

became Sarah and Abraham. The new names, like the rite of circumcision, manifested the exchange of an old state for a new. God further promised that although Ishmael would beget a "great nation" Sarah's son Isaac would be the bearer of the covenant (chap. 17). Abraham carried out the circumcision injunction but laughed at the thought of Sarah conceiving, as did Sarah herself when the promise was subsequently repeated by three angelic visitors (chap. 18).

After the birth of Isaac, at Sarah's insistence, Abraham banished Hagar and Ishmael. Later God tested Abraham's faith by asking him to sacrifice his long-promised son. When Abraham demonstrated his willingness to offer his child and raised his hand to slay him, the demand was withdrawn and a substitute offering provided — a ram caught in a thicket. Having found Abraham obedient to this degree, God renewed his covenant with him.

In the NT Abraham is recognized as the father of Israel and of the Levitical priesthood (Heb. 7), as the "legal" forebear of Jesus (i.e., ancestor of Joseph according to Matt. 1), and spiritual progenitor of all Christians (Rom. 4; Gal. 3:16, 29; cf. also the *Visio Pauli*). For St. Paul, Abraham is the chief OT type of Christian faith because he "believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness" (Rom. 4:3) — before the law of Moses, before the requirement of circumcision, before the establishment of any religious ritual.

Philo (*De Abrahamo*) relates Abraham's treatment by God to concepts of Stoic virtue, interpreting virtually all aspects of the narrative allegorically: Abraham symbolizes the Mind and Sarah Wisdom; Hagar the lowly handmaid represents the liberal arts. Abraham is accorded an important place in several extracanonical Jewish writings. In Jub. 11–22 he is treated as a great hero of monotheism and purity. The Apocalypse of Abraham begins with a legendary account of his Mesopotamian background and then recounts a divine revelation bestowed on him, in which he sees the future of the Jewish people. The Testament of Abraham is an elaborate account of God's attempts to get Abraham to agree to die. So righteous is he that Abraham must consent to this!

St. Augustine, following Paul, regards all Christians as children (or "seed") of Abraham by faith, although "born of strangers" (e.g., *In Joan. Ev.* 108). St. Ambrose likewise says that by means of their faith Christians possess the promises made to Abraham. Abraham's initial departure from his homeland is understood by St. Caesarius of Arles as a type of the Christian leaving the world of carnal habits to follow Christ. Later commentators as diverse as Luther and Kierkegaard recall Abraham as a paradigm of the man of faith.

Among the specific incidents in Abraham's life recorded in the OT, several have inspired considerable commentary. The angelic visitation is frequently cited as an early witness to the Trinity (e.g., Augustine, *De Trin.* 3.11.25; 2.10.17–2.11.21). Abraham's meeting with Mel-

chisedek (Gen. 14:18–20) is seen as an anticipation of the Eucharist. Thus Cranmer, reflecting the ancient witness of St. Cyprian among others, observes that the bread and wine given to Abraham "figured and signified" the "sacrifice of Christ upon the cross" (*A Defence of the True and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament*). Finally, the offering of Isaac is viewed almost universally as one of the most powerful OT types of the atonement, God's willing sacrifice of his only-begotten Son.

In English literary tradition, the Abraham narrative has a diverse and colorful history. More than one-third of the Caedmonian *Genesis* is devoted to the story of Abraham and his clan, with emphasis throughout on the various forms of God's covenant (*treowe*). The poem ends with an account of the sacrifice of Isaac. In early English literature the promises made to Abraham are exploited in complex ways in relation to the fulfillment of the promises in Christ. In the OE *Exodus*, stories of both Noah and Abraham appear in connection with the narrative of the crossing of the Red Sea because of the typological relationship of all three stories to the atonement. For Milton, Abraham's seed is the "great deliverer, who shall bruise / The Serpent's head" (*Paradise Lost*, 12.149–50; cf. Gen. 3:15). Marlowe's Barabas perverts the notion of God's promises to Abraham when he says that material goods are "the blessings promised to the Jews / And herein was old Abram's happiness" (*The Jew of Malta*, 1.1.106).

Piers Plowman accords Abraham a significant role as Faith in search of the Trinity and of Christ's Church (B.16ff.), and the dreamer there is given a somewhat confusing account of Abraham's life from the patriarch himself. In *Andreas*, as in its model, the apocryphal Acts of Andrew, Abraham is "resurrected" from the dead so that he can explain the nature of the Trinity to Jews. *Cleanness* devotes a lengthy passage to paraphrasing Abraham's meeting with the angelic visitors, primarily in order to contrast Abraham's goodness with the wickedness of the citizens of Sodom, but presenting also a noteworthy treatment of the triune God. A famous visual representation of the OT trinity is the early 15th-cent. icon by the Russian Andrei Rubler.

The offering of Isaac is a crucial subject in medieval religious drama. The incident is also dramatized in the French *mystères*. French Calvinist theologian Theodore Beza composed an influential play on the subject, *Abraham Sacrifiant* (1550), which was subsequently translated into English by Arthur Golding (1577) to teach "the mightie power of earnest faith / And what reward the true obedience payth." Henry Fielding treats the incident comically in *Joseph Andrews*, where Parson Abraham Adams (who, like his biblical namesake, spends much of his time wandering) is unable to accept the (erroneous) news of his son's death, even while he is lecturing on the subject of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac. Blake's *Book of Urizen* reflects the incident ironically in Los's willing

sacrifice of Orc. In *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* Hardy compares the love of Mr. Clare for his son Angel to the love of Abraham for Isaac.

In his *Castle of Indolence* James Thompson presents an eccentric picture of Abraham's wanderings as a time of idyllic happiness. The nomadic life of Abraham and his large progeny form the basis of Faulkner's comparison to him of the character Flem Snopes (in *Sartoris*), although the likeness is ironic in view of Flem's impotence. *Father Abraham* was the title of an early version of some of the material of Faulkner's *The Hamlet*. One of the two occasions on which Abraham suppressed the information that Sarah was his wife (Gen. 12; 20) is used by Walter Scott to characterize the Countess of Leicester in *Kenilworth* (chap. 22). Margaret Laurence's *The Stone Angel* chronicles the life of Hagar Shipley and her husband Bram (from Abram) and explores many of the themes of the Genesis narrative in contemporary terms.

See also HAGAR; ISAAC; ISHMAEL; SARAH.

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PHILLIP ROGERS

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM This expression denotes, in the parable of the rich man (Dives) and Lazarus, the place of repose to which Lazarus went after his death (Luke 16:22ff.). The Jewish character of the image arises from the custom in which an honored guest at a feast might recline against the chest of his neighbor, as John reclined on the breast of Jesus at the Last Supper (John 21:20). Though rabbinic thanatology divided Sheol into realms of the righteous and wicked, the words of Jesus do not precisely correspond — here "Abraham's bosom" is not identified with Sheol but distinguished from it. The image suggests to subsequent commentators a "paradise" where Abraham receives the covenant faithful to the intimacy of an eternal feast. Christian commentators relate Abraham's bosom to the "perfect health" of eternal felicity (e.g., St. Augustine, *Sermo*, 97.3; 101.3–4).

King Richard, the errant rich man of Shakespeare's *Richard 3*, rationalizes to himself following his murder of the young princes in the Tower that "the sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom" (4.3.38); the allusion is parodied in *Henry 5* when the Hostess remarks on Falstaff's death, "Nay, sure, he's not in hell; he's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom" (2.3.9–11). A similarly parodic reference occurs in Alexander Pope's *Dunciad*, where "Shadwells' bosom" is a place of ignorant bliss.

In Matthew Henry's *Comm. on the Whole Bible* (1728) the parable is made the basis for an argument for immortality of the soul: the soul of the beggar "did not die, or fall asleep, with the body . . . but lived, and acted, and knew what it did, and what was done to it." Further, "his soul was removed to another world, to the world of spirits; it returned to God who gave it, to its native country." The carrying was by ministering angels who, as Henry puts it, were no more offended by the leprous sores on his body than was Abraham, "the father of the faithful," in whose bosom he lay:

and whither should the souls of the faithful be gathered but to him, who, as a tender father, lays them in his bosom, especially at their first coming, to bid them welcome, and to refresh them when newly come from the sorrows and fatigues of this world? (5.759)

In Wordsworth's sonnet, "It is a Beauteous Evening, Calm and Free," the poet addresses his illegitimate daughter Caroline in terms which do not mask, however gently phrased, his sense of the vast gulf which separates them: "If thou appear untouched by solemn thought, / Thy nature is not therefore less divine. / Thou liest in Abraham's bosom all the year." This sonnet is apparently a mediate influence upon Hardy's allusion in *Desperate Remedies*, where Cytherea discusses Springrove, whom she loves, with her rival. To her question, "Are you fond of him?" the "miserable Cytherea" obtains an ambiguous reply: "'Yes, of course I am', her companion replied, but in the tone of one who 'lived in Abraham's bosom all the year', and was therefore untouched by solemn thought at the fact" (chap. 8). A more direct allusion (with a transference from Abraham to Jesus) comes in the guilty agony of the Chaplain of Shaw's *St. Joan*, after Joan has been condemned to be burned. He cries, "O Christ, deliver me from this fire that is consuming me! She cried to thee in the midst of it: Jesus! Jesus! Jesus! She is in Thy bosom; and I am in hell for evermore."

See also DIVES AND LAZARUS.

ABSALOM Absalom was the third son of King David. The account of his rebellion against his father (2 Sam. 13–18) is widely regarded as a masterpiece of OT prose narrative. The events of Absalom's life form the sequel to the preceding narrative of David's sin with Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11–12), bringing to fulfillment Nathan's prophecy that, as a consequence of that sin, the sword would never be lifted from his house (2 Sam. 12:10–11). David's transgressions of lust, treachery, and murder are mirrored in the conduct of his sons, whose willful repetition of their father's sins ironically becomes the instrument of divine retribution upon David's house.

The portrayal of Absalom's extraordinary beauty and luxurious hair (2 Sam. 14:25–26), which underscores his virility, power, and personal appeal, serves also to identify the nature of Absalom's hubris; the very qualities which

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favor his rebellion ultimately ensnare him and prove his undoing, a fact graphically dramatized in the ignominious manner of his death. According to the biblical text Absalom was caught by his head in the boughs of a tree, leaving him vulnerable to attack by Joab's men. Subsequent tradition (as early as Josephus) maintains that he was suspended by his hair, a significant alteration in the narrative which underscores the poetic justice of his humiliating end. "As he rode along at full speed, he was lifted up by the unsteady motion, and his hair became entangled in a rugged tree . . . and in this strange fashion he remained suspended" (*Ant.* 7.238-39). Andrew Willet, in his *Harmonie upon the Second Book of Samuel* (1614), points out that to be hanged aloft between heaven and earth is a death accursed by God (cf. Gal. 3:13), a curse Absalom shares with his co-conspirator Ahithophel who, Judas-like, takes his own life by hanging himself. Jewish tradition held that Absalom failed to cut himself down with his sword because he saw hell yawning beneath him, hence preferring to remain hanging (L. Ginzberg, *LJ* 4.106).

A wealth of Jewish lore has accumulated around the character of Absalom. His treachery against his father was considered a crime so heinous that he remains one of the few Jews who have no portion in the world to come. Yet, for the sake of his father, his punishment in hell is mitigated. In the story of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi's visit to the underworld a divine voice stays the hand of the avenging angels who intend to scourge Absalom: "Do not beat or burn him, for he is a Jew, the son of my servant David" (*Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* [1939], 56).

Christian writers joined in the prevailing chorus of moral condemnation. St. Augustine and others cite Absalom's rejection of Ahithophel's counsel (2 Sam. 15:31; 17:1-14) as an illustration of the paradoxical co-existence of human free will with an overruling Providence: "Was it not by Absalom's own will that he chose to follow advice that proved detrimental to him, though he only did so because the Lord had heard his father's prayer to this effect?" (*De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 41). In his poem *The Origin of Sin* Prudentius reads Absalom's dismal life and character as an emblem of humanity's unregenerate nature and need for divine grace (*Hamartigenia*, 562-80). But the circumstance that most frequently inspires commentary is David's grief over the death of his errant son, which is interpreted not as a final gesture of parental affection and indulgence but as a sign of David's renewed recognition of divine justice. Augustine expresses the prevailing view in *De doctrina Christiana*, 3.21.30:

He mourned over his son's death, not because of his own loss, but because he knew to what punishment so impious an adulterer and parricide had been hurried. For prior to this, in the case of another son who had been guilty of no crime [2 Sam. 12:15-23], though he was dreadfully af-

flicted for him while he was sick, yet he comforted himself after his death.

Literary response to the story of Absalom evidences three distinct, though by no means exclusive, phases. Poets of the Middle Ages were fascinated with Absalom as an ideal of physical beauty, though their treatment of this tradition was usually heavily didactic. This preoccupation gave way in Renaissance and Restoration literature to an almost exclusive emphasis on the political implications of the story. Finally, with the advent of the novel in the 18th cent., writers increasingly drew attention to the pathetic, human elements of the narrative, especially David's heart-rending lament upon the death of his son.

In medieval literature, Absalom's name appears frequently in the interminable lists of *Ubi sunt?* poems, a popular poetic form emphasizing the transitoriness of life and the fragility of beauty. One of the most famous of these, *De Mundi Vanitate*, variously attributed to St. Bernard, Walter Map, and Jacopone da Todi, and translated in ME under the title *Cur Mundus Militat?*, recalls the name of Absalom and his legendary beauty: "Telle me where is salamon, sumtyme a kinge riche? . . . Or þe fair man absolon, merueilous in chere. . . ." Absalom also appears in the roll of biblical names cited in Lydgate's "As a Mydsomer Rose," so named from its refrain verse, "Al stant on chaung lyke a mydsomyr roose," and in Sir David Lyndsay's *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour*. The *Ubi sunt?* tradition (and Absalom's place in it) survives well into the Renaissance; indeed, *Cur Mundus Militat?* remains current well into the 17th cent., appearing in the most popular of all the Elizabethan poetic miscellanies, *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576).

The most celebrated Absalom in medieval literature is Chaucer's "joly Absolon" in *The Miller's Tale*. Chaucer's description of the hapless parish clerk emphasizes his effeminacy and fastidiousness: "Crul was his heer, and as the gold it shoon, / And strouted as a fanne large and brode — / Ful streight and evene lay his joly shode" (1.3314-16). In portraying Absolon in this way Chaucer reflects a marked inclination among medieval poets to transmute the biblical Absalom into a type of feminine beauty. Peter Riga's use of the rhetorical device of the *effictio* in his description of Absalom in the *Aurora* or *Biblia Versificata* is the most prominent instance of this tendency, but Chaucer himself, with calculated irony, includes Absalom and his "gilte tresses clere" in the catalogue of beautiful women which inaugurates his "balade" in praise of Alceste (Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*). The didactic impulse which underlies this emphasis on Absalom's beauty is underscored by Adam Scotus, who warns in his *De Triplici Genere Contemplationis*, "Woe unto you, O perfidious Absalom, weighed down by your hair — that is, by carnal excess, concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life!"

Writers of the Renaissance were more responsive than

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their medieval counterparts to the tragic dimensions of Absalom's history and frequently reflect these sympathies in the more than sixty 16th- and early 17th-cent. European plays deriving their inspiration from the David story. Though some of these dramas are now lost, two notable works have survived, Thomas Watson's Latin *Absalom* and George Peele's *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe: With the Tragedie of Absalon* (1594). The former work exploits elements in the narrative which readily adapt themselves to a Senecan formula: "the blood-feud which works itself out within a noble family, the exile who nourishes resentment, the hypocritical reconciliation masking revengeful purpose, the suicide of a highly placed personage, and the political ramifications of an emotional situation" (Blackburn, 82). Peele's treatment of the story differs from those of his contemporaries in its awareness of the moral ambiguity of the situation; his Absalom, rather than embracing David's concubines, vehemently denounces them as symbols of the king's lust, and the play ends not with the rebel's eternal damnation but with a vision of his participation in heavenly bliss.

Peele's tragedy is striking in its divergence from the received interpretation of the Absalom story. Tudor Royalist political doctrine predictably demanded that rebels be portrayed as coming to a bad end. Thus the 1574 "Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion" points to the example of Absalom to illustrate the moral that "neyther comeliness of personage, neither nobilitie, nor fauour of the people, no nor the fauour of the king himselfe, can saue a rebell from due punishment." Numerous homilists and biblical commentators in the period, including Archbishop Cranmer, enforce this doctrine, as do John Marbecke in *Holie Historie of King David* (1579) and Anthony Munday in *The Mirrour of Mutabilitie*.

Renaissance writers also display a keen interest in Absalom's reputation for false eloquence (2 Sam. 15:1-6), a proverbial attribute of the political schemer. In Shakespeare's *1 Henry 4*, the king, himself a usurper of the throne, describes to his son Hal the manner in which he swayed public opinion: "And then I stole all courtesy from heaven, / And dress'd myself in such humility / That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts" (3.2.50-52). His words echo the biblical report of Absalom's campaign for public support: "So Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel" (2 Sam. 15:6). Similarly, in bk. 6 of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser describes Sir Calidore as a man of "comely guize," who through "gracious speach, did steale mens hearts away" (6.1.2).

Protestant polemicists found in David's trials and suffering at the hands of Absalom a powerful analogue to their own precarious state, a parallel which St. Thomas More detects in Tyndale's veiled reference to himself as Chusai in his *Answer unto More's Dialogue* (1531): "As though the princes that would repress heresies were as Absalon with his army, and Achitophel therein, that persecute King David" (*The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*

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[1973], 138). In the course of rejecting Tyndale's self-characterization More expounds Tyndale's implicit allegorization of Absalom's rebellion in a manner which anticipates Dryden's subsequent adaptation in *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681): "And then hath Tyndale a trust that some Chusy . . . shall by his high wisdom . . . beguile all the company, and so scatter them and make them to be taken and slain as Absolon was and his folk" (*Confutation*, 138). This allegorizing tendency grows more pronounced in the polemics arising out of the civil conflict of the 17th cent., as the title of one anonymous pamphlet (1645) indicates: "Absalom's Rebellion . . . with some Observations upon the Severall Passages Thereof. Too fit a Patterne for the present Times, wherein to we are Fallen."

Dryden, in fashioning his parallel history, found several models ready to hand. Nathaniel Carpenter's *Achitophel, or, the Picture of a Wicked Politician* (1627) lays out the general lines of characterization which Dryden was to adopt. Another pamphlet, *David's Troubles Remembred* (1638), describes Absalom in verses which directly anticipate those of Dryden: "In all the Kingdomes of the East not one / Was found, for Beauty like to Absolon" (cf. *Absalom and Achitophel*, 17-18). Other references likening Absalom's rebellion to contemporary political events occur in *Absalom's Conspiracy; or, The Tragedy of Treason* (1680), *Character of a Rebellion* (1681), and Francis Gifford's *The Wicked Petition* (1681).

With characteristic subtlety, Dryden adapts this long polemical tradition to his defense of Charles II against the attacks of his Whig opponents during the time of the Popish plot (1678-81). Unlike Carpenter, who introduces some of the more repugnant aspects of Absalom's conduct, such as his public rape of David's concubines, Dryden adopts a more conciliatory tone, portraying his hero as a fine young man misled by the consummate treachery of Ahithophel and dazzled, like Narcissus, by his own noble attributes. The portrayal required great tact because his original, Charles's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, still retained his father's affection. At the level of explicit statement Absalom emerges as an attractive person deceived by subtler men than he, but his own speeches reveal a mind only too willing to receive the blandishments of others. From a historical point of view, perhaps the most striking feature of Dryden's poem is its tone. The ironic and sardonic treatment of the Scriptures anticipates a new and increasingly secular attitude toward biblical narrative which places it alongside classical mythology as a kind of miscellany of allusions.

In Byron's passing reference to David's lament over his son in the poem "Oscar of Alva" ("Oscar! my son! — thou God of Heaven, / Restore the prop of sinking age!"), biblical allegory has dwindled into incidental metaphor; this is typical not only in Byron's canon (see also *Cain*, 3.1.381; *Two Foscari*, 3.1.340) but also in those of Melville, Longfellow, Whittier, and Crane. Byron's choice of

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this episode underscores the increasing admiration which writers, particularly novelists, expressed for the poignant scene in which David mourns Absalom's death: "O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!" (2 Sam. 18:33). Thomas Hardy pronounced this chapter of the Bible the "finest example of [prose narrative] that I know, showing beyond its power and pathos the highest artistic cunning" (*Fortnightly Review*, Aug. 1887, 304-06). Sir Walter Scott, in *The Fair Maid of Perth* and in *Woodstock*, underscores moments of heightened emotion (such as the Duke of Rothesay's death) by alluding to David's lament. Hardy, by contrast, eschews such pathos; in *Desperate Remedies*, there is irony in his reference to Manston as an "unmoved David" for displaying no emotion at the news of his wife's death.

Faulkner's profound reenactment of the narrative in his novel *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936) is centered around the triad of Thomas Sutpen, his son Henry, and Henry's half-brother Charles Bon, a triangle reflecting the David/Absalom/Amnon relationship in 2 Sam. 13. Like Absalom, who murders his half-brother Amnon in revenge for the latter's drunken rape of Absalom's sister Tamar, Henry kills Charles to forestall his incestuous and miscegenational marriage to Henry's sister Judith. In killing Charles, Henry is more a victim than a murderer, and his act is motivated by love rather than anger or revenge. Nevertheless, Sutpen's house, like David's, is doomed to play out the consequences of the father's sin: "Who should do the paying if not his sons, his get, because wasn't it done that way in the old days?" In both families the failure of love ends in fratricide and civil war.

Another modern novelist powerfully attracted to this biblical chronicle of a house divided is Alan Paton, who shares Faulkner's reluctant inheritance of a society built upon racial enmity and division. Paton weaves an extended allusion to Absalom into the very structure of his novel *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1948). Like his biblical namesake, Stephen Kumalo's wayward son, Absalom, rejects his family and his tribe, commits a murder, and hangs for his crime. In the course of his quest to find and reclaim his son, Stephen Kumalo encounters another bereaved father, James Jarvis, whose son is the victim of Absalom's violence; though their sorrow seems irreconcilable, the two fathers find comfort and redemption in their mutual grief. When Kumalo finds his son in prison, he utters the words "My child, my child" in echo of David's lament, and during his mountain vigil on the morning of his son's execution he cries out, "My son, my son, my son." These anguished words at the end of the novel are a cry not only for his own son but also for Jarvis's, and ultimately blend with countless other voices lamenting all the sons of South Africa: "Cry, the beloved country, for the unborn child that is the inheritor of our fear."

Perhaps the most revisionist reading of the Absalom

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story in modern literature is Christopher Fry's play, *A Sleep of Prisoners*. In it four British soldiers captured by the Germans are confined in a church, where they reenact in their dreams the lives of various OT characters whose circumstances in some way mirror their own. Private Peter Able, a pacific young man, plays Abel to the belligerent David King's Cain in the opening dream sequence; King's own dream follows, in which he assumes the role of King David and Able becomes Absalom. But this Absalom is a Christ-like figure who responds to David's tyrannical efforts to "make a soldier of him" with words which echo the language of the Gospels: "You and your enemies! Everlastingly / Thinking of your enemies. Open up. / Your enemies are friends of mine."

See also AHITHOPHEL; DAVID; TAMAR.

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FRANS DE BRUYN

ABYSS See DEEP CALLETH UNTO DEEP.

ACELDAMA See FIELD OF BLOOD.

ACHAN Josh. 7:16-25 records the story of Achan (Heb. 'akan; from 'akar, "troubler"). The root word from which his name comes denotes trouble of the most serious kind, often the result of disloyalty, greed, and wickedness. Achan stole sacred spoils which were under the "ban" (*herem*) and so put all of Israel in jeopardy. For this act of betrayal he and his family were stoned to death in the valley of Achor (the name of which derives from the same root).

Jewish commentators describe Achan as a hardened criminal whose perfidy extended well back into the lifetime of Moses (Sanh. 43b; Yerushalmi 6.23b), most of which involved violation of ritual purity: unchastity with a betrothed woman, desecration of the Sabbath, and *epispasmos*, disguising his circumcision (Sanh. 44a). His crime of "taking the anathema" is thus seen as consistent with his whole life; his punishment accords, although his confession is seen as sparing him in the life to come. Josephus (*Ant.* 5.1.14) adds that he was buried at night in the disgraceful manner reserved for criminals.

The *Glossa Ordinaria* reflects a thin patristic commentary on all but the crime itself of Achan, which, following St. Isidore of Seville and Adam of St. Victor among others, is construed as the acquisition of "heretical teachings" of the world (Jericho) such as would contaminate the Church (the Tabernacle), while the theft

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against the ban is *anathemate* (PL 113.511). For Calvin, Joshua's address to Achan as "my son" is not ironic but indicates "sincere personal regard" such as ought to exemplify the decorum observed by contemporary judges, "that whilst merciful they should not be careless or remiss" (*On Joshua*, 7.19).

Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, criticizes authors who prostrate their talent to curry patronage for the sake of covetousness, "the root of all these mischiefs, which Achan-like compel them to commit sacrilege." Rochester, in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, describes Thornfield Hall as "this accursed place — this tent of Achan."

ADAM Curiously, *Adam* as a proper noun does not assuredly occur in the Hebrew text of Genesis until well after the Garden of Eden story. In 4:25 the word occurs as a proper name for the first time: "Adam lay with his wife again." Throughout the previous passage, the character is referred to simply as "the man," which of course is the definition of *Adam*. The problem arises in translation. The LXX (3rd cent. B.C.) began the tradition of rendering the common noun 'adam as "Adam" in Gen. 2:16: "And the LORD God commanded Adam" (Heb.: "Thus Yahweh God commanded the man"). The Vg subsequently introduced "Adam" in 2:19, which in turn was reproduced in early Catholic English translations. The KJV read "Adam" in 2:19 and inconsistently thereafter (*ha'adam* is "Adam" in 2:19 and 2:20, but "the man" twice in 2:22 and "Adam" again in 2:23). This most popular of English Bibles set the standard for centuries to follow, and the character Adam, particularly in the Garden of Eden story, became firmly entrenched in English and American literature. Some modern English Bibles, seeking to be more faithful to the Hebrew text, are introducing the proper noun "Adam" much later in the story. Thus, the ASV and the RSV read "Adam" for the first time in 3:17. The NEB and TEV both wait until 3:21 to introduce the name; the modern Catholic Bibles, the NAB and the JB (including the NJB), do not read "Adam" until 4:25.

The etymology of the word is not certain. Josephus (*Ant.* 1.1.2) thought that it was formed from the Hebrew root 'adam, "to be red." Comparative Semitic philology has suggested that the word is related to an Ethiopic word meaning "the fair one," or Arab. "creatures," or South Arab. "servant, slave," or Akk. "maker, producer." Now, even a Sumerian origin for the word, by way of the Hebrew word *dam*, "blood," is claimed (*Beth Miqra* 30 [1984-85], 510-13). The numerous possibilities indicate the difficulty of the matter. The Hebrew text (Gen. 2:7) relates the name to 'adamah, "ground, soil," but this is but one of the many *jeu de mots* characteristic of this particular writer, who puns outrageously and delightfully, as in 2:24, 'arummim ("naked"), and in the very next sentence, 3:1, 'arum ("wise," referring to the snake), or as in 4:1, qayin ("Cain") and qaniti ("I have acquired"),

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or as in 11:9, *Babel* and *balal* ("he confused"), and many other such passages.

The Adam story of Gen. 2 and 3 is most closely related to ancient Near Eastern stories like Adapa, sage of Eridu, who, although acquiring great wisdom, nevertheless lost an opportunity for immortality. Gilgamesh, too, great and wise though he was, lost immortality to a serpent. In the biblical account, the man and his wife "became like gods" (3:21) by eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil and consequently were driven away from the tree of life lest they should also achieve immortality (3:21-22).

In the Hebrew Bible itself, the only unambiguous reference to Adam outside of Genesis is in the genealogy of 1 Chron. 1:1. Due to the consonantal nature of the Hebrew script, some passages, such as Job 31:33, Hos. 6:7, and Mic. 6:8, are sometimes cited as referring to Adam, but the common modern opinion, as reflected in most Bibles, is that the word in those passages is the common noun translated "human being, humankind." The Vg, interestingly, translated the Hebrew to include "Adam" in Josh. 14:15: "*Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariath Arbe; Adam maximus ibe inter Enacim situs est*" (Rheims-Douai: "The name of Hebron before was called Cariath Arbe; Adam the greatest among the Enacim was laid there"). There was a Jewish tradition (Gen. Rab. 58), evidently known to St. Jerome, that "the Four" (*Arbe* of the Vg text) — Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam — were buried at Hebron; hence its name, "Village of the Four." A similar pattern is evident in Zech. 13:5 in the Vg: "*Sed dicet: Non sum propheta; homo agricola sum, quoniam Adam exemplum meum ab adolescentia mea*" (Rheims-Douai: "But he shall say: I am no prophet; I am a husbandman, for Adam is my example from my youth"). The meaning of the last clause is not clear.

Many of the familiar Adamic themes of later literature first make their appearance in the Jewish writings which separate the Hebrew Bible from the NT. In the Life of Adam and Eve, a pseudepigraphal work, parts of which are also known as The Apocalypse of Moses and different recensions of which reached the West through Christian mediation by way of the Gospel of Nicodemus and the Lat. *Vita Adae et Evae*, Satan says that it was because of Adam that he was banished from heaven and that his hatred and envy of Adam are justified on that account. Also, in this ancient book appears for the first time the tradition of Seth's search for the oil of life which will heal his dying father. Seth does not find the oil, and Adam dies, but not before revealing the future to Seth (see Josephus, *Ant.* 1.2.3; the Coptic Apocalypse of Adam 64:2-6; and the Armenian "Death of Adam," *HTR* 59 [1966], 283-91). In some accounts, Satan is jealous because Michael commands all angels to worship Adam; in others, he is jealous because the earth is to be subject to Adam (2 Enoch 31; Wisd. of Sol. 2:23-24; cf. Pirke R. El. 13; see L. Ginzberg, *LJ*, "Adam").

According to some Jewish sources, Satan tempts man through the woman (2 Enoch 31:6); the man sins and so

statue in chap. 2, exercise considerable influence on NT authors (cf. N. Perrin, *The New Testament, An Introduction* [1974], 65-72, 76-79, 84), and on the whole tradition of apocalyptic prophecy. While the name Antichrist does not appear in Daniel, the figure of such a false messiah gradually came to be associated with texts on Daniel (B. McGinn, *Visions of the End* [1979], 22, 51-55, 82-87), and in "The Prophets of Antichrist" play in the ME Chester cycle Daniel appears to recount his vision of chap. 7, emphasizing the fourth beast and the little horn. The Expositor then appears to tell the audience that the little horn stands for Antichrist (EETS e.s. 115 [1916], 125-72).

The four empires motif, based on Dan. 2 and 7, and the theme of the millennial kingdom, based on the numerological prophecies in the later chapters, have been used frequently to uphold or challenge the existing social order (cf. McGinn, 66-73 and passim). Gower applies Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the composite statue to the state of the empire and the Papacy and the general situation of wars and dissension in the 14th cent. (*Confessio Amantis*, Prol. 585-909). Wordsworth (*Prose Works* [1974], 1.334) and Byron ("Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte," 19-27) apply the image of the composite statue to the career of Napoleon, and apocalyptic imagery from Daniel is used in reference to the Irish troubles by Byron ("The Irish Aviator," 53-60), Coleridge (*Collected Works* [1978], 3.1.263), and later by Joyce (*Ulysses* [1946], 616, 620, 634, 638). Some writers have seen America as a "fifth empire" (alluding to Dan. 7:13-14, 27) destined by God to succeed the four empires described in symbolic terms in Daniel—a notion familiar also to Samuel Johnson, who quotes some verses of Berkeley on the subject (*Works* [1977], 10.200). Jonathan Edwards's *Apocalyptic Writings* are full of references to Daniel, although Edwards does not favor using the numbers in Daniel to arrive at an exact date for the millennium ([1977], 331, 337, 343, 349-50, 395-98, 404-07). Isaac Newton devoted much of his later life to the study of biblical chronology and the dating of the millennium, and he made much use of the allegorical arithmetic in Daniel (cf. F. Manuel, *Isaac Newton, Historian* [1963]). Bernard Shaw was fascinated by this aspect of the career of the great scientist, and he refers to it at length in the prefaces to *Saint Joan* (*Works* [1930], 17.12) and *Buoyant Billions* ([1951], 5-6). Shaw's play *In Good King Charles' Golden Days* portrays a meeting of King Charles II, Newton, and George Fox, the founder of the Quakers. Newton here talks a great deal about the later chapters in Daniel, and he justifies his concern with such matters as being of great importance to the world ([1947], 179, 187-89). A different attitude toward Daniel in relation to the apocalyptic tradition is found in George Eliot's satirical portrayal of an evangelical preacher (*Essays* [1963], 160), and in Thoreau's *Journal*, where Thoreau rhapsodizes on watching milkweed pods bursting and releasing their seeds. He sees them as "a prophecy not

only of the fall but of future springs. Who could believe in prophecies of Daniel or of Miller that the world would end this summer, while one milkweed with faith matured its seeds" (*Writings* [1906], 9.18).

See also BEL AND THE DRAGON; HANDWRITING ON THE WALL; NEBUCHADNEZZAR; SHADRACH, MESHACH, AND ABEDNEGO; SUSANNA; TORMENT, TORMENTOR.

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DAVID The basic source for David's life is found in the books of 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 Kings. The first part of this account (1 Sam. 16:1-2 Sam. 2:11) is a fairly continuous narrative covering David's first thirty years. The second part (2 Sam. 2:12-1 Kings 2:46), more thematically selected and arranged, relates certain highlights of his forty-year reign.

David first appears as the youngest son of Jesse the Bethlehemite, good-looking but scarcely noticed alongside his more accomplished brothers, yet chosen by God to be Saul's successor and already identified by God as "a man after his own heart" (1 Sam. 13:14). Samuel anoints him, and the Spirit of the Lord, having "departed from Saul," comes upon him (16:13-14). David is a shepherd, already tried in adventures against wild animals and possessing an air of confidence which combines self-assurance with trust in God (17:34-37). His reputation as a harpist, as well as for valor and prudence, reaches the court, and when the king is stricken with melancholy David is summoned to minister to him with music. Strongly drawn to the young man, Saul appoints him an armorbearer. When, later, he is moved by the shame of Israel's failure to respond to the Philistine champion's challenge, he persuades Saul to let him confront Goliath, unarmed save for his stones and sling and a firm trust in God. In an account emphasizing how hubris and blasphemy are punished, David fells the boaster with a single shot and carries off his head in triumph.

David is now firmly established as part of the king's retinue, captain and prospective son-in-law of the king and covenanted friend of the prince Jonathan, but a powerful ambivalence governs Saul's attitude toward him. He sees the popular young man as both a support and a threat; at some level he is aware that the divine favor has been transferred from himself to David. When op-

pressed again by "the evil spirit from God" (18:10), he calls the harpist to soothe him but twice tries to pierce him with a javelin. He advances David to the captaincy of 1,000 troops but is only made the more afraid by the youth's mature handling of his responsibility and growing popularity. After reneging once on a marriage offer, he allows David to have his second daughter, Michal, only upon performance of a formidable task designed to cost David his life (18:25); yet David and his men killed not 100 Philistines as required, but 200. Despite Saul's oath to the contrary (19:6), there follow other attempts on David's life, all of them frustrated by David's own watchfulness (19:10) or with the aid of Michal (19:11-17), of Jonathan (19:1-7; 20:31-42), or directly of God (19:19-24). Finally David quits the court for good and assumes the life of an outlaw.

The years of exile are the proving ground for the qualities of leadership which will make David a great king. The narrative reveals in David exquisite honor and sensitivity toward his own people. He feels personally responsible for the tragic fate of the Nobites (22:22-23); he insists on equal shares in booty for camp guards who are prevented from the actual fighting (30:21-25); when his fury against Nabal is mollified by Abigail's conciliatory behavior, he blesses her for averting bloodshed (25:32-33); when Saul falls into his power he will not let anyone harm him (chaps. 24 and 26); he is loyal in friendship to the king's son (23:18); and, when Saul and Jonathan are killed in battle, he laments them eloquently and acts to avenge them (2 Sam. 1).

Prominence is also given to David's reverence for the sacred; e.g., "who can stretch forth his hand against the LORD's anointed, and be guiltless?" (1 Sam. 26:9; cf. v. 23; 24:6-12; 2 Sam. 1:14). David's close relationship to God and his enjoyment of divine favor (1 Sam. 25:26-31) are recognized by Abigail, among others. In warfare David has God's aid (23:14, 19-26; 24:4) and even a direct line of counsel from the Almighty (23:1-5, 9-13; 30:7-8).

In the succeeding chapters — part two of the narrative — are interwoven two main themes. The first involves the consolidation and expansion of David's power after Saul's death. The second concerns the establishment of the Davidic dynasty, with a strong admixture of domestic and personal tragedy which have proven an especially fruitful field for subsequent creative artists.

Prominent features of this narrative are the emphasis on David's devotion to cultic observances (2 Sam. 5:19, 21, 23-24; 8:11-12; 24:18-25) and the repeated attribution of his success to the Lord's being with him (5:10, 12, 19, 23-25; 7:1; 8:14; 23:1; cf. 6:12). In establishing Jerusalem as his capital David aims to make it the center of religious as well as political life and to this end he erects a tabernacle for the Ark of the Covenant, which he brings up to Jerusalem from Kirjath-jearim (6:1-19) with music and dancing. David intends to house it in a permanent structure as elegant as his own palace instead of a tent (7:2).

The prophet Nathan first endorses the plan but then is instructed by the Lord to veto it. The Israelites, their wanderings over, will "dwell in a place of their own" (7:10), but God's house can wait. Instead, "the LORD . . . will make [David] an house" — i.e., a dynastic line: "thy throne shall be established for ever" (7:11, 16). It will be left to David's son to build the Temple. If the ruler sins, he will be chastened, "but my mercy shall not depart away from him, as I took it from Saul" (7:15).

Despite this divine promise, however, the question of succession becomes central in the later episodes, especially as David is no longer able to control affairs so firmly as he had done. His adultery with Bathsheba, followed by his arranging the death of her husband Uriah (chap. 11), brings Nathan's sharp rebuke. The prophet first asks the king to judge a legal case involving the theft of a lamb — thus alluding to both David's former and present occupations in what is actually a parable concerning the abuse of power. After David passes judgment, in effect, on himself, Nathan speaks directly: "Thou art the man" (12:7). David's prompt repentance cancels his own death sentence, but the other consequences of his wrongdoing remain: David himself will be dishonored by the open defilement of his wives, the child Bathsheba conceived adulterously will not live, and "the sword shall never depart from thine house" (12:10-14). Thus the king's taking of Bathsheba is seen as the root of the troubles which follow. These begin with the death of the young boy (12:15-23) — after which, however, Bathsheba has other children, including Solomon, whose destined succession is indirectly confirmed at once by Nathan (12:24-25) and at some point directly promised by David (1 Kings 1:17, 30).

Solomon has many older brothers, however, of whom three in particular are obstacles to his succession: Amnon the firstborn (2 Sam. 3:2), Absalom, and Adonijah — none of them, as the narrative reveals, having the character proper to a king. Amnon rapes and then ruthlessly casts off his half-sister Tamar, and is murdered for his crime two years later by Absalom. Absalom himself, angry at his father for failing to intervene on Tamar's behalf, conceives an ambitious plot to overthrow him. His rebellion, which precipitates civil war, is eventually put down and Absalom killed, against David's express orders, by Joab, David's military commander. Upon hearing the news, David weeps for his son, "Would God I had died for thee," and thus "the victory that day was turned into mourning" (18:33; 19:2).

With David "old and stricken in years" (1 Kings 1:1), even beyond arousal by the young, beautiful Abishag, who is brought to "minister" to him, the struggle for succession breaks out openly. Adonijah, backed by Joab and Abiathar the priest, attempts a coup (1:5-10, 25), but Nathan and Bathsheba appeal directly to David to honor his promise to Solomon, who as a result is immediately anointed and proclaimed king. Adonijah, initially granted a probationary pardon, is later executed (2 Sam. 2:17, 22-25; cf. Deut. 22:30).

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These accounts contain a great wealth of narrative, but what the name of David signified for many centuries thereafter, so far as the records we have indicate, consisted of just a few key theological and ideological points. For instance, the remaining sections of the books of Kings emphasize continuity: of Jerusalem, regularly designated "city of David"; of the Temple, which finally comes to fulfillment under Solomon (1 Kings 8:14-20); and of the dynasty. Subsequent events in the descent of kings are connected with God's promise to David, who is repeatedly cited as the model of the ideal ruler. Thus the summary of David's life (1 Kings 15:5) is that he did "right in the eyes of the LORD, and turned not aside . . . all the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite." Similarly, the account in 1 Chron. 10-29 omits everything up to Saul's death and all the stories of David's and Solomon's rivals, to concentrate on the greatness of David's reign, his victories, his enjoyment of divine favor, and — greatly expanded — his devotion to cultic activities and facilities. Several references in 2 Chronicles reflect a continuing association of David with the liturgical side of worship, particularly the singing.

The same theological and ideological points dominate the treatment of David elsewhere in the OT, including the Apocrypha, and in rabbinical tradition. David as poet, musician, and liturgical reformer is mentioned by Amos (6:5), eulogized by Jesus ben Sirach (47:8-10), and of course most fully memorialized in the Psalms, nearly half of which have the ambiguous heading "of David," which has frequently been taken as an ascription of authorship. Fourteen psalm headings associate their poems with specific occasions in David's life. Apocryphal writings include psalms attributed to David after his anointing (Pseudo-Philo 59:4), in exorcising Saul (60:2-3), and after his victory over Goliath (Ps. 151, LXX).

The celebration of God's special favor to David, his chosen "servant" (Pss. 78:70; 89:3, 20), in establishing his throne dominates Pss. 132 and 89. In the latter, however, references to later events (89:38ff.; cf. 78:69) show that the Davidic covenant is being cited as an event in national history on which, in more dismal times, hope for a renewal of God's favor may be based. The age of David, when the nation was united, powerful, and prosperous, had come to represent a longed-for ideal. Such is the way the prophets use the name of David (Isa. 9:7; Jer. 33:17; Amos 9:11; Hos. 3:5); he is a byword for the faithfulness of God (Isa. 55:3, "the sure mercies of David"; Jer. 33:20-21). When the prophetic vision came to focus on an individual expected deliverer, his connection with the line of David was stressed (Isa. 11:1; Jer. 23:5; Mic. 5:2; 4 Ezra 12:32), and he was even designated by the name "David" (Jer. 30:9) and further identified as a king-shepherd after the Davidic tradition (Jer. 23:4-5; Ezek. 34:23-24; 37:24-25; cf. 2 Sam. 7:8; Ps. 78:70-71). Psalms used in coronation ritual became interpreted as referring to the coming Anointed; in fact, many psalms were given

messianic interpretations in rabbinic teaching. By ca. 50 B.C. the use of the term *Messiah* and description of the expected deliverance by reference to David's conquest were explicit (Pss. Sol. 17). David had progressed from being a type of the ideal king (both in goodness and in greatness) to being a type of the Messiah.

David symbolized a conquest which was spiritual and moral as well as military and political. His victory over Saul's evil spirit was a forecast of the subduing of Satan (Pseudo-Philo 60.3). He was an exemplum not only of confidence in God's power (Zech. 12:8; 1 Macc. 4:30; Sir. 47:5; Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness 11.1-3) but also of mercy (1 Macc. 2:57), care for his subjects, devotion to the study of Torah, ascetic discipline (4 Macc. 3:6-18), thankfulness (Sir. 47:8), and prayer (4 Ezra 7:108). So much was made of his superior virtue (Sir. 47:2; cf. 1 Kings 15:5 and the eulogy by Josephus, *Ant.* 7.15) that attempts were even made to excuse his adultery and homicide, and he was honored alongside the three great patriarchs by the phrase "the God of David" (Isa. 38:5).

The figure of David also took on a miscellany of embellishments over the centuries in rabbinic commentary, usually by way of adding details not given in the biblical text (cf. Ginzberg, *LJ* 4.79-121; 6.245-76). Sometimes their purpose is to explain difficulties or obscurities, sometimes to connect different stories together, often simply to give added information or introduce frankly fictional details having a heuristic function. Exaggeration, miracle, and the fantastic are prominent in these legends, as are the activities of angels and detailed knowledge of the decrees and purposes of God.

For the writers of the NT, however, it was the canonical David that mattered: an example of the faithful life (Heb. 11:32; cf. Acts 13:22), one whose behavior could in itself provide a strong ethical argument (Matt. 12:3-4 and parallels), a divinely inspired poet (Rom. 4:6; Heb. 4:7), but above all, one who was intimately associated in various ways with the messianic hope. Essential marks identifying Jesus as the Anointed, the Christ, included his Davidic birthplace (Matt. 2:4-6; Luke 2:4; John 7:42) and ancestry (Matt. 1:1-16; Luke 1:27, 69; Rom. 1:3; 2 Tim. 2:8; cf. Rev. 5:5; 22:16). It was in those terms, and thus as heir to the throne promised to David, that he was acclaimed upon entering Jerusalem (Matt. 20:30-31; 21:9-15 and parallels, esp. Mark 11:10). "The son of David" was in fact a popular designation for the Messiah (Matt. 12:23). So firmly established was the Davidic pattern of the messianic hope (Luke 1:32-33; Acts 1:6; 15:16) that Jesus found it necessary to assert unequivocally the superiority of the fulfillment over the type (Matt. 22:42-45 and parallels). By a similar argument in his Pentecost sermon Peter traced in Christ the fulfillment of Pss. 16:8-10 and 110 (Acts 2:24-35; cf. 13:35-37). David was considered not only a type but also a prophet (Luke 24:44; Acts 2:30; cf. 2 Sam. 23:2). Drawing in some cases on messianic interpretations already

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established in rabbinic teaching, Jesus and his followers applied at least fifteen of the Psalms to himself and the circumstances of his life and death (cf. John 2:17; 15:25; 19:36; Matt. 21:9, 16, 42; 27:35, 39, 46, 48; Luke 23:46; Acts 1:16-20; 4:11, 25-28; 13:33; Rom. 15:3; Heb. 1:5-13; 2:6-9; 5:5-6; 10:5-7; 1 Pet. 2:7).

Such views were perpetuated (and elaborated) in subsequent Christian tradition. David's designation as prophet is regularly assumed by the Fathers and in medieval literature — as in the *Ordo Prophetarum* plays or in various versions of the "harrowing of hell" narrative, where David identifies Christ as the light penetrating the darkness of Limbo. Chaucer, in *The Canterbury Tales*, refers to David both as "the psalmist" and "the prophet," as do a host of other medieval writers.

David is one of the most important OT types of Christ for St. Athanasius, Origen, St. Augustine, and other early Fathers; the details of his life are frequently seen as prefiguring specific aspects of the earthly life of Jesus. A convenient summary of some of the main points of comparison may be had in Henry Vertue's 17th-cent. *Christ and the Church; or, Parallels* (1659):

David was a Shepherd, and Christ a Shepherd; but *David* of Sheep, Christ of Souls. *Samuel*, a Priest, anointed *David* to be a King; and *John*, as a Priest, baptized our Saviour. *David*, being anointed to be a King, came not presently to the Kingdom, but was content for a long time to serve *Saul*: and so our Saviour, though he was begotten a King from all Eternity, was yet content to serve. . . . *Saul* persecuted *David*, and Herod persecuted Christ. . . . *Absalon*, *David's* Son, rose up against his Father: and *Judas* rose up against Christ. . . . *David* was anointed by man, but Christ by his Almighty Father.

Similarly, Rupert of Deutz (d. 1135), after enumerating various attacks on David, explains that

by those seven persecutions of David are signified the whole sum of those persecutions which the devil stirred up against Christ and His Church. . . . Moreover there were also seven persecutions which Christ endured in his own person. (PL 167.1104-05; trans. T. D. Hill)

Such typologizing continues in the New World. According to Jonathan Edwards (*A History of the Work of Redemption*), "David . . . the ancestor of Christ . . . was the greatest personal type of Christ of all under the Old Testament." He goes on to explain:

The types of Christ were of three sorts: instituted, providential, and personal. The ordinance of sacrificing was the greatest of the *instituted* types; the redemption out of Egypt was the greatest of the *providential*; and David the greatest of the *personal* ones. Hence Christ is often called David in the prophecies of Scripture. (*Works* [1820], 3.227)

David's notorious sins of adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of her husband Uriah could hardly be accommodated to this straightforward prefigurative scheme and

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needed to be handled in a different way. A commentary on the books of Kings attributed to St. Eucherius treats "The Adultery of David" as a complex allegory of the Messiah (David), the Law (Bathsheba), and the Jewish people (Uriah). St. Isidore of Seville chooses rather to follow St. Augustine (*Contra Faustum*, 22.87) in interpreting Bathsheba as the Church, Uriah as Lucifer, and David as the beloved Redeemer "who has liberated us from the Devil through his mercy" (PL 83.411-12, trans. J. Wojcik, in *The David Myth*, 34).

On another level, David is also, despite these crimes (temporary, though flagrant, lapses, according to Augustine, and not indicative of a continuing disposition of heart), seen as a moral exemplum, a man of faith, or in Nicholas of Lyra's term, a *viator* who has set a standard for Christian conduct. He is perhaps most important in this regard as a model of penitence and a guide in spiritual reformation. (His "penitential psalms," identified by the 6th cent. [cf. Cassiodorus, PL 70.371-72], were prominent in medieval liturgy and private devotion. They were subsequently translated by Pietro Aretino, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and others and imitated by Petrarch.) Medieval preachers repeated over and over that if David, who sinned so ignobly, could be forgiven, then no one should be without hope. Thus, Gottfried of Admont, in his *Homiliae Dominicales Aestivales* (PL 174.476), avows that:

David, king and prophet, was a frail stalk of grass when he saw Bathsheba, and took her, and killed Uriah by the sword of the children of Ammon, committing at the same time two wicked sins, adultery and homicide. Then was David frail grass. But afterward he was made a firm tree, when Nathan came to him, rebuking him out of the mouth of the Lord, by whose words he was inflamed with so great a fire of penitence that he lay on the ground for seven days, not eating bread or drinking water. Look, he who was a frail stalk, to how great a treelike strength has he come through penitence!

David's patience, humility, and faith in God when confronting adversity combine with his penitential qualities to make his spiritual experience a model for every Christian's own. "David was not only a clear Prophet of Christ himself, but a Prophet of every particular Christian; He foretells what I, what any shall do, and suffer, and say," John Donne advances (*Sermons*, ed. Potter and Simpson [1954], 7.51), assimilating in his *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* his own spiritual experience to the Psalmist's, as Augustine had in his *Confessiones*. The Reformers found in David's life a reflection of their own experience, Calvin commenting (in his Pref. to *Comm. on the Psalms*, trans. J. Dillenberger) that it was "of very great advantage" to him to find in David

as in a mirror, both the commencement of my calling, and the continued course of my functions; so that I know the more assuredly, that whatever the most illustrious king and prophet suffered, was exhibited to me by God as an example for imitation.

David's sin, punishment, and repentance form the center of dramatic interest for a host of early playwrights: it is this part of his story which governs his treatment in the Cornish *Ordinale de Origine Mundi*, John Bale's *Chief Promises of God unto Man*, a "new interlude of the ij synnes of kynge DAVYD," Thomas Watson's *Absalom*, and George Peele's *Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe*. Interest in David's complex personality and varied experience effects his gradual translation from theology and devotional literature to imaginative literature, in which he is assigned four principal roles: king, epic hero, lover, and poet-musician.

With the institution of the Holy Roman Empire David was studied as a model of the divinely appointed king, a ruler whose religious duties were concomitant with political ones. The ideals of Davidic kingship, as well as David's personal and domestic tragedy, have a formative influence on much of Britain's Arthurian literature. David's refusal to slay Saul, the Lord's anointed, and his character under persecution by Absalom became arguments for both sides in the 17th-cent. Puritan-Royalist debates. Marvell attempted to legitimize Cromwell politically by investing him with qualities of the Davidic king (see J. Mazzeo), while Dryden argued, in *Absalom and Achitophel*, for Stuart right to rule.

For those attempting to accommodate pagan heroic themes to Christian subjects, David proved an especially viable subject. John Marbecke offers *The Holie Historie of King David* (1579) as a substitute to "lewd" works, while Thomas Fuller makes an epic of David's spiritual development in *David's Heinous Sin, Hearty Repentance, and Heavy Punishment* (1631). David's encounter with Goliath receives epic treatment in Drayton's *David and Goliath*, and provides a model for the Samson-Harapha episode in Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (see Steadman). Abraham Cowley's *Davideis* (1656), of which only four books of the projected twelve were completed, was to be a classical epic "after the pattern of our master Virgil"; according to his Preface, one of its principal themes is the relationship between David and Jonathan, here seen in the light of classical ideals of friendship.

For some writers, the story of David's adultery provided a pretext for writing erotic poetry, such as Francis Sabie's epyllion "David and Beersheba" (1596) or engaging in risqué dramaturgy: George Peele opens his play *David and Fair Bethsabe* (1599) with Bathsheba naked in her bath. So great were David's sensual excesses considered to be that Dryden could achieve sly comic effect in opening *Absalom and Achitophel* with a comparison of libertine Charles II to him. Throughout the early 18th cent. a controversy raged as to the propriety of including David in Sacred Writ at all.

Modern writers have sometimes characterized David's relationship with Jonathan and/or Saul as having an explicit or implicit homosexual character. Herman Melville defines the nature of Claggart's feeling for Billy Budd by

referring to Saul's obsession with the comely shepherd boy (cf. André Gide's *Saul*). D. H. Lawrence used David and Jonathan as a model for homosexual relations in several of his novels.

David's skill as a musician and poet were celebrated early by St. Jerome, who explained that "David, who is our Simonides, Pindar, and Alcaeus, our Horace, our Catullus, and our Sirenus all in one, sings of Christ to his lyre." David was indeed, throughout the Middle Ages, the quintessential Christian poet. In Renaissance debates on the morality and usefulness of poetry, David is cited by Sidney and Lodge; and in the movement to create a body of religious poetry, David's name is consistently invoked (see B. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics* [1979], 231-50). Ralph Knevet alludes to the psalmist/musician in expressing his praise for "Pious Herbert": "For it was Hee who rightly knew to touch Davids Harpe." For many poets, David is a conscious model as well as subject; thus, Thomas Traherne delights in celebrating David's own delight in creation, and Christopher Smart praises the "Blessed light" which David brought into the world.

The power of David's harp-playing to cure Saul's melancholy and madness was often emphasized. Lydgate follows an old tradition when he couples David with Orpheus in their power to produce a melody "so heuently and celestiall" (*Reason and Sensuality*, 5599-5612). Cowley makes a long digression on "The mystick pow'rs that in blest Numbers dwell" when he narrates David's playing to Saul in *Davideis*. While Byron treats David's libertinism humorously in *Don Juan* (1.168), he also poignantly praises "The Harp the Monarch Minstrel Swept" in his *Hebrew Melodies*. Following Byron's depiction of melancholic Saul as a spiritually troubled man, Browning, in *Saul*, uses David to speak of the poet's ability to express "the new law."

The human experience of David has attracted, finally, a number of inferior dramatists in addition to J. M. Barrie (*The Boy David*), D. H. Lawrence (*David*), and Christopher Fry (*A Sleep of Prisoners*), as well as such diverse novelists as Charles Dickens (*David Copperfield*), Thomas Hardy (*Far from the Madding Crowd*; *The Mayor of Casterbridge*), William Faulkner (*Absalom, Absalom!*), and Joseph Heller (*God Knows*). Such emphasis on his complex humanity, however, has never obscured his religious dimension: for Smart and his contemporaries David represents the "intense and personal overflowing of religious emotion" praised by Bishop Lowth in *The Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (1753); for Byron and Browning he is still the man of faith capable of rousing others from the black slough of despair.

See also ABISHAG; ABSALOM; BATHSHEBA; GOLIATH; HARP; JONATHAN; SOLOMON.

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RAYMOND-JEAN FRONTAIN

DAY OF THE LORD (Heb. *yom YHWH*; Gk. *hē hēmera tou Kyriou*) References in the OT are generally to the future glorious establishment of the kingdom of God (Isa. 2:12; 34:8; Ezek. 13:5; 30:30; Zeph. 1:14; Zech. 14:1). In the NT it generally refers to Christ's Second Advent (Rev. 6:17; Jude 6; 2 Pet. 3:12).

Added dimensions accrue to other references in the Hebrew Scriptures, where the present day ("this day," *hayyom hazze*; e.g., Josh. 24:15), the opportunity for present decision or enactment of the will in choosing to obey (cf. Deut. 30:19), is contrasted with "that day" (*bayyom hahu*, e.g., Exod. 14:30 — a past moment of confirmation; or, e.g., Deut. 31:17; Isa. 2:11-17 — a future day of confirmation, "the LORD alone will be exalted in that day").

See also SECOND COMING.

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DAYS OF AWE See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

DE PROFUNDIS The opening words of Vg Ps. 129:1 are "*De profundis clamavi, ad te, Domine*." In the corresponding Ps. 130, the KJV reads, "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O LORD." Sometimes related to this text is Lam. 3:55, "*Invocavi nomen tuum Domine, de lacu novissimo*" (KJV, "I called upon thy name, O LORD, out of the low dungeon"; Douai, "I have called upon thy

name, O Lord, out of the lowest pit"). And Jonah utter something like the Psalmist's cry from the "fish's belly" (Jonah 2:2-3), in repentance for his disobedience. Liturgically, the *De profundis* came to be associated with seven penitential psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 130, and 143, which were recited after the hour of lauds on Fridays i Lent in medieval Christendom.

In Roman Catholic practice, the *De profundis* was recited as a penitential psalm among the prayers for the ill; it was chanted in funeral processions for the dead on the day of burial, and at Lauds and Vespers in the Office for the Dead. It accompanies also the blessing of a new bell in a church or chapel, perhaps because the tolling of a church bell connotes a transition through death to life beyond (*Rituale Romanum*). In the English *Book of Common Prayer*, Ps. 130 is recited as a penitential psalm: Evensong on Ash Wednesday, and throughout the year on the twenty-seventh day of the month.

The 12th-cent. *Ancrene Riwe* dictates that "*de profundis*" be one of the psalms said for the souls of the faithful departed:

ze doþ 3et betere. & her also sig-geð
deprofundis. bivore þe pater noster.

Various effective medieval English translations notwithstanding, the text receives some of its richest adaptation in the Renaissance. John Skelton uses the text of P 130:1 paradoxically, together with its proper antiphon found in the Office of the Dead ("Phyllyp Sparowe"):

"Si in i qui ta tes,
Alas, I was evyll at ease!
De profun dis cla ma vi,
Whan I sawe my sparowe dye!"

Thomas Campion's elegant air is perhaps unsurpassed in poetic translation in the period. It begins:

Out of my soules deapth to thee my cryes haue sounde
Let thine eares my plaints receiue, on iust feare
grounded
Lord, should'st thou weigh our faults, who's not
confounded?

But the long poem of George Gascoigne (ca. 1575) almost equal to it in vigor. Entitled "*De Profundis*," renders in colorful 16th-cent. language the whole of P 130, affirming the covenant promise of God to Israel, he typologically also the Christian elect:

From depth of dole wherein my soul doth dwell,
From heavy heart which harbours in my breast,
From troubled sprite which seldom taketh rest,
From hope of heaven, from dread of darksome hell,
O gracious God, to thee I cry and yell,
My God, my Lord, my lovely Lord alone,
To thee I call, to thee I make my moan. . . .

John Donne, whose meditations and psalms resonate the *de profundis* theme, employs in his "Lamentations