

Rewriting David and Goliath?

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Almost a quarter of a century ago, I dealt with the story of David and Goliath in my inaugural lecture at the University of Göttingen, using it as an example of a case in which the Septuagint reveals to us a form of the text that is considerably shorter and earlier than the MT.¹ The idea that something in the MT could be secondary, although represented by some scholars more than a century earlier, was not popular in those days. I do not know if I convinced anyone in my audience. Afterwards the wife of a colleague came to me and expressed her opinion that the motif of a small shepherd-boy who slays the bad giant, present in the longer text, is so essential to the story that it cannot have been added later.

I shall come back to the motif of the shepherd-boy, which is important, although I do not think it proves the originality of the longer version. The question whether the story was shortened or expanded was however the main question at that time, and many colleagues in the field had difficulty, as many still do, in accepting that the MT could contain such extensive and late changes. At that time, already four decades after Qumran, new attitudes to the MT and to textual study of the Hebrew Bible were only beginning to dawn to the majority of scholars.

Today, more than six decades after the Qumran discoveries and well after the completion of the publication of these findings, the situation is somewhat, but not totally, different. Take for instance the most recent commentaries on the Books of Samuel. Walter Dietrich, writing for the *Biblischer Kommentar* series, has a very complicated explanation for the growth of the story, in which the Septuagint plays no role at all.² According to Dietrich, the shorter text is a shortened and simplified form of the complicated long story. By contrast, the commentary of Graeme Auld represents a totally different view: the shorter text of the Septuagint, or more correctly the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint translation, reveals an earlier phase in the development of the text.³ It

¹ See "Übersetzung als Schlüssel zum Original," in Anneli Aejmelaesus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 50; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, Ma.: Peeters, 2007) 143–156.

² Walter Dietrich, *Samuel* (Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament; VIII/2₄ (16,1 – 17,58), VIII/2₅ (17,1 – 18,30), and VIII/2₆ (18,1 – 19,24); Neukirchener Verlag: Neukirchen, 2012–2013).

³ A. Graeme Auld, *I – II Samuel: A Commentary* (The Old Testament Library; Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox: 2011).

is clear that the witness of the Septuagint does not explain everything, but it cannot simply be put aside: the evidence needs to be taken into account. The two forms of the text that are extant represent two different stages in its development – not the first and the second edition, but perhaps the fourth and the seventh.

Thus, the story of David and Goliath continues to divide scholars into different camps, as it has done long before. It may be interesting to note that Julius Wellhausen, one of the early proponents of the priority of the shorter text, was later hesitant about the matter and gave different views in different editions of his *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des A. T.* (2nd ed. 1889; 3rd ed. 1899). His study on the text of the Books of Samuel (1871) – in which he deals with the matter most extensively – speaks for the priority of the shorter text.⁴

In this paper, it is however not my aim to present the arguments for the priority of the shorter form of the story. Others have done that convincingly.⁵ Instead, I shall concentrate on the question how the longer version came about: Where did the additions come from? Could the emergence of the longer form of the story perhaps be explained through the strategy and technique of "rewriting"? The idea of "rewritten scripture" is also fairly new in scholarship, having been lively debated during the last decade, although the phenomenon was introduced by Geza Vermes already in the 1960s.⁶ By now, "rewriting" has become a permanent topic of our discussions on the development of sacred texts and sacred literature in the Second Temple period. My question is does it apply to David and Goliath?

The evidence concerning the two different versions

To begin with, in the Appendix you will find the text of 1 Sam 17 and 18 in Hebrew with an English translation. Those parts of the text that are not present in the Septuagint are marked by a grey background. I am not going to discuss the whole text in great detail, but it is good to have an overall view of it, so that we know what we are talking about. The basic facts about the Greek evidence are the following: (1) There are two more extensive blocks of text and numerous smaller additions (from a few lines to single words) that are not present in the original translation of the Septuagint.⁷ (2) In the textual transmission of the Septuagint, we happen to have a group of 12 manuscripts, including Vaticanus (B V 119-527-799 121 29 71 244 245 460 707), which do not have any of these additions. (3) The majority of the Greek manuscripts have secondarily complemented them, whereas not all manuscripts have all of them. It seems that the smaller complements sometimes escaped the attention of the scribes. (4) The translation in these secondary complements is clearly different from the mode of translation in 1 Samuel otherwise and the

⁴ Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871).

⁵ See, for instance, the contributions of Emanuel Tov and Johan Lust in Dominique Barthélemy, David W. Gooding, Johan Lust, and Emanuel Tov, *The Story of David and Goliath* (OBO 73, 1986), and Emanuel Tov, "The Composition of 1 Samuel 16 – 18 in the Light of the Septuagint" in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTS 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 333–362.

⁶ Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (Studia Post-Biblica 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961).

⁷ The two longer passages not present in the Septuagint are: 1 Sam 17:12–31 and 17:55 – 18:5; whole sentences are lacking in vv. 17:37, 38, 41, 42, 48, 50, 51; 18:6, 8, 10–11, 12, 17–19, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29–30.

various manuscript groups show also different formulations in certain details of the additions. (5) In some details, the Greek complements even seem to have had a *Vorlage* different from the MT. (6) On the other hand, the Greek text also shows a few details that are not present in the MT (variants and plusses). The Hebrew text presupposed by the Septuagint variants and plusses has been reconstructed and is marked by a frame.

Let us have a brief review of the contents of the two different versions of the text in front of us.

The different versions of the story of David and Goliath deal with the beginning of David's career in the service of Saul. How did he come to Saul's court? The preceding Ch. 16 already tells that Saul's servants recommend David, the son of Jesse from Bethlehem, to Saul as "a skillful musician, a mighty man of valor, a warrior, one prudent in speech, and a handsome man" (יָדַע נָגַן וְגִבּוֹר חָיִל) (16:18). David is brought to Saul, who is immediately attracted by him and makes him his armour-bearer. The motif of David playing the harp must be a later reworking of this passage; it is most peculiar that a musician would need to be recommended as "a mighty man of valor, a warrior, one prudent in speech, and a handsome man" and additionally to become an armour-bearer. The oldest story of David's arrival at Saul's court was probably about the grown-up warrior David, and this story connects with 1 Sam 14:52, which says:

1 Sam 14:52 וַתְּהִי הַמְּלָחָמָה חֲזָקָה עַל-פְּלִשְׁתִּים כָּל יְמֵי שָׁאוּל וְרָאָה שָׁאוּל כָּל-אִישׁ גִּבּוֹר וְכָל-בֶּן-חַיִל וַיֹּאסְפֵהוּ אֵלָיו
The war against the Philistines was severe all the days of Saul, and when Saul saw any mighty man, and any valiant man, then he took them to himself.

So he took the valiant man, David, to be his armour-bearer. This is the starting point for the shorter story of the fight with Goliath: David is in Saul's service and standing on his side when Goliath makes his challenge. As such, the shorter story connects to the preceding text without difficulty and does not seem to have any major discrepancies or to be lacking anything.

By the way, speaking of the oldest form of the story, the slaying of Goliath was most probably altogether secondarily attributed to David. According to 2 Sam 21:19 it was Elhanan from Bethlehem who killed Goliath – probably the same "Goliath the Gittite, the shaft of whose spear was like a weaver's beam" (אֵת גִּלְיָת הַגִּתִּי וְעַץ חַנְיָתוֹ כַּמְנֹרֶת אַרְגָּמִים). But for some reason, the story was connected with David, whose career thus gets a glorious beginning – all the more glorious when this "mighty man of valour" is by and by depicted as an inexperienced youth. The curious detail in 1 Sam 17:54 that David brings the head of Goliath to Jerusalem, which has not yet been conquered, may perhaps stem from the original connection.

The first and longest expansion of the MT (1 Sam 17:12-31) begins with an introduction of David and his father Jesse. This first joint between the old and new material is confusing, as the characters have been mentioned before. It is presupposed that David is not staying permanently with Saul, but time and again goes back to his father to tend his sheep, and this is also expressed in v. 15, which thus functions as a link to the shorter version. The father happens to send David to see his brothers on the battle field (vv. 17–19), and so he arrives, hears Goliath challenge the

Israelites (vv.23–24), makes queries about the situation, and argues with his elder brother (vv. 28–29) before volunteering to fight with the giant. The connection with the shorter story is not very skillful: the expansion actually has the character of a flashback and could have been built in as such, but now Goliath is said to have repeated his challenge during forty days (v. 16) in order to give David time to appear. This unnecessary feature is obviously meant as a further link to the shorter story, but it really makes the story absurd: for forty days, morning and evening, Goliath makes his challenge, and every time the Israelites are as surprised and scared.

The actual fight does not show big differences: the longer version adds a bit more action describing how the two parties approach each other (vv. 41 and 48), which perhaps creates excitement and emphasizes the contrast between the giant and David, who is much smaller and quicker in his movements. David uses the weapons of a shepherd and says that he *used to* tend the flocks of his father. Most noteworthy in the common middle section are the dialogues of David, first with Saul (vv. 32–37) and then with Goliath (vv. 43–47). David's first answer to Goliath is found only in the Septuagint ("No, but worse than a dog!"), but I am sure it is original to the story and was removed from the MT on purpose – perhaps at a later stage – because its rough tone was not considered suitable for David. The other plus of the Septuagint (v. 36) is probably also original in the shorter version; it may have been removed because the same formulation occurs in v. 26 of the longer version ("slay him and remove the reproach from Israel, for who is this uncircumcised that..."). The theological motive of both the shorter and the longer version are given here in the often quoted vv. 46–47: "...that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel (cf. 1 Kings 18:36), and that all this assembly may know that the Lord does not deliver by sword or by spear; for the battle is the Lord's and He will give you into our hands."⁸ This is not a speech of a young boy seeking adventure. The theology of these verses would certainly deserve another paper.⁹

After the slaying of Goliath, the shorter story continues almost immediately with the song of the women (1 Sam 18:6): "Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." The song actually presupposes that David has already before his fight with Goliath spent some time as Saul's armour-bearer and taken part in the war against the Philistines. From here on, Saul becomes more and more suspicious against David (already in the shorter version). Not long before, he was strongly attracted by David (16:21–22) and now he wishes to get rid of him, making him a commander of a thousand (in the shorter version 18:13). For the same purpose, he offers his daughter Michal to him in marriage on the bride-price of a hundred Philistine foreskins (18:25). As Saul's aversion grows, so does David's success. At the end, everyone loves David (18:28).

By contrast, the second large expansion, 1 Sam 17:55–18:6, creates more distance between the fight with Goliath and Saul's growing displeasure, but it is also very puzzling, as David appears to

⁸ Cf. 2 Chr 20:15; 1QM (1Q33) XI 1-2.

⁹ The motif of trusting in God instead of weapons has its roots deep in the Hebrew Bible: Ex 14:14; Hoos 1:7, Isa 31:1, Zech 4:6, Ps 20:8, 44:7–8. On the other hand, the divine epithet "the living God" (1 Sam 17:26, 36) is late: it is found otherwise only at Deut 5:26 and in Jer 10:10; 23:36 in additions of the MT.

be unknown to Saul and his court. "Whose son is this young man?" he asks and, since no one knows it, he has to ask David himself (v. 58). This is generally seen as the most serious contradiction caused by the additions. The scribe who added this part obviously had no idea about David's earlier connection to Saul. He must have totally ignored the story of David becoming Saul's armour-bearer at 16:18–22 and the mention of Isai in that connection.

Further additions in Ch. 18 deal with Saul's growing suspicion. David's constant success and Jonathan's love for him give Saul more reason to see a threat in David: he even attempts to kill him (18:10–11) – which actually comes a bit too early in the story (the original at 1 Sam 19:9–10 is much more appropriate)! He promises his elder daughter Merab to David in marriage, on the condition that he continues "to fight the Lord's battles" (cf. 1 Sam 25:28) – only hoping that the Philistines would take care of him. When the time comes, Merab is however given to someone else.

Where is the origin of the additions?

There are mainly two models that have been used to explain the origins of the longer form of the story. The first one presupposes an alternative, independent story from which the supplementary parts were taken. The second model presupposes that the additions did not have an independent existence but were written into the text of 1 Samuel as a kind of "recomposition" or "rewriting." The theory of an independent story can be traced back to the name of Julius Wellhausen,¹⁰ and has been represented by most scholars who are for the priority of the shorter story. The theory of "recomposition" was more recently presented by A. Graeme Auld and Craig Y.S. Ho.¹¹ And the additional considerations concerning the strategy of "rewriting" are my own.

Independent alternative account

Let us start with the *theory of an independent alternative account* of the fight between David and Goliath. According to *Julius Wellhausen* the story was complemented from a "Flugblatt" (a "fly-sheet" or "flyer"), which seems to refer to a written source. This is a kind of source-critical solution, in the spirit of the 19th century. Wellhausen thought that the alternative story was created on the basis of 17:34 (present in the shorter text) in which David says that he "had been tending his father's sheep"; according to v. 40 he also uses a shepherd's bag to carry the stones. Wellhausen points out that David speaks in the past tense, when he refers to his experience with lions and bears while tending the sheep. In the shorter text, being a shepherd was clearly in the past, David having become Saul's armour-bearer; in the so-called alternative account, however, David is still a shepherd boy. Verse 17:15 that allows David to commute between Bethlehem and Saul's court was probably created to smooth out the discrepancy.

Wellhausen's source-critical solution has been followed with small variations by many commentators. Of the more recent commentaries, the same solution is represented by *Kyle*

¹⁰ Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 105.

¹¹ A. Graeme Auld and Craig Y.S. Ho, "The Making of David and Goliath," *JSOT* 56 (1992) 19–39.

McCarter (Anchor Bible, 1980).¹² He presents the translation of the additional parts of the MT separately from the primary, shorter narrative and argues that the pieces fit together so well that they must form an independent alternative account. However, according to McCarter, this alternative story is perhaps not quoted in its entirety in those parts in which there is an overlap with the primary narrative. McCarter thinks that the alternative account was combined with the primary narrative fairly late, he says 4th century BCE – which some of us might consider fairly early – and he reasons that it may even have circulated before that independently for some time.

This theory was further elaborated by *Johan Lust* in the volume *The Story of David and Goliath* (OBO 73, 1986),¹³ which consists of contributions by four scholars, Dominique Barthélemy, David W. Gooding, Johan Lust, and Emanuel Tov, all with differing views on the problem. Of the four scholars, Lust and Tov represent the priority of the shorter text. According to Lust, the additions in Ch. 17 (that is, verses 12–31 plus 55–58 plus one verse 18:2) contain “relics of a narrative that once was the opening story of the history of David.”¹⁴ Indeed, the introduction of the characters that opens the first long addition shows similarity with the introductions of Samuel’s and Saul’s fathers in the beginning of the respective sections (1 Sam 1 and 9). Lust also argues that it must have been originally an introduction of David’s father (v. 12) – without however noticing that there are a few manuscripts that might support that view. Instead of **וְדוֹד בֶּן-אִישׁ אֶפְרָתִי הַזֶּה מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה**, the Hexaplaric group *O* (= 247-376) has *και ην ανθρωπος εκ Βεεθλεεμ Ιουδα*, which presupposes the Hebrew text **ויהי/והיה איש מבית לחם יהודה**. To begin a story with the conjunction and a proper name, as in the MT, is not normal in classical Hebrew. Imperfect consecutive **ויהי** is what is most often found at the beginning. But if it happened to be **והיה** (cf. 17:48), it might have been possible to confuse it with **וְדוֹד** – at least in a late script, like that of 4QSam^a, this seems to be possible. This would mean that **בֶּן** and **אֶפְרָתִי הַזֶּה** were added to change the introduction of the father to that of David,¹⁵ whereas the *O* group is following an earlier form, represented possibly by for instance Theodotion.

As I already mentioned, it seems that on a few points the Greek translations of the additional parts presuppose a Hebrew text different from the MT, so that it would not be extraordinary to presuppose that the beginning was originally different. This is not however as weighty an argument as Lust seems to think. The changed formulation of the beginning does not prove that the story had an independent existence.

¹² Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel* (Anchor Bible, 1980), 399–309.

¹³ Johan Lust, “The Story of David and Goliath in Hebrew and Greek” and “Second Thoughts on David and Goliath” in Dominique Barthélemy, David W. Gooding, Johan Lust, and Emanuel Tov, *The Story of David and Goliath* (OBO 73, 1986), 5–18 and 87–91.

¹⁴ Lust, *ibid.* 13.

¹⁵ By many, **הַזֶּה** is considered to be grammatically suspect (see McCarter, *I Samuel*, 301). The odd expression might be explained by its late origin.

What is extraordinary in Lust's explanation is that he finds the alternative account of the MT additions to be the older one of the two versions. In this older story, he sees features of a "romantic epic" or a "fairy tale," whereas the shorter story is the later one and is called a "heroic epic." Lust suggests that the alternative story, the "romantic epic," was first the only one given in Ch. 17 and that it was at some stage replaced by the "heroic epic" – this is the form that was translated into the Septuagint – and later on, another redactor added the removed text again and thus combined both stories. With this very complicated solution Lust, in a way, actually gives the priority to both versions. A solution like this really calls for Occam's razor!

Emanuel Tov, who was one of the four scholars who published the volume *The Story of David and Goliath*, also represents a variation of the theory of an independent alternative story.¹⁶ In his contribution, he shows that the Greek additions cannot have been part of the original Greek translation. A few years later, he published another extensive article in which he goes through the whole text again in great detail.¹⁷ He seems however to be mainly occupied by the argumentation for the priority of the shorter text – and the impossibility shortening the text – so that he does not so much deal with the question of the origins of the additions. Like so many before him, Tov presupposes that the alternative account once existed as a written source, from which the redactor excerpted details that he liked and considered worth preserving, possibly motivated by the idea that "God can bring victory to his people even through initially unimportant figures."¹⁸ This idea is however already present in the shorter version.

There is one more scholar to be mentioned: *Gene Ulrich* has frequently used the story of David and Goliath as an example of the pluriformity of the biblical text, as a case in which the MT and the Septuagint witness "variant literary editions," the Septuagint representing an earlier form of the text and the MT an intentionally expanded, revised edition.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, the term "rewriting" has also been applied by Ulrich in this connection. In a recent article of his, the story of David and Goliath is given as evidence for "the Rewriting That Produced Revised Editions."²⁰ Ulrich's main point of interest is the evidence provided by our story for the theory explaining the development of the biblical text, so that he does not deal more extensively with the question where the expansions of the MT came from. He refers either to alternate David traditions that were preserved in the plusses or to the insertion of "components of a second version of the story quite different in content, details, and style."²¹

¹⁶ Emanuel Tov, "The Nature of the Differences between MT and the LXX" in *The Story of David and Goliath* (OBO 73, 1986), 19–46.

¹⁷ Emanuel Tov, "The Composition of 1 Samuel 16 – 18 in the Light of the Septuagint" in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTS 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 333–362.

¹⁸ Tov, *ibid.* 355.

¹⁹ Eugene Ulrich, "Crossing the Borders from 'Pre-Scripture' to Scripture (Rewritten) to 'Rewritten Scripture'," in *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes* (ed. by József Zsengellér; JSJS 166; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014) 83–104. See also *idem*, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge U.K.: Eerdmans and Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 1999), esp. pp. 38, 41, 72.

²⁰ Eugene Ulrich, "Crossing the Borders from 'Pre-Scripture' to Scripture (Rewritten) to 'Rewritten Scripture'," 87.

²¹ Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 38.

“Recomposition” or “rewriting”

We now come to the second model, *the “recomposition” theory*, according to which the additions were written as complements to the shorter story within the First Book of Samuel.

The first serious challenge, in my knowledge, to the “alternative account” theory, represented by the mentioned prominent scholars, was in the article “The Making of David and Goliath” by *Graeme Auld and Craig Ho* (1992).²² They do not see “enough evidence for the existence of another similar, once-independent story” that would be fragmentarily represented in the additions of the MT. Rather, they suggest that the longer story was “a literary creation by a redactor out of existing material in 1 Samuel.”²³ They refer to the observation of previous scholars that parallels and contrasts with similar stories are a frequent phenomenon in the Books of Samuel, and draw the conclusion: “A book that is full of parallel structures might have attracted further parallel details to enhance the literary effect.”²⁴ For the practice of incorporating interpretations into the original text of various genres in the Hebrew Bible, they make a very general reference to Michael Fishbane’s *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (1985).²⁵

In their analysis of Ch. 17 – 18, Auld and Ho discuss correspondences between the stories of Saul and the narrative items added in the longer version of our text. They begin with the introduction of “a man and his son” (17:12), which is parallel to the introduction of Saul and his father (9:1–2), but in what follows they see a contrast between the two young men: Saul was the most handsome and the tallest man in Israel, expected to become something special, whereas no one expects anything from the smallest of Jesse’s sons. Another parallel is seen in the errand that the father gives to his son (9:3 and 17:17–18); in this case, the contrast is that Saul does not succeed in fulfilling his task, as he does not find the lost asses, but David accomplishes his task in a splendid manner. Both young men ask questions (9:7 and 17:26), which characterize Saul as “a brainless man” but David as someone actively “showing initiative.” Both young men are brought into contact with the leader of the nation by their small errands; here the contrast is that Saul is offered the kingship, whereas David is offered a royal status as the king’s son-in-law, which is however meant as a trap. Both of them humbly belittle themselves: Saul referring to his family which is the smallest in Benjamin, the smallest tribe of Israel (9:21), and David asking, “Who am I and who is my family that I should become the king’s son-in-law?” (18:18). A parallel is seen also in the meal that Saul takes part in (9:23–24), in that it is interpreted as a covenant meal, whereas there is a covenant – without a meal – between David and Jonathan (18:3).

²² A. Graeme Auld and Craig Y.S. Ho, “The Making of David and Goliath,” *JSOT* 56 (1992) 19–39. Graeme Auld represents the same view in his recent commentary *I – II Samuel: A Commentary* (The Old Testament Library; Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox: 2011), but since he does not develop it further there, I am referring to Auld and Ho.

²³ Auld and Ho, *ibid.* 24.

²⁴ Auld and Ho, *ibid.* 24–25. Reference is made to J.P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: A Full Interpretation Based on Stylistic and Structural Analysis. Volume II: The Crossing Fates (1 Sam. 13–31 & 2 Sam. 1)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1986).

²⁵ Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

Here, at the latest, it becomes evident that some of the parallels listed by Auld and Ho are fairly artificial, concentrating mainly on formal details. The sacrificial meal in Ch. 9 actually parallels more suitably with the story of David's anointing in 16:13, which in fact contains other parallels, above all that David is anointed by Samuel, just like Saul was (10:1 and 16:13). Nevertheless, I believe that Auld and Ho were on the right track, although their theory needs some fine-tuning.

Defining "rewriting" as exegesis and gap-filling

That it is a question of a "recomposition of an original story," as Auld and Ho suggest, or "rewriting," is a much more powerful solution than the theory of an independent alternative account. There are clearly parallels, not just with the stories about Saul, but also with many other texts. However, I see a weakness in the theory of Auld and Ho, in that demonstrating parallels or even contrasts between the two first kings is certainly not enough to motivate such literary activity. The parallels are not the goal – but rather the means for attaining the goal, which is to highlight and complement certain features of the story. The overall tendency is of course that David grows in glory, whereas Saul, the rejected king, is presented in ever darker tones. The motivation behind the "rewriting" must however have been of the kind typical for "rewriting" in general, that is, exegesis and eisegesis, explanation of problematic items in the narrative and gap-filling. When discussing this kind of rewriting within the later parts of the Hebrew Bible, Geza Vermes speaks of "a midrashic process."²⁶ I think, this term "midrashic process" applies very well to the story of David and Goliath.

According to most exegetes, the shorter version of the story of David and Goliath is consistent in itself, whereas the additions bring along contradictions. For the early interpreters, as we all know, contradictions were not a problem. Where do we find a composite text totally without contradictions? The method of literary criticism is based on these contradictions! On the other hand, a smooth story like the shorter version is by no means without problems calling for exegesis. The story of the beginning of David's career is of course a very important narrative, one that inspired the interpreters to give answers to all the questions that it might raise. (1) An important key is the motif of the shepherd-boy, which already plays a role in the shorter narrative and even more clearly in the long addition in Ch. 17. None of the scholars I have referred to discuss this motif in greater detail. I shall deal with this motif in a moment. (2) There are also gaps that need to be filled in concerning Saul's growing aversion against David. For instance, the shorter story does not give the full picture of the reasons for the change in Saul's attitude. In the longer version, David's increasing success arouses Saul's jealousy and the covenant with Jonathan is clearly a cause of rage for Saul (as we can read in 20:30–31).²⁷ It is Saul's dynasty that is threatened by David (which is expressed in the plus at the end of 18:8). However, (3) we can also observe that *not all the additions would have been absolutely necessary* from the point of view of David's

²⁶ Geza Vermes, "Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis" in *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (ed. by P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans; 1970) 199–231: "Post-biblical midrash is to be distinguished from the biblical only by an external factor, canonization." Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (1985) uses the term "aggadic exegesis."

²⁷ David refers to a covenant at 20:8, to which the longer text provides a point of reference.

career and need not have been added at the same time or out of the same motivation. For instance, concerning Saul's daughters, there might have been the question why the elder daughter was not offered first, which reminds us of Jacob's marriage with Leah before Rachel. There were however older stories about David's marriage with Michal only, so that Saul's offer of Merab had to end without a marriage. The marriage to the king's daughter is often seen as the reward promised for slaying the giant (17:25). It is however more plausible that the idea of the reward came from the older stories about David's marriage to Michal.²⁸

Of the mentioned three aspects, I am only able to develop here the first-mentioned.

The shepherd motif as the key

Let us look a bit more closely at the shepherd motif, which I think is the key. The story of David and Goliath was developed in several steps in the direction that David becomes younger and younger and is finally just a small shepherd-boy. In the shorter text, as Wellhausen noted, David says that he "had been shepherding" his father's sheep – but no longer is.²⁹ The shorter text however already includes a feature that makes David appear as an inexperienced youth: the verses that describe how Saul wants to equip David with his own armour and weapons (17:38–39). This looks like a later insertion in the shorter text, because Saul already sent David off and gave him his blessing in the previous verse. In the long expansion (17:12–31), this development is taken still further, to the point that David is just a small boy. Whether a shepherd-boy or warrior, whether long or short version, it is of course very clever of David to slay the giant from afar with the sling and the stone and not to come to close combat with him. However, in order to give the glory to the God of Israel, who rescues the helpless and gives victory over powerful enemies, David had to become smaller, although this creates a problem for the story-teller: How could it happen that a small shepherd-boy was on the battle field when Goliath made his challenge? To solve this problem the editor of the longer version used an old narrative motif. The shepherd-boy David was, of course, sent on an errand by his father.

There is however a still deeper reason for letting David appear as a shepherd. The shepherd motif appears in prominent passages concerning David's career. In 2 Sam 7, David receives the promise of an eternal dynasty, and in this connection the Lord says to David through Nathan:

2 Sam 7:8 אָנֹכִי לָקַחְתִּיךָ מִן־הַבָּיִת מֵאַחַר הַצֹּאן לְהִיזֹת נֶגֶד עַל־עַמִּי עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל

I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep, that you should be ruler over my people Israel.

Also 2 Sam 5, which gives an account of the election and anointing of David by the Israelite elders, contains the shepherd motif. The elders refer to David's early career in 1 Sam 18 and say:

2 Sam 5:2 גַּם־אַתְּמוֹל גַּם־שָׁלְשׁוֹם בְּהִיזֹת שְׂאוֹל כְּלָדָּךְ עָלִינוּ אֶתְּהָ הֵייתָ מוֹצִיא וְהַמְבִי

²⁸ Also the verses that serve to adjust the additions to the older story (17:15 David commuting between Saul and his father and its pair 18:2 making an end to it – which disturb the connection between the surrounding verses – and 17:16 according to which Goliath makes his challenge during forty days) may have been added at a later stage.

²⁹ Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 105.

אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לְךָ אַתָּה תִרְעֶה אֶת־עַמִּי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַתָּה תִהְיֶה לְנֹגֵיד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

Previously, when Saul was king over us, you were the one who led Israel out and in. And the Lord said to you, "You will shepherd my people Israel, and you will be ruler over Israel."

"Shepherd" was a metaphorical title of honour for kings and an epithet of gods. It is not by chance that it is used of David.³⁰ However, the quoted passages also reveal a gap in the story of David – a gap that needs to be filled. When did the Lord say anything like the words of the elders and how did it happen that the Lord took David from following the sheep?

Dealing with these questions, I cannot help thinking of the passage on David's secret anointing by Samuel in 16:1–13. It is in many ways parallel to the long version of Ch. 17. Both passages are about the small shepherd-boy, who is disregarded by his family. He is not important enough to be immediately invited to the sacrificial meal arranged by Samuel. Only on Samuel's demand is he brought back from shepherding the sheep. He is the smallest and useful only as a shepherd. In the long addition of Ch. 17, the eldest brother Eliab reproaches David for having left the sheep and come to see the war: "I know your presumption and the evil of your heart" (v. 28). The two passages also have in common the names of the three elder brothers of David and mention the total number of the sons of Jesse as eight. Both passages, in fact, can be read as answers to the problem how the Lord took David from the sheep: first, by sending the prophet to anoint him, and then, by letting his father send him on an errand – just like he had Kish send Saul on an errand – which had far-reaching consequences for the whole nation. David comes directly from the sheep to the anointing scene as well as to the battlefield. That the Lord took him from the sheep was taken very literally! Most exegetes agree that the story about the anointing is one of the latest passages in 1 Samuel. It seems to me that it has an origin similar to the additions in Ch. 17 and 18, although it happened to be added to the book early enough to be present in the Septuagint. These two stories reveal the same kind of strategy, the strategy of "rewriting" or inner-biblical exegesis that uses midrashic elements in order to fill in gaps in the older narrative.

Thus, the story of the small shepherd-boy David was probably not an independent source-text, but rather, oral exegetical material: midrash-like pieces of narrative that aimed at giving explanations to details of the older traditions and complementing them. The language of this kind of oral material during the late Second Temple period would most probably have been Aramaic. The redactor or scribe who wished to enrich the Hebrew text of the book with these additional narrative items needed to formulate them in Hebrew and in such a way that they would fit into the surrounding text. This was quite an exercise, as the knowledge of classical Hebrew was perhaps no longer very active; taking a closer look at the language of the additional parts of Ch. 17–18, we can easily discover formulations that are not standard Hebrew.³¹ Complementing the older stories in Hebrew, the scribe naturally used the rest of the book as his aid. The vocabulary

³⁰ The motif also occurs in Ps 78:70–71: "He chose David his servant and took him from the sheepfolds; from following the nursing ewes he brought him to shepherd Jacob his people, Israel his inheritance."

³¹ For instance, the use of the participle instead of the infinitive absolute when expressing continued movement (1 Sam 17:41; two participles, without a finite verb, expressing continued movement at 17:15 is also exceptional); at 1 Sam 17:20, the use of the article with a participle, if it is used predicatively, is incorrect, or otherwise, the following perfect tense is incorrectly preceded by *waw copulative*.

used also shows that the writer is drawing on other parts of the book.³² This working procedure created many stylistic and linguistic parallels with other parts of the book, which attracted the attention of Auld and Ho.³³

Building bridges to the Torah

On the other hand, there are theologically more significant parallels, like 2 Sam 5 and 7 that I just mentioned.³⁴ Moreover, there are also parallels with the Pentateuch, although they have rarely been discussed at all. The Pentateuchal parallels show how very familiar the scribes were with the Torah, even to the exact wording of its various passages. The Torah was Scripture *par excellence* and the centre of scribal education and interpretative activity. Creating *bridges between the Torah and the other books* was obviously part of the interpretative assignment and an important factor in its motivation.³⁵

At a closer look, we do find bridges to the Torah also in our story. The most significant of them is the motif of a *father sending his son on an errand*. Auld and Ho saw here a parallel with the story of Saul, but there is another parallel, which is even more striking, namely the story of Jacob sending Joseph – who is also a shepherd! (cf. Gen 37:2)³⁶ – to his brothers to see how they are and to bring back the message to the father (Gen 37:14). This brings Joseph to the beginning of those events at the end of which – after much struggle – he is to save his people. A striking parallel to David!

Furthermore, the Joseph story gives a model for the *enmity of the elder brothers* against a younger one who has big thoughts about himself. The brothers were jealous of Joseph, because the father loved him more than his brothers. Joseph also had dreams about a great future. In the case of David, it is God who loves David and has chosen him before his elder brothers, as related in the story of the anointing (1 Sam 16:6–12). When Samuel is mustering the tall and handsome elder sons of Jesse, he is directly forbidden by the Lord to look at the outward appearance of the boys. "The Lord sees into the heart" (v. 7). In David's heart Eliab however only sees evil: David thinks too high of himself, and Eliab suspects – correctly – that David seeks for an opportunity to become a hero. In view of the parallelism with the story of Joseph and his brothers, I think that the behavior of Eliab towards David coming to the battle-field is a reference to Ch. 16, to David's anointing witnessed by the brothers.

³² For instance, מערכה 1 Sam 17:20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 48 (< 17:8, 10, 36, 45); נתש 17:20, 22, 28 (< 10:2, 12:22); קשר nif. 18:1 (< 22:8, 13); נבא hitp. 18:10 (< 10:5, 6, 10, 13; 19:21, 23, 24). In each case, there is a slight shift in the usage.

³³ See above note 22.

³⁴ Ps 78:70–71 may also have played a role in the process; these verses are like a summary of 2 Sam 5:2 and 7:8. Also to be considered is Ps 151, which shows especially the detail that appears in the addition of 1 Sam 17:51 that David drew the sword of Goliath and beheaded him with it.

³⁵ When readings out of the non-Pentateuchal books were introduced in the synagogue, they were supposed to be connected to the reading from the Torah which they were chosen to accompany. In view of this development, it is no wonder that the Pentateuch played a role in the "midrashic process."

³⁶ Curiously enough, Gen 37:2 and 1 Sam 17:34 use the same formulation רעה היה בצאן; speaking of shepherding, בצאן is otherwise only found in 1 Sam 16:11, 19.

Consequently, if the long expansion 17:12–31 presupposes the anointing story, the introduction of the father and the family in the beginning does not prove that this was the beginning of an independent source. The scribe probably just imitated the language of the introduction of Saul's father, while introducing a digression to the story. For the content of the digression, I think, the Pentateuchal model was more essential.

Conclusion

There are also other parallels with Pentateuchal passages, but I think I have already made my point. The longer version of the story of David and Goliath had its origin in scribal interpretation, which aimed at filling gaps in the older narrative and highlighting certain features of the story. Rather than being a combination of two independent accounts, the longer story represents the phenomenon of "rewriting" and was developed by complementation of the shorter story. The midrashic features in the narrative were created on the basis of other parts of the story of David as well as passages in the Torah. Creating bridges to the Torah was an important part of the interpretative activity: scriptural parallels, reminiscences, or allusions added scriptural flavour to the text. All this is part of the "midrashic process," but we could also see that this process had begun already before the creation of the longer version of the story of David and Goliath.

Appendix: 1 Sam 17 – 18

The parts of the text not found in the Septuagint are printed with a grey background. The plus of the Septuagint is reconstructed in Hebrew without vowel signs and printed with a frame.

<p>17¹ וַיֵּאסְפוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶת־מַחְנֵיהֶם לְמַלְחָמָה וַיֵּאסְפוּ שָׁכָה אֲשֶׁר לַיהוּדָה וַיַּחֲנוּ בֵּין־שׁוֹכָה וּבֵין־עֲזֵקָה בְּאֶפְסַיִם דָּמִים: ² וְשָׂאוֹל וְאִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶאֱסְפוּ וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּעֵמֶק הָאֵלָה וַיַּעֲרְכוּ מַלְחָמָה לְקִרְיַת פְּלִשְׁתִּים: ³ וּפְלִשְׁתִּים עֹמְדִים אֶל־הַהָר מִזֶּה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל עֹמְדִים אֶל־הַהָר מִזֶּה וְהָיָא בֵּינֵיהֶם: ⁴ וַיֵּצֵא אִישׁ־ הַבָּנִים מִמַּחֲנֵי פְּלִשְׁתִּים גִּלְיָת שְׁמוֹ מִגֵּת גְּבָהוּ שֵׁשׁ אַרְבַּע אַמּוֹת וְזֶרֶת: ⁵ וְכֹבַע נְחֹשֶׁת עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וְשֵׁרְיוֹן קֶשֶׁשִׁים הָיָא לְבוּשׁוֹ וּמִשְׁקַל הַשֵּׁרְיוֹן חֲמִשָּׁת־אַלְפִים שְׁקָלִים נְחֹשֶׁת וּבְרוֹזָל: ⁶ וּמִצָּחַת נְחֹשֶׁת עַל־רִגְלָיו וְכִידּוֹן נְחֹשֶׁת בֵּין כַּתְּפָיו: ⁷ וְחָץ וְחַץ Q. וְעֵץ חֲנִיתוֹ כַּמָּנֹר אַרְגָּיִם וְלַהֲבַת חֲנִיתוֹ שֵׁשׁ־מֵאוֹת שְׁקָלִים בְּרִזָּל וְנִשְׂא הַצֶּנֶה הַלָּד לְפָנָיו: ⁸ וַיַּעֲמֵד וַיִּקְרָא אֶל־מַעֲרַכַת יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם לָמָּה תִצְאוּ לַעֲרֹךְ מַלְחָמָה לְקִרְיַתנוּ הַלֹּא אֲנִי הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וְאַתֶּם עֲבָדִים לְשָׂאוֹל בְּרוּ־לָכֶם אִישׁ וַיֵּרָד אֵלָי: ⁹ אִם־יֹכֵל לְהִלָּחֵם אִתִּי וְהָפְנִי וְהָיִינוּ לָכֶם לְעַבְדִּים</p>	<p>17¹ Now the Philistines gathered their armies for battle; and they were gathered at Socoh which belongs to Judah, and they camped between Socoh and Azekah, in Ephes-dammim. ² And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered, and camped in the valley of Elah, and drew up in battle array to encounter the Philistines. ³ And the Philistines stood on the mountain on one side while Israel stood on the mountain on the other side, with the valley between them. ⁴ Then a champion came out from the armies of the Philistines named Goliath, from Gath, whose height was six four cubits and a span. ⁵ And he had a bronze helmet on his head, and he was clothed with scale-armor which weighed five thousand shekels of bronze and iron. ⁶ He also had bronze greaves on his legs and a bronze javelin slung between his shoulders. ⁷ And the shaft of his spear was like a weaver's beam, and the head of his spear weighed six hundred shekels of iron; his shield-carrier also walked before him. ⁸ And he stood and shouted to the ranks of Israel, and said to them, "Why do you come out to draw up in battle array against us? Am I not the Philistine and you servants of Saul? Choose a man for yourselves and let him come down to me. ⁹ "If he is able to fight with</p>
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ואם-אני אוכל-לו והכיתיו והייתם לנו לעבדים ועבדתם
אתנו: ¹⁰ ויאמר הפלשתי אני חרפתי את-מערכות ישראל
היום הזה תנו-לי איש ונלחמה יחד: ¹¹ וישמע שאול וכל-
ישראל את-דברי הפלשתי האלה ויחתו ויראו מאד: פ
¹² וידוד בן-איש אפרתי הזה [והיה איש] מבית לחם יהודה
ושמו ישי ולו שמונה בנים והאיש בימי שאול זקן בא
באנשים: ¹³ וילכו שלשת בני-ישי הגדלים הלכו אחרי-שאול
למלחמה ושם שלשת בניו אשר הלכו במלחמה אליאב
הבכור ומשנהו אבינדב והשלשי שמה: ¹⁴ ודוד הוא הקטן
ושלשה הגדלים הלכו אחרי שאול: ס ¹⁵ ודוד הלך ושב
מעל שאול לרעות את-צאן אביו בית-לחם: ¹⁶ ויגש
הפלשתי השכם והערב ויציב ארבעים יום: פ
¹⁷ ויאמר ישי לדוד בנו קח-נא לאחיך איפת הקליא הזה
ועשרה לחם הזה והרץ המחנה לאחיד: ¹⁸ ואת עשרת
חרצי החלב האלה תביא לשר-האלף ואת-אחיך תפקד
לשלום ואת-ערבתם תקח: ¹⁹ ושאול והמה וכל-איש
ישראל בעמק האלה נלחמים עם-פלשתים: ²⁰ וישכם דוד
בבקר ויטש את-הצאן על-שמר וישא וילך כאשר צוהו ישי
ויבא המעגלה והחיל היצא אל-המערכה והרעו במלחמה:
²¹ ותערך ישראל ופלשתים מערכה לקראת מערכה:
²² ויטש דוד את-הכלים מעליו על-יד שומר הכלים וירץ
המערכה ויבא וישאל לאחיו לשלום: ²³ והוא מדבר עמו
והנה איש הבנים עולה גלית הפלשתי שמו מגת ממערות
פלשתים וידבר בדברים האלה וישמע דוד: ²⁴ וכל איש
ישראל בראותם את-האיש וינסו מפניו ויראו מאד:
²⁵ ויאמר איש ישראל הראיתם האיש העלה הזה כי לחרף
את-ישראל עלה והיה האיש אשר-יכנו יעשרנו המלך | עשר
גדול ואת-בתו יתן-לו ואת בית אביו יעשה חפשי בישראל:
²⁶ ויאמר דוד אל-האנשים העמדים עמו לאמר מה-יעשה
לאיש אשר יכה את-הפלשתי הלז והסיר חרפה מעל
ישראל כי מי הפלשתי הערל הזה כי חרף מערכות אלהים
תיים: ²⁷ ויאמר לו העם כדבר הזה לאמר כה יעשה לאיש
אשר יכנו: ²⁸ וישמע אליאב אחיו הגדול בדברו אל-
האנשים ויחר-אף אליאב בדוד ויאמר | למה-זה ירדת ועל-
מי נטשת מעט הצאן ההנה במדבר אני ידעתי את-זדוניך

me and kill me, then we will become your servants; but
if I prevail against him and kill him, then you shall
become our servants and serve us." ¹⁰ Again the
Philistine said, "I defy the ranks of Israel this day; give
me a man that we may fight together." ¹¹ When Saul
and all Israel heard these words of the Philistine, they
were dismayed and greatly afraid.

¹² Now David was the son of the Ephrathite [there was
a man] of Bethlehem in Judah, whose name was Jesse,
and he had eight sons. And Jesse was old in the days of
Saul, advanced in years among men. ¹³ And the three
older sons of Jesse had gone after Saul to the battle.
And the names of his three sons who went to the battle
were Eliab the first-born, and the second to him
Abinadab, and the third Shammah. ¹⁴ And David was
the youngest. Now the three oldest followed Saul, ¹⁵ but
David went back and forth from Saul to tend his father's
flock at Bethlehem. ¹⁶ And the Philistine came forward
morning and evening for forty days, and took his stand.
¹⁷ Then Jesse said to David his son, "Take now for your
brothers an ephah of this roasted grain and these ten
loaves, and run to the camp to your brothers. ¹⁸ "Bring
also these ten cuts of cheese to the commander of their
thousand, and look into the welfare of your brothers,
and bring back news of them. ¹⁹ "For Saul and they and
all the men of Israel are in the valley of Elah, fighting
with the Philistines." ²⁰ So David arose early
in the morning and left the flock with a keeper and took
the supplies and went as Jesse had commanded him.
And he came to the circle of the camp while the army
was going out in battle array shouting the war cry.
²¹ And Israel and the Philistines drew up in battle array,
army against army. ²² Then David left his baggage in the
care of the baggage keeper, and ran to the battle line
and entered in order to greet his brothers. ²³ As he was
talking with them, behold, the champion, the Philistine
from Gath named Goliath, was coming up from the
army of the Philistines, and he spoke these same words;
and David heard them. ²⁴ When all the men of Israel
saw the man, they fled from him and were greatly
afraid. ²⁵ And the men of Israel said, "Have you seen
this man who is coming up? Surely he is coming up to
defy Israel. And it will be that the king will enrich the
man who kills him with great riches and will give him his
daughter and make his father's house free in Israel."
²⁶ Then David spoke to the men who were standing by
him, saying, "What will be done for the man who kills
this Philistine, and takes away the reproach from Israel?
For who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should
taunt the armies of the living God?" ²⁷ And the people
answered him in accord with this word, saying, "Thus it
will be done for the man who kills him." ²⁸ Now Eliab his
oldest brother heard when he spoke to the men; and
Eliab's anger burned against David and he said, "Why

ואת רע לבבך כי למען ראות המלחמה ירדת: ²⁹ ויאמר
 דוד מה עשיתי עתה הלא דבר הוא:
³⁰ ויסב מאצלו אל-מול אחר ויאמר כדבר הזה וישבהו העם
 דבר כדבר הראשון: ³¹ וישמעו הדברים אשר דבר דוד ויגדו
 לפני-שאוּל ויקחהו:
³² ויאמר דוד אל-שאוּל אל-יפל לב-אדם אדני עליו עבדך
 ילך ונלחם עם-הפּלשתי הזה: ³³ ויאמר שאול אל-דוד לא
 תוכל ללכת אל-הפּלשתי הזה להלחם עמו כי-נער אתה
 והוא איש מלחמה מנעריו: ³⁴ ויאמר דוד אל-שאוּל רעה
 היה עבדך לאביו בצאן ובא הארלי ואת-הדוב ונשא שה
 מהעדר: ³⁵ ויצאתי אחריו והפתיו והצלתי מפיו ויקם עלי
 והחזקתי בזקנו והפתיו והמיתיו: ³⁶ גם את-הארלי גם-הדוב
 הבה עבדך והיה הפּלשתי הערל הזה כאחד מהם הלא
 אלך והכיתיו והסירתי היום חרפה מעל ישראל כי מי הערל
 הזה כי חרף מערכת אלהים תיים: ³⁷ ויאמר דוד יהוה אשר הצלני מיד הארלי ומיד הדוב הוא
 יצלני מיד הפּלשתי הזה ³⁸ ויאמר שאול אל-דוד לך ויהוה
 יהיה עמך: ³⁸ וילבש שאול את-דוד מדיו ונתן קובע נחשת
 על-ראשו וילבש אתו שריון: ³⁹ ויחגר דוד את-חרבו מעל
 למדיו ויאל ללכת פעם ושתים כי לא-נסה ויאמר דוד אל-
 שאול לא אוכל ללכת באלה כי לא נסיתי ויסרם דוד
 מעליו: ⁴⁰ ויקח מקלו בידו ויבחר-לו חמשה חלקי-אבנים
 מן-הנחל וישם אתם בכלי הרעים אשר-לו ובילקוט וקלעו
 בידו ויגש אל-הפּלשתי: ⁴¹ וילך הפּלשתי הלך וקרב אל-דוד
 והאיש נשא הצנה לפניו: ⁴² ויבט הפּלשתי ויראה גלית את-
 דוד ויבהו כי-היה נער ואדמני עם-יפה מראה:
⁴³ ויאמר הפּלשתי אל-דוד הכלב אנכי כי-אתה בא-אלי
 במקלות ויאמר דוד לא כי אם רע מכלב ויקלל הפּלשתי
 את-דוד באלהיו: ⁴⁴ ויאמר הפּלשתי אל-דוד לכה אלי
 ואתנה את-בשרך לעוף השמים ולבהמת השדה: ⁴⁵ ⁴⁵
 ויאמר דוד אל-הפּלשתי אתה בא אלי בחרב ובחנית
 ובכידון ואנכי בא-אליך בשם יהוה צבאות אלהי מערכות
 ישראל אשר חרפת: ⁴⁶ היום הזה יסגרד יהוה בידי והפיתך
 והסרתי את-ראשך מעליך ונתתי פגך מחנה פלשתיים היום
 הזה לעוף השמים ולחית הארץ וידעו כל-הארץ כי יש

have you come down? And with whom have you left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know your insolence and the wickedness of your heart; for you have come down in order to see the battle." ²⁹ But David said, "What have I done now? Was it not just a question?" ³⁰ Then he turned away from him to another and said the same thing; and the people answered the same thing as before. ³¹ When the words which David spoke were heard, they told them to Saul, and he sent for him. ³² And David said to Saul, "Let no man's not my lord's heart fail on account of him; your servant will go and fight with this Philistine." ³³ Then Saul said to David, "You are not able to go against this Philistine to fight with him; for you are but a youth while he has been a warrior from his youth." ³⁴ But David said to Saul, "Your servant was tending his father's sheep. When a lion or a bear came and took a lamb from the flock, ³⁵ I went out after him and attacked him, and rescued it from his mouth; and when he rose up against me, I seized him by his beard and struck him and killed him. ³⁶ Your servant has killed both the lion and the bear; and this uncircumcised Philistine will be like one of them, should I not go and slay him and remove today the reproach from Israel, for who is this uncircumcised one that since he has taunted the armies of the living God." ³⁷ And David said, "The LORD who delivered me from the paw of the lion and from the paw of the bear, He will deliver me from the hand of this Philistine." And Saul said to David, "Go, and may the LORD be with you." ³⁸ Then Saul clothed David with his garments and put a bronze helmet on his head, and he clothed him with armor. ³⁹ And he girded on David his sword over his armor and tried to walk once and again, for he had not tested them. So David said to Saul, "I cannot go with these, for I have not tested them." And David took them off. ⁴⁰ And he took his stick in his hand and chose for himself five smooth stones from the brook, and put them in the shepherd's bag which he had, even in his pouch, and his sling was in his hand; and he approached the Philistine (man). ⁴¹ And the Philistine came on and approached David, with the shield-bearer in front of him. ⁴² And the Philistine looked and Goliath saw David and disdained him; for he was but a youth, and ruddy, with a handsome appearance. ⁴³ And the Philistine said to David, "Am I a dog that you come to me with sticks?" And David said, "No, but worse than a dog!" And the Philistine cursed David by his gods. ⁴⁴ The Philistine also said to David, "Come to me, and I will give your flesh to the birds of the sky and the beasts of the field." ⁴⁵ Then David said to the Philistine, "You come to me with a sword, a spear, and a javelin, but I come to you *in the name of the LORD of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom you have taunted.* ⁴⁶ This day the LORD will deliver you up into my hands, and I will strike you down and remove your

אלהים לישראל: ⁴⁷ וידעו כל־הקהל הַזֶּה כִּי־לֹא בַחֶרֶב
ובחַנְיָת יְהוֹשִׁיעַ יְהוָה כִּי לַיהוָה הַמַּלְחָמָה וְנָתַן אֶתְכֶם בְּיַדְנִי:
⁴⁸ וְהָיָה כִּי־יִקְרַם הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיִּלָּךְ וַיִּקְרַב לַקְרָאת דָּוִד וַיִּמְהַר דָּוִד
וַיִּרֶץ הַמַּעְרָכָה לַקְרָאת הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי:

⁴⁹ וַיִּשְׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־יָדוֹ אֶל־הַכְּלִי וַיִּקַּח מִשָּׁם אֶבֶן וַיִּקְלַע וַיִּדָּ
אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֶל־מִצְחוֹ וַתִּטְבַּע הָאֶבֶן בְּמִצְחוֹ וַיִּפֹּל עַל־פָּנָיו
אֶרְצָה: ⁵⁰ וַיַּחֲזֵק דָּוִד מִן־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי בַקְלַע וּבְאֶבֶן וַיִּדָּ אֶת־
הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיִּמִּיתֵהוּ וַחֲרַב אֵין בְּיַד־דָּוִד: ⁵¹ וַיִּרֶץ דָּוִד וַיַּעֲמֵד

אֶל־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיִּקַּח אֶת־חַרְבּוֹ וַיִּשְׁלֹפֶה מִתַּעֲרָה וַיִּמָּתְתֵהוּ
וַיִּכְרַת־בָּהּ אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ וַיִּרְאֵהוּ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים כִּי־מָת גְּבוּרָם וַיִּנְסוּ:

⁵² וַיִּקְמוּ אַנְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיהוּדָה וַיָּרְעוּ וַיִּרְדְּפוּ אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים
עַד־בּוֹאֵךְ גַּיָּא וְעַד שַׁעֲרֵי עֶקְרוֹן וַיִּפְּלוּ חֲלָלִי פְלִשְׁתִּים בְּדַרְדָּר
שַׁעֲרִים וְעַד־גַּת וְעַד־עֶקְרוֹן: ⁵³ וַיָּשְׁבוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִדְּלֶק
אֲחֵרֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים וַיִּשְׁסוּ אֶת־מַחְנֵיהֶם: ⁵⁴ וַיִּקַּח דָּוִד אֶת־רֹאשׁ
הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיְבִאֵהוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם וְאֶת־כְּלָיו שָׁם בְּאֵהָלוֹ: ס

⁵⁵ וַכִּרְאוֹת שָׂאוֹל אֶת־דָּוִד יֵצֵא לַקְרָאת הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אָמַר אֶל־

אַבְנֵר שֶׁר הַצָּבָא בֶן־מִיָּזָה הַנֶּעַר אַבְנֵר וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְנֵר
חִינֶפֶשֶׁךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ אִם־יִדְעָתִי: ⁵⁶ וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ שָׂאֹל אֵתָה בֶן־
מִיָּזָה הָעָלָם: ס ⁵⁷ וּכְשׁוּב דָּוִד מִהַבּוֹת אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיִּקַּח
אֹתוֹ אַבְנֵר וַיְבִאֵהוּ לִפְנֵי שָׂאוֹל וְרֹאשׁ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי בְיָדוֹ:

⁵⁸ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו שָׂאוֹל בֶּן־מִי אַתָּה הַנֶּעַר וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד בֶּן־עַבְדְּךָ
יִשִׁי בֵּית הַלְחָמִי: ¹⁸ וַיְהִי כְכֹלְתוֹ לַדְּבַר אֶל־שָׂאוֹל וַנִּפְשׁ
יְהוֹנָתָן נִקְשְׂרָה בַנֶּפֶשׁ דָּוִד וַיֵּאָהֲבוּ יְהוֹנָתָן כַּנֶּפֶשׁוֹ: ² וַיִּקְחֵהוּ
שָׂאוֹל בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וְלֹא נָתַנּוּ לָשׁוּב בֵּית אָבִיו:

³ וַיִּכְרַת יְהוֹנָתָן וְדָוִד בְּרִית בְּאֵהָבָתוֹ אֹתוֹ כַּנֶּפֶשׁוֹ:

⁴ וַיִּתְּפֹשֶׁט יְהוֹנָתָן אֶת־הַמַּעֲלִי אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ לְדָוִד וּמַדְיָו
וְעַד־חַרְבּוֹ וְעַד־קִשְׁתּוֹ וְעַד־חַגְרוֹ: ⁵ וַיֵּצֵא דָוִד בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר
יִשְׁלַחַנּוּ שָׂאוֹל יִשְׁכָּל וַיִּשְׁמָהוּ שָׂאוֹל עַל אַנְשֵׁי הַמַּלְחָמָה
וַיִּיטֵב בְּעֵינָיו כָּל־הָעָם וְגַם בְּעֵינָי עַבְדֵי שָׂאוֹל: פ ⁶ וַיְהִי בְּבוֹאֵם

בְּשׁוּב דָּוִד מִהַבּוֹת אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַתִּצְאָנָה הַנְּשִׁים בַּמַּחְלוֹת
לַקְרָאת דָּוִד מִכָּל־עָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לָשׁוּר וְהַמַּחְלוֹת לַקְרָאת
שָׂאוֹל הַמֶּלֶךְ בַּתַּפִּים בְּשִׁמְחָה וּבְשִׁלְשִׁים: ⁷ וַתַּעֲנִינָה

head from you. And I will give the dead bodies of the army of the Philistines this day to the birds of the sky and the wild beasts of the earth, that *all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel,* ⁴⁷ and that all this assembly may know that the LORD does not deliver by sword or by spear; for the battle is the LORD's and He will give you into our hands." ⁴⁸ And it happened when the Philistine rose and came and drew near to meet David, and David ran quickly toward the battle line to meet the Philistine. ⁴⁹ And David put his hand into his bag and took from it a stone and slung it, and struck the Philistine on his forehead. And the stone sank into his forehead, so that he fell on his face to the ground.

⁵⁰ Thus David prevailed over the Philistine with a sling and a stone, and he struck the Philistine and killed him; but there was no sword in David's hand.

⁵¹ Then David ran and stood over the Philistine and took his sword and drew it out of its sheath and killed him, and cut off his head with it. When the Philistines saw that their champion was dead, they fled. ⁵² And the men of Israel and Judah arose and shouted and pursued the Philistines as far as the valley, and to the gates of Ekron. And the slain Philistines lay along the way to Shaaraim, even to Gath and Ekron. ⁵³ And the sons of Israel returned from chasing the Philistines and plundered their camps. ⁵⁴ Then David took the Philistine's head and brought it to Jerusalem, but he put his weapons in his tent.

⁵⁵ Now when Saul saw David going out against the Philistine, he said to Abner the commander of the army, "Abner, whose son is this young man?" And Abner said, "By your life, O king, I do not know." ⁵⁶ And the king said, "You inquire whose son the youth is." ⁵⁷ So when David returned from killing the Philistine, Abner took him and brought him before Saul with the Philistine's head in his hand. ⁵⁸ And Saul said to him, "Whose son are you, young man?" And David answered, "I am the son of your servant Jesse the Bethlehemite." ¹⁸ Now it came about when he had finished speaking to Saul, that the soul of Jonathan was knit to the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as himself. ² And Saul took him that day and did not let him return to his father's house.

³ Then Jonathan made a covenant with David because he loved him as himself. ⁴ And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was on him and gave it to David, with his armor, including his sword and his bow and his belt. ⁵ So David went out wherever Saul sent him, and prospered; and Saul set him over the men of war. And it was pleasing in the sight of all the people and also in the sight of Saul's servants. ⁶ And it happened as they were coming, when David returned from killing the Philistine, and the women came out dancing to meet David of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet King Saul, with tambourines, with joy and with musical instruments. ⁷ And the women

הַנְּשִׁים הַמְּשַׁחֲקוֹת וְתֹאמְרוּן הַהָּ שָׂאוּל בְּאַלְפֵי וְדוֹד
 בְּרַבְבְּתָיו: ⁸ וַיַּחַר לְשָׂאוּל מְאֹד וַיִּרַע בְּעֵינָיו מְאֹד בְּעֵינָיו
 שָׂאוּל הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה וַיֹּאמֶר נִתְּנָו לְדָוִד רַבּוּבוֹת וְלִי נִתְּנָו הָאֲלָפִים
 וְעוֹד לֹא אֶךְ הַמְּלוּכָה: ⁹ וַיְהִי שָׂאוּל עֹן אֶת־דָּוִד מֵהַיּוֹם
 הַהוּא וְהִלְאָה: ¹⁰ וַיְהִי מִמַּחֲרַת וַתִּצְלַח רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בְּרָעָה
 אֶל־שָׂאוּל וַיִּתְּנַבֵּא בְּתוֹדֵי־הַבַּיִת /בֵּיתוֹ וְדָוִד מִגִּגֹן בֵּידוֹ כַּיּוֹם
 בַּיּוֹם וְהַחֲנִית בִּיד־שָׂאוּל: ¹¹ וַיִּטֵּל שָׂאוּל אֶת־הַחֲנִית וַיֹּאמֶר
 אֲבָה בְּדוֹד וּבִקְרִי וַיִּסָּב דָּוִד מִפְּנֵי פַעַמִּים:
¹² וַיִּרְא שָׂאוּל מִלִּפְנֵי דָוִד כִּי־הָיָה יְהוָה עִמּוֹ וּמֵעַם שָׂאוּל סָר:
¹³ וַיִּסְרָהוּ שָׂאוּל מֵעַמּוֹ וַיִּשְׁמָהוּ לֹא שַׂר־אֱלֹף וַיֵּצֵא וַיָּבֵא לִפְנֵי

הַעַם: פ

¹⁴ וַיְהִי דָוִד לְכָל־דָּרָכָו מְשָׁכִיל וַיְהוֶה עִמּוֹ: ¹⁵ וַיִּרְא שָׂאוּל
 אֲשֶׁר־הוּא מְשָׁכִיל מְאֹד וַיִּגַּר מִפְּנָיו: ¹⁶ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהוּדָה
 אָהֵב אֶת־דָּוִד כִּי־הוּא יוֹצֵא וְנָבֵא לִפְנֵיהֶם לִפְנֵי הָעָם: ¹⁷ פ
 וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל אֶל־דָּוִד הִנֵּה בְתִי הַגְּדוֹלָה מְרַב אֶתָּה אֶתְּן־לְךָ
 לְאִשָּׁה אֶךְ הִי־הִלִּי לְבִנְיָחִיל וְהִלַּחֵם מִלַּחְמוֹת יְהוָה וְשָׂאוּל
 אָמַר אֶל־תְּהִי יָדִי בְּוֹ וְתַהֲיִבוּ יַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים: ¹⁸ ס וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד
 אֶל־שָׂאוּל מִי אֲנִכִּי וּמִי חִי /om/ מִשְׁפַּחַת אָבִי בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־
 אֶהְיֶה חֲתָן לְמִלְךָ: ¹⁹ וַיְהִי בַּעַת תָּת אֶת־מֵרַב בֶּת־שָׂאוּל לְדָוִד
 וְהִיא נִתְּנָה לְעַדְרִיאֵל הַמְּחַלְתִּי לְאִשָּׁה:
²⁰ וְתֹאחֵב מִיכָל בֶּת־שָׂאוּל אֶת־דָּוִד וַיִּגְדוּ לְשָׂאוּל וַיִּשֶׁר הַדְּבָר
 בְּעֵינָיו:

²¹ וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל אֶתְּנָה לֹא וְתַהֲיִלוּ לְמוֹלֵשׁ וְתַהֲיִבוּ יַד־
 פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל אֶל־דָּוִד בְּשִׁתִּים תִּתְּחַתֵּן בִּי הַיּוֹם: ²²
 וַיֵּצֵו שָׂאוּל אֶת־עַבְדָּו דַּבְּרוּ אֶל־דָּוִד בְּלֹט לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה חֲפֵץ בְּךָ
 הַמֶּלֶךְ וְכָל־עַבְדָּו אֶהְבֹּד וְעַתָּה הִתְּחַתֵּן בְּמִלְךָ: ²³ וַיִּדְבְּרוּ
 עַבְדֵי שָׂאוּל בְּאָזְנֵי דָוִד אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד
 הַנִּקְלָה בְּעֵינֵיכֶם הִתְּחַתֵּן בְּמִלְךָ וְאֲנִכִּי אִישֶׁרֶשׁ וְנִקְלָה: ²⁴
 וַיִּגְדוּ עַבְדֵי שָׂאוּל לֹא לֵאמֹר כַּדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה דִבֶּר דָּוִד: ²⁵ ה
 וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל כֹּה־תֹאמְרוּ לְדָוִד אִין־חֲפֵץ לְמִלְךָ בְּמַהֲרָ כִּי
 בְּמֵאָה עֶרְלוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים לְהִנָּקֵם בְּאִיבֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְשָׂאוּל חָשַׁב
 לְהַפִּיל אֶת־דָּוִד בִּיד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים: ²⁶ וַיִּגְדוּ עַבְדָּו לְדָוִד אֶת־
 הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּשֶׁר הַדְּבָר בְּעֵינֵי דָוִד לְהִתְּחַתֵּן בְּמִלְךָ וְלֹא
 מָלֵא הַיָּמִים: ²⁷ וַיִּקָּם דָּוִד וַיִּלָּךְ הוּא וְאֲנָשָׁיו וַיִּךְ בְּפְלִשְׁתִּים
 מֵאֵתִים מֵאָה אִישׁ וַיָּבֵא דוֹד אֶת־עֶרְלֹתֵיהֶם וַיִּמְלְאוּם לְמִלְךָ

sang as they played, and said, "Saul has slain his thousands, And David his ten thousands." ⁸ Then Saul became very angry, for this saying displeased him [Saul] very much; and he said, "They have ascribed to David ten thousands, but to me they have ascribed thousands. Now what more can he have but the kingdom?" ⁹ And Saul looked at David with suspicion from that day on. ¹⁰ Now it came about on the next day that an evil spirit from God came mightily upon Saul, and he raved in the midst of *the house* /his house, while David was playing the harp with his hand, as usual; and a spear was in Saul's hand. ¹¹ And Saul hurled the spear for he thought, "I will pin David to the wall." But David escaped from his presence twice. ¹² Now Saul was afraid of David, for the LORD was with him but had departed from Saul. ¹³ Therefore Saul removed him from his presence, and appointed him as his commander of a thousand; and he went out and came in before the people. ¹⁴ And David was prospering in all his ways for the LORD was with him. ¹⁵ When Saul saw that he was prospering greatly, he dreaded him. ¹⁶ But all Israel and Judah loved David, and he went out and came in before them *the people*. ¹⁷ Then Saul said to David, "Here is my elder daughter Merab; I will give her to you as a wife, only be a valiant man for me and fight the LORD's battles." For Saul thought, "My hand shall not be against him, but let the hand of the Philistines be against him." ¹⁸ But David said to Saul, "Who am I, and *what is my life* or /who is my father's family in Israel, that I should be the king's son-in-law?" ¹⁹ So it came about at the time when Merab, Saul's daughter, should have been given to David, that she was given to Adriel the Meholathite for a wife. ²⁰ Now Michal, Saul's daughter, loved David. When they told Saul, *the thing* /it was agreeable to him. ²¹ And Saul thought, "I will give her to him that she may become a snare to him, and that the hand of the Philistines may be against him." And Saul said to David, "For a second time you may be my son-in-law today." ²² Then Saul commanded his servants, "Speak to David secretly, saying, 'Behold, the king delights in you, and all his servants love you; now therefore, become the king's son-in-law.'" ²³ So Saul's servants spoke these words to David. But David said, "Is it trivial in your sight to become the king's son-in-law, since I am a poor man and lightly esteemed?" ²⁴ And the servants of Saul reported to him according to these words which David spoke. ²⁵ Saul then said, "Thus you shall say to David, 'The king does not desire any dowry except a hundred foreskins of the Philistines, to take vengeance on the king's enemies.'" Now Saul planned to make David fall by the hand of the Philistines. ²⁶ When his servants told David these words, it pleased David to become the king's son-in-law. Before the days had expired ²⁷ David rose up and went, he and his men, and struck down two hundred

<p>לְהַתְחַתֵּן וְיִתְחַתֵּן בְּמִלְדָּד וַיִּתְּנוּ לוֹ שָׂאוֹל אֶת־מִיכַל בִּתּוֹ לְאִשָּׁה: ס וַיֵּרָא שָׂאוֹל וַיֵּדַע כִּי יְהוָה עִם־דָּוִד וּמִיכַל בַּת־שָׂאוֹל וְכָל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲהַבְתָּהּוּ אֲהַבְתּוּ: 29 וַיֵּאסֹף שָׂאוֹל לֵרְא מִפְּנֵי דָוִד עוֹד וַיְהִי שָׂאוֹל אִיב אֶת־דָּוִד כָּל־הַיָּמִים: ס וַיֵּצְאוּ שָׂרֵי פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיְהִי מִדֵּי צֹאתָם שָׁבַל דָּוִד מִכָּל עֲבָדֵי שָׂאוֹל וַיִּיקַר שְׁמוֹ מְאֹד: ס</p>	<p>men among the Philistines. Then David [he] brought their foreskins, and they gave them in full number to the king, that he might become [and he became] the king's son-in-law. So Saul gave him Michal his daughter for a wife. 28 When Saul saw and knew that the LORD was with David, and that Michal, Saul's daughter, [all Israel] loved him, 29 then Saul was even more afraid of David. Thus Saul was David's enemy continually. 30 Then the commanders of the Philistines went out to battle, and it happened as often as they went out, that David behaved himself more wisely than all the servants of Saul. So his name was highly esteemed.</p>
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