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The statesmanship of King David

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THE STATESMANSHP of KING DAVID

by

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OUTLINE and INDEX

The Statesmanship of King David

I. Introduction 1

II. A Critical Investigation of Source Materials 4
   A. The Books of Samuel 4
   B. The First Book of Samuel 16:1 - 31:13 12
   D. The First Book of Kings 1:1 - 2:11 22
   E. Summary of Account in 1 Samuel 16:1 - 1 Kings 2:11 23
   F. The First Book of Chronicles 10:1 - 29:30 24
   G. Other Sources for the Life of David 28

III. The Life and Statesmanship of King David 30
   A. The World Stage Upon Which David Appeared 30
   B. David at the Court of Saul 35
      1. David Anointed as King 36
      2. David's Introduction to Public Life 38
      3. David's Contest with Goliath 40
      4. Saul's Jealousy of David 45
      5. David's Friendship with Jonathan 49
      6. A Summary of the First Period of David's Life 50
   C. David as a Fugitive and Outlaw 53
      1. David's Flight to Nob 54
      2. The Priest at Nob 54
      3. The Gathering of David's Followers 57
      4. The Relief of Keilah 59
5. David's Regard for Saul's Life.  
6. The Nabal Incident.  
7. A Vassal of Achish.  
   a. David's Wise Behavior as a Philistine Vassal.  
   b. The Philistine Advance.  
   c. The Amalekite Raid.  
   d. The Distribution of the Spoil.  
   e. The Death of Saul.  

D. David, King of Judah.  
1. War Between the Forces of David and Saul.  
2. Abner's Negotiations.  
3. The Murder of Ishbaal.  
4. David's Wisdom in Waiting for the Kingship.  
5. A Summary of the Third Period of David's Life.  

E. David, King of Israel.  
1. The Establishment of the Kingdom.  
   a. The War with the Philistines.  
   b. The Establishment of Jerusalem.  
   c. The Transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem.  
   d. David's Desire to Build the Temple.  
2. The Expansion of the Kingdom.  
   a. The Organization of David's Army  
   b. The Foreign Wars of David.  
   c. David's International Relations.  
   d. The Importance of the Davidic Kingdom.
3. David's Court Life.
   a. David's Family Life.

   a. Absalom's Rebellion.
   b. The Revolt of Sheba.

5. David's Old Age.
   a. The Numbering of the People.
   b. The Threshing Floor of Araunah.
   c. The Attempt of Adonijah to Seize the Throne.
   d. David's Death.

6. A Summary of David's Later Years.

IV. A Comprehensive Summary of the Statesmanship of King David.

Bibliography
I. INTRODUCTION.
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This work is to deal primarily with those qualities to be found in David's life, character, reign, and reputation which show the king's statesmanship. We shall find many glimpses into that specific phase of the man's personality in the early years of his life, in his experiences at Saul's court, in his outlaw life, and in his development as a Philistine vassal and as king over Judah. Through necessity much must be taken from inference rather than from stated facts. It should be noted, however, that no attempt has been made to develop all of those different phases of King David's life which might be of interest, and that there has been a purpose behind this paper which has through a biographical presentation sought to point out those particular incidents which seem to show most strikingly the quality of statesmanship that our subject possessed.

The opening chapter of the following work is devoted to a discussion of the source materials from which we must draw our factual knowledge of King David's life and times. This may in some ways appear a bit irrelevant, but it does distinctly show the general authenticity of the facts which are the basis of our discussion. The picture drawn of David in the second section of the paper is built upon this factual material, and possibly it will be noted that there have been some slight omissions in regard to certain well known episodes in King David's life; in the majority of cases these appear because of their unimportant character so far as our theme is concern, but in others they are purposely omitted because
the preponderence of the evidence seems to be against their validity.

To completely cover the life of so heroic a figure as that of David has taken volumes, and for this reason we cannot expect this work to be all inclusive. Verily the high lights have been pointed to, and the zig-zags along the road of his life taken; but have been repainted, and that is all that can be claimed through the work. The conclusion and summary evolved itself into something of a praise of this great man, and it should justly be so, for no other man ever stirred a people so profoundly to their very depths as did this King David of ours. We all feel that we knew him for he stirs the imagination of any child hearing the Bible stories just as he stirred the people of Israel. His is a figure that appeals to the imagination. In the description.

"Skillful in playing, and a mighty man of valour, and a man of war, and prudent in speech, and a comely person, and Jehovah is with him."

(1 Cr. 16:12)

we have our most vivid and picturesque of the man, and indeed the last quality of his person mentioned seemed over the most important - Jehovah was with him! and it is because He was and because He dominated the life of King David that that figure stands out on the horizon of all ages. Yet, it is not "just the religious man," but rather David the statesman of whom we write; it can be plainly seen how difficult any vivisection of a character is unless all phases of that character are taken into consideration, and it is somewhat upon these grounds that the amalgamated nature of the paper may be blamed.
A detailed summary seemed impossible in view of the necessity of giving a background for each detail if it were to be discussed again; accordingly, the summary is what might be termed a summary impression of the state of the ship of David. He was truly a great man, and the field and scope of his moral influence are not too large even to require to be reduced to such a small space. Yet it is hoped that sufficient of the ground will be tilled, and enough new vistas be opened to bring about a slight realization of the dynamic character of the statesmanship that dominated the political actions of King David. With this hope we send him with the blessings of Jehovah and the hope of a happy people.
II. A CRITICAL STUDY of SOURCE MATERIALS
II. A Critical Investigation of Source Materials.

It will be necessary before going into an intimate study of the life and statesmanship of King David to make a more or less thorough study of the materials upon which we must rely for our historical facts. As we will find the main body of material in the first and second books of Samuel we should naturally pay more attention to these sources. However, this main story is completed in the first two chapters of the first book of Kings, and there are several items added to the earlier account in the story as told by the chronicler in 1 Chronicles.

The story of David begins at 1 Samuel 16 and runs through the remainder of the book, through all of 2 Samuel and into the first two chapters of 1 Kings. This, the oldest and main source of our narrative of David, will be the first subject for our discussion; later the account in 1 Chronicles will be valued according to its particular worth.

A. The Books of Samuel. The two books of Samuel originally formed a single book just as did the two books of Kings. In the Septuagint translation the four books were treated as a unit history of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. A similar division was followed by Jerome in the Vulgate, though he used "Books of Kings" instead of the earlier title, "Books of Kingdoms." In this form they passed generally into Christian Bibles, with the difference, however, that each pair of books retained its general title carried over from the Hebrew manuscripts, and 1-4 Regum became 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 1 Kings. It may be of interest to note that the division of the books was first made by the Greek translators or the Greek copyists. "As we know

from classic writers, the rolls of the Greek and Latin works were written in certain conventional sizes. Biblical books (Samuel, Kings, Chronicles) were divided into two in order to conform to this rule of the trade. Thus, a complete narrative was broken into bits in order that convention might not be disrupted. The fact that the first and second books of Samuel were originally one book is further affirmed by Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. VI. 25). Agreeing with this is the statement of the Talmud, which names Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as though each were but a single book (Baba Bathra, 14a).

There is some difference among the authorities as to the nicety of the choice of "Samuel" as a name for the book, but we should be inclined toward the view which favors the choice as appropriate. The title does not denote the authorship of the book, despite the tradition current among the Jews that Samuel was himself the author, but rather it commemorates the prominent actor in the events recorded in the book. We find that Samuel is a prominent figure both in the opening chapters of and for some time subsequently. In the choice and consecration of Saul and David he may be said to have determined the history of the entire period embraced by the book. The choice of the name "stands as a monument of the greatness of the Prophet who was Jehovah's instrument for establishing the Kingdom of Israel, and guiding the chosen people through a crisis in their history second in importance only to the Exodus. The account begins with Samuel's birth and his direct influence rules throughout, even to the end in the king whom he appointed as Jehovah's choice as ruler over Israel.

2. Ibid. p. xi.
3. The First Book of Samuel (Cambridge Bible Series), A.F. Kirkpatrick; p. 10.
As to whom the author of the books might have been there is a considerable diversity of opinion. In some of his writings Spinoza set forth the idea that all the books from Genesis to Kings were by one author. He does not discuss the books of Samuel in detail, but he probably held that they (like the Pentateuch) contain fragments of different dates. Later, Richard Simon asserted that the historical books of the Bible were compiled from ancient records by way of abridgment. He cites the opinion of Abennerel that Samuel and Kings were compiled by Jeremiah out of the records of Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, and other prophets or public writers who lived before him. This view appeared in a work as early as 1682.

We find this question constantly in the minds of various biblical critics down through the centuries. Ewald divides the books of a historical nature between Judges and 2 Kings among six different authors. He suggests that the earliest materials were statistical, like 2 Samuel 23:8-39, and that these were taken from public records; however, he unfortunately includes among this material 1 Chronicles 11:10-47 and 12:1-22. Next to this first and oldest body of material he placed the narrative, such as 1 Samuel 13, 14, and 30:26-31, which he considered from a time near the events themselves. He then placed the extended work of the prophetical Book of Kings (down to 2 Kings 10.). This was considered the source of a part of the material in the present books of Samuel and Kings, and a large part at that. He suggested that another writer with a less vigorous style covered the same period, a specimen of his work being 1 Samuel 5-6 and 1 Samuel 31. Later additions were made in

the fragments inserted into the history in 1 Samuel 12:15-17; 24, 26, 28. The book thus compiled was then Deuteronomically edited, and brief insertions were here made indicating the point of view of the author or compiler (1 Samuel 8:3,4). Ewald thought the final redactor lived in the Exile; however, the changes made by him were slight, the insertion of 1 Samuel 2:27ff being the only one mentioned. 1

Schrader, writing c.1869, assigns the major portion of the books to two writers. These he distinguishes as the theocratic and the prophetic narrator, and he identifies them with the two authors of the Pentateuch now generally known as J and E. Twenty years later the problem was again taken in hand by Wellhausen. He cleverly separates the two main sources of 1 Samuel, though he is not always positive concerning the intricacies of c.19 and c.20. In 2 Samuel he makes c.6 and cc.9-20 parts of a life of David, while he points out the various elements put together to make up the remainder of the book. He concludes that the bulk of 2 Samuel is a literary unit, and that 1 Samuel 14:52 - 2 Samuel 8:18 is another literary unit in which, however, the continuous thread is frequently broken or interrupted by foreign matter. 2

Budde dealing with this subject c.1890 makes an advance in the treatment of these two documents. He treats the two sources in the first half of 1 Samuel as individual units complete within themselves, (that is a narrative of the life of Samuel and a life of Saul as independent biographies). In the second half of 1 Samuel he finds the continuation of the same two histories but with considerable supplementary material from various dates. He believes these two sources to be identical with

2. Ibid. p. xxviii.
the Pentateuchal sources $E$ and $J$. The chapter of 2 Samuel 8 he supposes to be a compendious conclusion to the history of David designed to replace 2 Samuel 9-20, which an editor sensitive to David's reputation left out of the history, but which one with a more historic sense afterwards reinserted. It has been suggested that Budde creates out of his rearrangement of 2 Samuel, a book that could never have had any earlier existence in fact. Anyone would have to admit that he does cut the text up in numerous little bits, but the pattern into which he rearranges them is not so unlikely as the above critic seems to believe. While it does seem that it would have taken a whirlwind to dislocate the bits of narrative as they come down to us, it is not at all impossible that the book could have existed as Budde depicts it. He, at least, tries to bring some order out of the apparent chaos, and practically speaking the arrangement he has made seems normal.

The studies of Kuenen arrive at practically the same end as the earlier work of Wellhausen. The next outstanding piece of work was done by S.R. Driver, the English scholar. We find that Driver summarizes his findings in a thorough way in the following: "Looking at 1-2 Samuel as a whole, relatively the latest passage will be Hannah's Song, and 1 Samuel 1:27-36; 7:2 - 8:22; 10:17-27a; 11:14; 12:15; and 2 Samuel 7, most of which in their present form have some affinities in thought and expression with Deuteronomy, though decidedly less marked than those observable in the redaction of Kings, so that — except in so far as 1 Samuel 7, 8, and 12 may have been in parts expanded by the Deuteronomic hand — they will be pre-Deuteronomic, and hardly later than c.700 B.C.

The rest, it is plain, is not the work of one hand throughout, or written uno tenore; but in all probability it is much earlier than the passages just quoted, and in some parts (especially 2 Samuel 9-20) nearly contemporary with the events recorded. The most considerable part of the work which appears plainly to be the work of a single author is 2 Samuel 9-20: many parts of the preceding history of David (1 Samuel 15 - 2 Samuel 5), especially those which, as Wellhausen has shown, are mutually connected together, and form one continuous thread, are also, probably by the same hand, though whether by the same as 2 Samuel 9-20, must remain here undetermined.¹

The chief sources, according to Kirkpatrick, are probably contemporary prophetic histories. He cites -

"Now the records of David the king from the first to last, behold they are written in the records of Samuel the seer and the records of Nathan the prophet, and the records of Gad the man of visions, with all his reign and his power and the times through which he and Israel passed, as well as the kingdoms of other countries."²

And he further suggests that the corresponding reference to the original authorities for the history of Solomon's reign in 2 Chronicles 9:29 (among which the chronicle of Nathan the prophet is again mentioned), and the constant reference to similar prophetic writings as authorities for reigns of later kings (Shemaiah writing the history of Rehoboam's reign in 2 Chronicles 12:15; Isaiah giving the account of Uzziah's reign in 2 Chronicles 26:22; and other mentions in 2 Chronicles 20:34; 32:32; 33:16,19), makes it almost certain that the three prophets mentioned are themselves the historians of the period.³

². 1 Chronicles 29:29 (American Translation).
³. The First Book of Samuel (Cambridge Bible Series), A.F. Kirkpatrick; p.10.
He continues his argument: "If then the Book of Samuel was compiled largely from the chronicles of Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, supplemented by other records preserved in the Schools of the Prophets, it follows that it rests upon the best possible authority. Samuel is the historian of his own lifetime, which included the greater part of Saul's reign; Nathan and Gad together give the history of David's reign. The events of David's life must have been familiarly known in the Schools of the Prophets at Ramah. It is expressly mentioned that when he fled from Saul he 'came and told Samuel all that Saul had done to him, and he and Samuel went and dwelt at Naioth (1 Samuel 19:18),' the college of the prophets which Samuel had established at Ramah. To this intercourse may be referred the full and vivid account of David's friendship with Jonathan, preserved perhaps in almost the very words in which he related the story to the prophets." Incidentally, Gad is suggested as the medium of communication between the prophets at Ramah and David during his outlaw life (1 Samuel 22:5). Both Gad and Nathan appear to have occupied official positions at David's court, and both appear as his advisors on different occasions of crisis during his reign.

Kirkpatrick further suggests that additional material was placed in the book from the Chronicle of King David (1 Chronicles 27:24). From this reference to it, it was apparently a statistical state-record. From this could have been derived the formal summaries of wars such as are given in 2 Samuel 8:1-15, and lists of officials such as those in 2 Samuel 8:16-18; 20:23-26; 23:8-39. Another source is seen to be the national poetic literature. There is considerable uncertainty about the

1. The First Book of Samuel (Camb.Bible), A.F. Kirkpatrick; p. 11.
2. 2 Sam.24:11; 2 Chron.29:25; and 2 Sam.7:2ff; 12:25; 1 Kings 1:6ff.
date of respective bits of this, but it is expressly stated in 2 Samuel 1:16 that David's lament for Saul and Jonathan was written in the national collection known as the Book of Jashar.

Kirkpatrick's final conclusion is that "the Book of Samuel was compiled substantially in its present form soon after the Division of the Kingdoms." We may not fully agree with the view held by Kirkpatrick, but we must admit that he does have a good body of material upon his side, and in the end his theory does not fall completely outside of the other theories we have surveyed. Budde, the most radical handler of the text, suggests that the major portion of the books of Samuel comes from J and E. This would make it quite possible for the prophetic writing of the history, according to Kirkpatrick's view, making Samuel, Nathan, and Gad the authors of the particular portion with which we are interested. The actual truth about the Samuel narrative probably lies somewhere in the midst of all of these theories.

Our conclusion would be that the body of material represented in the Davidic narrative reaching from 1 Samuel 16 through 1 Kings 2, was written by an author closely akin to the author of the historical J document. Added to this were stories of a similar nature with those of the E narrator. From the dates commonly given to these two narratives it would not be impossible that they got their materials in turn from prophetic writings such as Kirkpatrick suggests, indeed it is very probable that they did. As the J and E documents came close upon the time of these prophetic narratives it is also likely that the latter were not greatly altered, and thus the main body of material would be from

2. Ibid. p. 13.
writers contemporary with the Davidic era. The intimate details which
are recorded, especially those in 2 Samuel 9-20, could hardly have
been set down other than by an eye witness. We will have to admit that
there are many later additions to the text, and in many cases the ex-
press purpose may be seen for the addition, but these do not form a
bulwark over which we cannot mount. In many cases these additions fit
into the general thought quite well and could easily take their place
as factual rather than imaginative or legendary material. We will
now make a more detailed study of the text with which we are dealing,
but we should remember that on the whole we are inquiring into a docu-
ment which appears to be true and genuine with an air of authenticity
about it that is terrifically hard to shake off.

B. The First Book of Samuel

McFadyen says, "The composite character
of the Book of Samuel would hardly fail
to strike even a careless observer. Many events, both important and un-
important, are related twice under circumstances which render it pract-
ically impossible that two different instances are recorded." These
double stories, for such they might easily be called, are the largest
obstacles over which we must climb in our criticism. However, we will
meet these in their proper place, and we shall begin with 1 Samuel 16
and carry the narrative through the two books into 1 Kings.

The text of 1 Samuel 16:1-13 is a matter of some dispute. This
section follows immediately upon Samuel's break with Saul, and it would
seem somewhat natural that under such circumstances he would appoint an-

1. Introduction to the Old Testament, J.E. McFadyen; p. 87.
other leader over the nation. H.F. Smith says that he can find nothing to make him believe that this section is other than the natural continuation of the narrative from c.15, but we find that Budde indicates that this section is a later addition to the text from the Midrash, a popular expansion of the book after 400 B.C. According to the Hasting’s Bible Dictionary this section is to be regarded as a late addition. We can readily see that it is difficult to dogmatically say which of these opinions is to be taken as the correct one. According to the logic of events it would have been the wisest thing for Samuel to have done in such a circumstance. He had annointed Saul when he felt that the nation needed a leader and he could easily have annointed the young man David when the first leader Saul proved inadequate for his duties. Perhaps we find a parallel in Elisha’s inspiring Hazael to be king over Syria by merely making the suggestion to him (2 Kings 8:7-15). It is not at all impossible that something of this sort was in Samuel’s mind at the time. If this were the case it would not have been hard to have had the name of David suggested to the king during one of his fits of melancholy. Samuel could have easily arranged this and likewise seen to it that the worthy lad was retained as a regular court attendant. So it is that we should be inclined to favor this view of holding the text in its present place in the face of the textual criticism of Budde.

It matters little whether or not David was actually annointed to be king; there is such a thing as annointing one by the word which lights the fire of imagination, which later burns into reality. Many of us have been started upon our way by the casual suggestion of someone

who did not think that their suggestion would ever bear fruit. It is quite possible that the story has been tampered with by later writers, but the body of the episode seems to be a logical beginning to the great life which followed.

We have, following this, two stories of David's introduction to the court. One appears in 16:14-23 and the other in 17:1 - 18:5. The first account presents him as a mature man. He is brought into Saul's service in the time of the king's mental distress, and he is quickly appointed as armour-bearer. The other account presents him as a young lad showing his prowess in the war against the Philistines.

This account is very extraordinary in the face of the earlier account, for here it is asked by the king who this brave young lad might be, and according to the earlier account the young lad is already Saul's armour-bearer. If this were the case Saul would surely not have to ask who the lad was. According to the Septuagint version in its oldest form the following verses are left out of cc.17 and 18; c.17;12-31, 41, 48, 50, and 55-58, and 18:1-5, and the greater part of vv.6, 9-11, 17-19, 29b, and 30. To make the situation more complicated, most of the authorities agree that both accounts are very old; 16:14-23 coming from the J document and 17:1 - 18:5 coming in the main from the E document. We will find that W.R. Smith offers the soundest solution to this problem concluding in the following statement: "They (that is the verses we have shown above to be absent from the Septuagint version) are interpolations in the Hebrew text, extracts from a lost biography of David, which some ancient reader must have inserted in his copy of the Book of Samuel." 4

3. Ibid.
4. The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, W.R.Smith: p. 120ff.
W.R. Smith goes on to point out firmly that by the exclusion of the verses made in the Septuagint version we have a story which holds together and does not contradict itself or the earlier narrative. We will then find the Septuagint helpful and most likely correct in this connection.

There arises, however, another difficulty; in 2 Samuel 21:19 we are told that Goliath was slain by Elhanan of Bethlehem, but in the story discussed above we are told that David slew the giant, and likewise in later accounts such as 19:5 and 21:9 of 1 Samuel where this victory of David's is referred to as having happened earlier. Both of these later references to the affair come from the oldest part of the E narrative and are consequently to be considered as rather valid. But 2 Samuel 21:19 comes from the J narrative in all probability and is also valid. In this we have a problem which does not lend itself to an easy solution, both sources seem reliable enough, but they are directly contradictory on this one point. Driver points out that "the victory over Goliath must have formed a prominent part in the popular tradition respecting David." We find a little light on the subject in Chronicles 20:5 where the chronicler makes the giant whom Elhanan killed the brother of the great giant Goliath. H.F. Smith suggests that because of the corruption of the text in this particular point the chronicler's view can be accepted, and is probably correct. There appears to have been a word dropped to the line below in the Hebrew text, thus disconnecting the thought in one line and making the above mistake in the other. We find this textual explanation at least feasible.

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As we have already dealt with the Septuagint correction of the text in c.18 we shall now turn to a study of the section cc.19-22. in which David flees from Saul's court, returns, and then is saved again by flight at the warning of his friend Jonathan. We find that in general the account in c.19 is considered very old, coming perhaps, as Budde suggests, from the older portion of the E narrative. However, in 19:18-24 we have the repetition of an instance paralleled in 1 Samuel 10:10-12 ("Is Saul also among the prophets?"). Budde removes all difficulties by placing the section 19:18-24 in the later additions made from the Midrash. However, the truth probably lies more nearly to the fact that the compiler of the book of Samuel "had two such traditions before him, and thought it best to insert both, without deciding which deserved the preference." A further difficulty is seen in 19:24, for previously in 1 Samuel 15:35 we are told that Samuel never saw Saul again after the death of Agag. The English version departs from its usual fidelity at this point and softens the statement in writing that, "Samuel came no more to see Saul."  

Chapter 20 giving the story of David's return and his great pledge and friendship with Jonathan is considered as coming from the earliest of sources by some authorities. Others seem unable to find a place for it in the procession of events in either the J or E documents. The account is possibly based upon an old source, valid enough, but somewhat mistreated by later redactors. Budde considers vv.1-3 and 19-39 as coming from the original J document, but the remainder of the chapter, vv.4-18, 40-42, he considers additions by the JE compiler of

1. The Books of Samuel, Budde; p.17f.
2. The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, W.R.Smith; p.130.
3. Ibid. p.130.
c. 650 B.C. 1 "The obvious purpose of the story is to prepare for David's treatment of Jonathan's son Meribaal in 2 Samuel 9, and it is possible that that story and this originally stood in connection." ...."It should be noted that in this chapter there is an assumption that it is not safe for David to be seen with Jonathan, something which is not intimated in either of our sources (J or E)." 2 There can be little doubt that vv. 40-42 are a later addition, for this final embrace does not fit into the otherwise sensible and intelligent character of David and Jonathan, and furthermore, it does not fit into the narrative preceding it. 3

The next section covering David's flight to Nob, his experience there with the priest, and his refuge in the cave at Adullam is made up of cc.21,22. This account seems to be consecutive enough and appears as a whole with the exception of the brief story in 21:10-16. Here we are told that David goes to the king in Gath just after he has received the sword of Goliath from the priest in Nob. This would have been like waving a red flag in the face of an already angry bull; no, this was too foolish a breach of common sense for David to have committed. We are in all probability right in considering this as part of the narrative which formerly stood immediately after David's sojourn at Ramah, and before he returned to have his meeting with Jonathan. 4 It is fully recognized that this event is out of place and Budde even suggests that it belongs to the additions coming from the Midrash. But the suggestion above is more likely, and especially in view of the fact that David did later become a vassal of Achish, the king at Gath. The remainder of cc. 21-22 is in the main from early documents with only slight redactions. 6

1. The Books of Samuel, Budde; p.18f.
3. Ibid. p.195.
4. Ibid. p.201.
The next section deals with David's life during the period in which he was an outlaw. The narrative contained in cc.23-26 is universally considered as coming from a very early document. "This is from the oldest source in the book of Samuel," says J.M.P. Smith in speaking of cc.25-26. 1 According to Budde all of this section with only slight redactions comes from the J document; such exceptions as there are come from the oldest portion of the E narrative. The one flaw in an otherwise perfect story is the recurrence of the account of David's going into Saul's camp in the wilderness of Ziph, and in one place cutting off Saul's shirt (c.24) and in the other stealing Saul's spear and water jug (c.26). "There is a remarkable resemblance between these two accounts; and though there are also differences of detail, these are hardly greater than might have grown up in a story current among the people for some time before being committed to writing." 3 However, for those authorities that hold that they do represent two different stories, the account in c.26 is considered the oldest because of its antique phraseology. 4 Both accounts are so old that it matters little whether they are separate or not; in both cases the same point is reached in an attempt to show the nobility of David's character.

The section following deals with David's negotiations with the Philistine king in c.27; the Philistine resolves to attack Israel; on the suspicion of some of the nobles David is dismissed from the forces of Achish (c.29); David takes his vengeance on the Amalekites for their raid during his absence (c.30); Saul consults the Witch of Endor (c.28);

1. Journal of Biblical Literature, Spring Number 1933; p.4f (footnote 26).
and the death of Saul and Jonathan (c.31). We find that Budde considers all of this section to be very valid material coming almost entirely from the J narrative. 1 There is a slight rearrangement to be made, however, as may have been noticed above. Budde suggests that 28:1f should be followed directly by c.29 and c.30, then the insertion of 28:4-25 is to be made before c.31; thus he makes a connected narrative and restores the original thread of the story which in the present form is badly broken. 2 We must agree fully with this arrangement of Budde's, for otherwise we have events being known by Saul before they even happened.


The story continues naturally enough through the opening chapters of this second book of Samuel. In 2 Samuel 1:17-27 we have the Lament of David at the death of Saul and Jonathan. As H.R. Smith suggests, "there seems to be no reason to doubt the genuineness of this poem .... There seems to be absolutely nothing in the poem inconsistent with its alleged authorship." 3 "The thread of the story is carried forward without interruption," says Driver. 4 But Budde sees fit to insert all sorts of things. He sandwiches 2 Samuel 21:15-22 and 23:8-39 into selections from c.5. Driver agrees with him in the rearrangement of c.5 and c.6, thinking that 5:6-12 should follow 6:1, and that the narrative in c.5 cannot be considered as orderly. As for the validity of the material, it comes mainly from J with slight portions probably from the older part of the E document. We should notice with care the narrative concerning the transfer of the Ark, for there are noticeable additions made to it in

1. The Books of Samuel, Budde; p. 24-27.
2. Ibid. pp. 24-27.
3. The Books of Samuel (J.C.C.), H.R. Smith; p. 258.
the chronicler's account of the occasion. The story which appears in 2 Samuel 6 is retold in 1 Chronicles 13:1-14. In the suggestion of c.7 that a house be built for Jahweh H.P. Smith sees a possibility of a later system of thought coming into play with the Messianic Hope lying behind it. Budde, however, classifies this chapter as coming from the older portion of the E narrative, and it seems to be an unbroken whole according to his criticism of the text. Cornill, according to H.P. Smith, considers the seventh century a likely date for this chapter; this of course would place it late enough to have the power of the Messianic Hope behind it, at least according to some theories concerning that movement in Israel. We should be inclined to agree with Budde on this score, for it would only be the natural thing for David to do in showing his respects to the favors shed upon him by his God. Every ruler feels that his house will rule forever, and it is not surprising that David might have had the same feeling springing up in his breast. Likewise, it is not at all surprising that the Messianic hope should have been burning in Israel at this time, for it had been doing so for centuries already in Egypt, and a man that cannot learn from his neighbor is indeed an ignorant person - we could never say that the Hebrew was what we would call an ignorant person.

In c.8 we have a pronounced break in the current of the narrative. Here we have a summary of the deeds of David and lists of his court officials and brave soldiers. We dealt with this matter in an earlier portion of this paper and the decision reached there was that this chapter was undoubtedly added to take the place of cc.9-20 which

2. The Books of Samuel, Budde; p. 33f.
an editor sensitive to the reputation of King David felt it best to omit. This opinion is held by H.P. Smith, by Driver to a certain degree, and by Budde who sees fit to make the major portion of the chapter a late addition coming from the latest portion of the Deuteronomistic expansions. We have, however, in this chapter much valuable information concerning the very subject with which we are dealing, and we will not high-handedly throw it aside. It would seem that the details were too exact to have been merely thought up and inserted in the text. There must be a well defined tradition lying behind them, and in the light of international circumstances of David's immediate time we can now consider the account of his wars, at least, as valid. Truly enough, the chapter is out of place, but that can be taken into consideration later when we deal with David's life as a whole.

The section which follows from 2 Samuel 9 through 1 Kings 2 is one continuous narrative according to the majority of the scholars. The only portion of this long narrative which seems incongruous is that of cc.21-24. These chapters break the otherwise even flow of the story. Driver suggests that the sources made use of by the compilers of these chapters exhibit no affinity with 2 Samuel 9-20 or 1 Kings 1-2. In addition to this we have the opinion of George Foot Moore that 2 Samuel 9-20 "is a well preserved piece of narrative of which 1 Kings 1-2 is the sequel." He continues to say, however, that 21:1-14 and c.24 are apparently from the same source, but must have stood originally at an earlier point in the narrative. Budde suggests that they follow immediately after the close of c.6 and he inserts c.24 and c.21:1-14 before

5. Literature of the Old Testament, George Foot Moore; p. 93.
However, logical this may seem, we cannot follow Budde fully in his radical treatment of the text. This was in all probability the order of events, but it is doubtful whether it was ever the order of the text or not. We find that c.23:6-39 is "a very ancient roster of David's valiant men, the companions of his days as an outlawed free-booter on the Philistine border;" and 21:15-22 appears to be of the same character. Driver probably comes close to the truth when he suggests that these materials were compiled by a writer later than the main compiler of the books of Samuel, and that it was merely inserted from a position as an appendix to its present position after the separation of the books of Samuel and the books of Kings had been effected. Budde, we should say, has explained the proper position of at least a part of the material in this questionable section.

The songs in c.22:1-15 and c.23:1-7 are, according to Budde, from a very late date. The text of c.22 is practically reproduced in the Psalm 18 with minor variations. H.J. Smith thinks that it is possible that c.22 came from the Davidic period, but he suggests that c.23:1-7 shows distinct marks of being of a late origin and an attempt to put in the mouth of David a testament similar to the Testament of Moses. In our study of David's statesmanship this particular text has very little bearing, consequently the question is of little import to us in our study, though the suggestion made by Smith seems the most logical.

**D. The First Book of Kings**

The first two chapters of 1 Kings demand our attention now. Stade points out that the whole of c.1 with the exception of vv.36-37 comes from the same

1. The Books of Samuel, Budde; p. 35ff.
2. Literature of the Old Testament, George Foot Moore; p. 93.
source as the books of Samuel, that is in main from the J document.  

1 These two verses he calls Deuteronomic additions. Driver agrees with Stade and adds that in all probability c.2 comes from the hands of the compiler of the books of Kings.  

2 It is thought that the compiler used this chapter to make a gradual shift over to the rule of Solomon. These criticisms seem evident in regard to these two chapters, and we shall base our opinions upon this framework.

E. Summary of the Account in 1 Sam.16 - 1 Kings 2. In summary of the David narrative in the books of Samuel we might quote Moore. He suggests that in these records we have in our hands "a perfect product of the oldest Hebrew histioigraphy....From the literary point of view the older source in the history of David is unsurpassed. It has in perfection all of the qualities that distinguish the best Hebrew prose such as are conspicuous in the Judeean author of the patriarchal stories in Genesis. In the art of narrative Herodotus himself could not do better." He continues to say that historically it is very valuable, for it comes from one who was very intimate with the intricacies of the court life. In connection with the probable date of the narrative as contemporary with the happenings, Moore points out that; "The making of great history has often given the first impulse to the writing of history, and we may believe that it was so in Israel, and that the beginning of historical literature was made, in the proper sense of the word, with Saul and David .... It is a mistake to suppose that such embellishment of a person or the deeds of a hero arises only at a distance and takes generations to grow. It might more truly be said that if a man has not

1. The Book of Kings, Bernard Stade; p. 1ff.
sufficiently impressed the imagination of his contemporaries to set them to a spontaneous romancing about him, it is little likely that after times will take more interest in him." While we must be a bit careful in not carrying this idea too far, there is a deep seated truth within it. In a broad sense we can regard the narratives of David's life which we have been criticizing as being very valid history indeed, for they seem to be the records of great events set down because they were realized at the time to be events of great importance in their bearing upon the future. It is when history is recorded with a distinct purpose in mind, such as that in the Chronicles, that we must be skeptical.


The remainder of our material concerning David's life which comes from the Bible is to be found in this portion of the first book of Chronicles. This book was compiled very late in the development of Hebrew literature; Driver even suggests that it might have been as late as 333 B.C. and the beginning of the Greek era. The greater group of scholars place the date a little earlier and suggest that it formed a unity with the work of Ezra and Nehemiah which pick up the thread of history and develop it from the point where the chronicler leaves off in his account.

The book with which we are now dealing has what seems to be direct duplicates of earlier materials found in the books of Samuel. But in addition there are brief insertions in the narrative which

3. Making the date c.400 B.C.
forcefully bring out the chronicler's stand upon certain questions. The Greek title of the book was originally "The things omitted concerning the kings of Judah." But this title might more aptly have been "Those things added to the accounts of the kings of Judah." It is possible that this would be a bit hard on the chronicler though, for he undoubtedly based his additions upon some rather reliable source materials.

Rudolf Kittel, in dealing with the Hebrew text of this particular portion of 1 Chronicles which we shall study, divides the material into several sections; that which comes directly from the chronicler himself, that derived from earlier narrative in the Old Testament, that made in additions to the chronicler's work, and those small portions which are still later additions to the chronicler's work. The passages derived from the Old Testament he considers to be: 10:1-12; c.11: 13:6-14; c.14; and 15:25-29. The subsequent additions to the chronicler's product are: 9:33; 24:20-30; 25:5, 6, 23-31. The later additions are represented in the first book only in 23:24-32. The remainder of the material is regarded as coming directly from the hand of the chronicler.

The simplest explanation of the parallels (and the true one now universally accepted) is direct quotation or paraphrase by the chronicler of materials found in the canonical books and their modification by him. Keil held that the chronicler and the writers of the canonical books both used common sources, and the parallels were independent extracts from the common sources each made with the point of view

peculiar unto itself. Curtis, however, insists that the chronicler used our present canonical books and not their sources for all matter common to both books. In all probability Curtis is correct though it is impossible to prove such a matter either one way or the other.

There are numerous sources alleged by the chronicler, some of which we have previously mentioned in our discussion of the text of the books of Samuel. In 1 Chron. 29:29 he refers to The History of Samuel the Seer, The History of Nathan the Prophet, and The History of Gad the Man of Visions. Again, he refers to a later history of David (?) in 23:27. He also mentions the Chronicles of David in which the census taken by Joab is not entered (1 Chron. 27:24). It has been suggested that the prophetic writings mentioned are in all probability not distinct works, but are rather illustrations of the usual Jewish manner of citing sections of comprehensive works. It is the view of Torrey that the chronicler merely used the names to produce an impression that he was writing with authority, something of the pseudepigraphical type of writing, but this is a pet thought of Torrey's and is to be somewhat discounted as an obsession.

The author of the chronicles was in all likelihood just one man, for with the exception of the canonical parallels the book remains a homogeneous whole in its style. It has been usually and properly treated as the work of a single author.

The general view we shall take of the material which the chronicler has to offer shall be, that, while the chronicler often introduced the notion of his age, he carefully follows his sources. These are

2. Ibid. p. 21.
3. Ibid. p. 23f.
treated with a sort of homiletic viewpoint, yet they are scarcely inferior to the earlier canonical works. But when the work of the chronicler cannot be reconciled with the earlier works, the earlier sources are to be viewed as the greater authority. This view is held by Dillman Bertheau and Ewald.

Speaking of the chronicler's view of the life of David the authority writing in Hasting's Bible Dictionary says, "He gives only a one sided view of David, and yet he thereby throws stress on David's real, though as we know, not unwavering desire for righteousness." Barnes suggests that in a general way the text of Chronicles must be considered inferior to that of the earlier books and evaluated accordingly. "His variations are seldom such as to inspire confidence - in a large measure these variations are due to his assumption, the validity of which he never questions, that the religious institutions of his own time existed in the same form in old Israel. His exaggerations must be discounted and set aside as the fictitious growth of numbers passing from mouth to mouth - we all know the human tendency to stretch things just a little as we tell them.

On the whole we can regard the chronicler's account as rather valid, but we must always hold the earlier accounts as the higher authority realizing that it is the first impression from which the later prints are made. As to the religious institutions as inserted by the chronicler, they should be totally blotted out, for they did not exist at David's early date in Israel except perhaps in their very crudest and rudimentary forms. We must keep in mind too the fact that the

The author was writing of a man that had become an idealized figure after the glorification of approximately six hundred years. All we have to do is think of our idealized Washington after a mere two hundred years and multiply it by three. To begin with David had been one of the greatest of the figures in their history, and the Hebrews surely did not let him diminish in size by the retelling of his story. It will be noticed with interest that the Bathsheba affair is left out of the chronicler's account, and apparently for good reasons. It is not well to have one's national hero an adulterer, nor is it highly desirable to have such a man as the head of the house into which the Messiah is to be born. The chronicler's position is clear; he just had to leave out certain episodes and stress other in order to save "his face", as the Oriental saying goes.

G. Other Sources for the Life of David.

There are very few other materials that will be of any benefit to us. We shall rely to some extent upon the histories of Syria, Assyria, Phoenicia, and Egypt to lend to our story its international background, but in most instances these histories depend as we do upon the biblical sources for their information. Archaeology has very little to offer so far as our particular subject is concerned, but where it does have any bearing we shall make use of all it has to give us. Josephus, of course, comes almost entirely from the biblical source itself, and his additions to the story can be considered little more than the fantasies of popular tradition. Thus, upon the Bible we must depend for the body of our story and the background for our particular study.
We are now ready for our study of the career of King David and after we sketch briefly the international setting into which he came leading the peoples of Israel into a strong and united power in the West we shall turn to a detailed account of his life, pointing out as we go those things which definitely bring to light his great statemanship and pure cleverness. At times we shall be forced to do what is sometimes looked upon as unscholarly - romance a little, but in the absence of historical fact one must build out of the fibre of his imagination to fill in those gaps in the narrative which seem important. In all cases the imagination will be held in check as much as possible and be guided as strictly by rational probabilities as the circumstances will permit. With this we venture on into our study.
III. The Life and Statesmanship of King David.
III. THE LIFE and STATESMANSHP of KING DAVID.

A. The World Stage Upon Which David Appeared. As in the case of any drama, whether in life or in the theater, the stage must be fully set before the play can go on, and so it is in our case that we must fully prepare the background for the brief drama we shall see in the following discussion. Any student of the Bible is familiar with the important and significant location of the Land of Palestine. It was astride the arteries of trade which fed the ancient empires of the East and the West with the blood of civilized trade. The great caravan routes from the great Tigris-Euphrates valley over into the Land of Egypt were by the way of the little strip of land where the Hebrews dwelt. One of the mightiest empires of all time was to the south of them; to the east of them across the desert was that ancient and powerful state of Babylon; to the north and east was the coming threat of the entire ancient world, Assyria; and directly to the north was the beginnings of what would some day be the kingdom of Syria. So it was that the little country was in a certain respect the focus of all the lines of ancient power; it was through her that the great armies must march upon their way to vaster lands, and it was through her that the trade of peace must pass bound for the great markets of the ancient world. Palestine might aptly be called the keystone of the great "fertile crescent" arch of ancient civilization.

We can readily see that a land so centrally located must at all times depend largely upon external condition for her own internal conditions; so it is that we shall briefly survey the international
situation which gave rise to conditions as we find them in Palestine in the time of David. To do this we must go back to that great movement known as the Aramean invasion. This invasion began shortly after the Hyksos were expelled from Egypt, (1580-1557 B.C.). The theory is that as these peoples were forced out into the desert they in turn forced other people before them, and undoubtedly in many cases formed a part of the secondary movement themselves. These desert nomads surged forth into the new lands and herein is the heart of the Aramean invasion. Sidney Smith describes it in the following summary: "The nomad tribesman remained a tribesman, but only partly the nomad who will have nothing to do with towns: he had reached the stage of desiring to use towns for his advantage. Roughly divided into six stages, these six centuries of Aramean history may be summarized. (1) The first advance was northward across the Euphrates and westwards into Syria in the sixteenth to thirteenth centuries. (2) The attempt to break through the Tigris either north or south of Assyria in the thirteenth century. (3) The restriction of Ahlamu and Sutu within the Syrian desert, owing to the drift southward from Asia Minor. Twelfth century. (4) Considerable development of commerce at important centers such as Tadmor (Palmyra) in the northern desert: tendency of the now immense tribes and confederations to split into smaller bodies. Early eleventh century. Etc." We see here that those great tribes and strong confederations which had dominated the western portion of Asia had begun to disintegrate in the early part of the eleventh century; this would remove immediate pressure of any great force upon Palestine from the north.

1. Early History of Assyria, Sidney Smith; p.304f.
In Assyria Tiglathpileser I had been a great ruler, but upon his death his realm seems to have gradually decayed and for a period Assyria is practically submerged in the chaos which apparently swept over western Asia for nearly three centuries. His reign closed in c. 1068 B.C. "The troubles are unknown to us which brought Assyria low during the reign of Tiglathpileser's successors; they probably arose from the Aramaean invasions. But of the history of the land till the end of the tenth century we are ignorant."  

We find that the very darkest days of Assyria came with the reign of the son of Ashur-nessar-pal I, Shalmanesser II (1030-1018), and with Ashur-nirari IV (1018-1012). We can readily see that this period of complete darkness in Assyria corresponds with the rise of the little kingdom in Palestine, for the reign of Saul is placed at 1028-1013 by the best authorities, and of course David's reign occupied the following forty years. It is thus that out of the shadowy days of Assyria the little nation Israel sprang into being.

There were dissensions between the small groups in Syria, but they amounted to little more than feuds between sheikhly families."The condition of Babylon must have been pitiful throughout this period", says Sidney Smith, for even in the face of the impotency of Assyria she could not free herself, and she continued to pay homage to the Assyrian rulers. The national struggle to resist and finally overcome the Aramaeans was the last stage in the evolution of Assyria. "The last centuries of the second millennium were occupied by activities and successful attempts to consolidate Assyrian influence in a compact
territory. Then came more than a century during which the nation in arms was tried by the most imminent peril it had yet encountered; from the trial it emerged like a tempered weapon, fit cleanly to cut where others had hacked." But all of this came to a climax long after the time with which we are interested, but we can further see that this power was thoroughly occupied during the tenth and eleventh centuries B.C. so that she could not sally forth to crush little states that might spring into power in the West.

Turning to the south and the great and ancient empire of the Nile we find that "During the reign of Tiglathpileser I (1090-1068 B.C.) Egypt was no longer a foreign power, and it was itself falling into the separate parts which its long length along the Nile constantly threatened. The Hittite Empire was broken into numerous units. Mitanni was gone, Philistia and Zakkalu had taken over the sea ports of Palestine and the Hebrews were securing the Hill Country.... The polished international world of the balance of power was long since gone and a welter of small hostile states had taken its place. The outlook was discouraging for civilization, yet it is in such periods of disorder that are laid the foundations of great empires of the future." And truly enough out of this period of disorder did grow the greatest empire of all time, an empire of the spirit rather than of the temporal power, and one that eventually blossomed into the fuller flower of the great movement of Christianity. We gain another insight into the impotent condition of Egypt in the report made by Wen-amon who was sent by Hihihor, Amon priest of Thebes, to visit Byblos. His grim humor with

1. Early History of Assyria, Sidney Smith; p.315.
its realistic insight into conditions is used in depicting for us a picture of conditions at that time. Syria is revealed as being divided into small states whose rulers are entirely independent of Egypt and are highly contemptuous of any claim set forth by the Egyptians on the basis of earlier Egyptian successes. This would surely indicate that Egypt was powerless **forcefully** to make her claims valid, or else the risk would never have been taken by these petty rulers. Breasted calls this period of Egyptian history the "Fall of the Empire", and he gives us a picture of the gradual disintegration of the once mighty state. So impotent is the government that one group of seventeen envoys were detained at Byblos for such a long period of years, and were unable to return or were not rescued, that they died there. Egypt was but a shell of that once vast glory that had been hers, and even the shell was rapidly falling into bits like the crumpled fragments of a long dead and dried leaf.

In all directions there is a scene of confusion and chaos: all of the great powers are temporarily stricken with weakness, and so it is that little Israel is able to arise and stride forth and conquer Palestine. To the north we have found petty states all at odds with each other, to the south is Egypt old and decrepit under the meager leadership of a worn out line of kings, to the north and east we have found Assyria in the black fog of her "dark ages", and we have found that Babylon was "piteful", so what is there to stop the people of Israel from rising up and proclaiming their own? - nothing. Samuel saw the chance and inspired the young Saul to lead the way. The way

1. Archaeology and the Bible, George A. Barton; p.410ff.
was lighted by the great Seer Samuel, and David fell into the footsteps of the first anointed king when the mantle fell upon his shoulders. It was as if the stage had temporarily been deserted by the great leading actors in the drama of civilization and the minor characters of the small kingdom were now on to act out their little parts, but just as in a regular drama, the minor parts showed the most character and their action bore out the greater significance of the vast play. The wisest line of many a play is spoken by the fool who flits upon the stage for some brief second.

Seeing, as we have, how it was possible for the little kingdom of Israel to rise into being unmolested by the greater world powers, we shall now turn our thoughts to our study of that movement which actually gave birth to the nation Israel in the united kingdom of the Hebrews under King David.

B. David at the Court of Saul. We must recall that it was Samuel the seer who had made his masterful appearance in the early chapters of 1 Samuel. He it was that selected the young man Saul as a leader for the peoples, and we are told that he guided and directed the activities of the king, for shortly after his first victories over the enemies Saul was chosen king of his people. He was the power that moved behind the throne, that designed policies, that ran the machinery of state, and that administered to the religious as well as the political needs of the people. Samuel is lauded in other places, and so we must but briefly mention him here; however, he it was that
started the youthful David upon his long and glorious career. We know that Samuel and Saul came to a tremendous disagreement over a matter of detail of the latter's instructions in regard to the campaign against the Amalekites. We find that 1 Samuel closes with Samuel's hewing Agag to pieces "before the Lord in Gilgal", and we are subsequently told that Samuel parted relations with Saul and went up to Ramah. In the opening of the next chapter Samuel is instructed by the Lord to grieve no more over Saul, for He has rejected him from being king over Israel.

1. David Anointed as King 1 Samuel 15:1-13. We have previously discussed the problem presented by this text, and in that discussion we pointed out that it would not have been unusual for Samuel to have performed the anointing of David in view of the fact that he considered Saul as rejected by God from the kingship of his people. We also tried to show that often it is but a little word dropped as a seed into fertile soil that kindles ambitions which eventually overturn kingdoms. We cited the later incident of Elisha dropping the suggestion to Hazael that he become the next king of Syria. Another point which is less theoretical and directs us more practically to the probability of this action on the part of Samuel is the fact that David is throughout considered as the chosen of the Lord and the rightfully appointed king of his people. There is, however, no later mention of his being appointed by the prophetic authorities, but his official place seems to be understood.

1. 1 Samuel 15:33-35.
Kittel shows a bit of light on this subject when he says: "At the time when Samuel had renounced Saul and the king's mind had begun to be deranged, he made the acquaintance of a young man from Bethlehem in Judah, David, Jesse's son." Here it might be inferred that Samuel merely met the young fellow, and having found out both his skill and his fine character, he possibly suggested that his name be mentioned to the king and that he be called to sooth the fits of melancholy which occasionally seized Saul.

A political motive is pointed to by Olmstead in regard to this situation as well as the introduction of the young David into the court of Saul. We are urged to note that: "Jesse was the headman of Bethlehem, barely ten miles from Gibeah, and he must have viewed with alarm the growth of the kingdom which threatened Judaean isolation. He married as an equal into the family of Nahash, the Ammonite king (2 Samuel 17:25; 1 Chronicles 2:16), and such close relationship to Saul's bitterest enemy must have been deliberate. Now he was led to change his attitude, whether by force or negotiation, we cannot know; the appearance of his son David at court is sufficient proof that Jesse recognized Saul as his rightful liege, while David's high position as armour-bearer indicates the importance of conciliating with the Bethlehemite." From this we might glean the possibility that playing behind the scenes was a force, perhaps Samuel, who had brought about a change in events, had turned Jesse from the antagonistic position over to the other side and perhaps by his promises to the young David he inspired the father with loftier thoughts for his son's eventual position. However, of all of this there

1. Great Men and Movements of Israel, Rudolf Kittel; p.113f.
can be no definite answer. We must set the problem aside, though, on all practical issues it would surely seem that Samuel had anointed David in the true fashion, and that the youth's spirit was accordingly raised and he ever carried in his mind the fulfilment of his commission.

2. David's Introduction to Public Life.

The magic soothing power of music was well known to the ancients, and it was not surprising that some of the court personages should have thought of this possible cure or relief for those strange spells from which Saul suffered. "Because David was a skilled lute player and also an accomplished poet and minstrel, he was invited to the court", and in this capacity he first entered into the official circles of the little kingdom. We are told that it was one of the "young men" who answered Saul's request and suggested David as the musician who could soothe the king's troubled spirit. This of course suggests the possibility that the young fellow might formerly have been acquainted with David who was possibly his own age or thereabouts. The description which this young courtier gives of David is that he was:

"a man of unusual powers, a warrior, judicious in speech, a distinguished looking man, and the Lord is with him."

After this suggestion Saul sends to Jesse that he might have his son in his court. Jesse pays homage to the king by sending with David the present of ten loaves, a skin of wine, and a kid.

The youth was well received and we can imagine that his magnetic personality immediately captivated the whole court. Apparently Saul and

1. Great Men and Movements of Israel, R. Kittel; p.114.
2. 1 Samuel 16:18a. (American Translation).
3. 1 Samuel 16:18b. (American Translation).
Jonathan were completely won over by the young David, and a lasting friendship was formed between the latter two, the like of which has seldom been paralleled in the history of mankind.

We might here note that in this reception of David so readily into the court we have an indication of that young man's character which in later years made the background for his statesmanship. He was undoubtedly able to handle himself well in any circumstance, and the great contrast from following the flock and playing in the court as a musician was not too great for him to accomplish even in his earlier years. It shows an adaptability to circumstances which is an invaluable asset to any man, and especially to a statesman. The lad must have had a winning way about him that was irresistible, and we usually find that this accompanies people with a calm self-assurance and poise, but not the person who boldly struts about asserting himself. One can do a goodly bit of romancing about these days passed in the court, but we should not go too far.

Browning beautifully portrays David's coming to the court and his fearless playing before the king who had for days been in one of his darkest moods; he describes Saul's illness as follows:

"He stood as erect as that tent-prop; both arms stretched out wide
On the great cross-support in the centre, that goes to each side;
He relaxed not a muscle, but hung there, as, caught in his pangs
And awaiting his change, the king-serpent all heavily hangs,
Far away from his kind, in the pine, till deliverance come
With the springtime, - so agonized Saul, drear and stark, blind and dumb."

With Browning's beautiful poetry in our minds we can call up visions of those dark hours when Saul's mind would suddenly go blank and he would be in a stupor of melancholy for days. We can vision the young David softly singing in the darkness of the tent, gently playing upon his lute, and perhaps murmuring the words of some of those beautiful psalms which have lived for so many years in Hebrew literature. Perhaps he composed his own words, or again perhaps he merely repeated the ancient cries of a people who had suffered long in their quest for God and freedom. Through these quiet hours, and through the gay ones too of the court life, David won the hearts of all those with whom he came into contact. He was beloved among the peoples of high and low station, and he found his way so securely into the folds of Saul's heart that the king made him his armour-bearer.

3. David's Contest with Goliath. The wars with the Philistines were by no means at an end. Even though they were no longer masters of the country, the Philistines continually disturbed the western borderland south of Mt. Carmel. We are told that their army gathered in the region of Socoh; Saul and his men gathered in the vale of Elah. Now the doctor is often a hero to the patient and it was not particularly surprising that Saul took David along with him to the battle, and then too we are told, as before noted, that David was an armour-bearer of the king. There follows a story well known to every little child, but this story has many strange difficulties when one appraises it critically. We have previously mentioned the two accounts in connection with this event, and our textual criticism resulted

1. 1 Samuel 16:21
2. 1 Samuel 17:1-2.
in agreeing with the Septuagint rendering of the text which combines the two stories and omits all contradictory material.

We find that the Philistine champion comes forth and challenges any champion that Israel might have to combat. The man is, according to the descriptions, a giant in stature, and he must have borne with him a terrific reputation as a warrior. This practice of the champion of one army challenging the champion of the other was probably common in the ancient times and particularly in the East. We are told of a similar occurrence in the great poem "Sohrat and Rustum" by Matthew Arnold, and here the champions of the opposing armies meet in mortal combat as a decision of the victor of the battle. Apparently such a case was to be paralleled in this battle with the Philistines. If the Philistines won the men of Israel were to become servants to the Philistines, but if the opposite were true then the men of Philistia were to become servants of Israel. This custom was very saving of life, but we cannot imagine that either side was to be fully trusted in the matter of servitude. We are told that when Saul and all Israel heard these words they were terrified and greatly afraid.

Perhaps we cannot be too free with Saul and his men. This proposition seemed to mark inevitable defeat, and that was far from what the Israelites wanted. The story of the giant is not at all improbable, for we find that "West of the Jordan giants were listed as among the earliest races of Canaan (Gen. 15:22), there was a land of giants in the territory of Joseph's tribes (Josh. 17:15), a valley of giants near Jerusalem (Josh. 15:18; 18:16; etc.), around the cave of Machpelah at Hebron lived the Sons 1. 1 Samuel 17:9.
of Anak, in whose sight the Hebrews felt themselves grasshoppers (Num. 13:33; Deut. 1:28; 9:2). Their remnant was thought to exist in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod from which came such giants as Goliath to fight with David and his followers (Josh. 11:22; 2 Sam. 21:16ff; 1 Chron. 20:4ff). To this day the chief town in the region is called Beit Jibrin, the 'House of the Giants'.

Now it was a bit surprising that a young and untried warrior, such as David appears to have been, would offer to fight the Philistine and risk his and Israel's life and freedom upon the outcome of a seemingly uneven combat, but we find that David was sure of his ability at least in one method of attack. He told the king that he would volunteer to fight the Philistine champion, and we can justly suppose that he was heartily laughed at for all his courage. There is a strange potency, however, in the way Kent translates these words: "But David said unto Saul, Let not my Lord's courage fail him; your servant will go and fight with this Philistine." In this we can see the deeper meaning of the incident as reflected upon the inner soul of the king. A man has reached a pretty state when he has to rely upon his servants for the fulfilment of a courageous deed that should have been his own. As we would say today, Saul's "stock" must have gone down tremendously in the eyes of his people when he allowed the young David to be the champion of the field when the king himself should have had sufficient courage to carry out the duel. Perhaps in this event is born the seed of that unreasoning passion of the king which finally drove David from the court and outlawed him in his native land.

We must note in connection with this incident that David was wise enough not to use things which were not familiar to him in moments of crisis. To use the old and tried instrument is a quality of good sound sense when a great deal depends upon the result. So it was that David used his rocks and sling instead of the heavy and cumbersome armour and sword and spear of the king. Perhaps he carried this same principle into his later life, and there made a practice of using trusted and tried servants and officials about his court and in his business of state. It is a wise man that knows his tools and would more readily use an old and trusted instrument rather than a new and shiny one.

We are told that the lad took a few carefully selected stones and his sling and went before the Philistine giant. He met his charge with a well directed missile, the giant toppled, fell, and lay senseless upon the ground. David drew the giant's sword from its sheath and cut off his head. This may seem a bit barbarous, but it would have been entirely in keeping with the customs of the day. There has been much discussion regarding this particular incident, but we can see that there is a strong point in favor of its validity as J. P. Smith shows us: he says, "Even if David did not kill Goliath, he probably did slay some unnamed giant, and thus lay the foundation of his reputation for heroic courage."

The head and the sword David took back to the Israelite lines and presented them to the king. The sword, as we later find, was probably placed in the sanctuary of the priests at Nob as something of a national relic. It would have been utterly out of keeping with the victorious sit-

1. Journal of Biblical Literature, Spring Number, 1933, p. 1
vation had Saul shown any of his deeper feelings at the moment of David's triumph. However, David had immediately won anew the noble heart of Jonathan, and with a gesture worthy of a king's son he took from his own shoulders his robe and placed it upon David, and he gave the hero his bow and his sword and girdle. David had deserved the faithful friendship and admiration of Jonathan. 1

David probably became the preferred leader of the troops in their war with the Philistines. "His irresistible personality then won in succession, the heart of the people, ....the favor of the ever-jealous courtiers, and lastly, even the love of the king's daughter." 3 So it was that when David would return from his expeditions against the enemy the women would meet him in the streets and sing,

"Saul hath slain his thousands, And David his ten thousands." 3

It was probably the intensity of these popular ovations that aroused that jealousy deep within Saul's heart to further activity, and it would not be surprising if some of the courtiers had slyly hinted that the king was losing the heart of the people to the young hero. However, it is probable that Saul did not need a great deal of encouragement along this line.

As for this fragment of poetry which has come down to us even into the English version, it is one of the various poetic scraps that have outworn time as they have been handed down through generation after generation. They are likely the words that the people did use in welcoming home the new found hero, and as we can see there is in them an inference which we cannot blame Saul for disliking.

1. 1 Samuel 18:1-5.
2. Great Men and Movements in Israel, Kittel; p.118.
3. 1 Samuel 18:7.

We must remember that the kingship was not as yet a particularly well established institution, and it would not take a great amount of pressure upon the people to induce them to change leaders. This would be especially true due to the fact that Samuel, the seer, had abandoned the reigning king, and the will of God no longer was behind the regal movements. Saul was well aware of the dangers which beset him, but he overlooked the fact that David was to be trusted and was in truth a loyal servant to the king.

Doubtless the process of this ever increasing jealousy covered several years during which time David continued to grow in favor at the court. But jealousy is a treacherous thing and it can convert the most lofty of motives and the most noble of duties into deeds of stealth and the blackest of intrigues. So it was that Saul looked upon every action, however noble, of David's as another step toward the seizure of the throne. The king's mind was naturally a bit unstable anyway and it did not take a great deal to make these long periods of melancholy which he suffered over into orgies of bestial jealousy against one of his most trustworthy servants. The fact that the king was no longer the dashing hero and leader of his people probably preyed upon his mind; every praise he heard for the young David was but another thorn in the flank of his jealousy, and soon it was that this insane idea gained complete control of the king's mind, and he lost all reason, at least so far as David was concerned. There follows a series of attempts upon the young man's life.
We are told that Saul said of David upon one occasion when the young hero was returning from battle and the women in the streets were giving him praise, "and what more can he have but the kingdom?" The young man continued to act wisely in all things and he seemed to prosper in all of his undertakings. Michal, Saul's second daughter, found that she was in love with the young hero. She told her father, and it met with his hearty approval since it afforded him an opportunity to strike at this young man whom he thought to be his enemy. He called David to him and told him of Michal's affection, and offered her hand in marriage since David apparently returned the love which the king's daughter had found in her heart. But David realized his station and he told the king that he was a poor man without reputation and that he could not possibly pay the bride-price. Here it was that Saul struck his blow. He told David that he required no price, but only the foreskins of a hundred Philistine warriors. It was thus that Saul hoped to send David out to his death, but David was not long in returning with the required skins taken from slain warriors, and he claimed the hand of Michal. Of course Saul had to live up to his bargain, and he gave his daughter in marriage to this hero whom he feared. He knew that all Israel loved David, and that Jehovah was with him, and Saul hated David still more.

The king soon became so enraged at the popularity of the young man that he commanded Jonathan and all of his servants to kill David. But Jonathan was a true friend, and he reminded his father how glad he had been upon that day when David had delivered the people from the hands of the Philistine. He told the king that he was shedding innocent

1. 1 Samuel 18:8
blood. When the king saw that his own son stood opposed to him he was temporarily won over and he welcomed David back to the court. It was not long after this that the old fire again ate at the king's heart, and it was as David sat playing for the king one day that the evil spirit again entered Saul's heart. He seized a spear and would have killed David had not the young man slipped away, and Saul thrust the spear into the wall. This was a clear indication of the king's intent, and so it was that David was fully warned.

That night Saul sent messengers to David's house to watch him and in order to slay him in the morning. But Michal saved her husband by discovering her father's plot and urging her husband to escape while there was yet time. David escaped through the window, and Michal stuffed the bed clothing so it would appear that David lay therein. The servants of Saul seized the bed as the king had commanded them and carried it to the king in order that he might himself put David to death. But to the king's surprise he found only the household god in the bed with a quilt of goat's hair at its head. Of course Saul chastised his daughter for deceiving him in such a petty thing as saving her husband's life, but he continued his pursuit of his supposed enemy.

David indeed shows his intelligence in making his flight to Ramah, for it was there that the prophets were gathered, and there too was his old friend Samuel who had started him upon his career. He undoubtedly went there for advice and counsel as to what his next action should be. We will probably be near the truth if we think that it was during this time that David also sought to join the forces of Achish,

1. 1 Samuel 19:13.
the Philistine king. His anger would be at its height at a time like this when an attempt had just been made upon his life. This story is told us in 21:10-15, and we are here informed that David had to act as a madman in order to escape. If we do not include this story in the narrative at this place we will find serious difficulties in the text as we have previously discussed in our review of the sources. David was not wise in going to the Philistines, for he had too recently been making severe attacks upon those peoples. But he probably wished to in any way possible seek his revenge upon the distrustful king who had sought his life without reason.

Saul found that David was in Ramah and he sent messengers for him, but they find the prophets in a state of ecstatic prophesying and they are forced by the sheer frenzy of the activity to join in. Eventually Saul goes to Ramah himself in search of David, but he too is seized with the ecstatic fervor. During this time David flees back to his home and his friend Jonathan. We can see that even after all that has happened David would still retain his relations with the king if it were at all possible. He makes an arrangement with Jonathan whereby he can find out definitely what attitude the king will maintain. This plan is an indication of the cleverness of David, for he knows that the king would ordinarily expect him at his table in the celebration of the New Moon, and if he is absent he will be angry if he still has intentions of taking his life; otherwise he will say nothing of the absence as Jonathan is to offer a likely excuse. The first day Saul says nothing of the absence, but upon the second day he makes inquiry, and when the
prearranged excuse is offered he rages that David is absent. He is angry with Jonathan that he has given David leave to go and sacrifice with his family at Bethlehem. He curses his son, and when Jonathan would side with David, Saul raises his spear to strike him. Jonathan knew that his father would do David to death at his first opportunity, so it only remains for him to warn David to flee for his life.

5. David's Friendship with Jonathan.

We cannot be too certain about this incident, but it does offer us a window into the more beautiful side of both characters. There is no more perfect love than that between two strong men, for it is totally free from even the carnal element, and there is nothing there but the most perfect of love and truest friendship. Such, apparently, was the relation between David and Jonathan. Their last meeting, their pledge, and their final embrace are very emblematic of the noble character in the life of both men. While the whole affair may be a mere fiction, it is at least an indication that the men did possess a character that would have been worthy of such a story, else it would not likely have sprung up. Of course it forms the background for David's later treatment of Jonathan's son, but it also forms the background for that nobility of spirit which was David's and that desire for true justice and freedom which marks any great statesman. David had been misused, and he would not be so ready to misuse one of his trusted servants knowing the position of a mistreated man. At this time we cannot help feeling that David was free from any thoughts of taking the throne from Saul, and indeed it is highly doubtful that he ever sought it before the death of Saul. We
need go no further into this friendship between David and Jonathan, for it will yield us no greater insight into their characters than that nobility and strength which marks two great men wholly devoted to one another. David was probably never to see Jonathan alive again and from thence onward until the death of Saul he was to be an outlaw in the eyes of the court and king. But in this last parting we can clearly see just how vital David's life in the court had been at least to one man.

6. A Summary of the First Period of David's Life. On the whole historians are prone to more or less dismiss this early period in David's life as something insignificant, but as the sprig grows so grows the tree. In the foundation and its strength lies the dependability of a structure, and so it was that in these early days in the court of Saul we find those foundation stones laid which in later days of trial held firm beneath the terrific pressures from overhead. Let us look into those things which form the rugged character which will later develop in this man with whom we are dealing.

First, in those days of childhood and youth he developed a strong and active physique by working for his father in following the flocks over those rough Judaean hills. He lived, he ate, he slept out of doors. He became one with the rough country about him, and the vastness of the sky and earth braced his mind for the years ahead. It is no mere accident that some of the greatest of Israel's leaders have been shepherds; there is a vastness in the out-of-door life that stretches man's thoughts out of the trivial matters of the present and
gives him strength adequate for the trials of the future. David's contest with the wild beasts which beset his flocks trained him for his later contest with men who were little better than the beasts. His physical structure was well prepared, and he was endowed with a natural charm and a splendid personal appearance which is an asset to any man and especially so when he has some brains to reinforce the exterior.

"At the court of Saul he became acquainted with the forces and leaders who were determining the course of Israel's history." It has been said that there is nothing like first hand information and experiment to train an individual for his duties in life, and David was fortunate in being placed in the main channel of events where Israel's history was beginning to unroll. He saw all the petty intrigues of the court, saw the deceit, the false courtesy, the sly tricks, the vain attempts to gain favor with the king, and all the hundreds of things which infest any court no matter how primitive it may be. Standing aside and observing a passing stream we are more likely to get a true conception of its waters than we would by splashing around in its middle. David stood on the bank for a few brief years and watched the murky waters flowing by, but when he did jump into the swim he knew the stuff wherein he struggled and was the more adequately equipped to cope therewith. Here in the court of Saul he gained an insight into the real needs of his nation and when the time came he was able to give that nation some measure of its needs.

1. Founders and Rulers of United Israel, Kent; p.92.
David's brilliant achievements in the realm of warfare and his fascinating personality won him favor with all ranks of people. There was no class to which his triumphant actions did not appeal. Combined with the strength of the warrior he had the tender and delicate soul of a musician and poet, and he was equally accomplished in both fields. It is of little wonder that he found favor with the people, for he appealed to their most susceptible senses. During this period he attached to himself those brave warriors who followed him into his exile life as a fugitive in the caves of the southern hills. They were bound to him by the ties of fellow adventurers and brave comrades in warfare. These fellows were to remain loyal to him through many varied adventures and through the ups and downs of fortune until at last he should be at the head of a great kingdom. In the military life connected with the court of Saul he learned not only how to lead but how to direct large bodies of men, and he completely mastered the military tactics of the day.\(^1\)

It is in reality a tribute to Saul that so able a soldier and so excellent a ruler and statesman should have been schooled primarily in his court. And it is no less a tribute to David to say that it was in these first years of his public life that he really won his battles of the future. Yet here too he showed that weakness which in later life was to usher in the great break in his court and his declining years; no woman is worth the lives of a hundred men wantonly slain even though she be the daughter of a king. And so it is that though the noble spirit of David burst into bloom in those early years the darker side of his

1. Founders and Rulers of United Israel, Kent; p. 92.
life also began to cast its shadows far down the path of the future.

We would probably find many things which shaped the destiny of Israel if we only knew more fully the happenings at the court during these days, but deeds have ever been of more interest to men than the motives lying behind them, and so it is that often progress for the best has been hampered by near-sighted individuals. If we only knew the experiences that David had we could more easily understand his actions in later life, but as it is we must judge these activities as they come to us in isolated episodes.

As we have before suggested, we should be careful not to underestimate this period of David's life. Mighty oaks find their beginning in acorns, and ugly ducklings turn into beautiful swans. How much more should a promising young warrior blossom forth who had been schooled in a court of action and purpose?

C. David as a Fugitive and Outlaw.

After the last meeting with Jonathan there appeared to be but one thing for David to do; he must flee the court and take refuge in some out of way place until the wrath of Saul had subsided. It was truly strange that one of the bravest men whom Saul had gathered about him should be running this way, as a fox would run for cover from the hounds. However, there might have been a well defined reason behind the attitude which Saul had taken. David and Jonathan perhaps had planned to take over the reins of government in light of the illness which possessed the king at ever more frequent intervals now, and though their intentions in all probability were of the highest the demented king could see noth-
ing but the usurpation of his power. Kittel suggests that this might easily have been the situation and that while David and Jonathan had no idea of violently taking the power out of Saul's hands they thought it best for their country to take over the handling of important matters. This plan, however, was completely disrupted by the attitude that Saul took, and his hostile intentions toward his servant David made it quite evident that nothing could be done immediately in the face of the fear-ridden king. The life of David was in danger at every turn and he was the target for all the king's insane wrath.

1. David's Flight from Saul.

With death lying in his bed and lurking behind every possible ambush David fled like a hunted creature and this he truly was, for Saul's men tracked him for years afterward until the king's death. It was but natural that he should have fled to the southward toward his home and his kinsfolk. He had left hurriedly after his interview with Jonathan and there had been no opportunity to prepare himself or carry with him provisions. As a consequence he found himself half famished as he neared the sanctuary at Nob. He was just a little north of Jerusalem, he had been for hours upon the way and his hunger made him stop even in face of the possibility of being overtaken and killed by Saul's men.

2. The Priest at Nob.

Ahimelech was the head priest at Nob and it was to this old fellow that David went in search of food. He undoubtedly entered the sanctuary and asked for help there. It was a bit odd that one of the king's most trusted servants should be

1. Great Men and Movements in Israel, Kittel; p.122f.
seeking food at a sanctuary. To have confessed that he was fleeing from the jealous, half-insane Saul, would have been to warn the priest and cut off all possibility of receiving food. David yielded to the necessary temptation to deceive, and as a consequence he mixed the story up a bit so that it would appear that he was upon a very hurried and important official journey. "And yet he lied to Ahimelech notwithstanding, and so deceived him into helping him at the cost of his life." To satisfy David's needs, Ahimelech, disregarded the sacred laws and gave him some of the showbread which had been placed upon the altar for Jahweh. However, it would probably have found a gastronomic destination in the household of the priest. We are told that Ahimelech also gave David the sword with which he had slain Goliath in order that he might be armed. Surely the priest was a very thick headed man if he did not see that David was fleeing from the court and that he was not upon an official mission as he had said. There possibly had been an earlier understanding between these two as well as the prophets at Ramah. This is the belief of Kittel, and he would include the group of prophets at Ramah and the priest as all being in a plot to change the head of the government. In this case the story which David told to the priest would have been a lie told for the special disillusionment of the Edomite, Doeg, who was the chief of Saul's herdsmen and who was at the sanctuary during the whole interview between David and the priest. If this were the case we must excuse David, but his later confession of his having seen Doeg and lied for that particular reason would indicate that the poor old priest and his family had been murdered as a result of the

1. Founders and Rulers of the United Kingdom, Kent; p. 98.
2. Journal of Biblical Literature, Apr.'33; J. M. F. Smith, p. 3.
3. Great Men and Movements in Israel, Kittel; p. 124f.
deception "avid had practiced upon them. We cannot regard this as one of the highlights of a noble career, for it would not even fit under the head of diplomatic lying.

As David seems to have used lying as one of his foremost devices to get out of difficulties we should not be turned too much against him because of this one occasion. He achieved his end, and having refreshed and armed himself he set out anew upon his journey southward. He had taken his first step toward his outlaw career. As he went southward Doeg went northward with news for the king, and death was soon pressing down upon Nob.

Doeg was one man that had escaped the charm of David's personality and he had immediately set out to let Saul know the whereabouts of the young renegade. The very moment when Saul's anger was the most fierce Doeg unfolded his story to the king, and so it was that in his mad frenzy he pressed down upon Nob and charged the priests with conspiracy. Ahimelech pled ignorance of the break between the king and David, but Saul's wrath was not to be appeased without blood; he ordered the soldiers to slay the priests at the sanctuary. None responded to this command to slay the holy men, but Doeg, the Edomite did it readily. Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, alone of all the priests at Nob escaped. He carried with him some of the priestly equipment and he fled to David who had taken refuge in the hills to the south.

"Thus it was that Saul alienated still further the religious leaders of the kingdom. He presents a pathetic picture. At the moment

when he stood most in need of sane counsellors, he was almost alone. In driving David from his court, he not only lost the services of his most able warrior and leader, but he also weakened the loyalty of the southern tribes." We should not forget that with the loss of David he also lost the one person who had had an influence upon him during those fits of melancholy; the patient had driven the only doctor who could save his life from his side, and nothing but black despair lay ahead. The darkness of this deed which Saul committed at Nob was not to be readily forgotten by the people. The best way to perpetuate a cause is to persecute it, and Saul was indeed making a hero martyr of Ahimelech; he also raised David in the sight of the country folk by making him an outlaw in such unfair circumstances. It is evident that the shadows of the end have already begun to gather around the head of Israel's first king,—he is on the downgrade and rushing forward at a goodly pace.

3. The Gathering of David's Followers.

David fled with the few men that gathered at his heels to a cave in the southern hills. It is called Adullam in some accounts. This position afforded a good view of the broad plains to the north and also a good fortification against attack. Here he could keep in touch with his own people and also have an eye upon the actions of Saul. He was just over the border and out of Saul's reach.

There gathered about David a heterogeneous lot of fellows. They included men from every part of Palestine. There were warriors from his father's clan—possibly Joab among them, there were men out

1. Founders and Rulers of the United Kingdom, Kent; p.99f.
of Saul's court and his army who had followed their able leader into exile, and there were men from the neighboring tribes and kingdoms who perhaps had met a similar fate to that of David's. We cannot afford to pass over an interesting reference here to the type of the peoples who came under David's banner:

"And there were drawn together to him everyone that was in distress, and everyone who was in debt, and everyone who was embittered, and he became their leader. And there were with him about four hundred men."

It is apparent from this that there were those in the kingdom who were not particularly pleased with the way they were being governed, and when the opportunity arose they joined a man who seemed to offer them the life that they desired.

The very type that David appealed to shows the instincts the young man had for gathering around him the people who in the end would really make of his reign a thorough-going success. He appealed to the lower classes and stirred their imagination in such a way that they flocked to his cause, and no king can be successful unless he has the support of the vast numbers in the lower strata of his kingdom.

We must not forget that Abiathar had carried with him the Ephod and he was able to give David the priestly counsel and the divine commands and oracles. In this respect David was better equipped than Saul. There seems to have been a strong psychological influence in connection with these oracles, for it gave to the effort a sort of magical touch of victory or failure. David was fortunate in being in such close contact with the divine will.

1. 1 Samuel 22:2 (American Translation).
4. The Relief of Keilah. This represents one of the early strategic moves that David made toward gaining the peoples' favor and support. News came to David at Adullam that the town of Keilah was being besieged by the Philistines. David at once consulted the oracle through Abiathar. The oracle was in favor of a venture toward relieving the town from its enemy. According to the command thus received David made his attack upon the Philistines and freed the town driving the Philistines away to the north. Here in Keilah he remained until he heard of the approach of Saul's men who were forever pursuing him. This event, however, shows that David was still true to the Hebrew cause despite the fact that he had been outlawed from Saul's court and was a hunted man. Surely this action must have seemed a noble one in the eyes of the common people, and Saul's continued pursuit of the hero did not help the king's reputation to rise any.

When Saul heard of David's deed he was naturally stirred to anger to see his enemy, as he supposed, winning again the favor of the people. He ordered his army to go down to Keilah and besiege the town that David and his men might be delivered into his hands. David was wise enough to know the ways of men and he knew that even those very people whom he had saved from the Philistines would turn against him in the face of another siege when Saul and his army appeared. Accordingly he inquired of the oracle, and the oracle likewise had good enough sense to see the danger. David and his men left Keilah and wandered into the hills further to the south. When Saul heard of the escape he abandoned the expedition. Here again we might note that David was wise enough not to overestimate his powers.
5. David's Regard for Saul's Life. "One of the most interesting stories of David's outlaw life consists of the account of how the men of Ziph, a town on the edge of the Judaean highlands about an hour and a half southeast of Hebron, betrayed David's whereabouts to Saul, how Saul ranged the region in pursuit of David, and how David spared Saul when the king was in his power." David got word that Saul had left Keilah in pursuit of him, and he forced his way further into the wilderness, but Saul continued the chase. David sent out spies to keep in touch with the moves of the king's army.

When Saul had encamped David hatched a scheme and he asked for a man to volunteer to accompany him into the camp of the enemy. Abishai offered his services and the two men set out for the camp which Saul had set up; so it was that David and Abishai entered the camp by night. They came upon Saul inside of the barricade with his soldiers lying upon the ground about him, all deep in slumber. Abishai begged David to let him take Saul's spear which was stuck in the ground at the king's head and drive it through the king himself thus making an end of the whole matter. But David rebuked the man saying that no man could be innocent and do harm to the Lord's anointed. He satisfied himself with carrying off a few trifles that would show the enemy there had been someone in the camp. We are given another incident where David is supposed to have again spared the life of the king, and this time he only cut the skirt off of his mantle, but his conscience smote him even for such a trifling deed against the king.

There are several important things about these stories which appealed so to the imagination of the people. There are two stories,

1 Samuel 24:4ff
alike in many particulars, but differing in mere details. Apparently they comprise a double narrative of a single incident. In the latter account there is an exchange of oaths between the two enemies which seems a bit unnatural in the face of the hostilities that have been going on for some time. Budde regards these oaths as a later redact-
or's addition. This is quite possible in the face of the later treat-
ment which David gives Saul's descendants.

We must regard David in a new light after this singular inci-
dent, for he truly showed himself a man of high character. The laws
of the crude warfare of the time would have made the deed of killing
the sleeping Saul a noble act of heroism; it would have left the throne
open for him, it would have freed him of all pursuit and given him sec-
urity. J.W.F. Smith suggests that there were two things which kept David
from killing the king when he had ample opportunity; one was the fact
that Saul was his own father-in-law and the father of his dear friend
Jonathan, the other was that he was Jahweh's anointed and therefore
he dared not lay hands upon him, in fact he even shrinks later when
his conscience smites him for cutting off Saul's skirt. But, there
seems to be one point that is overlooked. David could easily see that
the day was not far off when he would take over the reigns of the gov-
ernment, and then he would be in Saul's place. Even a king must sleep,
and if one can be murdered so easily in sleep what security could he
ever have that the morning would find him alive. There is such a thing
as setting a precedent, and David wisely did it at this time. There
had always been a certain feeling of awe concerning the life of the
anointed of the Lord, but this was doubly strengthened when David so

1. The Books of Samuel, Budde; p.21ff.
nobly declined his opportunity to slay the king without danger to his own life. David was beginning to show signs of that craftiness which later stood him in such good stead as a statesman.

6. The Nabal Incident. After he left the wilderness of Ziph David went into the country known as the wilderness of Maon. "This section was well adapted to the raising of sheep and goats, and even at this time was inhabited by scattered well-to-do owners of flocks and herds." David found himself in this section with a large body of men and no visible means of support. Now, David hit upon a scheme whereby he could render small services to the herdsmen in return for support of his little army. They needed protection from the nomads who swept in occasionally from the desert country and raided the flocks, and David figured that the well-to-do herdsmen could afford to pay for this "protection." In this sense David can be classed as the first of the racketeers, for surely this was racketeering as we know it today. At any rate he favorably impressed most of the rich men of the region and one willingly gave his daughter to David in marriage. She was the girl Ahinoam whom David married at this time. We are given the other vivid account, however, of David's affair with Nabal. Nabal means "fool" and so he might truly be classed. David sent ten young men to this rich man's home offering the accustomed protection in return for a certain fee. Nabal sent the men away with some very unwise words and they returned with a bad story to their leader. His anger was immediately aroused, he gathered four hundred of his men and set out to "bomb" Nabal's establishment as we would say today.

1. Great Men and Movements of Israel, Kittel; p.100.
2. 1 Samuel 25:4-42
Nabal's wife was a clever woman, and she had foreseen the danger of thwarting a man like David. She and her servants met David with gifts to appease his anger. Further, with a reverent attitude she spoke unto him as though he were the one for whom "Jehovah would certainly make a sure house," and as one whom Jehovah would appoint as "Prince over Israel." Playing thus upon David's pride, and stirring anew that hope in David's breast to be "Prince over Israel," Abigail plucked the teeth from the ferocious lion and sent him back to his lair wagging his tail behind him. Abigail was an attractive and intelligent woman, and she had surely made the most of a knocking opportunity; her reward was to come later. When she told her husband of what she had done and of the danger he had so foolishly placed himself in, he was seized with fright and sorely stricken. We are told that he died ten days after learning how closely he had missed a more violent death.

When David heard of Nabal's death he immediately wooed Abigail to be his wife. Incidentally, she had fallen heir to all of Nabal's wealth. She immediately accepted, and so it was that David added, to his power with the people, vast lands and herds through his fortunate marriage. The fact that David took upon himself two wives at this time in addition to Michal, whom Saul had given to another, would indicate that his ambitions were growing stronger. His marriage to Abigail was apparently prompted by true love, and it brought him a sane and devoted counselor. It strengthened still further his position among the tribes in the south country. Thus at every step David was increasing his hold upon the Hebrews of the south, and he prepared for the moment when they should choose their own king, or when Saul might die. Marriages in those days were primarily the extension of influence to new quarters. The

1. 1 Samuel 25:28
2. 1 Samuel 25:30
3. 1 Samuel 25:43
4. Founders and Rulers of United Israel, Kent; p.108.
accepted way of sealing alliances and treaties was by intermarriage. This afforded David a new channel through which to secure power and insure his backing in advent of the choice of a king in the south.

David was rapidly drawing about himself a web of friendly supporters. He was bound by marriage ties to Jezreel through Ahinoam and to Carmel through Abigail. By birth he was bound to the tribe at Bethlehem. Keilah owed him allegiance despite the deceitful way they had treated him when Saul had pursued him. His band of outlaws was ever increasing and as the people grew more and more tired of being ruled by a half insane king they turned to David for hope. Throughout Judah his hold was a strong one. Despite the seeming strength of his position he did not have behind him that organized force that was Saul's. His condition must have been somewhat difficult or he would never have turned to the Philistines for help, making himself a vassal of Achish. Perhaps, however, there were other motives behind this move.

7. A Vassal of Achish. At first this move of David over to the camp of the enemy may seem a bit puzzling, but if we consider the factors lying behind it there is a possibility that it was a very clever move. By this time David had quite a body of men at his command, and if there were six hundred soldiers, as we are told according to the round numbers given us in the biblical account, it is very possible that there were not adequate facilities to take care of this huge body of men and their families upon his little holdings in the region of Carmel. Perhaps it was as Clmstead
suggests, "David saw no resource but to seek Philistine protection."¹

We must not lose from mind the fact that he had upon earlier occasion made overtures to Achish, and now that he was more adequately equipped with a large group behind him he would make a more attractive servant to the Philistine king.

"David had attempted to carve for himself a kind of kingdom in the extreme south of Judah. - No doubt Saul's ill-timed persecution had the effect of loosening the links which the king had succeeded in establishing between the southern groups and Israel."² It would appear that David's procedure in going over to the Philistines was morally indefensible from our modern point of view, but moral sense in David's time had not developed beyond this. "Indeed, in modern warfare, in spite of knowing better, national leaders still do similar things. This procedure made David very popular in the cities of southern Judah,"³ and after all that was the young man's aim. "David gave the Philistines an unheard of triumph by entering their services...... perhaps David chose his course from sheer necessity. It is obvious that he was received with open arms."⁴

We can readily see that there were great difficulties which would inevitably present themselves in David's path. The Philistines would eventually turn toward Saul and the Israelites and he as a subject and vassal of Achish would be expected to follow and war upon his old friends and perhaps even his kinsmen. Also as a vassal to the Philistine king he was expected to make raids upon the neighboring Hebrew tribes and pay for his upkeep in spoil shared with the

1. History of Palestine and Syria, Clmstead; p. 208.
2. Israel, Iods; p. 359.
3. History of the Hebrew People, Barton; p. 141.
4. Great Men and Movements of Israel, Wittel; p. 126f.
Philistines. This meant raids and forays into Israel, especially into Judah, the nearest neighbor. A sad prospect from the very beginning:

"This first danger was fortunately avoided. David's sagacity and perhaps special considerations, unknown to us, on the part of Achish himself, resulted in David's receiving the town of Ziglag (Ziklag, possibly the Zu-he-like of present day), rather distant from Gath and southeast of Gaza." It would appear that David had bought this as personal property, for he continually paid rich sums to the central power at Gath. Constant proofs seem to have been expected that he was keeping on the job and not being too friendly with the neighbors.

While the Philistines felt that they had in David a faithful ally and servant he carried out one of the most forceful movements of his career behind their backs. "As a matter of fact, David in this city (Ziklag) laid the foundation for all his kingdom. Here he could already rule with greater freedom and independence, collect fugitives and deserters around him in larger numbers, send and receive embassies like a prince, and as a ruler over soldiers and over peaceable citizens, rehearse, on a small scale, those arts by which he afterwards acquired and maintained his great kingdom." 

The commission which Achish gave David was to injure Judah by repeated raids. It was in this connection that David forged a band of steel binding him to the friendship of the Judaean cities. To the south of Judah were the Amalekites and kindred nomadic tribes. Saul had defeated these tribes but he had by no means destroyed them, and

1. Great Men and Movements in Israel, Kittel; p.127.
they remained hostile to the Hebrew peoples. These peoples and the Asshurites received the brunt of David's repeated raids. "David's cunning, apparently, enabled him to completely dupe Achish and his people for a whole year."¹ David was clever enough and brutal enough to cover up all traces of his trick, for upon all occasions he completely wiped out the damning evidence by slaying without mercy the men, women, and children of the peoples whom he raided. This may seem terrible according to our present day standards, but in his day it was more or less the accustomed thing to do, and besides it covered up his trail in such a way that there was no possibility for a story of his double-dealings to get to Achish. Achish was well satisfied with the spoil he received, and he had reason to be, so he could offer no criticism of David's behavior. Steadily and untiringly David was building the base for his throne. Instead of injuring his native land he was aiding it by disposing of some of their ancient enemies, and they could not have been ignorant of David's loyalty to them in the face of his Philistine relationship.

b. The Philistine Advance. Certain results of this connection of David's have been mentioned before as inevitable, and it was not long before they took place. We can see readily enough that Saul was greatly weakened both by the loss of David to his cause, and by the favor amongst the people which he had lost by his foolish and childish wandering about in search of the man whom he thought to be his enemy, but who was in reality his best friend and servant. Without David, Saul was not an important enemy.

¹. Great Men and Movements of Israel, Kittel; p.128.
The Philistines knew this through experience, and their wisest move would be to take advantage of the situation by a vigorous attack upon Israel. It has been suggested that the Philistines were not alone in this venture, "but the whole coastline was united against the tribes of the interior in their attempts to form a monarchy." This thought is based upon the fact that after the death of Saul his body was taken to Beth-Shean and the fact that the enemy appears against Israel so far to the north.

As the Philistine host assembled and the powers of the five cities drew their soldiers into a mass in preparation for their advance upon Saul, we find that David and his whole army came with the vassals of Achish. David was indeed placed in a very painful situation. He was being called upon to fight against his old master, his best friend, and many of his old comrades at arms. No man could relish such a call, and we can not suppose for an instant that David was eager to march against Israel. There does not seem to have been any suspicion aroused in Achish upon this occasion, for David had rendered very effective services to his Philistine overlord for more than a year, and of course Achish thought that during this time he had been carrying on the raids against Judah, so there were no visible grounds for suspicion. However, the other Philistine leaders felt differently, and especially so as the combat drew nearer and nearer. Suspicion and fear became ever more rampant as they drew farther and farther to the north and closer to Saul's army. Eventually the Philistine princes made a request of Achish that he command his vassal to return to his home, for

they feared to trust his faithfulness when he came face to face with Saul and Jonathan in war. "Possibly by some clever means David knew how to awaken such thoughts."\(^1\) A word here or there mentioning his uncertainty at facing his old friends in mortal combat would have set the desired rumors under way. David could easily have done this and saved his face in such a case, and I can readily believe that it was through some such method that he got relief from service. It was his good fortune to have things work out in this fashion. With Kittel we can say that we do not believe that David would have fought in cold blood with the Philistines against Judah; it would have been too incongruous with the rest of his character.\(^2\)

c. The Amalekite Raid. This leave of absence was most opportune for David, for otherwise he would have suffered one of the greatest humiliations of his life. "A strong band of Amalekites (encouraged, it would seem, by the news that the bravest Philistine and Israelite troops had moved northwards) had issued from the southern wilderness in a successful raid against the adjacent towns of Philistia and Judah, and on the last day had approached Ziklag, having heard, no doubt, of the departure of the terrible David."\(^3\) The raid had been ruthless and all the property and the women and children had been carried off with the army in their return home. David had been very negligent in not having left an armed guard for the city, but he probably had become careless with his repeated successes and thought it wholly unnecessary. After the men had recovered from their first shock they turned upon their leader with violent indignation. They even

1. Great Men and Movements of Israel, Kittel; p.129
2. Ibid. p.129.
threatened to stone David for his poor care of his peoples' property and families. However, with the old dominant personality and vigor David quiets his men and leads them in rapid chase after the Amalekites who think themselves safe enough from any pursuit as David is supposed to be in the north fighting Saul.

As the band of men under David follow at a rapid pace some two hundred have to stop at the brook Besor, for they are too fatigued to go further. The rest pass over the brook and continue the chase. On the road they encounter an Egyptian slave who guides them in their hunt, and soon they fall upon the enemies camp. "Scattered over the country eating, drinking, and dancing the Amalelites were easily slain and the captives recovered." The whole of the stolen goods was also recovered together with a rich booty from the Amalekite camp. We carried away rich spoils and these he wisely distributed.

When the men returned to the brook Besor they were unwilling to share their booty with the men who had remained behind, but David insisted upon an equal division and thereby set a precedent in Israel that all share alike in the time of war, those who face the enemy in the field and those who keep the home. This was a clever stroke and the fairness of it won forever those two hundred men as well as the respect of the others. David was inherently a statesman and an unswerving hand of justice in dealings with his people, with only few exceptions.

d. The Distribution of the Spoil.

Out of this incident arose one of the factors which led more or less direct-

ly to David's immediate success. "David had never before captured so large an amount of spoil, and he did not neglect to send rich portions of it as presents to all the friendly elders of the cities of Judah with whom he had come in contact at an earlier period." This was an exceptional move, and it netted rich interest on invested capital. "The man of gifts gets all the friends", says proverb 19:6, and it would appear that David's case was a glowing example of this in life. "It was the power of the gift toward making covenants which David used...When he obtained spoil he sent some of it to the elders of Judah with the following words: Here ye have a blessing from the spoil of the enemies of Yahweh! (1 Sam.30:26). He imparts to them a blessing by the gift, and therefore has a right to be blessed by them in return; it is in this that the covenant consists."

We can see that David was truly making overtures toward the construction of his own kingdom in the south, and this day was not far distant. It is always good to have people in high positions obligated to one when one is on the ladder climbing upward toward power. Today we call it a "drag" or a "pull", in David's time it was just good common sense and cleverness on his part to, in this small way, bind his Judaean friends ever closer to him, that when the day did come he would have the majority of votes in the assembly.

The Death of Saul. We are told in a vivid and moving story of how Saul in the last moments of his weakness and despair went to inquire of the Witch of Endor the outcome of the struggle with the Philistine. We can picture the broken figure lying

2. Israel, Johns Pederson; p.297.
in a faint upon the floor after hearing the terrible news from the
dead lips of Samuel. Truly the case of Saul was pathetic, for in
this, his last struggle, there was no one upon whom he could lean
other than his faithful son. Humiliating defeat came and we are
told the brave story of how he fell upon his sword that he might
not have to meet death at the hand of the Philistine. He was a
great figure shining in that early light of the morning of the
Hebrew nation, and he never received his proper place among the
stories of their heroes. Saul must have been a great man and a
successful man, otherwise Israel would not have continued as she
did. "It is a noteworthy fact proving the extent to which the
Israelites had been impressed by the success of the first king, that
there was no thought of abolishing the institution of the monarchy." 1
On this ground, if upon no other, Saul demands our praise and recog-
nition.

However, it is not his death or Jonathan's with which we
must deal, but rather in what way they effected David. "Then the
young leader heard of the death of his old master and his great
friend he broke with his men into a great lament for the slain of
Israel. The Amalekite who brought the news was put to death for
his trouble and he truly deserved it if his story were true that
he finished off the king when he found that he was not quite dead.
"Glad as David might have been that his enemy was dead, he must
clear himself of suspicion and he must guard the divine character
of the kingship to which he aspired. How dare the Amalekite put
forth his hand against Jehovah's anointed?" 2 This might have been

1. Israel, Lods; p. 359.
2. History of Palestine and Syria, Olmstead; p. 309.
David's attitude at the time, but I would be inclined to credit him with a little more noble feeling. David had served Saul well and he had truly loved him. He had spared his life when he might easily have taken it at least upon one occasion, and maybe more. Why then should he be glad that Saul was dead? Why, too, should he be glad to hear of the death of his friend Jonathan who had braved all for the sake of true love and friendship? "Even the claims of rigid justice would not have allowed him to act otherwise than he did.... The deep sorrow for Saul, and yet more for Jonathan, which he cherished in his heart, his readiness to recognize true worth, even in a foe, the incomparable love for Jonathan,—all this shines forth in his elegy over the two heroes with unspeakable pathos, and yet such truth and simplicity, that David could have given posterity no surer pledge of the loyalty and uprightness of his own heart." 1

This passionate outburst known as "David's Lament" 2 is one of the fine poetic utterances of the Old Testament. The author moves swiftly and beautifully through the lines with a heart that has been sorely stricken. "Thy glory, O Israel is slain.... How are the mighty fallen." He calls upon the mountains and the elements to publish forth his grief over these two who had been "lovely and pleasant in their lives and in death were not divided." He further shows in v.24 that it was Saul who had raised the state of the people that they might be "clothed in scarlet delicately, and put ornaments and gold upon their apparel." He seems to recognize in Saul some of those qualities which he himself hopes to display to the people. In all of the references to Saul there is not one word of bitterness or resentment at

2. 2 Samuel 1:19-27.
the treatment he has received. There is not a shadow of relief or satisfaction. We cannot refrain from concluding that the author was deeply and sincerely moved by the death of these two men who had meant so very much in the molding of his early manhood. After all, we should never forget that David studied statecraft in the court of Saul, and whatever factors of strength there may be in his later life there is something of a root in the past. This elegy is the cry of a man that has lost something dear and not of a person who triumphs over the fall of a foe. David's soul poured forth upon this occasion even more than it did upon later occasions. He frequently laments the death of people who are advantageously pushed aside, but never are the harp cords so vibrant with sincere passion as in this utterance.

Though this lament came from the very depths of David's heart it still had a desirable effect upon the people. For those who had been with Saul to the last it heightened their respect for David; it in a measure won them over to his standard - they saw there the nobility of spirit they desired in a leader. For those who already followed David, this sincere lament deepened their high regard for the depth of their leader's character. It was an ennobling act and truly worthy of praise. David had by the very fullness of his own nature opened a new stream through which power was to flow to him out of the north from Israel. With this stirring tribute which one great man placed upon another let us close this section.

Briefly let us remember that David tried in every way to be true to Saul, that he only left the court when his life was in immediate danger. We must remember that he secured the favor of the prophets, that he had the diviner of God's will by his side with the ephod. We must remember his nobility in sparing Saul's life, his cleverness in playing upon the feelings of the people of the south. His protection of some of their towns against the Philistines would give him great strength among the sepoles of southern Judah. One by one he gained new communities to his side. He appealed to the poor, the indebted, and the pursued. He gathered about him a band of strong soldiers and mighty men and he had ample opportunity to train them in the arts of war. These were later to be the nucleus of his great and powerful army. He gained wives and property and had an interest in the soil. At last he went over to the service of Achish. "We may confess that David's two years' residence under the aegis of the Philistine king, implies more than appears on the surface. There can be little doubt that he succeeded in attracting friends to himself among the Philistines, especially in Cath, and it may well be that his influence sufficed to form a party there which was devoted to him. It is not impossible that the story of his relations with Achish conceals a division in the ranks of the Philistines themselves, of which David was skillful enough to take advantage: and this division, if historical, cannot have failed to contribute to the weakening of the Philistine power." 1 We find that his later relations to certain of the Philistines was most

friendly as revealed in 2 Sam.15:10ff. David left few stones unturned which would in any way give him friends which he could bring forth in his hour of need. Cleverly he appealed to the people and served their wants and needs to bring them to his side. He was beginning that unification under one head which the Hebrews so needed to make of them a nation of importance. By his gifts of Amalekite spoil he bound closer the elders of Judah, and these elders yielded a tremendous influence in their particular localities. By his fairness to the men at Zecor he bound them closer to him, by hundreds of petty little things he was slowly fashioning the great foundation of his later kingdom. A true statesman plans far ahead, and David was truly qualified in this respect. Slowly he was taking into his hands the strings which at the proper moment would be pulled with a jerk and the bag would be closed and his ambition at least partially fulfilled; partially, because he had greater ambitions dormant in his mind for his people as a whole, - these too were to be fulfilled.

This second period of David's life might truly be called the training ground or the testing field. It was here that he gained his intimate experience with hardship and difficulties, with victory and defeat in like measure, with success and disappointment. David was tempered in this period to be the flexible and keenly flashing steel sword which guided a people to greatness such as they never had before, and for which they dreamed everafter.

D. David, King of Judah. At the battle on Mount Gilboa not only Saul and Jonathan had met their deaths
but Abinadab and Melchi-shua, two more of Saul's sons, had likewise perished. Ish-bosheth or Ishbael, however, still remained and he immediately made claim upon his father's kingdom. At this time in Israel hereditary succession had by no means been established, so he could not legally demand the throne. He did make the effort to maintain himself with a small following over east of the Jordan. "David could in no way be considered as owing allegiance to this person."

In this position there would be nothing to prevent him from making more secure his claims upon his holds in Judah. Accordingly he more firmly entrenched himself in the south.

We know from what some authorities consider a very ancient source ¹ that immediately after Saul's disaster, while David was still at Ziklag, a large number of valiant warriors came over to him from independent districts, and they looked for his leadership to save Israel. Seven captains of thousands of the tribe of Manasseh are mentioned by name, and these undoubtedly brought a goodly portion of their men with them. And besides these there came a fresh supply of warriors from day to day to seek their fortunes with him and to help him in the work of Israel "until there was a great army, like the army of God."²

Under these conditions it was impossible to remain inactive any longer or to continue in the same relation to Achish. It appears in the text of Samuel that he inquired of the Lord as to what steps he should take, but a wise counsel could easily have guided him. He took the shortest step toward establishing himself permanently. He came with all of his followers and the women and children and set

up his rule. After he was firmly established there it would have been practically impossible for any dissatisfied individuals to have driven him out. Stronger and stronger his hand became until at length the elders of Judah thought it best to make a visit to Hebron and officially declare him their king and protector. He had served well as a strong arm against the robbers among the Bedouins who would sweep in out of the desert and carry away their flocks and property, and he had proven himself an able leader in the services of Saul; consequently, their trust in David was well founded. In the present troubled state of affairs they could have wished for nothing better than an able leader such as he upon which to rely. "And the men of Judah came, and there they anointed David king over the house of Judah." ¹

Although David had become King of Judah the rest of Israel seems to have been loyal to the house of Saul, and it is in this respect that David finds one of his most difficult problems. Abner had taken the younger son of Saul, Ishbaal, and placed him upon the throne and had rallied the scattered forces of Israel to the banner of the new king. For seven and a half years this faction held out and there were spasmodic flurries of war between the nations Israel and Judah during this time.

1. War Between David and the Forces of Saul. ¹¹ We should try to realize the difficulty of the situation in which David was placed by this turn of circumstances. "As long as the house of Saul was in power the rule of David was not safely estab-

¹ 2 Samuel 2:4.
lished. Every member of Saul's family had in himself an inborn claim to share the glory of ruler-ship. Yahweh had chosen David not only before Saul, but before Saul and his house (2 Sam.6:21). The object of David would be therefore to neutralize all who were of the house of Saul. He showed his cunning, in that he succeeded in doing it without breaking his covenant with Jonathan, as this covenant lay obligations upon him which might counteract his aim.¹ In this we have a partial explanation which clears up the reason for waiting so long to become the king of Israel. Surely the forces at the disposal of Ishbaal were not equal in any way to those at the command of David, but a man in the most brilliant spot of a nation's eye must be cautious of how he treats his sacred obligations and covenants, for he sets the precedent for the behavior of all his peoples.

When David heard of the brave part the inhabitants of Jabesh had played in the rescue of Saul's dead and mutilated body from the hands of the Philistines he immediately sent a formal embassy to them. He extended his thanks and good wishes in the most regal fashion and informed them that he had been appointed as king over Judah. But in any case David was not yet ready to take too much into his hands. Surely he saw that while the Philistines might not object to his being king of Judah they would surely take a different attitude when he sought the larger kingdom of Israel. It took strength of great numbers to make such a stand, and at this time David was not adequately prepared to undertake the task.

We are told of a battle between the forces of Ishbaal under Abner and those of David under Joab taking place at Gibeon. As was

¹ Israel, Johns Federson; p.269.
frequently the custom in those days, Abner suggested that before the battle there be a little contest between the opposing champions for the mutual entertainment of the armies. Twelve were selected from each side and they met in a space between the opposing lines of warriors. So evenly matched were they that all of them fell at once, and the result was to throw the two armies at each other with intense fury. It was during this battle that Asahel who persisted in dogging the heels of Abner met his death very ignominiously at the hands of the Israelite captain. The death of Joab's brother broke up the pursuit, but Joab and Abishai followed the fleeing Israelites. The loss to Abner's troops was some three hundred and sixty men as compared with a loss of twenty on the side of Joab's force. The purpose of this story is to lay the background for David's continued increase in power during these years showing the decisive victories that he continually won, and likewise to give the reason for Joab's later action toward Abner, the revenge of his brother's death.

During this period David added to his supply of wives. It was the custom of the times to seal friendly alliances by intermarriage, as we have previously mentioned, and in accordance with this practice David took unto himself at least four more wives during this stay at Hebron. His first born was Amnon, the son of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess; the second, Chileab, the son of Abigail, the widow of Nabal the Carmelite; third, Absalom, the son of Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, King of Geshur; fourth, Adonijah, the son of Haggith; and fifth, Shephetaiah, the son of Abital; and sixth, Ithream, the son of Eglah.  

1. 2 Samuel 3: 2-5.
2. Abner's Negotiations. While the war was still going on Abner had married Saul's concubine Rizpah. We find that Ishbaal interpreted this act as an indication that his general was aiming at the throne. This might have been justified according to the practices of the East, but as Abner gave no further indications of usurping Ishbaal's power the latter was not wise in taking the stand that he did. The young king reproached Abner for his attitude, and the trustworthy general who had really set the young fool upon the throne became righteously incensed at the treatment. Abner swore at Ishbaal because of his ingratitude, and threatened to turn his powers to the success of David's ventures. "It is plain that this was but a chance spark falling upon dry ground which had long been ready for it."

Almost immediately Abner sent messengers to make negotiations with David.

The answer which he received from David was favorable to a friendly alliance but only upon the condition that Michal, his first wife and Saul's daughter should be returned to him. This bore two important motives. The one was to renew his connexion with the house of Saul and thus make his position in the eyes of the Hebrews more firmly established, and the other was to satisfy the demands of his own ego on this score; to have what rightfully belonged to him. Michal had undoubtedly been truly in love with David, else she would never have saved his life in the face of her father's commands to treat treacherously with him. Throughout the remainder of David's life there are other slight indications that she had that higher and more thoughtful love for the king which the other wives do not seem

1. History of Israel, Ewald; p.116, Vol.III.
to have possessed. Saul had married Michal to Faltai, the son of Leish of Gallim, after David had become an outlaw. It is quite possible that David was clever enough to place this obligation upon Abner to insure himself against treachery as well as satisfying his own ends.

Abner supported the demands of David and gave orders to have Michal taken from her husband, Faltai. Furthermore he aroused sentiments among the elders of the northern tribes in favor of David. He then set out with a personal bodyguard toward David's capital. It is evident that Abner had purposely chosen a time when Joab would be absent to carry out his negotiations with David. The meeting was held and everything was settled between the two leaders. Abner was to swing the elders of the northern tribes to David's side and then there was to be a united meeting of the north and south to join the entire forces of the Hebrews. As Abner left Hebron Joab returned, and upon hearing what had taken place he pursued the Israelite and overtook him in a dark recess in the city gate. There he avenged the death of his brother Asahel.

David meeting the horror of the situation, immediately denounced Joab with the utmost bitterness for his foul deed. He ordered a general mourning over the death of a princely hero, and he himself composed a short but "deep-toned elegy." He refused food for a day in mourning and the apparent sincerity on his part made the most favorable impression upon those who might have suspected him of having a prearranged scheme with Joab toward Abner's end. We cannot say with certainty what David's real attitude was in this in-

1. 1 Samuel 25:44.
stance, but we must admit that he did act wisely. He showed once more that cleverness which made use of every chance incident to appeal to his people and the public upon whom he had to rely for his support. Even until this day people ascribe the death of Abner to David's hand, and of course we cannot say that they are not right with any certainty. David at least played his cards as cleverly as they could be played under the circumstances, and it was with at least a little pile of winnings that he came away from the game.

3. The Murder of Ishbaal. "From the beginning Ishbaal had lacked firmness and after Abner's death doubly so. David's sagacity would not permit him to arouse public opinion unnecessarily by forcibly removing Ishbaal." But conditions fortunately slipped into his hands in such a way that it did not appear that he was directly to blame for the young king's death. We are told that two of Ishbaal's officers, Baanah and Rechab of Beeroth, plotted to kill the king. They cherished a special animosity against the house of Saul because of an old blood-feud. They made their entrance into the house of Ishbaal at noon. They proceeded to cut off Ishbaal's head and taking it with them they made the long journey traveling throughout the night to present it at the feet of David. At Hebron they thought they would win favor by having rid the king of Judah of the one enemy standing in his way, but they were met with curses. Their fate was similar to that of Saul's murderer. They were executed and their hands and feet cut off and hung up in

1. Great Men and Movements in Israel, Kittel; p.133.
a public place as a warning against other assassins of kings who might feel called upon to exercise their talents.

"David emphatically disowned any responsibility for the murder of Abner and Ishbaal; he lavished funeral honors upon the victims and ordered the murderers of his rivals to be executed. But he skilfully availed himself of the fruits of these opportune deaths: the elders of the whole land assembled at Hebron and anointed David king over Israel." 1 This meeting in Hebron was a gala affair, and the three day celebration ushered in the golden age of Israel's history. The tribes all sent their representatives and their armed men. Great preparations were made at the city for the visitors and feasting and drinking was in order. The Chronicle account with vivid simplicity says, "gladness reigned in Israel." 2

4. David's Wisdom in Waiting for the Kingship.

This dedication of the forces of Israel to the house of David came as a climax of a long and patient wait for something that must have burst the young king's very soul with eagerness. However, David was a man who knew his people and he knew when to play his cards. After the victory of Gibeon most men would have asserted themselves, and in so doing would have brought half of Israel down upon their heads. David patiently waited his time, he did not want to chance a death stroke from the Philistines or a revolt from the Benjamites. "It is more possible that he avoided obtaining the crown by spilling blood, for the crown must of necessity come to him later. He feared a host of cases of blood revenge....Not constraint and violence, but rather

1. Israel, Lods; p.359f.
2. 1 Chronicles 12:40.
the free choice of the tribes alone could bless his future as king of all Israel." He was entirely correct in his attitude, and we see some years later how necessary it was to have all of the tribes behind the king in order to be successful in the case of Solomon's successor. United force is always to be preferred to half hearted agreement without conviction to back it. He made an agreement with the delegates from the tribes in which the rights and the duties of the king were probably set forth: an interesting proof of how little this young Hebrew kingdom represented the average Oriental despotic government. From the very outset the support, united as it was, seemed to predict success. Israel had never backed Saul so whole-heartedly, and David was truly fortunate in having such support. It had been well worth a few anxious years of waiting to come into his own on such a tidal wave of loyalty as was his.

5. Summary of the Third Period of David's Life. This period represents the more fully developed statesman and the cleverly calculating planner. Power was in his hands, yet he willingly refrained from using it seeing in the future a better day and a more opportune moment. He was wise in firmly establishing himself in the south first, for it was there that Saul had always been weakest. Around him a well trained and efficient army seemed ever to grow in numbers. He fulfilled and surpassed the expectations of his peoples, and he dealt cleverly with his rivals. By strokes of great fortune Abner and Ishbaal were both removed from the scene and the road to supreme power over Israel was open; yet he waited for the

1. Great Men and Movements of Israel, Kittel; p.133.
elders to come to him rather than sending for them. It is always best to let people move under their own power when they will, then they never have the feeling that they were coerced into an action without having their own will function. David was thought of immediately as the only eligible leader, he knew he would be, so he waited.

Wisely, too, there was an agreement before the new duties were undertaken. Too many men are so glad to get the job that they do not consider the obligations involved until after it is too late; David set himself and his people at certain points to start with and thus the agreement was to be met by all and upon both sides. David was backed with the military forces of united Israel, and with such a machine he could now face the old enemy, the Philistines, and once and for all settle the ancient dispute.

A piece of David's statesmanship and strategy of which we know nothing is how he managed for nearly eight long years to keep those Philistine kings from "smelling a mouse" as it were and setting their foot firmly upon his neck before he could raise it proudly under the crown of Israel. This was a piece of statesmanship behind the scenes, but it is none the less admirable. This master stroke together with his enduring patience mark the supreme achievement of this period. They show a ripening of that character, that shrewdness, and that masterful handling of circumstances which in later years mark for him international successes. David was growing in wisdom as well as power, and his day had dawned.
E. David, King of Israel. We have seen that the crown of Judah has been replaced by the crown of the united kingdom of Israel. The greatest power that had as yet come to the Hebrews as a people was now centralized in their newly crowned king, and as a people they had pledged their loyalty and support to his leadership. David as king over Judah had not been such a great menace to the Philistine union of five cities, but David, king of Israel meant something entirely different; this was the trumpeting of a great and united force at their very backdoor, and there could be no security or rest for the Philistines as long as this progressive young man, so late their helper and vassal, was rampant in the hill country to the south, to the east, and to the north of them. Something had to be done, and as usual the Philistines were not long in asserting their stand upon this newly arisen question.

1. The Establishment of the Kingdom. Changing for a moment from the Philistine point of view to that of the new king, we find a very difficult problem facing him. There had come a great and revolutionary change over the whole of Israel. At different times in earlier history they had united their forces to drive out a common enemy, but never before had the tribes voluntarily offered their loyalty to any one leader; this new movement was truly revolutionary. "It broke the old order with the center of gravity at the hearts of the separate Israelitic communities, and introduced the West-Asiatic social idea of the king as the central figure....an important epoch of development."

1. Israel, John Pedersen; p. 22.
With these two new factors in the field the situation was unlike any that had previously presented itself in Palestine. The Philistines were somewhat startled at this sudden power threatening them, and the Hebrews were for the first time truly united in such a way that the old tribal distinctions were lowered at least enough to recognize fully a central power and leader in their king. The Philistines could "loose the reins as long as two kings in Israel checkmated each other. With the elimination of the weaker one, and, above all, with the choice of David for the united kingdom, the policy of laissez-faire ceased of its own accord. Now the Philistines must act before it was too late. In reality, it had long been too late. Not in vain had David under Saul been a terror to the Philistines."¹ The king's trait of always doing his job well had given rise to a thorough-going respect among his one time enemies and friends, and now that respect in a certain sense took some of their enthusiasm for the coming conflict out of them. However, war was inevitably precipitated, and it was not long before the Philistines were once more challenging Israel's right to existence.

a. The War with the Philistines. There is considerable diversity of opinion as to whether David proceeded to undertake the conquest of Jerusalem or whether he settled the Philistine difficulty first. The later scholars feel that the conflict with the Philistines took place first, while the older writers like Ewald seem to think that the order of the scriptures should be

¹. Great Men and Movements in Israel, Kittel; p.134f.
the guide. It would seem much more probable on the arguments of later scholars that the Philistine wars took place prior to the conquest of the Jebusite fortress in Jerusalem. Robinson even makes the statement that he ruled from Hebron for five years. Surely the alert Philistines would never have allowed him to make himself as secure as he did in Jerusalem unless they could not have prevented it, and it follows that they were impotent to prevent it at the time he made this conquest. This being the case, it is extremely probable that the Philistine conflict is the first great issue in David's rule as king over Israel. In making a study in this order we shall be obliged to follow Budde's arrangement of the text.

The Philistines, as usual, invaded central Palestine, and from thence spread all over the land, in the valley of Rephaim. David, as yet hardly prepared for a war, wisely retreated southward, and, as of old, he made the stronghold in Adullam his headquarters. Again in this wise move he shows his patience and his perfect self-control in the very face of the fact that he had so recently been endowed with the great power and leadership of his people. He did not let these honors and vanities go to his head, as it were, to a degree that they should block his best judgments. Few are the men who would so readily restrain themselves in such a position from showing off their newly found power. Perhaps it was upon this that the Philistines had been counting, but they were badly fooled.

Perhaps it was during this period that the three brave men risked their lives to bring David the drink of water from Bethlehem.

2. History of Israel, T.H. Robinson; p. 212. (Also Lods, p. 300; Mittel, p. 134f; Fertiz, p. 136f, etc.)
3. The Books of Samuel, Budde; p. 28ff.
He was again wise enough to deny himself of anything bought at the cost of his men's jeopardy. David seems to have had a certain ability to do the dramatic thing at the most effective time, and we can readily imagine the tremendous effect such a gesture on his part would have had upon those present and upon those to whom the story was told.  

David seems to have waited in the south until he felt sufficiently strong to make his advance northward to attack the Philistine army. He succeeded in coming upon the Philistine army from behind, and his men were victorious in their engagement there in the valley of Rephaim. However, the Philistine power was not yet broken; and we are told that he followed them crushing them bit by bit along all of their border. "He destroyed all of their relish for returning to attack his realm, but he disturbed them no more in their own. He did not take from them a single foot of their own land or a stone of their fortresses, and thus by wise moderation paved the way for a peaceful footing of arbitration between the two countries, which fortunately for Judah remained permanent."  

A further indication of the just treatment and friendly relations which seem to have existed after this decisive warfare may be found in the Philistine mercenaries who served as a private guard to the king in Jerusalem. We shall come in contact with this group later, and especially so during the uprising of Absalon. According to Budge all of the later references to a war in the late years of David's reign with the Philistines are misplaced and belong in connection with this first and final affair. This apparently settled the Philistine question for all time.  

1. *Old Testament History*, Ferit; p.122 also *Hist.ofIsrael*, Robinson; p.212  
2. *History of the People of Israel*, Cornill; p.74.  
3. 2 Sam.15:18-22.  
We can not place too great an emphasis upon the fact that the Philistines had been properly put into their place, and that for the first time in their history the peoples of Israel seemed to be free and with the possibilities of growth and development lying before them. Never before had they had an unchallenged claim upon the country and with this new situation existing they undoubtedly felt as though a great load had been lifted from their tired shoulders. Besides this relief there was a brief rest before the neighboring tribes started to assert a hostile feeling toward the growing power, and during this brief rest David firmly established himself. His first move after the Philistine war was to secure for his nation a suitable capital.

b. The Establishment of Jerusalem. The pre-Israelite masters of Jerusalem were, like Israel themselves, Semitic. The city had been a stronghold of the Egyptians during the reign of Amenhotep IV, and he was begged in the Amarna letters not to desert the Egyptian overlords holding sway there, for they were being wareed upon by hostile peoples. During this period Jerusalem came under the greatest influence of the nearest attempt at Egyptian Monotheism. It probably held sway for a brief time in Jerusalem as it did in all of the Egyptian territories. Sedek seems to have been the local god of the city though he is of course not referred to in the letters, and wisely so: Abd-Ehita, the king at the time, even deems to think it best to call himself Aku-en-Ater (Glory of Aten) in addressing the Pharaoh. This city, because of its unique location and its exceptionally well fortified stronghold, had held out for centuries

1. Jerusalem, George Adam Smith; p.19ff.
2. Ibid. 25ff.
against invasion, and it seemed almost impregnable. However, as Geo. Adam Smith points out, the capture of Jerusalem was as necessary to Israel's independence of Philistia as it was to their unification. Incidentally, he also takes the attitude that Jerusalem was probably in the hands of David prior to the time that the people united under his leadership. This, however, is a view not subscribed to by the majority of scholars and we would find it difficult to follow him.

"No single act of David's," says Robinson, "did so much exhibit his high quality of statesmanship as his transference of his capital to Jerusalem." The king's choice is a clear indication of his political sagacity and foresight," says Lods. Cornill adds to the glory of the act in the following: "David took a step which gives shining evidence of his statesmanship....When it is called the City of David this is no mere phrase, for Jerusalem is altogether the creation of David; and when we consider what Jerusalem was to the people of Israel, and through the people of Israel to all mankind, we shall recognize in the foundation of this city by David an event of World Wide importance."

Truly it was one of the outstanding bits of the king's long series of intelligent movements, and its importance has not been over-estimated. There were several important factors involved. In returning to Hebron as a capital he would have incurred the risk of appearing to the mass of the nation as a mere tribal king who was attempting to impose upon the rest of the nation of Israel a foreign rule, so to speak. On the other hand, had he chosen a city from Benjamin or Ephraim he would have offended Judah, his strongest support. Besides this he

1. Jerusalem, C.A. Smith; p. 33
2. Ibid. p. 33.
3. History of Israel, T. J. Robinson; p. 916.
4. Israel, Lods; p. 361
5. Cornill, History of the People of Israel; p. 75.
realized that Hebron was not in a central location, and being far to the south as it was he would have difficulty in keeping in touch with the northern portion of his kingdom. Jerusalem seemed to separate the north and the south and to lie athwart the passages between the two. It was a city that belonged to neither side, it had no allegiance to any surrounding people, and it was more or less of an island in a country of foes. "It was a stroke of genius to choose a neutral city, conquered by the united forces of all his peoples, and yet in the neighborhood of Judah." 1 It was wholly ideal as a capital and David's choice could have been no better.

As to the means by which David secured the city we are somewhat in the dark. Probably he besieged it for a long period until its inhabitants gave up in despair. Geo. Adam Smith explodes the old idea of the romantic attack of the city through the watercourse. 2 But in any case David deserves credit for a great accomplishment, for it will be remembered that "In all its long history Nebuchadrezzar and Titus are the only other commanders to have captured the city by direct siege. 3 Upon this score it can be considered as the greatest of David's conquests." 3

After he had secured the stronghold he permitted the Jebusites to continue their residence in the city and gave strict orders that they meet with no harm. This bound another people to him through his generous nature, and again shows the wisdom of his statesmanship. It is possibly these Jebusites whom Ezekiel has in mind when he writes "An Amorite was thy father and thy mother was a Hittite," 4 for from

1. Israel, Lods; p.361.
2. Jerusalem, p.33; Geo. Adam Smith.
3. History of Israel, T. Robinson; p.317.
4. Ezekiel 16:3.
these two sources seem to have some influence upon Jerusalem at some very early date. 1

Of course following the capture of the city he proceeded to strengthen the fortifications and to improve the water supply and in many other ways improve the city as the capital of the land. And of a certainty he continued the perfection of his governmental system and the organization of his kingdom, the improvement of his army, and the establishment of friendly relations with surrounding powers of importance.

If it would be seen that it was at this time that a message of friendship and the offering of services came from the king of Tyre. Though we shall discuss this more fully later, it is well to notice that at this comparatively early stage in his reign David was demanding the attention of well established kingdoms and their leaders.

David's attention, for the present at least, was centered in his immediate duties in his capital city. He saw immediately the advisability of bringing to Jerusalem the Ark, for in doing this he would concentrate the whole interest of his people in their capital city, their religious as well as their political interest would then be in Jerusalem.

c. The Transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem.

In the account of this transference of the Ark we have some very interesting happenings, and it is only after long and continued efforts that the feat is accomplished. We can see through this action the efforts of the clever David to try and secure for his capital the focusing center

1. Jerusalem, Geo. Adam Smith, p.16.
2. 2 Samuel 5:11.
of all that was dear to the hearts of his people. Saul had passed by this opportunity; he had left it unnoticed in an out of the way place in the country; He had not even sought a substitute for this noble house of the Lord in his capitol. David's attitude was entirely the opposite. As soon as he had a capitol his first care was to bring the God of Israel into it.

"Perhaps the old autumnal festival of thanksgiving, celebrating the end of the harvest and the beginning of the new harvest-year, was used for this purpose." At any rate David seems to have approached the place where the Ark rested with great pomp. There was in all probability a great procession with the singing of hymns, such as the ascension hymn which we find in our psalms, and which possibly came from an adaptation of the yearly renewal of the Adonis worship at the resurrection of the God according to the Canaanite practice. Music and bells were probably used and great ceremony possibly marked the whole procedure. The Ark was moved from Kirjath-Jearim to the capitol, and David himself preceded the group of dancers dressed in a priestly robe and "leaping and dancing." We will remember that it was upon this occasion that Michael chastised him for his undignified behavior, for apparently the robe didn't cover the whole of the king's body. David's answer coincides with the true Oriental fervor and ecstasy in religious festivals and ceremonies. David felt that he could do nothing better than to show himself as devoutly offering service to Yahweh even in the most public manner. David was truly wise in so impressing his people, and there can be little doubt that he himself was quite sincere in his actions.

1. Great Men and Movements in Israel, Kittel; p.138
2. Ibid. p.139.
d. David's Desire to Build the Temple.

When the Ark was brought into the city it was placed in a tent, and this was in all probability merely intended as a temporary resting place for the holy object. It would not have been at all surprising that David had quite extensive plans regarding a permanent residence for this Ark as well as a high place for the worship of Yahweh. Just as David had become "king of kings" he wanted Yahweh to become "god of gods", and it was his purpose to carry this out. "All ancient kings believed that their gods were assisting them; and they constantly invoked the presence and support of these divine helpers."¹ We may even see evidences of this in that ancient record known as "The Book of the Wars of Yahweh". There has been much controversy about David's intentions toward the building of a temple, and most scholars have been inclined to discount the story and credit it to a later priestly effort to link David with the origin of the temple. Stanley Cook makes an interesting suggestion that might hold a good bit of truth. "David's wars, we are to understand, had prevented him from building the temple, his hands were stained with blood (1 Kings 5:3; 1 Chron. 22:8; 28:3); it is perhaps for this reason that the account of his purchase of the ground at Araunah is placed where it is (2 Sam.24), apparently at the close of his reign."² We would probably be more nearly correct if we associated this transaction with the earlier period,³ and realized that because of interference throughout his reign he never got to complete his designs. Perhaps there are other more potent reasons such as the fact that he still held Abiathar in high regard and gave him a place of honor in the religious life of the nation. Abiathar would have been

¹ Sociological Study of the Bible, Louis Vallis; p.130f.
³ The Books of Samuel. Budde; p.35f.
an advocate of the old Mosaic tent-worship, and in deference to his desires, it is possible that David refrained from continuing with the work of a Temple. The old traditions of the desert were as yet entrenched in the minds of the people. "After the establishment of the monarchy under David the more backward and remote classes of the nation were still influenced by the ideas and practices of their desert ancestors." David would have been smart if he had tried to make an appeal to these peoples by being strictly orthodox in his worship of Yahweh, and again this may have been the remote cause for his hesitancy to build a temple. There are many other obvious reasons, for example, any money to build a temple would have had to come out of David's own revenues, for so far as we know he had no system of taxation. Wars interfered, troubles were continually brewing, and perhaps he just did not have sufficient time to turn his efforts in this direction. The more leisurely reign of Solomon gave ample opportunity for this form of entertainment, and his excessive tax program would surely have made it no burden upon his regal purse.

We are not, however, to discredit David's desires in the matter, for he probably dreamed of a temple to house the Ark. And he was sincere enough in his relations with Yahweh, and he realized his dependence upon his God for all the successes that had been his. We are attracted by the attitude David took toward all religion. He seems at all times to have taken a marked interest in that one thing for which his people had a genius. There seems to be a sincerity of belief in Yahweh as a national deity on the part of David, and J. M. F. Smith is quite emphatic toward this end.

1. Great Men and Movements in Israel, Kittel; p. 140
2. Sociological Study of the Bible, Vallis; p. 90.
We should not fail to note with what care David insured the success of his ventures by the use of the oracles of the prophets. Throughout his active life he always had the services of these men of God. We hear of Abiathar coming to him in his cave at Adullam, later we hear of Gad the prophet, and again of Nathan and his influence upon the king, and even of Zadok, a priest who seems to have been influential. It would seem that David rested rather heavily upon his faith and his trust in the predictions of the ephod. In a summary of David's career Cornill makes the statement: "This king, who did more for the worldly greatness and earthly power of Israel than any one else, was a genuine Israelite in that he appreciated also Israel's religious destiny." We should agree with Cornill;

in the centralization of the nation's interest in Jerusalem and the Ark which he had brought there David, in reality, set the foundation for that great structure which later became the Deuteronomic reform.

2. The Expansion of the Kingdom. In this particular discussion we will in a way endeavor to cover all of the foreign wars of David, his military organization and his international relations. After he had become so firmly established in Jerusalem with the Philistines subdued and the land unquestionably in his hands, the surrounding nations began to worry for their own safety. As is often the case, the element of fear played a large part in starting the wars which these nations waged against the new kingdom of Israel. They feared unless this new power would be immediately crushed, they themselves would be crushed by it.

1. History of the People of Israel, Cornill; p. 84.
a. The Organization of David's Army.

Not a great deal is known concerning the army which won for David such great fame. We do know the names of some of the great warriors who fought as leaders in the army, and their deeds of heroism are duly recorded, but there is a lack of information concerning the generally important thing known as structure. From all we can gather the military body was made out of two groups; one of these was called the "saba" and seems to have been a sort of militia made up of the regular manhood of Israel, who during peaceful times plied their trade and tilled their fields. This group could be rallied in great haste by the use of signal fires burning on the hills from one end of Israel to the other, or they could be summoned by fast runners dispatched from Jerusalem. Generally speaking they were without equipment, and of course this did not mean a great deal, for all wars were a matter of hand to hand combat in those days. This group seems to have been under the leadership of Joab, and he appears to have been quite able to extract the last ounce of fight from his motley crew. It was this group who in reality won the great victories for Israel, and this apparently imperfect weapon at times rose to the pinnacles of brilliance in armed combat.

The second group was made up of the permanent troops. Their nucleus consisted of those six hundred brave warriors who had followed David through the outlaw days in southern Palestine. They were always known as David's "Mighty Men", and they truly deserved the name, for their courage and ability proved itself time and time again. We are also told that many members of the permanent force

1. Lods, Israel; p.362f.
2. Ibid.
were recruited from foreign peoples as has often been the custom among the kingdoms of the world. We are especially impressed with the faithfulness and ability of the group of Philistine mercenaries which we have before mentioned. "At the time of the conspiracy of Absalom David had a guard of Philistine mercenaries of six hundred men who remained true to him through all the crisis. The same regiment of household troops again served the king during the last conspiracy of his reign, and at a later time was available to restore the Davidic line to the throne. The faithful Philistine mercenaries have been compared to the famous Swiss guard who have been so conspicuous in European warfare." These soldiers are frequently referred to as the "Gittim", and they come from the city of Gath. This whole group which comprises the standing army was commanded by Benaiah. They seem to have been wholly devoted to their king, and of course it was upon their faithfulness that his success or failure depended. Their leader does not seem to have been the efficient man that Joab was, but we are to imagine that the latter took full charge of the forces when they were in the field.

In regard to that great figure Joab we must say a word, for in all history there does not seem to have been as faithful a general. At times he carried the conquest of towns to the point where all that was necessary was to shout and the walls would fall in, and then he would send for his master David in order that the glory of the victory might rest upon the royal shoulders. Such devoted service is to be commended in any man. We must not lose sight of the way in

1. 2 Samuel 15:18-22
2. 1 Kings 1:8,10,30.
3. 2 Kings 2:4.
4. History of Israel, T. H. Robinson; p. 117
5. Israel, Lods; p. 362f.
which this faithful general was abused in the later years of the
reign when he did things as he saw them to be his duty only to be
rewarded with demotion and temporary disgrace; and the crowning
inpratatitude was the eventual putting to death of this brave fellow
by the unscrupulous Solomon after the death of his father. No
braver or more devoted a man ever served his king than this great
Job, and he wielded a power over the armies that at times seemed
almost miraculous.

b. The Foreign Wars

A great portion of the material which comes
to us is from 2 Samuel 8, which it will be
remembered was of somewhat doubtful character in our study of the
validity of the text. However, the greater part of this chapter is
later confirmed by writers, and the general impression throughout
the history regarding the greatness of David's kingdom would seem
to bear out the validity of the charter. Likewise, the specific
names and the apparent familiarity and exactness of the statements
would be in favor of our acceptance.

"The numerous stories about Esau and Jacob are intended to
explain the subjection of the Edomites by Israel, which took place
under David and his successors." With this in mind we will remem-
ber how Esau and Jacob even struggled in the womb before they were
born, and how being twins they came forth with Jacob holding Esau
by the heel. We have no reliable accounts of David's campaign
against Edom other than the decisive victory was fought in the
Valley of Salt not far from Beer-sheba. One of the accounts as-

3. History of Israel, T.Y. Robinson: p.219 (2 Sam.8:13f).
cries the victory to Abishai, while another describes the victory to Joab. The important matter is that the Edomites were duly subj ected. The rest of the south seems to have been almost unanimously behind the new king of Israel. Moab was also reduced in a furious way, and about all that we know of the conquest was the terrible cruelty which inspired the conquerors to cut nearly two-thirds of the Moabites to death. However, J. M. Smith feels that he shot only one half of the Moabites after the victory; this, of course, doesn't relieve the bloody situation a great deal. Strangely enough these two wars are not described with the same detail that marks the wars against Ammon and Syria; perhaps it was because of the fact that wars with these former peoples were such a common occurrence that the writer did not deem it of sufficient import to give a detailed account, while the other affairs marked something of an innovation, at least as far as Syria was concerned.

In the war against Ammon the first move was made by Ammon. On the death of Nahash, who may have been the king defeated by Saul, we are told that David sent messengers to condo le with his son Hanun, on the grounds of courtesy to foreign powers and that Nahash had rendered David good service. As the story goes Hanun was prompted by hot-headed councillors to offer David a great insult. He shaved half the beards off of the ambassadors and sent them back with an insulting message to their king.

The Ammonites realizing that David would not let the insult go unheeded immediately sent to some Syrian allies for assistance. David seems to have had his army in readiness as became a good states-

1. 1 Chronicles 10:12
2. 1 Kings 11:14ff.
4. 2 Samuel 10:1ff.
man in those days. It appears that Joab and Abishai were about to besiege Rabbah when the Syrians appeared upon the scene coming to the relief of the Ammonites. As it was the Israelite forces were pressed in between two enemies. Joab cleverly relieved the situation by reversing his veteran troops and facing the enemy on two fronts. The Syrians were surprised and were unable to withstand the charge of Joab's veteran soldiers and they fled from the field with Joab in pursuit. The Ammonites finding themselves deserted by their allies fled to the city. The siege was not pressed, but the following year Joab led an army against Rabbah, and the story of Uriah's death shows that it was a hotly contested affair. David was called in time to make the final operations and gain honor for the victory as was often the case.

The question of the Syrian wars, as we have seen, was raised by the Ammonite war. The places and details of these wars are very difficult to determine. "We have three accounts of the defeat of the Syrians, derived, it would seem, from different sources; as they stand they are difficult to harmonize with one another." 1

The first of these accounts appears in 2 Samuel 8:10-12. Here we are told that David smites Hadadezer, son of Rehob, who was the king of Zobah. The Syrians of Damascus come to the help of Hadadezer, and they are in turn crushed by David's army. Upon hearing of David's victory Toi, who is king of Hamath, immediately sent his son Joram to David to salute him. It seems that Toi had also had difficulties with Hadadezer, and so glad was he that his enemy was

1. "History of Israel, T." Robinson; p. 337.
out of the way that he sent rich presents to David with his son, and thus established a friendly relation with this new and powerful king. 1

In another narrative we are told that the Ammonites who were defeated hired the Syrians of Bethrehab, and the Syrians of Zobah, and the king of Maacah, and the men of Tob. All of these were defeated at the hands of David's army. 2

The third narrative tells of how the Syrian who are beyond the river come to the aid of Hadadezer, and they gather at Helam with Shobak, Hadadezer's commander, at their head. David meets them at Helam and completely defeats the army, killing Shobak and destroying all but one hundred of their chariots which he keeps for his own purposes. The result of these wars is that the kings who are subject to Hadadezer make peace with David and refuse to give further help to the Ammonites. 3

David seems to have garrisoned these cities and seen to it that they would not get out from under his control. The conquest was perhaps not quite so extensive as it may have seemed, for as Robinson points out the insertion of Bethrehab in the second account is in all probability the mistake of an editor who made a place name out of a personal name. 4

Thus, all that David did was to conquer Hadadezer and his immediate allies which included the city of Damascus. Of course through these activities he also won the friendship of Toi who was king of the then powerful city of Hamath.

These conquests are about all of the foreign wars that David conducted. The remainder of his warfare was internal. Of course the narrator tries to show that David was not the aggressor in any of

1. 2 Samuel 8:9-10.
2. 2 Samuel 10:6-14.
3. 2 Samuel 10:15-19.
4. History of Israel, T.H. Robinson; p.236.
these wars. It is quite possible that this was so, for in other ways David seems to have wished to build up his kingdom internally rather than to try and make of it a great power. It would have been quite natural for these neighboring kingdoms to have tried to crush David before he could get firmly established, and perhaps the initiative in the matter of wars was wholly theirs. Cornill says, "It deserves to be emphatically pointed out that it cannot be proved that David began a single one of these wars: only to ward off unwarranted attacks and for the defense of his people and their most vital interests did David draw the sword."¹ If this is the true condition of actions of those years of warfare we must praise David for the stand he took. It was a stand worthy of any great statesman, for while he was not an aggressor he was ever able and ready to protect his interest and that of his people against encroachment from their hungry neighbors - hungry for more land and power and plunder.

c. David's International Relations.

There are some very interesting facts in connection with David's international relations which should be brought to light. Further we must note the marked ability with which he handled, as few men do, the matter of foreign affairs and the strength and endurance of the alliances which he made with other peoples.

About the time that David was acclaimed the king of Judah at Hebron, a Phoenician prince mounted the throne of Tyre, by the name of Abibalus, or Abi-baal. We do not know the length of this man's reign, but while the son of Jesse was still in his prime, Hiram the

¹. History of the People of Israel, Cornill; p.76.
son of Abi-baal succeeded his father as the Tyrian king. He seems to have been a man of great vigor and purpose, with varied tastes and an unusual broad and liberal turn of mind. "Hiram, casting his eyes about over the condition of the states and kingdoms which were his neighbors, seems to have discerned in Judah and David a power and a ruler whose friendship was desirable to cultivate with view to the establishment of very close relations." Accordingly it was not long after David's capture of Jerusalem, or perhaps after his election to the kingship of Israel, that Hiram sent an envoy to David with a present of 'timber of cedars', and a number of carpenters and stone-blowers well skilled in the art of building (1 Chron.4:1). David accepted this friendly gesture and a palace of some sort soon arose on the Eastern Hill, the chief material of which was the cedars of Lebanon, and the constructors of which were Hiram's workmen (2 Sam.7:3).

At a later date David set about to collect materials for a Temple which it was the duty of his son Solomon to complete (1 Chron.22:4), and the most of these came from Tyre. The friendship between the two countries seems to have been a very firmly established relation so that at the end of David's reign the same friendliness continued throughout the reign of Solomon. The bonds were drawn even closer as the years went by and the powers were on terms of the greatest intimacy. We are somewhat startled by the cry of Amos that Tyre has broken the brotherly covenant and has sold the Hebrews as slaves unto the Edomites. This covenant must have grown out of that early relation established between David and Hiram.

1. History of Phoenicia, George Rawlinson; p. 401.
He must remember also the relations established with Toi, the king of Hamath (2 Sam.8:9f). "Hamath and Damascus were the two greatest powers in Central Syria. The enormous ruined mound and the numerous and impressive Hittite inscriptions discovered within show how long the former had been a lending centre. Its king, Toi, had cemented friendship with David...." Damascus itself had been an important oasis long before the Aramaeans had made it their own during that long invasion of theirs. It is mentioned several times during the Egyptian control of Syria as more than a mere name. The inhabitants of the city who brought aid to Hadadezer when he was warring against David were conquered and David garrisoned the city. It was not until in the confusion in the ending years of Solomon's reign that one of the generals of Hadadezer set up for himself and expelled the Hebrew guards, and he as Rezon I began the history of Damascus as a state of the first magnitude.

We have previously mentioned the enduring agreement that David must have made with the Philistines, for even after the kingdom separated after the death of Solomon we do not hear of an uprising which would surely have been easy against the then feeble Judah. Of course the lands east of the Jordan were never as friendly toward David as the others, and it was not without danger that he escaped over there during Absalom's rebellion, but even these normally hostile peoples seem to have respected the great king and his power. David must have been a man to inspire faith and confidence, and undoubtedly his word could be relied upon, unlike our statesmen of today.

1. History of Assyria, A.T.Olstead; p.130.
2. Ibid. p.131.
There seems to have been little more in the way of international relations which mark David's reign. We must constantly hold in mind those factors previously mentioned, that unless Egypt and Assyria had both been impotent at this time David could never have made any claim upon Syria such as he did, for this section had once been a source of income to both of these great powers. Fortunately enough, David's star swan into a black sky where there were no other bright stars to outshine it, and we are truly thankful that it did. If it had not been so Israel would never have risen to the heights she commanded, and we would never have been the grateful possessors of that religion which owes its background to the Hebrew.

d. The Importance of the Davidic Kingdom. In this regard we will endeavor only to show that the size of the kingdom was extremely important in the eyes of the Hebrews, for it gave them once and for all that taste of world power and world importance that gave them the dream throughout the centuries that what they did was of great significance so far as the rest of the world was concerned. If for no other reason, this vision of greatness is worth the struggles that David masterfully waged for his people. He gave them a vision which lighted their way to the Messiah. True, it was an earthly vision, but better earthly than not at all.

Only once did the kingdom ever regain the extent of David's realm, and that was during the reign of Jeroboam II (785-745 B.C.), and this was but for a short time. So throughout the history, the kingdom of David inspired the people, and their hopes were raised to

1. 2 Kings 14:25.
a standard that could be no less than that which he had set for them. It is well for any group of people to have an ideal toward which they may aspire, and it was such an ideal which David and his extensive kingdom offered to them. He has truly been called "the great ideal of the Israelites", and he is deserving of the title. Perhaps it was the later glamour which became attached to the great character that made it most worthwhile, but at any rate he had to be better than his fellows so to stir their imaginations. 'Tis was a quality of statesmanship that did stir the imagination, and his kingdom was such that in the depressing days of the weak and divided kingdoms his age was looked back upon as the golden age, and the best hope for the future was patterned thereby.

3. David's Court Life. This subject would of course include all of the king's more private life, but it might be well at first to survey roughly the general structure of the court. We know very little of the general structure of the political body as such; of course David was considered the authority and the lord and master of all. However, he seems to have gathered around him certain prophets who had a great influence upon his decisions and to in a way molded his policies. We know that at different periods in his life Nathan, Gad, and Abiathar had a great influence upon his actions; they seem to have been fearless men and to have been true "sons of the prophets", firm in their convictions and standing for the right. We are not to suppose though that they merely dictated as they saw fit, but rather we should think of them

1. Israel, Iedersen; p265.
as counselors who did have of in a sort of cabinet to discuss the problems of state. He cannot doubt for a moment that the oracle of Yahweh was frequently very favorable to the policy of persons in power, and truly it might have been best so, for with the added religious sanction good measures were bound to receive a hasty execution. The wisdom of David may be seen in his conferring with these men, and at the same time we can see that he was not at all times bound by their possible prejudices: he was a firm and strong ruler, yet he listened to wisdom and took it for its worth.

He had in his service a scribe by the name of Shavsha, and it would appear from the name that this man was of Babylonian birth with the word for "sun" in his name. From this we might also glean the fact that he undoubtedly kept court records and such, and thus laid a more or less authentic source for our information of his reign. "The diligent cultivation, in times of peace, of the higher arts of the Muses at the court in Jerusalem is what David's genius would lead us to expect, and is confirmed by a passing reference." David himself was inclined toward the higher arts in his poetic temperament, and so in all probability gathered things of cultural value around him in his court life. Surely Solomon must have had something of this sort as a background, else he never would have developed with such enthusiasm the culture of his court nor indeed have tried so hard to create a truly beautiful capital for his realm.

The subject of revenue is always of great importance to any

had

king, but it seems to have little place in David's life. There
is no indication that the people were ever dissatisfied because of
excessive taxes or the like, indeed, there does not seem to have
been any system of taxation during his reign. Taxes were an un-
tolerable thing in the eyes of any nomadic people, and they were
never received by any people with joy or enthusiasm.

David seems to have received his resources primarily from
successful wars followed by plunder and imposed tribute. Adon-
was his leader over the labor conscripted from subjected peoples,
and it was partially his duty to impose the tributes as well.
It was expected that the king would be given gifts (1Sam. 10:57,
16:20, etc.), and doubtless he received the lion's share of all
the spoils of war (2 Sam.6:11, 12:30). Then the king was exer-
cising suzerainty over foreign nations tribute from these peoples came
in to increase his revenues. We can readily see that a king who
had been so successful at arms as David had been would have little
cause to worry over a sufficient income.

There was in the court officials a treasurer, counselors,
scribes, bodyguards, and other necessary officers. The later records
tell us of the priestly organization of which a few of David's sons
were supposed to have been members, but we cannot be certain if this
is not later material added for the dignity of the priest who revis-
ed the text. In any case the court seems to have been well organi-
ed and lacking in no respect. At this stage the high appeal of jus-
tice was still centered in the king, and he acted as the supreme
judge over the land.

1. Israel, Idee; p. 363.
2. The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible, Coarers; p. 120ff.
3. 2 Sam. 15:2ff.
David's Family Life. "Inactivity and voluptuous living have never been the wells of true happiness.

It is with this statement that we might discuss the darker phase of that heroic life. We will not forget that David had early in his life started that collection of wives which finally made up his harem. "The institution of the harem was an assimilation of the customs of eastern emperors." David as he grew greater in power felt called upon to make an ever greater institution of his married life. The man who had been a terror to his enemies was unable to conquer that enemy within himself, passion. He could order the house of Israel, but his own house he could not keep in order, and from this very fact grows the dark shadow which clouded a large portion of his otherwise glorious career.

We are all too familiar with that sordid episode which has to do with Bathsheba, and so far as statesmanship goes it would be just as well to leave it out of this paper; however, it is the background for the beginning of the collapse of the beautiful bubble which had been blown of the days of victory and heroic effort only to become a mere puff of air in a moment of heated passion. The army was in the field, and David had finished his evening meal and was walking about the flat roof of his palace when he became aware of the beautiful Bathsheba bathing in a pool nearby. David desired her and sent for her. She was the wife of one of his most valiant soldiers, yet he was not deterred. Of course, we must remember that

1. Great Men and Movements in Israel, Hitti; p.144.
2. The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible, George; p.110.
Bathsheba would probably not have made such a display of her beauty if her 'husband' had not been away from home, that woman has certain prerogatives even where a king is concerned, and that such a sin is seldom all the fault of either one party or the other.

To cover up the matter Uriah was commanded home on a furlough, but he was a stickler for his duty and he could not be induced by any clever means to take the part that David wished him to in the affair. As a consequence he carried his own death sentence to Joab who, even hardened though he was, found it difficult to deliberately put so brave a soldier in a death trap. The king's commands were carried out though and Uriah was done away with; a short time afterward Bathsheba came fully into the position which she had undoubtedly planned for herself. The ill-fated child was born then and we are all familiar with the prophecy which Nathan defiantly hurled at the king.

This incident has often been grossly over-estimated in its importance, and usually by those very persons who relish such dainty bits of naughtiness, either because of an obsession of some sort or because of the vicarious enjoyment they derive from retelling the sordid details of man's weaknesses. "It will be sufficient to repeat the familiar comment that David's action in the matter of Bathsheba and Uriah is quite characteristic of Oriental monarchy, and I would hardly have excited remark outside of Israel", says Robinson; and we will be just as well off if we drop the matter here.

There was a cry of indignation which rang throughout the nation

1. History of Israel, T.F. Robinson; p.234f.
when the facts of the matter became known, and we can justly imagine that even so illustrious a person as David would have had trouble taking excuses that would have satisfied the outraged pride of the democratic people.

We must admire the realization on David's part of his great sin in the eyes of the people. His public humiliation was something that many a lesser leader could not have stood, and it was with bowed head and sincere repentance that he suffered through the death of that child whom he loved. He could not suffer himself to part with the mother even though it would perhaps have tended the situation a little, but he did admit defeat in the face of the accusing finger of the prophet Nathan. The sense of justice was not dimmed in the statesman even though he had over-ridden its bounds with his passions.

This act of David seems to have been the fuse which started the continuous explosion along the Powder train for many of the remaining years of his life. However, it was only one of many features which brought about the deplorable condition. Luxury and ease became the curse of the people. Great sums were being paid into their treasury, there was no war, plenty was on every hand, and life was just too easy to be good. The petted youths of the court sought their pleasures wherever the opportunities offered and it was because of this looseness of living and the poor example set by a thoughtless parent that a crime was committed which led to the blackest days of David's reign.

One of the men of highest rank in the court, the crown prince Amnon, was so degraded by this soft and luxurious life and by the general standards of morality that he did violence to his half-sister, the princess Tamar. This was not enough, for she was publicly shamed and this brought further disgrace upon the court. Not long afterward Tamar's brother, the prince Absalom, revenged the crime by having Amnon stabbed at a drinking bout. After the deed had been executed he fled from the court. The king was enraged at the death of his first born son who would have succeeded him at the head of Israel. But after three years Joab managed by cunning to get the young Absalom home, though he remained banished from the court. Another two years passed, and the public slight so galled the young Absalom that he set about to undermine the kingdom of his father.

David was growing old and the affairs of state no longer seemed of such great importance to him. He appears to have been a man that just could not stand prosperity, for the easy life of a rich court and a peaceful land seems to have stripped him of that old power and courage and justice which won him his place. The administration of justice seems to have given cause for complaint, for it was upon this point that the plotting Absalom worked. He would stand without the city gate and meet the tribesmen as they came to the city to have their affairs straightened by the king. The young lad played the part of a true prince and he put on a display for the people with a bodyguard, and chariots, and steeds.
Bathsheba seems to have become somewhat uneasy about the activities of Absalom, for she appears to have secured a promise from David that her son, Solomon, should follow him in the line of kings. This, of course, would only have heightened Absalom's activity. He began to tell the country-folk that if he were king conditions of justice would be better, and they would no longer suffer because of disinterestedness on the part of the king. With his friendly speech and his fine and courteous manners he soon "stole from the king the hearts of the men of Israel."

After carrying this practice on for four years Absalom begged leave of the king to go into the south on the pretense of paying a vow to Jehovah at Hebron. (It is of some interest to note that at this point, which is undoubtedly late in David's life, there does not seem to have been much of a center of religious activity at Jerusalem; otherwise this excuse would have been rather lame.) Absalom sent spies throughout the tribe of Israel warning the folk that at the trumpets blast they were to proclaim him king over the people at Hebron. With him some two hundred men went out of Jerusalem. He even took with him one of David's counselors, Ahithophel, with whom he seems to have conspired. The writer of the account significantly adds that "the people increased continually with Absalom."

Thus, in a few short years, we have the people turning from the man who had really given them all that they possessed to a mere upstart upon whom they could have placed little confidence. But, in Israel as elsewhere people and crowds are very fickle.

1. 2 Samuel 15:6.
2. "Samuel 1:10."
2. Absalom's Rebellion    Addition seems to have moved every important person behind this plot which Absalon had worked to its climax. An eagerness for more power, for greater wealth, for position, all urged then to turn against a king that had raised the nation from utter insignificance to comparative greatness in one great leap. "We cannot blame David for not bestowing any special notice to these proceedings", for there was no way for the king to be aware of the more sinister motive behind this work which his son had been doing. It was too late when full realization of the situation did arise, and there was no immediate counter action that could be performed to save the day. Without losing his self-possession or his presence of mind, David made an immediate decision to quit Jerusalem. "This under the circumstances was the wisest course; for it was quite possible that the city might be stormed by the first fury of the approaching rebels." If this were the case David could not be sure of the outcome. It is always best to take one's time and if possible to choose the time and place for the struggle if such is to be the case. David wisely chose to retreat temporarily in order to organize for the fight that was coming.

The strength of David's organization can be seen in the fact that even under such difficult and trying circumstances there were none of his officers of state who refused to accompany him, his mercenary troops likewise remained perfectly loyal to him, even the foreigners who had secured places at the court chose to go with David rather than to remain and welcome the rebels. In some respects this

1. History of Israel, Erdal; Vol.III, p.178
2. Ibid. p.179.
exodus from the city was a victory rather than a defeat. The Ark with the priests had accompanied him as far as the Pedron; but here David stopped them and sent them back to the city. This, too, was a move of no mean significance, for through his relations with the priests he could keep in touch with the development of affairs in the capital after the rebels entered and took charge.

The strange procession made its way over the Mount of Olives and on toward the Jordan. David went as one in repentance, bare of feet, and making lamentations. At the top of the Mount they met Hushai, a faithful servant of David's; and though he could have accompanied his lord, David sent him back to the city to try as best he could to frustrate any of Ahithophel's proposals to Absalom. In this, again, David was carefully laying his plans to undermine any organization which his faithless son might set up. Fortunately they met with an old servant of Joab, the crippled son of Jonathan whom David had spared when he had turned the rest of Saul's grandsons over to the Amorites in recompense for Saul's blood-thirsty treatment of those peoples years before. The old fellow had two mares and transportation was thereby furnished the king; he had with him food also which sustained them for the journey.

Another incident which lends a little light to the feelings of the king may be found in his attitude toward the man of Tekoa who came out and cursed him and threw stones at him before his own troops. David did not rebuke the man, but said he should be allowed to curse, for if his own son sought after his life how much more pardonable was the situation of this Benjamite.

1. 2 Samuel 16:15.
Events moved rather rapidly, and the plot was not long in developing. Hushai was the first to meet Absalom when he entered Jerusalem. He made his position firm and cleverly counseled the king to take his time and wait for the people to gather about him before he pursued his father. This met with the young man's approval, for he desired to take a taste of that luxury which he had gained for himself. This news is dispatched to David through the offices of the priests. However, the messengers are seen and reported to Absalom. Meanwhile, Ahithophel, seeing his counsel overthrown by that of Hushai, thinks he has failed and lost his influence with the new king, and accordingly he makes his last will and hangs himself.

Some time elapsed before Absalom finally set out to overtake his father, and when he did he was met by a force in a wooded section near the Jordan. David had dispatched his men with a public warning that they should spare the life of his son. However, the outcome of the affair was one of the most severe blows the king ever had befall him. The story is familiar to everyone how Absalom's beautiful hair became entangled in a tree and how he was overtaken by the old general Joab who spared no time in cutting off the prince's head.

David's sorrow at the outcome of the battle was far greater than his pleasure at receiving back his kingdom. He subordinated Joab and put the army in the hands of Amasa. The grief which David displayed to his people did not have a particularly good effect, for it was rather difficult to reconcile it with a victory. David saw
that he must immediately change his attitude and give his attention to the affairs of state. Absalom had been anointed king, and as he was dead David must reassert his authority before other factions arose to cause further difficulties. He did not move quickly enough though, for another leader had already gotten his military machine under way.

b. The Revolt of Sheba

The break between the north and the south was in a way patched up by David's masterful handling of the affairs, but an echo of unrest is heard in this episode known as the revolt of Sheba. This man, who was a Benjamite, raised a fresh revolt, the fickle Israelites forsaking their allegiance, and the tribe of Judah alone remained faithful. Amasa was slow in getting the troops organized to withstand the attack, and things looked rather black for a while. As a consequence David had to entrust Joab and Abishai with the organization of the troops and the suppression of the revolt. Joab pursued Sheba northward and came upon him in Abel in the neighborhood of Dan. The townspeople thought it better to put the rebel to death than to subject their town to a siege that would inevitably end in disaster. Sheba was murdered and the revolt ended. Another treacheryous incident did occur which added one more black deed to the hand of Joab; this was the murder of Amasa by Joab, in order that the latter might once more be secure in his position as head of David's forces. Thus the revolts against the power of the king seem to have ended in horror and bloodshed all against his will and outside of his powers of prevention.

1. 2 Samuel 19:40f.
It was not long before David was once more firmly established in Jerusalem and things were moving along as usual except that the king could never again have that same carefree air which had once marked the days of his life. Suffer and sorrows had poured upon his head, life could never again hold for him the old joy of good living and well-being. The years had gone by in great numbers; David's life had already been long, perhaps overlong, and he could no longer be the active gallant king of those happy days in the wilderness of the south. Life was bearing heavily upon the great statesman and it was fast drawing to a close.

E. David's Old Age. There are many events in David's narrative which seem to be without a definite place in the chronological sequence, but as they are of little importance for our discussion of his statesmanship we shall but mention them here.

d. The Numbering of the People. This is an incident which might easily have occurred at an earlier date. We are told in 2 Samuel 24 of David's being moved to number his people by instruction from the Lord. It seems that his officers were moved against the idea, but that David was persistent in having his desires carried out in the full. Joab and his captains went out and numbered the people. According to the results as tabulated in our account there were some 1,300,000 warriors among the Israelites, but this must be discounted to a great extent, for this would re-
quire a population of 5,000,000, and today the population of the Holy Land is about 1,300,000 and at that there are 40 or 45 inhabitants to the square mile. Round numbers seem to be one of the failings of the biblical writers. The immediate result of this numbering was a famine or a pestilence. David begged Jehovah to stay his hand, and promised faithfulness if He would only put the sin upon him rather than upon his people. It seems that the very idea of relying upon the numbers of the people was abhorrent in the eyes of the Lord, but if this were the case it is odd that the writer was so careful to insert the results of the census.

b. The Threshing Floor of Araunah

The angel of the Lord when he spoke to David was standing over a high spot where a Jebusite by the name of Araunah had a threshing floor. At the suggestion of the prophet Gad David proceeded to purchase the threshing floor and to construct thereon an altar to Jehovah. It was possibly upon this site that Solomon later built the Temple. His services thus rendered to Jehovah seem to have stopped the plague and saved the people. With this incident we might link the idea that seems to have been Israelitic in its origin, that of the inalienability of land. We might contrast the attitude later taken by Naboeth as over and against that taken in this case by Araunah (2 Sam.24) and Ephron (Gen.23). Little more of an active nature is attributed to David, for the latter years seem to have been disturbed only once and then by the rebellion of his other son Adonijah.

1. Lodz, Israel; p.36
2. Sociological Study of the Bible, Wallis; p.91
c. The Attempt of Adonijah to Seize the Throne. He seems to have tried to make the same sort of a display that Absalom did, for he secured a chariot and guardsmen to run before him. His father had never chastised him and he seems to have had a free reign in this affair. He gathered the support of Joab and Abiathar, thus establishing strong military and religious support. But Nathan and Zadok and Benaiah were not with him, even though he was by rights in line for the throne. Adonijah got a little ahead of himself and proclaimed his rights before David had passed out of the picture. Nathan suggested to Bathsheba that she secure once more the king's order that he be followed by Solomon, her son. The little group of influential folk gathered about the old king. They told him of the lofty air that Adonijah had assumed, of his planning and his display of authority. They practically forced the old king into appointing Solomon as his successor, and he gave orders that Solomon be anointed by the priestly and prophetic authorities.

Accordingly the orders were carried out and after Solomon had been anointed a messenger was sent to the gathering which Adonijah was holding. The news of the anointing of the new king somewhat disturbed the feast, and it was not long before all of Adonijah's fair-weather friends had departed from him. He sought refuge in the shadow of the altar knowing that violence would not be done to his person in the very presence of Jehovah. Solomon was not foolish enough to so early in his career do things that would turn the people against him and especially while David was yet alive. He sent for Adonijah and pardoned him.

1. 1 Kings 1:5ff.
David's Death. As the light passed from his life David is recorded as having given some instructions which seem almost terrible in the light of his noble character. He called Solomon unto him and made his last requests. Perhaps he told him of his ambitions to build a temple or a house for the Lord who had treated him so kindly through all his long life. He undoubtedly gave other instructions to him regarding the government of his peoples, but the terrible commission was that he should see that Joab, the old and faithful servant, should receive punishment and perhaps death for his willful slaughter of David's many enemies. It seems the greatest ingratitude; we cannot tell what might have directly called this forth unless it were the old se
tic desire for blood revenge for the death of Absalom. Neither can we be sure whether the request actually came from David or not, for it could easily have been so written in order to relieve Solomon of the blame, though we can readily see that Joab was not in favor of Solomon's rule.

In direct contrast with this lower spirit a higher spirit shows itself in David, for he requests that Solomon show kindness to the sons of Barzillai of Gilead for they had served David well during the time of Absalom's rebellion. Yowever, he gives another black duty to be carried out as Solomon sees fit in regard to the Benjamite,- Shimei. These were just a few old scores that David wanted to be evened up even though he went down into Sheol. He died and rested with his fathers. He was buried in the City of David, and Solomon ruled after him.
This period extending over thirty-three years covers almost all of the powerful career of David as king. It is almost impossible to summarize in a full way those qualities of his statesmanship which were displayed. He showed himself an able leader of his men in their wars, always did he seem to choose the better side, and never does he appear to have made a direct conquest without just cause. Cleverly enough he first vanquished the age old foe, the Philistines, and having thus temporarily freed himself he established his kingdom and set up his government in Jerusalem which we have seen was chosen with the eye of a perfect statesman. Having perfected his organization he was able to combat antagonistic neighbors, and this he did with a firmness and directness of precision which we cannot help but admire. Then all had been quieted he was the holder of a vast kingdom and the receiver of great booty and plunder as well as regular revenues from his conquered enemies. Thus the financial burden of his kingdom did not rest upon the shoulders of his people but rather upon those of his victims. Such a leader would naturally be popular.

Sorrowfully enough he just could not stand to be inactive and prosperous and the rich and easy life seems to have gotten the better of his more noble manhood. He slipped into the easy and slovenly ways of an Oriental hare and soon became so debauched that he stooped to murder that he might gratify his passions. Having set such an example he could hardly expect his sons to be better, and they surely were not — instead, they went to greater extremes.
The beginning of the end began to have hovered in that black cloud which engulfed the Bathsheba affair, but it was started upon its way by the crime of Absalom and Absalom's just revenge. The remainder of the life is nothing but a struggle to gain back that which had been lost, but which could never be again secured. Confidence and trust when once they have been broken in a people are never as strong even though they be mended. The joints that had crumbled during Absalom's rebellion never regained their strength and weakened less of the kingdom tended ever to give way at these connections between the north and the south. Too well we know the sorry state of affairs at the end of Solomon's reign, but no such condition existed at the close of David's rule, for he had gathered up old differences and things were really on the up-grade when he left his earthly home.

A great man had died, the like of which Israel was not to see again for many centuries, and the greater the years from the time of his death the more full did their appreciation of him become. "From the time of his death, and the farther removed that became in time, the more were wired away in the memory of his grateful people all the shadows that had dimmed his image. Only the bright colors remained. There are so many of them that surely we can forget the shadows."

There remain but a few more matters that should be cleared up in a discussion of a man's life such as this has been. There is ever the question of the Davidic authorship of the Psalms. We do know that David was a musician (1 Sam. 16:14f.) and that he upon

1. Great Men and Movements in Israel; Kittel; p.149
occasions wrote secular poetry (1 Sam.1:1ff, 2:8ff). But there is no certainty whatsoever that he wrote any religious poetry, and his authorship of any of the psalms cannot be proven. There are, however, certain verses in the Psalter of which, if we remove certain parts as later interpolations, a residuum remains of which it would be unjustifiable to assert that it was not written by David.

It does show to what extent the peoples of Israel loved the noble character that they would attribute one of their most beautiful literary productions to his hand. The tribute is worthy whether it be justifiable or not.

Another point of great importance that demands stressing is the story which follows that of David's reign. The conditions and successes of a man can sometimes be judged just as truly by what takes place after he has passed his torch to his successor as by what took place during his own race with time; at least we must consider that the reign of Solomon is a good general index to the foundation that the father had laid. From all indications Israel reached the peak of her material glory during Solomon's reign and this could only have been brought about in a well established and excellently organized kingdom. David had built that kingdom from the very footing of the foundations, and though it was to crack asunder in the days following Solomon's reign there ever remained that old feeling of oneness as a nation among the Hebrew peoples. And it was a oneness that surmounted mere race, for there were numerous Semitic neighbors, yet the feeling was pronounced be-

tween Israel and Judah even years after the former had crumbled beneath the foot of the Assyrian. Ezekiel and others of the prophetic band thought of the northern nation being restored as well as the southern nation. Always there seems to have remained that feeling of solidarity which was engendered in them by David and his kingdom. The wealth and power that was Solomon's found its roots in the genius that was David's, and it was a continuation of David's baser nature rather than his higher nature that eventually brought about the decay of the structure. We do not go far afield if we look into the first Book of Kings for a true summation of the career of David's greatness written in the glory which followed in the wake of his reign.

The final point that we should consider in relation to our great statesman is that greatest of all honors:—the centering of the Messianic Hope around him and his house. He was the king that never could be forgotten by his own people. "It is David, who, without intending it, supplies the personal foundation of all the Messianic hopes which from this time contribute with increasing power to determine Israel's career; and so he stands at the turning-point in the history of two thousand years and separates it in two great halves." It is hardly necessary to add that through fact and through idealization he became the ideal of the perfect statesman and perfect leader of his people as well as the perfect man of God. "His was the figure that was chosen to lead Israel into that glorious age of the Messiah and to establish the reign of Jehovah forever.

IV. A Comprehensive Summary of
The Statesmanship of King David.
IV. A COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY of the STATISMANSHP of KING DAVID.

Looking back across the years of a great life we see those humble beginnings as a mere lad in the hills of Judah; it was here that the great statesman really came to life. There is something broadening in nature and in a life close to nature, and David, while spending hours with his flocks, found this expanding power in the dumb life 'round about him: he drank it in, and he drank deeply. There is a fellowship and brotherhood among animals and there is much of a lofty nature that mankind might learn from the ways of the wild. There is something vast and mighty about the heavens, and those great stars of Judah piercing the clear desert air would stir any boy's heart to a livelier realization of the dynamic power behind the universe. There is something about the stars, the hills, the fields, the flocks, that opens up a man's heart and leaves room for God to come in. David knew the beauties of his homeland, he knew the beauties of his Lord's world, and these very beauties bubbled out of his own heart in the sweet music that was his. This was the way with David, God came to him early, watched over him and loved him, and cared for him throughout his life.

Perhaps it was mere fortune that led him to Saul's court, perhaps it was Samuel's plan, perhaps it was his own ability, it doesn't matter; but what does matter is that when his chance came he was alive to his opportunities and grasped them in a sure and strong young hand and held them securely. With wisdom he adapted himself to his new environment. His personality and charm swept
like a flood into everyone's heart and bound them to him with a strange tie mingled of respect and reverence. Well did he serve his master Saul, soothing that crippled spirit in its darkened moments, and gallantly fighting as a heroic soldier in the days of conflict.

Through deeds of valour he won the hearts of the common people who are always ready to hail a new hero and damn an old one. Praise and honour came his way easily, yet he was not swept into the slough of vanity by them, but kept his head and held his feet firmly to the ground. This was perhaps one of his greatest victories - the conquering of vanity and foolish pride. However, he seems to have rendered too good a service to Saul, for the king became suspicious and his hatred was kindled against his most loyal subject. One dark plot after another failed to entrap the successful hero, and at last the desire of the king for his death became so malicious and violent that David had to flee for his life. Even in his flight he showed the wisdom of a statesman, for he sought out the prophets who were in reality the most vital power in the kingdom. Here he waited his chance to return if he dared. But fate had other ends for him and through the friendship of Jonathan he was saved from murder upon his return only to turn instead to a life of outlawry and exile.

That dashing young warrior had stirred the imaginations of the people though, and they did not forget him, or would not have even though they had had the chance. However, Saul through his foolish pursuit of David kept him constantly before the people's eyes and really piled fuel on the very fire he was trying to stamp
into oblivion. Persecuted causes seem always to have an extremely hearty life and a perverse longevity. It was this very persecution that tempered him for the struggle of his later years toward the goal which he sought.

In the hardships of his outlaw life David became aware of the ways of men, he learned the tricks of warfare, the justice of God, and through trials and mistakes he came closer to that perfection that was to be his. The qualities of a statesman were being ground into his makeup. He was the commander of a considerable number of men, and they were dependent upon him, with their families, for food, shelter, and protection as well as guidance in matters of morals, ethics, justice, and religion. Thus placed in a position of responsibility he developed those qualities latent within him. By living the life of a hunted man he came to know how the hunted felt, he knew the terror of the chase and the wild beating of the heart when the hunter is close upon the scent. This wild and rough life was truly David's school of statesmanship.

We cannot pass over significant incidents like those of Abigail's advice and his kindness to Saul without special notice. In the first case even though he was heated with anger and insult he listened to and heeded the wiser advice of Abigail, though his spirit sought revenge for the insult. We could be turned from his purpose when he was shown to be wrong, and any man that can realize his mistake and try to correct it has gained a point in character; it is those who regard themselves as infallible that are
the fools. His generosity in sparing Saul's life cannot be overrated; it was a generous action even if there had been the old friendly relations in earlier years. He made a masterful stroke in that he set a precedent that the life of the anointed king was a sacred thing and should not be regarded lightly even by his just enemies. Perhaps David was looking far into the future, but in either or in all cases this action is worthy of a great man.

He cannot fail to note that he was not spoiled by the plaudits of the people. A true statesman takes applause as a reward for his endeavors, but does not let it go to his head. David had more than most men ever do, and yet he never seems to have felt arrogant or superior to his fellows, and his head was never swollen with false pride. Courage and humility are commingled in his character in beautiful proportions. People never thought of him as a coward, and they never had occasion to; yet, never could they think of him as haughty or arrogant, for he seemed always to be humble of spirit. We can but cite his reply to Saul upon the king's suggestion that he marry his daughter, his humility before Samuel, his humility at all times before the will of God as expressed by the prophets, his humility before the thunder of Nathan's accusations, his repentance and contrite spirit when he left Jerusalem during Absalom's uprising. There are countless other incidents where his spirit bowed before the will of God and made obeisance. That more beautiful qualities could be required of a statesman than these, courage, humility, reverence, and a level head unswayed by the cheers of admiration from a loving people!
We noted his move to seek security in the ranks of the Philistines, driven there perhaps by the difficult situation in which he found himself with so many dependent upon his leadership. We also saw how cleverly he turned a duty assigned to him by those Philistines into an act of wisdom and benefit to himself as well as his people in Judah. It is a wise man that manages to get influential people indebted to him, and especially so if he has aspirations toward high offices. Politics is a perfectly upright game, and when played fairly offers a full expression of a man's keenest wits. David played his cards well, and this was a trump in his hand, and with it he took a counting trick and made his position secure with the elders of Israel.

David seems to be the very pattern of faithfulness. He always endeavored to keep his promises and agreements to the letter. When he accepted duties and obligations he felt responsible for them, and a treaty with him was a binding matter. This is a quality of statesmanship that seems to have passed out of existence in our modern world, but the Hebrews were ever insistent upon it. The prophets deplored the breaking of covenants, the outraging of treaties, and the disruption of agreements. They felt that the whole basis of universal good will rested upon the faithfulness and worth of a people's word to keep a covenant; if this were not reliable, then upon what could any agreement in life be based? David respected and kept his agreements, and we will applaud him for it. We can only wish that some of our modern diplomats might see the light of Faithfulness as David saw it.
When Saul went down before the forces of the Philistines he left a broken and crushed people behind him. Their first attempt at unity had ended in a shattered failure. The north and the south of Israel were at odds, and the outlying tribes felt that the affair was none of their business. Yet into this vast breach stepped the figure of that keenly sharpened weapon, David. With a firm hand he drew the cords of the south into his hands so completely that only one way was open. Soon the elders met and saw fit to select him as their king. It is a wise and clever man that builds up the scene and arranges the circumstances, and yet gives to the actors of his drama the feeling that they are moving of their own free will. David was a statesman in that he sought always to have his people move as they willed, but he was wise enough to predetermine that that will should be.

Again David shows his cleverness in the attitude he took toward Ishbaal. An ordinary man would have rushed headlong into the north and swept the weakling before him, but David saw the wisdom of patience. Force would not bend the favor of the north toward him, but time and necessity would. He waited on these to work out his future. We cannot pass over his very marked public lamentation over the deaths of Saul and Jonathan. Just to think how many a good old heart warmed to that sincere cry of pain at the death of two great men! If there were any 'tro-Saulians' left they would certainly have turned to David after his expression of grief at the death of his former friend, king, and enemy. We must note the wisdom as well the sincerity of this lament.
We must see that David was in all probability of a kind and gentle nature, for the death of his enemies continually grieved him. After the death of Absalom, Renan points out that David for the twentieth time grieved at the death of a person whom it was profitable for him to have out of the way. Always was he sorrowful at times of bloodshed, and we will always remember the way in which he received the news of Saul's death, of Abner's death, of Ish-bosheth's death, and of his son's death. They were like the blows of a great sledge-hammer mashing a tender heart into pulp. In times such as these he seems to have turned to God for comfort and peace, realizing as it were that he and all he had rested upon Jehovah's goodness and His mercy.

After the field had cleared and sought stood between him and the throne of Israel he was wise enough to wait again, a little longer. The people came to him, not he to the people, and they anointed him king or elected him as king over all Israel. It was by the common consent of the people, not by his dictate or his command, that he became their king. This is sheer wisdom and a perfection of statesmanship such as is rarely seen in great men. It was the secure reward of patience and cautious waiting for events to shape themselves as they were determined to do. This high type of character is one of the things that lifted him head and shoulders above the impetuous men of that primitive time, and it led him to success where they had failed. There is much in this regard that our present speedy age could learn of patience and kindly endurance from King David.

The choice of Jerusalem as the capital of his new kingdom has been heralded far and wide as one of his greatest feats of statesmanship, and it was truly a masterful stroke. To pick a neutral city located between the north and the south, and to secure it by the combined forces of the two sections as a common enterprise was a delectable bit of statesmanship. A more tasteful thing could not have been conceived. In Jerusalem the center of the efforts of the whole people, there too was centered all of their hope of the future. Added to this was the focus of religious fervor brought in with the transfer of the Ark. David so tied all of the people's interest about that city that forever afterward they were to look to Zion for rest and peace and all that was high and holy and worthwhile. The measure of his success can be seen in the fact that Jerusalem throbs as the heart of the world's three greatest religions, that the very name means something sacred to even the irreligious man, and that the devout long for the pilgrimage to that hallowed spot.

The war which followed the establishment of the kingdom under David are of great importance because they show still more clearly the nature of the man. He seems never to have taken the offensive, but rather to have sought peace in order that his people might grow great in the matters that really counted. He tried to secure peace, but when attacked he fought as a lion at bay. With swift and telling strokes he crushed his enemies. He accomplished his ends through organization and control, qualities scarcely known in order of that day. Gathered around him were men whose metal
had passed the acid tests, and trusting them with the details he
drew the master plans which they were to execute. Core measure
of the impression he made as a staple ruler and a significant pow-
er may be taken from the overtures of King of Tyre and of Toi of
Hamath to the king seeking his friendship and good favor. These
were both old and established powers and they recognized the power
latent in this new king and in this new nation. Wisely he garrison-
ed the conquered cities of Tyre, for they were too far away to
reach quickly with an army, and he needed a demonstration of his
power constantly on hand; he was but using the policy that the
Romans used in later centuries of keeping constantly before the
people's minds the power o-represent in the great state.

He was unusually fortunate in the fact that he did not
have to drain his people by taxes to support his court, and for
this reason he must have appealed to their nomadic spirits of
democracy. He was one of the people, and yet he was greater than
the people and they realized it. In them seem to have been com-
ined those qualities which later found their full realization
in Jesus, of the prophet, the priest, and the righteous ruler. In
him there was an intertwining of the deeply religious with the
vividly practical, and over it all there was an air of prophecy
heralding another day in which all would be as he had dreamed for
his people.

David was clever as every statesman is clever in gathering
around him men who can work with him and men whom he can trust. In
the important positions of his kingdom he placed those men who had risen with him to the heights he now possessed, and they had been tried as he had been tried, and they as he had not been lacking in their ability. As Kittel suggests, the narrators describe him as a man of extraordinary genius, head and shoulders above his contemporaries, both as a man and as a religious personality. This presentation of him need not necessitate our disregarding the greatness of his followers, for they were great men and in another age they would have stood out with marked distinction; but with them was one greater than they, indeed, greater than their people were to know for centuries more.

The family affairs of David were of course the black spot upon the whole of his story, but there are numerous other great men who have failed to have happiness in their domestic relations. Lincoln could never be regarded as having been blissfully happy in wedded life, and so with many others. Perhaps there is a type of genius that goes beyond the possibility of perfection in such worldly things as domestic relations and swims in vaster realms. A soul so noble and large and spiritual as that of David's seems to become sullied when it is even reduced to trivialities of everyday life. He could not be his best at all points, and often there has to be an outlet for the expression of a man's baser nature. Black as the curtain is that encloses David's family life, we need not pull it aside to see the true man, for that is not the David that lived; David, the statesman, David, the religious leader, David, the hope of the Hebrews, that was the David that lived.

Even in the later years of his life David was able to retain that quality of patience and humility which had marked those earlier years. We noted how wisely he left Jerusalem, not through fear of Absalom, but in realization that it was the wise thing to do under the circumstances. Bit by bit he built his plan to regain that which had been his. But as he left he was penitent and humble in the understanding that he must have sinned to bring such a state of affairs down upon his head. He acknowledged his errors and he uncomplainingly took their consequences, bowing his head under the bludgeon of fate. He quickly took blame upon himself when it was his, nor did he try to shift it to other's shoulders, though such a course would ever have been easy.

David chose his successor, and we do not know but that he chose wisely, for truly the other sons of which we know anything do not seem to have been fit to rule the people. But the fruit was not worthy of the vine, and "David's successors, lacking his political wisdom, followed a course which inevitably led to disruption. Yet, even so, the task of fusion had been carried through so completely that, in spite of the division of the kingdom, a certain sense of national unity remained, and the two kingdoms by the middle of the ninth century reached a height of culture and power which hardly David had attained. David had done his work well, and despite the poorness of the fruit which sprang from the vine, the vine did not wither or become blighted for centuries. He had welded together a people, and so finely was his work done that time and tide has passed over them for centuries yet they are still one.

united spirit. Despite persecution and dispersion they can still say with Ulysses:

"Though much is taken, much abides: and though
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved heaven and earth, that which we are, we are;
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield." 1

We are impressed by the praise which an ordinarily unaffected scholar gives this man...."Even more striking was his statesmanship. The union of the whole of Israel was a task which no other man of his day could have accomplished, and it was not his fault that the kingdom he founded did not maintain itself. His dealings with foreign powers were wise, and, as compared with the standards of his day, not inhuman. Great warrior as he was, he seldom fought if foreign friendships could be secured by peaceful methods." 2 In this we do have a tribute to David's greatness, but it is a question as to which is the greatest tribute, that paid by a scholar or that paid through the lives of a people for centuries and embodied in their most fond hopes.

In the Messianic hope, centering as it did around the house of David, we have our highest tribute to that noble character. "So great was the respect paid to members of the house of David that they were called the sons of God, so it is quite comprehensible how the two great ideals became fused. The uniting of these two gave rise to the Messianic hope in its narrower sense." 3 David, more than any other single individual, was a type, an anticipatory

1. Tennyson's poem, "Ulysses."
2. History of Israel, Robinson; p.205
likeness, of Christ, the Perfect Man.... No man ever touched humanity at so many points... He was an eminent example of the spiritual capability of the human soul as a recipient of divine illumination, preparing the way for the highest Example of all. 

His was not the character of Christ, but rather it was a more worldly character with glimmerings of the divine fire shining through the cracks in the outer surface. "He was a character of rich contrast. A chivalrous courage was set off by a cunning that often bordered on duplicity. Cruel when reasons of state demanded it, he showed a tender affection for his sons at a point of weakness... While he loved power he made use of it all to increase the greatness of his people; it was he who made Israel into a powerful state." 

We can readily see from the combination of rare qualities of character, a highly spiritual and religious nature, and a native cunning, quick insight, and precision and perfection of action, that it was possible for a man to be developed the like of which has not often graced this earth. Wallis calls him "one of the most astute statesmen who ever crossed the stage of history," but this is not a sufficiently high measure of that mountainous figure. Cornill declares of him that, "He is the most luminous figure and the most gifted person in Israelitish history, surpassed in ethical greatness and general historical importance only by Moses, the man of God."

It is hardly possible to overestimate what David did for

2. Israel, Lods; p.365f.
3. Sociological Study of the Bible, Wallis; p.120.
4. History of the People of Israel, Cornill; p.83.
Israel: Israel as a people, as a representative of political life, as a concrete quantity in the development of universal history, as a nation in the fullest sense of the word, is exclusively his work. He strove and in a measure brought to completion that which Moses had begun. He began with practically nothing and created under the most difficult of circumstances, with no means other than his awe-inspiring and compelling personality and statesmanship, a nation that even today remains a nation though it be scattered over the face of the earth.

Then we compare David with other great men we can say with Cornill that: "However far I left my gaze wander among the ranks of the great figures of history, I find no parallel along the way so completely a 'self-made man.' (And this was a 'self-made man' that worshipped his Creator rather than his maker.) He is one of those phenomenal men such as Providence gives but once to a people, in whom a whole nation and its history reaches once for all its climax." This is an extravagant statement, but it embodies the heart of the truth, for in David we do have the truest incorporation of the unique character of Israel, and from him comes the ideal for the great Messiah who is to rule the Kingdom of God.

There is ever a tendency to glorify a great man to such a degree that he passes without the realm of humanity and gets beyond the reach of men. It is so with David, for he was but a man, and after all we should treat him as such. The greatness of the figure can not be doubted, but he, like all men, had his limitations.

1. History of the People of Israel, Cornill; p.33
2. Ibid. p.33f.
His ability was just the natural thing to him, and it grew out of his character and training and the circumstances which helped to form his life. He was like a mighty cedar upon Lebanon. A little cone he had laid upon the ground and was covered over with the beauties of nature. Drinking these glories deep into his soul he sprouted and sent down shoots into the firm earth and lifted hands to Yahweh in the sky above. Slowly but surely the straight little sapling grew into a firmly rooted tree. Always those roots went down further into the spiritual soil as the branches lifted higher and higher above the earth. Great long branches grew upon every side and offered shelter to a people united under its shade, and the tree grew older and more stately as the years went by. It last the corruption of his family life grew an intense burl upon the stately trunk, and sapped some of the great strength surging through its fiber. Ghastly as this burl appeared it did not blight the beauty of the bows which sighed mournfully in the winds of God and Fate, nor did it drive back that beautiful shade which sheltered and protected those united peoples. Scars had been upon the tree but they had been healed over and the branches spread ever upward and outward – reaching toward the infinite. Kinds of sorrow, of despair, of rebellion, of bloodshed, all these swept through the stately tree and yet it reared its head high above all until at last

- he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hill,
And leaves a lonely place against the sky.

1. Lincoln and Other Poems, "Odein Warbler"
Now are the mighty fallen: They may be fallen, but the spirit cliams upward and ever upward toward new goals. So the great statesman faces the world and stands upon his own merits; let him be judged with those of any age and he will not be found lacking, for the reward of the true statesman is what lives after him, and by this only should he be judged. David's goal of achievement was possible only to the most noble spirit, and though he possibly fell short of his mark, he himself perhaps expressed it in what might be called his swan song.

"One that ruleth over men righteously,
That ruleth in the fear of God,
He shall be as the light of the morning,
When the sun riseth,
A morning without clouds;
When the tender grass springeth out of the earth,
Through clear shining after rain."

( 2 Samuel 23:3,4 )
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