g., 2 Sam 8:13)[28]—and the

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Judg 1:21), and the very foundation of the future Israelite temple is a Canaanite threshing floor. I would add, in the context of the discussion here, that the scene's significance for remembering David is hybrid, too, a combination of outright praise and veiled critique. David's actions are exemplary and set the stage for temple-building. David's exchange with Araunah/Arnon the Jebusite, moreover, provides a link between the king and the patriarch Abraham (cf. the patriarch's purchase of the cave at Machpelah in Gen 24), giving the temple in Jerusalem a certain pedigree for the postmonarchic Judean literati (cf. Ehud Ben Zvi, "Remembering Pre-Israelite Jerusalem in Late Persian Yehud: Mnemonic Preferences, Memories and Social Imagination," in *Urban Dreams and Realities in Antiquity: Remains and Representations of the Ancient City* [ed. Adam Kemezis; Mnemosyne Supplements 375; Leiden: Brill, 2015], 413–37; also Landy, "Threshing Floors," 93). David's actions, nevertheless, come in response to a situation created by the people's great wickedness: Yahweh was exceedingly angry with the people (2 Sam 24:1), which is an indictment, however indirect, of David's leadership at that time in the past. In addition, the ongoing presence of Canaanites in the heart of the promised land is a ubiquitous problem in Israel's story, a problem which complicates the overarching significance of this particular episode, as it relates to David (compare, e.g., 2 Sam 5:6–10). Whatever the story's significance for Jerusalem and the temple as sites of memory, when it comes to remembering David and his kingship in particular, the story is indeed "full of ironies" (Landy, "Threshing Floors," 86).

28. See Wright, *David*, 80–97 and esp. 89–91.

Bathsheba and Uriah episode typifies and blatantly forecasts these troubles. After the

Bathsheba/Uriah affair, the prophet Nathan declares that the sword shall never depart

from David's "house/dynasty" (לא תסור חרב מביתך עד עולם) (2 Sam 12:10). The Bathsheba

debacle and its aftermath frame the entire narrative from 2 Samuel 11 to 1 Kings 2.[29] It is

David's affair with Bathsheba and his murder of Uriah that bring the calamities upon

David's house,[30] it is Bathsheba (along with the prophet Nathan) who ensures Adonijah's

failed succession, and it is Bathsheba's son Solomon who ultimately takes the throne.[31]

To be sure, as I discuss below, from the perspective of other texts in the Judean corpus

the Bathsheba episode is understood to be a kind of anomaly in David's life (cf. 1 Kgs

15:5),[32] perhaps even something to be "forgotten." But to argue that the episode is

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29.   Cf. Blenkinsopp, "Another Contribution," 36–42; also Polzin, *David*, 126–30, who makes the point that this episode is a microcosm of David's larger story but also of Israel's story in DH as a whole.
30.   Yahweh's judgment in 2 Sam 12:10–12 obviously hints at Absalom's later actions in 2 Sam 16:20–23. However, read within the context of the parable in 2 Sam 12:1–9, it also points to Amnon's rape of Tamar in 2 Samuel 13, thus indicating the entire series of calamitous events that follow. Cf. Polzin, *David*, 131–33, who comments, "As God's words to David in 2 Sam. 12:10–12 enlarge the scope of Nathan's parable, so also the subsequent narrative in 2 Samuel 13–1 Kings 2 enlarges the scope of God's words in 2 Samuel 12" (132–33).
31.   In a recent contribution, McKenzie, "*Ledavid*," argues that the Bathsheba episode is the only overtly negative instance in the narrative, that 2 Sam 11–12 (and probably ch. 10 too) is a post-Dtr redactional insertion, and that otherwise David's character is expressly positive. I have a hard time envisioning what the latter part of this story would look like or what message it would convey *without* the Bathsheba episode. *Pace* McKenzie, then, the case of Bathsheba is not a mere exception; it is a central and prominent event that foreshadows and frames the story's entire second act as it were. For more on Bathsheba and the import of the Bathsheba/Uriah episode in the narrative, see, e.g., Daniel Bodi, *The Demise of the Warlord: A New Look at the David Story* (Hebrew Bible Monographs 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2010), esp. 5–100; Sara M. Koenig, *Isn't This Bathsheba? A Study in Characterization* (Princeton Theological Monographs 177; Eugene, Or.: Pickwick, 2011); and Yitzhak Berger, "On Patterning in the Book of Samuel: 'News of Death' and the Kingship of David," *JSOT* 35 (2011): 463–81. One should also note the classic study by Menahem Perry and Meir Sternberg, "The King through Ironic Eyes: Biblical Narrative and the Literary Reading Process," *Poetics Today* 7 (1986): 275–322 (originally published in Hebrew in 1968), which demonstrates how gaps in readers' knowledge of the characters' psyches create ambiguity and thick irony in the Bathsheba and Uriah episode. This ambiguity concerning David in particular persists throughout the rest of David's story.
32.   Note, however, that the phrase "except in the matter of Uriah the Hittite" in this verse is not found in the LXX. See McKenzie, "*Ledavid*," 310.

ultimately an outlier within Samuel–Kings, and thus within Samuel–Kings' contribution to Judah's social remembering, is untenable.

Moreover, the tragedy of David and his rule is reinforced by other notable plot elements in Samuel and the beginning of Kings. For example, the theme of feebleness and old age, the physical inability to act as ideal king, is striking at the end of David's narrative, when finally, after all the familial crises, he must appoint a successor. David may have the mental and physical wherewithal to praise Yahweh in his dying words (2 Sam 23:1–7), but not the necessary prowess to deal with succession issues.

1 Kings 1:1 states that David was "old" (זקן) and "could not get warm" (ולא יחם לו), even with extra garments. So his servants bring him the most beautiful young virgin they can find, Abishag the Shunammite, to "warm" him. The text, however, emphasizes that David "did not know her" (לא ידעה), i.e., he did not have intercourse with her (1:4). Later, in its account of Bathsheba and Nathan's pleading for Solomon (1:11–40), the text reiterates David's "very old" (זקן מאד) age and the presence of his female attendant Abishag (1:15). Note that Bathsheba—once an object of David's lustful desire—points out, in the company of the fetching but sexless Abishag no less, that David knows (ידע) nothing about Adonijah's aspirations to the kingship. Erin Fleming comments, "Now the woman who was the victim of David's overwhelming lust and abuse of power witnesses the king's sexual and political impotence."[33] Nathan, furthermore, feigns amazement at David's failure to "make known" (Hiph. ידע) the plans of Adonijah (as if David had any idea that these things were going on) (1:27). David, in his old age, is both without sexual

33.   Erin E. Fleming, "The Politics of Sexuality in the Story of King David" (Ph.D. diss.; Johns Hopkins University, 2013), 116.

ability and without political know–how. These references to David's lack of

"knowledge," sexual as well as political, are not merely jokes about David's dotage, nor

are they simply rhetoric in the mouths of Nathan and Bathsheba; they are pointed

statements about David's inability to fulfill the duties of a king, and thus they are

criticisms of his waning masculinity and failing political power at the end of his life and

reign.

In the world of David's story (and of the literati), the king's failure to have

intercourse with the beautiful Abishag is an indictment of David's manhood and kingly

leadership.[34] The same goes for his lack of political knowledge and savvy when it comes

to the issue of succession. His old age is effecting poor leadership. A scene from earlier

in David's story is telling in this regard: note the words of Barzillai the Gileadite in 2

Sam 19:32–39. Barzillai too is "very old" (זקן מאד) (2 Sam 19:33). When David entreats

him to journey to Jerusalem, the old man says:

> How many years have I still to live, that I should go up with the king to
> Jerusalem? Today I am eighty years old; can I discern what is pleasant and what
> is not? [האדע בין טוב לרע] Can your servant taste what he eats or what he drinks?
> Can I still listen to the voice of singing men and singing women? Why then
> should your servant be an added burden to my lord the king? Your servant will go
> a little way over the Jordan with the king. Why should the king recompense me
> with such a reward? Please let your servant return, so that I may die in my own
> town, near the graves of my father and my mother. But here is your servant
> Chimham; let him go over with my lord the king; and do for him whatever seems
> good to you. [NRSV; 2 Sam 19:34–37 (Heb. vv. 35–38)]

Unlike David, Barzillai knows and recognizes his limitations: he is fully aware of his

feebleness, his inability as an old man to "discern" (ידע), and he duly appoints a successor

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34.   Cf. Richard D. Nelson, *First and Second Kings* (Interpretation; Louisville, Ky.: John Knox, 1987), 16; Jerome T. Walsh, *1 Kings* (Berit Olam; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1996), 5; Marvin A. Sweeney, *I & II Kings* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 53.

(Chimham) at the proper time. Barzillai and his family leave a noticeable impression on the king (cf. 1 Kgs 2:7), but the king appears to have learned very little from the old Gileadite.

One should also consider these references to old age within the larger mnemonic framework and ongoing narrative of the DH. Within the DH (and actually within all of the Judean literary corpus), Israelite leadership is strongly keyed to the figure of Moses and his leadership (e.g., Josh 1:7; Judg 3:4; 1 Sam 12:6; 1 Kgs 2:3; etc.). Moses lives to the age of one hundred and twenty, and his eyes never "dim" nor does his "vigor flee" (לא כהתה עינו ולא נס לחה) (Deut 34:7). Moses' leadership had other issues, of course, but growing old and feeble was seemingly not one of them. Remembering Moses' great vigor must have effected a somewhat dour view of king David in his later years, and remembering David's feebleness would only increase the awesomeness of Moses' strength in his old age. The conversation does not end with David, however; Solomon, too, has issues explicitly connected to his old age (cf. 1 Kgs 11:4) (more below).[35]

Moreover, this theme is strikingly present in Qohelet (Ecclesiastes).[36] In this book, which is presented as "the words of Qohelet ['the Assembler/Preacher'], son of

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35.   Cf. also Lamentations Rabbah, proem 24 ii.2.U (Jacob Neusner, *Lamentations Rabbah: An Analytical Translation* [BJS 193; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 74), in which God, perhaps referring to himself, laments, "Woe for a king who prospers in his youth and not in his old age." Chronicles, however, counterbalances the remembering of David's old age. In Chronicles, David appoints Solomon as successor with no troubles, and he dies "full of days, wealth, and honor" (1 Chr 29:28; cf. 23:1).

36.   Dating Qohelet, the book, is notoriously difficult. By the mid second century BCE we know it was extant (cf. 4QQoh^a; see *BQS* 3:746–48). Given linguistic, thematic, and sociocultural indicators, it is reasonable to suggest that the book emerged in the late Persian era (cf. C. L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes* [AB 18C; New York: Doubleday, 1997], 11–38), though it may also be argued that its milieu is Hellenistic (cf. Thomas Krüger, *Qoheleth* [trans. O. C. Dean Jr.; ed. Klaus Baltzer; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004], 19–22, who posits a date sometime around 200 BCE). In any case, the book either takes part in late Persian-period discourse or picks up certain statements of that discourse in a slightly later era.

David, king in Jerusalem" (דברי קהלת בן דוד מלך בירושלם) (1:1; cf. 1:12–13)—i.e.,

Solomon, at least in part[37]—one finds the following proverb and parable:

> Better is a poor but wise [חכם] youth than an old [זקן] but foolish king [מלך], who will no longer take advice. One can indeed come out of prison to reign, even though born poor in the kingdom. I saw all the living who, moving about under the sun, follow that youth who replaced the king; there was no end to all those people whom he led. Yet those who come later will not rejoice in him. Surely this also is vanity [הבל] and a chasing after wind. [Eccl 4:13–16; NRSV]

Jennie Barbour, in her recent study of Qohelet and cultural memory, convincingly makes the case that this short parable reflects a pattern—in the books of the Hebrew Bible—of contrasting kings, good and bad, failed and successful (a pattern that, I would add, is conspicuous throughout the ancient Near East: e.g., Sargon and Naram-Sin, Nabonidus and Cyrus, etc.).[38] The "haziness and fragmentary feel" of the parable, Barbour argues, allows it to interact with multiple different kingship-plots in the story of the monarchy: Solomon and Jeroboam, Saul and David, David and his sons.[39] It interacts, too, with the stories of Eli and Samuel and their respective sons—the problem of hereditary succession in general (see Chapter 3). For the purpose of the discussion here, it is important to note that, in effect, David and Solomon, in their respective narratives, function as *both* the poor but wise youth *and* the old but foolish king.[40] Both attain the throne despite the odds and rise to great heights of success, and yet both end up old and miserable in Samuel–

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37.   Cf. Peter Machinist, "The Voice of the Historian in the Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean World," *Interpretation* 57 (2003): 117–37, esp. 133–34, who writes, "Qohelet dons, as it were, the mask of Solomon, but does not cover with it every part of his face: one eye at least, and, of course, the mouth, are allowed to peek out" (134). See also James L. Crenshaw, *Qoheleth: The Ironic Wink* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013), 9–22.
38.   See Jennie Barbour, *The Story of Israel in the Book of Qohelet: Ecclesiastes as Cultural Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 82–92.
39.   Barbour, *Story of Israel*, 86–87.
40.   Cf. Barbour, *Story of Israel*, 88, 91.

Kings' version of events. Qohelet, observing and reflecting upon this, states that, in the end, it is all futility (חבל): great successes and failures, wisdom and folly. After all is said and done, as generations come and go, they are all equal, like the characters in Kubrick's *Barry Lyndon*.

Therefore, in addition to the tension between Deuteronomy's law of the king and Davidic kingship—which I introduced in Chapter 2 and which I take up again below—the king's inability to act rightly and justly in his old age becomes another major talking point in the discourse on kingship, and it is closely related to the complex problem of dynasty and dynastic succession. Kingship is supposed to be dynastic, but dynasties are inherently problematic. Hereditary succession, the repeated passing down of leadership from father to son(s), inevitably breaks down and creates intense power struggles. Strong leadership and good behavior are not hereditary—a good father does not necessarily spawn a good son. Moreover, even the best leaders get old and may lose the facility to manage their household at the crux of succession. These are pressing issues in the Judean texts, as I have shown here and in Chapters 2 and 3.

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This marked downturn in David's story must have led the literati to (re)consider the divine promises made to David. In 2 Sam 7:16, Yahweh promises David an "everlasting" (עד עולם) throne and kingdom (ממלכה), ostensibly without requiring anything in return from the Judahite king.[41] This promise comes after Yahweh grants

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41.   The promise to David occurs in multiple contexts with different implications and imports. See Gary N. Knoppers, "David's Relation to Moses: The Contexts, Content and Conditions of the Davidic Promises," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 91–118. Note that the supposed unconditionality of the promise in 2 Sam 7 (often emphasized by scholars) is tempered by the promise's context in the book of Samuel. Yahweh has already annulled a promise to the

peace and rest to Israel and after David and Yahweh's Ark have settled in Jerusalem.

David expresses concern about Yahweh's lack of a permanent house—the deity dwells in

a tent not a temple—so he sets out to make one. Yahweh, however, has different plans,

and he promises to secure a permanent place for Israel and to build a permanent

monarchic house *for David,* i.e., an "everlasting" dynasty and kingdom:

> Thus says Yahweh of hosts: I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep
> to be prince over my people Israel; and I have been with you wherever you went,
> and have cut off all your enemies from before you; and I will make for you a great
> name, like the name of the great ones of the earth. And I will appoint a place for
> my people Israel and will plant them, so that they may live in their own place, and
> be disturbed no more; and evildoers shall afflict them no more, as formerly, from
> the time that I appointed judges [שפטים] over my people Israel; and I will give you
> rest from all your enemies. Moreover Yahweh declares to you that Yahweh will
> make you a house [בית]. When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your
> ancestors,[42] I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from
> your body,[43] and I will establish his kingdom [ממלכה]. He shall build a house [בית]

house of Eli that was meant to last "forever," on account of the house's disobedience (cf. 1 Sam 2:27–30).
The promise to Eli's house narratively and mnemonically frames the promise to David, rendering the latter
implicitly conditional. Cf. Ehud Ben Zvi, "A Balancing Act: Settling and Unsettling Issues Concerning Past
Divine Promises in Historiographical Texts Shaping Social Memory in the Late Persian Period," in
Covenant in the Persian Period: From Genesis to Chronicles (ed. R. J. Bautch and Gary N. Knoppers;
Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming). That said, even if the larger context of 2 Sam 7's promise
hints at conditionality, it is clear that there is a tension throughout the discourse concerning the outcome
and future of David's house and Davidic kingship. More below.

42.   Cf. the discussion above concerning old age and the problems of succession at the end of David's
life. The passage here, in its immediate context, suggests a smooth transition, but of course the narrative In
Samuel-Kings ultimately does not go in this direction. This statement in 2 Sam 7:12, "When your days are
fulfilled" (כי ימלאו ימיך), is closer to the outcome in Chronicles (cf. 1 Chr 23:1 and 29:28, which state that
David was שבע ימים "full/satisfied of days" when Solomon became king) than it is to the rest of David's life
in Samuel–Kings.

43.   This relative clause, אשר יצא ממעיך, occurs in only two other places in the Judean corpus: 2 Sam
16:11 and Gen 15:4. The occurrence in 2 Sam 16:11 is perhaps an ironic reference back to 2 Sam 7:12:
David uses the expression to refer to Absalom, the son who attempts to take his father's life and throne.
Absolom, though, is certainly not the promised son whose kingdom Yahweh will establish. One finds the
other occurrence of this clause, in Genesis, amidst an account of divine promise that is very similar to 2
Sam 7. In both Gen 15:4 and in 2 Sam 7:12 the deity promises special offspring. There is thus a precise
linguistic intertext between the two accounts. Scholars have, of course, long explored the affinities between
the two texts: e.g., George Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *Biblical Archaeologist* 17
(1954): 50–76, esp. 70–73; Ronald E. Clements, *Abraham and David: Genesis 15 and Its Meaning for the
Israelite Tradition* (Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series 5; Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, 1967), 54–56;
Paul R. Williamson, *Abraham, Israel and the Nations: The Patriarchal Promise and its Covenantal
Development in Genesis* (JSOTSup 315; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 264–65; Thomas
Römer, "Abraham and the 'Law and the Prophets,'" in *The Reception and Remembrance of Abraham* (ed.
Pernille Carstens and Niels Peter Lemche; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2011), 87–101, esp. 97–98. In

for my name, and I will establish the throne [כסא] of his kingdom [ממלכה] forever [עד עולם]. I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me. When he commits iniquity, I will punish him with a rod such as mortals use, with blows inflicted by human beings. But I will not take my steadfast love from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away from before you. Your house [בית] and your kingdom

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addition to the linguistic intertext, the two texts also share thematic and structural parallels: cf. Bernard Gosse, "Abraham and David," *JSOT* 34 (2009): 25–31 (30); Römer, "Abraham and the Law," 97–98. First, there is the expression of concern: Abraham is childless Gen 15:2–3); and David laments Yahweh's lack of a permanent home (2 Sam 7:2). Then, the revelation of the deity: in Abraham's story, Yahweh responds immediately and shows up again on the same night to secure the promise (Gen 15:1, 4–5, 17–18); and in David's, the prophet Nathan receives the word of Yahweh (דבר יהוה), the divine response to David's desires, on the same night as David's request (2 Sam 7:4–16). Like Abraham, David has a specific concern: Abraham has no heir, and David has no temple for his god. Like Abraham, David receives a divine promise: Abraham's descendants will be exceedingly numerous; similarly, David's descendants will sit on the throne forever, and eventually one of his royal offspring will build a temple for Yahweh. Yahweh thus answers David's actual concern and adds an additional, unexpected assurance, promising the king an "everlasting" dynasty, which mimics the promise of lineage to Abraham. One should also note here the formal parallels with texts like Assurbanipal's Prism B. In this text too the king communicates with the deity, directly and through an intermediary, with regard to a particular concern, and the deity responds with assurance and promise. For text and translation see Marti Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (SBLWAW 12; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), text 101, pp. 147–48; see also idem, "Fear Not: A Study on an Ancient Near Eastern Phrase," in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 122–61, esp. 146–58. For classic discussions of the Assyrian text and Gen 15 in particular see, e.g., Otto Kaiser, "Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15," *ZAW* 70 (1958): 107–26, esp. 111–16; also John Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1975). In briefly pointing out these parallels, my intention is not to reconstruct a history of tradition or literary history for these texts. Rather, the goal is to show that the texts of Gen 15 and 2 Sam 7 contain particular structural and linguistic elements that communicate particular sociocultural content to its readers. In other words, the texts speak using a "grammar" that generates and evokes mnemonic associations in the minds of the readers; they imagine the covenantal relationship and communication between Abraham and Yahweh in a way that recalls David's relationship with the deity, *and vice versa*. The direction of influence goes both ways: reading 2 Sam 7 recalls Genesis 15 and reading Gen 15 recalls 2 Sam 7. This shared linguistic, structural, and thematic grammar in these texts—a grammar similarly found in other ancient Near Eastern monarchical texts (e.g., the Assurbanipal text)—helps reinforce a symbolic relationship between the figures of Abraham and David in the postmonarchic milieu of Judah. In the sociocultural world of postmonarchic Judah, Abraham is partly a Davidic figure; likewise, David is partly an Abrahamic figure. Indeed, other texts support this claim. There are many links between David and kingship and Abraham and the patriarchs, via the site of Hebron and its environs (e.g., Gen 13:18; 23; 25:9–10; 35:27–29; 49:29–33; 50:13 2 Sam 2:1–4; 3:2–5 5:1–4; 1 Kgs 2:11; 1 Chr 3:1–4; 11:1–3; see Detlef Jericke, *Abraham in Mamre: Historische und exegetische Studien zur Region von Hebron und zu Genesis 11,27–19,38* [CHANE 17; Leiden: Brill, 2003]; also Vladimir Orel, "The Deal of Macpelah," *Bibbia e Oriente* 37 (1995): 3–11; and Francesca Stavrakopoulou, *Land of Our Fathers: The Roles of Ancestor Veneration in Biblical Land Claims* [LHBOTS 473; London: T&T Clark, 2010], 29–53) and also via symbolic convergences in Pss 90–106 (see Gosse, "Abraham," 26; but also Lindsay Wilson, "On Psalms 103–106 as a Closure to Book IV of the Psalter," in *The Composition of the Book of Psalms* [ed. Erich Zenger; BETL 238; Leuven: Peeters, 2010], 755–66, who cautions against seeing Abraham as a total replacement for Davidic hope in these psalms). Clearly, then, there is overlap in the memories of these two figures as presented in Judah's postmonarchic literary corpus, contributing to the sociomental constructions of a patriarchal David and a monarchical Abraham, constructions that enable Thomas Römer to refer to Abraham as "the first king" of Judean tradition ("Abraham and the Law," 97).

[ממלכה] shall be made sure forever [עד עולם] before me; your throne [כסא] shall be established forever [עד עולם]. [2 Sam 7:8–16; after NRSV]

As I argued above, however, already at the end of David's life the dynasty is a mess. It continues, for sure, but not without troubles. Moreover, David is promised an everlasting *kingdom*, but the actual kingdom remains intact for only one generation—it is rent in two after Solomon's death (cf. 1 Kgs 11–14). The promise, therefore, within the context of David's story in Samuel-Kings, is rendered at least partly moot. David's dynasty continues, but it is plagued by problems, and the full extent of its kingdom is lost.

Saul's dynasty fails *on account of* disobedience, but David's somehow succeeds *despite* its disobedience and incompetence. Considering the tragic turn David's reign takes after he settles in Jerusalem, I submit that the literati would have questioned whether or not the promise of unending Davidic kingship over Israel was indeed a positive thing. Robert Polzin writes, "The primary difference between David's story and Saul's is this: the sign of Saul's punishment was the *impermanence* of his house, whereas the *permanence* of David's house will be the sign of his: God promises David, 'The sword shall never depart from your house' (2 Samuel 12:10)."[44] So along with an everlasting dynasty for David comes a promise of everlasting violence within that same dynasty, as mentioned above.

Here I make an appeal to Ricoeur's concept of the double-sided nature of narrative temporality and emplotment (see Chapter 1), and to its import for understanding

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44.   Polzin, *David*, 127 (italics added). Cf. Frank H. Polak, "David's Kingship—A Precarious Equilibrium," in *Politics and Theopolitics in the Bible and Postbiblical Literature* (ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, Yair Hoffman, and Benjamin Uffenheimer; JSOTSup 171; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 119–47, esp. 140–41, who argues that David's house is tragic but positive, whereas Saul's house is tragic but negative.

the Judean social remembering of David and his story. Readers, especially rereaders who are intimately familiar with their literary repertoire, read texts simultaneously "forward" and "backward." That is, they have some idea where the plot is headed (based on sociocultural preconceptions, generic indicators, actual knowledge of a text's conclusions, etc.); and at the same time they are continually reassessing what has already come to pass, filling in gaps in their knowledge of causality, ideology, teleology, and so on. In a typical novel or play, for example, these two aspects of narrative conjoin in *anagnorisis*, the moment when the narrative achieves meaning and sense for its readers. Because of the aporia of Saul's failed kingship, because of Judean literature's unsure stance about dynasty and hereditary succession, and because of the *un*surety of divine promises, however, *anagnorisis* is never really attained in David's story (at least in the Sam–Kgs version). Where the readership might expect to find resolution, it instead finds compounding *peripeteia*: Bathsheba and Uriah, Amnon and Absalom, Abishag, Adonijah, among other issues. David's story is generally tragic, but what exactly this tragedy might mean, within the scope of the larger historiographical narrative and within Judean social remembering via the historiography, becomes unclear. What does it mean to have a great and glorious king who receives a paradoxical pair of divine promises: one of an everlasting house and one of everlasting violence?

This paradox is not without precedent, of course. The rise of kingship in the first place is paradoxical. It emerges, as Deuteronomy predicts it would, but it does so after a series of dynastic missteps and failures: Saul, Samuel, Eli, and before all of them Gideon and Abimelech. As I argued in Chapter 3, Saul's downfall is an acceptable—perhaps

even preferable—outcome in the Judean discourse and memory. One can argue the same for David's own tragic fall.

On the one hand, the Judahite's procurement of an "everlasting" dynasty before Yahweh balances out the aporetic failures of Samuel and Saul before him. David and his successor Solomon, the most salient Israelite kings, help in part to recenter the kingship doublethink: their obvious successes provide a counter to the anti-kingship statements that emerge out of Samuel's and Saul's narratives. On the other hand, David's rule is not an unqualified success, nor will the reigns of his successors be, the "everlasting-ness" of the dynasty notwithstanding: in the DH, already in David's own lifetime the dynasty becomes a problem and David loses control of his house and kingdom. In other words, in part the Davidic dynasty succeeds, by securing a promise of greatness from Yahweh and by maintaining kingship's ongoing viability as a political institution in Israel. This leaves the issue of kingship somewhat open-ended, creating one of the major problems for the discourse on *future* kingship (more below and in Chapter 5). Yet ultimately Davidic kingship also *has to fail* (at least on some level) because, within the discourse, the inherently problematic nature of human dynasties has already been established.[45] The potential for failure set forth in the final words of Moses (e.g., Deut 28:15–68) and actualized in the era of judgeship (e.g., Judg 2:10–23), continues. If, as I argued in Chapter 3, Samuel and Saul function as a kind of *mise en abyme* in the discourse, sitting in between and reflecting the narratives of Moses/Joshua/judgeship and David/Solomon/

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45.   Also, of course, the Davidic dynasty did in fact fall—Jerusalem's ongoing and slow recovery in the Persian era would have served as a constant reminder of this fact, for those reading these narratives in that era.

kingship, then Davidic kingship is destined to fall in some way, despite its successes and

its divine promises.

<p style="text-align:center">∗∗∗</p>

David's life in the DH is heroic, tragic, and perplexing. It takes a turn for the

worse right at the point when the king should be riding off into the sunset, so to speak

(not unlike the narratives of the Israelite leaders that went before him). This turn,

however, and all that happens in its aftermath, is what makes David intriguing: it has

made the Israelite king the subject of countless works of art, scholarly discussions, and

doctoral dissertations. In Jacob Wright's words, "[T]he biblical writers produced a

parable of power that probes new depths in the history of biography"; David's story

wrestles with "the realities of passion and power" while affirming "the resiliency of the

human spirit. Unprecedented triumphs must contend with mortality, fragility, and

failure."[46]

Now, I have rehearsed these issues in Samuel–Kings to indicate just how complex

the narrative of David's reign is (and so far I have not addressed the narrative in

Chronicles, which only thickens the difficulties), but also to set the stage for *the rest of

the story*, since David's import in the discourse certainly does not end with his death in 1

Kings 2 and with Solomon's succession. Davidic kingship attains a fresh start with

Solomon, as David commends his son to a life of Torah obedience and an everlasting

dynasty (1 Kgs 2:1–4; cf. Deut 17:18–20; Josh 1:6–8). Indeed Solomon, as remembered,

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46.   Wright, *David*, 11. It is worth noting that none of this is an indictment of kingship as an institution
per se. The main issue at stake, which I have repeatedly emphasized, is the viability and problematics of a
system of hereditary succession. The problems of human mortality and fragility are duly compounded in a
political system built upon family lines, and this goes for hereditary judgeship, for example, as well as
kingship. See also texts like Qoh 10:16–17, in which human folly and discipline in leadership are the issues
to consider, not kingship itself.

brings the people of Israel and its kingdom to unmatched heights of success and glory, eventually building Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem. But in the end Solomon too goes the way of David, struggling to control his kingdom and to remain faithful to Yahweh at the end of his life and reign. The dynasty, though, remains, and the memory of a faithful and righteous David stands as its benchmark. Recounting Solomon's sins, for example, the book of Kings states that Solomon "did not remain true to Yahweh as David his father did" (1 Kgs 11:6; cf. 11:4), seemingly *forgetting* the sins of David, sins that brought a divine promise of everlasting violence upon the family. From 1 Kgs 3 onward, David remains the high-water mark of right and just kingly leadership in Israel.[47] The issue of Bathsheba and Uriah is mentioned only once more in the historiographical literature, and it is written off as a mere exception (1 Kgs 15:5).[48] For the ancient Judeans, reading on after David's death in the book of Kings, it seems, required one to bracket or forget much of the knowledge of David and his life from the book of Samuel, and vice versa.

Below, therefore, I take a look at the rest of the story and its various narratives. What happens to the dynasty in the other Judean books? How do the divine promises play out? In the end, what kind of story/stories are we left with? And what discursive statements concerning kingship and dynasty did these narrative trajectories contribute to the social remembering of monarchy in ancient Judah? But first I must address the book of Chronicles and its place in the discourse, which I have left aside until now. That book provided the Judean literati with yet another take on the narrative.

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47. E.g., 1 Kgs 15:3–5, 11; 2 Kgs 14:3; 16:2; 18:3; 22:2; etc. For a detailed study of these references, see Amos Frisch, "Comparison with David as a Means of Evaluating Character in the Book of Kings," *JHS* 11 (2011), article 7 (online: http://www.jhsonline.org).

48. See McKenzie's article, "*Ledavid*," noted above. Also note that Uriah is listed among David's "men of valor" in 1 Chr 11:41, but the text in Chronicles does not mention Uriah's murder.

Chronicles and Samuel–Kings: *Both* among the Literati

David's story, and specifically the latter part of his life and the transition to Solomon's reign, have another version than the generally tragic one outlined and discussed above. Chronicles evokes a significantly different memory of David's reign over Israel and of Solomon's accession.[49] This is adumbrated most clearly in Chronicles' understanding of the divine promise of an "everlasting" Davidic throne, the book's presentation of the promise's fulfillment in the life and activities of David, and the book's subsequent presentation of Solomon's taking of the reins.[50]

Note that in Chronicles' version of Nathan's oracle to David (1 Chron 17:1–15; cf. 22:7–10), there is no mention of the son's inevitable wrongdoing and his punishment; there is no parallel to 2 Sam 7:14b, a conspicuous difference. The entire Bathsheba and Uriah episode, too, is absent in Chronicles, and thus the promise of everlasting *violence* goes unmentioned. However, the issue of success being dependent upon following Yahweh's teachings *does* occur elsewhere in the book, in the words of David (e.g., 1 Chron 22:12–13) and even Yahweh himself (via David: 1 Chron 28:6–7; and via Solomon: 2 Chron 6:16).[51]

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49. On the relationship between Chronicles and Sam–Kings (and other texts in the Judean corpus) see the various approaches and further references in, e.g., Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (AB 12; New York: Doubleday, 2003), 66–71; Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 1–17 and passim; Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 20–41; Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 30–44; Thomas Willi, "Das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk im Spiegel der Chronik," in *Geschichte Israels und Deuteronomistisches Geschichtsdenken* (Festschrift Winfried Thiel; ed. Peter Mommer and Andreas Scherer; AOAT 380; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010), 287–300; Jozef Tiňo, *King and Temple in Chronicles: A Contextual Approach to their Relations* (FRLANT 234; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 22–29; and Louis C. Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2013), 11–16.
50. Cf. Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29* (AB 12A; New York: Doubleday, 2004), 674–77 and 961–62.
51. Cf. Knoppers, "David's Relation," 102–103.

In any case, in Chronicles, Solomon goes on to live an upstanding and exemplary life: his penchant for foreign women and gods is conveniently bracketed, "forgotten" as it were. Forgotten, too, is the struggle over succession and the problems of David's old age. David has lived a full and successful life (1 Chron 23:1; 29:28), and Yahweh has simply chosen Solomon as David's successor (1 Chron 28:5). Of course, the literati could not have truly forgotten these Davidic and Solomonic troubles, as long as they kept reading the books of Samuel and Kings, which they surely did. The question, which I address in more detail below, is: How to understand the interrelationship between these books in the context of their Judean readership? There is no sure answer to this question, but we can sketch an approach to an answer that will help us better understand Judean social remembering of kingship.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

"The Chronicler's version of David's last years," comments Gary Knoppers, "presents a striking contrast to the stories of adultery, rape, deception, chaos, betrayal, and murder found in Samuel–Kings. The Chronicler does not simply contest the version of Samuel–Kings; he creates a comprehensive alternative to it."[52] Also, note that Chronicles emphasizes *Yahweh's* possession of kingship and the kingdom (1 Chron 17:14): the throne (כסא) will belong to David's son (i.e., Solomon), but the dynasty (בית) and the kingdom (whatever the extent of its territory) belong to the *deity*. This is not the wording in 2 Sam 7:16, in which the kingdom, the dynasty, and the throne are each attributed to David.[53] Throughout Chronicles, it is clearly stated that kingship is

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52.   Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29*, 961.
53.   Thomas Willi, "Gibt es in der Chronik eine 'Dynastie Davids'? Ein Beitrag zur Semanit von בית," in *"... der seine Lust hat am Wort des Herrn!"* (Festschrift Ernst Jenni; ed. Jürg Luchsinger, Hans-Peter Mathys, and Markus Saur; AOAT 336; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2007), 393–404, argues, therefore, that in

Yahweh's, and thus the throne that David and Solomon and their descendants sit upon is

ultimately under the deity's rule and control (e.g., 1 Chron 29:11; 2 Chron 20:6; compare

also 1 Kgs 10:9 to 2 Chron 9:8).[54] There is no lamenting the rejection of divine kingship

(compare 1 Sam 8:7), no sage warning concerning kingship's ills and abuses of power

(compare 1 Sam 8:11–18). The royal prerogative is Yahweh's, and David and Solomon

stand as fine examples of human regents serving under him. The book of Chronicles

pushes its Judean readership in a different direction than Samuel–Kings does. It

highlights certain aspects of David's story while diminishing or even completely ignoring

others. In this way, Chronicles further rounds out the discourse, providing additional

nuance, complexity, and balance.[55] Chronicles ultimately enriches the paradoxes of divine

promise and Davidic dynasty, the question of Davidic kingship's ongoing viability and

utility in the face of eventual monarchic failure.

This raises the problem of how one is to define the mnemonic relationship

between these two alternate versions of Judah's monarchic past. How did knowledge

from Samuel–Kings impact readings of Chronicles, and *vice versa*, in the processes of

social remembering? Concerning Chonicles' relation to Samuel–Kings, scholars have

called the book a revision, an interpretation, a whitewashing, even a midrash, for

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the book of Chronicles there is no concept of a Davidic "dynasty" (בית) as it were, unlike what one finds in
Sam–Kgs or in the Tel Dan inscription, for instance.

54.   Cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCBC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982),
26–28; Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (trans. Anna
Barber; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2009 [original 1989]), 308–20; Thomas Willi, "Das davididische
Königtum in der Chronik," in *Ideales Königtum: Studien zu David und Salomo* (ed. Rudiger Lux; Leipzig:
Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2005), 71–87; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 44–45; Matthew Lynch, *Monotheism and
Institutions in the Book of Chronicles* (FAT 2.64; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 209–43.

55.   Note that Chronicles itself is not unequivocal. It too contains multiple voices that balance and
inform each other, including messages communicated by individual episodes in the book and those
communicated by the book as a whole. Cf. Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 160–73 and passim.

instance.[56] One recent trend is to argue that the book is utopian in scope and contributed to political and cultic utopianism in late Persian-era Judean society.[57] In my mind there is little doubt that Chronicles postdates Samuel–Kings and that Chronicles relied upon some version of Samuel–Kings as a source.[58] However, we have no idea what intentions the literate Judean community had for the book of Chronicles.[59] Despite many and various hypotheses, no consensus idea has emerged.[60] What we know for sure is that one community—a small and most likely tightly knit community (see Chapter 1)—ended up with two separate works of literature that focus mainly upon the story of Israel's/Judah's monarchic pasts. These two works offered different perspectives; they contributed different narratives to the ongoing formation of Judean social memory and identity, the construction of shared (hi)stories and the interpretation of those (hi)stories vis-à-vis understandings of the community's present and future. This should be our starting point, and from here we may work backward to reconstruct the sociocultural discourses of

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56.   See survey in Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 17–19.
57.   See Steven Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles* (LHBOTS 442; New York: T&T Clark, 2007). For responses to and critiques of Schweitzer's work, see Mark J. Boda, ed., "In Conversation with Steven Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles*," *JHS* 9 (2009): article 11 (online: http://www.jhsonline.org); and Ian Douglas Wilson, "Chronicles and Utopia: Likely Bedfellows?" in *History, Memory, Hebrew Scriptures: A Festschrift for Ehud Ben Zvi* (ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ian Douglas Wilson; Winona Lake, Ind.: forthcoming 2015).
58.   Cf. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, 66–71.
59.   Cf. Christine Mitchell, "Response: Reflections on the Book of Chronicles and Second Temple Historiography," in *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography* (ed. Paul S. Evans and Tyler F. Williams; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 269–77, esp. 270–71.
60.   I understand Chronicles to be a work of ancient historiography, though I realize, as with all genre labels, this is problematic (see more in Chapter 6). Cf. Mitchell, "Response," 270–72; also eadem, "Otherness and Historiography in Chronicles," in *Historiography and Identity (Re)Formulation in Second Temple Historiographical Literature* (ed. Louis Jonker; LHBOTS 534; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 93–109. Mitchell does not cast aside the label of historiography, but problematizes it and suggests alternatives such as political philosophy that might better reflect the function of the text in its milieu(x) (cf. "Otherness," 108–109). See also Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, esp. 210–42, who refers to Chronicles as historiography (or even "storiography") but argues that the book (along with most Judean literature) functioned didactically.

Persian Judah as they are reflected in these different works of literature. To begin with the assumption that Chronicles somehow intentionally altered the vision of the past represented in Samuel–Kings is to approach the problem from the wrong direction, in my opinion. Of course, one may credibly end up at that conclusion, but one must begin with the knowledge that the late Persian-period Judeans were reading both of these historiographical works, and both carried some level of authority within the literate segment of that society.

As John Van Seters states in a recent essay, "[T]here was already in the late Persian period a strong dissenting voice to any 'orthodoxy' in the collective memory … and to the indoctrination of a single identity for the Jews of Yehud and the Diaspora."[61] He states this after explicating the various memories created by the Yahwist, the Priestly writer, and the Deuteronomist, for Judean society. Whether or not one agrees with Van Seters' understandings of the literature and its compositions, one can appreciate the major implication of his argument: this community possessed and gave authority to a number of diverse and sometimes even contradictory texts, all of which contributed something to the formation of individual and social memories and identities in Judah. In a similar way of thinking, and in relation to Samuel–Kings and Chronicles in particular, Christine Mitchell writes, "The Chronicler's text can be read as simply showing another position while accepting that Samuel had a valid position as well; it does not have to be a correction or a replacement for Samuel; it is more of a 'yes, but...'."[62] These texts are in dialogue. Of

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61.   John Van Seters, "Cultural Memory and the Invention of Biblical Israel," in *Cultural Memory in Biblical Exegesis*, 53–80 (76).
62.   Christine Mitchell, "The Dialogism of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (ed. M. P. Graham and S. L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 311–26 (326).

course, we can read each text independently, and each stands on its own as an ancient Judean historiographical work. But to remember the past in community necessarily requires comparison, dialogue, discourse.

That said, with regard to the issue of authority, it appears that, on the whole, Samuel–Kings carried more authority than Chronicles.[63] Hellenistic literature cites and alludes to both texts, suggesting that both were authoritative on some level, but on many issues it seems that Samuel–Kings was the preferred source, the more authoritative vision of the past. Consider, for instance, Ben Sira's comments about the great kings of Israel and Judah. This is a text that knows and alludes to Chronicles.[64] However, Ben Sira's account of David and Davidic kingship relies heavily upon the vision of Samuel–Kings. Ben Sira mentions Goliath and also David's "sins." Moreover, he sharply criticizes Solomon for his lust, and he heaps effusive praise upon Josiah (see Sir 47–49).[65] This is not the picture presented in Chronicles, in which Solomon is essentially flawless and in which Josiah's role is somewhat diminished on account of the further lionizing of Hezekiah.[66] The issue of authority aside, however, one must always be cognizant of the fact that the literate Judean community was reading both of these texts simultaneously. So what kind of discursive statements are these works making vis-à-vis one another?

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63.   Cf. Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 243–68; also Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, 105–11.
64.   See Sir 47:9–10, which alludes to David's involvement with the cult in Chronicles. Cf. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, 107.
65.   Ben Sira indeed follows Sam–Kgs in many details, but it nevertheless crafts its own unique vision of the monarchic past, ultimately claiming that all the kings—except David, Hezekiah, and Josiah—were "terrible sinners" (49:4).
66.   On Hezekiah in Chronicles, see Peter R. Ackroyd, "The Biblical Interpretation of the Reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah," in *In the Shelter of Elyon: Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life and Literature in Honor of G. W. Ahlström* (ed. W. Boyd Barrick and J. R. Spencer; JSOTSup 31; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 247–59; also Shannon E. Baines, "The Cohesiveness of 2 Chronicles 33:1–36:23 as a Literary Unit Concluding the Book of Chonicles," in *Chronicling the Chronicler*, 141–58, esp. 143–48.

First to consider are the differences between the two texts. Chronicles famously "forgets" or brackets certain elements of the historiography in Samuel–Kings. One thinks of the Greek title for the book, Παραλειπόμενα ("what is omitted"), which traditionally refers to what is lacking in Genesis–Kings and present in Chronicles, but could also just as likely (and ironically) refer to what is lacking in Chronicles but is present in Genesis–Kings.[67] Well known and oft-discussed examples of omissions in Chronicles include, inter alia: the bracketing of Samuel's story, nearly all of Saul's reign, and most of the events of David's accession; the sins of Solomon and many details concerning the kingdom's division; and of course nearly all the details of the northern kingdom's story. Now, the problem is: How do we understand that which is bracketed in Chronicles, knowing that Judeans were reading Samuel–Kings as well, and knowing that they likely considered Samuel–Kings the more authoritative version of the past? The psychoanalytic concept of repression is interesting to consider here: the Freudian idea that "forgotten memories [are] not lost."[68] Did the fact that Chronicles omits or brackets this material concerning the kingship promote the forgetting of this material, or did it actually call attention to it? In other words, does this apparent repression evince a definite obsession, within Judean society, with that which had been repressed? To be sure, Chronicles deserves to be read on its own, and in doing so one would not and should not be bothered by these omissions at all.[69] But the likelihood remains that a small and tightly knit group of Judean individuals read these texts concurrently. In certain cases, Chronicles'

67. Cf. P. J. Sabo, "Seeking Saul in Chronicles," in *Chronicling the Chronicler*, 43–63, esp. 45; also Mitchell, "Dialogism," 311; and see Gary N. Knoppers and Paul B. Harvey Jr., "Omitted and Remaining Matters: On the Names Given to the Book of Chronicles in Antiquity," *JBL* 121 (2002): 227–43.
68. See, e.g., Sigmund Freud, *Five Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (trans. and ed. James Strachey; New York: Norton, 1977), 21–28 (23).
69. Cf. Sabo, 45–49; also Mitchell, "Dialogism," 320–24.

bracketing might have unintentionally highlighted the "forgotten" details of Samuel–Kings, that is, it might have actually brought memories of the bracketed information to the forefront. Or, in other instances, perhaps the community simply took these details for granted, and thus did not think anything of that which had been bracketed. Or maybe the bracketing indeed represented the "repression" of certain memories of Judah's monarchic past.[70] The interpretive possibilities multiply.

Recent developments in cognitive psychology research offer some insights that may help us pare down the interpretive possibilities.[71] According to the work of Charles Stone and William Hirst, a particular narrative detail is *more* likely to be forgotten if only the detail itself is bracketed, and not its immediate narrative context; the detail is *less* likely to be forgotten, however, if its immediate narrative context is bracketed too. For example, a realtor shows a home to a potential buyer, and the home's stove is in terrible shape. Later, back at the realtor's office, the realtor re-describes the house to the buyer. In his re-description, he gives a detailed account of the kitchen—the sink, the refrigerator, the countertops and cabinets—but he does *not* mention the bad stove. In this case, the potential buyer is *more* likely to forget about the stove. If the realtor had not mentioned anything about the kitchen at all, however, the buyer would be *less* likely to forget the stove.

This sort of research raises interesting questions about what details concerning the monarchy a reader might bracket or forget while reading or discussing Samuel–Kings or Chronicles. In the case of Chronicles' bracketing of the Bathsheba affair, for instance, it

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70.   For more on forgetting and bracketing, see Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 86–92; idem, "The Study of Forgetting and the Forgotten," 140–42.
71.   See, e.g., Charles B. Stone and William Hirst, "(Induced) Forgetting to Form a Collective Memory," *Memory Studies* 7 (2014): 314–27.

suggests that reading that book would actually induce forgetting of Bathsheba all together: Chronicles mentions Uriah, Nathan, Joab and the siege of Rabbah, and of course David and Solomon—most of the major elements surrounding the Bathsheba episode—but Bathsheba herself goes unmentioned. Stone and Hirst's work suggests that, in this case, Bathsheba would indeed be forgotten. Of course, the problem is, Stone and Hirst's research involves single conversations between individuals and how groups remember details from single occurrences of news reports and public events—instances in which someone/thing did not and could not provide a reminder of forgotten details. Their research does not address the ongoing rereading and comparison of written texts. The literati in Judah must have had constant access to a library of these texts, which enabled them to read, reread, repeatedly compare and consider similarities and differences in the various narratives, in ways that are not analogous to the situations and contexts that present-day social psychologists have analyzed thus far. The literati would have read Samuel and Chronicles time and again, thus limiting the possibility of ever really "forgetting" Bathsheba and her import in David's story, in that social context—instead, reading Chronicles gave the literati license to deemphasize the import of Bathsheba in the monarchic past. Perspectives from cognitive psychology are nonetheless beginning to offer some helpful heuristics for approaching these questions, providing new ways to think about the socio-mnemonic relationship between these ancient books. And in the case of Bathsheba, for instance, the work of Stone and Hirst provide one way of understanding how the Judeans might have successfully bracketed or "forgotten" her during the act of reading Chronicles.

In any case, the main point is, information found solely in Samuel–Kings would have taken on new meanings for a reader when that reader knew and acknowledged that the information was bracketed in Chronicles. The same was true, too, for information found in Chronicles that was *lacking* in Samuel–Kings: e.g., the speeches of David (1 Chron 22:7–16; 28–29), the cultic "reforms" of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah (2 Chron 19:4–11 and 29–31, respectively), or the decree of Cyrus (2 Chron 36:22–23). Each book has "forgotten" information found in the other. When thinking about these texts' contributions to social remembering, we cannot overemphasize this point.

In addition to the differences, however, one must also consider the *similarities*. Really how different are these two texts? This is an important question that has received some attention recently.[72] Often, in comparative studies, we tend to overemphasize similarity,[73] but in this case perhaps we have overemphasized difference.[74] Differences between the two historiographies are well known and frequently observed. But what do the similarities tell us about the society that read and studied these two works? What about the *shared* ideology between these texts, the analogous aspects of their discourses, and what does this say about the literati?[75] "'[O]therness' [i.e., difference] is an

72.   See, e.g., Ehud Ben Zvi, "Are there any Bridges Out There? How Wide was the Conceptual Gap between the Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles?" in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Ken Ristau; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 59–86; Gary N. Knoppers, "The Relationship of the Deuteronomistic History to Chronicles: Was the Chronicler a Deuteronomist?" in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010* (ed. Martti Nissinen; VTSup 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 307–41; Louis Jonker, "Was the Chronicler More Deuteronomic than The Deuteronomist? Explorations into the Chronicler's Relationship with Deuteronomic Traditions," *SJOT* 27 (2013): 185–97.

73.   Cf. Jonathan Z. Smith, "In Comparison a Magic Dwells," in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 19–35.

74.   See Wendy Doniger's thoughts on sameness and difference in "Myths and Methods in the Dark," *Journal of Religion* 76 (1996): 531–47; also Luther H. Martin, "Comparison," in *Guide to the Study of Religion* (ed. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon; London: Continuum, 2000), 45–56, esp. 48–53; and Jonathan Z. Smith, "What a Difference a Difference Makes," in *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 251–302.

75.   Cf. Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 78–79; idem, "Chronicles and Samuel–Kings: Two

ambiguous category," writes Jonathan Z. Smith; "[t]his is so because it is necessarily a term of interrelation. 'Otherness' is not so much a matter of separation as it is a description of interaction."[76] Chronicles and Samuel–Kings conversed with one another, balancing each other's perspectives and creating a variety of potential understandings of the monarchic past and its sociopolitical import for the present and future. On a macro scale, kingship in both Samuel–Kings and Chronicles follows the same trajectory. To be sure, the two works play with the details, but in both historiographies the Judahite kingdom falls, on account of its sins, to the mighty Babylon. And in both, the endings are ambiguous with regard to Davidic kingship in particular. In Chronicles, Hezekiah is the foremost "reforming" (i.e., restoring) king, while in Kings it is Josiah. In Kings, Manasseh is the great sinner, leading the people to inexcusable apostasy, while in Chronicles it is Ahaz. In each the Judahite monarchy fails, but in each a kind of attenuated Davidic hope remains: in Chronicles, hope stands with a quasi-Davidic foreigner; in Kings, with an actual Davidic king in a foreign land (more below).

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Having briefly presented the dialogic, discursive relationship of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, as I understand it, I now return to the story of David's dynasty, to Solomon in particular, in order to further elucidate the multiple potentials and outcomes in the narratives of Davidic kingship. In the following section I present an extended

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Interacting Aspects of One Mnemonic System in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Period," in *Rereading the* relecture? *The Question of (Post)Chronistic Influ nce in the Latest Redactions of the Book of Samuel* (ed. Uwe Becker and Hannes Bezzel; FAT 2.66; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 41–56.

76. Smith, "What a Difference," 256. He writes further, "'Otherness' is not a descriptive category, an artifact of the perception of difference or commonality. Nor is it the result of the determination of biological descent or affinity. It is a political and linguistic project, a matter of rhetoric and judgment" (ibid., 275).

discussion of the beginning of Solomon's reign in the book of Kings, in order to set the stage for the discussion that follows: to compare narrative beginnings and endings in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles and to highlight important themes concerning dynasty and the roles of the king in Judean society and memory.

And the Rest of the Story? The Potentials and Outcomes of Davidic Kingship in Solomon's Narrative

In Samuel–Kings, the transition from David to Solomon is troublesome and undermines David's status as a legitimate and powerful king, turning David's heroic story into a tragic tale. But Solomon's reign nevertheless gets off to a good start. In proper Torah fashion, David instructs Solomon to walk in the ways of Yahweh, to follow the instruction/Torah (תורה) of Moses (1 Kgs 2:1–4). Notice that here David's reiteration of the divine promise of an everlasting throne includes a conditional clause: "*If* [אם] your sons guard their way, to walk before me with faithfulness ... one of yours will never be removed from the throne [כסא] of Israel" (1 Kgs 2:4). Then, in an episode that one might associate with Vito Corleone, David instructs Solomon on taking care of unfinished business in the kingdom: due recompense for Joab's bloodlust and Shimei's loose tongue, as well as reward for Barzillai and his sons' graciousness (2 Kgs 2:5–9).[77] Solomon follows all his father's instructions and thus the kingdom is fully in the young man's grasp (cf. 1 Kgs 2:46).

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77.   Cf. William H. U. Anderson, "David as Biblical 'Goodfella' and 'The Godfather': Cultural-Social Analogues with Monarchy and La Cosa Nostra," *SJOT* 18 (2004): 60–76.

The story of Solomon's official reign over Israel then begins with a brief, but not insignificant, notice concerning Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter (1 Kgs 3:1). This statement presages the king's eventual downfall on account of his many foreign wives and their deities (cf. 1 Kgs 11:1–8), but it also signifies prestige and power, the greatness of Yahweh's king in Jerusalem; it is at once a mark of potential failure and of great success for the Davidic dynasty.[78] The narrative then shifts to recounting sacrifices and a dream, a typical medium for divine communication in the DH and elsewhere.[79] Solomon travels to Gibeon to make a cultic sacrifice—there he would regularly offer up a *thousand* burnt offerings (אלף עלות יעלה) (1 Kgs 3:4). At Gibeon, Yahweh appears to the king in a dream and asks him, "What shall I give to you?" (1 Kgs 3:5). Such a divine invitation is not out of the ordinary, if one considers royal ideology found in Psalms as well as the wider ancient Near Eastern world.[80] In response to Yahweh's invitation, Solomon asks for discernment to judge the vast numbers of people over whom he now

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78. Sweeney, *I & II Kings*, 78–79, for example, reads 1 Kgs 3:1 as a late editorial insertion meant to point to 1 Kgs 11:1–8. Römer, *So-Called Deuteronomistic History*, 100, on the contrary, places 1 Kgs 3:1 within the earliest layer of DH and understands it as a (propagandistic) statement of Judean power and significance in the late Iron Age. In any case, it is difficult to assess the import of this statement, which, within the discourse, is truly ambiguous. Egypt is indeed a longstanding enemy of Israel (cf. Exod), and Torah commands Israelites not to marry foreigners (Deut 7:3–4). The exogamy law in Deut 7, however, refers specifically to the peoples of Canaan, whom the Israelites are to drive out of the land. Elsewhere, when discussing membership in the Israelite community, Deuteronomy actually encourages the Israelites *not* to discriminate against the Egyptians (nor against the Edomites) (cf. Deut 23:1–9), and in Solomon's story Yahweh seems very pleased with the young king's actions, as I discuss below. Cf. Stuart Lasine, *Knowing Kings: Knowledge, Power, and Narcissism in the Hebrew Bible* (SemeiaSt 40; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 143.
79. Cf., among other examples in Genesis, the story of Jacob's dream at Bethel (Gen 28:10–22). In the DH, see Deut 13:2–6 and 1 Sam 28:6, which imply that dreams were a common form of divine communication. For detailed discussions of Solomon's dream in 1 Kings 3, its structure, themes, and parallels in the ancient Levant, see Helen A. Kenik, *Design for Kingship* (SBLDS 69; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983); and C. L. Seow, "The Syro-Palestinian Context of Solomon's Dream," *HTR* 77 (1984): 141–52.
80. E.g., Ps 2:8; 21:5–6; also the Ugaritic tales of Aqhat (cf. *CAT* 1.17: VI.17–18 and VI.26–33; see *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* [ed. Simon B. Parker; SBLWAW 9; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997], 60–61) and Kirta (cf. *CAT* 1.14: I.37–43; see *Ugaritic Narrative*, 13). Cf. Lasine, *Knowing Kings*, 145–47, with further examples.

rules (1 Kgs 3:6–9).[81] Not only does Solomon receive wisdom greater than other person

in history, he is also promised unprecedented riches (עשר) and honor (כבוד),[82] and—if he

follows Yahweh's statutes and commands, as David did—Yahweh will lengthen his life

as well (1 Kgs 3:10–14). Upon awaking and realizing that he was dreaming, Solomon

proceeds to Jerusalem, offers more sacrifices and also hosts a feast for his servants.

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Now, before turning to an analysis of this short but crucial narrative, I would like

to survey some of the significant sites of memory in the text,[83] which are framed by

earlier sites in the DH and which subsequently function themselves as mnemonic frames

for what follows.

First, Solomon's עלות at Gibeon have strong connections with Deuteronomic law,

and they are a salient marker of Solomon's piety in his narrative in the book of Kings.[84]

Deuteronomy 12 states that sacrifices, including whole burnt offerings, may be offered up

to Yahweh only at the site designated by the deity, a single place chosen from among all

the tribal territories (cf. Deut 12:5–6, 11, 13–14).[85] These statements foreshadow cultic

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81.   He asks for לב שמע לשפט ("a listening heart/mind to judge"): the expression לב שמע, *hapax legomenon*, has parallels in Egyptian wisdom literature. In Mesopotamia, wisdom and understanding were also associated with hearing. Cf. Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings* (AB 10; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 187. Note

82.   These two words, in combination, occur only here in the DH. Elsewhere they occur together in Prov 3:16; 8:18; 11:16; 22:4; Qoh 6:2; Est 1:4; 5:11; 1 Chron 29:12, 28; 2 Chron 1:11–12; 17:5; 18:1; 32:27. The occurrences in Prov and Qoh, of course, have connections, from a memory standpoint, with Solomon (note the critique of wealth and honor in Qoh 6:2). The other references all have to do with kingship and/or the royal court.

83.   On "sites of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*), see Chapter 1.

84.   There are other narratives in the DH, too, in which sacrificial offerings are key: e.g., Josh 8:31; Judg 6:26; 11:31; 13:16, 23; 1 Sam 7:9–10; 13:9–10, 12; 15:22; 2 Sam 6:17–18; 24:22, 24–25; 1 Kgs 18:34, 38; 2 Kgs 3:27. Of course, this list is not exhaustive; it includes only those references where the עלה is an essential part of the narrative.

85.   In this chapter of Deuteronomy, Römer, *So-Called Deuteronomistic History*, 56–64, sees evidence of deuteronomistic redactions in the monarchic, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian periods. 12:13–18 represents the oldest layer, 12:8–12 the Neo-Babylonian, and 12:2–7 the Persian. Read diachronically, each layer presents a stricter understanding of cult centralization, in Römer's interpretation.

centralization in Jerusalem and the establishment of the temple there.[86] Notice, however, that 1 Kgs 3:2–3 emphasizes the incomplete nature of cultic centralization in Jerusalem: the people, Solomon included, continued to offer up sacrifices at local shrines before Yahweh's house had been built.[87] Gibeon, though, is not just any shrine; it is the greatest shrine (הבמה הגדולה), suggesting a kind of proto-centralization even before the building of the Jerusalem temple. It is in this pre-temple context that Solomon presents these burnt offerings to Yahweh. Of course, Solomon is not the only royal figure in the DH to offer sacrifices,[88] but his offerings, here in this passage and elsewhere, are a remarkable part of his narrative. His hyperbolic act of sacrifice at Gibeon legitimates his accession to the throne,[89] and his massive offering at the temple dedication (1 Kgs 8:63–64) generates a memory of the great pious king, an ancient Near Eastern trope (more below).[90]

The location of Solomon's pre-temple offerings, Gibeon, is also significant in the larger context of the DH.[91] Gibeon and the Gibeonites feature most prominently in the

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86.   That is, from the perspective of the literature of late Persian-era Yehud. "Jerusalem" itself never appears in the Pentateuch, which made the Pentateuchal books easily transferrable to different Yahwistic societies in the ancient Levant and elsewhere (cf. the Samaritan Pentateuch; see Gary N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013], 194–212). In addition to the chosen place of divine dwelling and worship in Deuteronomy, there are, for example, Salem in Gen 14:18 and Moriah in Gen 22:2, places which are associated with Jerusalem, but only via readings of *other books* in the Judean literary corpus (cf. Ps 76:3; 2 Chron 3:1). This is a fine example of framing in social memory: memories of Abraham at Salem and Moriah inform knowledge of Jerusalem that develops *later* in the remembered past, and then that knowledge of Jerusalem, in turn, reshapes understandings of Salem and Moriah and their import in the narratives of Genesis.
87.   Many have argued that these verses represent a late deuteronomistic redaction trying to explain Solomon's activity at Gibeon (e.g., J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *The Books of Kings* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951], 103–104; cf. Römer, *So-Called Deuteronomistic History*, 148), but it is difficult to plot the trajectory of literary development in this passage, which seems to have been significantly reworked over time. Cf. Cogan, *1 Kings*, 189–91. Also note that 2 Chr 1:3 claims that the tabernacle was in Gibeon at the time, fully justifying Solomon's activity.
88.   See 1 Sam 13:9 (Saul); 2 Sam 6:17 (David); 2 Sam 15:12 (Absalom); 1 Kgs 1:9, 19, 25 (Adonijah); and 1 Kgs 12:32–13:5 (Jeroboam).
89.   Cf. Seow, "Solomon's Dream," 144–45, 152. Seow notes the actions of Absalom and especially Adonijah as evidence for a connection between royal legitimation and sacrifice. One could argue that Jeroboam's actions provide additional support for this connection.
90.   Chronicles depicts Hezekiah and Josiah similarly (see 2 Chron 30:24; 35:7).
91.   On Gibeon, see the recent survey by John Day, "Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Old Testament,"

conquest accounts of Joshua (cf. Josh 9:3–10:15), in which the Gibeonites (deceitfully)

make a covenant with Israel, and in which Joshua and the Israelites defend the Gibeonites

against a coalition of Amorite kings (cf. Josh 10:5–7).[92] These stories maintain memories

of a long-standing relationship with Gibeon and the Gibeonites, but one in which Israel

was always the more powerful partner, despite the Gibeonites' ability to trick Israel into a

covenant with them. Indeed, Joshua curses them and places them forever in the servitude

of Israel (cf. Josh 9:22–27), and later in the Solomon narrative we learn that the Hivites,

to be equated with Gibeon (cf. Josh 9:7; 11:19), were subjected to forced labor during

Solomon's building program (cf. 1 Kgs 9:20–21). Solomon's narrative in 1 Kings, from

the perspective of Judean readers, portrays Solomon and the kingdom of Israel as

sovereign over the Gibeonites and their once prominent shrine, further perpetuating a

memory of a pious Solomon as great king over all the land and its inhabitants, and

Yahweh as god over all of Canaan.[93]

The most significant site of memory in this episode, I argue, is Yahweh's gift of

wisdom to Solomon. 1 Kings revisits this site several times in the ensuing stories, and

Solomon's reputation for wisdom, of course, resurfaces in other places in the Judean

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in R. Rezetko et al. (eds.), *Refl ction and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (VTSup 113; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 113–37; also Nadav Na'aman, "The Sanctuary of the Gibeonites Revisited," *JANER* 9 (2009): 101–24; and Ian Douglas Wilson, "Conquest and Form: Narrativity in Joshua 5–11 and Historical Discourse in Ancient Judah," *HTR* 106 (2013): 309–29, esp. 322–25.

92.   Gibeon is also the site of a battle between David's warriors and Saul's (2 Sam 2:13–32). On Gibeon's importance in the David/Saul episodes, see Sweeney, *I & II Kings*, 80; also Na'aman, *Sanctuary of the Gibeonites*, 102–105.

93.   Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Did Saul Make Gibeon his Capital?" *VT* 24 (1974): 1–7, suggests that Gibeon, not Gibeah, was Saul's capital city. His argument is speculative, but if he is right then this memory of Solomon sacrificing at Gibeon has an obvious political element as well—it emphasizes the superiority of the Davidic dynasty, seated in Jerusalem. Day, "Gibeon," 123–25, however, does not agree with Blenkinsopp's suggestion. In my own view, the memory of Solomon's actions have political undertones anyway, even if Saul's capital was not at Gibeon; they help legitimize Solomon's accession in Jerusalem (cf. Seow, "Solomon's Dream," 144–45, 152).

corpus of literature (e.g., Ps 72; Prov; Qoh). Solomon's initial request, as noted above, is for discerning wisdom (לב שמע) with which to judge the people (cf. 1 Kgs 3:9). The people are too numerous to count (לא יספר מרב).[94] To sit as their judge (שפט) would be no easy task, a challenge requiring great discernment and wisdom.[95] Hence, God grants the young king "a wise and understanding mind" (לב חכם ונבון) (1 Kgs 3:12).[96] Later in the Solomon story, in 1 Kgs 5:9–14 (Eng. 4:29–34), we learn that Solomon's wisdom encompassed more than just matters of governance: "[His] breadth of mind was like the sand that is by the seashore" (5:9). The passage goes on to state that his wisdom was greater than the wisdom of all the peoples of the east[97] and even greater than the wisdom of the Egyptians; there was no one wiser than Solomon. Again, as with the descriptions of Solomon's sacrifices, the narrative speaks in hyperbole: Solomon composed 3,000 proverbs and 1,005 songs, and his knowledge of the natural world was encyclopedic (1 Kgs 5:12–13).[98] These statements place Solomon within a wider wisdom tradition in the

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94. Cf. Gen 16:10, with regard to Ishmael's descendants; and Gen 32:13, with regard to Jacob's.

95. Cf. Exod 18:13–27. The act of serving as sole judge for the people brings this memory of Solomon in line with part of Moses' story.

96. Wisdom (חכם) and understanding (בין) are, of course, commonly paired in wisdom literature (e.g., Job 32:9; Prov 1:5–6; Eccl 9:11) and also in prophetic books (e.g., Isa 5:21; Hos 14:10). Besides these general references, there are also particular parallels of interest. One is Joseph's great wisdom and understanding and his rise to a position of great power alongside Pharaoh in Egypt (see Gen 41:33, 39). The other is Deuteronomy's vision for the *people* as a whole (4:6; cf. 1:13; 32:39). The latter case is interesting because it highlights one of the several underlying tensions between Deuteronomy and Davidic/Solomonic kingship. Deuteronomy imagines a wise and understanding people, and a king who reads Torah (and does little else). Kings, to the contrary, has Solomon receiving wisdom and discernment in order to judge the people. For more on the discontinuity between Deuteronomic kingship and kingship as represented in the so-called deuteronomistic books, see Chapter 2 and below.

97. I.e., those of the Transjordan. A topos commonly associated with wisdom. Cf., e.g., Job 1:3.

98. These types of statement were common in the ancient Near East. For example, Neo-Assyrian inscriptions often tout the great wisdom of kings. Like Solomon's story in the Judean literature, these inscriptions associate the "wise" and "understanding" kings with building programs and great offerings to their gods (e.g., Sargon II's Cylinder Inscription from Khorsabad, which commemorated his building program at Dur-Sharrukin; see Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* [2 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926–1927], 2:60–66, esp. §119). Compare, e.g., 1 Kgs 5:9–14; 8:1–9, 62–66; to the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. On the connection between royal wisdom and divinity in the ancient Near East, see Leonidas Kalugila, *The Wise King: Studies in Royal Wisdom as Divine Revelation in the Old Testament and Its Environment* (ConBOT 15; Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1980). On the

ancient Near East, and for an ancient Judean reader of the narrative, they place him over and above this tradition.[99]

Deuteronomy emphasizes that leaders of Israel should be "wise, discerning, and knowledgeable" (חכמים ונבנים וידעים) (Deut 1:13; cf. 1:15; 16:19), and the people themselves—if and when they are obedient to Yahweh's statutes—shall be a benchmark of wisdom and understanding for the nations (cf. Deut 4:6; but see also the book's rather negative appraisal of the people in 32:6, 28–29). The wise, discerning, and erudite ruler who guides his people is an ancient Near Eastern trope (e.g., Shulgi of Ur,[100] Hammurabi of Babylon,[101] Sargon II of Assyria,[102] etc.). In the book of Proverbs, the king's mind is even on par with the divine, and the book links this conception of kingly wisdom to Solomon himself and his Judahite descendant Hezekiah (cf. Prov 25:1–3). This trope, apparent in Deuteronomy and in the Judean books associated with Solomon (Prov; Qoh), helps form the mnemonic frame for Solomon's request for wisdom to rule.[103]

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relationship between royal wisdom and temple building, see Raymond C. Van Leeuwen, "Cosmos, Temple, House: Building and Wisdom in Ancient Mesopotamia and Israel," in *From the Foundations to the Crenellations: Essays on Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible* (ed. Mark J. Boda and Jamie Novotny; AOAT 366; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010), 399–421. And for more on Solomon as a typical ancient Near Eastern temple builder, see the different approaches and conclusions of Victor Hurowitz, *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings* (JSOTSup 115; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992); and Clifford Mark McCormick, *Palace and Temple: A Study of Architectural and Verbal Icons* (BZAW 313; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002).

99.   Cogan, *1 Kings*, 224, notes that Mesopotamian wisdom is not *explicitly* mentioned here. (Of course, the statement ויחכם מכל האדם ["he was wiser than any person"] [1 Kgs 5:11] necessarily implies the Mesopotamians as well.) If this passage was extant as a literary text in the monarchic period, as Cogan suggests, then the text emphasizes Solomon's intellectual superiority over the Egyptians and the immediate neighbors of Judah, but not over the Assyrian superpower to which the monarchy paid tribute.

100.   Cf. the Royal Hymn of Shulgi B, ll. 11–20: text and translation available via Oxford University's Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (online: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/ etcsl.cgi?text=c.2.4.2*#; accessed 31 July 2014). See also Jacob Klein, "The Royal Hymns of Shulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, NS, 71, no. 7 (1981): 1–48 (15).

101.   Cf. the prologue to his famous law collection, esp. i.50–ii.31; see Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (2d ed.; SBLWAW 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997), 77.

102.   Cf. the Khorsabad Cylinder Inscription; see Luckenbill, 2:62–63.

103.   Lasine, *Knowing Kings*, 132–34, argues that Solomon's wisdom in 1 Kgs 3–10 is "indeterminate"

Curiously, elsewhere in the DH, words typically associated with wisdom—the verbal roots חכם ("to be wise") and בין ("to understand"), and their derivatives חכמה ("wisdom") and תבונה ("understanding/skillfulness")—are not commonly associated with leaders and rulers *other than* Solomon.[104] The description of Joshua in Deut 34:9 and a few references to David's wisdom and understanding (e.g., 1 Sam 16:18; 2 Sam 14:17, 20) are notable exceptions,[105] but no other Israelite monarch or leader carries the character traits of wisdom and understanding as Solomon so prominently does. And, significantly, in the subsequent deuteronomistic narrative of the divided monarchy, in 1 Kings 12–2 Kings 25, the typical vocabulary for wisdom does not appear *at all*. Thus, in the minds of those reading the DH in the late Persian era, Solomon would have represented the pinnacle of wisdom and discernment to judge; he was an archetype for a wise ruler. His regnal notice (1 Kgs 11:41–43), the story of the two mothers who come to him for judgment (1 Kgs 3:16–28), and the account of the Queen of Sheba's visit (1 Kgs 10:1–13) further underscore Solomon's connection with supreme erudition. To be sure,

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and "empty" because, unlike Gilgamesh, Joseph, or Moses, for example, Solomon was simply given wisdom and he did not acquire it through experience. Nonetheless, Lasine suggests, the book of Qohelet provides a sort of *Bildungsroman* that describes how the king investigated everything under heaven (cf. Qoh 1:13). The book of Proverbs, I might add, further confirms Solomon's *Bildung* by representing the king's knowledge of wisdom for practical life. Although I am inclined to disagree with Lasine's assessment of Solomon's wisdom and its meaning in the narrative of 1 Kgs 3–10 in particular, his point about Qohelet is an important one that demonstrates precisely how these books might have interacted in a mnemonic system in late Persian-period Judah.

104.   Note, however, several references to non-rulers, especially women, who are "wise" or "crafty," e.g., Judg 5:29; 2 Sam 13:3; 14:2; 20:16, 22.

105.   In 1 Sam 16:14–23, after the reader learns that Saul is being tormented by רוח רעה מאת יהוה ("an evil spirit from Yahweh") (1 Sam 16:14), one of Saul's young servants suggests that David, the son of Jesse, should come to play music and comfort the king. Here the text states that the young David, Solomon's future father, is נבון דבר ("one who understands/is skillful in speech") (1 Sam 16:18). This exact expression is *hapax legomenon*, but נבון ("the understanding/skillful one") occurs frequently in wisdom literature; cf. Prov 1:5; 14:6, 33; 15:14; 17:28; 18:15; 19:25; Qoh 9:11; Sir 9:15. See also 1 Kgs 3:21, where a Hithpolel form of בין occurs in the story of Solomon's wise judgment concerning the two mothers. In the other reference, 2 Sam 14:17–20, the woman from Tekoa's statements about David may indeed be simple royal flattery and/or perhaps even ironic, given the context, but they nevertheless reveal an ideological connection between wisdom and the house of David. Cf. Seow, "Solomon's Dream," 151.

238

this memory of Solomon as the apex of royal wisdom would have been countered with the memory of his penchant for foreign women and their gods (see below). It was also moderated by Deuteronomy's insistence that the *people* should be a model of wisdom and understanding (cf. Deut 4:6), with the king being merely a propagator of Torah. Solomon's association with sagacity, however, nevertheless persists in the minds of readers of the Bible *until this very day*, speaking to the saliency of this memory.

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After noting some of the salient themes in 1 Kings 3:1–15, let us now examine the emplotment of these themes within the story. How do these themes function in the narrative, and what can the text's narrativity reveal to us about its underlying discursive concerns? Put simply, the story's main plot is a linear progression of three events in which Solomon takes part: his offerings at Gibeon, his dream through which he receives his famed wisdom, and finally his offerings at Jerusalem. The bulk of the narrative is concerned with Solomon's dream and his communication with Yahweh, to be sure, but the offerings at Gibeon and Jerusalem that frame the central portion of the story are not just trivial notices. The sites of memory just explored provide threads that tie together these three events and help generate a particular image of Solomon, one that would have had great import in the minds of postmonarchic Judean literati.

As briefly noted earlier, the narrative in 1 Kings 3 and the subsequent stories about the Temple construction and dedication present Solomon as one who honors Yahweh with unparalleled gifts of sacrifice: at Gibeon he would *regularly* offer up a thousand burnt offerings;[106] and after his prayer and dedication of the newly constructed

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106.   Note the frequentative verb in 1 Kgs 3:4 that backgrounds the vav consecutive narrative; cf. GKC

temple, he slaughters 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep—the size of the offering to

Yahweh is so great that the temple's altar cannot contain it (1 Kgs 8:63–64).[107] 1 Kings

9:25 and 10:5 reinforce this picture of Solomon as the unmatched offerer of sacrifices to

Yahweh.[108] Indeed, the greatness of Solomon, including the עלות he offers, astounds the

Queen of Sheba, leaving her without רוח ("spirit/breath").

Thus, Solomon's acts of piety are essential to the narrative in 1 Kings 3, but

perhaps more important are the *locations* of these acts. As mentioned above, the opening

verses of 1 Kings 3 help set the stage for Solomon's actions at Gibeon by reminding the

reader that Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem had not yet been constructed, and so the

people, and Solomon himself, were offering sacrifices at the high places. And recall that

Gibeon is "the greatest high place" (1 Kgs 3:4). To be sure, these opening verses perhaps

foreshadow the condemnation of Solomon's foreign wives and his idolatrous activity,

recounted in 1 Kgs 11:1–8, and indeed many critics read 1 Kgs 3:1–3 in parallel with 1

Kgs 11:1–8, suggesting that the former (or at least some part of it) is the result of editors

or redactors.[109] Although intertextuality may lead one to find some *implicit* criticism in 1

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§107b.
107.   Cf. Assyrian building festivals: e.g., the text of the Banquet Stele of Assurnasirpal II, esp. part iii (translation available in *ANET*, 558–60).
108.   Compare 1 Kgs 10:5 with 2 Chr 9:4, which in the MT reads, ועליתו אשר יעלה בית יהוה "and his upper room to which he ascended in the house of Yahweh." This makes little sense in the context; why would the Queen be in awe of an upper room in the temple? In the Greek, however, 2 Chr 9:4 reads, καὶ τὰ ὁλοκαυτώματα, ἃ ἀνέφερεν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου "and the burnt offerings, which he had offered up in the house of the Lord," a reading that the Syriac and Vulgate follow, and which makes more sense. Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 636, gives two possibilities for reading the עליתו ("his upper room"): either (1) the word actually means something like "his going up," as it does in later rabbinic Hebrew; or (2) there was a scribal error and the original reading was ʿalōtō (עלותו), an infinitive construct also meaning "his going up" (perhaps referencing elaborate processionals to the temple; cf. Montgomery and Gehman, *Books of Kings*, 217; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 234). Of course, it is also possible that the original reading was עלותו (ʿolōtō: "his burnt offerings") or even עלתו (ʿolatō: his burnt offering), which in either case aligns the verse with 1 Kgs 10:5, and which is supported by the ancient versions. See Ralph W. Klein, *2 Chronicles* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 130, 138.
109.   The somewhat awkward presentation of details and the two clauses introduced by the particle רק

Kgs 3:1–3,[110] the king's actions at Gibeon are nonetheless legitimate within the context of the immediate narrative: the cult centralization envisioned in Deut 12 was not yet complete because the temple was not complete, and, lacking the temple in Jerusalem, Solomon worships at the most prominent shrine available. Yahweh's appearance to Solomon following the offering suggests, too, that the deity was pleased, not disappointed, with Solomon's actions at Gibeon.

In any case, *after* Solomon's dream, *after* Yahweh grants wisdom to the king, where does Solomon go? He does not remain at the large sanctuary in Gibeon. He proceeds to Jerusalem and stands before the Ark of the Covenant, where he presents even more offerings and then holds a feast for his servants. The king has received the gift of wisdom and discernment to rule his people, and his first action, his response to this divine gift, is to travel to *Jerusalem* and celebrate with pious sacrifices and feasting. The narrative thus emphasizes that the Israelite capital, the seat of the Davidic monarchy, is the place of proper Israelite worship; the young and inexperienced king offers sacrifices at Gibeon, but the wise and understanding king, blessed by Yahweh, makes his offerings in Jerusalem. Of course, this sets the stage for Solomon's later actions as the great builder king who constructs Yahweh's house and completes the centralization of the cult.[111] Solomon's temple thus solidifies the establishment of Israel in the promised land. The central divine sanctuary of which Moses speaks in Deuteronomy 12 has finally come into

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in 1 Kgs 3:2–3 have contributed to the proclivity redaction-critical interpretations. See, e.g., Cogan, *1 Kings*, 189–91; Römer, *So-Called Deuteronomistic History*, 148–49; Sweeney, *I & II Kings*, 78–79.

110.   See, e.g., Nelson, *First and Second Kings*, 34; Walsh, *1 Kings*, 69–73 (cf. idem, "The Characterization of Solomon in 1 Kings 1–5," *CBQ* 57 [1995]: 471–93, esp. 485–88); also J. Daniel Hays, "Has the Narrator Come to Praise Solomon or to Bury Him? Narrative Subtlety in 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 28 (2003): 149–74, esp. 160–62, with additional references.

111.   Cf. Kenik, *Design for Kingship*, 182–97. She does not, however, discuss the theme of wisdom in relation to the transition from Gibeon to Jerusalem.

existence, and Yahweh will dwell there forever if Solomon obeys his commandments (cf. 1 Kgs 6:11–13).

Helen Kenik, commenting on this transition from Gibeon to Jerusalem, states, "Dtr intended to depict the era prior to the construction of the temple in contrast with the time when Jerusalem was established as the national center for worship; he intended to differentiate between worship at the altar at the high place and worship in the sanctuary of the temple where Yahweh was present."[112] Issues of authorial intent aside, Kenik makes an astute observation regarding the transitional nature of the narrative in 1 Kgs 3:1–15. Her analysis ultimately concludes that the key to this transition from a high place to the Jerusalem temple is a deuteronomistic (though not necessarily *Deuteronomic*—see below) theology of Torah-guided kingship, a theme that she then connects to Hezekiah's and Josiah's removals of the high places. My analysis has further emphasized that *Yahweh's granting of judicial wisdom* to Solomon is the driving force behind the transition to Jerusalem and the beginnings of cultic centralization. One of the dominant sites of memory associated with Solomon, as we have seen, is his divinely ordained wisdom—the king's reception of this divine gift is the focal point of the entire narrative.

How, then, did this short narrative contribute to the social remembering of Solomon and his kingship in the postmonarchic, Persian-period Judean community? What discursive concerns do these sites of memory and their emplotment reveal? Many have commented that the story reads like a legitimizing text for Solomonic kingship, and Kenik's analysis suggests that it promotes a deuteronomistic ideal of kingship under Torah. My analysis indicates that the story also creates a mental link between divinely

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112.   Kenik, *Design for Kingship*, 194.

granted judicial wisdom, personified in the figure of Solomon, and proper cultic worship

in the Davidic capital of Jerusalem. Of course, there remains a question of what precisely

Solomon's wisdom signified for the literati of the time. The centralization of worship and

the primacy of Jerusalem, on the one hand, points to Deuteronomic law and, by

extension, divine instruction/Torah. Kenik's suggested reading and my own thus merge

in this perspective. On the other hand, however, Solomon's wisdom—as Kings' narrative

displays it—is expressly practical and even "worldly" as it were, not necessarily related

to principles found in Torah. Take, for example, the account of the Queen of Sheba's visit

in 1 Kings 10. She is impressed with his general knowledge, his ability to answer any and

every possible question, not with any special divine knowledge (10:1–3, 7; cf. 1 Kgs 5:9–

14 [Eng. 4:29–34]). As I pointed out in Chapter 2, and as I discuss again below, the

description of Solomon's reign in 1 Kings and the Deuteronomic ideal for kingship have

much in common, but they nonetheless represent different voices within the discourse.

Solomon's great wisdom, which Yahweh grants him at the outset of his reign, plays a

part in the multivocality.[113]

<center>***</center>

Thus begins Solomon's reign. He asks for wisdom, it is granted, and he confirms

its receipt by moving his cultic activity to Jerusalem. His wisdom is then put on practical

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113.   Notice, too, the diversity of literature associated with Solomon's wisdom. There are Proverbs, Song of Songs, Qohelet, as well as later texts such as the Wisdom of Solomon and the Testament of Solomon. Each text represents (sometimes widely) divergent understandings of the nature of Solomon's wisdom. See, e.g., Shannon Burkes's discussion of the Wisdom of Solomon, its genre, and its thematic interrelationship with other books classified as wisdom literature, including others associated with Solomon ("Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Wisdom of Solomon," *HTR* 95 [2002]: 21–44); and also Walter Brueggemann, *Solomon: Israel's Ironic Icon of Human Achievement* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 104–23, 225–44.

display in 1 Kgs 3:16–28, the famous story of two prostitutes and their dispute over a child.[114] But wisdom is not all he receives. Yahweh states:

> Because you have asked this [i.e., for wisdom], and have not asked for yourself long life or riches, or for the life of your enemies, but have asked for yourself understanding to discern what is right, I now do according to your word. Indeed I give you a wise and discerning mind; no one like you has been before you and no one like you shall arise after you. I give you also what you have not asked, both riches [עשר] and honor [כבוד] all your life; no other king shall compare with you. [1 Kgs 3:11–13; NRSV]

Wisdom comes hand-in-hand with "riches" and "honor" (cf. Prov 3:16).[115] The narrative also confirms Solomon's receipt of "riches" and "honor" in 1 Kings 4 and 5, in which one learns that Solomon administers an extensive and successful prefectural system, which garners for him thirty different oxen and one hundred sheep and goats, among other things, *per day* (5:10). And the wealth spills over into the populace: in the words of the text itself, "Judah and Israel were as numerous as the sands of the sea; they ate and drank and were content" (4:20; NJPS).

The riches and honor received by Solomon, which in the narrative concomitantly heighten the wealth and status of Israel as a people, are fully evident and consistently praised throughout 1 Kings 3–10. The text presents Solomon's wealth as unparalleled in the known world (10:23; cf. 2 Chron 9:22). The centerpiece of all this wealth and success, of course, is the Jerusalem temple, which is clothed in gold and fine linens. According to the logic of the story, the temple could not have been built were it not for the wealth itself, the extended era of peace, and the international diplomacy and trade

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114. Cf. Karl William Weyde, "The Narrative of King Solomon and the Law of the King: On the Relationship between 1 Kings 3–11 and Deut 17:14–20," in *Enigmas and Images: Studies in Honor of Tryggve N. D. Mettinger* (ed. Göran Eidevall and Blaženka Scheuer; ConBOT 58; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 75–91, esp. 80–82.
115. See Lasine, *Knowing Kings*, 145.

under Solomon (cf. 5:27 to 7:51). As in my discussion in Chapter 2, here I cite Gary

Knoppers, who emphasizes that "Solomon's opulence, power, and international trade are

regarded as signs of divine *favor* in the Deuteronomistic History."[116] The temple and its

completion ties everything together, making Solomon's wealth and prosperity stand out

as positive and divinely granted royal attributes in the book of Kings. Compare, too,

Chronicles' version of the story, in which David's role in the temple-building initiative is

greatly expanded (he even drafts up the plans) and in which David himself is portrayed as

excessively wealthy on account of his obedience to Yahweh and his denial of self

interests (see 1 Chron 22; 28–29): David hands over to Solomon *one hundred thousand*

talents of gold and one million talents of silver, along with countless other resources, for

the temple's construction (1 Chron 22:14–16).[117] Nowhere does Chronicles even hint that

this is a bad thing. Thus, Solomon's reign gets off to a good start, and continues

throughout *most* of his life to garner divine favor and success. This statement is true in

Kings as well as Chronicles. In the narrative of Solomon's kingship the centrality of

Jerusalem and the building of its luxurious temple are made possible by the wisdom and

wealth of Solomon, and the greatness and even necessity of his wisdom and wealth are

buttressed by the central importance of Jerusalem and its temple in the overarching

discourse.

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116.   Gary N. Knoppers, "The Deuteronomist and the Deuteronomic Law of the King: A Reexamination of a Relationship," *ZAW* 108 (1996): 329–46 (337; italics added). For Knoppers' detailed exposition of these chapters in the book of Kings, see his *Two Nations Under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies* (2 vols.; HSM 52 and 53; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993–1994), 1:77–134. Cf. Nelson, *First and Second Kings*, 34, who notes the overtly positive portrayal of Solomon's wisdom and wealth, while also acknowledging the underlying issue of foreign women and gods and its eventual impact on the narrative.

117.   On the obviously hyperbolic nature of these numbers, see Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 440, who estimates that Solomon's inheritance amounts to roughly 6,730,000 pounds of gold, approximately forty-three billion dollars today; he does not even bother calculating the amount and worth of the silver.

Solomon's reign, therefore, constitutes a kind of "golden age" in Israel's past, during which Yahweh's promise to David was fulfilled, all was well throughout the land, and the glories of the king were abundantly evident to his own people and to others.[118] Golden ages, however, are golden precisely because they are followed by a perceived decline and are viewed from the nadir. The "rise-and-fall" narrative is a common plot line in the construction of socially shared pasts, in the formation of group identities: it reinforces social cohesion both positively and negatively by recalling at once something that the group, as a collective, had both gained and lost in the past.[119] In the case of the Israelite monarchy, the golden age begins to tarnish in the latter portion of Solomon's own life.

Solomon's reign, with all its glory, declines sharply and quickly in 1 Kings 11.[120] The transition here is not unlike the one found in David's story: the king goes from unprecedented heights of success to astounding acts of failure. With Solomon, however,

118. Cf. Knoppers, *Two Nations*, 1:77–134; David Jobling, "'Forced Labor': Solomon's Golden Age and the Question of Literary Representation," *Semeia* 54 (1991): 57–76; also Lauren Chomyn, "A Utopian Moment: Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, and the Negotiation of Utopia and Tragedy in 1 Kgs 1–11" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 2014). On the "golden age" in Chronicles, see, e.g., Tiňo, *King and Temple*, 94–105.

119. Cf. E. Theodore Mullen Jr., *Narrative History and Ethnic Boundaries: The Deuteronomistic Historian and the Creation of Israelite National Identity* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 210, who refers to the now classic work of Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 191–200. In addition to the "golden age," which bequethes to a community its "glorious memories and cultural achievements," Smith also discusses an age of "founding fathers, who presided over the origins of the community, and who communed with the gods themselves" (Smith, *Ethnic Origins*, 191). See also Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 18–20, who shows how the "rise-and-fall" narrative often works in tandem with the "fall-and-rise" plot, depending upon different groups' and individuals' perspectives on certain past events and their outlooks going forward.

120. *Pace* those scholars who see the decline already in 1 Kings 9: e.g., Sweeney, *I & II Kings*, 139 (following K. I. Parker, "Solomon as Philosopher King? The Nexus of Law and Wisdom in 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 53 [1992]: 75–91, esp. 83–86), who reads hints of Solomon's failure in Yahweh's words in 9:1–9; or Marc Z. Brettler, "The Structure of 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 49 (1991): 87–97, who finds a critique of Solomon beginning already in 9:26. Taking into account the narrative of the entire DH, one knows of course that the monarchy's fall is a *fait accompli* (cf. Deut 28:36–37). However, I find nothing *explicit* in the passage of 1 Kgs 1–10 that points to the fall of Solomon himself.

the narrator simply tells the readership that the king had severe problems with foreign women and their gods (11:1–8; cf. Deut 7:3–4), whereas with David one reads of a specific event and how it negatively impacts everything that follows (2 Sam 11:1–12:25). Notice 11:4 in particular: "In Solomon's old age [עת זקנת שלמה], his wives turned away his heart/mind after other gods, and his heart/mind was not wholly with Yahweh his God, as the heart/mind of David his father had been" (cf. 11:6). Contrast this with the young Solomon at the beginning of his reign, who is said to love Yahweh and follow "the statutes of David his father" (3:3). In any system of hereditary succession, monarchy included, there is potential for such a downturn. As in his father David's life, Solomon's life takes a turn for the worse in his old age. The Davidic successor, in his feebleness, loses control of himself and his kingdom. Great acts of piety, devotion, and wisdom define the former half of his life, while exogamy and apostasy define the latter half. Yahweh therefore promises to tear the kingdom away from Solomon (but not in his lifetime, and not completely; so, is he actually tearing the kingdom away? cf. 11:11–13). And the deity raises up one "adversary" (שטן) after another, from outside the kingdom and from within, to oppose the once favored king (11:14–28). Jeroboam son of Nebat, an Ephraimite, is the last of these oppositions, and he is ultimately the one to receive the portion of Israel that is torn away from the house of David.[121]

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121.   Jeroboam is not called a שטן, but as one who "lifted a hand" (וירם יד) against Solomon (11:26; cf. 11:27), he is clearly meant to be construed as an adversary (cf. Cogan, *1 Kings*, 343, who calls him "the third, most successful, of these three troublemakers"). Jeroboam receives most of the kingdom, of course, but soon has his own problems with apostasy (cf. 1 Kgs 12:25–13:6) and becomes the prototypically *bad* king in the DH, a counter to David's remembered goodness (e.g., 1 Kgs 15:34; 22:53; 2 Kgs 3:2–3; 13:2, 11; etc.). It should be noted here that the LXX contains a significantly different version of Jeroboam's story and the narrative of the kingdom's division. A thorough discussion of this issue is, however, outside the scope of this study. In any case, it would not impact the overall trajectory of my argument concerning the social remembering of kingship: the alternate version offers some interesting narrative wrinkles to consider, but in the end it does not impact the overall assessment of Jeroboam's kingship and of the northern kingdom in Judah's social remembering. On Jeroboam in the LXX, see, e.g., Zipora Talshir, "Is the

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What are we to do with Solomon, then, the king meant to bring the Davidic promise to fruition, but who actually tears the kingdom apart? Like his father, Solomon is a double-edged figure in the DH,[122] or better: multi-edged. Solomon's character and narrative, as Stuart Lasine shows, is fraught with "intertextual indeterminacy."[123] Let us again return to the king-law in Deuteronomy (17:14–20) and its interrelationship with Solomon's story. Recall that the law forbids the king from having an abundance of horses, wives, or wealth. 1 Kings 11:1–8 makes it clear that Solomon loved *many* foreign women (נשים נכריות רבות), and that, in the feebleness of old age, this led to his apostasy. As shown above, however, Solomon's wealth (including his horses) is only looked upon positively in the narrative of 1 Kings 3–10 (see also the discussion in Chapter 2).

Economics and sexuality are thus held in tension. Economics are given something of a pass, because economic success is seen as part and parcel of royal ideology and necessary for the building of the temple. But sexuality, involvement with foreign women in particular, and its corollary, the worship of foreign gods, become the scapegoats. Of course, considering Deuteronomy's king-law, which lumps together economic and

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Alternate Tradition of the Division of the Kingdom (3 Kgdms 12:24a–z) Non-Deuteronomistic?" in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars; SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 599–621; eadem, *The Alternative Story of the Division of the Kingdom: 3 Kingdoms 12:24a–z* (ed. Andrew Macintosh; Jerusalem: Simor, 1993); Adrian Schenker, "Jeroboam and the Division of the Kingdom in the Ancient Septuagint: LXX 3 Kingdoms 12.24 a–z, MT 1 Kings 11–12; 14 and the Deuteronomistic History," in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 214–57; Percy S. F. van Keulen, *Two Versions of the Solomon Narrative: An Inquiry into the relationship between MT 1 Kgs. 2–11 and LXX 3 Reg. 2–11* (VTSup 104; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 202–37 and passim; and Cogan, *1 Kings*, 336–83, esp. 355–56.

122.   Cf. J. Gordon McConville, "King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 271–95, esp. 287–93.

123.   Lasine, *Knowing Kings*, 142–44.

military excess with excessive polygamy, the Judean readership might be inclined to link the issues of economy and marriage in Solomon's story (and of course royal marriages *were* economic and political), which makes Solomon culpable for his many foreign wives as well as his great wealth.[124] From such a perspective, if Solomon were actually reading Torah, as Deut 17:19 commands, the king should have and would have known the dangers involved with having great wealth and many (foreign) wives (cf. Deut 7:1–4; 17:17). The framing aspect of social remembering, as discussed in Chapter 1, provides a check and a balance for this perspective, however. The king-law functions as a mnemonic frame for the discourse, as I have argued, but the fact that Solomon's story is keyed to the king-law necessarily (re)shapes the frame. In other words, the influence goes both ways: once a reader is familiar with Solomon's great wealth and the success of his international diplomacy, which *do not* receive any direct criticism in the story, one has to rethink the law in Deuteronomy.[125] With knowledge of Solomon's great successes in hand, how does one then understand the prohibition against amassing great wealth? After all, Yahweh is ultimately responsible for Solomon's opulence and grandeur—Yahweh grants it without Solomon ever even asking for it—and Yahweh's dwelling place in Jerusalem, the promised central locale of worship, is the conspicuous result of it all. Thus one is left with an unresolved tension in the discourse. It could go either (or any) way.[126]

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124.   Cf. Jobling, "Forced Labor," 71.
125.   Cf. Knoppers, "Deuteronomist."
126.   Cf. Lasine, *Knowing Kings*, 158. See also Brueggemann, *Solomon*, 139–59, whose reading successfully brings to light the contrast between the imagined Solomon of Jerusalem's glorious age and the Deuterono(mist)ic image of Solomon as failed king. Note, however, that in the end Brueggemann sides with the deuteronomistic position (as he understands it), a conclusion that I think is overly simplistic, given the fact that nowhere does the text actually criticize Solomon's economic activities, which are directly related to Yahweh's unsolicited gifts to the king and the construction of Yahweh's temple—the deity is involved from the beginning with Solomon's amassing of riches; with regard to economics at least, Solomon does not act autonomously against the deity's will anywhere in 1 Kgs 3–11.

Let us also consider the issue of sacrifices and cultic activity. As discussed above, in Kings and in Chronicles, Solomon is presented as a matchless offerer of sacrifices to Yahweh (1 Kgs 3:4; 8:62–64; cf. 2 Chron 1:3–6; 7:4–6). His father David, too, does his fair share of ritual offerings (2 Sam 6:17–19; cf. 1 Chron 16:1–3), and David's sons even serve as priests (כהנים) (2 Sam 8:18).[127] This is hardly the picture of kingship one finds in Deuteronomy, in which the king is commanded to be merely a reader and perpetuator of Torah (Deut 17:18–20). According to Torah itself, making burnt offerings (עלות), for example, is the job of the priesthood (e.g., Exod 29:42; Lev 1:2–17; Num 6:11, 16; etc.).[128] In Samuel-Kings, these Davidic kings nevertheless act as heads of the cult. In Chronicles, their cultic power is somewhat tempered by the marked presence of priests and levites and all their trappings alongside the kingship,[129] but even in that book there is no doubt that David and Solomon are active alongside the priesthood.

Cultic leadership was a common kingly function in the ancient Near East, Deuteronomy's extreme limitations on Israelite kingship notwithstanding, and in written

127. 1 Chron 18:17 revises this statement, making David's sons "head officials" (הראשנים). Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 153–54, argues this is a clear case of the Chronicler harmonizing his historiography with priestly tradition, since priestly texts of the Pentateuch make it clear that only the sons of *Aaron* may be priests (e.g., Lev 7:35–36; Num 17:1–5; etc.).

128. Deuteronomy does not directly assign the task of making עלות to the priesthood. However, when the term occurs (12:6, 11, 13, 14, 27; 27:6), one can infer from the Pentateuchal context that the priesthood is to serve as cultic leadership. In any case, it is clear that the judges and priests hold nearly all the power in Deuteronomy's vision of polity, not the king (cf. 16:18–17:13; 18:1–8). Note also in 27:9 that Moses and the "levitical priests" (הכהנים הלוים) are giving the directions concerning the עלות to be offered on Mt. Ebal. In the subsequent story in the book of Joshua, when the Israelites actually perform the ceremony on Ebal and Gerizim (Josh 8:30–35), Joshua—who reads Torah like a Deuteronomic king (cf. 1:6–8; 8:34–35)—builds the altar for the sacrifices, but this king-like Joshua is also a kind of priest and judge who takes over the multifaceted role of his predecessor, the judge-priest-king Moses (see Chapters 2 and 3). Moreover, the levitical priests are right there working alongside Joshua, holding the Ark of the Covenant (8:33).

129. Note, e.g., how 1 Chron 16:1–3 makes David part of a larger group of offerers, presumably the priestly and levitical figures responsible for the Ark; also how 2 Chron 1:3–6 includes the (priestly) Tabernacle and its bronze altar in the account of Solomon's offerings at Gibeon. Chronicles' account of Uzziah's reign, too, makes a rather sharp distinction between kingship and priesthood (see 2 Chron 26:18–19). On the representation of cultic duties in Chronicles, see, e.g., Steven Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 136–39.

texts the pious king is a prevalent topos.[130] In Babylonian ideology, for instance, the king was responsible for building and maintaining the temple, supplying its resources and adorning it with votive gifts, as well as performing a central role at its major festivals and overseeing the priesthood's activities.[131] The Babylonian priesthood, to be sure, were the ones to *actually* perform the sacrifices and accompanying rites,[132] but no cultic activity was even possible without the divinely granted power of the king, who, in royal inscriptions, would take ultimate credit for such activities.[133] For example, consider this claim: "I (Nebuchadnezzar) was moved to make the great regular offerings (of the gods Nabu and Nanaya) more profuse than ever before: *every single day* I provided with more abundance than before the table spread of Nabu and Nanaya, my lords."[134] Solomon and

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130. See, e.g., Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Pious King: Royal Patronage of Temples," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture* (ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 725–51, who focuses on the Neo-Babylonian period in particular, but mentions a number of other relevant examples from Mesopotamia.

131. Cf. Waerzeggers, "Pious King," 726–41.

132. Cf. Waerzeggers, "Pious King," 734–37.

133. One should note that, in this way, the Babylonians represented something of a middle ground when it came to the king's role in the cult. At one end of the spectrum is Assyria, whose kings held priestly titles and probably performed priestly rites (cf. Peter Machinist, "Kingship and Divinity in Imperial Assyria," in *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Relgion* [ed. Gary M. Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis; BJS 346; Providence, R.I.: Brown Judaic Studies, 2006] 152–88, esp. 156–59; cf. Waerzeggers, "Pious King," 737). At the other end is Deuteronomy's imagined king, who holds essentially no political or cultic power. Thus, it is important to recognize that, although *in general* one may speak of a common ancient Near Eastern idea of the king being closely involved with the cult, one must also recognize local differences in practical application. An excellent example from the late Bronze Age is the roughly contemporaneous city-states of Ugarit (in the northern Levant) and Emar (in Northwest Mesopotamia). On the one hand, the king at Ugarit seems to have been intimately involved in cultic activity and held a central place in theological thought (cf. Dennis Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* [ed. Theodore J. Lewis; SBLWAW 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002], texts 6–28 ["Prescriptive Sacrificial Rituals"]). The king of Emar, on the other hand, seems to have been resolutely *un*involved in cultic activity (cf. Daniel E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar* [HSS 42; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992], 99–100, 109–10). See also Chapter 2, note 3.

134. The Babylonian text goes on to describe the offerings, which include a bull, 16 rams, two ducks, three turtle-doves, etc.—much more reasonable than the numbers of Solomon's great offerings in Kings. For the Nebuchadnezzar text, see A. R. George, "Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith," part 1, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 82 (1988): 139–62 (146–47), quoted in Waerzeggars, "Pious King," 734 (italics added).

Nebuchadnezzar (along with other kings of the ancient Near East) were remembered, therefore, as kings whose offerings to the gods were unparalleled.

In addition to the ancient Near Eastern conventions for kingship, there is in the Judean corpus a strong link between Davidic kingship and the enigmatic priest-king Melchizedek (cf. Gen 14:17–20; Ps 110). Although Melchizedek appears only twice in the literature of Persian–era Judah, he became a salient site of memory in the late Second Temple period.[135] Melchizedek, explicitly called a "king" (מלך) and a "priest" (כהן) (Gen 14:18; cf. Ps 110:4), represented the fusion of royal and ritual power in one person.[136] Philip Davies suggests, therefore, that Melchizedek was something of a "dynastic totem" for the Hasmoneans.[137] For others in the late Second Temple period, he became a superhuman, eschatological liberator (cf. 11QMelch) and, in the New Testament Epistle to the Hebrews, he serves as an analogue to the salvific figure of Jesus (cf. esp. Heb 7:1–19).

In Ps 110, the priest-king is clearly tied to Davidic kingship and its seat in Zion (i.e., Jerusalem) (cf. Ps 2; 20). Curiously, in the Genesis story Melchizedek is without doubt a *Canaanite*. He is, of course, no Judahite or even Israelite. However, as the king

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135.   Cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 6.438, *Ant.* 1.179–180; Philo, *Abr.* 235, *Congr.* 99, *Leg.* 3.79–82; in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 11QMelch; and in the New Testament, Heb 5:5–10; 6:20; 7:1–19. See, inter alia, Michael C. Astour, "Melchizedek (Person)," and George J. Brooke, "Melchizedek (11QMelch)," in *ABD* 4:684–88; P. J. Nel, "Psalm 110 and the Melchizedek Tradition," *JNSL* 22 (1996): 1–14; John Day, "The Canaanite Inheritance of the Israelite Monarchy," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 72–90 (esp. 73–80); and J. Reiling, "Melchizedek," in *DDD*, 560–63.

136.   Cf. Tabnit, a king of Sidon in the fifth century BCE: "I, Tabnit, priest [כהן] of Astarte, king [מלך] of the Sidonians, son of Eshmunezer, priest [כהן] of Astarte, king [מלך] of the Sidonians, lie in (this) sarcophagus" (*KAI* 13, ll. 1–2; cf. *COS* 2:182).

137.   Philip R. Davies, "From Moses to Abraham: Jewish Identities in the Second Temple Period," in *The Reception and Remembrance of Abraham* (ed. Pernille Carstens and Niels Peter Lemche; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2011), 1–12 (9 n. 6). This is a reasonable inference. It is interesting, however, that literature of that era does not make explicit connections between Melchizedek and the Hasmoneans. Cf., e.g., 1 Macc 14:35–43.

of Salem (שלם) (Gen 14:18), his royal title carries with it a linguistic and mnemonic connection to Jerusalem (ירושלם), the home of David's monarchy and Yahweh's temple (cf. Ps 76:3).[138] As priest-king of the locale of Jerusalem and as one who ministers to the patriarch Abraham, Melchizedek is something of a proto-Israelite. Like Cyrus, then, Melchizedek is a non-Israelite who makes a significant contribution to the Judean discourse on kingship, and he thus must have made significant contributions to the (re)formations of postmonarchic Judean identity (on Cyrus, see Chapter 2 and below). The priest-king Melchizedek's positive portrayal in Judean discourse, and his connection with the Judean capital Jerusalem, certainly shaped the remembering of David and Solomon and their cultic activities, and vice versa.

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So, we are left again with this unresolvable tension in Judah's postmonarchic discourse, the kingship doublethink, already delineated in Chapters 2 and 3. On the one side, there are Deuteronomy's law of the king and the Mosaic ideals for political and cultic leadership; and, on the other, there are the promises to David and Solomon of an "everlasting" throne and the prominent theme of Davidic and Solomonic glory in Judean historiography.

The promises to David and Solomon and the "golden age" of their reigns are, however, countered by texts that cast doubt on the "foreverness" of David's dynasty and of course by the actual fall of the Judahite kingdom. David's and Solomon's careers have

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138.   The site name "Salem" was associated with several locales in antiquity, including Shechem in the north (cf. LXX Gen 33:18; LXX Jer 48:5), but Melchizedek's Salem is primarily to be associated with Jerusalem. Cf. the exhaustive study of J. A. Emerton, "The Site of Salem, the City of Melchizedek (Genesis XIV 18)," in *Studies in the Pentateuch* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 41; Leiden: Brill, 1990), 45–71.

equally good starts in the literature, but in the DH they result in equally conspicuous failures.

Chronicles, though, provides another version of the story and serves as yet another ballast in the discourse, specifically balancing the DH's statements on David and Solomon. As discussed above, Chronicles makes David and Solomon (nearly) blameless figures.[139] In the DH Solomon mirrors David in tragedy; in Chronicles the two mirror each other in perfection. Moreover, as mentioned above, Chronicles somewhat reduces the tension between Davidic kingship and the Pentateuchal ideals of cultic leadership by making the priesthood more prominent in the accounts of David's and Solomon's cultic activities. Chronicles, too, makes the transition from David to Solomon even more like the transition from Moses to Joshua. As I highlighted in Chapter 2, Joshua's succession prefigures Solomon's, creating a mnemonic link between the major "golden ages," so to speak, of Israelite political and cultic leadership (compare Josh 1:6–9 with 1 Kgs 2:1–4 and 1 Chron 22:6–16). In Chronicles' version of Solomon's succession, David offers exhortation to his son not in a single speech but in a series of speeches and public announcements (cf. David's statements in 1 Chron 22; 28; 29), and David hands over extensive instructions and resources for Solomon's task (cf. 1 Chron 22–29)—all of this closely mimics the transition from Moses to Joshua.[140] Chronicles, in this way, relieves *some* of the tension with regard to remembering kingship's relationship with the cult and remembering kingship's connection to Mosaic leadership. The book does nothing, however, to resolve the tension over extreme royal wealth and its necessity for building

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139.   David, for one, is not perfect in the book, even though the Bathsheba and Uriah episode has been bracketed or "forgotten." See 1 Chron 13:7–13; 15:11–15; 21:17; 22:8; 28:3; cf. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29*, 762–64.
140.   Cf. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29*, 962; Tiňo, *King and Temple*, 73.

Yahweh's temple. And of course the Davidic monarchy eventually fails in Chronicles too, though the book retains some hope for a kind of Davidic kingship going forward, thus reinforcing the question of David's "everlasting" throne in Jerusalem (more below). So even with the balancing effect of Chronicles, the kingship doublethink remains.

On Book Endings, Davidic Kingship, and Judean Metanarratives

I would like now to jump ahead to the end of the story. The way a story begins and ends—the narrative trajectory it establishes, the overall emplotment of its characters, events, and details, the way it shapes its outcomes from its origins—does much to shape social remembering.[141] Here, however, we have no single plot, no primary teleology or reason guiding the Davidic narrative. As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, there is no single story of David. Thinking about history, submits Paul Ricoeur, involves "open-ended, incomplete, imperfect mediation, namely, the network of interweaving perspectives of the expectation of the future, the reception of the past, and the experience of the present, with no *Aufhebung* into a totality where reason in history and its reality would coincide."[142] Historical consciousness relies upon an interrelationship between construed experiences of the past and a *horizon* of expectations for the future.[143] So, what happens at the *end* of the Davidic past, as construed in the Judean historiographical literature, and what kinds of trajectories are established with regard to Davidic kingship?

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141. Cf., e.g., Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 11–36, with extensive examples and references.
142. Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* (3 vols; trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984–1988), 3:207. This comment encapsulates Ricoeur's understanding of historical consciousness, an attempt to reject Hegelianism while at the same time to recognize the import of the mediation between past and future in historical thought.
143. Cf. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 3:208–209, which follows the work of Reinhart Koselleck.

Approaching this question will help us transition to future expectations for kingship (Davidic and otherwise), as laid out in the prophetic books.

In the end, the Babylonians dismantle the Judahite monarchy and the Jerusalem temple, and no descendant of David sits on the throne in Jerusalem (nor does anyone else). Yahweh, it seems, had had enough with Davidic kingship (cf. 2 Kgs 17:19–20; 24:1–4, 20; 2 Chron 36:11–21).[144] The narrative has two versions, as discussed above: one in Kings and one in Chronicles. And the versions have different endings. Kings ends with the Davidide Jehoiachin exiled in a foreign land but nevertheless alive and "doing well": that is, the Babylonian king has exalted him to a special position, properly clothing him and feeding him, but nothing is said of Jehoiachin's relationship to the diaspora and the land, his ongoing significance as a Davidide, and so on (2 Kgs 25:27–30). Chronicles, quite unlike Kings, ends with the quasi-Davidic Cyrus, a foreigner, ruling over Israel and commissioned by Yahweh to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem (2 Chron 36:22–23). These endings, with their marked similarities and differences, make significant contributions to

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144.   If one were to offer a full analysis of the reigns of David's descendants in the books of Kings and Chronicles, one would find something of a cyclical or helical pattern similar to what one observes in the book of Judges: periods of sinful and apostate kings followed by "reforming" kings (who are actually *restorers* to the proper order of things) followed by reversions back to sin and apostasy. There are Hezekiah and Josiah, for example, those slight returns to the monarchic golden age (Cf. Blenkinsopp, *David Remembered*, 6–7), as well as Ahaz and Manasseh, those wicked kings who willingly participate in abominable cultic practices (see, e.g., *Good Kings and Bad Kings: The Kingdom of Judah in the Seventh Century BCE* [ed. Lester L. Grabbe; London: T&T Clark, 2007], and the bibliographies therein; and Jeremy Schipper, "Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Dynastic or Transgenerational Punishment," in *Soundings in Kings: Perspectives and Methods in Contemporary Scholarship* [ed. Mark Leuchter and Klaus-Peter Adam; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010], 81–105, also with extensive bibliography). That said, it is worth noting that, in the midst of the helical cycle, the Athaliah-Joash episode (2 Kgs 11–12; 2 Chron 22–24) creates a potential "gap" in the Davidic line, requiring the priest Jehoiada to step in and restore the status quo (see, e.g., Christoph Levin, *Der Sturz der Königin Atalja: Ein Kapitel zur Geschichte Judas im 9. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* [Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1982]; Mullen, *Narrative History*, 19–54; Patricia Dutcher-Walls, *Narrative Art and Political Rhetoric: The Case of Athaliah and Joash* [JSOTSup 209; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996]; Daniel Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012], 40–47; also Omer Sergi, "The Alleged Judahite King List: Its Historical Setting and Possible Date," *Semitica* 56 [2014]: 233–47, esp. 241–44, with additional references).

the discourse.[145] They provide a parade example of how social remembering worked in ancient Judah: they contributed to the construction of narratives about kingship past (especially with regard to the Davidic dynasty) but also to the related metanarrative of exile/exodus, and they provide an appropriate segue to my discussion of prophetic literature and its contribution to the discourse.

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First, I would like to consider the discursive possibilities of 2 Kgs 25:27–30. Michael Chan has recently argued that the end of Kings alludes to the Joseph story, and that, within postmonarchic discourse, it shifted hope away from the Judahite monarchy and Davidic kingship and toward the people itself, thus problematizing Gerhard von Rad's well known idea that these verses were meant to renew faith in the Davidic line going forward.[146] In addition, according to Chan, the allusion to the Joseph story indicates an imminent exodus, a return from exile and a gathering of diaspora in the promised land. In other words, for Chan, any "hope" to be found in the book of Kings' conclusion is to be found in its hinting at a return from exile, not in Davidic dynasty. In principle, I agree with Chan's assessment. The end of Kings offers little hope for the Davidic dynasty as a lineage of kings per se, and there are some strong connections between the exaltation of Jehoiachin in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 and the Joseph story especially in Gen 40–41.[147] There

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145.   See Ian Douglas Wilson, "Joseph, Jehoiachin, and Cyrus: On Book Endings, Exoduses and Exiles, and Yehudite/Judean Social Remembering," *ZAW* 126 (2014): 521–34, which is a response to Michael J. Chan, "Joseph and Jehoiachin: On the Edge of Exodus," *ZAW* 125 (2013): 566–77.

146.   See Chan, "Joseph," 575, and references there.

147.   Cf. John E. Harvey, "Jehoiachin and Joseph: Hope at the Close of the Deuteronomistic History," in *The Bible as a Human Witness to Divine Revelation: Hearing the Word of God through Historically Dissimilar Traditions* (ed. Randall Heskett and Brian Irwin; LHBOTS 469; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 51–61. One should note, however, that there are also some strong divergences between Joseph's story and Jehoiachin's. For example, despite all of Joseph's success in Egypt, he maintains a longing for the promised land, and requests that his bones be carried there after his death (Gen 50:24–25). The notice about Jehoiachin is very brief, but it offers no obvious indication of a connection between him and any kind of

remained, nevertheless, a strong pro-David voice in the books of Samuel and Kings.[148]

These books remembered David as a flawed and even tragic figure (cf. 2 Sam 9 to 1 Kgs

2, discussed above), but this did not completely override his status as the paragon of

kingship to which all subsequent kings were to be compared. The balance of the book of

Kings, in particular, seems to "forget" the story of David's own life, as it is told in

Samuel.[149] What kind of contribution, then, did such an ending make to postmonarchic

Judean discourse?

Indeed, I repeat, remembering the Davidic promises and their ongoing import was

a complicated affair.[150] It is worth reemphasizing this issue, which I introduced above. In

2 Sam 7 the promise appears to be unconditional: it speaks of establishing David's kingly

house, its kingdom (ממלכה) and throne (כסא) forever (עד עולם), without asking anything of

David in return (2 Sam 7:13–16; cf. 22:51; 23:5). Note again, however, that within

Samuel–Kings Yahweh has already reneged on a promise that was meant to last

"forever" (1 Sam 2:30–34; see Chapter 3), and, when the Davidic promise is restated later

to Solomon, it is conditional upon that king's following the deity's laws (1 Kgs 9:4–9).

When Solomon fails to do this, Yahweh divides the kingdom, thus rendering at least the

promise of an "everlasting" Davidic ממלכה moot. Then, the deity makes a similar promise

to Jeroboam, a *non*-Davidide (1 Kgs 11:29–39), but in doing so the deity holds out the

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renewal in the land. Also, Joseph rises to a position of actual power, nearly equal to Pharaoh in function, whereas Jehoiachin's position is essentially a seat at the Babylonian king's table, a position that does nothing but boost the pride of the Babylonian king (cf. the king of Assyria's hubristic boast in Isa 10:8: he has other kings as his commanders [שר]). Compare also Mordechai in the book of Esther, who is exalted like Jehoiachin, but whose exaltation brings him to a position of actual power.

148. Which is one reason why many scholars argue that these books must have some roots in the Judahite monarchic era. Cf. Römer, *So-Called Deuteronomistic History*, 67–72.

149. Cf. 1 Kgs 11:4, 6; 15:3–5, 11; 2 Kgs 14:3; 16:2; 18:3; 22:2; etc. See, e.g., Joseph, "Who Is like David?"

150. Cf. Knoppers, "David's Relation."

possibility that Davidic presence will remain in Jerusalem indefinitely (cf. 1 Kgs 11:32, 36, 39). So is David's line meant to be everlasting in Jerusalem or not? "The reader of Kings," comments Richard Nelson, "will be confronted by this tension again and again."[151] One finds the same tension in the Psalms, in which Davidic kingship is either unconditional or conditional, either rejected outright or an eternal sign of future hope (e.g., Ps 18[//2 Sam 22]; 89; 132).

Given these various and incongruent statements in the discourse, one must have recognized in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 some paradoxical irony. The Davidic line remains, as promised, its representative sitting upon a throne (כסא) (2 Kgs 25:28). Yet the throne is in Babylon, not Jerusalem, he has been placed there by a foreign king, not by Yahweh, and the favor he receives lasts merely all the days of his life (2 Kgs 25:30), not "forever." The conclusion to Kings depicts the Davidic dynasty as something of a failure, but a representative of the dynasty is alive nonetheless. One can successfully argue, as Chan has, that the hopeful aspect of this text is its depiction of a prominent Judahite/Israelite doing well in a foreign court (cf. Joseph in Egypt), but the fact remains that this hope stands with a living descendent of David, at the conclusion to a lengthy narrative that highlights, in several key places, the import of Davidic kingship for Israel's past and future. There is, thus, a strong tension at the conclusion to Kings, one that reflects the tension throughout the discourse as a whole.[152] Yehudites could have taken this text in

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151. Nelson, *First and Second Kings*, 35–36; cf. ibid., 265–69.
152. This is precisely the tension Frank Moore Cross was trying to account for with his two-edition hypothesis for the Deuteronomistic History, which attempted to explain the tragedy/judgment emphasized by Martin Noth as well as the hope/grace emphasized by von Rad. Hans Walter Wolff had preceded Cross in suggesting an editorial balancing of judgment and grace (the latter attained via repentance), but Cross rightly argued that Wolff's analysis paid too little attention to the prominent theme of Davidic promise. See the discussion in Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 274–289. *Pace* Chan, "Joseph,"

several directions. Indeed, if the prophetic books are any indication, they did take the story in numerous directions, some of which emphasized return and/or a kind of Davidic hope, and some of which did not (see Chapter 5);[153] and all this is to say nothing yet of Chronicles' ending (more below). The point is, the conclusion to Kings may tend toward one perspective in the discourse, but it does not eliminate the importance of other perspectives codified and read in the Judean corpus of literature, and the memories these perspectives might have created. Undermining the necessity of Davidic kingship at the end of Kings does not totally remove its prominence elsewhere in the literature (even in the same book), and thus does not completely eliminate its import for the Judean literati. If one focuses solely on Jehoiachin, then yes, "There is no hope to be found in the Judahite monarchy";[154] but as soon as one expands one's literary purview to include the entire Yehudite discourse on David and Davidic kingship, such a statement becomes only one voice among many.

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The conclusion to the book of Kings is, then, multivocal; its import for and relationship to the larger story of Israel is polyvalent. The same is true for the ongoing

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568, Cross's main point is not that 2 Kgs 25:27–30 is the work of a "second- or third-rate Dtr" (Cross indeed calls this editor "less articulate" [*Canaanite Myth*, 288], but one should not overemphasize this aspect of Cross's argument, which is a minor point). Cross argues that a postmonarchic editor was trying to account for the tragedy of exile while simultaneously maintaining the central importance of the Davidic promise found in an original, monarchic-era version of the History. According to Cross, this explains the strange irony and tension one finds at the end of Kings. One does not have to agree with Cross's proposal concerning the compositional history of these books (or his assessment of the postmonarchic editor's lucidity) in order to appreciate the tension he emphasizes between Davidic promise and failure. As I emphasize above, the "foreverness" of the Davidic promise is not as certain as Cross wanted it to be, but the promise is there nonetheless and one should not discount it as a major theme in Samuel and Kings.
153.   Ronald E. Clements, "A Royal Privilege: Dining in the Presence of the Great King (2 Kings 25.27–30)," in *Refl ction and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and W. Brian Aucker; VTSup 113; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 49–66.
154.   Chan, "Joseph," 575.

exile and eventual "new" exodus, to which 2 Kgs 25:27–30 may allude. Like

remembering Davidic kingship, remembering exile and exodus is complicated. Memories

of the exodus from Egypt—and all that happens before, during, and after it—are hopeful

and disappointing, causes for celebration and punishment. It is the era of Mosaic

revelation, the source of Torah, which solidifies the people's special status while

simultaneously forecasting its downfall; it lays out the possibilities for Israelite political

structures in future eras, and yet hints at the inherent weaknesses and inevitable failures

of such structures.[155] Exile, with its similar array of theological/ideological tropes, is

exodus's inversion. Here I submit a sage comment from Robert Carroll:

> Exile and exodus: those are the two sides or faces of the myth that shapes the
> subtexts of the narratives and rhetoric of the Hebrew Bible. Between these twin
> topoi (and their mediating notion of the empty land) is framed, constructed and
> constituted the essential story of the Hebrew Bible. They reflect a deep
> narratological structure and constant concern with journeys into or out of
> territories. Of course, any journey out of the land or out of a country is equally a
> journey into a different land or country (it is a zero sum game). So *exodus equals
> exile or deportation* and vice versa.[156]

Thus, to infer exodus at the end of exile is to remember an entire complex of thought, one

that pervades the ancient Judean texts, and that has strong ties to remembering kingship.

The exile/exodus, in Israel's story, symbolizes at once the people's oppression and its

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155.   Note that, even though Moses knows the people will fail (cf., e.g., Deut 31:24–29), he nonetheless commits himself to Torah and to its promulgation among the people (cf., e.g., Deut 32:45–47). One can say the same about Josiah and his relationship with Torah: he commits himself to it and its prescriptions despite the impending calamity it foresees (cf. 2 Kgs 22:1–23:27). This message, that one should remain committed to Torah even in the face of great disappointment and disaster, would have been especially important for the literati of Judah, in their postmonarchic era. Cf. Ehud Ben Zvi, "Imagining Josiah's Book and the Implications of Imagining It in early Persian Yehud," in *Berührungspunkte: Studien zur Sozial- und Religionsgeschichte Israels und seiner Umwelt: Festschrift für Rainer Albertz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Ingo Kottsieper et al.; AOAT 350; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008), 193–212.
156.   Robert P. Carroll, "Exile! What Exile? Deportation and the Discourses of Diaspora," in *Leading Captivity Captive: 'The Exile' as History and Ideology* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998) 62–79 (63; italics original).

freedom, its failures and its successes, its struggle with apostasy and its devotion to Yahweh. Recall the beginning of the exodus story, just after the death of Joseph: the people multiply and prosper in the land of Egypt, but Egypt quickly forgets the greatness of Joseph; the next generation of Egyptian kingship takes the throne, and the Israelites lose their special status in the foreign land and become slaves (Exod 1:1–12).

This betrays a double meaning for Chan's allusive bridge that stretches from Jehoiachin, the last Judahite king, back to Joseph. On the one hand, as Chan argues, it signified a hopeful time of prosperity in exile, reflected in the "Diaspora novels" of Esther, Daniel, and the like.[157] On the other, however, it signified a time of oppression in a foreign land, which necessitated Yahweh's eventual intervention on the oppressed people's behalf. One only has to travel a short distance beyond the allusive bridge to reach the latter scenario. This latter narrative outcome, of course, also offered hope, but it was a delayed and attenuated hope. In the exodus narrative, freedom is attained only after a considerable amount of time spent under Egyptian subjugation, the exodus itself is an event fraught with difficulty and disaster, and the conquest of the promised land is not an unqualified success. Remembering exile/exodus was, thus, double-edged, doublethought, just like remembering the institution of kingship. It could offer a kind of hope, via the narratives of a prosperous diaspora and via the concept of an "empty" and restored land to which the people can finally return (see esp. Chron and Ezra–Neh),[158] but elsewhere the element of hope is less prominent. To be sure, one voice clearly recognizes that— after disaster and destruction and a period of servanthood/slavery to foreign rulers—there

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157. Chan, "Joseph," 569; cf. Römer, *So-Called Deuteronomistic History*, 177.
158. Cf. Carroll, "Exile!" 64–65.

was a return to Jerusalem and a rebuilding of Yahweh's temple there (e.g., 2 Chron 36:9–23). And the temple was, after all, actually rebuilt. This transition back to Jerusalem, however, like the original exodus and eisodus, was also remembered as none too easy, and in some cases incomplete, that is, in some cases diaspora was thought to be not a good thing.[159]

The prophetic books in particular speak to this complexity in Judean social remembering. Take the book of Isaiah, for instance, which famously employs these tropes in a variety of ways, offering a variety of mnemonic keys for its Yehudite readership construing exile and exodus as part and parcel of Israel's past and present. Chan cites Isa 43:16–21; 51:9–10; and 52:7–12, which all allude to the exodus as a symbol of Yahweh's creative and salvific actions.[160] One may add to these references Isa 10:5–12:6 and 63:7–14, among others, which each contain allusions to and echoes of the exodus and specifically the Song of the Sea (Ex 15:1–21).[161] These texts memorialize the

159.   One should also keep in mind that Egypt and Babylon are significantly different localities, each with its own complex signification in Yehudite literature. Exodus from one is not necessarily the same as return from the other. While Jehoiachin's exaltation in Babylon may signify a positive take on diaspora there, the contemporary diaspora in Egypt is, for the most part, not remembered positively (contra the memory of Joseph's time in Egypt). See Jer 24:8–10; 42:13–22; etc. (and note that Jeremiah ends up there anyway: Jer 43:4–7). Interestingly, the figure of Abraham seems to bring these two perspectives together in the discourse (and contributes much to our knowledge of the exodus/exile trope in general). See Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Memory of Abraham in Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Yehud/Judah," in *Remembering Biblical Figures*, 3–37, esp. 27–30. Because Abraham is a figure that predates exodus/exile in Israel's remembered past, he can embody multiple aspects of the issue at once. He is a quasi-Israelite Mesopotamian who sojourns in the land of Canaan before it belongs to Israel, thus he is in a kind of "exile" in his future people's own land. He travels to Egypt where he meets hardships but also encounters prosperity. And his actions in the land are symbolically linked to Jerusalem, (Davidic) kingship, priesthood, and the temple (Gen 14:17–20; 22:2; cf. Ps 110; 2 Chron 3:1). See also Römer, "Abraham and the Law."
160.   Chan, "Joseph," 576. In addition to the works cited by Chan, see also Ulrich Berges, "Der zweite Exodus im Jesajabuch: Auszug oder Verwandlung?" in *Das Manna fällt auch heute noch: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Alten, Ersten Testaments* (Festschrift für Erich Zenger; ed. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger; Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 77–95; Konrad Schmid, "Neue Schöpfung als Überbietung des neuen Exodus," in *Schriftgelehrte Traditionsliteratur: Fallstudien zur innerbiblischen Schriftauslegung im Alten Testament* (FAT 77; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 185–205; Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion: The Geographical and Theological Location of Isaiah 40–55* (VTSup 139; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 155–203.
161.   Cf. Ian Douglas Wilson, "The Song of the Sea and Isaiah: Exodus 15 in Post-monarchic Prophetic

victorious aspect of the exodus and the sea-crossing but also its liminality, its already-but-not-yet element that calls to mind at once a sense of arrival and a sense of longing to arrive.[162] Note especially Isa 63:7–14, which remembers exodus and sea at the outset of a passage that solemnly concludes: "After all this, will you hold yourself back, Yahweh? Will you remain silent and oppress us so very much?" (Isa 64:11). Contrast this with the hopefulness one finds in Isa 43:1–44:5, which is also laden with exodus imagery: this passage, though it certainly recalls transgressions and difficulties, ultimately emphasizes Yahweh's redemption and re-creation of his people. Naturally, one finds something similar in the book's interwoven and related remembering of exile. Exile stands for sin/redemption (e.g., 40:1–2; 48:20–21), and also for death/new life (e.g., 42:18–25; 51:12–16).[163] Isaiah—and the corpus of prophetic books as a whole—knows of and memorializes an end to exile and a subsequent return, but it is also strongly aware of diaspora's continued existence. Thus, for some, from the perspective of these texts at least, redemption and new life had been achieved, while for others exile (and symbolically sin and death) continued. In effect, remembering exile with these texts was

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Discourse" in *Thinking of Water in the Early Second Temple Period* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin; BZAW 461; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 123–48.

162. The Song of the Sea, which mnemonically frames many of these passages in Isaiah, instills a sense of liminality in its readers via its shifting verbal aspect, which blurs the temporal and geographical context of its events. See Wilson, "Song of the Sea."

163. Cf. Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible* (VTSup141; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 109–35.

to remember in part that exile had not ended, and for some it never would.[164] James

Linville comments:

> What we have then, is really two competing mythologies.... One is of an eternal expulsion and death; the other is of the capacity to bring order and life once again to the cosmos. The two myths coexist within the ancient Judean symbolic universe. There is never a perfect resolution of their incipiently problematic tensions, just as we have with the multiple creation myths. Nor should we expect there to be.[165]

To be sure, pro-diaspora memories, such as what one finds in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 and Gen 40–41, balanced the discourse. Memories of temporary purification in the wilderness and its positive outcome, too, lend additional hopeful voices to the conversation (e.g., Jer 31:2–6; Hos 2:16–17).[166] These memories, nevertheless, remained in tension with memories of exile as punishment and even death.

Another and related issue to consider is, as mentioned above, exodus/exile takes place over a protracted time period. If the allusive bridge to Joseph takes one down the path of remembering exodus, then a lot happens in the story before eisodus is realized (indeed, the entire narrative of Exod–Josh). There is wandering in the wilderness, judgment and purification, divine instruction for the people (cf. Ezek 20). Thus, any future hope, that which lies beyond oppression and slavery in a foreign land (be it a

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164.　Cf. James R. Linville, "Myth of the Exilic Return: Myth Theory and the Exile as an Eternal Reality in the Prophets," in *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and its Historical Contexts* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin; BZAW 404; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 295–308. Cf. Carroll, "Exile!" 65–67, 78–79. Carroll rightly emphasizes that the concept of "exile" itself is necessarily a Jerusalem-centered idea. By claiming, however, that this ideology has "contaminated" the Hebrew Bible ("Exile!" 79), he goes much farther than I would. Respectfully setting aside any and all contemporary theological and political issues concerning Jerusalem and diaspora, I would argue that this ideology simply reflects the primary milieu in which and for which these ancient books emerged as authoritative documents (i.e., late Persian-era Judah).
165.　Linville, "Myth," 305–306.
166.　Compare also stories of individuals in temporary exile and its positive effects on them: e.g., Manasseh in 2 Chron 33:10–17.

restored kind of Davidic kingship or not), was to be accompanied by a prolonged coming-of-age process in which Israel must (re)receive and (re)learn Yahweh's Torah and (re)establish a holy abode for the deity in the promised land. This process is ultimately hopeful—one will eventually arrive at one's destination—but it is also difficult and exhausting. For the Judeans, the books of Haggai and Zechariah, for example, evinced the remembered difficulties of return, which parallel the difficulties of exodus (in fact, all the prophetic books do in one way or another). Moreover, the fresh start, as it were, that exodus/exile provided also implied a reset of Israel's political foundations and structures. Exodus, the concept, necessarily recalled the prophetic-judicial-priestly (and even kingly) leadership of Moses in the wilderness, the similar leadership of Joshua during the conquest, and the related era of judgeship and eventually kingship in the land, as well as Torah's contributions to one's understandings of all these interrelated roles.[167] Questions of officialdom and its standing vis-à-vis Israel's political and cultic institutions and practices would have come to the fore yet again. At the conclusion to this exodus, was judgeship to emerge anew (Ob 1:21)? some kind of Davidide (Jer 23:5–6; Ezek 37:24–25)? a "kingdom of priests" (Ex 19:5–6)? the "Davidization" of all Israel (Isa 55:3–5)? These are only a few of the potentials, of course. Remembering return as exodus (and exodus as return) meant remembering a lengthy and detailed past narrative, thus creating plenty of space in Judean social memory for these present and future potentials to play out and even stand in tension with one another in Judean thought. I return to these key issues in Chapter 5.

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167.   On Moses and Joshua, see Thomas Römer, "Moses, the Royal Lawgiver"; Ernst Axel Knauf, "Remembering Joshua"; and Ehud Ben Zvi, "Exploring the Memory of Moses 'The Prophet' in Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Yehud/Judah," in *Remembering Biblical Figures*, 81–94, 107–25, and 335–64, respectively. See also Chapters 2 and 3.

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Now, raising the potential for a Davidide or the Davidization of the people, we

have come full circle, wondering again about the import of kingship and the Davidic

promises for Judah's/Israel's past, present, and future. 2 Kings 25:27–30 diminishes

expectations for an actual, ongoing line of Davidic kings in Jerusalem. At the same time,

however, the discourse in which this passage takes part also emphasizes the importance

of Davidic kingship, as a central concept, for Judean life and thought. The main issue is

thus not dynastic succession or lineage per se but the pervasiveness of the idea(s) of

Davidic kingship in Judean literature and memory.[168]

With this in mind, I would like to make a few comments about the conclusion to

Chronicles' historiography. Chronicles, instead of concluding with Jehoiachin's

exaltation in Babylon, ends by making the exile a definite time period, a seventy-year

sabbath for the land (2 Chron 36:21; cf. Lev 26:3–45; Jer 29:10–14),[169] and by recounting

Cyrus's proclamation that Yahweh has charged him, king of Persia, to rebuild the temple

in Jerusalem (2 Chron 36:22–23; cf. Ezra 1:1–4). What is implicit at the end of Kings is

explicit at the end of Chronicles: the people are to return to the land, to a hopeful future.

In this case, though, the *rebuilt temple* is the future hope. Temple is, of course, a major

leitmotif in Chronicles, and has strong links with Davidic kingship.[170] In Chronicles, the

temple is originally David's initiative (1 Chron 17), which he passes on to his son

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168.   Cf. Knoppers, "David's Relation," 117–18.
169.   In this way, Chronicles "utopianizes" the exile; cf. Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 127–28.
170.   Cf. Tiňo, *King and Temple*, 150–51 and passim; also Mark J. Boda, "Gazing though the Cloud of Incense: Davidic Dynasty and Temple Community in the Chronicler's Perspective," in *Chronicling the Chronicler*, 215–45.

Solomon (1 Chron 28), and then Cyrus, via Yahweh's command, takes up the Davidic

initiative again.[171]

Elsewhere, too, Cyrus has strong connections with Davidic kingship, thus

reinforcing Chronicles' remembering of him as part of the Davidic program. As I

discussed in Chapter 2, in the book of Isaiah Cyrus is also temple-builder (Isa 44:24–28;

cf. 45:13), and he is directly linked to David via theologically loaded titles given to him

by Yahweh.[172] Like David, he is Yahweh's shepherd (רעה) (Isa 44:28) and anointed

(משיח) (Isa 45:1). By handing over these titles to Cyrus, in a passage that is so reminiscent

of Davidic psalms, the discourse also hands over all of the titles' theological

implications.[173] The discourse thus presents Cyrus as a quasi-Davidide, who "has taken

the place of the Davidic royal house, at least for the time being."[174] As a kind of Davidide

who is nonetheless a foreigner and the "king of Persia," Cyrus's "otherness is

consistently blurred,"[175] so remembering him challenged the boundaries of Yehudite

identity.[176]

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171.   As discussed above, in general Chronicles' idea of kingship is one of regency: i.e., human kingship in Israel is positioned underneath the universal and eternal reign of the deity. Thus, Cyrus, his non-Israelite status notwithstanding, functions as ruler of Israel, filling the void left by the exiled Davidic line. Cf. William Riley, *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History* (JSOTSup 160; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 178, 193. Riley, however, does not see Cyrus as a David-like figure in the book of Chronicles or in Judean discourse in general. For a more balanced perspective and a critique of Riley's position, see Tiňo, *King and Temple*, 17–20. On foreign rulers taking over the regency, see Edelman, "David," 145–46.

172.   Cyrus is probably the key figure for Isa 40–48, and perhaps for the entire text of so-called Second Isaiah. See, inter alia, Reinhard G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jes 40–55* (FAT 1; Tübingen: Mohr, 1991); also Blenkinsopp, *David Remembered*, 64–70.

173.   Lisbeth S. Fried, "Cyrus the Messiah? The Historical Background to Isaiah 45:1," *HTR* 95 (2002): 373–93, esp. 390. *Pace* Clements, "Royal Privilege," 63.

174.   Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55* (AB 19A; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 249.

175.   Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology*, 279. Cf. Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 316–18.

176.   Cf. Ian Douglas Wilson, "Yahweh's Anointed: Cyrus, Deuteronomy's Law of the King, and Yehudite Identity," in *Political Memory in and after the Persian Period* (ed. Caroline Waerzeggers and Jason M. Silverman; SBLANEM; Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming 2015).

The conclusions to Kings and Chronicles, then, speak to similar issues but formulate very different statements. At the end of Kings there is an actual Davidide living in the court of Babylon, doing "well" as it were, but far from the Jerusalem throne, while in Chronicles there is a Davidized foreigner reigning in Persia as Yahweh's chosen hero to restore Israel and its cult in the proper place of Jerusalem. One implicitly signals exodus, and all the hopes and disappointments that go along with it, whereas the other signals a very specific moment of eisodus, the return to Jerusalem for the purpose of rebuilding Yahweh's house there. Both historiographies, therefore, in their contributions to remembering Davidic kingship and its outcomes in Judah's past, also contributed to the remembering of exodus/exile. Both stirred hope for those remembering, but each had its own takes on what actually constituted that hope, and how it played out in the rest of the narrative.

Turning to the prophetic books and their takes on these issues, we find a similar multivocality: exile/exodus stands at once for sin/redemption, death/new life, departure/ arrival, wandering/staying put, and so on. Likewise—as I will argue in the next chapter— in the prophetic books, Davidic kingship (including all its aims and purposes) is at once forgotten/glorified, discarded/renewed, useless/necessary, and so forth. The remembered future, with all its diverse and discordant potentials, balanced the remembered past.

CHAPTER 5
Israelite Kingship Continuus/Redux: The Remembered Future in Prophetic Literature and Its Function in Postmonarchic Discourse

The image of the past ... as a source of remedial wisdom ... is mischievous because it leads us to expect that our uncertainties will be reduced by access to thought-worlds constructed along lines alternative to our own, when in fact they will be multiplied.[1]

Do not fear our person:
There's such divinity doth hedge a king,
That treason can but peep to what it would,
Acts little of his will.[2]

Time forks, perpetually, into countless futures.[3]

The Judeans of the late Persian era had a king. In fact, one could argue, they saw themselves as having more than one. There was the Persian emperor, ruling over the entire known world from his seat in Persepolis, a place which, in all likelihood, the vast majority of Judeans had only heard of, but which they could perhaps imagine as something like the royal edifice at Ramat Raḥel, only immensely larger and more grand.[4]

There was also Yahweh, the Judean deity, who, even in the wake of Jerusalem's destruction and the dismantling of Judahite monarchy, remained ruler over the cosmos— he needed no throne, no capital city, no bureaucracy—his government did not *depend* on such things, though he could certainly make use of them. He could, from at least one

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1.   Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 44–45.
2.   Words of King Claudius in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, IV.5.122–125. See *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (ed. W. J. Craig; London: Oxford University Press, 1905), 897.
3.   Jorge Luis Borges, "The Garden of Forking Paths," in *Collected Fictions* (trans. Andrew Hurley; New York: Penguin, 1998), 119–28 (127).
4.   One should also keep in mind that Jerusalem, the place, with whatever ruins it contained and memories of the distant past it evoked, played an important role in Judean social remembering and imagination. See, e.g., Daniel D. Pioske, "David's Jerusalem: A History of Place" (Ph.D. diss.; Princeton Theological Seminary, 2012); also my comments in Chapter 1.

Judean perspective, build up and tear down cities and monarchies as he pleased, as the book of Isaiah declared (cf. Isa 24–27).[5] Nevertheless, Yahweh did have a temple in late Persian-period Jerusalem, which functioned ideologically as his seat of rule and power.[6]

There was, however, no human sitting on any throne in Jerusalem, and the import of Davidic kingship and Judah's monarchic past was left standing ambiguously in the society's corpus of historiographical literature and the memories it evoked (see Chapter 4). In one version of the story, the Davidic line is removed from the *Jerusalem* throne, but the story concludes with a Davidic descendant sitting upon a throne in *Babylon*. His position in Babylon, though, is totally reliant upon the Babylonian king, it is far removed from the promised land, and there is no indication as to the Davidide's ongoing import for Judah/Israel (2 Kgs 25:27–30; cf. Jer 52:31–34). In another version of the story, one that refers to a period closer in time to the literati's own era, Yahweh enlists the Persian king Cyrus—remembered as a quasi-Davidide (cf. Isa 44:24–45:8) but nonetheless a foreigner—to take up again the Davidic initiative of temple-building. The Persian therefore commissions the (re)construction of Yahweh's house in Jerusalem (2 Chron

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5. Cf. Ian Douglas Wilson, "The Seat of Kingship: (Re)Constructing the City in Isaiah 24–27," in *Urban Dreams and Realities: Remains and Representations of the Ancient City* (ed. Adam Kemezis; Mnemosyne Supplements 375; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 395–412.

6. Whether and to what extent this ideology had practical implications for the governance of Yehud in the Persian era has been a point of debate: in other words, may we think of the Persian province of Yehud as a relatively autonomous "theocracy" under the deity Yahweh, with his priesthood as a kind of regency? Lisbeth Fried, for example, answers "no," arguing that the Persians were actively involved in imperial administration throughout the empire and thus Yehud had little if any autonomy to implement its own governance (cf. eadem, *The Priest and the Great King: Temple-Palace Relations in the Persian Empire* [Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego 10; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004], esp. 156–233). Jeremiah Cataldo, also asking this question, gives a "no" as well, focusing on questions of actual versus imagined power in the local sphere (cf. idem, *A Theocratic Yehud? Issues of Government in the Persian Period* [LHBOTS 498; New York: T&T Clark, 2009]). Within the social imaginary of the literati, however, it is clear that the concept of "theocracy" as it were provided at least one way of looking at Judah's religio-political existence under the Persian empire. See, e.g., Madhavi Nevader, "Yhwh's Rise to Power: Divine Kingship and the Origins of Theocracy in the Persian Period," in *Political Memory in and after the Persian Period* (ed. Caroline Waerzeggers and Jason M. Silverman; SBLANEM; Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming 2015).

36:22–23; cf. Ezra 1:2–3). Neither narrative lays out a clear, unequivocal trajectory for the future of Davidic kingship in Judah.

This chapter asks, therefore: How did Judean literati, given their postmonarchic milieu in the Persian empire, conceive of the political present and future vis-à-vis kingship past? The prophetic books, at least in part, demonstrate a marked concern for Judah's socioreligious and political past, present, and future. How, then, do these books talk about and represent kingship? What was their social imaginary like with regard to kingship in its various forms? How was the future—or better: how were *futures*— remembered via this literature?[7] Thinking on "the sense of an ending" (à la Kermode— see Chapter 1), the literary critic Harold Fisch observes, "The truth is that the Bible does not ... talk too much about the end of days. But it does talk about tasks imposed in the historical present, about accidental judgments and purposes mistook. If we read Samuel and Kings, we find that history works much more by trial and error than by the sense of an ending."[8] I would posit, instead, that history in Judean literature works not with the sense of an ending per se but with a sense of *potential endings* (note the plural). The Judean discourse on kingship indeed "resonates into the distant past and into the far future"; it represents "a dynamic, not a static form, not a given but a pattern unfolded through trial and error"; and within it "there is memory but also forgetfulness, coherence but also a lack of coherence, as befits human situations in history, the history of trial and self-discovery."[9]

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7.   Memory, of course, is never exclusively about the past, and is often about how to chart a path for the future. See Chapter 1, and also cf. Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1994), esp. 101–11.
8.   Harold Fisch, *A Remembered Future: A Study in Literary Mythology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 10.
9.   Fisch, *Remembered Future*, 10–12.

Since the Judeans lived under human kingship (albeit a foreign, imperial kingship) and since the people of Judah and other peoples of the Levant had lived under monarchic governments for centuries, it is no wonder that they would continue to think of their religio- and sociopolitical existence, its pasts and futures, in terms of kingship and monarchy. This is clearly evinced in Judah's prophetic literature. As discussed in Chapter 4, the issue of Davidic kingship and its outcomes was never really settled in the historiographical books. Thus, the question of Davidic kingship and its viability in the present and/or future was one issue considered within the Judean imaginary. Another, given Judah's imperial milieu and the representations of Cyrus and other non-Israelite kings in the Judean literary corpus, was the question of foreign kingship and its power *over* Israel/Judah. There was, too, the ever present question of Yahweh's kingship, its nature and purposes for Israel as a people, and its relationship with the aforementioned Davidic and foreign kingship, as well as the "royalization" (or "Davidization") of the people as a whole. Moreover, related to royalization is the idea of "priestly-ization" of the people—an idea that finds one of its mnemonic frames in the covenantal ceremony at Sinai, where Yahweh tells Israel that it shall be for him "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (ממלכת כהנים וגוי קדוש) (Exod 19:6).

As I have argued in the preceding chapters, these issues were explored and even mapped out to a certain extent in Judah's remembered past, via kingship-discourse found in historiographical literature. Like the labyrinthine narrative imagined by Borges, the courses mapped out in Judah's past fork into a number of different futures in the imaginary of the prophetic books. Yet unlike Borges' labyrinth, these forks are not

273

countless or infinite: Judah's remembered past set the bounds for its remembered future, and vice versa.[10]

Below, I work toward an outline of the remembered future and its interrelationship with the remembered past in Judah's prophetic corpus. I offer an exposition of the major discursive statements concerning Davidic kingship, foreign kingship, and the overarching issue of Yahweh's kingship, in relation to Judah's past and future, in the various prophetic books. The purpose of the exposition is to seek continuities and discontinuities between the discourses of the historiographical literature and the prophetic, in order to further explicate Judah's mnemonic system with regard to kingship in the late Persian era.

Before embarking on this exposition, however, I must make a few excursive comments on the prophetic book in general. This minor excursus is necessary here because, in the end, my exposition of the prophetic literature will suggest a new way of thinking about these books as part of Judean discourse: they were, in part, *metahistoriographical*, in as much as they depended upon, dialogued with, and informed historiographical literature, which *affected* and *effected* balance and uniformity in Judah's social memory in the late Persian era. Thus, in order to approach such an argument, I must introduce the "prophetic book" itself.

From Prophets and Prophecy to the Prophetic Book and the Question: What *Is* a Prophetic Book?[11]

10.   Cf. Ian Douglas Wilson, "Joseph, Jehoiachin, and Cyrus: On Book Endings, Exoduses and Exiles, and Yehudite/Judean Social Remembering," *ZAW* 126 (2014): 521–34.

11.   In recent years, scholars have moved away from understanding prophetic literature as a direct point of access to ancient Israelite/Judahite/Judean prophetic activity and actors, and toward understanding

The prophetic books, remarks Ehud Ben Zvi, "claim an association with a prophetic personage of the past (e.g., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, Micah) and ... are presented to their intended and primary readership as YHWH's word and, accordingly, ... claim to convey legitimate and authoritative knowledge about YHWH."[12] Prophetic books are sources for knowledge of the historical and theological thought-world of the postmonarchic literati, how the literati *thought and talked about and represented* (i.e., how they discoursed about) these personages as mouthpieces for Yahweh in the past. But the books are not necessarily sources for knowledge of the personages themselves, nor for any actual speech- or sign-acts they might have presented in real time.[13] "The superscriptions and

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it as a collection of literary artifacts, *books* to be analyzed within their postmonarchic discursive context(s). See, e.g., Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Prophetic Book: A Key Form of Prophetic Literature," in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 276–97; idem, "The Concept of Prophetic Books and Its Historical Setting," in *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud* (ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi; London: Equinox, 2009), 73–95 (for Ben Zvi's approach in practice see idem, *Micah* [FOTL 21B; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000]; idem, *Hosea* [FOTL 21A/1; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005]); Michael H. Floyd, "Basic Trends in the Form-Critical Study of Prophetic Texts," in *Changing Face*, 298–311; idem, "Introduction" and "The Production of Prophetic Books in the Early Second Temple Period," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak; LHBOTS 427; New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 1–25 and 276–97, respectively; Diana V. Edelman, "From Prophets to Prophetic Books: The Fixing of the Divine Word," in *Production of Prophecy*, 29–54; Ronald L. Troxel, *Prophetic Literature: From Oracles to Books* (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), esp. 1–18; James M. Bos, *Reconsidering the Date and Provenance of the Book of Hosea: The Case for Persian-Period Yehud* (LHBOTS 580; London: Bloomsbury, 2013), esp. 1–34. See also Robert Carroll's seminal work on "the figure of Jeremiah" as a construct of the postmonarchic *book* of Jeremiah (e.g., idem, *Jeremiah* [OTL; London: SCM Press, 1986], 55–64). This is not to say in any way, however, that there were *not* prophets and prophetic activity in ancient Israel and Judah. There is no doubt that the phenomenon of prophecy was at home in Israel and Judah, as it was throughout the ancient Near Eastern world. See Martti Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (SBLWAW 12; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 1–11. All written prophecy in the ancient Near East, from Mari to Nineveh to Jerusalem, had its roots in inductive and non-inductive divination. However, the prophetic "book," as a recognizable type of literature from the ancient world, is a phenomenon that emerged only within the confines of ancient Judah, so far as we know. On the emergence and production of this apparently unique type of literature, see, e.g., Floyd, "Production"; and Edelman, "From Prophets." The point is, the prophetic books we know from the Hebrew Bible are not necessarily witnesses to prophetic activity itself; they are works of literature, meant to be (re)read, and their compositional forms emerged within, and are thus sources for the knowledge of, a particular historical milieu—the literati of late Persian-era Judah.

12.   Ben Zvi, "Prophetic Book," 282.
13.   Cf. Martti Nissinen, "Reflections on the 'Historical-Critical' Method: Historical Criticism and Critical Historicism," in *Method Matters: Essays on the Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of*

introductions of prophetic books," comments Michael Floyd, "show that they are designed to *represent* reports of what past prophets once spoke to the people of their own time. However, the main bodies of prophetic books show that they are also designed to let readers lose their sense of historical distance and imagine these prophets speaking directly to them."[14] The prophetic books were situated in the past but spoke to the present and future.

This sense of timelessness rooted in time is a result of the books' major communicative features. Passages or sections of the books that read (or seem to read) as coherent units tend to be polysemous and ambiguous, and they tend to make the familiar unfamiliar and vice versa.[15] Take the book of Isaiah, for example. The first half of the book (chs. 1–39) contains a number of passages that give specific contextual information (e.g., "Isaiah ... who prophesied ... in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah..." [1:1]; "In the year King Uzziah died..." [6:1]; "In the reign of Ahaz..." [7:1]; etc.), citations that, for the Judean literati, brought to mind specific instances in Israel's/Judah's past and engendered intertextual and mnemonic links, giving the book a certain attachment to a particular era and locale and to particular personages within that context.[16] Chapters 1–39, however, also contain passages with vague and loosely contextualized information (e.g., "The Babylon pronouncement..." [13:1]; "Woe to the

David L. Peterson (ed. Joel M. LeMon and Kent Harold Richards; Resources for Biblical Study 56; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 479–504, esp. 493–96; also the survey of various scholarly approaches and results in Lester L. Grabbe, "Introduction," in *Constructs of Prophecy in the Former and Latter Prophets and Other Texts* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Martti Nissinen; SBLANEM 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 1–19.

14.   Floyd, "Introduction," 6–7. Italics added.

15.   Cf. Ben Zvi, "Prophetic Book," 287–88 and 291–92.

16.   See, e.g., Sonya Kostamo, "Remembering Interactions between Ahaz and Isaiah in the Late Persian Period," in *Remembering and Forgetting in Early Second Temple Judah* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin; FAT 85; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 55–72.

majestic crown of the drunk Ephraim!" [28:1]; etc.), and a number of passages are oriented toward Jerusalem and/or Judah but are otherwise completely decontextualized, lacking specific references and "historical" anchors (e.g., Isa 24–27; 29). That is only the first major portion of the book. The latter half of its contents, chs. 40–66, are almost completely devoid of any historical referents, the figure of Cyrus being a noteworthy exception (cf. 45:1).[17] And of course my comments here assume a major reading division between chs. 39 and 40—a division that is typically taken for granted but raises a number of questions with regard to reading the book and the memories it might have evoked in ancient Judah.[18] How was one to read the passages of this book? How did they inform one another? How did the book, as a collection of polysemous and de/familiarizing passages "work" within the larger corpus of Judean literature?

Considering these communicative features, Ben Zvi notes at least three "intentions" for the prophetic book in ancient Judah: (1) to function as a physical icon of divine presence and guidance, a material witness to the divine; (2) to communicate divine teaching and thereby to inform Israel's "proper" behavior before the deity and humanity; and (3) to communicate and create "a link to Israel's past" as it was construed by the literati, that is, to explain Israel's "history in terms of the divine economy" and ultimately to point "at a trajectory set by the divine and to be fulfilled in the future."[19] It is the third point that is most important for this study, but obviously the success of this third function within the community depended upon the first two.

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17.   There are, of course, other place names, etc., throughout Isa 40–66 (e.g., 47:1; 60:6–9; 63:1), but these are given little if any "historical" context.
18.   Ben Sira, for example, read the book in toto with regard to Isaiah the prophet of Jerusalem (see Sir 48:22–25).
19.   Ben Zvi, "Prophetic Book," 296; cf. idem, "Concept," 74–78.

In addition to further explicating the discourse on kingship and its implications for

Judah's social remembering, in this chapter and the next I would also like to make a

contribution to our understanding of the prophetic book as a Judean vehicle for creating

links between the present and the past by way of the future. What specific trajectories do

the prophetic books set forth with regard to kingship in Judah in the postmonarchic era?

If these books "were a strategy for developing, shaping and, above all, co-opting weighty

memories of the past" and if they created social cohesion, a sense of group self-identity,

by contributing to "ideological discourse(s) of resistance *vis-à-vis* the ideologies of

contemporary imperial, dominant centres," as Ben Zvi argues,[20] then what does this say

about their precise generic function as literature within the Judean community? I would

like "[to press radically] the question of the genres of prophetic literature as such," as

Floyd calls us to do.[21] These generic features (developing, shaping, co-opting memories

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20.   Ben Zvi, "Concept," 75.
21.   Floyd, "Basic Trends," 308. Of course, I am not alone in taking up Floyd's exhortation. See, e.g.,
Jason Radine, *The Book of Amos in Emergent Judah* (FAT 2.45; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), who
argues that the book of Amos is a "religio-political document" that, in its original context, *looks back upon*
and explains the demise of the northern kingdom, as did other so-called literary-predictive, *ex eventu* texts
in the ancient Near East (cf. the Babylonian "Dynastic Prophecy") (see esp. Radine, *Book of Amos*, 80–
129). Radine's work draws on the "Poets not Prophets" debate, initiated and carried out mostly in the 1980s
between A. Graeme Auld and Robert Carroll, concerning the characterization of seemingly "prophetic"
figures and their "prophesying" in their original historical and/or literary contexts (see Radine, *Book of
Amos*, 103–108, for discussion and references). Especially in its earliest years, the debate centered on the
issue of the authors/composers *behind* the texts: Were these figures thought of (or did they think of
themselves) as "prophets" per se, or were they social critics criticizing via poetic writing? The debate
settled upon the latter option. And then there was the concomitant question: When, how, and why did these
compositions come to be known as "prophetic" and tied to "prophets"? This latter question remains a point
of debate, but the likely (and very general) answer is that these books and the their "prophetic" character
are the result of dealing with theological and practical problems in the wake of the Babylonian conquest of
Jerusalem and the subsequent (re)emergence of Yahweh's temple there (see, e.g., Floyd, "Production"; and
Edelman, "From Prophets"; both already noted above). I am indebted to this debate too, as are Floyd, Ben
Zvi, et al., and I agree with Radine that the book of Amos (and all the prophetic books) are not "prophecy"
per se. Where Radine and I differ, however, is in our understandings of genre. Radine appears to take genre
for granted as a relatively static category label to be applied to written texts (which, to be fair, is perhaps a
product of his study dealing almost exclusively with the book of Amos), whereas I understand genre as a
function of and dependent upon intertextuality and discursive milieu. Genre is a "tendency" that "happens
within a text" as one literary critic puts it (Carl Freedman, *Critical Theory and Science Fiction* [Hanover,
N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 2000], 20), and as such it is dependent upon the (re)reading of a text as

278

of the past; creating group identity), I argue, are more akin to ancient historiography than to "prophecy" per se. The prophetic books are intimately tied to the historiographical in Judean discourse, especially when they speak of kingship. Although they are certainly rooted in the phenomenon of ancient prophecy, as works of literature they are more like "speculative fiction" (to use a modern genre analogy) that contemplates Judean (hi)story—past, present, and future—and its potential meanings and outcomes. Iwona Irwin-Zarecka writes, "At its most fundamental, much of memory work is done 'for posterity.' And beyond such a general role as an orienting force, there are times when a very specific vision of the future frames the utilization of the past."[22] In the case of ancient Judah, however, one finds, within set boundaries, a very non-specific vision of the future. There are in fact multiple and diverse visions, which seems to match the multiple and diverse remembering of the past within the same discursive milieu. I want to make the case, therefore, that the Judean prophetic corpus is a kind of *metahistoriography* that largely depends upon, interacts with, guides, and expands the ideas of the Judean historiographical books, in a literary feedback loop as it were. Judean discourse, in this way, via the mutual interdependency of historiographical and prophetic writings, simultaneously generated and maintained multivocal social remembering.

I will return to this issue below and in the concluding chapter of my study. A more detailed exposition of how the prophetic books contribute to the discourse is necessary to support my claims concerning genre, so I now return to the statements on kingship found in the books themselves.

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part and parcel of a larger discourse. See more below and in Chapter 6.
22.   Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames*, 101.

King Yahweh

As stated in Chapter 1, Yahweh's kingship over Israel and the entire world was a given in the *Weltanschauung* of postmonarchic Judah.[23] Throughout the prophetic books—as well as the Pentateuch, the DH, Chronicles, and the Psalms—there is no doubt that Yahweh rules and ultimately controls all levels of the cosmos, from the commonest of humans to the most powerful kings to other gods. In Judah's postmonarchic, imperialized world, the Israelite deity is meant to be the emperor of emperors, the most heroic of all rulers.[24] In the prophetic books, numerous oracles against nations and other declarations evince this thinking. One typical example from Jeremiah should suffice: Yahweh says, "At one moment I may decree that a nation or a kingdom shall be uprooted and pulled down and destroyed ... At another moment I may decree that a nation or a kingdom shall be built and planted" (Jer 18:7, 9; NJPS). He has unmatched power over the cosmos and its inhabitants. In this way, he is a kind of Superman, so to speak, Israel's/Judah's divine and otherworldly superhero. Indeed, the analogue of superhero is a productive one for thinking about Yahweh's kingship as it is presented in the prophetic books.[25]

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23.   This was not out of the ordinary per se. Deity as king over the cosmos was, indeed, a common ancient Near Eastern trope (cf. Assur in Assyria or Marduk in Babylon). Judah's ideology stands out because it insists that Yahweh is king despite the fact that the Judeans were a defeated and insignificant people in the region, and despite the fact that Jerusalem was a relatively tiny city which had been conquered and subsumed by empire. One recent study that highlights this is David M. Carr, *Holy Resilience: The Bible's Traumatic Origins* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

24.   Cf., e.g., the people's declaration of Yahweh's kingship after vanquishing Pharaoh and crossing the Reed Sea (Exod 15:18); also a number of psalms (e.g., Ps 93).

25.   Cf. Ian Douglas Wilson, "Faster than a speeding bullet, more powerful than a locomotive, able to rule by sense of smell! Superhuman Kingship in the Prophetic Books," forthcoming. However, Yahweh is not really a super*man*; he is superhuman only in an abstract sense. Obviously, he is no human; he is a deity, and ancient Judeans construed him as a superhuman only in terms of anthropomorphism. He is a god, but his power and sociopolitical function in the cosmos is talked about in human terms, as was and is the case in typical religio-political discourse (cf. Lowell K. Handy, *Among the Host of Heaven: The Syro-Phoenician Pantheon as Bureaucracy* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994]). He walks, he talks, he has a strong arm, he smites his enemies and wears garments drenched in their blood (cf. Isa 63:1–7), and so on

In the prophetic books there is a well-defined contrast between the superhero King Yahweh and other *seemingly* superhuman kings—hubristic kings who think of themselves as having power like Yahweh's. For instance, in the famous series of woe oracles in Isaiah 10, the Assyrian ruler boasts that his underlings are kings (10:8), and that in his great wisdom and cleverness he is able to remove the borders of peoples in order to plunder their wealth (10:13–14).[26] Having kings serve as underlings is an obvious parallel to the rule of Yahweh himself; only the deity has such power. Removing the borders of peoples is an antithesis to the creative works of the deity Yahweh; it is an act of *un*creation. These are not the actions of an ordinary human. Here the Assyrian king is clearly fashioned as a superhuman figure.[27] The book of Isaiah, too, likens the king of Babylon to a celestial being who aims to sit in the heavenly assembly (14:12–14), and whose power shook the earth (14:16). In the Judean literature, these foreign kings—who of course had real-life antecedents in the ancient world and who, in written and visual representations, depicted themselves in similar ways—operate as typical supervillains, antagonists who, in their defeat, serve as foils to Yahweh's ultimate superpower and control over the cosmos.

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and so forth. Of course, in Judean discourse, the opposite is also true: humanity is construed in Yahweh's form/image (cf. Gen 1:26–27).

26.   On the language of these statements, which evince knowledge of actual Assyrian propaganda, see Peter Machinist, "Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 719–37; cf. Michael Chan, "Rhetorical Reversal and Usurpation: Isaiah 10:5–34 and the Use of Neo-Assyrian Royal Idiom in the Construction of an Anti-Assyrian Ideology," *JBL* 128 (2009): 717–33. See also the speech of the Rabshakeh, esp. in Isa 36:14–20, which may also have knowledge of actual Assyrian propaganda but is thoroughly couched in Judean discourse (see, e.g., Peter Machinist, "The *Rab Šāqēh* at the Wall of Jerusalem: Israelite Identity in the Face of the Assyrian 'Other'," *Hebrew Studies* 41 [2000]: 151–68; and Ehud Ben Zvi, "Who Wrote the Speech of the Rabshakeh and When?" *JBL* 109 [1990]: 79–92).

27.   Though, it should be noted, no king in the ancient Near East depicted himself as "ordinary"; they always wanted to be seen as expressly *extra*ordinary. As I show below, the Judean literature picks up on this, demonstrating that these kings are, in fact, simply ordinary.

However, in the world of the texts, the superhumanity of villainous kings is not construed as *real*. One should note the god(dess) complex of Tyre, who, in the dirges of Ezekiel, sees its beauty, wealth, and wisdom as divine-like (Ezek 26:1–28:19), but who is ultimately subservient to the Israelite deity.[28] Unlike Yahweh, the god who functions anthropomorphically as king of the cosmos, these foreign kings are mere humans who *think of themselves* as gods. Even when some of these kings have what one might call real superpowers (e.g., Assyria), their power is dependent upon Yahweh's allowing it as part of his larger purposes. The prophetic books always present this juxtaposition as a conflict between the foreigners' *perceived* superhuman kingship versus Yahweh's *actual* superheroic kingship. The discourse is the foreign kings' ignorant word versus Yahweh's omniscient word, and obviously Yahweh is always correct. The king of Assyria thinks himself omnipotent, but in reality he is just Yahweh's tool, to be cast aside and destroyed when it is no longer useful (Isa 10:5–19).[29] Likewise, the Babylonian king, despite all his perceived might, will suffer the same fate as any old human leader (Isa 14:4–21).[30] And Tyre, who says of itself, "I am perfect in beauty" (Ezek 27:3), will sink in the seas. The fleeting power of these human rulers is really just an extension of Yahweh's actual power. Only the fully divine can wield kings as pawns.[31]

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28. The metaphor of the Tyrian ship in particular (Ezek 27) is a subversion of Tyre's power with regard to Yahweh's emperorship. See Ian Douglas Wilson, "Tyre, a Ship: The Metaphorical World of Ezekiel 27 in Ancient Judah," *ZAW* 125 (2013): 249–62 (and note erratum in *ZAW* 125 [2013]: 712).

29. The Assyrian king, Sennacherib in particular, serves as an archetype of hubris in the Judean discourse. Cf. the words of Sennacherib in Isa 37:12–13; also 2 Kgs 18:33–35; 2 Chron 32:13–17. As the prophet Isaiah knows and emphasizes (2 Kgs 19:6–7; Isa 37:6–7), hubris necessarily leads to defeat and death (2 Kgs 19:35–37; Isa 37:36–38; 2 Chron 32:21–23).

30. Cf. Mark W. Hamilton, *The Body Royal: The Social Poetics of Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Biblical Interpretation Series 78; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 223–65, who shows how the bodies of foreign kings are rendered as failed, impotent, and lifeless before Yahweh's might.

31. See, e.g., Göran Eidevall, *Prophecy and Propaganda: Images of Enemies in the Book of Isaiah* (ConBOT 56; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2009), esp. 177–86.

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In the prophetic books, therefore, it is firmly established via accounts of the *past*, via affirmations of Yahweh's control over history, that the deity has always been and will continue to be absolute king of the cosmos, regardless of whether or not the people of Israel ever rejected his rule (cf. 1 Sam 8:7) (see Chapter 3), and regardless of any other supposedly powerful human kings on earth. A number of passages in the prophetic books support this discursive statement by imagining a *future* in which Yahweh is the sole ruler of the cosmos, reigning from his city Jerusalem—or at least these passages momentarily bracket or "forget" any ideas of legitimate human regency under the divine rule.

Micah 4:1–5, which famously has a parallel in Isa 2:1–4,[32] is a prominent example. Note the text's immediate setting within the book. Micah 3:9–12, presented of course as a prophetic message of the late monarchic era (cf. Mic 1:1), condemns the leadership of Judah (including priests, prophets, and kings) and proclaims that this leadership would bring about Jerusalem's eventual destruction. The postmonarchic literati were all too aware of this view of the past. Reading Mic 4:1–5, however, reminded the literati that, sometime in the future, Yahweh would certainly reestablish Jerusalem as the center of the world, the place from which peace and justice would emanate, and Yahweh's "house" would be the epicenter. In this passage בית most definitely refers to the temple in Jerusalem (cf. 3:12), but temple is divine palace and vice versa. The temple is the deity's throne on earth and represents his throne in the cosmos. Micah 4:1–5, therefore, depicts Yahweh sitting as king in this locale. He will "judge" and

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32.   For a thorough comparison and discussion of these two passages, see, e.g., William McKane, *The Book of Micah: Introduction and Commentary* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 117–27.

"arbitrate" (4:3; cf. Isa 11:4) the peoples and nations near and far, and he will do this "forever and ever." This reading is confirmed in the following passage, which states explicitly, "Yahweh will reign as king [ומלך יהוה] over them on Mount Zion from now until forever [ועד עולם] ... and the former dominion shall come back, a kingdom [ממלכת] to Daughter Jerusalem" (4:7–8; see also 2:13). Here it is not David who will have an eternal throne in Jerusalem, a secure house in Zion, but Yahweh alone.[33]

I cite this passage from Micah, however, to introduce also the problem of multivocality in the prophetic books, how the lines between the various images of future kingship are blurry. In the very next set of passages (4:9–5:5), the book's temporal focus—which has the late monarchic period as its point of narratival reference (cf. 1:1)— shifts from the distant future, from the eventual establishment of Yahweh's universal kingship in Jerusalem, to the very near future, to the impending fall of Jerusalem and the exile to Babylon. There is a marked shift of tone in 4:9, "Now, why do you cry out so? Is there no king in you? Has your counselor perished, that birth pangs have grasped you like a laboring woman?" The passage goes on to tell the people: go ahead and cry out, for you will indeed be exiled to Babylon; the time spent in Babylon, however, will be your saving grace, the opportunity for Yahweh to redeem you and to crush his enemies (cf. 4:10–13). Moreover, those who come to besiege Zion/Jerusalem will "with a staff [שבט] strike upon the jaw the judge [שפט] of Israel" (4:14 [Eng. 5:1]). This statement in 4:14 raises some curious questions about the "king" and "counselor" mentioned in 4:9. Are the rhetorical questions of 4:9 meant to be statements of encouragement, of hope, referring to King Yahweh and his rule of peace outlined in 4:1–8? In other words, is it supposed to mean

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33. Cf. the images in, e.g., Isa 56:3–8; 60:1–22; Zeph 3:11–15; Zech 14:1–9.

something like "Don't cry out; King Yahweh has everything under control and has plans to use this coming disaster for ultimate good." Or are the questions full of sarcasm, meant to *mock* the *human* king of Judah, the judge who will receive a shameful slap on the face from Jerusalem's enemies, the counselor who has no true wisdom in the face of disaster? In either case it is clear that Yahweh is meant to be the hero. He is in control anyway, so either reading is possible and ultimately inconsequential to Yahweh's role in and purposes for the catastrophe.

The statement in 4:14 does not settle the matter, however. In 5:1–5 (Eng. 2–6) there is another about-face. Here a new ruler is spoken of, one to contrast the humiliated and humiliating שפט of 4:14. He, who has roots in days long past, will arise from Bethlehem in Judah and will "rule" and "shepherd" the people *for Yahweh*. Returning to the metaphor of the laboring woman (cf. 4:9), 5:1–5 states that this ancient ruler will be absent until the birth is complete and the pains have subsided. He will then rule with the power of Yahweh, and if any enemy, even the mighty Assyria,[34] comes to conquer, the people will not only subdue them but will also *imperialize* them, ruling over the foreigners and their land with a kind of prefecture.[35]

One can infer with little effort that this passage is keyed to David and Davidic kingship. David is from Bethlehem, of course (1 Sam 16:4; 17:12; 20:6; etc.; cf. Ruth), he is literally a shepherd (e.g., 1 Sam 17:15), and Yahweh calls him to shepherd the people

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34.   As Erhard Gerstenberger has argued, in the postmonarchic era Assyria became the go-to symbol for any great enemy (cf. idem, *Israel in the Persian Period: The Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E.* [trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann; Biblical Encyclopedia 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011], 316).

35.   Compare Isaiah 60, which also portrays the world as Israel's empire, but which lacks the idea of a human prefecture. Isaiah 60:17 states that Yahweh will appoint שלום ("peace/wellness/completeness") as overseer and צדקה ("righteousness") as taskmaster.

as king (1 Sam 5:2//1 Chron 11:2; cf. Ps 78:70–72).[36] David, moreover, ruled long ago (cf. Amos 9:11)—this is certainly true from the perspective of the Judean readership but also from within the narratival timeframe of the text itself—and the Davidic dynasty sat idle, as it were, while the people went to Babylon. This image of a coming Davidide establishing peace and universal rule is at least somewhat incongruent with the picture presented in 4:1–8. The Davidide's power and might will come from Yahweh, there is no question (5:3), but it is clear that the Davidide is the actual ruler, *de jure* and *de facto*. Yahweh's words: "from you [Bethlehem] to me he will come to be ruler in Israel" (ממך לי יצא להיות מושל בישראל) (5:1), and "he will stand and shepherd ... he will be great as far as the ends of the earth" (ועמד ורעה ... יגדל עד אפסי ארץ) (5:3). This is different than the image in 4:1–5, in which there is no hint of human regency, Davidic or otherwise, and Yahweh actively judges and teaches the peoples from his throne in Zion. Furthermore, there is yet another shift in perspective in 5:6–14 (Eng. 7–15), a passage which shares more in common with 4:1–5 than with 5:1–5. While 5:1 looks forward to a Bethlehemite who will rule for Yahweh, 5:6 declares that Israel shall "not wait for any man, nor put hope in any human being." Instead, the people itself will, with Yahweh's might, become like a lion that devours its prey (5:7–8). This image promotes an ideal of Israel, as a collective, ruling over the nations (cf. also 5:4–5) (more on this below). These passages are related

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36. The idea of king as shepherd was ubiquitous in the ancient Near East. From the rulers mentioned in the Sumerian King List to Hammurabi to Nabonidus, for example, kings carried the title "shepherd." See, e.g., Timothy Laniak, *Shepherds after My own Heart: Pastoral Traditions and Leadership in the Bible* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 61–67, 257–59. A number of passages in the prophetic books are blatantly critical of these shepherds of people (e.g., Isa 56:11; Jer 23:1–2; Ezek 34:1–10; and see the ambiguous imagery in Zech 10–11; cf. Roddy L. Braun, "Cyrus in Second Isaiah and Third Isaiah, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah," in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein* [ed. M. Patrick Graham, Steven L. McKenzie, and Gary N. Knoppers; JSOTSup 371; London: T&T Clark, 2003], 146–64, esp. 148). As in Mic 5:1–5, however, the prophetic books also look forward to a David-like shepherd who will rule justly and rightly (e.g., Jer 3:15; 23:3–6; Ezek 34:23; 37:24). See more below.

and yet clearly distinct. They offer diverse visions of future rule and kingship. They delineate "a horizon of an ideal future by suggesting a kind of dialogue among different and yet related images of that future."[37]

Below I return to the issue of David and Davidic kingship. But for now I would like to emphasize that in each of these future-oriented passages in the book of Micah, regardless of whether or not a Davidide is present, it is clear that Yahweh is ultimate ruler. Either he literally acts as king on earth, or he has the power to appoint a regent and/or bureaucracy in his stead, which places him over and above any sort of human kingship or rule. Behind all the various statements concerning kingship in the prophetic literature, there is King Yahweh.[38] The real question, which we will continue to pursue, is: How is the deity's kingship enacted, and how does it relate to various images of human kingship? There are passages like Mic 5:1–5, which hold at least David and Davidic kingship in high regard, and hope for a renewal of Davidic rule under Yahweh. But militating against any absolutely pro-monarchic stance are those passages, like Micah 3, that are blatantly critical of Israel and Judah's past monarchic leadership (and the priests and prophets associated with it), or like Mic 5:6, which tells Israel to trust in no human.

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37.   Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 103; see also ibid., 88–94.
38.   See, inter alia, Isa 6:1; 41:21; Jer 8:19; 10:7; 46:18; Ezek 20:33–36; Zech 14:9; Mal 1:14. To this list one could add all the oracles against nations and the many passages which clearly state or imply Yahweh's absolute control over the most powerful kings of the earth (cf. Hamilton, *Body Royal*, 224–25). There is no doubt in any prophetic book that Yahweh is ultimately king of the cosmos.

Another excellent example of this is the book of Hosea.[39] The book, after a typical superscription, (in)famously begins by recounting a series of sign-acts involving the prophet's marriage to a "woman of whoredom" (אשת זנונים) (1:2) and the children they conceive (see 1:2–8). These sign-acts condemn the "house of Israel" (בית ישראל), i.e., the monarchy of the North, and proclaim a severance of Yahweh and the kingdom of Israel (notably, the Judahite kingdom [בית יהודה] maintains its special status; cf. 1:7). The book then turns its focus to the "children of Israel" (בני ישראל), i.e., Yahweh's chosen people, which it declares shall one day outnumber the sands of the seashore (2:1 [Eng. 1:10]; cf. Gen 22:17; 32:12).[40] The Israelites, *from both Israel and Judah*, it says, "shall gather together and set over themselves a single leader" (יחדו ושמו להם ראש אחד). In the immediate context, the identity of this leader (ראש) is ambiguous. It could be a human ruler or leader of some sort, or it could even be Yahweh. If the latter option is the case, then it would indicate the people's reaffirmation of Yahweh's kingship in the wake of the deity's rejection of the "house of Israel" and its people (cf. 2:18–25 [Eng. 16–23]).[41]

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39. See, e.g., Peter Machinist, "Hosea and the Ambiguity of Kingship in Ancient Israel," in *Constituting the Community: Studies on the Polity of Ancient Israel in Honor of S. Dean McBride, Jr.* (ed. John T. Strong and Steven S. Tuell; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 153–81; also Bos, *Reconsidering*, 35–69.

40. A common metaphor for vast numbers or amounts: e.g., Gen 41:49; Josh 11:4; Judg 7:12; 1 Sam 13:5; 1 Kgs 4:20, 29; Isa 48:19; Jer 33:22; Ps 139:18; etc.

41. In 2:18–25, the book utilizes the metaphor of marriage, in which Yahweh is husband and Israel is wife. Related is the metaphor of parenthood, in which Yahweh is father and Israel is child (e.g., 11:1). In the ancient Near East, having a filial or marital relationship with the divine was often conceptually linked with kingship. Cf., e.g., the kings of Assyria claiming divine sonship (see Assurbanipal's hymn to Ishtar: Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* [3d ed.; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2005], 819–21); or Shulgi's repeated boasts that Inanna is his spouse, that he was "chosen for the vulva of Inanna" (see the Shulgi hymns, esp. Shulgi A, available via Oxford University's Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature [online: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.2.4.2*#; accessed 25 August 2014]; for the quote see Samuel Noah Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine Firsts in Man's Recorded History* [3d rev. ed.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981], 285). On these metaphors in the book of Hosea see, e.g., Brad E. Kelle, *Hosea 2: Metaphor and Rhetoric in Historical Perspective* (SBL Academia Biblica 20; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), esp. 47–166; and Ehud Ben Zvi, "Reading Hosea and Imagining YHWH," *HBT* 30 (2008): 43–57, esp. 46–49.

However, if this is indeed the case, it would be the only instance in the Judean discourse in which the people "set" or "appoint" (שׂים) *Yahweh* as its king or leader. Elsewhere Yahweh simply *is* king. The people may "appoint" a *human* king (cf. Deut 17:14–15; 1 Sam 8:5), and may even superficially reject Yahweh's kingship over them (1 Sam 8:7), but Yahweh remains absolute ruler nonetheless. Given the statement in 2:2 (Eng. 1:11) that the Israelites shall "return (to the land of Israel) from the land (of their captivity)" (ועלו מן הארץ)[42] and given the book's interest in the exodus/exile (e.g., 2:17 [Eng. 15]), its "oscillation between the land and the wilderness,"[43] some have suggested that the leader in 2:2 is meant to be a Mosaic figure[44] or the general leader of an unstructured, revolutionary, even utopian polity.[45] However, although the title ראשׁ is vague, it does have express connections with kingship in general (cf. Job 29:25, where it is parallel with מלך; also Mic 3:9, mentioned above) and with Davidic kingship in particular (cf. Ps 18:44//2 Sam 22:44).[46] Note also 3:5, which names David outright, and which brings a close to the set of interrelated passages in Hosea 1–3.[47] At least one reading permissible within the discourse is, therefore, that the people should look forward to a time when Yahweh will again be their sole object of worship and "David their king" will reign over them in the land of Israel.[48]

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42. On this reading, see Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 50–52, with additional references.
43. Francis Landy, *Hosea* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 29.
44. E.g., Francis I. Anderson and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea* (AB 24; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 208.
45. E.g., Landy, *Hosea*, 29.
46. Cf. Anderson and Freedman, *Hosea*, 208; also J. Andrew Dearman, *The Book of Hosea* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 105.
47. Cf. Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 48.
48. Cf. Bos, *Reconsidering*, 64–68. *Pace* those scholars who read 2:2 as either implicitly or explicitly *anti*-monarchic (e.g., James Luther Mays, *Hosea* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969], 32; Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea* [trans. Gary Stansell; ed. Paul D. Hanson; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974], 27; Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea* [Das Alte Testament Deutsch 24/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983], 35–36; Douglas Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah* [WBC 31; Waco: Word Books, 1987], 39; Kelle, *Hosea 2*,

Other texts within the book convey a different message, however. Hosea contains a litany of references to kingship, in particular kingship in the northern kingdom, that casts the institution in negative light.[49] Worth noting here are 10:3 and 13:10–11 (cf. 8:4a). Each of these references juxtaposes King Yahweh with the mere human king, rendering the latter as being powerless and ultimately detrimental to the people of Israel.

Hosea 10:3 reads: "Indeed, now they say: 'There is no king [מלך] for us, since we do not fear Yahweh. But the king [המלך], what can he do for us?!'" In this statement the two references to מלך ("king") are ambiguous, allowing for either (1) a reading that refers to the human king; (2) a reading that refers to Yahweh as king; or (3) some combination of both. James Bos comments that "with this putative quotation, the author presents the people as admitting that their current lack of a king was due to their not fearing Yahweh, yet ironically, their rejection of Yahweh also means that they have no king."[50] Likewise, the rhetorical question, "But the king, what can he do for us?!" may indicate a simple recognition of the *human* king's uselessness; or it may be an ironic reference to *Yahweh's* kingship, indicating the people's utter folly in rejecting the deity as king—in other words, in the latter reading, the people foolishly declare "What can Yahweh do for us anyway?" with the obvious answer being: everything. Any of these readings is possible, and each signifies the greatness of King Yahweh and the diminution of human kingship. It is also

217). These commentators either do not take into account the reference to David in 3:5, or they argue that it carries very little weight within the book. Wolff, for example, states that 3:4 is part of a "judgement speech" against human kingship (*Hosea*, 27), while writing off the reference to "David their king" in 3:5 as a late "Judaic redaction" (*Hosea*, 57, 62–63; cf. Mays, *Hosea*, 60). Jeremias, *Prophet Hosea*, 35, suggests a possible link between 2:2 and 3:5, but later writes off 3:5 as "only interpretation" that "has no equivalent in the sign act" (*nur Deutung enthält und keine Entsprechung in der Zeichenhandlung hat*) of 3:1–4 (ibid., 53)—thus, in Jeremias' view, 3:5 is a late reinterpretation of images of restoration found elsewhere in the book.

49. Machinist, "Hosea," 158–62, collects all the definite and possible references to monarchy in the book.

50. Bos, *Reconsidering*, 42.

worth emphasizing that, although here the human king in question is ostensibly the king

in Samaria, ruler of the northern kingdom (cf. 10:5–6; also the reference to Bethel in

10:15), the message is nonetheless applicable to "Israel" in the term's broadest sense.

Notice that in 10:11 Yahweh says that Ephraim (the northern kingdom) led the way, but

Judah (the southern kingdom) and Jacob (i.e., all "Israel") will follow. This blurs the lines

of historical and geographical demarcation and allows for readings that one may apply to

multiple situations, from past to present to future.[51]

Hosea 13:10–11 conveys a similar message. The first line, אהי מלכך אפוא, is

practically untranslatable. It could mean "Where is your king, where?!"[52] or just as likely

"I am your king now!"[53] The word אהי could be a corrupt form of the interrogative איה or

a shortened form of the the first-person verbal form אהיה.[54] The only other occurrence of

אהי in the entire Hebrew Bible is in the same passage, in Hos 13:14, where it occurs twice

and has the same ambiguity. Francis Landy notes that 13:14 means something like "I am/

where are your words/plagues, O Death; I am/where is your sting, O Sheol" and states

that "translations are obviously incapable of rendering this ambiguity."[55] To add even

more layers of potential meaning, it is possible that אהי, as a first-person verb, is a

deliberate play on the name Yahweh (cf. Hos 1:9; Exod 3:14), which would then render

51.   Cf. Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 213.
52.   Cf. LXX, which reads, ποῦ ὁ βασιλεύς σου οὗτος ("Where is this king of yours?"). The NRSV, NJPS, and most other English translations follow this reading.
53.   Cf. Landy, *Hosea*, 162–64, who emphasizes the ambiguity. See also Machinist, "Hosea," 162, who offers the translation: "I am indeed your king." A number of commentators, however, completely ignore or simply dismiss the possibility that אהי is a first-person verb: e.g., Mays, *Hosea*, 176 (on p. 178, however, he does note the possibility in relation to v. 14); Wolff, *Hosea*, 221; Anderson and Freedman, *Hosea*, 636; Jeremias, *Prophet Hosea*, 159, 165; Stuart, *Hosea*, 200, 205 (but see p. 207, where, like Mays, he recognizes the possibility for v. 14); also Dearman, *Book of Hosea*, 317.
54.   Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 277, mentions that it could also be a form of the interjection אהה ("ah!/alas!"), citing L. Alonso Schökel and J. L. Sicre Díaz.
55.   Landy, *Hosea*, 166. Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 274–75, lists at least nine different ways one could construe Hos 13:14 in English.

the clause in 13:10: "*Ehyeh* is your king now."[56] So readers are left with this rich double

entendre, which fits with Hosea's general tendency to dismiss human monarchy and

glorify the kingship of Yahweh, Hos 2:2 and 3:5 being the noteworthy exceptions

discussed above. The difficult clause אהי מלכך אפוא is then followed by the third-person

clause ויושיעך בכל עריך, which literally means "and he will save you in all your cities."

Again, this could reflect a sarcastic declaration: "Where is your king, where?! Let him

save you in all your cities!" (cf. LXX). Or it could be a positive statement of salvation

from Yahweh: "I am your king now, who will save you in all your cities"; or possibly

"*Ehyeh* is your king now, and he will save you in all your cities."

The rest of 13:10–11 is less difficult to construe in English, and it effectively calls

to mind the initiation of kingship in Israel's remembered past, the moment in Israel's

story when Samuel relented (at Yahweh's instruction) and appointed a king for the

people (1 Sam 8). Here I offer Peter Machinist's translation of 13:10b–11: "(Consider

now) your judges (שפטיך), (to) whom you said, 'Give me a king (מלך) and officials

(שרים).' (For) I gave you repeatedly (אתן לך) a king (מלך) in my anger, and took him away

repeatedly (ואקח) in my wrath."[57] One should compare also Hos 8:4a, which reads, "They

have installed kings [מלך Hiph.], but not by me. They have installed officers [שור Hiph.],

but I did not know (them)." These statements are strongly keyed to the aporetic narrative

in 1 Samuel, in which Israelite kingship is simultaneously established and undermined,

made necessary and impossible (see Chapter 3).[58] By harkening to Israel's initial request

56.   Gale A. Yee, *Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea: A Redaction Critical Investigation* (SBLDS 102; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 255–57; cf. Bos, *Reconsidering*, 48 n. 45.
57.   Machinist, "Hosea," 162.
58.   The language in Hos 13:10–11 in particular is strikingly similar to that in 1 Sam 8:5–6, 12, 19–20. Cf. esp. the usages of נתן, שפט, שר. Nearly all commentators make the connection between Hos 13:10–11 and 1 Sam 8 in one way or another. See, e.g., Anderson and Freedman, *Hosea*, 636; Jeremias, *Prophet*

for a king in the past, and by clearly associating the office with Yahweh's anger, this passage does not simply condemn Israelite monarchy in its northern variation in Samaria; it condemns the institution itself, the very need for a human king, including David and all his descendants on the throne in Judah.

Through its wordplay, Hos 13:10–11 expresses at once "sarcastic disillusionment with the human institution of the monarchy" and "an affirmation" of Yahweh's kingship and unparalleled power.[59] This statement, contrary to what one reads in Hos 2:2 and 3:5, is a pronounced dismissal of human monarchy as a viable political institution in and for Israel. Here there is room only for King Yahweh.

At the book's conclusion, however, there again is the possibility that Israel itself, as a people under the rule of Yahweh, will take on kingly attributes, majesty and splendor, fragrant beauty (cf. 14:6–8). Yahweh is imagined as a great cypress (ברוש) (14:9), a common symbol for kingship and its might,[60] and Israel as the forests of Lebanon in his shadow. For the "wise" and "understanding" ones, that is, those reading the book of Hosea (cf. 14:10), the hope was that Israel as a whole would exist as a kingly entity on earth under the cosmic reign of Yahweh, regardless of any special Davidide.[61]

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Questions concerning King Yahweh still remain: What sort of kingship is his? How will he rule? What sort of bureaucracy might function under him? How would trade

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Hosea, 165; Landy, *Hosea*, 162–63; Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 282; Machinist, "Hosea," 172–73; Dearman, *Book of Hosea*, 325; Bos, *Reconsidering*, 49–50.

59.   Yee, *Composition*, 257.

60.   Cf. Wilson, "Tyre, a Ship," 255–56; Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 307. More below.

61.   Cf. Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 308. Ben Zvi also points out that the Targums, much later of course, revise this image by adding a reference to the Messiah (משיח) (cf. v. 8) and making *him* the great cedar tree (cf. v. 9), thus effectively minimizing Yahweh's kingship in the book and elevating the import of the Davidide.

and international relations be conducted? Will Yahweh march out alone as a warrior, violently suppressing enemies (e.g., Isa 63:1–6)? Will governors wield the sword for him (e.g., Mic 5:4–5)? Will peace, prosperity, and salvation simply *be*; will they emerge as natural outcomes of his presence, resulting in all the nations of the earth (and their kings) offering tribute to Israel (e.g., Isa 60)? Or will utopian peace and serenity be the result of Torah emanating from Zion (e.g., Isa 2:2–4//Mic 4:1–5)? The queries could go on, for the images of Yahweh's kingship in the prophetic books (and elsewhere) are many. In the following section, however, I return yet again to the closely related question of David and the role of Davidic kingship in the future. As I have already shown several times, within Judean discourse concerning the future, the images of King Yahweh ruling alone over Israel (and the world) is often counterbalanced with various ideas of a Davidic regent ruling in the deity's stead or alongside the deity. These various statements, which, for the literati, evoked diverse memories and images of utopian futures, could stand in tension even within a single book (e.g., Isaiah, Hosea, Micah). To repeat, the question is not the status of Yahweh's kingship, which is never truly in doubt, but the potential for the return of some kind of Davidic rule in the future.

The Hedging of David

"There's such divinity doth hedge a king," claims King Claudius in *Hamlet*. He says this, of course, as an usurper who murdered his brother to take the throne. Later in the play, Prince Hamlet observes, "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will."[62] Of these two statements, the latter rings truer at the play's conclusion, as

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62.   *Hamlet*, V.2.10–11. See Shakespeare, *Complete Works*, 904.

Hamlet finally slays Claudius and the prince himself dies (what he seemingly always wanted) by the poisoned sword of Laertes.[63] In the Judean discourse, there is indeed some hedging going on with regard to David, both in the sense of protecting Davidic kingship and in the sense of limiting or qualifying it. Moreover, the discourse also unequivocally supports a divinely shaped ending as it were, in that Yahweh is and always will be ruler of Israel and the cosmos. But the discourse nonetheless allows for some amount of human hewing, debates about the shape and purposes of human leadership underneath Yahweh's eternal rule, as I have shown above.

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We return, therefore, to the ever present issue of David. Images of a future Davidic king appear throughout the prophetic books. Each of the so-called "major" prophetic books contain references to a Davidide to come, as do several of the "minor" books.[64] The interrelated oracles in Isaiah 10–12 are a prime example.[65] I have already

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63.   And Laertes dies, too, by his own sword, while Queen Gertrude accidentally drinks a poisonous cocktail meant for Hamlet. Thus the throne of Denmark goes to Fortinbras and Norway. So goes the scheming of men.

64.   See Isa 11:1–9; Jer 23:5–6; 33:14–18; Ezek 34:23–30; 37:24–28; Hos 3:5; Amos 9:11–14; Mic 5:1–3; Zech 3:8 (cf. 6:12; also the depiction of Zerubbabel in Zech 4; see below). Note also the "Davidization" of Cyrus in Isa 45: see Chapters 2 and 4. Paul L. Redditt, "The King in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 and the Book of the Twelve," in *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology* (ed. Mark Boda and Michael Floyd; LHBOTS 475; New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 56–82, provides a convenient and thorough summary of every mention of kingship in the so-called "minor" prophetic books. Redditt concludes that the Davidide passages scattered throughout these books are the result of a redactional attempt to bring the entire "Book of the Twelve" in line with the pro-Davidic views of Haggai and Zechariah. Note, however, that the concept of a "Book of the Twelve" is a moot issue: cf. Ehud Ben Zvi and James Nogalski, with Thomas Römer, *Two Sides of a Coin: Juxtaposing Views on Interpreting the Book of the Twelve/the Twelve Prophetic Books* (Analecta Gorgiana 201; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009).

65.   On the intricacies of this passage, see esp. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39* (AB 19; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 251–70, with further references. On its unity, see Marvin A. Sweeney, "Jesse's New Shoot in Isaiah 11: A Josianic Reading of the Prophet Isaiah," in *A Gift of God in Due Season: Essays on Scripture and Community in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. Richard D. Weis and David M. Carr; JSOTSup 225; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 103–18, although I disagree with Sweeney's ultimately dating the composition to the late monarchic period. See also Peter R. Ackroyd's classic discussion, "Isaiah I–XII: Presentation of a Prophet," in *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977* (VTSup 29; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 16–48, esp. 34–40 and 43–44.

mentioned how the power of Yahweh is juxtaposed with the power of Assyria, and how Assyria's boasting is an ironic affirmation of Yahweh's might and of Assyria's lack of any real power—here Yahweh is both superhero *and* supervillain. This is exemplified in the thematic link between 10:15 and 10:33–34: Yahweh asks rhetorically, "Shall the axe glorify itself over the one who cuts with it?" (v. 15) before he proceeds to fell the haughty trees (vv. 33–34). There is some playful ambiguity in the metaphors here, especially upon re-reading the passage. Assyria is clearly the axe, but it is also the lofty trees to be felled.[66]

The great and mighty tree, a widespread and salient symbol of royalty in the ancient Near East,[67] could stand conceptually for the king himself, for his achievements and wealth, and for his people (which in turn represent him). Consider Ezek 31:3–9, for example, which speaks of Assyria as a great cedar of Lebanon, a tree with such great abundance and life that even the cedars in the "garden of God" (גן אלהים) cannot compare to it.[68] Understanding this metaphor requires significant conceptual blending on the part of the reader (as do all metaphorical representations).[69] The tree represents Assyria as a

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66. Cf. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 261.

67. See, e.g., Bernhard Oestreich, *Metaphors and Similes for Yahweh in Hosea 14:2–9 (1–8): A Study of Hoseanic Pictorial Language* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), 191–225. In a wide variety of ancient Near Eastern texts, trees—typically cedars and cypress—represent divine protection and strength, as well as wealth and abundance. For example, a great tree provides shade (צל), that is, comfort and protection for those who dwell in and around it (cf., e.g., Ezek 31:6; Hos 14:8). Cf. examples and references in *CAD* Ṣ, 190–92 (ṣillu 5). In Mesopotamian literature, cedar trees in particular are often associated with the mountainous dwelling places of deities; in palatial royal inscriptions, too, Assyrian and Babylonian kings revere cedar wood and boast of its use in their building projects. For examples and references, see *CAD* E, 274–77 (erēnu A.a–b).

68. Cf., e.g., the Sumerian text "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," which dates to the late third/early second millennium BCE (Ur III/Isin-Larsa) and which reads: "My King is a tall MES-tree, the son of Enlil. This tree has grown so tall that it links heaven and earth; Its crown reaches heaven; Its roots are set fast in the earth" (trans. Herman Vanstiphout, *Epics of Sumerian Kings: The Matter of Aratta* [ed. Jerrold S. Cooper; SBLWAW 20; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003], 87).

69. On conceptual blending, see the seminal work of Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); also more recently, Mark Turner, *The Origin of Ideas: Blending, Creativity, and the Human Spark* (Oxford:

national entity, a people/place in and of itself, as an imperial power that encompasses and provides for other such entities, and also as the king who sits atop the power hierarchy of the system. Each of these separate elements of "Assyria" overlaps one another to a degree, and their convergence is conceptualized in the image of a life-giving tree, itself with a number of overlapping conceptual elements. Significantly, the image is directed at *Pharaoh*, king of Egypt, to serve as a warning concerning kingly overreach and abuse of power (cf. Ezek 31:2, 10–18). The tree stands for greatness and for hubris. To cite a common English expression, "The bigger they are, the harder they fall." The metaphor, conceptually complex as it is, is transferrable between imperial powers, and is utilized for praise and for derision. Consider, too, the image in Hos 14:5–9, mentioned above. In that passage, *Yahweh* is the great cypress (ברוש) providing water and nourishment for Israel, but Israel itself also takes root as a great forest, with the help of Yahweh's providence. In this scenario *Israel* is the Assyria-like forest, but, since this image in Hosea is a utopian future, no hubristic downfall is forecast. In Isaiah 10 the lofty trees are Assyria, but *they also signify Daughter Zion, Jerusalem* (10:32), who, in the monarchic past, eventually received the brunt of Yahweh's anger.[70] Moreover, it seems that, among such lofty trees is Judah's/Israel's king, seated in Jerusalem. This is made clear in Isa 11:1, "A shoot shall come from the stump of Jesse," which implies that the Davidic line in Jerusalem also has been felled like a tree.[71]

Oxford University Press, 2014). On recognizing and understanding metaphor, see David H. Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities: Metaphor, Semantics, and Divine Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), esp. 101–24.

70.   See Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 261, for those who see the trees as Assyria and those who see them as Judah/Israel. Blenkinsopp (*Isaiah 1–39*, 261, 263) understands them to be only Assyria. I think it is both/and.

71.   Note that, besides here, the only other place where Davidic kingship is associated with tree imagery is Lam 4:20. This text, too, acknowledges the felling of the Davidic tree. Recalling the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, it refers to the capture of Yahweh's anointed one (משיח), whom the people

Yahweh has felled Jesse's tree, but this does not mean its life is completely distinguished. A Davidide will emerge anew from the dynastic roots of the Judahite kingdom. This Davidide, says the passage, will possess Yahweh's spirit, divine wisdom and might; he will strike down enemies with the "rod of his mouth" (11:4), slay the wicked with his breath, and he will rule not with his eyes or ears, but with divine olfaction (והריחו ביראת יהוה) (11:3).[72] This king, whom the nations of the world will view with awe, is certainly no ordinary human being. Again the discourse enters the realm of superhumanity, superheroism. Regardless of what 11:3 actually means, it is clear that this Davidide is a type of superhuman. His superhuman rule is to be atypical to the extreme, presiding over utopian peace between natural enemies, *even among beasts* (11:6–9; cf. 9:5–6). Similar sorts of imagery appear elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern ideology and iconography, but this imagining of Israel's future king stands out in its particulars.[73] "On

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thought would be their "shade/protection" (צל) among the nations. The lament, although it does refer to the end of exile (4:22), does *not* mention a revival of the Davidic "tree," unlike Isaiah 11:1, and the book of Lamentations ends with a strong affirmation of Yahweh's eternal kingship (cf. 5:19).

72. On this difficult phrase, see Jeremiah Unterman, "The (Non)sense of Smell in Isaiah 11:3," *HS* 33 (1992): 17–23; Arie Shifman, "'A Scent' of the Spirit: Exegesis of an Enigmatic Verse (Isaiah 11:3)," *JBL* 131 (2012): 241–49. Unterman encourages textual emendation (והרהו "and it shall teach him"), and Shifman suggests that הריח "scent/smell" should be interpreted metaphorically to indicate the Davidide's supreme discernment. I take the phrase as is, in line with the superhuman nature of the Davidide throughout the passage.

73. The Achaemenids, for example, sought to depict themselves as peacefully bringing together the nations of the earth in "harmonious voluntary support and cosmic praise" (Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* [Acta Iranica 19; Leiden: Brill, 1979], 160; see also Erica Ehrenberg, "*Dieu et mon droit*: Kingship in Late Babylonian and Early Persian Times," in *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond* [ed. Nicole Brisch; Oriental Institute Seminars 4; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2008], 103–31, esp. 108). In Achaemenid iconography at least, the peripheral peoples support the king for the benefit of all—an image not unlike the Judean vision of peace under the Davidide. This kind of utopian vision was in partial contradistinction to earlier imperial ideologies and iconographies, which often sought to depict imperial might via images of subjugation (cf., e.g., the Assyrian conquest reliefs). With regard to kingship's relationship with the animals, Persian kings often depicted themselves superheroically subduing or slaying hostile and intruding beasts, an iconographic motif well known from Assyria and elsewhere (see Root, *King and Kingship*, 303–308). However, the utopian vision in Isaiah 11:6–9 suggests that, under the reign of the Davidide, *hostility between beasts* (and therefore between beast and human) *will no longer exist*. The Isaianic vision thus clearly draws on kingship motifs from the Persian empire and earlier, but it also distinguishes itself from these other images by subverting expected conventions. Cf. Michael J. Chan

that day" (והיה ביום ההוא) (11:10; etc.), when the new and unique Davidide finally appears, the dispersed remnant of Israel will gather, presumably in Jerusalem (cf. 12:6), to become the premier people of the world.[74]

To be sure, kingship's connection to the divine, the core of its superhuman nature, was likely taken for granted in ancient Near Eastern society. As early as the mid-third millennium BCE, there is evidence that kings were thought to have privileged relationships with the divine.[75] At the very least, the ideal king was a human representative for the divine on earth, the deity's specially chosen one to rule all of creation (e.g., Darius, the special appointee of Ahuramazda[76]). He could even be a kind of "son" to the deity (e.g., the depiction of Davidic kingship in Ps 2,[77] or Assurbanipal's

and Maria Metzler, "Lions and Leopards and Bears, O My: Re-Reading Isaiah 11:6–9 in Light of Comparative Iconographic and Literary Evidence," in *Image, Text, Exegesis: Iconographic Interpretation and the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Izaak J. De Hulster and Joel M. LeMon; LHBOTS; London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming 2015).

74.   Note the vision in Zech 1:7–17, in which "all the earth dwells in peace" (v. 11) during the reign of Darius. The world is at (undue) rest under the Persian empire, while Jerusalem remains in ruins. Thus, even though the Persian ruler is able to secure peace throughout his lands, he does not compare to the superhuman Davidide, who will revitalize Jerusalem and bring back its prosperity on earth. From this view, unless Jerusalem is restored, world peace is meaningless (cf. Zech 1:14–17).

75.   Cf., e.g., an Early Dynastic inscription from Lagash (ca. 2450 BCE), which recounts how the god Ningirsu inseminated the mother of King Eanatum, and how the goddesses Inanna and Ninhursag named the king and nursed him, respectively. See, e.g., Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–300 BC* (2 vols.; New York: Routledge, 1995), 1:33.

76.   See, e.g., the inscriptions on a statue of Darius I, found at Susa but probably originally manufactured and displayed in Egypt, which commemorates the Persian control of Upper and Lower Egypt (see Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* [New York: Routledge, 2010], 477–82); also Darius's famous relief and inscription on the rock-face of Behistun (a.k.a. Bisitun) (see Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 141–58). These inscriptions and others repeatedly claim that Ahuramazda, creator of the cosmos, bestowed kingship of the earth upon the Achaemenid king. This is visualized in the Behistun relief, which depicts Ahuramazda giving Darius a ring representing the power of kingship. In this way, Ahuramazda works in collaboration with the king, in a kind of reciprocal relationship. The god gives the king power on earth, and the king punishes the "faithless" (Old Persian *arika*) and suppresses "the Lie" (Old Persian *drauga*, "falsehood," which implies political and cosmological rebellion) (see Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 143, §§8–10). Cf. Root, *King and Kingship*, 189; Ehrenberg, "*Dieu et mon droit*," 112–16.

77.   See, e.g., Adela Yarbro Collins and John J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God: Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 1–24.

relationship with Ishtar [of Nineveh and of Arbela][78]). At most, the ideal king approached or occupied divine status himself (cf. Shulgi of Ur; Pharaoh).[79]

Postmonarchic Judeans, though, were rethinking things. At least one statement in the discourse imagined the Davidide as a transcendent human, Yahweh's special regent who would lead Israel into a new reality—a not uncommon ideal in the ancient Near East—but this vision also conceptualized the Davidide as partially contrasting the normative ideology of kingship in this ancient world. The idea of a king who rules by sense of smell and who wipes out enemies with mouth and breath was subversive (Isa 11:1–5). Imagining a king who brought justice to the lowly and who struck down the wicked was not out of the ordinary,[80] but the means by which the Davidide would accomplish this *was* unusual, especially when one compares it with the depiction of Assyria in the preceding chapter, within the same sequence of oracles.[81] Assyria, on the one hand, is the rod of Yahweh's anger (שבט אפי) (10:5), but its king relies on his own wisdom (חכמה), trusting in his own might (10:13).[82] On the other hand is the Davidide, who will have the wisdom (חכמה) of Yahweh (11:2)[83] and who will strike the land with the *rod of his mouth* (בשבט פיו) (11:3). The two kings are clearly in contrast. Isaiah 11 takes a somewhat ordinary or expected ideology, represented by the hubristic Assyrian

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78. See, e.g., Barbara Nevling Porter, "Ishtar of Nineveh and Her Collaborator, Ishtar of Arbela, in the Reign of Assurbanipal," *Iraq* 66 (2004): 41–44.
79. For more on kingship and divinity in the ancient Near East, see references in Chapter 2, note 3.
80. Cf. Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (trans. Thomas H. Trapp; Continental Commentaries; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 463–64; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 263–65.
81. Note again that Judah's imagining of Assyria is comparable to how Assyria imagined itself. Cf. Machinist, "Assyria and Its Image."
82. Cf., e.g., Isa 47:10, which refers to Babylon. Note, too, that Assyrian royal ideology also, in particular instances, decried reliance upon *human* wisdom and might. Compare, for example, Assurbanipal, who credits his great success to Ishtar of Nineveh/Arbela, the goddess(es) who "endowed [him] with unparalleled kingship" (see Porter, "Ishtar," 41). His greatness is a divine product.
83. Cf. Deut 34:9; 1 Kgs 3:28; and note the mnemonic interrelationship between Moses/Joshua and Davidic kingship. See Chapters 2 and 3.

king with his "mighty arm" (10:13), and recasts it with an uncommon vision of a future Davidide with superhuman sense and speech. The atypicality of the vision continues in 11:6–9, which extends the image of absolute peace and justice from the human realm into the animal kingdom. These verses also take common ancient Near Eastern themes and turn them into something different and new with regard to kingship.[84] The Davidide is a product of divine wisdom and might, like other kings, but his means of implementing these divine gifts were remarkably atypical—smell, mouth, breath. Negotiating its identity on the periphery of empire, Judah took stock images of imperial kingship and re-imagined them in terms of its own political reality. The future Davidide is a hybridized ancient Near Eastern king, both typical and atypical at once, imagined by a subjugated people without any real political power. Thus, Yahweh's goals for the Davidide are standard: peace, justice, righteousness. But the means of accomplishing those goals are not. The Davidide has no strong arm, no armies run by kings, but he will nonetheless succeed in maintaining the deity's utopia, with his preternatural gifts.

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Significantly, visions of a unique superhuman Davidide, like the one in Isaiah 11, are not widespread in the prophetic books. In a number of passages in the books of Jeremiah, Haggai, and Zechariah, future Davidides make appearances, but they are not comparable to the king of Isaiah 11 who rules by *sense of smell*. In these passages there is some thematic overlap with the Isaiah vision, of course, but the envisioned Davidic ruler

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84.   Cf. Chan and Metzler, "Lions and Leopards and Bears." Chan and Metzler note that the Sumerian text "Enki and Ninhursag" presents a similar, Eden-like scene, in which "The lion did not slay, the wolf was not carrying off lambs, the dog had not been taught to make kids curl up..." (see ll. 11–16) (trans. from Oxford University's Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature; online: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.1.1.1&charenc=j#; accessed 6 Feb 2015). Lacking in the Sumerian text, however, as Chan and Metzler emphasize, is a kingly figure.

of these books is decidedly more "normal," more human in his depiction and in his

reliance upon other bureaucratic and cultic entities.

Take Jer 23:5–6 and 33:12–26, for example.[85] In these passages the Davidide is a

"rightful/righteous branch" (צמח צדיק/צדקה) who will do what is just (משפט) and right

(צדקה). He will reign as king (מלך) and be prudent (שכל Hiph.) (23:5; cf. Ps 2:10).[86] The

metaphor of a righteous and sprouting branch (צמח Hiph.) (33:15; cf. 2 Sam 23:5) is

indeed similar to the metaphorical "shoot" (חטר) and "twig" (נצר) of Isa 11:1,[87] but the

superhuman element is noticeably lacking here in Jeremiah (more below). The metaphor

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85.   Although Jer 33:12–13 appears in the Greek tradition (=LXX Jer 40:12–13), 33:14–26 *does not*.
LXX Jeremiah is roughly 15% shorter and organized differently than MT Jeremiah, which strongly
suggests that the book of Jeremiah circulated in at least two different versions in antiquity. It is, of course,
impossible to say for sure which version was most likely circulating in late Persian-era Judah, if not *both* at
once. Cf. the variety of evidence from Qumran, where at least two copies of Jeremiah lean toward the
presumed *Vorlage* of the Greek tradition, but where the MT tradition is evident as well (see *BQS* 2:558–83;
and comments in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* [trans. and ed. Martin Abegg Jr., Peter Flint, and Eugene
Ulrich; New York: HarperCollins, 1999], 382). In any case, many of the key themes in Jer 33:14–26 are
definitely present elsewhere in the Judean discourse (the language of the passage has strong affinities with
passages in Deuteronomy, Joshua, Chronicles, and Ezekiel [e.g., הכהנים הלוים]; cf. William L. Holladay,
Jeremiah 2 [ed. Paul D. Hanson; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989], 229–30), so whether or not this
specific text was extant in late Persian Judah becomes somewhat inconsequential.
86.   Much has been made about the name יהוה צדקנו ("Yahweh is our righteousness") (Jer 23:6; 33:16)
and its parallel in the Greek translation, Ιωσεδεκ (LXX Jer 23:6), which is perhaps a reference to Zedekiah,
who receives his name and position from the Babylonian king (see 2 Kgs 24:17). See, e.g., William L.
Holladay, *Jeremiah 1* (ed. Paul D. Hanson; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 619–20; Carroll,
Jeremiah, 446–47; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Jeremiah's Reflection on the Isaian Royal Promise: Jeremiah
23:1–8 in Context," in *Uprooting and Planting: Essays on Jeremiah for Leslie Allen* (ed. John Goldingay;
LHBOTS 459; New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 308–21, esp. 312–13; and Ehud Ben Zvi, "Reshaping the
Memory of Zedekiah and His Period in Chronicles," in *Congress Volume Munich 2013* (ed. Christl M.
Maier; VTSup 163; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 370–95. Notably, later texts (e.g., 4Q470, the "Zedekiah
Apocryphon"; Josephus, *Ant*. 10.120) present rather positive statements on Zedekiah, statements that
perhaps echo Jer 23:6 (cf. Ben Zvi, "Reshaping the Memory of Zedekiah," 384–85). Within the discursive
milieu of the late Persian period, however, the name, if it indeed called to mind Zedekiah, most likely
would have been critical of the puppet king, whether he was seen as necessarily villainous or simply weak
and inept. I thus agree with Carroll, who writes that the name יהוה צדקנו "inevitably contrasts him [the future
Davidide] with Zedekiah's status as the client king of the Babylonians and his behaviour as the leader who
foolishly brought about the ruin of Jerusalem" (447).
87.   Cf. Sweeney, "Jeremiah's Reflection," 317. One should note, the phrase צמח צדק occurs in a
Phoenician inscription from Cyprus that dates to the 3d cent. BCE. See *KAI* 43. There the phrase refers to
the Ptolemaic king, and seems to connote "legitimate/rightful branch." It it possible then that this was a
stock Semitic phrase meant to refer simply to a legitimate ruler. Cf. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 618. That said, it
is clear, especially in 33:15, that the book is using this phrase as a metaphor of new growth, the "sprouting"
(צמח Hiph.) of a new king in the "wasteland" that is Judah (cf. 33:12).

of the righteous branch appears, too, in Zech 3:8 and 6:12. In these texts the future ruler is simply called "Branch" (צמח). Any overt reference to David or his dynasty goes unsaid. This branch in the book of Zechariah, however, is Yahweh's "servant" (עבד) (3:8) and is the temple builder (6:12), two designations that, in combination, surely refer to a Davidic king within the Judean discourse.[88] In these cases the Davidide to come is no superhuman, or at least he is not imagined explicitly as such.

In addition, in Jer 33:12–26 there is a pronounced emphasis upon the Davidide's relationship with the priesthood. Jeremiah 33:17–18 states: "For thus says Yahweh: David shall never lack a man to sit on the throne of the house of Israel, and the levitical priests shall never lack a man in my presence to offer burnt offerings, to make grain offerings, and to make sacrifices for all time" (after NRSV). The passage repeats this promise several times, stating that the ongoing existence of the Davidic and levitical households will be as sure as the rising and setting of the sun each day (Jer 33:19–26). In Zechariah, similarly, the Davidic branch sits alongside the high priest Joshua (3:8; 6:11–13). These images bring to mind the tension in the historiographical books between the Deuteronomic ideal for kingship and the depiction of kingly power in the DH and, to a lesser extent, in Chronicles (see Chapter 4). What role was(/is) the (future) king to play with regard to the cult? Images of future kingship varied in their ideas of the king's superhumanity, and they also varied in their suppositions regarding the king's relationship with the priesthood. Various mnemonic trajectories established in narratives about the past are continued and reinforced via visions of the future.

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88.   Cf. Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8* (AB 25B; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 202–203. Note also, as I discussed in Chapter 4, the motifs of servanthood and temple-building, along with the title משיח, are used to "Davidize" Cyrus in the books of Isaiah and Chronicles.

In these passages in Jeremiah and Zechariah in particular, the discourse prefers a vision of kingship that leans toward the Deuteronomic. Recall that in Deut 17:18–20 the king's only function is to study and propagate Torah, which will result in a successful dynasty. Throughout Deuteronomy, cultic duties are the responsibility of the priesthood alone. In the DH, however, kings regularly lead cultic ceremonies with which Yahweh is pleased (Solomon being the most prominent example); in Chronicles this is also the case, but the priesthood's role in the kingdom is more apparent.[89] Jeremiah and Zechariah imply that the new Davidic king will have a more expanded role than what Deuteronomy envisions (the Davidide of the prophetic books will actively "do" justice and righteousness and will lead in building the temple), but it is clear that the work of ritual sacrifices and offerings is the domain of the priesthood. In this way, these images in Jeremiah and Zechariah have a balancing effect, presenting something of a middle ground between Deuteronomy's king-law and the memories of Davidic kingship in the historiographical literature: they envision a renewed and active Davidic kingship, but they ensure that the Davidide will not directly play a role in the cult, unlike Davidic kingship in the DH.

The passages in Jeremiah also clearly imagine a Davidic *line*, that is, a dynasty. Jeremiah 23:3–4 reads: "Then I myself [i.e., Yahweh] will gather the remnant of my flock out of all the lands where I have driven them, and I will bring them back to their fold, and they shall be fruitful and multiply. I will raise up [קום Hiph.] shepherds over them who will shepherd them, and they shall not fear any longer, or be dismayed, nor

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89.   Also note 2 Chron 26:16–21, the story of Uzziah entering the Temple to offer incense, for which Yahweh strikes him with leprosy—this king takes his priestly activity too far. Cf. 2 Kgs 15:5, in which the leprosy is noted but nothing is said of Uzziah's cultic activity.

shall any be missing, says Yahweh" (after NRSV). Note the plural "shepherds" (רעים).

The very next verse promises the Davidic branch, using the same verb (קום Hiph.) with

which the shepherds are promised. One could feasibly read 23:1–4 separately from 23:5–

6 and 23:7–8, but the passages are clearly linked together as a set of interrelated

declarations from Yahweh, written mostly in prose[90] and addressing the theme of coming

restoration.[91] The shepherds of 23:1–4, therefore, may be thought of as Davidic kings, as

directly related to the branch of 23:5, and vice versa.[92] In this way, the passage looks

forward to a series of rulers, not just a single individual. Likewise, Jer 33:19–26

specifically mentions David's offspring (בן and זרע).[93] These passages in Jeremiah, thus,

imagine an ongoing kingly *future* for the Davidic branch—in a book, it should be noted,

that contains a strong statement against Jehoiachin and his Davidic lineage (Jer 22:24–

30), and that ends just as the book of Kings does, with a notice regarding Jehoiachin's

elevation in the Babylonian court (Jer 52:31–34//2 Kgs 25:27–30) (see Chapter 4). As

most commentators note, the book of Jeremiah has a strong distaste for the *past*

monarchy and its failures, but this does not diminish or belittle the book's imaginary

concerning any potential *future* kingship.[94]

While the book of Jeremiah contains several statements in support of an ongoing

Davidic dynasty, the references in Zechariah (3:8; 6:12) are less clear about dynastic

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90.   *BHS* presents 23:5–6 as poetic but the passage is not necessarily so. NRSV and NJPS, for example, present the verses as prosaic.
91.   Cf. Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 472; Leslie C. Allen, *Jeremiah* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 255–60; and Sweeney, "Jeremiah's Reflection," 314–15; who each treats 23:1–8 as a unit. *Pace* Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 613.
92.   Cf. Allen, *Jeremiah*, 259. See also Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 447, who refers to the Davidic branch as an "instantiation" of the shepherds; and Sweeney, "Jeremiah's Reflection," 314, who writes that the "material in vv. 5–8 ... presents a two part explanation of vv. 3–4."
93.   Even if this passage was not extant in Persian Judah (see above, note 85), the idea of succession, of multiple Davidic "shepherds," is still present in the book.
94.   Cf. Sweeney, "Jeremiah's Reflection," 308–11, with additional references.

succession and the import of Davidic kingship going forward. The coming "Branch" is encapsulated in a definite moment. Since this moment relates to the rebuilding of the temple, it has ongoing significance in postmonarchic Judah, but whether or not the "Branch" itself has ongoing significance is unclear. In these passages the anonymous Davidic ruler stands alongside the named high priest Joshua, who is clearly part of a priestly line, but nothing is said outright about descendants for the Davidide.

The enigmatic Zerubbabel—who appears as the recipient of an oracle in Zech 4:6–10 and who, in the book of Haggai, works alongside the very same high priest Joshua—contributes something to the discourse on this point, though his contribution is muddled at best. In 1 Chr 3:19, Zerubbabel is listed among the descendants of David: he is son of Pedaiah and has children, grandchildren, great grandchildren and so on. In Haggai, however, he is son of Shealtiel, a different descendant of David (cf. Ezra 3:2; Neh 12:1; etc.). Shealtiel, according to 1 Chr 3:17–18, was Pedaiah's brother and was the first-born of that generation: thus, in Chronicles' account, Shealtiel is Zerubbabel's *uncle*, not his father. Zerubbabel is also called a "governor" (פחה) in Haggai (see below), and that book concludes with a vision of the near future, in which Yahweh overthrows the kingdoms of the earth and "chooses" (בחר) Zerubbabel (Hag 2:20–23). Zerubbabel is not called a king in that vision, but is the deity's "servant" (עבד) and "signet" (חותם).[95] In Zechariah, Zerubbabel is given no genealogical identification whatsoever, but he is clearly linked with the book's visions of the Davidic branch: note the references to a

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95.   Some scholars suggest, therefore, that his future status as king is implied; see, e.g., David L. Peterson, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), 103–106; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 67–70. One could argue that Zerubbabel, as Yahweh's signet, actually *transcends* kingship at the end of Haggai. In another reference to Yahweh's חותם, in Jer 22:24, King Jehoiachin's status is lower than that of Yahweh's חותם. In Haggai, then, Zerubbabel is both lower than kingship (he is a פחה) and above it.

special stone (אבן) in 3:9 and 4:7, 10, and also the emphasis upon house/temple-building in 4:9 and 6:12–13. In this way, the oracle to Zerubbabel and the visions of the future Davidide are simultaneously related but unique.[96] So who is this Zerubbabel, what is he meant to be within the discourse, and how did he contribute to the social remembering of Davidic kingship and its ongoing significance (or lack thereof)?

Although numerous hypotheses have been put forward, there is no good way to resolve Zerubbabel's identity discrepancies in the discourse.[97] The discrepancies, rather than lending themselves to any resolution, contribute to a multivocal remembering of Davidic kingship and legacy in Judah's future. Shealtiel is, as mentioned, the first-born of the generation that precedes Zerubbabel (cf. 1 Chr 3:17–18), thus being the son of Shealtiel perhaps lends more legitimacy to any claim to a throne. It is possible, then, that Haggai's aligning Zerubbabel with Shealtiel is an ideological move in support of Davidic posterity going forward. Chronicles, however, lists no sons for Shealtiel, and being the first-born in Judean discourse actually has little import—David and Solomon themselves are not first-borns (cf. Esau, Reuben, and Manasseh in Genesis). In David's genealogy in Chronicles there is a kind of "leveling," by which all of David's descendants appear equal—no descendant is marked as greater or more important than another, and no official title or designation is given to anyone in the genealogy, whether he served as king or not.[98] No single figure stands out in the genealogy (unlike in the book's

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96.   Cf. Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 265–66, who call 3:8–10; 4:6b–10a; and 6:9–15 "three major interrelated units of oracular material," which in their "canonical position[s]" offer individual attempts "to deal with specific aspects of the political restructuring process that affected Yehudite perception of the present and future."

97.   Cf. Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (AB 12; New York: Doubleday, 2003), 328; Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 120.

98.   Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, 333–36.

historiographical narrative). Instead, *all* of them stand out as members of David's line, which trudges on despite the historical calamities and failed promises of which the readership was all too aware—this in a book that concludes by proclaiming that *the foreigner Cyrus* is Israel's new temple builder (see Chapter 4). There is a subtle balancing of voices both within each individual book and across literary boundaries. In Chronicles Zerubbabel is simply part of an ongoing Davidic succession, which appears to be broken or at least interrupted at the book's conclusion, and which may or may not have any claim to a future Judean throne. But in Haggai and Zechariah he actively takes part in the specific task of temple-building. In Chronicles Zerubabbel is a Davidide only by membership on a genealogical list, but in Haggai and Zechariah he is a special Davidide, associated with the imagery of temple-building and the newly sprouting Davidic branch.

Note also that in Haggai, *and in Haggai alone*, Zerubbabel has a specific political title and status. As mentioned above, he is פחת יהודה, "governor" of Judah (cf. Hag 1:1; 2:2; etc.), presumably an official of the Achaemenid empire.[99] Thus, in Haggai, the figure

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99.   See, e.g., Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, 328–29, with additional references; also Cataldo, *Theocratic Yehud?* 33–66, for a recent and detailed discussion of Persian governance. It is worth mentioning here that the name Shelomith (שלמית)—which happens to be the name of Zerubabbel's daughter in Chronicles' genealogy (1 Chron 3:19)—appears on a scarab discovered in Jerusalem in a cache of Persian-period gubernatorial seals and bullae (see Nahman Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-exilic Judean Archive* [Qedem 4; Jerusalem: Hebrew University Institute of Archaeology, 1976], 11, 32). Some scholars, therefore, claim absolutely that the Judahite Zerubbabel served as a governor of Persian Yehud (e.g., Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, "The Future Fortunes of the House of David: The Evidence of Second Zechariah," in *Fortunate the Eyes that See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman* [ed. Astrid B. Beck et al.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995], 207–22 [208], who mention the reference to Shelomith but also state that Zerubbabel *himself* is mentioned among the cache of seals—*pace* Meyers and Meyers, the name Zerubbabel appears nowhere on any of the seals or bullae). The historical evidence for Zerubbabel's governorship is, however, tenuous at best. One should note that the provenance and current whereabouts of this cache are unknown—an antiquities dealer brought the bullae etc. to Avigad in the summer of 1974 and allowed the scholar to inspect them for only a very short time—and the Shelomith seal was reportedly delivered to the antiquities dealer separately from the bullae (Avigad, *Bullae and Seals*, 1–2). Also worth noting is the fact that the name Shelomith, as a female or male moniker, was not uncommon in postmonarchic Hebrew (cf. Lev 24:11; 1 Chron 23:18; 2 Chron 11:20; Ezra 8:10). And again, only the

of Zerubbabel is necessarily subject to a foreign power, despite of (or perhaps *in* spite of) his Davidic connection. He works for the Great King of Persia, the one anointed by Yahweh and charged with the task of temple-building (cf. Isa 45:1; 2 Chr 36:23). On account of this, the vision of an elevated and *kingly* Zerubbabel at the conclusion to Haggai (2:20–23)—which does have commonalities with the Davidide in Zech 3:8 and 6:12–13, however muted they might be[100]—appears in stark contrast with Zerubbabel's presentation in the rest of the book of Haggai. In any case, while his designation as פחה in Haggai is noteworthy, it is certainly also noteworthy that this goes *unmentioned* elsewhere. Every other reference to this descendant of David forgets or brackets his supposed Persian governorship.

Zerubbabel remains enigmatic, indeed, either a nondescript member of David's continuing posterity, a special figure with great political import in a particular past moment, a minion of the Persian king whose fantastic potential is never realized, or some combination. In the books of Haggai and Zechariah—whose positions depend upon *and* inform the genealogical and narratival information in Chronicles—the status and import of the Davidic line beyond the temple-rebuilding event is ambiguous.

As I said above, these diverse images of Davidides in Jeremiah, Haggai, and Zechariah are noticeably different than the image of a *superhuman* Davidide, as described in Isaiah 11. The stated kingly goals are similar—justice, righteousness, and so on—as is the imagery of a new shoot or branch for David. But the Davidides discussed in Jeremiah, Haggai, and Zechariah are more "normal" as it were. They serve with the

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book of Haggai says anything about Zerubbabel being a governor.
100.   Cf. Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 68–69.

priesthood, function in typical political roles, and may or may not have successful

descendants. On the surface, these are not like the radical image presented in Isaiah 11,

whose superhuman subject slays enemies with *breath* (Isa 11:4) and who rules over an

uncanny world. Furthermore, no mention of a dynasty is made in Isaiah 11. But would

that kind of Davidide even need one? That Davidide, and the world he presides over,

challenges the limits of human knowledge and experience—the scene in 11:6–9 is

unheimlich in every sense.

Granted, all these images are in discourse and inform one another to a certain

extent. For example, Judeans might have had the image of Isaiah 11 in mind while

reading Jer 23:5–6. Simultaneously, the details of the Jeremiah vision would have been

keyed to Isaiah 11 in the readers' social memory. But *discontinuities* would have stood

out as well. Within the book of Jeremiah, 23:5–6 and 33:12–26 undoubtedly inform one

another. The Judean readership could hardly have missed the nearly identical phrasing in

23:5–6 and 33:15–16. Thus the more expanded imagery in 33:12–26 must have been

keyed to the brief announcement in 23:5–6, in the postmonarchic milieu.[101] Having

established this connection in Jeremiah, though, one would be hard pressed to synthesize

the Jeremianic visions with Isaiah 11:1–9. As *unheimlich* as Isaiah 11 is, the image in

Jeremiah 33 is, more often than not, simply *heimlich* (in the literal sense of familiar,

"homey").[102] In Jeremiah 33, presumably Judah is Judah and Jerusalem is Jerusalem

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101.   See, e.g., Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 471–74. Cf. Allen, *Jeremiah*, 377. Fishbane argues
that 33:15–16 is an "exegetical reuse" of 23:5–6, which is a common position. However, he emphasizes too
that "there is still no exegetical closure to the prophecy" (473). As I discussed in Chapter 1, with the
mnemonic framing and keying of interrelated images, influence goes both directions. Especially in
prophetic texts such as these, which lack any kind of structured narrative timeline to indicate temporal
priority, the readership would likely *not* differentiate between *traditum* and *traditio* in its social
remembering.
102.   This is not to say, however, that the image in Jeremiah 33 is any more "real" than that in Isaiah 11.

(33:10). In the future, when the land is restored, shepherds will watch their flocks, and the towns of Benjamin and Judah, from hill country to desert, will exist as before (33:12–13). Moreover, there will be a never ending succession of priests and Davidic kings performing their respective tasks (33:17–18). Everything will be in its right place, back to normal. The land of Jeremiah 33 is not a land where wolves hang out with lambs and babies play with vipers (if it were, why would shepherds need to shepherd their flocks?!).[103] These visions in Jeremiah are "neither profound nor utopian, but represent the return to normal urban and rural life after the disappearance of the Babylonians in the Persian age."[104] Within the various networks of images in the prophetic books, there are conjunctions and disjunctions, continuities and discontinuities. And the networks span not only from past to present to future, but from *future* to future.

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Outside of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Haggai and Zechariah, there are additional appearances of Davidides to come. The book of Ezekiel, which has perhaps the most extensively developed vision of a future Judah and Jerusalem and its temple (cf. 40–48),[105] contains at least two such images (34:23–24; 37:24–25). Its vision of the temple,

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Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 635, emphasizes that the images of destruction and restoration here are "theological reflections on abstract notions," and not "realistic descriptions of social history."

103.	Again, it is possible that late Persian-period Judeans did not have access to Jer 33:14–26 (or that the text did not even exist yet) (see above, note 85). However, much of the imagery I mention here is contained in 33:4–13, not in what follows. Moreover, one could make the same observations with regard to the imagery in 23:1–8. The fact is, the imagined world that the book of Jeremiah associates with the future restoration and thus with a future Davidide is wholly unlike what is found in Isaiah 11. *Pace* Sweeney, "Jeremiah's Reflection," which argues for a common ground between them. Besides the general themes of restoration and the sprouting of a new branch/shoot, I do not find *specifi* similarities between the images of a future Davidide in Isaiah and Jeremiah respectively. That said, I think Sweeney is certainly right to problematize the idea that the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah have completely different conceptualizations of Davidic kingship going forward. Both have places in their imaginary for a future Davidide, though they envision that figure and his future world in different ways.

104.	Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 636.

105.	See, e.g., Hanna Liss, "'Describe the Temple to the House of the Lord': Preliminary Remarks on the Temple Vision in the Book of Ezekiel and the Question of Fictionality in Priestly Literatures," in

too, contains references to an anonymous future ruler (נשיא) who has connections to Davidic kingship, but who is also not necessarily a king.

One specific reference to a Davidide (34:23–24) occurs within a lengthy judgment and vision concerning the "shepherds of Israel" (רעי ישראל) (34:2). It begins by chastising the shepherds for tending *themselves* instead of the the flock (צאן), which the shepherds have left to be scattered throughout the hills and to be ravaged by wild beasts (34:3–8). It then announces the dismissal of these shepherds, and promises that Yahweh will rescue the flock and bring them back to their land, the "heights of Israel" (34:14; cf. 17:23). The passage repeatedly emphasizes Yahweh's role as the new shepherd: "*I* will gather them" (34:13) ... "*I myself* will shepherd them, and *I myself* will have them lie down" (34:15) ... "the lost *I* will seek, and the stray *I* will bring back" (34:16) etc. Ezek 34:10–22 contains no less than *twenty-one* first-person finite verbs, each one in reference to Yahweh's future rescuing and shepherding of Israel.[106] But then the passage reveals: "I will raise up [קום Hiph.] over them one shepherd, and he will shepherd them, my servant David" (34:23a). Yahweh will be their deity; David will be their "ruler" (נשיא); and, as part of a covenant of "peace" (שלום), the deity will remove "evil beasts" (חיה רעה) from the land so that the flock may dwell securely in the wilderness or forest (34:24–25).

Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic Literature (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 122–43; Adriane Leveen, "Returning the Body to Its Place: Ezekiel's Tour of the Temple," *HTR* 105 (2012): 385–401; and Christophe Nihan, "The Memory of Ezekiel in Postmonarchic Yehud," in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 415–48, esp. 435–38, with additional references.
106.   Cf. Paul M. Joyce, "King and Messiah in Ezekiel," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 323–37, esp. 334–35; also idem, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (LHBOTS 482; New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 197–98.

The imagery here in Ezekiel 34 is strikingly similar to that of Jer 23:1–8: the condemnation of past shepherds, Yahweh's rescuing of the flock, and the "raising up" of David as new shepherd.[107] This Ezekiel passage, however, differs in its extensive portrayal of *Yahweh* as the people's shepherd. David is the "one shepherd" called to protect the flock—that is quite clear in 34:23—but there is no indication that Yahweh relinquishes any of his tasks as the divine shepherd, as one actively guiding and watching over his flock. The deity is the one who actually banishes the beasts and provides nourishment for the sheep and their land (34:25–30), and the passage ends with Yahweh stating: "You are my flock, the flock of my pasture. Human are you. I am your God— declaration of Lord Yahweh" (34:31). The banishment of evil beasts and the image of freely ranging sheep, one might argue, has more in common with Isa 11:1–9 than with Jer 23:1–8. The land of Ezekiel 34 has no wicked animals, no famine, no war.

The second specific reference to David (37:24–25) occurs as part of a sign-act and its interpretation. Yahweh's word comes to Ezekiel, and tells the prophet to take two sticks and to write on them the names Judah and Joseph (i.e., Ephraim) respectively. He is then to bring the two sticks together in one hand to signify the (re)joining of people of Judah (the southern kingdom) and Israel (the northern kingdom) by the hand of the deity—Yahweh is going to gather all of the scattered people of "Israel," the collective, and bring them together in their land, where they will be cleansed and never again

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107. See, e.g., Anja Klein, *Schriftauslegung im Ezechielbuch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Ez 34–39* (BZAW 391; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 42–59, in which she argues that Ezek 34 is an "innerbiblical exegesis" of Jer 23:1–8. Cf. Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37* (AB 22A; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 707, who writes that the main theme of the oracle, the shepherd metaphor, has a "Jeremianic origin"; and Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* (trans. James D. Martin; ed. Paul D. Hanson with Leonard Jay Greenspoon; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 214, who states that Jer 23:1–8 is "unmistakably the model for Ezekiel 34."

divided (37:15–23). In this land, Yahweh's "servant David" (עבדי דוד) will be "king" (מלך) over the renewed, reunified, and cleansed Israel. He will be their "one shepherd" (רועה אחד) and their "ruler" (נשיא), "forever" (לעולם) (25–37:24). The thematic and linguistic connections with Ezekiel 34 are obvious. Notice especially the promise of a "covenant of peace" (ברית שלום) in Ezek 37:26 (cf. 34:25; Isa 54:10), but note that here the ברית is also an "everlasting" covenant (ברית עולם). To be sure, the promise of an everlasting covenant is common enough: it is reminiscent of Yahweh's relationship with Israel, his chosen people (e.g., Gen 17:7; etc.), and even with all living creatures in general (cf. Gen 9:16). But in the context of a vision that includes David as king and ruler "forever," this covenantal promise brings the issue of the various Davidic promises, their potential meanings and import in the discourse, to the forefront (cf. 2 Sam 23:5; Isa 55:3) (see Chapter 4, and more below).

Readers of Ezekiel 37 would have thought that Davidic rule will return and perhaps even last in perpetuity. One could convincingly argue, however, that this view of David is something of a minority report or second opinion within the larger context of the book of Ezekiel. As I show below, it is unclear exactly how the book envisions this new David.[108]

Consider, for example, the book's lengthy concluding vision. Chapters 40–48, imagine the temple's architecture, its altar and the offerings that will take place there, as well as its administrative personnel—and all this in fairly extensive detail. The vision also mentions, along with the frequently referenced Zadokite priesthood (e.g., 40:46;

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108.   For a recent discussion, see, e.g., Christophe Nihan, "Rethinking Kingship in a Post-Monarchic Society: The *nāśîʾ* in Ezekiel," paper presented at the 2014 meeting of the European Association of Biblical Studies in Leipzig, Germany. See also Joyce, "King and Messiah in Ezekiel," 330–32.

43:19; 44:15; 48:11), an anonymous "ruler" (נשיא). This נשיא will have special access to the sanctuary's outer gate (44:1–3); he will inherit a certain portion of land in the new Jerusalem (45:7; 48:21–22); he is, along with his descendants, admonished to deal justly with the people, *not* to act like his predecessors (45:8–9; cf. 46:16–18); he will contribute grain, oil, animals, and so on, for the various cultic offerings (45:13–17, 22), and he will observe the priests as they work (ch. 46, passim).

At first glance these certainly look like kingly rights and duties.[109] But it is noteworthy that the vision uses the title נשיא and not מלך ("king"). The נשיא of Ezekiel 44–48 connotes a kingly figure to some extent, but it is clearly not a מלך. Note that the vision mentions Israel's past מלכים with considerable disdain, and in doing so it emphasizes that, in the new Jerusalem, *Yahweh* will have a throne (כסא) that lasts forever (עולם) (9–43:7). Compare Ezek 20:33: "As I live, says Lord Yahweh, surely with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out, *I will be king* [מלך Qal] over you" (after NRSV). Elsewhere in the book, too, the title נשיא seems to indicate something less than a מלך proper. In 7:27 the two titles are distinguished from each other (cf. 32:29), and on numerous occasions the rulers of Israel, those who sat on the throne in Jerusalem and led the people to disaster, are called נשיאים (e.g., 12:10; 19:1; 21:12; etc.), in contradistinction with the Babylonian מלך, for example, who captures Jerusalem and its inferior ruler (e.g., 19:9; 21:24; etc.).[110] In much of the book, then, נשיא connotes a lesser

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109.   Compare the king in Babylon, who was expected to build and maintain the temple and provide its necessary resources, while the priesthood did the actual work of sacrifice, offering, etc. See Chapter 4; also Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Pious King: Royal Patronage of Temples," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture* (ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 725–51.

110.   Besides the references to David in Ezek 37:22, 24, there are only three other instances in the book where a Judahite/Israelite ruler is called מלך: in 1:2 (Jehoiachin); 17:12 (also Jehoiachin); and 17:16 (Zedekiah, who is "made king" [מלך Hiph.] by the king of Babylon). The reference to Zedekiah is clearly a

ruler, even a vassal of the Great King, just as the kings of Judah were under the imperial

rule of Assyria and Babylon.[111] Also, in Judean discourse, broadly speaking, the word

נשיא does not typically indicate kingship or monarchy—in the book of Numbers, for

example, where the word most frequently appears, it refers specifically to ancestral tribal

leaders in Israel's pre-monarchic past.

In Ezekiel 34 and 37, however, *David* is called a נשיא. David, of course, is known

as a מלך throughout the Judean literature and functions as Israel's prototypical human

king, to which all other Israelite kings are compared. There is no king more kingly than

David. So there is perforce an implicit connection between the term נשיא and kingship in

these passages. And Ezekiel 37 makes the connection explicit by referring to David as

both נשיא and מלך. So at least in Ezekiel's Davidide passages the title נשיא does have a

direct link with kingship, thus muddling the connotation of the title throughout the book.

What type of ruler, then, is this Davidide supposed to be? How much or how little power

does he have under King (מלך) Yahweh? Moreover, what is the relationship between the

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condemnation of the puppet ruler whom the Babylonian king installed in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs 24:17–25:7; Jer 52:1–11; 2 Chron 36:9–13). The references to Jehoiachin, though, hold out the possibility for Davidic kingship in the future. The משל/חידה ("riddle"/"allegory") of Ezekiel 17 states that the king of Babylon took "the top of the cedar [צמרת הארז], the uppermost of its twigs [ראש יניקותיו]" (i.e., Jehoiachin) off to Babylon (17:3–4, 12), but the fate of this "twig" goes unmentioned. Later in the משל/חידה, however, Yahweh promises to take a "tender (shoot) [רך]" from "the top of the cedar [צמרת הארז], the uppermost of its twigs [ראש יניקותיו]" and to plant it in "the heights of Israel" (17:22–23; cf. 34:14). This רך, it seems, is of the exact same stock as Jehoiachin, and the reference to Israel's "heights" has a parallel in Ezek 34, which of course mentions the נשיא David. One can thus infer an intertextual linkage that stretches between chs. 17, 34 and 37, and 40–48; between the מלך Jehoiachin, the נשיא/מלך David, and the נשיא of the future Jerusalem (cf. Nihan, "Rethinking Kingship"; also Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* [trans. Ronald E. Clements; ed. Frank Moore Cross and Klaus Baltzer with Leonard Jay Greenspoon; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979], 367–68). That said, the links are, without question, vague and tenuous: Jehoiachin is not directly associated with the future David, nor is the נשיא in chs. 40–48 necessarily meant to be the Davidic נשיא. As is often the case with prophetic texts, the message is multivocal and allows for a variety of readings. In the book of Ezekiel, Jehoiachin remains an ambiguous signifier, drifting somewhere between literal hope and ironic criticism (see above and Chapter 4).

111. Cf. Nihan, "Rethinking Kingship." See also Joyce, "King and Messiah in Ezekiel," 336; idem, *Ezekiel*, 198.

נשיא envisioned in chs. 40–48 and the Davidide of chs. 34 and 37? If they are one and the same, then it appears that this new David will be less involved than the David and Davidic kingship remembered in Samuel–Kings, Chronicles, and elsewhere. In the historiographical books, for example, David and Solomon and Josiah offer sacrifices and lead ceremonies; this ruler in Ezekiel simply watches the proceedings. The נשיא in Ezekiel 40–48 is a bystander, an icon of kingly power without much power himself; he devotes portions of his wealth to the cult but does little else.

Moreover, confusing matters further, in LXX Ezekiel 37 only one title appears for David: ἄρχων. In LXX Ezekiel, ἄρχων consistently appears where one would find נשיא in the MT, and βασιλεὺς consistently appears where one would find מלך.[112] This suggests at least two text-critical possibilities: either (1) the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Ezekiel 37 did not contain the title מלך in reference to David or (2) the LXX reading represents an attempt to resolve the convolution of the title נשיא and its import in the book.[113] With regard to the Greek, although there seems to be a clear distinction between ἄρχων and βασιλεὺς in Ezekiel, it should be noted that elsewhere in the Greek tradition these two terms and their meanings are fluid (as meaning always is) and interchangeable with reference to kingship and its various related titles.[114]

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112.   There are two places in MT Ezekiel that clearly differentiate between מלך and נשיא as two separate titles within an individual locale: 7:27 ("The king will mourn and the ruler will be clothed in desolation...") and 32:29 ("There is Edom, its kings and all its rulers..."). Notably, in both cases the LXX offers variant readings and mentions only one title, ἄρχων.

113.   Nihan, "Memory of Ezekiel," 442 n. 75, prefers the latter option; cf. idem, "Rethinking Kingship."

114.   Notice that LXX Num 23:21, with reference to Yahweh, has ἀρχόντων where the MT has מלך; LXX Deut 33:5 has ἄρχων and ἀρχόντων where the MT has מלך and ראשים respectively; and LXX 1 Sam 10:1 has ἄρχοντα where the MT has נגיד. In addition, LXX Deut 17:14–15, the law of the king, refers to the future king of Israel exclusively as an ἄρχων, not as a βασιλεὺς. See also references to an ἄρχων in the New Testament, where nothing less than kingship is implied: e.g., Matt 20:25; Acts 4:26; 7:35; Rev 1:5.

In any case, it is clear that the book of Ezekiel is hung up on David, knowing not what to do with him. He seems either to have a prominent position in Judah's political future, as the passages in chs. 34 and 37 would indicate, or to have none at all, as in chs. 44–48. The נשיא of Ezekiel 44–48 might be the David of 34:24 and 37:25, but he might not be.[115] The observations made above concerning the book of Micah apply here as well. The book of Ezekiel presents a horizon of images in dialogue with one another.

When references to a future David appear in Ezekiel, some of the metaphors used for Yahweh apply to him too, forging a mnemonic space in which both can co-exist. Yahweh can stand as the sole shepherd of his people, for example, while at the same time appointing a Davidide to be the lone shepherd as well (34:8–31). Both figures stand together in the same role, and yet the passage emphasizes each individual figure's *uniqueness* in that role.[116] Yahweh repeatedly emphasizes his role as the people's only true shepherd, and yet he will establish David as "one shepherd" over them (34:23), while they nonetheless remain his (Yahweh's) flock (34:31). In 37:24–25, the subordination of David or a David-like leader under Yahweh's rule is more prominent.[117] David will be king and shepherd, but he will rule with Yahweh's laws and commandments (37:24). Madhavi Nevader puts it well when she says that, when David appears in the book of Ezekiel, he "floats precariously in the flood that is Yahweh's kingship."[118]

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115.   This has led Madhavi Nevader, for example, to argue recently that the references to David in Ezekiel—"ill at ease" in their context—are insertions meant to bring the book closer in line with the other major prophetic works Isaiah and Jeremiah. See her "Inserting David: Royal Dynamics in Ezekiel 34 and 37," paper presented at the 2014 Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting in Vienna, Austria. Cf. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, 707–709, who states that 34:17–31 was composed as a supplement to 34:2–16, with Jeremiah serving as source material for the composition.
116.   *Pace* Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 218.
117.   Cf. Nihan, "Memory of Ezekiel," 441–43.
118.   Nevader, "Inserting David."

Ezekiel 34 blurs the boundaries between Yahweh's and David's kingly identities, as it remembers a future in which both are Israel's *sole* shepherd. But they nevertheless remain separate entities (cf. Hos 3:5). The crossover is merely functional. Elsewhere in prophetic literature, similar proximities of identification are observable, and there is a range of possibilities concerning this king's power and function. Consider again the book of Zechariah, for example. The (Davidic) "branch" of Zech 3:8 and 6:12 is conjoined with the high priest, reliant upon another of Yahweh's servants (thus making his relative political position rather un-David-like, when he is compared to the David remembered in historiographical literature). Other passages in the book envision a more powerful kingly ruler, however. The human king of Zech 9:9–10 will humbly ride on a donkey but will also, with Yahweh's help, subdue the world. And Zech 12:8 states that the "house of David will be like a divine being, like the messenger of Yahweh before them [i.e., Israel]" (ובית דויד כאלהים כמלאך יהוה לפניהם).[119] In this passage Yahweh is king, as he always is, but the Davidic line is elevated to nearly divine status.

In prophetic discourse we find a matrix of images that inform and balance one another, both blatantly disagreeing with and complementing each other. In some images, a future Davidide has great power: he is a superhuman ruler unlike any other. In others, however, he is simply there, serving as a human king under King Yahweh, but without any remarkable powers or responsibilities. In addition to these, there are images that draw on the legacy of Davidic kingship but do not make room for a Davidic king per se. In

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119.   Similarly, the book of Malachi calls Yahweh the "great king" (מלך גדול) (1:14), but also speaks of a powerful messenger (מלאך) who will purify the offerings in Judah and Jerusalem, perhaps keying itself to the image in Zechariah 12.

Amos 9:11–12, Yahweh promises to raise up "the booth of David that has fallen" (סכת

דויד הנפלת), to repair the damage to its walls and rebuild it. The reference here is not to the

Davidic dynasty or to Davidic kingship in general, but to the *temple*,[120] the dwelling place

of Yahweh in Jerusalem, the divinely commissioned building for which David and his

son were partly (or in some cases mainly) remembered.[121] The temple's renewal, in this

passage, is related to the reestablishment of the Israelite kingdom as it were.[122] It

envisions a reclamation of the land promised to Yahweh's people, including the full

territory of Edom. So, here the hope is for the temple and the land, both of which have

close ties to David and his reign in the remembered past, but a renewed Davidic rule goes

unmentioned. This image of future restoration is mnemonically linked to another, in the

book of Obadiah, in which a similar reclamation of the promised land is envisioned. In

this vision (and throughout the book of Obadiah), the punishment and possession of

Edom (i.e., Mt. Esau) also takes center stage, but instead of any reference to David or

Davidic kingship, there are "saviors" (מושעים) that will "judge/rule" (שפט) from Zion

(Obad 19–21). Here, in Obadiah, there appears not a Davidic regent, but a renewal of

judgeship under King Yahweh (more below). There are still other images of future

renewal, moreover, that do not evince an interest in kingship whatsoever. The conclusion

to Malachi, for instance, speaks of Yahweh's justice, of Torah, and of a coming *prophet*,

but not of any king (Mal 3:13–23).

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120. Cf., e.g., John Anthony Dunne, "David's Tent as Temple in Amos 9:11–15: Understanding the Epilogue of Amos and Considering Implications for the Unity of the Book," *Westminster Theological Journal* 73 (2011): 363–74, esp. 364–68.

121. Cf., e.g., 1 Chron 28–29; 2 Chron 2:11; Ezra 3:10; Ps 30:1; etc.

122. As Dunne points out, arguing that the סכה of Amos 9:11 refers to the temple does not then exclude an interpretation that emphasizes the kingdom aspect of the passage ("David's Tent," 365–66).

We thus find that David and Davidic kingship (and monarchy in general) maintain positions of varying status in a number of visions in the prophetic imaginary. There are, however, also significant visions that do not include David at all. David may be all important or irrelevant. The kingship-discourse hedges, indeed.

King Israel

A final concept to consider in the prophetic books is the kingliness of Israel itself. While this statement is not nearly as pronounced as those regarding Yahweh and David, it is no less important to the discourse as a whole, for it echoes Israel's very beginnings as Yahweh's chosen people.

Let us, therefore, go back to the beginning of Israel's story, that is, the official beginning of Israel as a nation, so to speak, under Yahweh. At the foot of Mount Sinai, at the event which Ilana Pardes calls "the climactic point in the biography of ancient Israel,"[123] Yahweh declares to the people (Exod 19:4–6a; NRSV):

> You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself. Now therefore, if you obey my voice and keep my covenant [ברית], you shall be my treasured possession out of all the peoples. Indeed, the whole earth is mine, but you shall be for me a priestly kingdom [ממלכת כהנים] and a holy nation [גוי קדוש].

The logic is clear. Yahweh has demonstrated his absolute power. Obey him, do not break the covenant with him, and be his special people. Israel is to be set apart, specially consecrated among the nations, and it is to be a ממלכת כהנים, a "*kingdom of priests*." Here,

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123.   Ilana Pardes, *The Biography of Ancient Israel: National Narratives in the Bible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 65. See also Geoffrey P. Miller, *The Ways of a King: Legal and Political Ideas in the Bible* (JAJSup 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 151–64, for an interesting discussion of the significance of the Sinai event in Israel's story, with special regard to legal and political theory.

as throughout the discourse, Yahweh's kingship of the cosmos is not in question, but the nature of a kingdom of priests is left to the imagination. The rest of the Pentateuch, of course, devotes much of its space to the priesthood and priestly things, but human kingship is there too, hinted at in the figure of Abraham[124] and predicted and allowed in Deuteronomy's law of the king. The fledgling nation, on its way out of Egypt and to the promised land, is told that it will be a kingdom, and not just any kingdom, a kingdom constituted by priests. The language here is, notably, holistic. It refers not to a special class or office within Israel, but *to the whole nation*. Israel is to be collectively priestly-ized.

> Let us now turn to a passage in a prophetic book, in Isaiah (55:1–5; after NRSV):
>
> Ho, everyone who thirsts, come to the waters; and you that have no money, come, buy and eat! Come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Why do you spend your money for that which is not bread, and your labor for that which does not satisfy? Listen carefully to me, and eat what is good, and delight yourselves in rich food. Incline your ear, and come to me; listen, so that you may live. I will make with you an everlasting covenant [ברית עולם], my steadfast, sure love for David. See, I made him a witness to the peoples, a leader [נגיד] and commander for the peoples. See, you shall call nations that you do not know, and nations that do not know you shall run to you, because of Yahweh your God, the Holy One of Israel, for he has glorified you.

Exodus 19:4–6 priestly-izes the people, whereas this passage in Isaiah *Davidizes* them. The language here is keyed to the Davidic promises, the Davidic throne's "everlasting" status,[125] and the king's appointment as a נגיד in place of Saul (2 Sam 5:2). But the passage is not concerned with a future Davidide; it is using David as an analogue for the

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124. Cf. Thomas Römer, "Abraham and the 'Law and the Prophets,'" in *The Reception and Remembrance of Abraham* (ed. Pernille Carstens and Niels Peter Lemche; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2011), 87–101; also Chapter 4, n. 43.
125. E.g., 2 Sam 7:14–16; 22:51; 23:5; Ps 89; etc. See Chapter 4.

people as a whole.[126] This poor and misguided people (i.e., postmonarchic Judah) is to become, via the power of Yahweh, a ruler of nations: Israel will summon unknown nations and unknown nations will stream to them. The text conjures up a fuzzy image of Solomonic (i.e., Davidic) renown from long ago, but this time it is the people's renown, *kingly fame for the collective*, not renown for any individual ruler.

Although Isa 55:1–5 does not portray kingly Israel in direct relation to the priesthood (thus the Davidized Israel of Isaiah is not a "kingdom of priests" per se), there is something to be said for the priestly-ization of David himself in the discourse at large. David's priestly links would have informed the idea of Israel's Davidization, even if only slightly. The mediating figure here is Melchizedek. Remembered via Genesis 14:18 as both king (מלך) of Salem (i.e., Jerusalem) and priest (כהן) of El Elyon, Melchizedek serves as an analogue for David in Psalm 110. The psalm, which states that Yahweh will *not* change his mind (לא ינחם),[127] refers to David as a "priest forever" (כהן לעולם). Moreover, as highlighted in Chapter 4, David and Solomon do not shy away from priestly duties in the narratives of their reigns, nor are they chastised for such activities. The Davidization of the people, then, being mnemonically framed by David himself and by David's prefiguration Melchizedek, is implicitly keyed to the priestly title and functions.

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126.   Cf. Otto Eissfeldt, "The Promises of Grace to David in Isaiah 55:1–5," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson; New York: Harper, 1962), 196–207, an essay that has been extremely influential in scholarly treatments of this passage. See, e.g., Kenneth E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Signifi ance for Messianism* (SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 38–41; and Scott R. A. Starbuck, "Theological Anthropology at a Fulcrum: Isaiah 55:1–5, Psalm 89, and Second Stage Traditio in the Royal Psalms," in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts* (ed. Bernard F. Batto and Kathryn L. Roberts; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 247–65; each with many additional references to scholars who have adopted Eissfeldt's thesis concerning the transfer of the Davidic promise to the people as a collective.

127.   A notion that is a major problematic for the discourse, as discussed elsewhere in this study. See esp. Chapter 3.

Another "royalizing" image of Israel, but one expressly lacking the Davidic element, is found at the conclusion to the book Hosea.[128] I have already mentioned this passage several times above, but it must be mentioned again here. The passage beckons Israel to turn back toward Yahweh and away from the unreliable help of foreign powers (specifically Assyria) (14:2–5). The deity then promises to water Israel, such that they will grow into a powerful and beautiful tree like Lebanon (14:6–7). Lebanon, of course, was famous throughout the ancient Near East for its cedar forests, both in literary representation and in actuality.[129] The metaphor of the mighty tree from Lebanon, eloquently applied in Ezekiel 31 to the great imperial kings of Assyria and Egypt, stands here for the people of Israel. In this Hosea passage, however, there is no suggestion that the Israelite tree will be felled on account of haughtiness. Israel will be restored and sustained, presumably indefinitely, a great king among the nations.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

As the discourse is wont to do, it presents images of future kingship that either include ideas of David or do not, either remember him with fervor or bracket him entirely. This is true even for images of Israel as king, as I have shown above. What I would really like to emphasize at this point, however, are *the narrative eras* in which these images find their frames. The images discussed above, the Davidized Israel (Isa 55:1–5) and Israel as a mighty tree of Lebanon (Hos 14:6–7), obviously have affinities with Davidic kingship and with Near Eastern kingship in general, respectively. They have ties to memories of Israel's/Judah's monarchic era, to be sure. By imagining political

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128. Note again that the Targums revise this passage significantly, making reference to a Messiah, thus implying a Davidide. See above, n. 58.
129. See, e.g., discussion and references in Wilson, "Tyre, a Ship," 255–56.

power in the hands of Israel as a collective, however, these visions are also keyed to Israel's *pre*-monarchic era, to the days of Moses and the promise of Israel being a "kingdom of priests" under its deity. In this imagery—Israel ruling the nations or growing into a great and mighty tree of Lebanon—echoes the covenantal promise at the foot of Sinai, Israel's very initiation as a nation under Yahweh.

By imagining future kingship in terms of the collective, an ideal associated with the Mosaic era, these statements effectively circumvent conventional human kingship all together. Hope for any actual monarchic rule in Judah's future is thus squelched, at least from this discursive perspective. In Isa 55:1–5, Israel is likened to David, which informs the conceptualization of future Israel vis-à-vis other nations, but nothing is said of an *actual* king (besides the implied Yahweh, who is always in the background). King Israel, it seems, needs no human leaders. This imagined "democratic" or egalitarian society has many parallels in the prophetic books, passages in which the politics of human social life are eradicated and thus human leadership is either unnecessary or at least not worth mentioning (e.g., Zeph 3:11–13).[130]

Moreover, there is a myriad of related yet variegated images in the prophetic books that envision future Israel with human leadership that is decidedly *un*kingly. The priesthood, for one, stands out, with the future Jerusalem of Ezekiel being a fine example (cf. chs. 44–48). As discussed above, the נשיא in Ezekiel's imagining of the future temple is a kind of king, but the priests, as heads of the cult who actively minister to Yahweh (the ultimate king), wield considerable political power in this vision. Another example is

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130.   Cf. Ehud Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah* (BZAW 198; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991), 355–56.

Obadiah's conclusion: "Saviors [מושעים][131] will ascend Mount Zion to judge [שפט] Mount

Esau, and the kingdom [מלוכה] will belong to Yahweh" (v. 21). The book, an indictment

of the Edomites (remembered as descendants of Esau; cf. Gen 25:30; 36:1; etc.), makes it

clear that kingship is Yahweh's alone, but it also imagines political actors (the "saviors")

functioning within the deity's kingdom, actors that are linguistically keyed to the book of

Judges and to memories of the pre-monarchic era (cf. Judg 2:11–19, esp. vv. 16, 18; also

3:9; etc.). In these visions it is unclear what role, if any, human kingship has in Israel's

imagined future.

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Israel's overarching narrative, then, ends up right back where it was in the pre-

monarchic period, struggling to come to terms with kingship's emplotment in the story.

The possibility of a renewed Davidic kingship is both held out and snatched away. And

even if a Davidide arrives to take the throne in Jerusalem, it is unclear what this figure

will look like: Is he to be a superhuman, with powers approaching those of Yahweh

himself? Or is he to be simply another Judahite, someone who just happens to be David's

descendant, whose primary task is to occupy the throne for his famed ancestor's sake?

Alongside all this talk about David(s) are abstractions such as Israel's collective

rulership, the royalization of the people. Davidic kingship, as a concept, may be

transferred to all of Israel, thus rendering any notion of an individual human ruler

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131.   Cf. the MT. LXX has the passive σεσῳσμένοι ("saved ones"). Commentators often follow the LXX reading, citing the "escapee(s)" (פליטה) of v. 17a: see, e.g., Hans Walter Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (trans. Margaret Kohl; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 61, 65. John Barton, *Joel and Obadiah* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 154, offers a passive translation but leaves open the possibility of an active reading, since these individuals are going up to "rule" or "judge" (שפט). Ehud Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Obadiah* (BZAW 242; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996), 224, also emphasizes the combination of ישע (Hiph.) and שפט (Qal), which occurs frequently, especially in the book of Judges, as I state below.

<div align="center">326</div>

obsolete. Human kingship dissolves. The books present other options, too, which foresee

an Israel with entirely non-monarchic leadership. And, of course, behind each of these

discursive statements, every one of Israel's possible futures, is the illocutionary force of

King Yahweh.

Historical Consciousness, Metahistory, and the Prophetic Book

Examining the kingship discourse in Judah's prophetic books reveals something

extremely important for this study: the prophetic books are conscious of Israel's (hi)story.

They are self-aware and introspective. They know of and interact with the problems of

Israel's remembered past, and they often do so by remembering the *future*. To be sure,

others have observed and commented upon this interrelationship between Israel's

historical writings and its prophetic books. Noting the relationship itself is nothing new.

Brian Peckham, for instance, produced a massive work along these lines, entitled *History

and Prophecy*.[132] Two paragraphs from his opening pages are insightful, so I quote them

here in full:

> History and prophecy were correlative. History was a literate prose tradition,
> prophecy a schooled poetic tradition. Each was written with a view toward the
> other, history revealing the reasonable bases of life over time, and prophecy
> injecting the gathering past with a sense of futurity, willingness, and change.
> History could be pleasing, instructive, and impersonal. Prophecy was particular,
> adamant, and demanding. Together they gradually produced a weave of
> conflicting interpretations that achieved a sensible balance only when prophecy
> succumbed to the pressure of historical theory, framed by the Deuteronomist and
> apotheosized by the law, and when history was reduced to programs and practical
> details.
>   Symptoms of the reciprocity of prophecy and history can be found in all
> the writings of the Bible. They know about each other, acknowledge each other as

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132.   *History and Prophecy: The Development of Late Judean Literary Traditions* (Anchor Bible
Reference Library; New York: Doubleday, 1993).

alternative traditions, refer to each other, adopt the other style or mannerism, become what the other might have been. In the gradual development of late Judean literature, the striking individuality of the traditions gives way to uniformity; conflicting perspectives and expectations are riddled and sifted into sameness; and reciprocity slowly cedes to imitation.[133]

Peckham goes on to develop a bewilderingly impressive account of how Judean historiography and prophetic literature came to be. In Peckham's account, these two corpora of literature, the DH and Chronicles on the one hand and the prophetic books on the other, grew up together, shaping each other's opinions, sometimes in mutual agreement and sometimes in tit-for-tat exchanges that resulted in obvious tensions. Indeed, although I am less confident in our ability to reconstruct such a history of composition, it seems to me extremely likely that this literature came about via interdependence. The corpora are, without doubt, in conversation. The question is the outcome of the conversation. I argue, *pace* Peckham, that the interrelated collections of literature never really gave way to uniformity and sameness: to put it in Peckham's own terms, Judah's prophetic literature never really succumbed to "historical theory," that is, Deuteronomism and Torah apotheosis, because Judah's historiography was never really reduced to such programatic pragmatism. As I have tried to show throughout this study, the discourse remains multivocal; "the weave of conflicting interpretations" never goes away. There is a "sensible balance" to the literature, I agree, but it was not achieved via the silencing of multivocality in the literature: *the balance is to be found in the multivocality itself.* Just as the Judean discourse does not know what to do with kingship past, it cannot decide upon kingship future. Thus, as counterintuitive as it may seem,

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133.   Peckham, *History and Prophecy*, 1–3.

indecision is the ballast that achieves some sense of unity in the discourse as a whole. It is the one feature that stands on both sides of the temporal divide, in Judah's past and its future.

One final comment is in order before I move on to this study's concluding chapter. In the above quotation, Peckham writes that "prophecy [injects] the gathering past with a sense of futurity, willingness, and change," a brilliant observation. Since prophetic literature straddles the line between past and future, with equally strong senses of what has been and what will be, it simultaneously tends toward historiography and ahistoriography. It is both what was or is and what is not. Recognizing this feature in Zechariah 9–14 in particular, Carol and Eric Meyers note that these chapters have an "overwhelming metahistorical focus."[134] Elsewhere, in a study of the imagined geography of Zech 9:1–8, Carol Meyers shows how this passage "draws upon the historical and literary heritage of Israel in order to present a carefully constructed depiction of the future restoration of Israel," that is, it transforms "an historical ideal into a vivid future hope."[135] This is true for toponyms in Zechariah 9, as it is for the image of the Davidide in Isaiah 11 or King Israel in Isaiah 55, for example. As the kingship-discourse indicates, this generic feature is present throughout prophetic literature. The books balance the remembered past, by echoing the multivocality of kingship narratives found in the historiographical books; but they also shape, comment upon, and interpret the remembered past by presenting possible trajectories for the future. In this way the

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134. Meyers and Meyers, "Future Fortunes," 210.
135. Carol Meyers, "Foreign Places, Future World: Toponyms in the Eschatology of Zechariah 9," *Eretz-Israel* 24 (1993): 164*-72* (170*).

prophetic books are metahistoriographical. They are at once within and without Israel's

(hi)story.

CHAPTER 6
To Conclude: The Emplotments of Kingship and "Metahistoriography" in Ancient Judah

And they went weeping from this gate to that, like a man whose deceased lies before him, and the Holy One, blessed be He, wept, lamenting, "Woe for a king who prospers in his youth and not in his old age."[1]

Genres are not to be mixed.
I will not mix genres.
I repeat: genres are not to be mixed. I will not mix them.[2]

After covering a significant swath of material concerning kingship-discourse in postmonarchic Judah, a brief summary and some formal conclusions are in order. I have offered expositions of Judah's kingship-discourse that have, for the most part, remained localized within particular literary settings, within the discursive localities of certain books or interrelated sets of books, only hinting at or briefly commenting upon the potential significance of these expositions for our understanding of Judah's social remembering of kingship in general. In this chapter I offer a concluding synthesis. In addition, by way of synthesis, I would like to highlight a major implication of this study, that is, how Judah's remembering of kingship impacts our understanding of the prophetic books in their ancient, postmonarchic discursive context.

The Rhyming of Kingship: An Outline

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1. Lamentations Rabbah, proem 24 ii.2.T–U (Jacob Neusner, *Lamentations Rabbah: An Analytical Translation* [BJS 193; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 74).
2. An ironic and subversive statement—as Jacques Derrida was wont to make—which frames his paper "The Law of Genre," trans. Avital Ronell, *Glyph* 7 (1980): 202–232 (202).

In my opening chapter, I lay out the methodological and theoretical framework for this study, situating my historical and historiographical interests within the literate community of late Persian-period Judah, and arguing for a particular, systemic understanding of social memory that draws on cultural anthropology and narratology.

Chapter 2 then examines the law of the king in Deuteronomy (17:14–20), showing how this law functioned as one of the primary frames for kingship-discourse in ancient Judah. The law allows for kingship and even forecasts the office in Israel's imminent future, but its particular vision of the office is idealistic and utopian, unlike normative kingship in the ancient Near East and also unlike representations of Israel's/ Judah's own great kings in the Judean historiographical books. Moses and Joshua play a part here, too, functioning in kingly roles (e.g., lawgiver, conqueror of divinely promised land) but as *non*-kings. Although their actions are often king-like, in line with ancient Near Eastern tropes, the literati could not have remembered them as kings per se, because Torah did not allow for that sort of kingship in Israel. The law and the leadership of Moses and Joshua thus helped frame the kingship-discourse, establishing irreconcilable tensions between Torah ideals and conventional Near Eastern power, tensions that were then keyed to the law throughout the subsequent narrative of kingship's past rise and fall in Israel/Judah.

In Chapter 3, I argue that multivocality and overdetermination in the discourse's transition from judgeship to kingship gave rise to and informed the multiple discursive potentials that play out in the rest of kingship's story: the issues of dynasty's successes and failures, of cultic devotion and apostasy, of divine promises, and so forth. With regard to these issues, kingship was doublethought, simultaneously possible and

332

impossible. In the midst of the transition stands the liminal figure of Samuel, the judge-priest-prophet who simultaneously decries the rise of kingship and enables it. In Samuel's story and the related narrative of Saul's kingly accession and rule, there are marked continuities and discontinuities between the pre-monarchic-era leadership of Moses, Joshua, and the judges, on one hand, and the monarchic-era leadership of the great Israelite/Judahite kings, on the other—the narrative wants to have it both ways. Thus, the aporetic account of kingship's rise, along with the Deuteronomic king-law, mnemonically framed the rest of kingship's story.

Chapter 4 focuses on David and Davidic kingship, especially with regard to the multiple discursive potentials highlighted in Chapter 3. David's story (in its various and dialogic versions) and its discursive import remained multivocal and ambiguous. Its multivocality, moreover, was concomitant with Judah's remembered past in general, with the metanarrative of exile/exodus, for example, and its ongoing trajectories of sin/redemption, failure/hope, death/new life, and so on. Instead of limiting the discourse, instead of attempting to reduce it to a single voice, the contribution of David and Davidic kingship was to encourage and maintain the multivocality, as they were keyed to the mnemonic framework of the Deuteronomic king-law and the doublethought rise of kingship in the first place.

In Chapter 5, I show how, in prophetic literature, the remembered *future* was keyed to the remembered past. The literature drew on the discursive themes of the remembered past, as it was construed in historiographical books and in the prophetic books themselves. King Yahweh is there, ever present in Judean memory as the true ruler of Israel and the entire cosmos; even the seemingly superhuman kings of Assyria and

Babylon were simply his pawns. But underneath Yahweh there is a fuzzy picture of human leadership going forward. Will a Davidide return? If so, what will his rule look like? Or will some other form of human leadership function as a kind of regency under the deity? Judgeship again? A "Davidized" collective, that is, Israel as a whole functioning as ruler of Yahweh's empire? The multivocal framework for remembering kingship therefore abided. Images of the future, in this corpus of literature, balanced memories of the past. Judah's model *of* past kingship reflected its model *for* future kingship, thus bringing a sense of balance and unity to the discourse as a whole and to Judah's social remembering of monarchy.

<p align="center">***</p>

Now, thinking of a general narrative trajectory, the overarching emplotment of kingship within Judean discourse in toto, we may divide Israel's/Judah's story into four broad periods: (1) no king; (2) king; (3) no king again; and (4) visions of future kingship, human and/or divine. Each of these, of course, has sub-divisions familiar to and often utilized in scholarship: for example, Israel's initial "no-king" period consists of the patriarchal age, Moses and the exodus, and finally the eras of conquest and the judges; and one might divide the kingship-period into units of the so-called United and Divided monarchies. I bring this rather mundane information to the discussion here to emphasize a major structural element in Judah's social memory, its sociomental emplotment(s) of the past.[3] The major narrative framework for kingship—from the perspective of the late Persian-period literati—hinges upon the establishment of kingship in the past, the

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3.   Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 7, calls this "sociomental *topography*" (italics original).

dissolution of that same institution, and the *re*institution of kingship (whatever that might look like) in the future. To be sure, there are other major sociomental plots that the society would have construed: for example, one structured around Israel's presence in the land, with the exodus and exile being the central framing events. Also, there are important subplots in the kingship narrative, ones involving non-Israelite kings or emperors like Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus, each of which are intertwined with salient memories of Israelite and Judahite kings. In terms of *Israelite* kingship in particular, however, the structure of the narrative would have centered upon the initial institution of the office in the land, the fall of that office, and the potential reestablishment of the office sometime in the imminent future.

The rhyming pattern of this narrative structure is noticeable right away: no king → king → no king again → king again.[4] "History repeats itself," as we say—or history *rhymes* itself, as Mark Twain *supposedly* said—which was no less true for ancient constructions of social memory than it is today. This rhyming or helical emplotment is crucial for understanding ancient Judean kingship-discourse and Judah's mnemonic system, and the crux is in the two parallel transitions, the periods in the narrative during which Israel/Judah goes from no king to king. Within the narrative framework, the rhyming helix of kingship, the Judges-period runs parallel to the temporal setting of the late Persian-period community: the judges ruled the land following the conquest and up to the establishment of Israelite kingship; and Persian Judeans (re)occupied the land following the exile and imagined Yahweh's universal reign from Zion, his Davidide

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4.   On rhyming/cyclical patterns in social memory, see Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 23–25. The concept of "rhyming" history, attributed to Mark Twain, suggests that our construals of the past are usually more helical than cyclical.

king-regent (re)appearing, and/or some other form of human leadership, individual or collective, under the deity.

Arguing that postmonarchic Judah saw itself as somehow parallel to the period of Judges is nothing new. Scholars have characterized the book of Judges as a postmonarchic history lesson, so to speak, through which readers of the book might have comprehended the need for proper theocratic leadership, how Yahweh preserved Israel in spite of itself.[5] However, we can extrapolate more from this model. The kingship-narrative continues along its helical, rhyming course, with the period of Judges moving into the monarchic period of Saul-David-Solomon and so on, and with the postmonarchic period moving into the imagined future, a period shaped primarily by the discursive trends of the prophetic books. The transition from Judges to monarchy, as construed in the books of Judges and Samuel, thus provided postmonarchic readers with one major mnemonic frame for understanding their present situation *and their diverse hopes for the future*. Proceeding along these lines enables a more nuanced understanding of ancient Judean sociopolitics and identity negotiation, the "passage from chaos to cosmos" and the "new order" that Susan Niditch sees dawning at the end of the book of Judges,[6] which would have paralleled postmonarchic Judah's understanding of its own moment in time vis-à-vis the story of Israelite kingship.

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5. See, e.g., William J. Dumbrell, "'In those days there was no king in Israel; Every man did what was right in his own eyes': The Purpose of the Book of Judges Reconsidered," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 23–33, esp. 29–32. Cf. Susan Niditch, *Judges: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 13.
6. Niditch, "Judges, Kingship, and Political Ethics: A Challenge to the Conventional Wisdom," in *Thus Says the Lord: Essays on the Former and Latter Prophets in Honor of Robert R. Wilson* (ed. John J. Ahn and Stephen L. Cook; LHBOTS 502; New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 59–70 (61).

But how does the story play out in Judean discourse? Within the helical emplotment of no king → king → no king again → king again, at the transition between each of the first two periods of the narrative, we find a degradation of society in Yahweh's eyes, a collapse of Yahwistic Torah-mindedness: first in the period of the Judges, and then in the waning of Judah's monarchic period. To be sure, there are redemptive moments during the collapses, for example, Samson's "heroic apotheosis"[7] and Josiah's reforms, but in both sequences there is a generally tragic trajectory, a movement from promising beginnings to troublesome endings. In a sense, the figure of Samuel helps mitigate the tragedy of the Judges-period by suggesting that the final judge, the one who anointed kingship (however begrudgingly), was a strong Yahwistic leader (though, one should note, his sons apparently were not; cf. 1 Sam 8:1–3). As I argued in Chapter 3, Samuel and his story is the *mise en abyme* of the historiographical discourse concerning kingship. The literati, too, saw themselves in a comparable crux, in a time between the land's renewal and the establishment of a new order. They, like Samuel, were the defenders of Torah in this crucial moment, and they also considered the potential future(s) of kingship.

The book of Judges and the stories of Samuel and Saul in 1 Samuel 1–15—falling in the middle of the helix's first turn—functioned as a touchpoint for Mosaic foundations and monarchic futures. They remembered a period between two "golden ages": (1) Yahweh's triumphal forging of a people and conquest of Canaan via Moses and Joshua (the period's remembered past); and (2) the apex of Israel's monarchic age under David and Solomon (the period's remembered future). They do so, however, while intimating

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7.   Niditch, "Political Ethics," 67.

the people's failure to maintain covenantal obligations, an issue that would plague the people until the downfall of monarchy and the people's exile from the land. As mentioned above, the postmonarchic Judean literati no doubt saw themselves in a similar transitional period between the previous age and the one to come, the crux between chaos and cosmos. There was thus a sense of continuity between their contemporary period and the period of the Judges long ago.

However, in the literati's negotiation of monarchic past and Yahwistic, kingly futures, they did not necessarily envision another covenantal letdown, nor did they necessarily foresee yet another social disintegration into chaos. This is evident, to a certain extent, in the conclusions to the historiographical books, which focus directly on the monarchy and its failures. In the book of Kings, with its ambiguous ending, there is a glimmer of hope (however subdued and complicated it might be) for the future, and Chronicles' conclusion makes hope for the future explicit, in its recounting of Cyrus's divinely inspired decree to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem (see Chapter 4). In each of these books, though the specifics of their discursive contributions differ, there is a sense that the cycle of apostasy can and will be broken.

Moreover, in the remembered future of the prophetic books, which balanced the literati's remembered past, there is no doubt that the cycle *is* broken. In these books' insistence on a glorious future of some sort, there was a necessary element of forgetting, of discontinuity between past and present—history would rhyme to a certain extent without fully repeating itself. These books, each in its own way, mitigate the ultimate failure of Judah's monarchic polity by providing images of kingly restoration set in Judah's imminent future. Each prophetic book is set, ostensibly, in a particular past time

period, for example, Isaiah in the Neo-Assyrian period, Ezekiel in the Babylonian exile, and so on. However, each book is also set in its postmonarchic present, a touchpoint for monarchic past and restoration future, and a catalyst for negotiation of social memory. The book of Isaiah, for instance, points to the Torah-centered reign of Yahweh himself (cf. 2:2–4); also to a superhuman Davidide whose senses will be infused with the fear of Yahweh, who will slay enemies with his breath (cf. 11:1–5); and the book even speaks of the "democratization" of kingship, the Davidization of all Israel (cf. 55:3–5). We can see how the literati's memories of the past shaped images of the future, and how the imagined future shaped understandings of past memories. "Institutionalized alternatives" concerning the past[8] went hand-in-hand with "institutionalized alternatives" for the future. Memories of Moses and Yahweh's Torah, of David's achievements and Yahweh's covenant with him, helped shape kingship-discourse in the prophetic books. And the discourse in the prophetic books, in turn, shaped mnemonic discourse in the Pentateuchal and historiographical books.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Within this mnemonic system, the Judeans seemed to have resisted certain aspects of kingly rule while embracing others. Throughout this study I have highlighted the potential for multivocal Judean thinking with regard to hereditary rule and dynasty, the piety of the king and his role in the cult vis-à-vis the priesthood, inter alia—all of this in the context of a society that had no indigenous king. Nevertheless, it must have been exceedingly difficult to think politically outside the kingship box, so to speak. Judean

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8.   Cf. James R. Linville, *Israel in the Book of Kings: The Past as a Project of Social Identity* (JSOTSup 272; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 103–104.

literati therefore imagined hybrid identities for their sociopolitical future, identities that

promoted an absolute Yahwistic imperialism but at the same time began to rethink the

hegemonic image of ancient Near Eastern kingship under the deity. Thus, the literati still

thought of the cosmos in terms of a god-king and his chosen people, who would be the

conduit for peace and justice in the world, yet they were concomitantly disenchanted with

normative (super)human kingship, as promoted by the Assyrians and their imperial

successors. As a result, visions of future Israelite kingship abounded. They saw, for

example, a superhuman Davidide with uncanny power to rule, a power in total

contradistinction with Assyria's. The Davidide, in this image and others, was elevated

nearly to the level of Yahweh himself. Yet in other visions, David was simply a

placeholder in the throne or not present at all. They also saw themselves collectively, the

divinely chosen people of Israel, as an imperial ruler of nations—an uncanny idea in the

ancient Near East. Likewise, Yahweh became an uncanny god who transcended typical

divine roles to accomplish his imperial purposes. These diverse memories and images of

kingship functioned as models *of* and *for* Judean society in the late Persian period and

beyond.

Future Prospects

A text, argues Derrida, does not have a genre; texts do not "belong" to a generic category.

Texts, he argues, *participate* in genres; they take part without being part.[9] "[A] text

cannot belong to no genre, it cannot be without or less a genre. Every text participates in

one or several genres, there is no genreless text; there is always a genre and genres, yet

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9.   Derrida, "Law of Genre," 206.

such participation never amounts to belonging."[10] For Derrida, once a text is marked as a particular genre, the text then becomes *re*markable: it is cited and recited, recounted and accounted for, and thus its generic boundaries are blurred and obfuscated. Is Isaiah 36–39, for example, historiographical? Is 2 Kings 18–20 prophetic? What about 2 Chronicles 32? These cases of blurred generic boundaries are obvious of course, because they include direct citation and recitation, accounting and recounting in different contexts, but multiform generic participation is not always so clear. In any case, when Derrida claims that "genres are not to be mixed," he implies (among other things) that genres *cannot* be mixed per se, because genres are not inherent to any text itself. With much less playfulness and obscurity, the literary critic John Frow writes:

> [F]ar from being merely 'stylistic' devices, genres create effects of reality and truth, authority and plausibility, which are central to the different ways the world is understood in the writing of history or of philosophy or of science, or in painting, or in everyday talk. These effects are not, however, fixed and stable, since texts – even the simplest and most formulaic – do not 'belong' to genres but are, rather, uses of them; they refer not to 'a' genre but to a field or economy of genres, and their complexity derives from the complexity of that relation. Uses of texts ('readings') similarly refer, and similarly construct a position in relation to that economy.[11]

Similarly, another literary critic, Carl Freedman, argues that genre is a "tendency" that "happens within a text."[12] Freedman, like Frow and Derrida, recognizes that a single text may have multiple and variant generic tendencies that contribute to the complexity of the text (and its context) as a whole.

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10.   Derrida, "Law of Genre," 212.
11.   John Frow, *Genre* (The New Critical Idiom; London: Routledge, 2006), 2.
12.   Carl Freedman, *Critical Theory and Science Fiction* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), 20.

I raise this issue of genre here at the conclusion to my study because I think the foregoing investigation of kingship-discourse and social memory in ancient Judah has significant ramifications for how we think about the generic tendencies of the Judean prophetic book and its interrelationship with the historiographical. Within Judean discourse, the prophetic book, as I argued in Chapter 5, is a specific text-type or form (perhaps unique in its wider ancient Near Eastern context) that is recognizable by its discursive markers.[13] What I would like to emphasize here is the prophetic book's speculative fictionality[14] concerning the future vis-à-vis its rootedness in a strong sense of a real past. The prophetic book, within the milieu of late Persian-era Judah, enabled the literati to envision multiple, diverging paths for their sociopolitical future. This is what makes the prophetic book in particular a kind of "speculative" literature. In their prophetic literature, the Judean literati saw their past and their future as a complex network of possibilities. This is at least partly true for Judah's historiographical literature, too, but in the prophetic book it is a dominant tendency.

In the words of science fiction writer Norman Spinrad, "Speculative fiction is the only fiction that deals with modern reality in the only way that it can be comprehended—as the interface between a rapidly evolving and fissioning environment and the resultant

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13.   Cf. Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Prophetic Book: A Key Form of Prophetic Literature," in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 276–97.
14.   On speculative fiction see, e.g., Norman Spinrad, "Introduction," in *Modern Science Fiction* (ed. Norman Spinrad; Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1974), 1–6. Please note, by appealing to the term "fiction" here I do not mean to imply that these books are something like the novels of our contemporary age. I indicate, rather, that the books participate in a kind of fictionality, specifically a kind of fictionality that is rooted in one's construal of the real past and present (cf. Hayden White, "The Fictions of Factual Representation," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978], 121–34). On should also note that the historiographical books are somewhat speculative too. The past was malleable to a limited extent, as Chronicles so clearly reveals. The composition and reading of Chronicles helped balance and (re)shape Judean memories of the monarchic period, bringing differing historiographical narratives into conversation. See Chapter 4.

continuously mutating human consciousness. Speculative fiction ... reflects the condition of the modern mind."[15] I do not agree with Spinrad that speculative fiction is the only sort of literature that does this, but his comment on the condition of the mind within a certain milieu is important. The Judeans of the postmonarchic era (like writers of science fiction in our contemporary age) faced a constantly changing environment: they saw the succession of empires, the Egyptian revolt against Persia, and the rise of Alexander, among other sea-changing events. They lived in an imperialized world, and they maintained a postcolonial kind of existence, constructing their memories and their identities as a politically insignificant group on the outskirts of Achaemenid rule. The prophetic books and their interrelationship with historiographical literature give us fine insight into this ancient postcolonial process of cultural negotiation and synthesis. Of course, this is not to say that ancient Judeans were unique in this experience; many people groups found themselves in the same situation in this time period and throughout antiquity. But in the Judean literature we have detailed examples of how one peripheral people group in an ancient imperial setting actually dealt with questions of political thought, and the avenues they explored for constructing sociopolitical identities.[16]

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15. Spinrad, "Introduction," 3.
16. Another well-documented *exemplum* is the Greeks under the Roman empire during the early centuries CE (the Second Sophistic period). "Plutarch's work," for instance, "delineates the awkward truths of Roman colonisation and, at the same time, presents to his audience a way of being Greek that is sensitive to the inescapable presence of empire" (Phiroze Vasunia, "Plutarch and the Return of the Archaic," in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text* [ed. A. J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 369–89 [369]). Second Sophistic writers frequently make reference to classical Athens and its civic, intellectual, and military heroes of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, in attempts to compare (positively and negatively) the past and present. For Roman-era Greece, Vasunia ("Plutarch," esp. 384–85, citing Homi Bhabha) argues that this negotiation between past and present is possible because of a marked disjunction between archaic past and colonized present; in Greece, "The past lay behind the present, the past haunted the present, it even irrupted into the present, but there was not clear, unambiguous line leading from classical past to present" (Vasunia, "Plutarch," 371). For the Judeans, however, there was not such a distinct rupture between historical eras. To be sure, there is an "exilic gap" in the Judean literature—life in exile after the Babylonian conquest is hardly even mentioned (see Katherine Stott, "A Comparative Study of the Exilic Gap in Ancient Israelite, Messenian, and Zionist Collective Memory," in *Community Identity*

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I submit, then, that the prophetic book, via its discursive relationship with historiographical literature and its key function in Judah's socio-mnemonics of kingship, participated in what we might call "metahistoriography." It was a kind of historiography, but one with a pronounced speculative outlook; it reflected and took part in discourse about the past, but with a view of future potentials always firmly in mind.[17] To conclude this study, I offer a few comments on this modest proposal.

First, despite the prophetic book's extensive interest in the past, it does not tend toward historiography per se. Its form is *primarily* poetic (though of course there are significant exceptions to this: e.g., Jonah, Haggai, large portions of Ezekiel, and so forth). Its content is concerned with the past but also, and perhaps primarily, with the present and with the near and distant futures of that past. One recognizes a text's generic tendencies not only through similarity, but also through *difference*: what the text is like and what it is *not* like. Intertextual relationships inform generic understandings. So, for example, we recognize a sermon in part because it seems to be like other sermons, but also because we know it is *not* a prayer or a lectionary reading or a mundane announcement.[18] In this way we notice commonalities between the prophetic books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, for example, and we can also clearly distinguish between the

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in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives [ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Kenneth A. Ristau; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2009], 41–58). But, unlike the Second Sophistic writings, the Judean literature does trace a line (or better: lines) from distant past to present (and future). In the discourse, the past affects and *effects* the unfolding story, even if its understandings of causality are not always consistent or sensical.

17. Metahistoriography is apparent outside the prophetic corpus too. Take, for example, the book of Deuteronomy's generically fluid function: it is at once legal, prophetic, and historiographical, as I discussed in Chapter 2. The same may be said of Samuel's speech in 1 Samuel 8, which blurs the lines between the historiographical and the prophetic (see Chapter 3).

18. Cf. Frow, *Genre*, 24.

prophetic book of Jeremiah and the historiographical book of Joshua. The prophetic book was not historiography.

At the same time, however, as I hope to have shown in this study, prophetic books relied upon historiography, interacted with it, and in turn guided the reading of it. This is one reason for the "meta-" in my designation metahistoriography. The books were not historiographical per se but at the same time they took part in historiography.

Without the prophetic literature, I argue, the Judean historiographical discourse might have exploded (or better: imploded) from the pressure of its own multivocality. The kind of extensive multivocality, polyvalency, and doublethinking on display in Judah's historiography typically does not survive in such tightly knit social contexts. Extensive "forgetting" or bracketing usually takes place, a single primary cause is usually emphasized, and a single person or entity gains recognition or takes the fall.[19] Given the prominence of David in Judah's remembered past, for example, the thoroughgoing ambiguity concerning the outcome of Davidic kingship is indeed remarkable. It seems less remarkable, however, when we recognize that its role in the remembered *future* is equally ambiguous. In other words, as I have now stated several times, the prophetic literature's multivocality concerning the future guided and sustained the multivocality of the remembered past, *and vice versa*. It was only with the counterbalancing relationship between the prophetic books and the historiographical literature, I argue, that Judah's consistently multivocal social remembering held up. Drawing on Frow's thoughts on

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19.   See, e.g., Barry Schwartz, "Collective Forgetting and the Symbolic Power of Oneness: The Strange Apotheosis of Rosa Parks," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 72 (2009): 123–142, with references to a number of other cognitive and sociological studies.

345

genre, I submit that prophetic literature and the historiographical participated in an overlapping generic economy, thus necessarily informing the readings of one another.[20]

Further supporting my proposal of a generic interrelationship are the prophetic books' mimetic interests, however muted those interests might be. Although the books do not attempt to "mimic" the historiographical narratives that serve as their supposed historical contexts (e.g., the Josianic era described in Zephaniah is unlike that described in 2 Kings),[21] they *do* purport to relay and accurately represent the oracular speeches of figures from these past eras. Although the books do not typically report past "events" (though they do from time to time), Judean readers of the books must have taken the books' contents to represent the "real" prophetic activities of the books' eponymous prophetic figures—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, Zechariah, and so on—however readers might have construed the "real." Thus, they did have an interest in mimeses and historical representation. They were not fantasies or even "serious entertainment"; they were written texts that the community took seriously as representing the actual words of their deity Yahweh, communicated to them via actual past personages. The "genre-competent" literati of late Persian-period Judah "expected familiarization as well as defamiliarization in these books. It is the tension between these two expectations that most likely informed their reading of these books, and contributed to their rhetorical appeal."[22] The ahistoriographical prophetic book, in this way, *was* historiographical to some extent.

20.　　I should note here that generic participation also shifts over time. Genre and generic systems or economies are neither synchronically nor diachronically stable. See, e.g., Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 170–83; cf. Frow, *Genre*, 124–44. The prophetic books, which have been reread, reapplied and re-understood, for many centuries, in diverse historical, sociocultural, and religious contexts, are themselves evidence of this.
21.　　Cf. Ben Zvi, "Prophetic Book," 290.
22.　　Ben Zvi, "Prophetic Book," 292.

James Linville has recently made a similar argument with regard to the prophetic book and the generic category of "myth," which further supports my proposal here. Surveying the themes of creation/uncreation/re-creation and their interrelationship with references to exile and return in the prophetic books (e.g., Amos 9), Linville proposes that such prophetic texts are "metamyths, or myth about a myth."[23] He states, "Building on earlier myths including those of creation and divine combat, new myths are spun that deal not only with old tropes, but with their interpretation in new situations."[24] Indeed, in passages in the prophetic books that deal with (un-/re-)creation and the interrelated trope of exodus/exile, the literature tends toward or participates in the mythic as it were, re-creating myth itself. But when it comes to *kingship* in the prophetic books, the intertextual relationship that typically guides readings within the discourse is the relationship with historiographical literature, the remembering of David and his dynasty and of the people's rejection of Yahweh's kingship, and so on. Of course by appealing to the kingship of Yahweh and emphasizing his sole rulership over and above any human (Israelite or not) the discourse also tends toward the mythic, toward the affirmation that Yahweh is creator and ultimate controller of the cosmos (e.g., Gen 1; Exod 15; Deut 32; etc.). The boundaries of generic participation are porous. The marking and thus

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23. James R. Linville, "Myth of the Exilic Return: Myth Theory and the Exile as an Eternal Reality in the Prophets," in *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and its Historical Contexts* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin; BZAW 404; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 295–308 (306). Linville draws on Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995 [original 1988]), esp. 112–13. As an example of metamyth, Doniger cites Heb 9:12–14, which takes up the themes of Passover sacrifice and Jesus's crucifixion—which are only implicitly connected in the Gospels (the implication being strongest in John 1:29)—and makes their connection explicit. Of course the Hebrews text, as Doniger points out, is also drawing on texts like the Akedah (Gen 22) and sacrificial rituals known from the Hebrew Bible. "This is already a labyrinthine house of mirrors," writes Doniger, "into which the New Testament introduces its own mirror to end all mirrors; for surely John and Paul (like so many Christians after them, including Kierkegaard) had Isaac in mind as the human lamb who was to be saved by the sacrifice of Jesus" (*Other Peoples' Myths*, 113).
24. Linville, "Myth of the Exilic Return," 306.

*re*marking of a text's genre(s) happens in the margins, at the limits of a text's recognizable form or type, where the text folds in on itself, to draw on Derrida.[25]

Recognizing this metamythic tendency as well, I nonetheless argue that the prophetic books in late Persian-period Judah participated more often than not in *metahistoriographical* discourse, in a speculative fictionality concerning the interrelationship of past, present, and future. Each of them is ostensibly set in Israel's/ Judah's monarchic and/or postmonarchic periods, eras which are recounted in the community's historiographical literature, and many of them have specific things to say about the import of these (hi)stories for the readership's present and future. The prophetic books actively participate in the (re)construction of narrative emplotments concerning kingship and human leadership, in the mnemonics of the community's sociopolitical existence, as I showed in detail in Chapter 5. I conclude this study, then, with a simple and simplified statement—a statement that, I think, has potentially significant implications for our further study of this literature and its ancient contexts. The prophetic books were, in part, metahistoriographical, in as much as they depended upon, dialogued with, and informed historiographical literature, which affected and effected balance and uniformity in Judah's social memory in the late Persian era.

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25.   See Derrida, "Law of Genre," 206, 210–13.

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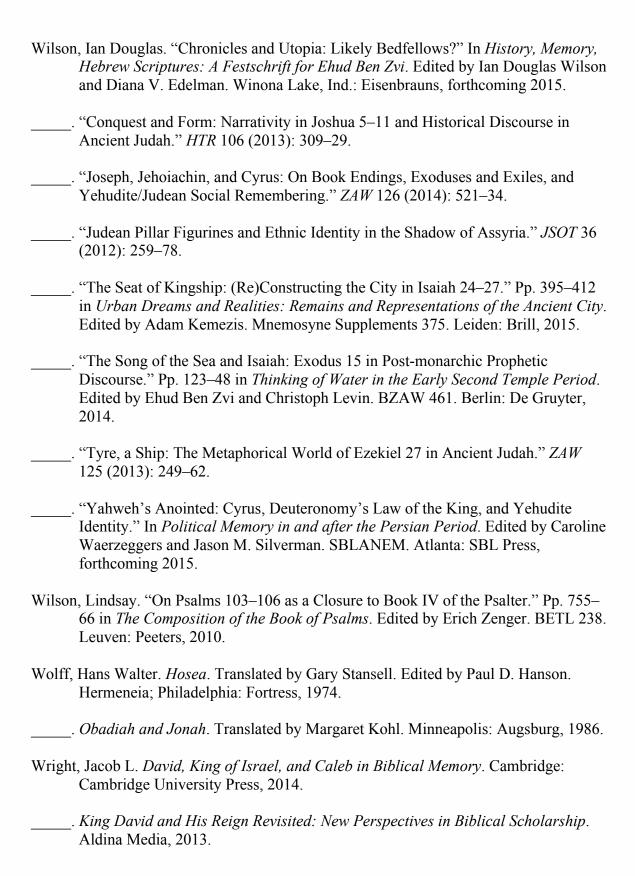
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