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"RASHI'S" PERCEPTION OF KING DAVID AS FOUND
IN "RASHI'S" COMMENTARY TO I CHRONICLES

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
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DIGEST

This thesis focuses upon King David as viewed by the commentator, Rashi, in his commentary to I Chronicles 3:1-9 and I Chronicles 11:1-29:30. Initially, in Chapter One, we will focus upon the question of the identity of the Rashi who commented upon I Chronicles.* By analysis of such variables as word usage, style of quotation, and content of material, we see, as others have maintained, that the author was not Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac. Nevertheless, within the commentary we sense an influence of Solomon ben Isaac for a number of reasons. Our major concern, however, centers upon Rashi's understanding of King David as reflected in his commentary.

Chapters Two, Three, and Four, respectively, deal with Rashi's perception of David as a military man, a husband and father, and a man who had certain delights and displeasures. Chapter Five will draw the composite picture of all of Rashi's significant statements on David. It will also address the question, Why is Rashi's understanding of King David different than the King David that emerges out of the Samuel/Kings account? Finally, Chapter Five touches

*The recognition that Solomon ben Isaac (1040-1105) did not write the commentary is well-documented, as summarized in Chapter One. This study attempts to isolate the specific reasons why the identity of the commentary is partly that of Solomon ben Isaac. See Chapter One.

upon a perception of David's personality by referring to some modern psychoanalytic material.

The bibliographical material at the end of the thesis is divided into chapter divisions. Following the Bibliography is a section containing excerpts from two early editions of the Chronicles commentary and a selection from a recent edition of Rashi's commentary to Chronicles.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFYING THE RASHI WHO COMMENTS ON THE BOOK OF I CHRONICLES

The story has been told of Jose, who along with a couple of friends, discussed the "true" Maimonides. Jose states, "There is Isaac's view of 'Monides'. Also, there is Shlomo's view of 'Monides.' At last, you have my 'Monides' (Maimonides)!" It is possible to derive from the story the realization that no one has the true perception of Maimonides. As there are many views of Maimonides, so too, there are numerous perceptions of King David.

David is discussed in: (1) Samuel (and Kings), (2) the rabbinic commentaries to Samuel (and Kings), (3) I (and II) Chronicles, and (4) the rabbinic commentaries to I (and II) Chronicles. This thesis focuses upon the rabbinic view of King David, as ascertained from the commentary to I Chronicles, under the heading of ,"^{וְיַ}. Thus, our concern is King David; the material through which we learn of him is Rashi's commentary to I Chronicles.

This chapter deals with the identity of the Rashi commentary. Did Rashi, (1040-1105), the famous Biblical and Talmudic commentator, write our commentary?* The first topic is a brief discussion of the earliest manuscripts of Rashi's

*"Our commentary" and "our commentator" refer to the Chronicles commentary and the Chronicles commentator under the heading of ,"^{וְיַ} which we encounter in a "standard" Rabbinic Bible (e.g. Shiloh edition, 1970).

commentary. The second concern is a study of a sample of the printed editions of the commentary. Thirdly, we will review the extensive secondary literature on the topic of the authorship of the Rashi commentary. From the above, we will list the specific pieces of evidence as to why others believed the "Rashi" of the commentary to I Chronicles was not רבי נינו שלמה בן יצחן. ¹ Finally, we will discuss a few of the more troublesome problems of trying to specify precisely who might be the author of our commentary. A solution to the problems suggests that the commentary is an eclectic work, but traces of a Rashi influence are apparent. Thus, while the author might in fact not have been רבי נינו שלמה בן יצחן, this author proposes that Rashi's "presence" is apparent in various instances.

Unfortunately, the Hebrew Union College Library does not contain a manuscript of any Rashi commentary to I Chronicles.² From reading Liste des Manuscrits des Commentaires Bibliques de Raschi by David Simon Blondheim, it seems there were available in 1932 only three manuscripts of a Rashi commentary to Chronicles.³ The three are:

18. Cambridge, University Library...Pseudo-Raschi sur Chroniques. Ecriture allemande de 1347.⁴
27. Florence, Bibliothèque laurentienne...Hagiographes... et Raschi...Calendrier de 1414.⁵
315. Rostock, Bibliothèque universitaire...Le commentaire sur les Chroniques n'est pas celui du Pseudo-Raschi, mais celui attribué aux élèves de Saadia. Daté de 1211 par une main postérieure.⁶

There might have been some doubt whether the Rostock manuscript would still be extant, due to the destruction of the second World War in Germany. In 1965 the Rostock manuscript was in existence, according to one source.⁷ Below we will find a reference to a Munich manuscript. I could not locate a reference to such a manuscript that is described as having a commentary to Chronicles. We assume each of the manuscripts is available, but not in the U.S. The above material summarizes what manuscripts are available to study.

The Hebrew Union College Library does possess three early printed editions of Rashi's commentary to Chronicles. The earliest edition is an incunabulum of 1486 or 1487⁸ which contains a "pseudo Rashi"⁹ commentary to Chronicles. The incunabulum differs somewhat from a later 1516-17 edition of Biblia Rabbinica,¹⁰ corrected by an apostate, one Felix Pratensis. The 1516-17 edition differed from the 1486-87 edition in the following instances from I Chronicles 1:1-29. (See plates I - VI.)

What is more significant than the differences, however, is the similarity between the one text and the other. To be sure, there are important differences as are isolated above. From comparing the two works, it is remarkable that the Rashi commentary has a common origin, if only these two texts are compared. By and large, the one text agrees with the other, despite the fact there are changes. However, the major change in the commentary was to appear some seven or eight years later.

In 1524 or 1525 there appeared the Bomberg edition of the Bible in four volumes.¹¹ The work was corrected by the apostate, Jacob ben Hayyim.¹² The Rashi commentary to this edition is strikingly changed from the previous editions. The essence of the earlier commentary ascribed to Rashi is present in the Bomberg edition of 1524-25. However, there are marked changes. Either the commentary is from a work that parallels the earlier works, or it is a rewording and reworking of the editions of 1486-87 and 1516-17. Most important is the similarity between the 1524-25 commentary and the commentary that we find in a current Rabbinic Bible. For example, in I Chronicles 1:1 the only differences between the two commentaries, 1524-25 and 1970, are word changes, rather than phrase changes. The condition of the 1524-25 volume did not allow for the book to be used for duplication purposes. Thus, in plates VIII - IX (Shiloh, 1970) the additions since 1524-25 are highlighted in yellow.

Shiloh, Israel, 1970

שָׁמֶן
(ה) פְּכַדְּמָם
אֲדֹם
מִרְגָּלִיּוֹת
בְּכָבֵרָה

Bomberg, Venice, 1524-25

שָׁמֶן
אֲוֹמֶרֶת
סָלָךְ
מִרְגָּלִיּוֹת
בְּכָבֵרָה

Other additions in Shiloh text
are in parentheses and need
not be noted.

The commentaries of 1486-87 and 1516-17: are nameless, do not have verses demarcated within the commentary itself, and have no chapter markings. In merely eight years, we see the name of Rashi appears above the commentary of 1524-25. Also, verses within the commentary are more clearly differentiated one from the other. While the first four chapters lack a chapter number, from Chapter Five onward, we see there are chapter numbers. In addition, the text is the first one that appears with the division between I and II Chronicles.

The 1524-25 edition, like the 1516-17 work, was corrected by an apostate. Thus, for example, in I Chronicles 1:1 the term (עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה) , worshipers of idols and magical signs, as found in the common 1970 Shiloh edition, is not used. Rather, the more euphemistic expression, נוּמָנִים, nations, is used in its place. The influence of apostates could have been significant in the transmission of the Rashi commentary. Their influence, even though they were scholars, could have accounted for the change from 1486 to 1524-25.

It is well known that chapter numbers and such divisions were a medieval influence, since the Hebrew Bible was first divided by book and parasha, not chapter. In fact, the division between I and II Chronicles as we find in the 1524-25 edition is not characteristic of a Hebrew Bible.¹³ In the 1524-25 edition, chapter numbers appear for I Chronicles 5 through the end of Chronicles. In addition, it is important to note that the 1524-25 edition is the first work to have

the Rashi (רשי) inscription above the commentary. Previously, such an inscription was not written above each page. From the evidence we have, we might assume the commentary was named (רשי) in 1524-25, since it seems not to have appeared earlier than that date.¹⁴

In sum, the 1486-87 edition underwent Christian censorship after it was written, aside from whatever Christian influence might have gone into the actual writing of the same Rashi commentary. The 1516-17 Bomberg edition was "corrected" by an apostate, Felix Pratensis. This edition of the Rashi commentary is very similar to the text of 1486-87.

Another text, "corrected" by Jacob ben Hayyim, was the Bomberg edition of 1524-25. This last edition shows a major change in the Rashi commentary. It was the first to formally name the commentary "Rashi," from what evidence we have. Also, the commentary itself was changed considerably. The essence of the content of the earlier editions seems to be within the commentary of 1524-25. This last edition added more comments. It is strikingly similar to a "standard" Rabbinic Bible of today.¹⁵ A comparison of manuscripts and early editions would be an interesting venture. For the present, such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this thesis, although it may result in a study at a later date.

SECONDARY SOURCES

We will not attempt to cover in detail all of the secondary literature on the topic of the authorship of the Chronicles commentary. The approach to this problem will be first, to show where the authorship of the (ר' ר' ז) commentary was questioned originally. Next, we will review the literature on the authorship of the commentary from the most recent (1971) back to 1908-09. It appears the significant work on this subject was done in the early part of the 20th century. We will summarize the major findings as to the theories that have been put forward. We will then point out some of the troublesome aspects found in the commentary. The goal is to distinguish what comments might have been due to the influence of ר' זונז ו' זונז and what appears not to have been due to his influence.

The question pertaining to the authorship of the Chronicles commentary seems to have arisen with the works of Leopold Zunz (1794-1886) and Joseph Weiss (1800-1881).¹⁶ In separate works, the two noted the German glosses of the Rashi text and concluded that the commentary was not Rashi's. However, they did not offer a theory as to who probably wrote the commentary.¹⁷ We see that as early as the 19th century there arose doubt as to the authenticity of the Chronicles commentary.

If we look at one of the most modern summaries of the situation we find: "Rashi commented on most, if not all,

the books of the Bible. The comments ascribed to him on Job, from 40:25, on Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles are not his, being different in style and method of exegesis.¹⁸

Approximately twenty years earlier, the opinion was similar to that found in the statement quoted above. "Rashi wrote commentaries on nearly all the books of the Bible. The exceptions are Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles and parts of Ezekiel and Job, where the notes ascribed to him are actually written by others."¹⁹

In the same year that the aforementioned quotation appeared, Henry Englander stated: "The commentary on I and II Chronicles is definitely not R's (Rashi's)."²⁰ Such an opinion was somewhat more detailed in 1940, when Englander wrote:

"The commentary on Chronicles which is ascribed to Rashi is definitely not Rashi's. This is evident from the fact that there are not grammatical comments such as are found frequently in Rashi's commentaries. The style of the comments are clearly not Rashi's. Furthermore, Rashi himself is cited in the commentary on II Chronicles 23:14."²¹

Englander did supply some reasons, why Rashi was not our commentator. However, he did not refer directly to the Chronicles commentary, other than the one reference. It should be pointed out that a Rashi commentary that quotes Rashi, may only mean that the particular verse, or section, or chapter, may not be Rashi's. Englander was not the only additional source which gave a summary statement about the Chronicles commentary.

In the Jewish Encyclopedia of 1904, we find conflicting information on the Rashi commentary. Strangely enough, the same author wrote the conflicting opinions. Max Seligsohn in commenting on Rashi wrote the following: "At different periods other parts of the Old Testament appeared with his (Rashi's) commentary...The Pentateuch, the Five Scrolls, Ezra, and Chronicles (Venice, 1517)."²² Nowhere in the article, from which the above was taken, is it mentioned that Rashi might not have written the commentary to Chronicles.

The same Seligsohn, however, stated in a comment about Meir ben Isaac of Orleans: "Meir and his son Eleazar are quoted in the commentary to I Chronicles (XXIX.11) wrongly ascribed to Rashi."²³ Elsewhere, Seligsohn again pointed out that Rashi did not write the commentary to I Chronicles. With reference to Isaac ben Samuel of Narbonne, Seligsohn wrote: "He (Isaac ben Samuel) is quoted in an anonymous commentary to Chronicles, written at Narbonne before 1140, as having given the author verbal explanations of various verses--..."²⁴ It might very well be that Seligsohn wrote the article on "Rashi" before he wrote the other two articles. Possibly, the Rashi article could have been edited without its final form having been seen by Seligsohn.

Our discussion up to this point can be summarized as follows. From the time of Zunz there has been doubt as to who wrote the commentary to Chronicles, which is ascribed to Rashi. For the past six decades or so, it has been

necessary to repeat the opinion that Rashi did not write the commentary to Chronicles. The evidence presented in our discussion seems to be only what Englander stated in 1940. It is worth repeating for it is our only evidence up to this point:

...there are not grammatical comments such as are found frequently in Rashi's commentaries. The style of the comments are clearly not Rashi's. Furthermore, Rashi himself is cited in the commentary on II Chronicles 23:14.25

There are four other works that need be discussed in some detail. Avraham Grossman in his article in the Encyclopaedia Judaica, "Rashi...Biblical Exegesis," referred to two authors, Samuel Poznanski and E. M. Lipschuetz. For our purposes we should examine their writings in their entirety on the subject of Rashi's commentary to Chronicles.

In 1913 Poznanski wrote about Rashi's commentary to Chronicles. Poznanski stated five important points:

1. The author of the Chronicles commentary was not Rashi.
2. Rashi did not comment on Chronicles because he followed the order of the canon and, therefore, stopped short of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.
3. Others have written on the subject that Rashi did not write the commentary in question.
4. The author of the commentary was German.
5. The French (Narbonne) influence upon our commentary was late.

Below is the text, followed by a translation from Poznanski's work:

את פירושיו למקרא כתוב בגראה לפי הסדר ומפני זה לא
 הספיק לבאר את הספרים האחרזוביים עזרא ונחמיה ורבהי⁽¹⁾.

(1) כי הפירוש לעזרא ונחמיה אי-כבר לרשי"י זה בראה מסגדנו לשובן ודריך פירושו וגיגיגר רצה לייחסו לר' יוסף קרא, אבל הוכחותיו אי-בן מיסודות בראווי (עי' קברצת מאמריהם של מהדורתי ע' 180), וכי הפירוש לדה"י אי-כבר מרשת"י ע"ז כבר העירו הרחיח"א ואחרים. מהברור היה כי הגראה מאשכנז והתגזרה בברבורה ובעת האחרזובה נאמרו השערות שרבות על אדרות מחברו, עי' קברצת מאמריהם שם ה'. 26.

It appears he (Rashi) wrote his commentary to Scripture according to canonical order, and because of this, he did not finish explaining the last books: Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. (1)

(1) That the commentary to Ezra and Nehemiah is not Rashi's, can be seen from the style of his language and his exegetical method. Geiger sought to attribute it to Joseph Kara, but his proofs are not well founded (see my edition of his Collected Essays, p. 180). That the commentary to Chronicles is not Rashi's has been noted by Hayyim Joseph David Azulai and others. Its (the commentary's) author was, apparently from Germany, and (the commentary) was transferred to Narbonne at a later date. Various hypotheses were offered concerning its author. See above, the Collected Essays, (Ibid., n. 1).

A year earlier, in 1912, E. M. Lipschutz commented upon the authorship of Chronicles. Lipschutz's theory was that Rashi's commentary is not Rashi's at all, but that of Saadia's disciples. Whatever comments might have stemmed originally from Rashi, said Lipschutz, trickled down through Rashi's students, and eventually were written down by Rabbi Joseph Kara. Below is the text and translation:

רשי עשה פרוש לכל המקרא, מלבד דברי הימים. כמדומה שפרוש דברי הימים יצא מביאן תלמידיו ר' סעדיה. זה היה אדם גדול שחי בארץת הריבטים (8). לפrox זה שמו הרבה חמר קדום, ואף חמר שיצא מישיבת רשיי מידי תלמידיו (9).

(8) תוספות יומא ט'. ושוב מצאתי כן בפרש דברי הימים שפרש תלמידו ר' סעדיה רע' ברה"י א' ה'.

27

(9) ביחסו בשקעו שם מפרש ר' יוסף קרא.

Rashi made a commentary for all of Scripture, except for Chronicles. It appears that (the) Chronicles commentary came from among Saadia's disciples. This (Saadia) was a great man who lived in the land of Harinos. (Rhineland) (8)

For (his) commentary this (Saadia) used much early material, and even material (as early as) that which came from Rashi's academy through his students. (9)

(8) Tosafot, Yoma 9a. And again I found it so, in the Chronicles commentary that R. Saadia's students expounded. And look at Chronicles 1:5.

(9) They incorporated (the commentary) there particularly from R. Joseph Kara's commentaries.

Lipschuetz's theory is interesting in that, according to Lipschuetz, Saadia's influence was a major factor upon the Chronicles commentary. It suggests the possibility of a "Saadia strand" within our commentary. The Rostock manuscript, earlier referred to, represents a Saadia commentary to Chronicles, not a Rashi commentary.²⁸ We do not know the text Lipschuetz had at his access, or any manuscript that might have been available. It is possible that he was familiar with the Rostock manuscript, or a

tradition which derived itself from such a work. From the evidence we do have, we see that the Chronicles commentary attributed to Saadia appears to be different than our own. What was the influence of the Saadia commentary upon our commentary? The question presents a fascinating problem. At this time, the resource, the commentary attributed to Saadia, is not immediately available. A comparison of one commentary to the other, in itself, would entail a separate undertaking. The influence of Rashi upon the commentary of Chronicles is our present concern.

The writings of V. Aptowitzer and J.-N. Epstein were not referred to in the bibliographies at the end of the articles studied, which seems to show the articles of these two authors are not well known. In 1908, V. Aptowitzer wrote in French on the subject of the author of the commentary to Chronicles.²⁹ Aptowitzer's article can be summarized as follows. On the basis of one reference to the Chronicles commentary found in *תורת משה ברורה* by *ר' מאיר אביגדור*, Aptowitzer concluded: (1) The date of the commentary to Chronicles is the second half of the twelfth century, not the first half of the same. It would be wrong to conclude, as others erroneously have done, that the date of the commentary is that of a contemporary, or the opposite, that the date of a contemporary is that of the commentary.³⁰ (2) The author of our commentary was French. The Hebrew in the commentary reflected a native French

speaker and, according to Aptowitzer, the German glosses could have been written by a German speaking French man (or woman). The German glosses could either be primitive forms, or they could be later additions from the hands of German copyists and redactors.³¹ (3) The "commentary to Chronicles did not come to us in a primitive form, but in different adaptations."³² "What we know of the first editions and of the manuscripts permits us to recognize that this edition is separated from later editions and from manuscripts; and the manuscripts are different from (other manuscripts) and from later editions."³³ (4) Rashi's commentary to I Chronicles 12:18 is found in Rashi's commentary to I Samuel 2:30, as well. (However, the similarity may be due to the fact that the explanation is so natural, that others could have come to the same conclusion.)³⁴

In short, Aptowitzer concluded: the Rashi commentary (he did not specify which one) originated in the second half of the twelfth century. There are differences between the various Rashi commentaries. In one less than convincing citation and parallel, the explanation of Rashi is the same in Chronicles as in Samuel. The author of our commentary was French. In fact, was our commentator French?

One year later, in 1909, in the same journal, another author gave his opinion on the authorship of the commentary to Chronicles.³⁵ J.-N. Epstein demonstrated that the author was not French, but German. The author of the Rashi commentary, according to Epstein, was none other than the

twelfth century German hasid, Samuel ben Kalonymous He Hasid of Speyer.³⁶ Epstein worked with a Munich manuscript, dated 1243.³⁷ This author could not find the mention of this Munich manuscript in Blondheim, or elsewhere, that would contain Rashi's commentary to Chronicles. For now, we must set aside the problem of the manuscript with which Epstein worked.

Epstein based his conclusion on six factors. The first was the mention of the names of people in the commentary: teachers, students, and relatives. Next there were place names that gave Epstein some data to work with. Third, the German glosses, according to Epstein, should have been more readily spoken by Germans, than by French men and women. The use of German brought up Epstein's fourth point. Germans, not French men and women, would have written the elegies, as are found in II Chronicles. The fifth factor was the specific reference to travel. The last consideration was the commentator's dual concern for a rational, simple method as well as a care for the mystical: gematria and notarikon. For Epstein, each point led him closer to the belief that our author was Samuel ben Kalonymous.

It seems a bit peculiar that other authors have not accepted, rejected, nor for that matter, even mentioned Aptowitz's study and Epstein's response and theory. What immediately concerns us is: considering all the above mentioned secondary sources, and the commentary itself, what, if any, was Rashi's influence upon our commentary?

As pointed out earlier, Aptowitzer was well aware of the fact that there are many commentaries. As a result, it is possible there are strands of many different authors to our commentary: e.g. Rashi, Saadia, Menahem ben Helbo, Joseph Kara, apostates, printers, editors, redactors, copyists, etc.

Epstein quoted Geiger as follows: "Our commentary is impregnated with the spirit of Rashi and R. Joseph Kara."³⁸ Is there some flesh that might go along with this "spirit of Rashi?" What can we isolate, specifically, that might show an influence of Rashi in our commentary?

This author's thesis is that ours is a stratified commentary and one which has an influence of רביון שלמה זלטן פון טריזינ . This theory differs from others, such as Max Schloessinger, whose words should sound familiar at this point: "This (Rashi's) commentary...extends over the whole Bible with the exception of Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah..."³⁹

Aptowitzer already pointed out one detail that might have shown Rashi's influence in the Chronicles commentary. As we learned above, Aptowitzer pointed out Rashi's comment to I Chronicles 12:18 was directly parallel to Rashi's statement to I Samuel 2:30.⁴⁰ The commentary to which Aptowitzer referred, might have been that of the edition from Basle of 1618, of which he had access, but this author did not. Nevertheless, the Shiloh edition of the Rabbinic Bible of 1970 used by this author does not contain

the parallel statement of Rashi to I Chronicles 12:18. In fact, there is not such comment by Rashi to the Chronicles verse whatsoever. However, there is a parallel between the Samuel and Chronicles commentaries that we note in Chapter Two, pages 50-51. There is a parallel of Eglah/Michal between the Rashi commentary to I Chronicles 15:29 and II Samuel 6:20. Such a parallel is rare between the two Rashi commentaries.

Epstein's article contended that the Chronicles commentary contains an emphasis of gematria, notarikon, and a dependence upon the school of German mystics.⁴¹ Later, Epstein stated that the commentator "brings to light the explanations that conform to the common sense. He poses rules for the simple meaning of the text."⁴² The latter quotation seems very much like Rashi, whereas the former does not. The two statements may not be mutually exclusive; but it would appear on the surface, that the author of one kind of commentary, would not be the author of the other. While our commentary contained a considerable amount of the midrashic style, this author did not find any suggestion by our commentator that showed his concern for the וְ and the וּ, characteristic of a mystical interpretation. Our commentator was concerned with the וְ and the וִי.

From the description of Samuel ben Kalonymous He-Hasid of Speyer as found in the Encyclopaedia Judaica,⁴³ nothing was stated about his concern for "explanations that conform to the common sense,"⁴⁴ or "rules for the simple meaning of

the text."⁴⁵ We learn that Samuel was a mystic involved in esoteric theology. It might be more appropriate to credit Rashi, or another, with a concern for the "simple meaning of the text," than to credit Samuel ben Kalonymous with the same.

If Samuel ben Kalonymous was, indeed, the author of our commentary, it seems somewhat peculiar that a reference to Satan would not have been more excitedly embellished by a mystic with magical powers and what have you. Such was not the case:

(א) וַיַּעֲמֹד שָׂטָן עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל. אַעֲפָפֶת שְׁפָרְשָׁה זוֹ אַיִלָּה לְכִבּוֹד דָּוֹד
בְּכַתְבָּה כִּאן מִשְׁׁרָם שְׁגָאָמֵר בְּסֻנְךָ הַפְּרָשָׁה שְׁבָנָה מִזְבֵּחַ וְעַונְהָה הָ, פָּנִים
הַשְּׁמִים וְזֹה כְּבוֹד דָּוֹד:

(I Chronicles 21:1) And Satan stood against Israel even though this section does not glorify David, it was included here because at the end of the portion it is stated that he built the altar, "...and the Lord answered him from heaven." And this is for David's honor.

According to the aforementioned article on Samuel ben Kalonymous, "he competed against gentile magicians and used his powers to save Jews from their oppressors."⁴⁶ The Satan episode afforded a believer in magic a great opportunity for exploitation of the text. The author's comment is clever, but did not involve the magical, as we might have expected from a Samuel ben Kalonymous. The comment we have seems to be truer of what one might expect from Rashi, a statement concerned with the **מִזְבֵּחַ**, than of what one might expect from a mystic concerned with miraculous and magical acts.

In our commentary there are a number of Laazim (foreign phrases) and French glosses. There are at least the following examples:

פּוֹרְמָדְרִיּוֹן	I Chronicles 2:18
פּוֹקִין	I Chronicles 13:8
בּוֹיְכּוֹן	I Chronicles 18:7
בָּאָגָל	I Chronicles 22:3
קְדוֹמָה	I Chronicles 29:7
אֲקִוּטְרִיא	I Chronicles 29:11

The number of French glosses and Laazim might lead one to conclude that the commentary was written by Rashi, as opposed to Samuel ben Kalonymous. As Menahem Banitt pointed out, the Laazim might "throw light on...the 11th-century commentaries of the Pseudo-Gershon, of Menahem ben Helbo and of Joseph Kara."⁴⁷

This author found one German gloss, while Aptowitz and Epstein noted more throughout all the Chronicles commentary. Our commentary includes the expression,

ברַודְרִיךְ שְׁפָאַט , "Brüderschaft," or "Fraternity." (I Chronicles 25:9)

The abundance of Laazim compared to German expressions might favor a greater French influence over a German influence upon our commentary. However, it is difficult to say which is earlier. Thus, the date and nationality of authorship is left open.

It is well documented that Rashi knew of cantillation signs.⁴⁸ There are a number of references in our commentary that refer to songs, psaltries, poetry, singers and skilled

accompaniment. Our commentator went into great detail in the explanation of the following verses: I Chronicles 13:8, 15:18, 19, 20, 21, 22. The musical and liturgical notation might have been just as close to Rashi's concern for cantillation and music as it might have been akin to Samuel's concern for mysticism. Epstein stated that Samuel ben Kalonymous knew cantillation signs.⁴⁹ Regardless, the comments on the topic of music and the aesthetic could have come from either Rashi or Samuel ben Kalonymous.

In Chapter Two there is a possible reference to a polemic by our commentator against a possible Christian charge. Rashi would seem to have been more adept at responding to such a charge than Samuel ben Kalonymous since the latter was used to competing "against gentile magicians and (he) used his powers to save Jews from their oppressors." Regarding christological interpretations, one writer wrote:

He (Rashi) also disputed the christological interpretations of biblical passages...a course also adopted by his pupils in Germany in their exegesis.⁵⁰

If such a polemic is involved, as will be discussed later, Rashi seems to be the likely originator.

Epstein pointed out that Samuel ben Kalonymous would be the type to comment on a superfluous or שׁוֹן spelling of a name.⁵¹ What should be pointed out, however, is that Rashi, too, was concerned with a superfluous spelling as found in his comment to Numbers 6:23.⁵² The concern for a

peculiar spelling could very well have been due to Rashi's influence.

In his article, "Rashi as a Grammarian", Menahem Zevi Kaddari stated that "scattered throughout his (Rashi's) commentaries are many remarks on...deletion of parts of the sentence."⁵³ That particular grammatical concern motivated our commentator to write:

(ה) זאהיה מאהל אל אهل וממשכן. כלומר זאהיה מתחלה מאהל אל אهل וממשכן אל משכן מגילג לשלילה ומשלילה לנורב ומנווב: לגבעון ואמ' על גב שהייתי מטלטל מאהל אל אهل וממשכן למשן:

(I Chronicles 17:5) I have gone from tent to tent and from tabernacle that is to say I went from tent to tent and from tabernacle to tabernacle, from Gilgal to Shiloh and from Shiloh to Nob and from Nob to Gibeon. Even though I journeyed from tent to tent and from tabernacle to tabernacle...(that is where I was going).

רבי גו סלאה בן יחזק could very well have been the influence behind the abovementioned verse.

There is one further point that is an interesting aspect to our commentary to Chronicles. There are three comments on vineyards: I Chronicles 27:27, 28:1, and 29:6. What is significant is that the first is called for, however, the other two are not. We know that Rashi owned a vineyard and worked in one. What do we know of Samuel ben Kalonymous? "Nothing is known of his life, and very few of his writings have survived."⁵⁴ Epstein in his article pointed out quite convincingly that Samuel ben Kalonymous most likely did travel to Narbonne and a couple other towns in France. Therefore, the aforementioned

comment should not be taken too seriously. Nevertheless, did Samuel ben Kalonymous operate a vineyard? Are the comments on vineyards able to be attributed to anyone but Rashi or to a disciple of Rashi who knew about vineyards? The questions remain open. It is curious that such comments do appear, and they seem to suggest Rashi's influence.

ועל הכרמים . לעזר ולצפור הכרמים:

(I Chronicles 27:27) And over the vineyards to hoe and to prune the vineyards.

ועל שבכרים . הוא ארכרות היין:

over what was in the vineyards (for the wine cellars). That is, cellars of wine.

ולשבי כל רכוש ומקבזה למלך . אותן שמצויר לעיל על אוצרות המלך ועל הכרמים ועל הזיתים והמקבזה...

(I Chronicles 28:1) and the stewards over all the substance and possession of the King are those that he mentions above who are in charge of the treasuries of the King, the vineyards, olive groves, and cattle...

ולשבי מלאכת המלך . וגם שבי עוזרת אוצרת המלך ועל שבכרי המלך וגנו' כدلעיל:

(I Chronicles 29:6) with the rulers of the King's work and this even applies to those officers who supervised agricultural work of the King. And this concerns those who were in charge of the vineyards of the King, etc., as is mentioned above.

Our commentary seems to touch upon exegetical, grammatical, musical, polemical, and historical elements that just might suggest that רבינו שלמה בן יצחן influenced our commentary. What we have today is a

commentary much like an artichoke, if you will forgive the image. If we strip away the leaves, the various layers of: Saadia, Menahem ben Helbo, Joseph Kara, copyists, and redactors, etc., we just might find a heart--or at least a portion--of Rashi in our commentary. Our commentary appears to be stratified since it has undergone considerable changes. Seeing that our commentary has many layers, it is difficult to discount the fact that Rashi contributed something. The above tries to isolate the specific ways in which we could support the theory that Rashi made his contribution.

Before we leave the subject of Rashi, and turn to David, it is worth noting a problem which does not directly concern the authorship of the Chronicles commentary. Rather, the problem relates to the material quoted by Rashi.

We find in the Encyclopaedia Judaica the following statement by Avraham Grossman:

In his (Rashi's) commentary on the Prophets and the Hagiographa, he made use of Targum Jonathan and even quotes Targum Sheni on Esther but apparently did not know the Palestinian Targum on the Pentateuch nor the Targum on the Hagiographa.⁵⁵

On the subject of Rashi's use of the Targum, Englander offered the following summary of Rashi's use of the Targum.

It should be noted that Rashi never cites the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch, which Targum is wrongly referred to as Targum Jonathan....On reading Rashi to the **תְּבוּנָה** we find that Rashi

never cites a targumic rendering in the Hagiographa. When reference is made by Rashi to a targumic rendering in the Hagiography, that reference is to a targumic rendering in the Pentateuch or in the Prophets....The implication of these observations is very definite, namely, that Rashi was totally unaware of a Targum to the Hagiographa. It seems that the only Targum in the Hagiographa, that was known to Rashi is the Targum to the book of Esther to which Rashi makes reference on I K. 10.19.(10)

(10) See also Megillah f. 21b where it is noted that there is no Targum to the Hagiography. See also W. Bacher, in Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin, 1901-1902, p. 29, where he observes that Rashi was not aware of a Targum to the Hagiography.⁵⁶

In I Chronicles Rashi did quote the Targum.

(לג) וְחֹשֵׁי הַאֲרָכִי רַע הַמֶּלֶךְ. שְׁוֹשָׁנִינוּ קְרִיָּת סְפִירָה
תְּرָגֻם קְרִיָּת אֲרָכִי.

(I Chronicles 27:33) And Hushai the Archite was the Kings counselor his best man. Kiriyath-Sepher (Joshua 15:15, 16), is rendered in the Targum as קְרִיָּת אֲרָכִי (Targum Onkelos for Joshua 15:15, 16).

The reference was to the Targum Onkelos of Joshua 15:15, 16, which was the only one found by this author to the Targum in I Chronicles. Also, it was a moralizing comment, not associated with the subject, Bath-Sheba. The statement refers to arki which defines ἀρχή (a Greek word).

Jastrow defines אֲרָכִי as a "term of office."⁵⁷ According to Jastrow, our reference is the only mention of the term. In the 8th edition of the Liddell and Scott Greek Lexicon, the word is defined as "the authority."⁵⁸ This passage quotes a Targumic rendering and it appears that the word

was derived from the Greek language. Still more significant, was a reference to the Targum that was related to Chronicles, but indirectly.

In one reference, I Chronicles 3:3, Rashi mentioned Michal at the end of the comment on Eglah. In a parallel comment, II Samuel 3:5, Rashi definitely equated Michal with Eglah.

(ה) לעגלה זו מיכל שהיתה חביבה אליו...

(II Samuel 3:5) To Eglah this is Michal who was dear to him (David)...

What is curious about the above quote is that Rashi, the "real" Rashi of the Samuel commentary, did not say how he arrived at the conclusion that Michal and Eglah were one and the same person.

This author contends that it is likely that Rashi received this information from the Targum of the Hagiographa, based on the following pieces of evidence.

E.I. Nathans wrote about Eglah:

("heifer"): Mother of Ithream, David's sixth son (I Chronicles III:3). The expression "wife of David", (II Samuel 3:5) probably means the favorite wife of David. According to the Targum, Eglah is identical with Michal, the daughter of Saul, and David's favorite wife.⁵⁹

The problem is simply: which Targum is referred to above? If we look at the Targum Onkelos to II Samuel 3:5 we find no mention that Michal and Eglah refer to the same person. In fact, Targum Onkelos does not equate

Michal and Eglah in any reference to either name in Samuel:

Eglah: II Samuel 3:5.

Michal: I Samuel 14:49; 18:20, 27, 28; 19:11, 12, 13, 17; 25:44.

II Samuel 3:13, 14; 6:16, 20, 21, 23; 21:28.

However, if we look at the Targum to Chronicles for I Chronicles 3:3 we find that the Targum equates Michal with Eglah.

חמי שאה שפטיה לאביהיל שתיחה ?חרעם לעגלת אנטיניה

היא מיבל בנות פאגלי:

The fifth (wife) Shephatiah of Abital; the sixth, Ithream by Eglah his wife, this refers to Michal, daughter of Saul.

Thus, above, in the statement by Nathans, he might have implied Michal and Eglah were equated in the Targum to Chronicles. As pointed out earlier, רבי נון שלמה ור' יונתן supposedly did not know the Targum to Chronicles. Our finding seems to imply that they were equated in the Targum to Chronicles and that Rashi could have known such a work.

There are other sources other than the Targum to Chronicles which Rashi could have used in coming up with the joint identity of Michal and Eglah. Louis Ginzberg noted that the Rabbis equated Michal and Eglah based on the following evidence:

David had six wives, including Michal, the daughter of Saul, who is called by the pet name Eglah, "Calfkin," in the list given in the Bible narrative.(131)

(131) Sanhedrin 2la; BR (Bereshit Rabbah) 82.7; BaR (Bamidbar Rabbah) 4.8; Shemuel 11, 79, and 22.111; Tehillim 59, 303; Tosefta Targum and ps. - Jerome on 2 Samuel 3.5. All these sources agree on the identify of Eglah and Michal, but they differ as to the reason why the designation "little calf" was given to Michal;⁶⁰

Of the above texts, we know that Rashi, in his commentary to the Bible, quoted from the Talmud and Bereshit Rabbah. What is curious, however, is that Rashi did not state that the reason Eglah and Michal could be one and the same was to be found in Sanhedrin 2la or Bereshit Rabbah. In Rashi's commentary to I Chronicles 1:1, for example, Rashi acknowledged Bereshit Rabbah as a source. Similarly, Rashi quoted Bereshit Rabbah in I Chronicles 12:14.

Likewise, Rashi pointed out Talmudic sources for his Biblical commentary (e.g. Yeb. 64 in his comment on Genesis 25:21). Rashi quoted Talmud Sotah in I Chronicles 19:16 and Baba Metzia in I Chronicles 28:17. We even find Rashi acknowledging the Talmudic source in the book of Samuel itself, the very source of our verse in question. Sanhedrin is the source for Rashi's comment to II Samuel 20:5. More examples of Rashi citing his Midrashic and Talmudic sources are not necessary. The question that remains is, if Rashi formed his opinion about Eglah and

Michal from the Midrash or Talmud, why didn't he acknowledge the source, as he was accustomed to do? If Rashi formulated his opinion about the two women from the Targum to the Hagiographa, then we need to study in further depth the influence of the Targum of the Hagiographa upon the writings of רבי נבו שלמה בן ינאי.

As our commentary consisted of many layers, so, too, our subject, David, was made of "many parts". We now turn to the study of King David as reflected in our present eclectic commentary which we call "Rashi's."

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

¹The commentator of I Chronicles throughout this paper will not be termed "pseudo-Rashi" or a similar term, unless another author uses that phrase. Throughout, unless stated otherwise, "Rashi" will refer to the author of the commentary to Chronicles which bears his name.

²According to the Director of the Rare Book Room of the Hebrew Union College Library, Dr. I.O. Lehman, the H.U.C.L. has no such manuscript.

³David Simon Blondheim, Liste des Manuscrits des Commentaires bibliques de Raschi. Librairie Lipschutz, Paris, 1932, pp. 10-11.

⁴Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁵Ibid., p. 12.

⁶Ibid., p. 43.

⁷Hans Striedl and Ernst Róth, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. Wiesbaden, 1965, pp. 339-340.
The commentary for the Books of Chronicles stems from a school of Saadia Gaon and begins: כי יי', יתנו חכמה/אמונה: אסורה חסונה... מבזארים מסויימים ידועה גלויה ממשנה. רשותה/ אסורה חסונה... מבזארים מסויימים בספרו יוחסין ודברי הימים. אדם שן אונוש וגוו' ראיין לתמונה למה לא הטיל ויז"ו בתיבה הפלישית. כמזהה....

In diesem bedeutungsvollen Kommentar werden genannt:

יראם המגמאלי (fol. 214v. 215v. 218r und 220r); יוזיה בן קורייש סעדיה אלפ'ום (fol. 214v. 216v. 217v und am Ende der Hs.s.o.); (fol. 213v zweimal, 214rv dreimal, 215r zweimal, 215v. 216v. 217v und 221r). Der anonyme Kommentar wurde in wenigen Exemplaren ediert von RAFAEL KIRCHHEIM. Pérus 'al dibré ha-jamim. Commentar zur Chronik (aus dem X. Jhd.) zum ersten Male bsg. Frankfurt a. M. 1874; vgl. WILHELM BACHER. Die jüdische Bibellexegese vom Antange des zehnten bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts in: WINTER-WÜNSCHE. Die jüdische Literatur seit AbschluB des Kanons. Bd. 2. Trier 1892. S. 335 oben: FRIEDBERG. Bēt ḥeqed I, S. 499. Nr. 107: H. MALTER. Saadja (Gaon. His Life and Works, Philadelphia 1942, S. 327.

Malter's words are as follows: "Chronicles. No definite reference to a work of Saadia's on this book is known. The only evidence that such ever existed is afforded by an anonymous Hebrew Commentary edited by R. Kirchheim פירוש על דברי הימים מיווחם לאחד מתלמידיו סעדיה הגאון)"

Frankfurt a/M., 1874), which is supposed to have been written in the tenth century by a pupil of Saadia and to be in part Saadia's work; see Kirchheim's Introduction, p. vi; L. Donath, MWJ., I, nos. 21-24; S. Landau, Ansichten des Talmuds, etc. Halle, 1888, pp. 65 ff. Saadia is mentioned by name several times (pp. 19, 27, 36, bis); comp. Brüll, Jahrbücher, II, 191 ff.; Egers, HB., XIV, 124f.; Steinschneider, HB., XIV, 130; XVI, 90. For a supposed quotation of the Commentary of Saadia in a Geonic Responsum see Ginzberg, Geonica, II, 16; Poznanski, JQR., N.S., vol. II (1912-1913), p. 424. For details pertaining to this Commentary and its relations to Saadia see the recent work of L. Bardowicz, Die Abfassungszeit der Baraita der 32 Normen, Berlin, 1913; comp. ibidem, p. 43, n. 3; above, note 606; Aptowitz, in A. Schwarz's Festschrift, Berlin, 1917, pp. 121 ff."

⁸ Bible, Hagiographa, Incunabulum, Hebrew. Naples (with commentary) 1487. Ms. notes expurgated by censor.

⁹ Moses Marx, "Catalogue of the Hebrew Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the Library of the Hebrew Union College," in Studies in Bibliography and Booklore, Vol. 1 Number 1. June 1953, p. 29.

¹⁰ Biblia Rabbinica: Hagiographa. ED. PR. Venice 1516-17.
ספר כתובים עם התרגומים ועם הפ', נדפס עם ר' העירן בונינייזיאה.
בשנת ר'ע"ח לפ"ק ובשנת י"ט דוכום ליאנדרו לורידנו, על ידי
דביאל בומביירgi מפלאנדריה.

¹¹ Biblia Hebraica: Tomus Quartus, Editio Prima, Apud: Bomberg, Venice, 1524-25.
סדר כתובים עם פירוש ר'ש"י... נראם אברם נ"ר מאיר אבן עזרא הספרדי.

It was not possible to duplicate any pages from this volume. Therefore, the Plates do not contain a copy of the text.

¹² Isaac Broydé, "Jacob ben Hayyim Ben Isaac Ibn Adonijah," The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 7, 1904-1912, p. 32.

¹³ Emil G. Hirsch, "Books of Chronicles...in Rabbinical Literature," The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. IV, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1904-1912, p. 60.

¹⁴ V. Aptowitz, "L'Auteur du Commentaire des Chroniques," Revue Des Etudes Juives, Vol. 55-56, 1908, p. 92.

¹⁵ For example, the מקראות גדילות published by Shiloh in Israel, 10 volumes, 1970.

¹⁶ Aptowitzer, op. cit., (n. 14), pp. 84-85.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 84-85.

¹⁸ Avraham Grossman, "Rashi... Biblical Exegesis," Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 13, MacMillan Co., Jerusalem 1971, p. 1559.

¹⁹ Hugo Fuchs, "Rashi," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 9, Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc. 1943, p. 78.

²⁰ Henry Englander, "A Commentary on Rashi's Grammatical Commentary," HUCA, Vol. 17, Jewish Publication Society, 1942-43, p. 427.

²¹ Henry Englander, "Rashi as Bible Exegete and Grammarian," CCAR Yearbook Reprint, Vol. I, Maurice Jacobs, Philadelphia, 1940, p. 1.

²² Max Seligsohn, "Rashi," The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. X, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1904-1912, p. 325.

²³ Idem., "Meir ben Isaac of Orleans, The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VIII, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1904-1912, p. 436.

²⁴ Idem., "Isaac Ben Samuel of Narbonne," The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1904-1912, p. 630.

²⁵ Englander, op. cit., (n. 21).

²⁶ Poznanski, Samuel, Kommentar zu Ezekiel und den XII Kleinen Propheten von Eliezer aus Beaugency, Druck von H. Eppelberg, Bednarska 26, Warschau, 1913, p. XIV.

²⁷ E.M. Lipscheutz, Raschi sein Leben und sein Werk, Buchdruckerei, "Universal," Warschau, 1912, p. 188.

²⁸ Striedl and Roth, op. cit., (n. 7), p. 340.

²⁹ Aptowitzer, op. cit., (n. 14), pp. 84-92.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 89.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 25, 88-89.

³² Ibid., p. 88. (Translated from the French)

³³ Ibid., p. 90. (Translated from the French)

- ³⁴ Ibid., p. 92.
- ³⁵ J.-N. Epstein, "L'Auteur du Commentaire des Chroniques," Revue Des Etudes Juives, Vol. 57-58, 1909, pp. 189-99.
- ³⁶ Ibid., p. 195.
- ³⁷ Ibid., p. 197.
- ³⁸ Ibid., p. 198.
- ³⁹ Max Schlosinger, Rashi: His Life and His Work, A paper, read before the CCAR at Cleveland, Ohio, The Lord Baltimore Press, Baltimore, Md., 1905, p. 236.
- ⁴⁰ Aptowitz, op. cit., (n. 14), p. 92.
- ⁴¹ Epstein, op. cit., (n. 35), p. 194.
- ⁴² Ibid., p. 198. (Translated from the French)
- ⁴³ Yoseph Dan, "Samuel ben Kalonymous He-Hasid ("The Pious") of Speyer," Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 14, MacMillan Co., Jerusalem, 1971, p. 809.
- ⁴⁴ Epstein, op. cit., (n. 35), p. 198.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 198.
- ⁴⁶ Dan, op. cit., (n. 43), p. 809.
- ⁴⁷ Menahem Banitt, "La'az," Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 10, MacMillan Co., Jerusalem, 1971, p. 1315.
- ⁴⁸ Jona Fraenkel, "Rashi...Other Characteristic Aspects of Rashi's Commentary," Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 13, MacMillan Co., Jerusalem, 1971, p. 1563.
- ⁴⁹ Epstein, op. cit., (n. 35), p. 198.
- ⁵⁰ Fraenkel, op. cit., (n. 48), p. 1563.
- ⁵¹ Epstein, op. cit., (n. 35), pp. 198-199.
- ⁵² Pereira-Mendoza, Joseph, Rashi as Philologist, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 1940, p. 62 and n. 5.
- ⁵³ Menahem Zevi Kaddari, "Rashi as Grammian," Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 13, MacMillan Press, Jerusalem, 1971, p. 1562.

- ⁵⁴ Dan, op. cit., (n. 43), p. 809.
- ⁵⁵ Avraham Grossman, "Rashi...Main Characteristics of his Commentary," Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 13, MacMillan Co., Jerusalem, 1971, p. 1561.
- ⁵⁶ Henry Englander, "Rashi as Bible Exegete and Grammarian," CCAR Yearbook, Vol. L, CCAR, 1940, pp. 3-4 and n. 10.
- ⁵⁷ Marcus Jastrow, ספר מילימ A Dictionary of the Targum, the Talmud Babli and Yerusalmi and the Midrashic Literature, p. 121, ארכי.
- ⁵⁸ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, p. 227B.
- ⁵⁹ E.I. Nathans, "Eglah," The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 5, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, p. 54.
- ⁶⁰ Louis Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Vol. IV: "From Joshua to Esther," p. 116, and Vol. VI: "Notes from Moses to Esther," n. 131, p. 273.

CHAPTER TWO

DAVID'S PROFESSIONAL LIFE

(Sources: Rashi's commentary to I Chronicles 11:4, 14:8, 18:3, 18:15, 13:10)

In I Chronicles, David was often viewed as "king over (all) Israel."¹ In I Chronicles 11:1-3 David became king over Israel in "accordance with the word of Yahweh by Samuel."² Immediately succeeding the statement of David's appointment, the Chronicler described David's capture of the fortress of Zion.³ Thus, by the fifth verse describing David, the Chronicler already began to tell of David's military exploits. To the Chronicler, David's military exploits were of an initial concern. In David's background (found mainly in Samuel and Kings), we must realize, were his "by-gone" days as head of a robber band, episodes in which he demonstrated to others his fighting ability.

Nor did Rashi fail to comment upon David's military prowess.⁴ We must address the question: What specifically did Rashi say about David as a military man? First, Rashi viewed David as one willing and able to fight.

(ד) וַיָּלֹךְ דָּוִד וְגַם. הַלְךְ מִיד לִמְלחָמָה כִּשְׁמֶלֶיךְ כִּי
יִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁלֹּא יָמֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל הַמְּלָחָמֹת שֶׁשָּׁה דָּוִד בִּימֵי שָׁאוּל
בְּזַבְחָה מְזֻלָּה שֶׁל שָׁאוּל הָיָה וְעַתָּה דָּוִד לְהַלְּחָם לְכָךְ הַלְךְ מִיד
לִמְלחָמָה:

(I Chronicles 11:4) And David and all Israel went to Jerusalem. He (David) went immediately to war when all Israel had set him on the throne, so that Israel would not say, 'all the wars that David waged were in the days of Saul. (And thus) he (David) was victorious (due to)

Saul's ill fated destiny, and now he (David) is fearful to wage war.' Therefore, he (David) went immediately to wage war.

Rashi's statement in 11:4 emphasized David's apparent willingness to go to battle. With David's willingness to go to battle, we might assume that David, in his anxiety to fight, was a ruthless ruler. Apparently, such was not the case, according to Rashi's comment to I Chronicles 14:8. David ruled without instilling fear into his subjects:

...גַּיְבָאֵר פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיַּשְׁבַּר בָּהֶם בָּאוֹתָן זֶה שְׂגִים שָׁמֶלֶךְ דָּוד בְּחֶבְרוֹן לְבַד
לֹא אָמָרָה דָּבָר וְלֹא חָשַׁבָּה עַל שְׁפָלָךְ דָּוד עַל חֶבְרוֹן כִּי אָמָרָה מֵה לְבַד
שָׁמָא נְצִיב אָוֶן שָׁרָמָגָה לְדוֹד עַל חֶבְרוֹן אֲבָל כַּשְׁגַּמְשָׁה לְמֶלֶךְ עַל כָּל
יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲזַעֲלוּ כָל הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים לְבַקְשָׁתְּ אֶת דָּוד שְׁלָא רְצֵר שִׁיחָא מֶלֶךְ
בִּיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֱלֹא שָׁעֵוד הִם יְהִי מֶוְשָׁלִים עַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ:

...and the Philistines came and dwelt in them (the cities) for those seven years that David ruled only in Hebron. They did not object, nor were they suspicious concerning (the fact) that David reigned over Hebron. They said, What have we, but a deputy or officer appointed by David over Hebron? However when he was anointed as king over all Israel, the Philistines went up to confront David. They did not want David to be king over Israel, because they (Philistines) desired to rule over them.

From Rashi's comments, David ruled in such a manner that he did not instill fear in his subjects, despite his readiness to involve himself in battle. Rashi's third comment about David, was that because David found himself in a military situation, he was in a position to fight and kill his enemies. Rashi was saying that David was not acting out of maliciousness, but merely out of the exigencies of the situation. Nevertheless, we assume David was responsible for his actions. Rashi briefly comments:

(ג) וַיְךָ דָוִיד הַדָּרְעֵזֶר מֶלֶךְ זֹבֵה חֲמָתָה. בַּחֲמַת הִיְתָה הַמְּלָחָמָה
רַבַּחֲמַת הַכָּם דָוִיד:

(I Chronicles 18:3) And David smote Hadarezer King of Zobah by Hamath in Hamath there was a battle and in Hamath he (David) smote them.

Here Rashi found no reason to ignore the obvious: David was responsible for killing others. Such was not always the case, however. Just two verses earlier (I Chronicles 18:1), in his comment "And after this...David smote," Rashi expounded upon the "this," not upon the smiting. Rashi offered expositions about the Temple, Elijah, and Elisha. Significantly, Rashi avoided the obvious meaning of the text, namely that David smote the Philistines. In one instance, Rashi pointed out that David was responsible for his military actions, in another, Rashi avoided comment. It should be emphasized that in no place, however, did Rashi venture to say that David did not take responsibility for his military actions.⁵

Rashi further reinforced David's sense of responsibility when he differentiated David's military role from Joab's. To I Chronicles 18:15, Rashi wrote:

(טו) וַיַּוְאֶב דָגֵד עַל הַצּוֹבָא. לְפִי שִׁפְטָה יְהוָה מִלְצָאת עֹוד בַּצּוֹבָא הַנִּיחָה
יוֹאָב פֶל הַצּוֹבָא לְהַלְכָה כָל מִלְחָמָתוֹ כֹל זֶה מְרוֹסֵב עַל עַשְׂתָה מִשְׁפָט וְצִדְקָה
וְזֶה שְׁהַפְסִיק וַיַּוְאֶב עַל הַצּוֹבָא מִשְׁרָם הַכִּי הַוּצֶרֶךְ שְׁלָא תָאמֵר הַוְאֵיל
וְעֹוד עַשְׂתָה מִשְׁפָט אָם כֵן לֹא הִי יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹוד גַּלְחָמִים לְכֹךְ נָאָמֵר וַיַּרְא
עַל הַצּוֹבָא:

(I Chronicles 18:15) And Joab (the son of Zeruiah) commanded the army because he (David) restrained himself from going out again with the army (David decided not to go himself); he (David) placed Joab over the army to fight each of his battles. On account of this he changed. He (David) executed

judgment and justice; and he ceased (from going out to battle). And as for Joab, he was head of the army, and because of this, it was necessary (for David to execute judgment). (Thus), you cannot say since David executed judgment (he did not fight). If that were so, Israel would not have been fighting. Thus it is said, 'Joab... commanded the army.'

Rashi underscored David's accountableness as a military man. Joab was David's appendage, but the responsibility, said Rashi, rested on David's shoulders. Even though Joab was "on the front line" and David was "behind the scenes," nevertheless, Rashi seemed to say that David was accountable for Joab's actions.

With regard to his military exploits, David appeared as one who assumed liability. For Rashi, such was not the case necessarily when viewing David as a religious personage. Rashi, in I Chronicles 13:7-10, commented about David's lack of responsibility when Uzza died for touching the ark. Uzza, not David, was culpable. Despite what David did, from Rashi's viewpoint, we see that Uzza was killed due to Uzza's (not David's) wrongdoing of "putting forth" his hand and touching the ark when he should not have done such.

(ג') ויבחו על אשר שלח ידו על הארץ. ויהו שכתוב נטמא
 (ב' ו') ויבחו שם אליהם על השל פתרכו על השלח על שאות
 הארץ... כך נפרש כאן על השל השלח: רימת שם לפניו אליהם.
 לפניו הארץ אליהם (בשם נטמא ב' ו') כתיב רימת שם עם הארץ
 האלילים:

(I Chronicles 13:10) He (God) smote him, because he put forth his hand to the ark and it is written in II Samuel 6:7, "He (God) smote him there for his error." It is an explanation concerning the

"one who put forth (his hand)," concerning the one who grabbed the ark...For that reason, it is explained here "Hashal is the one who put forth his hand."

In this instance, according to Rashi, David incurred no guilt.

Radaq failed to concur with Rashi vis-à-vis David's exculpation. Radaq suggested in his comment to 13:10⁶ that Uzza did not sin because he touched the ark (c.f. Rashi), but because (1) Uzza was not a Levite and (2) Uzza should not have put the ark on a wagon. (David should not have allowed Uzza to do such.) With the above two insights, Radaq stated that David erred in the matter of Uzza's death. Rashi assumed Uzza to have been guilty of causing his own death, while Radaq shifted the guilt upon David.

Rashi and Radaq did not agree on their views of David's responsibility. From what was cited about David as a military man, Rashi felt that David was responsible for his own actions. In the above episode about the ark, an incident within the religious realm, Rashi felt that David was not as responsible. What Rashi seemed to be implying was that as a professional man, David had a clear idea of his responsibility as a professional person. He was answerable in military matters, but he did not feel accountable when someone erred in one religious matter.

What were Rashi's comments about David as a professional? In sum, Rashi's comments highlighted David's

military characteristics: his willingness to fight, his ruling over subjects without instilling undue fear, his carrying out the duties of grueling battles if necessary, and his assuming responsibility in military situations. It is the last matter of David's professional responsibility, where Rashi appeared to be somewhat inconsistent. David laid himself open to the contingencies of his military life by assuming culpability, but not of his religious life. David appeared more apt to assume responsibility in the former case, than in the latter. Rashi seemed to be saying that David clearly knew the areas where he wanted responsibility and where he did not. David's voluntary opposition to responsibility is even more apparent at times in the episodes with his family members.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

¹ Jacob M. Myers, I Chronicles: The Anchor Bible, p. 199.

² I Chronicles 11:13.

³ I Chronicles 11:5.

⁴ With reference to David's military prowess, we would presume that David's military aide, Joab, would be of major concern to Rashi. Here was Joab, David's competent, loyal, right hand officer who fell from David's grace. Most of Rashi's comments are about Joab's abilities, however, and not about the reasons why Joab lost favor in David's eyes. The important question is: Why, according to Rashi, did Joab lose esteem with David? This question was not addressed by Rashi. Joab will be mentioned in passing in Chapter Five.

⁵ Assuming responsibility in times of military conflict is not without modern significance. We can, unfortunately, point out the comment from Austin Stephens', The Dispossessed, 1975:

"Lord Moyne was assassinated by the Jewish Irgun-- it was said because he had responded to Joel Brand's efforts to save a 1,000,000 Jews from the gas chambers (by bargaining with Eichmann) with the comment, 'A million Jews? Where shall I put them?'"

This example is not to draw a parallel with David, but only to emphasize the importance of assuming responsibility in Rashi's day and in our own.

⁶ Due to the focus of this study, it is not appropriate to quote Radaq's statement in full; only his conclusion concerns us.

CHAPTER THREE

DAVID'S FAMILY LIFE

In order to understand David as a family man with responsibilities, we must have an overall conception of his family. This chapter focuses upon the following aspects of David's family life: his ancestors, the immediate family into which he was born, his wives, his sons and daughter.

David's Descent

(Source: Rashi to I Chronicles 2:4)

David's ancestors are discussed in I Chronicles 2:3-4. There are two significant factors in his ancestry. First, David descended from the male, Judah. Judah had two wives. His first wife was Bath-Sheba, the very name of David's own wife, and of Solomon's mother. Second, the mother figure from whom David descended was Tamar, Judah's second wife. Tamar was also the name of David's only daughter.¹

The fact that Bath-Sheba was the name of an ancestor of David, as well as the name of his contemporary, was not a problem for any commentator, including Rashi.² In contrast, regarding Tamar, from whom David descended, Rashi pointed out that Tamar was involved in a disgraceful situation:

(ד) ותמר כלתו. מהיה אמי הירק מזכיר גנות זקייתו של לדך:

(I Chronicles 2:4) And Tamar his (Er's) daughter
I am surprised how (the text) mentions a defamation
of the ancestor of David.

The comment refers to the illicit union of Er and his wife, and the unfortunate resulting offspring, Tamar.

It is significant that the above comment was one of two comments found, by this author, in the entirety of I Chronicles where Rashi discussed a slanderous episode of David's family life. Most often Rashi ignored the distasteful fact about David, as did the Chronicles text itself. In one other case³ Rashi added what he thought was the more true story found in the Samuel text. Rashi's mention of Tamar admitted to an abhorrent aspect of David's life. Rashi did not resolve this matter (which is not characteristic of Rashi) but he did honestly confront the troublesome problem in David's ancestry in this instance. In fact, Rashi's comment contrasted with his own often-stated sentiment that Chronicles was written "to glorify David."⁴ Rashi seemed to infer that David did not descend from a "pure stock." Thus, Rashi admitted to David, a more human aspect--a descent from ancestors who had weaknesses and failings.

David's Birth

(Sources: Rashi to I Chronicles 2:13, 15, 16 and 19:11)

David was born into a family (I Chronicles 2:12-17) in which he was the youngest of seven brothers. The Chronicles text does not elaborate upon the brothers themselves, nor David's relationship to them. Likewise, Rashi did not comment about the brothers, nor David's contact with them.

Indirectly, however, Rashi did comment upon David's filiation with his father. To I Chronicles 2:13, Rashi stated about David's father, Jesse:

(יג) דָאִישֵי הַוְלִיד אֶת בְּכָרֹו. מֶלֶא אַלְיָף כְּלֻומָר אִישׁ גָבָור חִילָה:

(I Chronicles 2:13) and Jesse begot his first born
 (is written) plene. As it is said: (II Chronicles
 13:3) 'who were mighty men (אִישׁ-אִישׁי) of valor.'

To I Chronicles 2:15 Rashi wrote about David:

(טו) דָבִיד הַשְׁבָעִי. מֶלֶא יוֹדָם מִפְנֵי כְבוֹדָו שֶׁל דָבִיד וְעַתָּה מִצָּא
 הַמְּגַלְּתָה לְפִיכָר לֹא מִבָּה הַשְׁמִינִי אֶלְيָהוּ:

(I Chronicles 2:15) David the seventh (son) (is
 written) plene, on account of David's honor.
 Having found the pearl (David), he therefore
 did not count the eighth (son to be) Elijah.

In both cases, the problem is that the text spells the names awkwardly. Jesse (יְשָׁעֵי) is spelled (יְשָׁעֵי) in I Chronicles 2:13. David (דָבִיד) is spelled (דָבִיד) in I Chronicles 2:15. Rashi answered the question, why is the variant spelling of each name used, rather than the more frequent form?

The aleph added to Jesse's name is a matris lectiones, an unnecessary addition. Rashi's proof text included the term (מִקְרָב), a word written plene, as in the spelling of (יְשָׁעֵי). Rashi, thus, showed that Jesse's name could be spelled plene as in other Hebrew words.

The spelling of David is plene, which is on account of David's honor. Rashi discounted the legend that Elijah was supposedly the youngest son of Jesse. Rashi thus concluded that David, not Elijah, was Jesse's youngest son. Rashi used the "full Yod" as his evidence that the fuller spelling of David showed God's approval of David as the last of Jesse's sons.

The spelling of the names is important for two reasons. Since the spelling of Jesse (יְשָׁאֵס) is so peculiar, is it not possible that Rashi could have been addressing himself to a Christian attack? Namely, could not (אַיִלְלָה) be read as (אַיִלְלָה) having the meaning of (אֲלֹהִים)? It might just be that Rashi's comment was a polemic against such a Christian charge.

The spelling of the names could have been important for another reason. The spelling of the names linked the father, Jesse, with his son, David. The uncharacteristic spellings linked Jesse with David, a similarity that Jesse enjoyed with no other son. The spelling aberration joined Jesse with David, and gave David a special status over and above the other sons. David's uniqueness was apparent from the beginning, as evidenced by the unusual spellings of their names. David might have felt fortunate to have been linked with Jesse, sharing something with his father, that his brothers simply did not share.

Rashi, as well as other commentators, did not offer overt, direct statements about David's brothers or his relationship with them. However, Rashi did write about David's two sisters. In the following comment, Rashi wrote about David's sisters:

(טז) ואותוותיהם צרוויה ואביigail. מפני כבודו של דוד שמי בנו אחרתו גבוריים ואנשי חיל ושרים כר מפורה:

(I Chronicles 2:16) Their sisters were Zeruiah and Abigail (It is) on account of David's honor that

the children of his sister were mighty ones, men of war and officers, thus, their names are mentioned.

What was Rashi saying about David in this account? Rashi illustrated the fact that military prowess was evident in the sons of David's sisters, due to David's (not his brothers') honor. Earlier we saw that the peculiar spelling of Jesse's name was supported with the comment, "men of valor." In this subtle way, Rashi associated military fortitude with Jesse. There was no need, of course, to show David's military heroism. Rashi carried this line of chivalry through David's sisters to their sons (e.g. Joab and Abishai). To I Chronicles 19:11, Rashi associated Abishai with Jesse, due to an unusual spelling of the name Abishai. Rashi commented:

(יא) ביד אבישי. לאבישי שכל דברי הימים כתיב אבישי וגם אבישי קריigen בלבד מלבד שניים שיוציאו מכך הכל על פי המסורה ולכך בכל הספר הזה אבישי שכל הספר הזה נכתב בשפイル כבנוד של דוד וראיון זה כבנוד שיקראו לבן אחדרתו אבישי דמשמע גם אבי השוכן כבוד כי אבי הוא ישי לכך בכל הספר הזה אבישי ובכלל ספר שמואל אבישי בוד חד אבישי ראת יתר העם נתן ביד אבישי ועל פי המסורה שהרי בז הוא שהיה ישי אבי אמר צרואה שהיה היה אמו:

(I Chronicles 19:11) (He committed) into the hands of Ab'shai (אַבִ'שָׁי), concerning Abishai (אַבִ'שָׁי).

For (throughout) all Chronicles it is written Ab'shai. And he is called 'Ab'shai' alone in these two (cases) which are exceptional, according to the Mesorah. Therefore, throughout this book it is Ab'shai, for all this book is written for David's honor. And it is not to his honor that they call the son of his (David's) sister, Abishai. In the sense, 'I am as important as David because my father (literally, grandfather) is Jesse.' Therefore, in all of this Book, it is Ab'shai. And in all the Book of Samuel we find only Abishai. In the one case it is Ab'shai, 'and the rest of the people he committed into the hands of Ab'shai' (I Chronicles 19:11) according to the Mesorah. Indeed, it was Jesse, the father of his mother, Zeruiah, who was his (Ab'shai's) mother.

Ab'shai, like Jesse and David, had his name spelled in a peculiar manner. The glory of David, that Rashi stated was shared with Ab'shai, could easily have been an ability to handle military situations. One might say, military ingenuity passed through David's family, however not to all members. For example, David's brothers were not viewed by Rashi as being especially able in the military. The military bravery of David's nephew, Ab'shai, was a reflection upon Jesse and David.

In sum, all of Rashi's comments about David's parents, brothers, and sisters dealt with I Chronicles 2:13, 15, 16; and 19:11. The family portrait Rashi "painted" for us showed Jesse, David, and his nephews standing in the foreground in bright, military colors. The others were more vague, unsoldier-like, skittish figures nestled in the shadows of the background. It was as if the family scutcheon left out a significant number of members which should have been more clearly depicted, but were not so represented by Rashi. Time and again, Rashi emphasized the fact that the limelight of glory should be directed towards David. This ends David's nuclear family, in which he was raised, and his ancestral family, from whom he descended. The most significant people in his family, as discussed in Samuel and Kings, were his wives and children. The Chronicles text says little in comparison to Samuel and Kings. Thus, as one might expect, Rashi's comments are few. The following section discusses whatever Rashi wrote about David's wives.

David's Wives

(Sources: Rashi to I Chronicles 14:3; 3:1, 3; II Samuel 3:5; I Chronicles 15:29; 27:32-34)

We meet David's wives primarily in four Biblical books: I Chronicles 2:3; 3:1, 2, 3, 5; 14:3; 15:29; I Samuel 27:3; 30:5; II Samuel 2:2; 3:2, 3, 5, 45; 11:3-5, 26, 27; 15:16 and I Kings 1 and 2. From what is available to us from the text itself, a number of questions arise pertaining to the "women in David's life." Who specifically were David's wives and who were his concubines? Who mothered David's children?

Supposedly David had five wives and ten concubines, excluding Michal, Abigail and Bath-sheba.⁵ It would seem, therefore, that David's five wives were Ahinoam, Maacah, Haggith, Abital, and Eglah. The above statement that David had ten concubines refers to II Samuel 15:16, "And the king (David) left ten women, that were concubines to keep the house." The Biblical text and the commentators (including Rashi) fail to provide the identities of the concubines. They remain nameless. If we had an idea as to who the concubines were, we might have a better idea as to David's relationship with important women: Michal, Abigail, and Bath-Sheba. Each of the three women had been previously married, before having met David. What was David's relationship with them?

Rashi offered one comment which gives us some idea how David viewed his wives in general:

(ג) וַיְקַח דָּוִיד זָבוֹן . וְכֹל זֶה חִזְקוֹ שֵׁל דָוִיד :

(I Chronicles 14:3) And David took (more wives)
and all this is his possession.

Apparently, David viewed his wives as a holding, in keeping with his times and his royal position. More significant than David's overall conception of his wives, might be his relationship with certain women in particular. Whatever Rashi might have stated about David's dealing with Abigail, Eglah, Michal, and Bath-Sheba, might tell us something about David as a husband. The reason for this concern, is that the aforementioned women were the more "problematic" women in David's life as reflected in the Books of Samuel and Kings.

We first learn of Abigail from II Samuel 3:3, where Abigail is described as the wife of Nabal, a Carmelite. In I Chronicles 3:1, Abigail, herself, is viewed as a Carmelitess. Rashi, in reference to I Chronicles 3:1, referred to Abigail in the context of discussing her son, Chileab.

(א) שְׁנִי דָבִיאָל לְאַבִּיגִיל . (רוּשְׁמָנוֹאֵל ב', ג') כַּתְבּוּ וְהַשְׁנִי כְּלָאנְ
לְאַבִּיגִיל וּבְמָדְרָשׁ וּבְכָלּוּ מִפְרַשׁ לִפְיֵי שְׂדוֹד נָשָׁא אַבִּיגִיל אַחֲרֵי מִיתָּה
בְּנֵי וְהִי וְחַדְשָׁין אָזְתָּה הַבָּז שְׁהָרָא שֵׁל בְּנֵי בְּנֵי כְּלָאנְ קָרְאָה דָוִיד שְׁמָרָת
שְׁנִים כְּלָאנְ וְדָבִיאָל דָבִיאָל דָבִי אֶל כְּלָאנְ שְׁהִי דָוָמָה כְּרָלוּ לְאָבָּה :

(I Chronicles 3:1) The second (son) Daniel of
Abigail (and in II Samuel 3:3) it is written,
'and the second son, Chileab, of Abigail.' And
in Midrash Vayichulu, it is explained that David
married Abigail after the death of Nabal. And
they would suspect that that son was of Nabal
(and not David). Therefore, David called him a

double name, 'Chileab and Daniel.' (צְדִיאָב) is 'my judge,' (יְדִי) is 'God' (אֱלֹהִים). Chileab (צְדִיאָב), was one who entirely resembled (his father, David): 'all of him,' (פְּנֵיכֶם) is like father (אֲבִיךָ).

This comment tells us two things. First, and most important, it legitimizes David's marriage to a woman who had been previously married. Thus, Rashi vindicated David from any possibility of wrongdoing with Abigail, vis-a-vis her previous marriage. Also, the statement assumes there to be a clear distinction between Abigail, David's wife, and the aforementioned Abigail, David's sister.⁷ (We assume, as did Rashi, that David did not marry his sister.)

Unfortunately, Rashi did not address himself to the rich rabbinic tradition about this most important wife of David. Ginzberg noted that Abigail possessed "beauty, wisdom and prophetic gifts. With Sarah, Rahab, Esther, and Michal she forms the quartet of the most beautiful women in history. She (Abigail) was so bewitching that passion was aroused in men by the mere thought of her."⁸ Ginzberg's statement brings to mind the possibility of an emotionally rich and passionate discussion regarding David's relationship with Abigail. As ill luck would have it, such rabbinic material did not find its way into Rashi's commentary.

Rashi seemed more concerned with the identity of the son, than with David's relationship with the mother. Rashi did not doubt the fact that Abigail was, indeed, a wife of David. Such, however, was not always the case.

With respect to David's relationship with Eglah, was Eglah David's wife? Rashi stated the following about Eglah, the mother of Ithream:

(ג) המשי יחרעם לעגלת אשתו. מדרש וכי היא בלבד אשתו אלא שפערת כעגלת וילדה ושהיתה חביבה עליו כעגלת כמו (שוופטים י"ד) לו לא חרשתם בעגלתי ומפני חביבותה של מיכל קורא אותה אשתו:

(I Chronicles 3:3) the sixth (son), Ithream, by Eglah his wife. There is a Midrash which says, 'was she alone his wife?' (There was) an outpouring like a heifer, and she gave birth to him (Ithream). And she (Eglah) was as dear to him (David) as a heifer as (in Judges 14:18) 'if ye had not plowed with my heifer (עגלת).'¹ And due to the endearment (David's) of Michal, he calls her, 'his wife.'

Rashi's comment is obtuse and vague. Nevertheless, from what we can gather from his words, we conclude: Eglah was a wife of David. Eglah's (or David's) outpouring reminded David of a calfkin--a pun on the name Eglah (and incidentally, a condescending image). David called Eglah, "his wife," out of endearment to Michal, not Eglah.

In the above passage, it was not stated succinctly that Eglah and Michal were one and the same. If Rashi in his comment to I Chronicles 3:3 felt the two names stood for the same person, he did not state the fact simply. It might help us to understand our own passage, if we look at Rashi's comment to II Samuel 3:5.

(ה) לעגליה. זו מיכל שהיתה חביבה עליו וכן הוא אומר לו לא חרשתם בעגלתי (שוופטים י"ד י"ח) והכתיב ולמייכל בת שאול לא היה לה ולך עד יום מורתה (שמואל ב', ו' כ"ב) עד יום מורתה לא היה לה לה מאורתה מעשה ואילך קודם אוther מעשה היה לה:

(II Samuel 3:5) Ithream by Eglah this one (Eglah) is Michal who was dear to him (David). And thus Scripture says, 'if ye had not plowed with my heifer (אֶת־עֲזֵב)' (Judges 14:18). Is it not written, 'Therefore, Michal, the daughter of Saul, had no child unto the day of her death?' (II Samuel 6:23). She did not have (a child) because of this very deed, until the day of her death.

In the Samuel passage, Rashi first identified the one (Eglah) with the other (Michal). Furthermore, Rashi used the same pun on Eglah's name, in reference to Judges 14:18, in both the Chronicles and Samuel versions. In comments to the Samuel passage, Rashi highlighted Michal's error, when commenting about Eglah. There seems to be no doubt, that according to Rashi's comment to II Samuel 3:5, Eglah and Michal were identical.

In the Chronicles text, however, Rashi did not choose to simply state that Michal and Eglah were one and the same. Were they indeed the same person, according to Rashi's statement to I Chronicles 3:3? For II Samuel 3:5, it seems as though, according to Rashi, Michal was central to the meaning of the passage. For Rashi's comment to I Chronicles 3:3, it appears as if Michal was tangential, and thus her name was attached at the end of his comment as an afterthought.

In sum, according to Rashi's comment in Chronicles, Eglah was considered a wife of David, and closely associated with Michal, but the two women did not have a common identity necessarily. Rashi might not have believed the two names stood for the same person, since he did not choose to overtly state that they were identical. This may have been due to

the fact that Rashi was not familiar with the Targum to Chronicles which originally equated Eglah with Michal.⁹ Thus, Rashi might not have equated Eglah with Michal because he was unfamiliar with the Targum to Chronicles.

It is interesting that the Chronicles text states that Eglah was David's wife (אֶלְעָה). E.I. Nathans wrote that the expression "wife of David" in II Samuel 3:5, "probably means the favorite wife of David."¹⁰ Could the same be true about the term (אֶלְעָה) of I Chronicles 3:3? Rashi's comment could suggest that Eglah was David's favorite wife, or, his comment could be a condescending one.

First, because of her name, Eglah is equated to calfkin. Second, due to David's endearment to Michal, Eglah comes to be the pet name for David's wife. Eglah is not a wife "of her own right;" Michal is the most important one. Although it is possible that, for Rashi, they were one and the same person, it appears that Michal was the more central figure in David's life. After all, David, said Rashi, "was endeared to Michal,"¹¹ not Eglah.

Michal was one woman who, it could be said, "made the rounds." Our Chronicles text states, "Michal, daughter of Saul." Most of what we know about Michal comes from the Book of Samuel. Michal was given away by Saul, to David, in exchange for two hundred foreskins of the Philistines, the price of a mohar.¹² Michal married David, after which time she went to Phalti ben Laish of Gallim.¹³ Eventually Michal fell into Abner's control, and he, in turn, gave her

back to David. After Michal's and David's reunion, the drama took place of David dancing before the Ark. The Chronicles text tells us that Michal despised David for his conduct. The two separated, and according to legend,¹⁴ she either brought up five children, or was forever barren, and was returned to Phalti.¹⁵

Rashi did not comment about all of the supposed activity between Michal and David. It is significant to note Rashi's comment to I Chronicles 15:29. Rashi supplied the discussion from II Samuel which showed Michal's outrage toward David. Rashi did not usually comment about such a rich episode. In this one case, he supplied the human component in this tête à tête, which does not appear in the Chronicles text itself. Rashi wrote:

(כט) ומיכל בת שאול וגומר. לפי ספר דברי הימים ונבניל כבוד דוד הוא לפיך אין כתוב כאן מה אמרה מיכל לדוד כמו שכתיר בשמואל מה נכבד היום מלך ישראל אשר נגלה היום לעיני אמורות בעדריו בחגויות נגלוות אחר הריקים כי זילوتא של דוד היה שאמרה לא אשח כז:

(I Chronicles 15:29) Michal the daughter of Saul etc. because the book of Chronicles is for David's honor, therefore, what Michal said to David, is not written here. As it is said in Samuel (II Samuel 6:20), 'How did the king of Israel get him honor today, who uncovered himself today in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself!' It was because of the degradation of David (that caused) a wife to say such a thing to him.

For a number of reasons, this was a most important comment by Rashi. First, it shows Rashi's bias, in this case, between the two accounts. Frequently, Rashi noted

a parallel account in Samuel. However, in this episode from II Samuel 6:20, Rashi added what he felt to be an important omission from the Chronicles text. Namely, Rashi included Michal's emotional reprimand of David. By this rendering, Rashi seemed to show a preference for the Samuel account, over and above what was stated in Chronicles. Secondly, Rashi's comment to the Samuel passage, merely dealt with the plain meaning of the verse. Rashi defined the word for servants, (שִׁבְעָה).¹⁶

In the commentary to I Chronicles 15:29 (which is the parallel text to II Samuel 6:20) Rashi emphasized a human side of David. David degraded and debased himself--an act which did not pass unnoticed by Rashi (or Michal). Rashi then stated that Michal was a wife of David. Since Michal was a loving wife of David, she was acutely sensitive to David's "acting out."

By stating that Michal was a wife of David, Rashi solved a question as to David's exact relationship with her. Technically, she was not considered to be a wife of David.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Rashi made explicit the nature of their relationship and the emotional character of their interaction together. It is after this episode that, supposedly, Michal disappeared. Rashi made no further comment regarding Michal. From what Rashi did write, we learn of an emotional episode in David's life. The episode revealed a most human--albeit negative--element in David's personality. Such a telling statement was rare in Rashi's commentary to I Chronicles.

It would have been even more fortunate, had there been a significant comment from Rashi concerning Bath-Sheba. However, there was not such a statement in the verses where we would expect a comment. In both I Chronicles 2:3 and 3:5, Bath-Shua is mentioned. Rashi failed to comment on either verse. In the latter verse, Radaq equated Bath-Shua of Chronicles with Bath-Sheba of Samuel/Kings. The aforementioned verses are the only instances where Bath-Shua is mentioned in I Chronicles.

There are at least four reasons why Rashi should have commented upon Bath-Shua. Firstly, she was the central figure regarding David's most discussed and most grievous sin: David taking Bath-Sheba and having her husband, Uriah, placed in a position that would mean certain death. Secondly, Bath-Shua was Solomon's mother. Thirdly, she was the last of David's wives. Finally, she was a person who changed drastically--from the time of her relationship with David--to the period when she became a royal personage in Solomon's time. If there are at least the above reasons, why didn't Rashi write something in the two opportunities which he had?

It is possible, but not likely, the problems involved with Bath-Shua/Sheba did not occur to Rashi. This seems unlikely. The most ready solution was that Rashi, for the most part, avoided troublesome aspects of David's character that involved Bath-Shua/Sheba. Most often, Rashi chose to avoid. There was one exception.

To I Chronicles 27:33, Rashi commented about Hushai, the Archite. In his comment, Rashi made his one and only reference to Bath-Sheba:

(לג) וחושי הארבי רע המלך...רמדרש רובה כשהחטא דוד בנות שבת
שאל לחושי הארבי אם ישרב ותשובה אם יקובלו הקדושים ברוך הוא
בתשובה למת לו ארוכה לחטאנו ואמר לו כן.

(I Chronicles 27:33) Hushai, the Archite
(^{הארכי}....And (in) Midrash Rabbah (we find
the story): When David sinned with Bath-Sheba,
he asked Hushai, the Archite, whether he would
repent and give him a (^{אריךנה}) for his sin.
And he (Hushai) said to him (David), "yes."

It is interesting that Rashi's comment did not mention the variant form found in Chronicles, Bath-Shua (בָּת שׂוּא). Also, it appears as if David did err, and Rashi did not deny the fact that David sinned. Rashi's statement shows David's earnest and sincere desire to have been forgiven for his grievous sin. Rashi admitted that David sinned, but he did not dwell on the issue. Nowhere is the sin "spelled out" in detail, either in Chronicles, or in Rashi's commentary to the same. For the most part, Rashi chose to ignore the difficult and troublesome issues involved in the relationship between David and Bath-Sheba.

The primary factor, it might be argued, as to why the scarcity of Rashi's comments about David's wives, is that the text of Chronicles does not discuss the episodes in detail. The most detailed stories about the women are found in Samuel/Kings. As it were, Rashi followed the text of Chronicles, and did not bring up some of the more lively

episodes that would have given David, the family man, a little more "life." Not only was this true regarding the wives, but it was true of his sons and daughter as well.

David's Children

(Sources: Rashi's commentary to I Chronicles 18:17; 3:6; 18:1; 22:5; and 29:1)

This section deals with whatever Rashi commented about David's relationship with his children, and with some reflection upon the areas that Rashi avoided to mention. Rashi made one comment upon David's relationship with his sons, in general.

ונז' דוד הראמנוים ליד המלך. פארוונו ונז' דוד היה
תמיד וראשוני, אצל המלך לשות כל צרכו:

(I Chronicles 18:17) And the sons of David were chief about the king its explanation is: and the sons of David were always chiefs by the side of the king to perform his every need.

The verse itself is troublesome. If the sons, in fact, were chief, then who, in fact, would be the king, the sons or David? Rashi satisfies us by stating that the obedient sons catered to the king's every wish. We will return to this verse below.

Rashi commented upon some of David's sons individually, as well as in general. Earlier it was noted that David had a son with a double name, Chileab/Daniel.¹⁸ Rashi pointed out that the son, Chileab, resembled his father. Rashi's

comment could very well have had behind it, the rabbinic understanding of Chileab. About Chileab, Ginzberg wrote: "his (Chileab's) striking resemblance to David in appearance, (was) a circumstance that silenced the talk against David's all too hasty marriage with the widow of Nabal."¹⁹ Chileab was not the only son of David that Rashi commented upon. The following are Rashi's comments about a few of David's lesser known sons:

(ו) וְאַלְיָשָׁמָע וְאַלְיִפְלֵט. וְאַלְיִדְעָה וְאַלְיִפְלֵט. (בְּשֶׁמֶן אֶל ב' ה') אַיִזְׁנָה
מרוגה אליפלט אלא פעם אחת לאינו מרגה כי אם ז' וכאן מרגה
ס' וזהו טעם אליפלט והוא מה גנולד לו בן אחר לאחר בן ונקרא
שמעו כמו כן אליפלט שהיה הרא שמה לשם וגם אלישמע מרוגה כאן
ב' פעמים כמו כן גנולט לומר שם וגנולט לו אחר וגם א' מאלו
מת ונטארו שבעה וזה שאיזנו מרגה לשם כי אם שבעה רהט' שמרוגה
משמעותו של דוד שהיה לו בנים הרבה שהרי כל הספר נכתב
מפני כבודו של דוד וזרעו:

(I Chronicles 3:6) and Elishama and Eliphelet... and Eliada and Eliphelet (In II Samuel 5:16) the text counts Eliphelet only once. And (thus, Samuel) counts only seven sons. And here (in Chronicles) there are nine sons. And this is the reason: Eliphelet (David's) son died and another son was born to David afterwards. He was similarly named Eliphelet, who was, in fact, the eighth son. Likewise, Elishama is counted here two times. We could say that he died and a different one was born to David... It was due to David's honor that he had many sons. For, behold, all the book (of Chronicles) is written for the honor of David and his offspring.

Most of what Rashi had to say about David's sons, he said about the lesser known ones. The exception was David's son and successor, Solomon.

Much of what Rashi wrote about Solomon and David, involved a detailed description of all the preparations

that David performed for his special son, Solomon. For example, to I Chronicles 18:1, Rashi wrote:

(א) וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי כֵן וַיַּךְ דָּוִיד. אַחֲרֵ שָׁמַר דָּוִיד לְבָנוֹת בֵּית וְאַיִל
הַקְּבָ"ה לֹא תָבִנֶה אֶתְתָּה אָמַר דָּוִיד הָוְאֵיל וְאַיִל עַלִי לְבָנוֹת הַבִּית
אֶלָּא בְּנֵי עַתָּה אֲכִיבָה וְאַסְדֵּר לוֹ הַכֶּל לְכַשְּׁיבָה בְּנֵי לְבָנוֹת הַבִּית
שִׁיחָה לוֹ הַכֶּל מְזֻומָּן...

(I Chronicles 18:1) And after this it came to pass that David smote after David planned to build the Temple: The Holy One Blessed Be He said to him, "Don't build," David said, "I am not permitted to build the Temple, rather my (son). Now I will prepare and arrange for him everything so that when my son comes to build the Temple he will have everything prearranged..."

According to Rashi, it seems as though David helped Solomon along. Rashi, commented about Solomon's remarkable "young and tender" age. The Chronicles text states that fact two times, and each time Rashi commented about the "young and tender" Solomon. Is it possible that the young and tender aspect of Solomon, could not very well be a reflection upon David and his earlier days as a "young and tender shepherd?"

(ה) בָּעֵר וְרַךְ . לְפִי שָׁאֲפִילוֹ בֶן מִ"ב שָׂגָה קָרוּב בָּעֵר דְּכַתִּיב וְיִהּוּשָׁע
בֶן גּוֹן בָּעֵר לֹא יִמְשֶׁךְ וְגַוְ' (שְׁמוֹת ל"ג) שְׁהָרִי גְּהֻשָׁע לֹא מֶלֶךְ אַחֲרֵי
מֹשֶׁה כִּי אִם כ"ח שָׂגָה רְחִי ק"י שָׂגָה נִמְצָא בְשִׁבְט ל"א שָׂגָה כְּשָׁהִיר
יִשְׂרָאֵל נִמְדָּבָר הַעִיר עֲלֵיו הַכְּתוּב וְיִהּוּשָׁע בֶן גּוֹן בָּעֵר מִאֵז הִיא
בֶן מִ"ב שָׂגָה עַל כֵּן הַוּצֹר לְכַתִּיב רְךָ שְׁלָא הִיא כִּי אִם בֶן י"ב
שָׂגָה כְּשָׁמְלָךְ :

(I Chronicles 22:5) (Solomon) young and tender
because even if he were forty-two years old, he was called 'young' as it is written: (Exodus 33:11) 'And Joshua, son of Nun, a young man departed not (out of the tent).' For, behold, Joshua was a ruler after Moses when he was only twenty-eight years old and he lived to be 110 years old! This took place in Israel's thirty-first year of Israel's sojourney in the desert. Scripture testifies concerning him, 'And Joshua son of Nun, a young man.' At that point, he was

forty-two years old. Therefore, it was necessary to write 'tender' so that he (Solomon) was only twelve years old when he (began to) rule.

The young and tender ability was a strength for Solomon, as viewed by Rashi in his comment:

(א) שלמה בנו אחד והוא. וapeutic אם היו מה לא ד' לננותו
בעוד שהוא נער ורך:

(I Chronicles 29:1) Solomon my son whom alone (אחד בנו) and even if they were one hundred, it would not be possible to build the Temple, and yet he was young and tender, (and was able to build it)!

It might very well be, that Rashi was saying that David was very proud of his son, a remarkable person at such a young age. Solomon reflected well upon his father. This seems to be all that Rashi said about David's children.

What did Rashi avoid commenting about? David's offspring, Tamar, did not receive any comment. She is mentioned in I Chronicles 3:9; Rashi failed to comment on the verse. The comment just before the mention of Tamar (I Chronicles 3:6) ended with the words "the book (of Chronicles) is written for the honor of David and his offspring."²⁰ It might very well be the case that Rashi failed to discuss Tamar because she represented a failure of David, namely his coaxing Tamar to visit Amnon's residence. Since Rashi failed to address himself to the relationship between Tamar and David, he again might be dodging a distressful and harmful part of David's past.

There is another possibility as to why Rashi did not mention Tamar, the daughter of David. Ginzberg pointed

out that Tamar, according to tradition, was not even a child of David:

Tamar cannot be called one of the children of David, because she was born before her mother's conversion to Judaism. Consequently, her relation to Amnon is not quite of the grave nature it would have been, had they been sister and brother in the strict sense of the terms.²¹

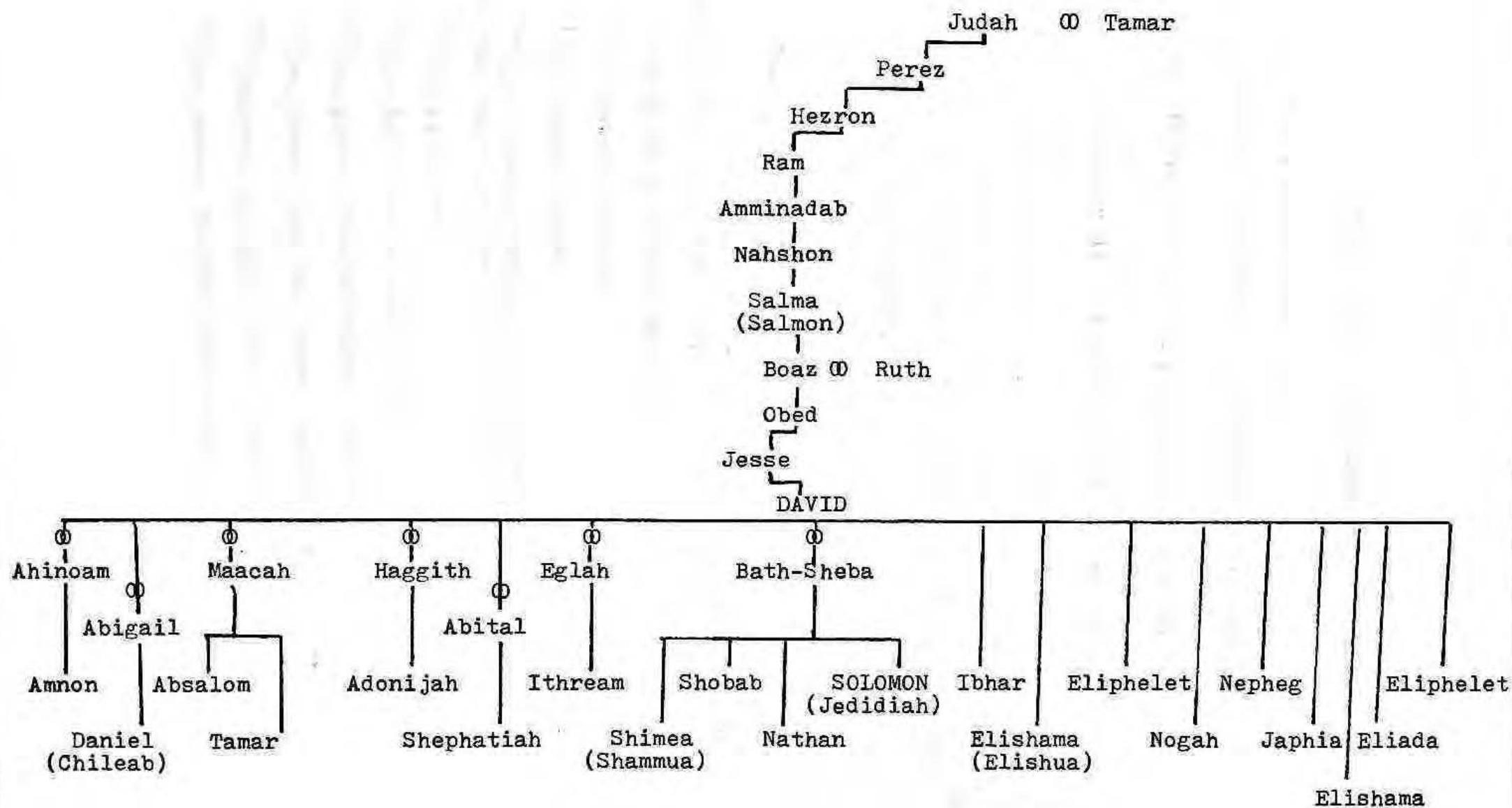
If Rashi had viewed Tamar in the same, or similar, way as Ginzberg, it still would seem reasonable that Tamar would warrant some recognition. Again, the more obvious reason as to Rashi's lack of comment, seems to return to an avoidance of conflict found in David's personality.

The most glaring omission on the part of the Chronicles text and Rashi's commentary was the avoidance of the sons Adonijah, and especially, Absalom. Ginzberg stated, "of all the punishments...inflicted upon David, none was so severe as the rebellion of his own son (Absalom)."²² The sons, according to Rashi, were not significant enough to warrant even a single comment. As stated earlier, Rashi viewed David in relation to his sons, as a giving father (especially for Solomon) with sons who were obedient to his every whim.

Rashi's avoidance of the troubles in David's family makes one wonder as to the kind of perception he had of David as a family man. Was David deeply embroiled in family matters, or did his "real self" life in another area of life? It is true that Rashi whetted our appetite in terms of what excited David. He discussed David's flare

for the military that passed through some of his family line. David was most excited in his dancing before the ark, as noted by Rashi's comment as to Michal's reaction to that action. Rashi did admit to a view of David that did not deny the fact that David's relationship with Bath-Sheba was a sinful affair. Throughout, Rashi stated that David took pleasure in his relationship with Solomon. All of this seems true. However, David was a "man of many parts" and what delighted and displeased him, according to Rashi, seems to lie mostly in another direction, in addition to his attachments with family. The following is a summary chart of David's family, as found in the Encyclopaedia Judaica.²³

THE GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF DAVID



NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

¹I Chronicles 2:4 and 3:9.

²There was no comment to either I Chronicles 2:3 nor 3:5.

³See below, Chapter Three, Michal, page 53.

⁴There are at least eight statements to the effect of "to glorify David." Chapter Four isolates the examples.

⁵Hugo Fuchs, "David," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., New York, p. 480.

⁶In this verse, Rashi is quoting II Samuel 3:3, the form of the word he quotes ('שְׁמַנֵּי) is closer to the version in our copy of Chronicles, than our copy of the Samuel text.

⁷I Chronicles 2:16-17.

⁸Louis Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Vol. 4, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, P. 117.

⁹See Chapter One, pp. 24-28.

¹⁰E.I. Nathans, "Eglah," Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 5, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1904-1912, p. 54.

¹¹Rashi to I Chronicles 3:3.

¹²I Samuel 18:25-28.

¹³II Samuel 25:44.

¹⁴J.S. Raisin, "Michal," Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 8, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1904-1912, p. 541.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 541.

¹⁶See Rashi to II Samuel 6:20.

¹⁷See above, Chapter Three, page 47.

¹⁸See above, Chapter Three, pages 48-49.

¹⁹Ginzberg, op. cit., (n. 8), p. 118.

²⁰See above, Chapter Three, page 58.

²¹Ginzberg, op. cit., (n. 8), pp. 118-119.

²²Ibid., p. 104.

²³"Genealogy of the House of David," Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol. 5, MacMillan Company, Jerusalem, 1971, pp. 1341-42.

In discussing David's ancestry and genealogy, it appears that out of many sources, David's own Delighted David, he comes to most authority. The reason for such an emphasis is not difficult to find. In his later, "white jacket" days, David, in a burst of the Captain's own imagination, writes, in his diary, the events down, like a long-term journal in which nothing seems, the moment it comes, to be forgotten. Of the last David, there is nothing but a short sentence: the Captain has said just this, so far as can be seen from his journal, that he was more important than any other man in that kingdom, and that he was in a negative list.

David's genealogical study, however, is not limited to whatever memory could come back to him under the conditions and the results of his study, but also includes concepts concerning both the Davidic and the non-Davidic royal line. In this connection, the Captain quotes an old report concerning the ancestry of King David:

One of the best known of the common expressions used by Christians is this: "The blood of Christ runs in my veins."

CHAPTER FOUR

DAVID'S DELIGHTS AND DISPLEASURES

(Sources: Rashi to I Chronicles 2:16, 3:6, 15:29, 20:4, 19:11, 21:28, 21:1, 21:5, 15:27, 20:2, 11:5, 18:4, 19:2, 14:2, and 21:13)

In discussing David's delights and displeasures, it appears that most of Rashi's material deals with what delighted David, as opposed to what displeased him. The reason for such an emphasis is that Chronicles, by and large, "white washes" King David. As a result of the Chronicler's more optimistic portrayal of David, we might expect Rashi, like other commentators, to follow suit. In other words, the commentator takes on the orientation of the text itself. There are instances where Rashi refuted the Chronicles text, but by and large, we will see that he was more interested in what pleased David, rather than in what displeased him, or what cast David in a negative light.

Rashi's comments about David's delights reflected: whatever brought David honor, his clothing, his own proper conduct, and his reaction to the conduct of others. Rashi's statements concerning David's displeasures focused upon: David's reaction to his own conduct, and his attitude toward improper conduct of others.

One of the most common expressions (if not the most common expression) used by Rashi about David was that Chronicles was "for David's honor." In at least eight

instances, Rashi viewed David as a person who needed to be honored. What specific events in David's life, as depicted in I Chronicles, brought honor to David? The following discussion isolates each example in which Rashi felt David needed to be glorified, and in most instances, he was so honored.

For David, a certain amount of pleasure stemmed from his family. We noticed in Chapter Two what Rashi wrote about David's nephews. They were mighty soldiers on account of David's honor. For Rashi, David's military strength, as evident in David's family, was a strength which brought honor to David (See Chapter Three, pages 44-45).

The second instance of David's honor, according to Rashi, involved David's children. The fact that David had so many children, was sufficient reason, in itself, to glorify David (See Chapter Three, page 58).

Earlier, in Chapter Three, page 53, we pointed out Rashi's view of David's relationship with Michal. Rashi was well aware of David's shameful dancing in the episode before the Ark. The act seemed in conflict with the idea of David's honor.

In the above case, Rashi discussed the entire Book of Chronicles as a reflection of David's glory. Surely, Rashi was not in the position to state the incident between Michal and David was not for David's honor. Rashi exposed what he felt to have been the truer story as found in

II Samuel 6:20. In so doing, he wrote in general terms about David's honor as reflected in I Chronicles, but he preferred the Samuel account.

To another verse, Rashi again stated that Chronicles, because the work glorified David, failed to record the truth about an episode. Rashi showed his bias in favor of the Samuel text, over the Chronicles text.

(ד) ר'יהי אחורי בן ר'תעמור מלוחמה בגזר. מה שמחוסר כאן בכך הפרשה כתוב בשפטו אל (ב' ב"א) ותהי עוז מלוחמה לפלשתים את ישראל וירד דוד ועבדיו עמו וילחמו את הפלשתים ואף זה משומם כבודו של דוד לא נכתבה כאן שהרי כתיב שם ויעף דוד וכתיב (שם) ר'ישבי בנו בילידי הרפא עד והוא חגור חדש ויאמר להכחות את דוד ולזלי שפערו אבישי בן צרויה היה צופל בידיו של ישבי ולפי אותו גנאי לא כתבו כאן:

(I Chronicles 20:4) And it came to pass after this that there was war at Gezer. What was lacking here, in this portion, is written in (II Samuel 21:15) 'And the Philistines had war again with Israel, and David went down and his servants with him, and fought against the Philistines.' And even this (is left out). Due to David's glory, it is not written here. Thus, it is written there, 'and David was faint' (II Samuel 21:16). 'And Ishbi-benob, who was of the sons of the giant,' until... 'he, being girded with new armor, thought to have slain David.' And had not 'Abishai, the son of Zeruiah (aided) him,' he would have fallen by the hand of Ishbi. And because of this very disgrace, He did not write it here.

In the above military episode, as in the case with Michal, Rashi showed his preference for the Samuel text. Rashi spoke of Chronicles in broad terms of being "for David's honor." For Rashi, the specific episodes as found in I Chronicles 15:29 and 20:4 were inaccurate portrayals

of the "real" David. However, Rashi was not consistent as to how he viewed the phrase, "for David's honor."

In the first two selections, Rashi felt that David was to be honored for his relationships with his family. With reference to Michal, the words, "David's honor," were a description of Chronicles and of David that neglected to tell the "true" story of David. Similarly, regarding the Gezer war, the expression, "David's honor," described a less true account (Chronicles). What Rashi seemed to be saying was that in two cases the truer version is to be found in Samuel, rather than Chronicles.

Rashi was not consistent, however, in how he viewed the appellation, "David's honor." For example, there was one instance in which that very expression was the justification as to why Rashi preferred the version of Chronicles over the rendering in Samuel (See Chapter Three, page 45). We would imagine, David could not become overly excited about the spelling of Ab'shai's name, despite the fact that Rashi said the name, Ab'shai, was recorded in its form, due to David's honor. More significant was another instance in which Rashi clearly accepted the text of Chronicles over Samuel.

(כח) בעת ההיא בראות דוד כי פגעה ה'. פרשה זו לא נכתבה בשפואל ומשום כבוז דוד נכתבה כאן שעה מזבח וכל פסוקי דברשה זו דבוק פסוק אל פסוק כאילו כולל פסוק א' :

(I Chronicles 21:28) At that time when David saw that the Lord had answered him this Parasha

was not written in Samuel. Due to the honor of David, it is written here, because he (David) made an altar. Each of the verses of this Parasha is joined one to another, one verse to the next, as if all the Parasha is one verse.

The p'shat of the verse is clear: David was happy because he had made an altar to the Lord. Rashi said that David received honor because he had performed a religious act. We imagine how joyously David celebrated, once he "saw that the Lord had answered him." Rashi recorded that David delighted in his worship.

In a somewhat earlier verse, I Chronicles 21:1, Rashi commented upon what potentially might be the most troublesome verse in all of I Chronicles. "And Satan stood up against Israel and moved David to number Israel." There are a number of troublesome aspects to the verse. First, the text deals with Satan and whatever demonic elements might go along with such a topic. Secondly, David is relieved of any responsibility for the census, according to the Chronicles text itself. How did Rashi deal with David not having to assume responsibility, but yet allowing for Satan to assume the responsibility for David? How was all of this possible? Rashi's comment, as found in Chapter One, page 18, is all that we have.

First of all, we realize that Rashi really did not address himself to the concept of Satan. Again, as we saw earlier, Rashi chose to ignore the problematic. Was the census David's responsibility or Satan's? Rashi avoided comment. It seems most unlikely that the verse

glorifies David. It clearly mentions Satan and it emphatically states that David took the census (thus, he erred). Nevertheless, within two short sentences, Rashi reconciled the verse. David came out "smelling like a rose." This verse, Rashi originally assumed, was not for David's honor. However, Rashi reasoned something to the effect that a great deal of good resulted from the portion that began with this troublesome verse. This verse, so to speak, was a "vehicle" through which David was given the opportunity to build a marvelous altar to God. It is the altar that David built and his rejoicing that pleased David, as Rashi likely assumed.

Rashi's reasoning in this instance (Satan gave David the opportunity to do a great service) reminds this author of the reasoning of the early Reform Jews as to why they should celebrate Tisha B'Av, a holiday that for them had lost meaning.

(Tisha B'Av's) commemoration has, particularly for us, no lesser importance than the revelation of Mount Sinai; for--hear and remember this word, my friends!--the reform of Judaism recognizes in the destruction of the Temple and its consequences a deed in which God Himself, in the most solemn and decisive manner, reformed the law He had revealed to Moses....Reform recognizes in the flaming Temple mount not a curtailment but rather a continuation of the divine work of salvation, which had begun on flaming Mount Sinai, marking the real beginning of the priestly mission, the conveyance of the divinity of all the children of this earth, for which Israel had been ordained at the Sinaitic choice.¹

The seemingly unattractive was made beautiful. To Rashi, what appeared to be a disgrace for David, turned out to be an opportunity to worship the Lord. To the early Reformers, what appeared to be a holiday with little meaning for the Reformers, resulted in an opportunity to spread religion throughout the world. Within a line or so of Biblical commentary, Rashi changed the focus of the Biblical text into a statement that glorified King David.

The last example of "David's honor" cited by Rashi dealt with the aforementioned census taking.

(ה) מס' מפקד העם. דוגמת וכל פקדיכם לכל מס'ך: ויהי כל ישראל אלף אלף ומאה אלף ויהודה ארבע מאות ושבטים אלף.
 (ובשモאל ב' כ"ד) כתיב שמנה מאות אלף ואיש יהודה ה' מאות אלף דמשמע שאין מישראל כלל כך כאשר נאמר כאן אלא לפי שהקצף היה מאת הקב"ה על דוד לא כתוב שם מס' כולם שמנה ואף יראב לא מנה כל השבטים כמו שכתב כי נתעב דבר המלך את יראב אבל כאן מושום כבודו של דוד מזכיר כאן מס' כולם שמנה כי זה כבודו שחיל כבד צזה היה בשפטו וכן מרכיב כמות שפירשתי שאפי' אortho קצת מישראל שמנה לא כתוב כלל מס'ם בשמו אל אבל כאן כתוב כלל אותו מס' שמנה דהא כתיב כאן ויהי כל ישראל ובשמו אל לא כתיב כלל ובפירוט מוכיח כאן לפניו גדו בדכתיב יראב בן צרויה החל למנות ולא כליה ויהי בזאת קצף על ישראל ולא עללה המספר כמספר דברי הימים למלך רוד (לקמן כ"ז כ"ד):

(I Chronicles 21:5) And all Israel were a thousand thousand and a hundred thousand and Judah was 470,000 men. And (in II Samuel 24:9) it is written '800,000 and the men of Judah were 500,000.' This implies there weren't from Israel as many as are stated here (in Chronicles) '...And even Joab did not count all the tribes, as it is written (I Chronicles 21:6)! For the king's word was abominable to Joab!' But here, due to David's honor, a numerical accounting of eight is mentioned because this is

the honor due him in that he assembled the army... (I Chronicles 27:24) 'Joab son of Zeruiah began to number; but he finished not, and there came wrath because of it against Israel; and the number was not entered into the account of the Chronicles of King David.'

Rashi did not blame David or Joab for the grievous sin of census taking. (In the text itself, David's own confession of guilt involved the shedding of blood, not the taking of the census.) In eight accounts, Rashi commented as to why David should be glorified. In most of those instances, we assume the glory delighted David. In some instances, Rashi had to stretch the evidence to glorify David.

There is one area, that of dress, that might have had a special significance for David. Because of its special significance, it seems from Rashi's comments, David was pleased with his clothing. It appears from Rashi's commentary that David took great care in wearing a particular kind of garb. The ephod was made of linen, as the text explained. However, the detail of the cloak was supplied by Rashi. It, too, according to Rashi, was made from linen.

(כז) זרוע מכרבל. כמו בדניאל בכרמלתחו זרוגם כרבלה
תחרוגגולא: וכל הלויים. כמו כן מכורבלים במעיל בוז ולפי
שהיה זרוע משורר כמו לויים לבש גם הרא לבושיםם שלבשו גם
הם וראיה להבדיל קר היה מבาง מלכים ושרים של עוזבי כוכבים
ומזלות שאוכלים פס כהביהם כחוקם היו לדובשים לבושים כהביהם:
ועל דוד אפוד בז. כאשר אפוד של אהרן שהיה כמו שמי קבידין
אחר לפדים ואחר לאחורי ומגיע עד מתבינו והיה האזoor ארוג ממנ
וחגגו בו:

(I Chronicles 15:27) And David was clothed with
a robe, as in Daniel, with regard to their other
garments. An illustration from (Daniel 3:21)

spoke of a garment that was a (protection for the three men who were cast into the fiery furnace). And all the Levites were similarly clothed in a linen cloak. Since David was a singer, as were the Levites, even he wore the very dress that they wore. And the appearance at the Temple was to make a distinction. So it was (the) custom (among) kings and officers of gentiles that they ate with their priests according to their law, and they wore the dress of Levites. And David had upon him an ephod of linen it was the same Ephod of Aaron that was of two parts combining, one in front, and the other in back. It reached up to his loins and the girdle was a web, with which it (ephod) was girded.

Rashi emphasized the detail of David's garment. Thus, we assume David took pleasure in wearing the priestly and Levitical garment, as viewed by Rashi. It appears, David felt very much a part of the Temple complex due to his attitude toward the priestly dress. It seems he enjoyed wearing the special garments of linen.

As a parallel, it might be well to call to mind Josephus' writings on the ephod as described in Antiquities:

1. There were peculiar garments appointed for the priests,...the high priest's garments. Such was therefore the habit of the rest. But when the priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes; and, in the first place, he puts on that which is called Machanase, which means somewhat that is fast tied. It is a girdle, composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them in the nature of breeches, but above half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

2. Over this he wore linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled; it is called Cethone and denotes linen, for we call linen by the name of Cethone. This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to

the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going found, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen, but the warp was nothing but fine linen.²

Josephus went into considerable more detail, than did Rashi. However, Rashi's comments parallel much of what Josephus detailed. Be that as it may, the important point seems to be that David took great care "in looking the part" according to Rashi's words. We imagine that David was joyously excited whenever he donned the linen garments.

There was one other aspect to David's clothing that showed his delight. David had a crown, according to Rashi, that was quite special. We assume David was quite proud of such a rare piece.

(ב)...רבה אבן יקרה, בעטרה: ותהי על ראש דוד. י"ש מפרשים על ראש דוד ממש והוא למזהה היאר ראשו סובלה ורבותינו פירש אבן שואבת היהת בה ושמתי בגרבונו כי מנהג הארץ ישמיעאל שתולין כתר של מלך מלמצעלה על ראש והוזע יושב כונגדה מלמטה תחתיה על כסא ומזה שבתוכו ותהי על ראש דוד שוגרת כמו על ראשו:

(I Chronicles 20:2) There were precious stones in it in the crown. And it was set upon David's head we might have doubt about how David's head could really endure (the weight of such a heavy crown). Our Rabbis explained that there was a magnetic stone in it. And I heard in Narbonne such is a custom in the land of the Ishmaelites (Arab lands) that they suspend the king's crown from above on his head and he sits next to it (that is,) under it on a chair. (Thus, it appears as if he is wearing it.) And what was written? 'It was upon David's head.' It would appear as if it were on his head. (In fact, it was not on his head at all.)

Rashi presented second hand knowledge, of an instance that made it possible for such a heavy, and equally special

crown to fit on David's head. Rashi seems to have said that the crown was important enough to David, to have arranged for such an elaborate mechanism to support the crown on his head. David, it seems, valued his crown highly. Most likely, he adored wearing it, despite its size and weight.

According to legend, David's crown would not fit just anyone. Ginzberg wrote:

That Adonijah was not designated for the royal dignity was made manifest by the fact that the crown of David did not fit him. This crown had the remarkable peculiarity of always fitting the legitimate king of the house of David.³

David's crown was special, and as Rashi pointed out, David went to much effort to arrange for its detail.

Up to this point, we have seen how Rashi showed that David delighted, as a result of being honored. Rashi also showed that David was somewhat particular in his dress and liked his apparel to be special. Rashi implied that David took special pleasure in his physical appearance.

Rashi showed that David desired to conduct himself properly in war situations. David, said Rashi, took pride in the fact that he did not exploit his position and power.

(ה) ויאמר ישבי יבוק לדוד לא תבא הנה. איבוק מפרש כאן למה רבשטיואל (ב' ה') מפרש ויאמר לדוד לא תבא הנה כי אם הסיריך הפורים והפסחים ראו שלא יוכלו לעמוד לפניו דוד ונתקנו עוורים ופסחים לפניו שער העיר לאמר לא יבוא דוד הנה כי אם ילחם עם העורדים הללו כי ידעו כי בזווית הרגל למלך להלחם עם העורדים ומתרך בך ישוב ולא ילחם עמם ודוד אמר בלבו אמת הרא כי לא בכון והגון לי להלחם עם עוורים רעם גסחים...

(I Chronicles 11:5) The inhabitants of Jebus said, 'Thou shalt not come hither.' It is not explained here why and in (II Samuel 5:6) it is explained, 'and he spoke unto David saying, "Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come hither." They saw that they could not stand before David, and they placed blind and lame people before the gate of the city, saying, 'David will not come here, for he would (be in the position to) fight against these blind people. Since others would know that he (would) cheapen (himself) as king to fight against the blind. As a result of such a thing, he would return and not fight with them.' David said to himself, 'It is true that it is not proper for me to fight with the blind and lame . . .' (II Samuel 5:8)

Rashi gave us another instance in which David did not abuse his power. David could have been a ruthless, fearsome enemy. David might have taken pleasure in his military strength alone. However, Rashi seemed to say that David enjoyed acting righteously.

(יד) משפט וצדקה. סך עמדו מלחמות עווד ומילצתו ולנו עווד במלחמה והיה יושב ושותפ' תמיד ישראל בצדקה;

(I Chronicles 18:14) (He executed) judgment and justice he (David) restrained himself from making war again and from going out again. And (thus,) he would continually sit and execute judgment with righteousness (with regard to) Israel.

From what Rashi seems to have said about David, his conduct by and large was geared to helping others. Such concern, we assume gave David much pleasure. In the Third Chapter, we learned of all that David did for his son, there was nothing he would spare in preparing Solomon for the building of the Temple. Rashi showed in those instances, and in the above, that David was by and large

a generous person. According to some rabbinic legends, David was viewed as being stingy.⁴ For the most part, however, Rashi seemed to view David as a person who delighted in aiding others. As Rashi pointed out:

(ב) כי עשה אביו עמי חסד. לקח דוד אביו ואמו ונחחים
ובבית אביו והחטינום...

(I Chronicles 19:2) For his father showed kindness to me (David) David took his father and his mother and his brothers and his father's household and restored them...

David was a giving person.

That does not mean to say, that David did not enjoy kind actions from others. Rashi gave one instance when David responded well to other people's generosity.

(ב) וידע דוד כי הוכיחו ה' למלך. כשראה שלחו לו:
מלך עמים תשרות:

(I Chronicles 14:2) David perceived that the Lord had confirmed him King when he saw that the leaders of (various) peoples sent him gifts.

David's delights could be summed up as whatever brought him honor, his special garments, his proper conduct of himself, and his behavior with others.

David's greatest sources of displeasure were his relations with Bath-Sheba, Joab, and Absalom. Rashi, and Chronicles, do not comment upon the negative aspects of David's relationship with those figures. The Samuel account is more complete, in that regard. The displeasing episode involving Michal gave the reader more of an idea

of Michal's displeasure, than David's. In fact, the text and Rashi agree that David enjoyed dancing around the Ark as he did. His action would be more of his pleasure, than his displeasure.

But suddenly, so to speak, "the floor fell from under David." Ginzberg suggested,

David was in the position of a sick man who is asked whether he prefers to be buried next to his father or next to his mother...⁵

It so happened, that Rashi used the very same midrash; however, he attributed it to a "man" and not to David directly. Nevertheless, the story deals with the desperate situation in which David found himself in the end.

(י'...) משל לאדם שאמרו לו הבן מה ובאיזה קבר רצונך שתקבר אצל אביך או אם אמר להם אוי לאזנים שכך שומעו:

(I Chronicles 21:13) I am in a great strait...
There is a parable of a man that they said to him, the son who died, 'in which grave is it your wish that you will be buried, next to your father, or next to your mother?' He said to them, 'Woe to the ears of the one who forgot to hear.'

Rashi did not dwell on the displeasures of David. He was more interested in David's pleasures.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

¹David Einhorn, "Tisha B'Av and the Modern Jew," in W. Gunther Plaut's, The Rise of Reform Judaism, World Union of Progressive Judaism, 1963, p. 201.

²William Whiston, trans., The Life and Works of Flavius Josephus, "Antiquities," Book III, Chapter VII, Sections 1 and 2, Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York, n.d., p. 99.

³Louis Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Volume 4, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1911, p. 118.

⁴Ibid., p. 111.

⁵Ibid., p. 112.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In essence, what was Rashi's perception of King David as viewed from the Chronicles commentary? David's military prowess was of primary importance to Rashi. Rashi stated that David was a strong military man who was willing to go to battle if necessary. Although David was a powerful military figure, Rashi did not view him as a ruthless leader. That is to say, David did not instill fear in his subjects. In the end, David was more apt to assume responsibility in military matters, than he was ready to assume responsibility in the religious realm. It was the factor of David's assuming--or not assuming--responsibility which led us to consider Rashi's view of David's family life.

It seems Rashi was saying that in David's familial line, military ability was apparent. Military strength was to be found in Jesse, David, and David's nephews. The Hebrew spelling of the names of David and Jesse joined the two in a special relationship, one which Jesse shared with no other son.

Regarding David's ancestors, Rashi avoided the troublesome spots on David's family tree. There was one exception. In the case of Tamar, David's ancestor, Rashi made David more human by showing David's family with its blemish. David's family was not pure and special; it had its own "ugly duckling," Tamar.

David had eighteen wives and concubines. Rashi stated that David's wives were his possession. In addition, Rashi "whitewashed" David's relationships with his wives; thereby, Rashi did not probe into the troublesome episodes. Instead, for example, Abigail was described as a legitimate wife. Thus, David did not err in marrying Abigail. In Rashi's comment about another wife, Eglah, the name of Michal appeared in the comment. By a comparison of the Samuel and Chronicles passages by Rashi, we saw that in Samuel the two, Eglah and Michal, were one and the same person. Whereas, in Chronicles, the Michal reference apparently was tacked onto the end of the comment. In Chronicles Rashi did not simply equate Michal with Eglah, as Rashi did in the Samuel commentary. Rashi, in Samuel, was implying that Michal was a central figure in David's life. The discrepancy between the two versions may be due to the fact that Rashi was not the author of the I Chronicles Commentary.

In Chronicles, Rashi's statement on David dancing and skipping before the Ark, and Michal's response, revealed an infrequent, yet significant, record of an emotional outburst. Most often, Rashi ignored such a troublesome aspect of David's relationships with women. Fortunately, Rashi expanded upon the Michal/David encounter. Rashi avoided reference to David's last wife, Bath-Sheba. There was an exception. In one verse we saw that, in passing, Rashi admitted to David's sin with Bath-Sheba.

Most of the time, Rashi tended to skirt the problematic episodes involving David's wives. The same could be said involving David's children.

Rashi totally ignored any reference to David's supposed daughter, Tamar. However, Rashi did offer comments about David's sons. In a general description, Rashi stated that David's sons were obedient and willing to serve David. Such a statement does not ring true if we consider the rebellions of Absalom and Adonijah as found in the Samuel/Kings account. Rashi, in his Chronicles commentary, followed the Chronicles text and did not dwell on Adonijah and Absalom. Rashi chose to deal with the lesser known sons: Chileab/Daniel, Elishama and Eliphelet. Rashi did comment about Solomon, as a son of David. We conjectured that the "young and tender" Solomon could have received the traits of youth and tenderness from David, due to David's idyllic past as a shepherd. Such characteristics could have been passed from father to son. David took great pleasure in Solomon; likewise, he was pleased with most of his family, according to what Rashi said or neglected to say. It seemed David's great pleasures were in other areas as well.

In a general way, we could say that whatever brought David honor, pleased him as well. We saw there was much that brought honor to David: David's sons, nephews, (especially Ab'shai), military accomplishments, and service for the altar all gave David honor. In addition, the

Book of Chronicles gave David honor. Rashi seemed to imply that David could have received much pleasure from the facets of David's life that brought him honor. From Rashi's interpretation, it seemed David's physical appearance was very important to the king. In some detail, Rashi described the king's apparel. We assume the clothing was special to David, as Rashi viewed it. Otherwise we would not have learned the details of the levitical/priestly linen which seemed to have pleased King David. David's royal crown was unusually large, according to Rashi. As Rashi viewed the king, David apparently felt as if he needed the enormously large crown.

In Rashi's comments we see that David did not take delight in a hollow victory. He received no pleasure in killing the helpless. For Rashi, a victory at the cost of conquering those who could not defend themselves, was no victory at all. Rashi seemed to imply that David would delight only in a wholesome victory.

From what Rashi stated, it appeared that David delighted in another way. David gladly executed justice and warmly extended his kindness to others. David delighted in giving to others, and in receiving gifts from them as well.

Rashi did not dwell upon the displeasures of David. Joab merited significant comment from Rashi, due to Joab's obedience and loyal resourcefulness. In Samuel/Kings we learn how Joab fell from David's favor and how David, before his death, instructed Solomon to have Joab punished.

The Chronicles text, and Rashi's commentary to the same, fail to discuss Joab's fall in esteem. David's pleasures, more than his displeasures, were of concern to Rashi.

The rabbinic material stated that David had displeasure at the end of his life. Rashi was aware of David's saddened state near the end of his life. In one instance, Rashi shared a well known midrash describing David's pitiful condition. As to what brought David to that point, Rashi failed to elaborate.

The above concludes what Rashi wrote concerning David: his military life, family life, and his life of delights and displeasures. A journalist once instructed his students of writing with the following advice: "When you write about a person...the reader wants to know all about him--how he looks, acts, dresses, and talks."¹

The biblical text, without commentary, is our lone source as to how David looked and talked. The above concludes what Rashi thought about how David felt, acted, and dressed. At this point we might, first, compare Rashi's perception of David over against the Biblical account as found in Samuel/Kings. Next it would be interesting to toy with Rashi's commentary on David to derive some modern psychological understanding of that fascinating king by the name of David.

A Comparison of Rashi's Commentary to I Chronicles and
the Samuel/Kings Account on the Subject of King David

This entire study began by comparing Rashi's commentary to Chronicles to the Rashi commentary to Samuel/Kings on the subject of King David. Since that beginning, the focus has been limited to the study of the Rashi commentary to Chronicles. Up to this point we have looked at the specific Rashi comments in order to understand Rashi's perception of King David on a particular subject.

At this point, we are concerned with the general similarities and differences between Rashi's commentary on David found in I Chronicles and the biblical account as found in Samuel/Kings. This section, because it deals with general perceptions, will not make a detailed analysis of Samuel/Kings, nor will it quote the Rashi commentary in the original.

How does King David appear in Samuel/Kings as compared to Rashi's perception as found in I Chronicles? It appears that the thrust of the Rashi commentary was to describe a man who was religiously motivated and inspired. However, that is not to say that David did not have his faults. Let us compare the "two Davids."

There are two accounts of David's youth. The "rebel" days and Goliath episode (I Samuel 17:31-54) is one account. For Rashi, he prefers to make use of the second episode, the shepherd experience of the young David as found in the comment to I Chronicles 11:2.

"No stone is left unturned" in the Samuel account which makes reference to David's troubled family. The realism shines forth. Rashi perceived David as a man with domestic problems (the Michal episode of I Chronicles 15:29). In fact, Rashi went so far as to admit to David's family the blemish, Tamar, (I Chronicles 2:4). Also, there was David's sin with Bath-Sheba (I Chronicles 27:33). Rashi's statements, however, do not "hold a candle" to the episodes of the Tamar rape, escapades with Bath-Sheba, revolts of Absalom and Adonijah; all of which are to be found in Samuel/Kings.

The Samuel/Kings account makes a greater reference to David's kingdom, than did Rashi's commentary. Both works make much of David's military might, but for different reasons. The military accomplishments in Samuel are for the establishment of David's kingdom; in Rashi's commentary to Chronicles they were a demonstration of the importance of the religious element within the kingdom.

In Samuel, David's military exploits receive more of an emphasis than do the ventures of other people. In II Samuel 5:6ff. David is credited with conquering Jerusalem. In the Rashi commentary to I Chronicles 11:8 and ff. Joab does the military offensive. Joab comes through as the loyal helper of David, whereas in Samuel the light shines only upon David.

There is a difference in the kind of friends David had, if we examine both accounts. David had "friends" in

II Samuel 15:37, counselors in II Samuel 16:23 and "house guests" in II Samuel 19:32-35. In Rashi's commentary to I Chronicles, David was surrounded by people who had expertise in the aesthetic realm. Singers, minstrels, and gatekeepers gathered around David as we learn from Rashi's statements on I Chronicles 13:8, 15:16-23, and 22:3. The liturgical and worship expert found a home in David's court. The psalmist was welcome and influenced David's environment as we learn from the commentary to I Chronicles 29:11.

The religious factor swelled in importance if we consider the discussion of the Ark (I Chronicles 13:1 ff.) the altar (21:29, 30; 21:1), and the sacrifices (23:28, 31). Often Rashi viewed David as an ideal of piety as we find in I Chronicles 11:2; 11:18; 14:14; and 21:22; and 23. At one point, Rashi went so far as to compare David with the Patriarchs (I Chronicles 29:10).

According to Rashi, David might have been a priestly type as we learned of the detailed linen garb that David enjoyed wearing. In essence, the religious element was that which Rashi emphasized in David's life. Rashi's perception of King David was that David was primarily a religious person. Such a perception might not have been in conflict with the more "even-handed" treatment which we find in Samuel/Kings. However, it showed what might have been, according to Rashi, the dominant aspect of David's personality:

David's personality might be described as gallant. He was strong and courageous in war and peace, but in him human sympathy and justice were merged with energy and sternness. Besides, he was one of the most highly cultivated characters in the Bible. He was faithful in friendship and tender in paternal love. Love for women and for art were as important to him as the most delicate excitations of moral issues and of sincere piety....His mistakes were certainly many, but they pale before his endowments. Partially his mistakes may be given a psychological explanation, and attributed to his rapid rise.²

We now turn, in brief, to study the personality of David.

Toward a Modern Understanding of David's Personality

The topic of personality, with regard to King David, necessitates our understanding a certain methodology. The reason for this concern for methodology is due to the fact that we are removed from either account of King David. Further, we are distant from the Rashi commentary to King David. Thus, we are viewing King David, a man from the past, "over many peoples' shoulders." Bruce Mazlish has commented about such an endeavor.

...the application of psychoanalytic methods to "patients" who are dead and no longer subject to verification by clinical processes, and whose "analysis" must proceed in terms of a one-way Socratic dialogue with their remaining documents is fraught with dangers, some pointed out by Freud himself (who nonetheless occasionally fell victim to them...).³

There has been one important study of David using psycho-analytic material.

Dorothy Zeligs has applied psychological theories to King David. Most of her material is the Samuel/Kings account and the midrash found in various volumes. Her material is not limited to Rashi's commentary to I Chronicles. Nevertheless, her conclusion is important to note.

Our thesis...has been that David tended unconsciously or otherwise to think of himself as a loving father, not only to his sons, but to all the people of Israel...this fatherliness had a defensive quality. But the nature of one's defenses helps to determine the character of the man.⁴

This section deals with personality as comprised of a number of variables⁵ such as:

Reality Testing--How concerned was David with sickness and death?

Intimate Relationships with Loved Ones--How did David treat the members of his family?

Responsibility for One's Work--Was David consistent in assuming responsibility?

Control over Aggressive Impulses--How even-tempered was David?

Self-esteem--To what extent did David possess a healthy narcissism?

Regarding David's concern for sickness, Rashi did not offer us any data. There is a midrash which does relate to the subject of illness, that of mental illness. Asher Bar-Zev cites the legend:

David once said to God: 'The world is entirely beautiful and good, with the one exception of insanity. What use does the world derive from a lunatic, who runs hither and thither, tears his clothes, and is pursued by a mob of hooting children?' 'A time will come,' said God in reply,

'when you will beg me to afflict you with madness.'
(i.e., when he fled to Gath.) (cited in Ginzberg,
1938, p. 89.)⁶

Bar-Zev commented further, "God's response could be interpreted as implying that madness is a flight from reality when the conditions of reality become too intolerable to bear."⁷

In Rashi's commentary, David did not flee from the situations that demanded confrontation. David chose to confront, rather than to evade. The most distressing situation was the reference in Rashi that related to the legend of the person confronting his own burial.⁸ From what we studied it appears as if Rashi felt that David was concerned with his own mortality.

David's relationship with his wives was a fascinating subject. From the one "ripe" passage in which Rashi related the exchange between Michal and David, we learned more about the former than we learned about the latter. It appeared from the Rashi commentary that David's most intimate pleasures and satisfactions stemmed from David's efforts to satisfy Solomon's wishes. Rashi related how David prepared the kingdom with great care so that Solomon's monarchy would be as problemless as possible. Rashi stated that the sons cared for David, and that David was warm enough to provide some nurturing.

The most troublesome aspect of David's personality centered upon his assuming--or not assuming--responsibility.

There was an ambivalence, according to our conclusions.

On the one hand, regarding the military, David had no reservation in carrying out his duties. However, we saw that in matters pertaining to the religious realm, at least in one case, David was hesitant to assert himself. The ambivalence might hide very strong feelings as to what excited and stimulated King David.

For the most part, David seemed to have been portrayed as a fairly stable character. The Michal episode was the exception. The situations that might have led to a display of aggressive impulses were avoided in the Chronicles text and in the Rashi commentary (David stealing Bath-Sheba and David slighting Joab in the end of their relationship together). The one reference to Bath-Sheba, admitted David's sin, but did not suggest any aggressive nature regarding David. David was the more calculating military victor, adept at fighting, but restrained in his contact with others.

David's self-esteem was important as we might review the writings of Rashi. For example, Rashi pointed out that David was a loyal shepherd of the people of Israel, and that he took pleasure in being God's servant. Some of David's most pleasurable experiences involved his life as a king of Israel. The large royal crown, the beautiful linen dress, the singing and musical accompaniment all gave David a great deal of pride and pleasure. In his position he was able to worship God with an abiding faith that inspired not only those who surrounded him, but all those who bear his legacy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

¹M. L. Stein, Write Clearly... Speak Effectively, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1967, p. 92.

²Hugo Fuchs, "David," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., New York, 1941, pp. 481-82.

³Bruce Mazlish, ed., Psychoanalysis and History, Grosset & Dunlap, New York, 1971, p. 14.

⁴Dorothy F. Zeligs, Psychoanalysis and the Bible: A Study in Depth of Seven Leaders, Bloch Publishing Co., New York, 1974, p. 257.

⁵These variables were formulated in consultation with Dr. Robert Katz of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

⁶Asher Bar-Zev, "Aberrant Behavior in Jewish Tradition," in Journal of Psychology and Judaism, Vol. 1, No. 1, Fall, 1976, p. 70.

⁷Ibid., p. 70.

⁸See Chapter Four, page 79.

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PLATES

With the exception of the first few pages, the book consists of a series of plates, mostly of small size, showing various species of plants, some of which are described in the text. The first few pages contain a short history of the author's life, and a brief account of his botanical studies. The author's name is given as "John Smith" throughout the book.

PLATE I

HAGIOGRAPHA

I Chronicles 1:1-29 with Pseudo-Rashi Commentary

Naples, 1486-87

The words highlighted in red show those instances where the words present in the 1486-87 edition were left out of, or changed, in the 1516-17 edition (Plate V).

דבריהם

הרים טה אנטז: קען מטלאל זיך: חנוך מותש
בתקתלה למכר: נהה שם חם ויפת: בניויפת גברדו
ומיישון ותפל ומצרים: ולנגוראר אשכנו ור
וירפה ותונרטה: וככין אלייה ותרטיטה מותי
בתים ודרנים: בני חם כסוט ובסצרים פט וכגען
ובני כלא סבא וחילוי והסבṭא ורעהה והסבṭא:
ובני רעטא סבא ורנן: יוכט ילך אן נברוד הוּא
החל להיות נכור הארץ ומוציאים ליר אג לוּ
לודים יאת עניטיס נאות לחיכים ואת נפתחים:
ואת פתושים ואת בסלחים אסר יעאו פטס כל
פלשטים ואט בפלטרם: וכגען ילך את צידון בפ
בקלו ואת חת: ואת חיקום ואת האמוריא אט דג
תונרטה: ואט חחי ואט הערכין ואט הסני: ואט
זארכו וואט האצדי ואט החמתה: בני שם עלים
ואשורי ואראפנדור ווּוְ וארט וויאחו וונחר וט
ומסיך: ואראפנדור ילך את טלח וטלח לְךָ אַתְּ ע
עבר: ווּ עבר ילך שני בנש שם ואחר פלג ביב
בשמי נפלגה הארץ ושם אחיויקטן: ווּקען ילך א
את אלסוד ואת טולף ואת חצראטן ואת ירוח
ואת חזדום ואת אובל ואת דקלה: זאת עיבול וא
את אביסאל ואת סבא: ואט אופר ואט חיליה
ואת יובב כל אלה בני יקען: שם ארפה
ארפה נסח שלח: עבר פלג רושן נחbor תרבח:
אקרים הו אברחים: בני אברחים יעקק ויטפען
אללה הולודומים בבוד יטמעאל נביות וקער וארכ
וארואל ופְּטָטָם:

וְנַחֲקָן כֵּל לְקַנְתִּי צָבָא פָּלָג אֶת־מִצְרָיִם וְנַחֲקָן כֵּל
לְמִזְרָחָנוּ וְנַחֲקָן כֵּל לְפִי סְטוֹס מִקְרָעִין עַכְתָּו וְכֵל לְסַבְּתוֹן כֵּל
לְכָבֵד חָרָב לְמִגְשָׁס מֵד פָּסָר הַיְמָנָה אַתְּבָס אַתְּבָס נְכָרִי יְסָמֵךְ

טְבִיבָּה טְבִיבָּה כִּי נַי
יְזִיד וְכָלֵג וְכָלְרוֹעֵס
אַלְגָּוָם אַמְסָחָתָן סָטָה
אַלְגָּאָס בְּכָרֶי יְסָעָהָל
אַלְגָּיְבָּהָמָדָן סָטָהָק

PLATE II

HAGIOGRAPHA

I Chronicles 1:30-54; 2:1-3
with Pseudo-Rashi Commentary

Naples, 1486-87

דברי הימים

סחוט עיינר האתיק. ובנו מתיין פְּנַזָּה וגְּמַתָּה רְגַלְפָת.
 נבנת שׂוֹמֶט וְמַסֵּט יְמִינָה קָאָסָה מַלְכָה דְּקָעִי וְלָעִקָּאָסָה
 בְּלָעִי וְיְמִינָה תְּרִיאָה עַל חַלְלִיאָה. עַטְוּ וְיַעֲדָה לְלָעִי כַּעֲבָד
 יַעֲקָב מְפָנֵי כְּבָנָה דְּנוֹבָהן חָנָה תְּמַנָּה בְּבָנֵי הַלְּוִיטָה
 מַלְאָד סְכָה עַל חַסְפָּגָה סְלָעָר יְנַהְקָה מְכִינָסָה
 קָאָסָה וְכָסְנָה נְמַשָּׁעָה כְּלָבָנָה חָזָה וְלְחַזָּעָה לְבָנָה עַת
 קָאָסָה וְלָעִי אַגְּלָה טָסָה כְּנִיּוֹתָה מְהַזְּעָה אַחֲרָיו אַחֲרָיו
 לְאַחֲרָיו גַּם עַל חַסְפָּגָה קָוְרָה לְחַיָּה וְלְסָכָן וְכָהָמָס חַמָּר
 לְהַזָּה וְלְמַלְאָה קָוְרָה לְחַיָּה וְלְבָנָה סְיַוְמָנָים כָּאֵם
 בְּלָעִי תְּמַחְלָה פְּזַקְתָּה דְּסַבְּדָה וְלְבָנָה סְיַוְמָנָים כָּאֵם
 כְּחַוְמָה יוֹלָה אַמְלָכִים גַּנוֹתָה סְמָנָה זְיוּנָה וְכָבָדָה גַּעֲמָיל
 יְזָקָה סְמָנָה מְלָכִים סְנָגָלָה מְלָכָוָה עַסְהָה בְּיַמִּים וְתוּ
 לְאַיְלָה פְּנִים סְטָלָה וְיְסָכְמָתָה דְּנוֹי מְיַרְתָּה כְּגַן נְיַמְּתָה כְּחָסָת
 תְּמַקְתָּה יְדָיִים תְּמַלְלָה עַל יְלָאָה פְּלָקָה נְיַמְּתָה לְהַרְחָבָה
 כְּפָרָה לְהַרְחָבָה נְגַב מְלָךְ יְזָקָה בְּצָבָא: זְהָקָה אַבְּרָהָם
 לְפִי סְמָעָתָה מְלָךְ יְזָקָה: זְהָקָה לְפִי זְהָקָה: זְהָקָה מְלָךְ
 זְהָקָה לְשָׁמָמָה מְלָךְ כְּסָה מְלָחָבָסָה מְלָךְ מְרוֹן עַל אַ
 מְלָחָבָה לְמַלְקָה וְסְנִיקָה מְלָךְ אַרְוִיסָה לְעַזְרָה הַעֲלָה
 מְלָחָן אַנוֹ לְאַדְמָן סְדָיו מְלָחָבָה וְמוֹלִין מְרִיכָה וְסְדָה
 וְנְבוּי בְּלָעָסָה מְלָטָה לְקָסָה עַל יְמָרְחָלָה בְּנִי וְזָה
 וְסְבָעָמָרָה סְהָה וְלָעִי הַיָּה זְהָבָה כְּעִזְמָה אַגְּדָה לְפִי
 בְּיַם זְהָבָה וְרַעֲבָה בְּעִזְמָה אַסְפָּקָה דְּנוֹי הַיָּקָן וְזָיְמָן בְּנִי
 כְּלָכָל מְרַדָּשָׁה חָקָה יְהִי בְּנִירָה וְכִימָה סְלָמָה הַיְנָבָה
 כְּאָנוֹ סְכָבָה יְחַבָּס אַגְּלָה קָלָטָה קָוְיִין סְהָרָה וְלִימָן וְבָ
 נְגַלְלָה וְדַרְעָה טְהִירָה בְּמַה וְזַרְעָה וְלְקָלָף יְתָרָה כְּמָה
 וְזַהֲוִיָּה כְּדָרָה כְּרָמִי נְגַזָּה וְרִיחָה עֲכָרִי מְכָן פְּטוּן
 גְּנַדרְךָ כְּרָמִי פְּמָלֵל בְּרִיסָה וְכָלָנוּ פְּמָלֵל גְּנַדרְךָ גְּנַדרְךָ
 גְּנַדרְךָ.

וְיכַת שָׁאָל וְיִמְלָךְ תְּחִתָּה בְּעַל חָנָן וְוְכָרְבָּה עַבְכָּר: יְמַת בְּעַל חָנָן וְוְכָרְבָּה תְּחִתָּה זְהָד וְשָׁם עַירְגָּעִים סָםָךְ
 אַשְׁתָּו סְמִיחָה בְּאַלְמָלָךְ בְּחַטְבָּה: יְמַת בְּנָד וְיִתְּחַלְבָּה אַלְמָלָךְ עַל דָּהָאַלְמָלָךְ
 יְתָה: אַלְמָלָךְ בְּלָבָסָה אַלְמָלָךְ אַלְמָלָךְ פְּנִין: אַלְמָלָךְ בְּנָד אַלְמָלָךְ פְּנִין: אַלְמָלָךְ בְּגַדְרָאַל אַלְמָלָךְ
 עַרְבָּם אַלְמָלָךְ אַלְמָלָךְ אַלְמָלָךְ אַלְמָלָךְ אַלְמָלָךְ אַלְמָלָךְ אַלְמָלָךְ
 וְבָנִים נְפָתְלִי גְּדָר אַשְׁר: בְּנִי יְהֻדָּה עַר וְאַנְקָן וְטַלְחָה טַלְשָׁה גְּלָדוֹלוֹן מְבַת טַעַת הַבְּגָעָנִים
 יְהֻדָּה עַר בְּטַר יְהֻבָּה בְּעַלְיִי יְהֻדָּה וְיִמְתָּה.

כְּטַפְעָה וְוְכוֹא בְּלָטָה זְהָד וְתִימָא: יְטַוְרָה נְפִיטָה וְקָרָב
 נְבָרָמָח אַלְמָח הַם בְּנִי יְשָׁמְעָאָלָה: וְבָנִי קְטִירָה פְּלָל
 פְּלִיגָּשָׁא בְּקָרָהָמָם יְלָרָה אַתְּ וְמַנְּזָן יְקָשָׁן וְבָנָן וְמַדָּו
 וְמַרְן וְסְבָקָוְשָׁוְתָה: וְבָנִי יְקָטָן צְבָא וְדָרָן: וְבָנִים
 בְּהַיִן עַפְתָּה וְעַגְרָה וְתִנְבָּרָה אַלְרָעה בְּלָאָלָה בְּנָיִם
 גְּנָרָה: וְיִלְרָא אַבְּרָהָם אַתְּ יְעַזְקָב בְּנִי
 יְעַזְקָב עַשְׁי וְיִשְׂרָאֵל: בְּנִי אַלְפָוְרָאָל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל
 רְעָלָס וְקָרָה: בְּנִי אַלְפָוְרָאָל וְאַבְּרָהָם צְפָנָגָן גְּנָעָתָם
 קָרָב וְתִפְגְּנָעָוְעָלָק: בְּנִי עַרְשָׁאָל נְחָתָם
 זְבָח שְׁבָח וְנְעוֹה: וְפָנִי שְׁעִיר לְוָטָן וְשְׁאָל וְעַבְעָן
 גְּנָהָרִישָׁן וְאַצְרָרָן: וְבָנִי לְוָטָן חָר וְהָוָטָם
 וְאַתְּהָתָה לְוָטָן תְּמַנָּעָה: בְּנִי צָאָבָל עַלְיָן וְמְגַנְתָּה וְעַיְלָה
 טְבִיאָוָנָס וְבָנִי עַבְטָן אַיְהָוָה: בְּנִי עַנְהָדָלָעָן
 וְבָנִי דִּישָׁן חַפְּנָן וְאַשְׁבָּן יְוָתְּכָן וְבָנִי אַעֲרָב
 בְּלָקָן יְוָעָן יְעָשָׁן בְּיִרְשָׁן עַזְזָאָס
 וְאַלְהָה חַמְלָבָס אַסְרָר בְּלָקָה בְּאַרְצָה אַהֲרָם לְפִנֵּים
 מְלָקָה טָלָר לְבָנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּלָעָבָן בְּעָלָר וְשָׁם עַרְוָה
 רְנַחְכָּה: וְיִמְלָא בְּלָעַיְמָלָךְ תְּחִתָּה יְוָבָכָן וְרַחְמָת
 מְפַעָּה: וְיִמְלָת חָסָס יְכָלָךְ תְּחִתָּה יְוָסָס אַרְצָה
 תְּחִתָּה אַתְּ מְרָעָן בְּסָדָה מְנָאָבָטָם עִירָה עִוָּתָה: וְ
 יְמַת תְּדָר וְיִסְלָר תְּחִתָּה טְמָלָה בְּנָמְשָׁרָה: וְיִמְלָת
 סְלָהְיִיסְלָה תְּחִתָּה שָׁאָל מְרַחְבּוֹת הַנְּהָר: וְיִמְלָת
 וְיכַת שָׁאָל וְיִמְלָךְ תְּחִתָּה בְּעַל חָנָן וְוְכָרְבָּה עַבְכָּר: יְמַת בְּעַל חָנָן וְוְכָרְבָּה תְּחִתָּה זְהָד וְשָׁם עַירְגָּעִים סָםָךְ

PLATE III

HAGIOGRAPHA

I Chronicles 2:4-27 with Pseudo-Rashi Commentary
Naples, 1486-87

וְהַמְּרֻבָּלָלָן: לֹא תִּהְרֹת לְלֹאת פְּרִזְׁז אֲזֵלָה בְּכִי
יְהֹוָה חֶסֶךְ: בְּנֵי פְּרִזְׁז חֶרְבוֹן: וְבְנֵי יְהֹוָה
וּמִרְיָאָתָן: וְהַמְּרֻבָּלָלָן: וְבְנֵי מִרְוְעָתָלָם הַבְּשָׂרָה: וְבְנֵי
וְכִנֵּי כְּדָם עַקְבָּר עַלְבָּר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר נָעַל בְּצִירָם:
וְבְנֵי אַיָּה שְׂוִירָה: וְכִנֵּי חֶרְבוֹן אֲסֹר גַּלְעִיל לֹא אָת
עַלְמָתָלָל וְגַת כְּלָלָ: וּרְסָה הַלְּוָרָא תַּעֲמִיד בְּעַז
וּעַטְמָנָךְ הַלְּוָרָא אָתְנָחָתָן גַּסְיָה בְּנֵי יְהֹוָה: וּנְחָ
וּנְחָתָן חַלְוָרָא אָתְלָטָה וְסָלָמָה הַלְּוָרָא אָתְבָּעָ
וּבְעַז הַלְּוָרָא אָתְעַבְּד וּשְׁעַבְּד חַלְוָרָא אָתְיָשָׁה: וְאֵ
רְמָסָה חַלְוָרָא אָתְבְּרוֹ אָתְאַלְיָאָבְּבָא וְאַבְּנָדָבְּחָמָנִי
וְטָמָא חַלְטָלָה: נְגַנְּאָל הַרְבָּעִירָה דִּי הַרְבָּעִיטִי
אָעֵם הַשְׁעִירָה דִּוד הַהְבָּעִיטִי: וְאַתְּתִּיָּם צְרוּחָה וְאֵ
אַבְּשָׁי וְאַבְּבָעָזָה אַלְפָתָחָ: אַבְּגָלִיל וְלָרָה אָתְ
עַזְמָא יְהֹר הַשְׁטָמָאלוּ וְלָבָקָן חֶרְבוֹן חַלְוָרָא אָתְ
שְׁוֹבָח אַטְחָה וְאַתְּרִיעָתָה וְאַלְהָ בְּנָהָה שָׂדָה וְצָבָבָ
וְאַדְדוֹן: וְתָכָן צְנָהָה יְקָחָה תַּכְלָבָא אָפְּרָהָת
וְתַלְלָל לֹא אָתְחָרָה: וְחוֹר הַלְּוָרָא אָגְזָוָה וְאוֹרָהָה
חַלְוָרָא אָגְבָנָלָאָל: וְאַחֲרָבָא חֶרְבוֹן אָל בָּהָ כָּה
סְכָרָא בְּגָלְשָׁר וְהַאֲלָקָחָה וְהַאֲבָקָן סְכִים טָן
שְׁנָה וְתָלָל לֹא אָתְשָׁגָבָ: וְטָבָבָ וְלָוָרָא אָתְיָאָר
וְהַיְלָל עַפְרָוִים וְשָׁלַשׁ עַרְמָים בָּאָרֶץ הַגָּדָרָה: וְיִקְחָ
בְּשִׂירָוָרָם אָתְחָות אַיְרָמָאָס אָתְקָתָאָת בְּ
בְּנָתִיהָ טָעִים שָׁר בְּלָא לְהָה בְּנֵי סְכָרָא אָבְיָ גָלְשָׁר
וְאַחֲרָכָתָ חֶרְבוֹן בְּכָל אֲפָרָמָה וְאָתְחָצָרָן אָ
אַבְיוֹתָהָוְתָלָל לֹא אָתְאַשְׁוֹר אַבְיָמָעָז יְהִיָּה בְּנֵי
יְהַמְּמָלָל בְּכָרָוְהָצָרָן וְבְכָרָרָה וּבְכָרָה וְאַרְמָן וְ
אַגְּזָם אַחֲרָה: וְתוֹזְחָה אַחֲרָה לְיִרְחָמָל וְסְכָמָה
עַשְׁרָתָה אָס אָגָם: גַּיְהִי בְּנֵי רָם בְּכָרָוְרָחָבָא
וְחַמְּמָל בְּעַזְזָן יְכָיָן וְעַרְרָה יְהֹוָה בְּנֵי אָגָם שְׁמִינִי וְ

PLATE IV

HAGIOGRAPHA

I Chronicles 2:28-49 with Pseudo-Rashi Commentary

Naples, 1486-87

לברוחניים

טחוניות לא נזק ומיוחס לכך? ג'ין וטולו ברכבת
זרש מוקטן וגינוי חטפנויות כטהותן יטרח לבב
הילג שטירונות עיר פסח דוד וחווית בבלגיה
אוור קדרךך על פס כלב וגירעון טסנו ורלא
טכחו לחרד מיזק הכרון. בטל לבי פקעה עד
סמה קושי. ייחוץ עלי כבוד קדרון לימי מסכינים
מטהרין סלכובגן בכור חרונן הדרון ריש
פ'ווען פלט וירחמלן וויאנטה איה קדרון לירקאנן
טונגן יסלהלטן זיזה איה איה אונס מהו פ'א
ס'אען דכומיס פקמץ עלי טיבת'ה יערוות'ה יעד
ויכווען מאיס בעיס נאל וויאר זדרה טנער לאט
לאטניר פה ווילען הונן סבלוחט מאו הונן מון
לח אַבְּגָנִים אַמְּגָנִים תַּחֲזָקָנִים סַפֵּר בְּגָזֶן
לודר פלט סִמְּסִינָן לְמַלְכָּנוּן סְדִּי יְגָדָלָן או
סְפִּין בְּגָן יְהָרָעָנָה נְבָדָן לְמַסְמָן בְּמַן סְגָנָרָן וְזָה
וְזָה יְגָן תַּהְפֵּן יְטָעָלָן בְּן בְּתָ�וָן בְּנָה אַזָּעָה,
סְפָרָגָנְדָלִין בְּן אַחִיקָּס, לְאַדְוָן לְסָפָן נְגָסָב
חָס נְגָעָה, לְרִחָעָן עַבְזָן לְחָפָץ אַתְּהָן דְּרוֹמָן רְגָנָטָן
בְּגַעַן נְבָרָה סְפָרָה עַבְזָן וְזָן לְוַיְוָה וְזָן
בְּצָחָל גַּתְּהָן כָּרְבָּר עַד חָיוֹס עַסְרָה וְזָה וְזָה טוֹן
דוֹרוֹת מגן סְפָנָנִיר וְרוֹגָן האַכְּבָּר עַד וְפָנָמָל
גְּבָנִים דְּגָגָנִים, דְּרוֹפָנוֹי מִוְּסָסָסָס אַלְמָלָן בְּן הַלְּאָג
עוֹדָם חַמְלָבָן זָאָרָה לְלָמָּה מְרִיךָן וְהָלָל בְּן לְמָה מָלָךְ מִ
סְגָבָרָי מְהֻנָּה לְמָהָנָה, וְבָיִן בְּלָבְּחָרָה וְחָלָהָן בְּ
הָחִוָּת וְחִלָּהָן פְּלָהָהָן קְהָדרָן כְּלָבְּחָרָהָן סְדִּיבָּר
קְפָּטָן תַּוְלָּהָרָן לְכָבְּחָמָנָה וְמָסָמִיחָת לְבָזָרָהָן
דִּירָן כָּל סְסָפָרָה סְסָסָס לְיִיחָד כְּלָבְּחָמָנָה וְמְפָטָקָן כְּיָ
טָלָהָרָיָהָרָיָה לְיִיחָם סָלָן רְלָסָן וְלָוָן אַבְּזָן אַפְּזָן
מִשְׁמָמָה זָהָס פָּרָן אַבְּזָן וְפָלָן כָּבְּיָאָרָהָס וְפָלָן
חָרָגָן גַּעַרְגָּעָן אַלְגָּוָן בְּגָעָנוּבָן כְּסָדָר יְהָמָגָן אַבְּ
וְרָקָם מָר פָּלָעָן וְרָקָם, יְבָן וְרָוָן חָרָה מְגָבָרָן
עַסְמָן וְמָזָהָס פָּלָעָן חָרָה לְפִי סְמָמָן מְזָבָרָן

הוּא מִקְלָדוֹתָס מִלְּכָיו עַיִטָּס (מדמיה נומניא סחוטע ע"ריען זין) וכז' כלב ענדס עקיינלאַל נוקח נאָס
בצבר מוצאים. בכיו כלב צוֹן חירַן אֶחָד צוֹן נְחוֹרָוּ וְעַמְגָנוּ יְכוֹן סְכוֹל וְלְמַחְלָה חָרָב כְּבוֹר שְׂמֵרוֹת נְלָבָן נְכָבָן
לכלב צוֹלָהָן חֲנֻחָה מְכוֹן וּמְלִיחָה מְקַתָּה מְהֻהָה וּמְהֻהָה עַל חֲרִיכָה וּמְסַמּוֹךְ אַמְרָס וּמְסַלְּעָן גְּלַחְתִּיךְ זָהָב
וְמְאַצְּבָץ קְרִיעָה יְסִיכָּם קְרִיעָה יְסִיכָּם נְדִיבָה וְלְאַתְּלָהָן בְּנֵי נְדִיבָה וְאַתְּלָהָן כְּלָמָן מְסַמְּבָבָן מִלְּכָיו קְרִיעָה יְסִיכָּם
בְּצִוְּעָן וְעַל רֹוח סָמְעָן לְפָטוּחָה וְמַחְכָּה דָן כְּלָמָן קְרִיעָה וְאַתְּלָהָן כְּלָמָן כְּלָמָן קְרִיעָה יְסִיכָּם!
טוֹאָוָה וְעַל כְּשָׂרָעָר וְמַחְמִיאָהָן גְּזָנוּ וְיַכְלֵל נְחַזְּקָה תְּלָקָן בְּנֵי יְמָנוֹזָקָן;

וירע וגנוי טרי גרב ואלישור : וס אנה אַפִּישָׁר : אַבְּיָהוּל ותֵּלֶר לו אֲתָא חָקָן ואות כָּלָר : בְּנֵי נָדָר : סָלָר וְאַפִּיס וְעַתְּסָלָר לְאַבְּנִים :
ובני אַפִּיס יְצִיעָו וְבָנִי יְשֻׁעָטִין וְבָנִי שִׁין אַחֲלָוָן :
ובני יְרוּעָא חִסְכָּו תָּרִיר יְנוֹמָן לְפָנָת יְגָר לְאַבְּנִים :
ובני עַנְפָּן פְּלָתָן וְאַלְחָחוּ בְּנִי יְחַמְּפָאָל : וְלֹא
הַחַלְשָׁתָן בְּנִים כִּי אַם בְּנָתָן לְשָׁתָן עַבְּדָר מַעֲרִי
וְשָׂבָע יְחַזְּקָע יְתַעַן שָׁתָן אֲתָה בְּתוֹלְרָע עַכְרָוָן רָא
לְאַסְחָה וְתֵלֶר לו אֲתָה עַטִּי : וְעַתְּ הַוְלוּר אַתָּה נָמָן וּבָנִים
וְבָנִים וְהַוְלוּר אֲתָה וְלָד : וְעַבְּדָר הַוְלוּר אֲתָה אַפְּלָל וְאַפְּ
אַפְּלָל הַוְלוּר אֲתָה עַפְּד : וְעַבְּדָר הַוְלוּר אֲתָה יְהָוָה וּ
יְהָוָה הַוְלוּר אֲתָה עַרוּוחָה : וְשְׁרָה הַוְלוּר אֲתָה מְלָץ
וְהַלְּצָה הַוְלוּר אֲתָה אַל עַשְׁחָה : וְעַזְבָּה הַוְלוּר אֲתָה
סְפָנִיתָן וְסְפָנִיתָן הַוְלוּר אֲתָה טָהָר : וְתַלּוּם הַוְלוּר יְקָנָתָן
וְקָמָתָן וְקָמָתָן הַוְלוּר אֲתָה אַל עַמְּמָעָן : וְבָנִי
כְּלָרָק אֲתָה יְהַדְּקָלָל מִשְׁעָבָה כְּלָרָה וְזָא אַבְּיָהוּל
בְּרָסָה אַבְּיָתְבָרָן : וּבְנִי חַרְוָן קְרָתָה וְתִפְחָה וְרַקְסָ
וְסָמָע : וְשְׁכָעָה הַוְלוּר אֲתָה רָחָם אַבְּיָרְגָּעָס וְרַקְסָ
הַוְלוּר אֲתָה שְׁמִינִי : וְבָנִי בְּשָׁעָן וְפָעָן אֲבִי בְּתָשָׁ
צָרוֹ : וְעַפְּחָרְבָּגְטָנְבָּלְבָּיְלָה אֲתָה חָקָן וְאֲתָה בְּזָעָ
טָעָא וְאַתָּה וְאַתָּה הַוְלוּר אֲתָה גָּבוֹן :

אבלו ית' רגס וויתס נג'ין ופלט עי'יה וטענה: פְּלִגָּת בְּלֵב מַעֲקָה יָלֶר שָׁבָר נָתָת תְּרִתְחָה וְתָלָד

PLATE V

HAGIOGRAPHA

I Chronicles 1:1-53

Biblia Rabbínica

Venice, 1516 - 17

The yellow highlighting shows what was added to the
1516-17 edition, and was not in the 1486-87 edition
(Plate I).



שחאנזש: קיינט הילאָלָאוֹרוֹ, בְּנֵרְחַוּפֶלְהַלְסֶרְ: פִּיכְסֶת
נוֹפֶת: בְּגַעֲמַת גַּסְרַ וְפַגְעַ וְסַרְיוֹןַ וְחוֹבָלַ וְשַׁנְוַתְּעַסְּסַ: וְכֻבְּנַרְ
אַשְׁכַּנְזָןַ וְרַפְתַּחַוְנָסָהַ: וּבְגַעֲמַןַ אַלְשָׁהַ וְנַרְשָׁשָׁהַ מִיטְסַ וְלַרְקָעַםַ וְנַרְ
בִּינְתַּסְ צַוְּשַׁ וְאַרְסַ פְּטוּגָעַןַ: נַכְבַּדְשַׁ סְכָאַוְתַּהְ וְכַרְבָּאַוְתַּהְ
וְעַפְרָהַ וְסַחְכָּאַוְתַּהְ וְגַעַלְעַהְ שְׂבִירַוְתַּהְ: כְּוֹנְסַרְאַתְּנַרְבָּרְהַוְתַּהְ
לְרַבְּוֹתְנַבְּרַהְ: כְּאַרְזָהַ: פְּגַעַלְיםַ לְרַאְתְּזַרְוּסַ וְאַתְּזַרְעַנְסַםַ וְאַתְּלַרְבָּסַ
אַתְּגַעַתְּנַחְוּתַםַ: וְאַתְּפְּתַרְסַיםַ וְאַתְּפְּלַחְתַּחְ אַפְּרַ זְזַאְסַבְּסַ
פְּלַשְׁתַּמְּזַאְתַּחְ כְּפַתְּרָםַ: וְגַעַנְעַןַ לְרַאְתְּעַרְוּנַ בְּכַרְ
אַתְּחַתְּחַתְּ: וְאַתְּקַטְּסַלְּתַהְאַתְּאַטְּלַיְּ וְאַתְּהַנְּגַשְׁיַהְאַתְּהַזְּחַיְּ וְאַתְּ
וְעַזְרַקְרַקְוְתַהְבְּסַיְּ: וְאַתְּזַרְעַוְרַיְּ וְאַתְּהַדְּגַרְזַיְּ וְהַחַטְמַיְּ בְּנַיְשַׁ
לְבַנְיָהַ וְאַתְּהַבְּרַאְתַּבְּרָאַתְּ: וְאַתְּהַבְּרַאְתַּבְּרָאַתְּ: וְאַתְּהַבְּרַאְתַּבְּרָאַתְּ:

PLATE VI

HAGIOGRAPHA

I Chronicles 1:54, 2:1-49

Biblia Rabbinica

Venice, 1516 - 17

אל-וּמְגַנְּרִיאָל אֶל-וּמְעֹרֶם אֶל-הַאֲלֹתָם אֶל-הַמְּבָרֵךְ
אֶל-הַבְּנִיְתָרָאָל אֶל-אַבְּן טַסְתָּן לְיוֹהָרָה וְשַׁחַר וְכְבָּן) ; רַנוּ יְסִיף
וְכִינְפְּתָרְלָו גּוֹאָסָר : בְּנֵי יְוָהָרָה עַרְאוֹגָן וְשַׁלְחָן שְׁלֹשָׁה גּוֹלָד
וְזָהָבָה שְׁעַמְקָעָה וְזַהַת עַרְכָּרְבָּרְבָּעִין וְזָהָבָה יוֹסִיפָּה
וְתַסְלָלְבָלְגָוְלָה לְהַלְלָה אַתְּ פְּרָרָן (אַתְּ צְרָחָלָב בְּנֵי יְוָהָרָה חַבָּשָׂה) בְּגַע
פְּרַצְחָצָרָו וְחַסְלָו : וּבְנֵי גְּרוֹחָמְרָא אַתְּ הַיְמָן וְמַלְלָה וְרַעַבְבָּס
חַסְפָּה : וּבְנֵי מִטְעָבָר עַכְרָבָר אַשְׁר-מַלְלָה כְּחָרָם) . וּבְנֵי אַיָּן
עֲוֹרָה : וּבְנֵי חַזְרָוָן אַשְׁר-יְנָדָר דָּו אַתְּ יְרָחָסָא וְאַתְּ רַס וְאַתְּ כְּלָבָן
וְזָרָם הַוְלָר אַתְּ עַפְנָרְבָּן עַפְנִינְגְּלָה וְלָרָא תַּחַתְּנָן נְשָׁאָבָנִי הַוְהָה
וְגַחְזָן הַוְהָלָר אַתְּ טְלָסְאָשְׁלָה וְהַלְוָר אַתְּ בְּבָנָו : וּבְנֵי חַלְדָּר
אַתְּ עַוְבָּר וְעַבְרָה הַוְהָלָר אַתְּ שְׁוֹי : וְאַשְׁיָּה הַוְהָלָר אַתְּ אַלְיָאָב
וְאַכְּגָרְבָּה שְׁלָנְוָשְׁמָעָה הַשְּׁלָשָׂה : גַּתְנְאָל הַרְבָּעְלָיְרָי הַחֲסִינִי
אַבְּבָשָׂה וְאַרְיָה הַשְּׁבָעִי : וְאַרְתָּחָסָה וְאַלְשָׁלָשָׂה)
אַבְּשָׁי וְאַבְּעָשָׁה שְׁלָשָׂה : אַבְּגָלָל קְלָה אַתְּ עַמְשָׁא אַבְּעָשָׁה
תְּרָה שְׁמָעָאָל : וְכָלְבָנְחַזְרָה הַוְלָר אַתְּ עַוְבָה אַשְׁה וְהַדְּרָעָה
וְאַלְהָכְנָה וְשָׂרָה וְשָׂבָב וְאַרְוָן וְפָתָח עֲוֹבָה וְקָח לְוַבָּא אַבְּרָהָם
וְהַלְרָא אַתְּ תְּרוּר : וְחַרְתוּלָר אַתְּ אַרְיוֹא וְהַוְלָר אַתְּ גְּבָרָאָל
אַנְרָא כְּחַצְרָאָן לְבָת-כְּבָרָא אַבְּיָנְלָרָה אַרְאָה לְקָהָה וְהָאָה בְּנְשָׁם
שָׁהָה וְתָלָר אַתְּ טָבָנוּ : וְשָׁנְבָה הַוְרָא אַתְּ אַוְרָה וְתָלָר עַשְׁרָס
וְשָׁלָשָׁה עַלְמָת כְּאַרְצָה הַבְּלָעָד : וְלִקְחָנְשָׂוּ וְאַמָּס אַתְּ חָותָא אַרְקָס
אַתְּ קְנָה וְתָחָנָה וְשִׁיטָּה וְעַירְכָּל אַוְהָה כְּנָסְכָר אַכְּבָנָעָר : וְאַרְעָל
פְּתָה חַצְרָאָן בְּנָבָל אַפְרָה וְהַשְּׁתָּחָרָא אַתְּ הַוְלָרָל אַתְּ אַשְׁחָר
אַבְּיָחָקָעָן : וְהַוְהָבָנָהָרָכָבָר וְהַסְּמָאָל מְשִׁין וְסִינְקָר : וְהַוְהָבָנָה
אַוְנָס : וְהַוְהָבָנָהָרָכָבָר וְהַסְּמָאָל מְשִׁין וְסִינְקָר : וְהַוְהָבָנָה
אַזְנָס שְׁפָוּוּוּבָנָהָרָכָבָשָׂוּ : וְשָׁסָא שָׁאַבְּשָׁוּר אַבְּהָלָל
וְתָלָר לְאַתְּ אַוְנָס וְאַתְּ טָלָר : וְכָנְעָנְכָלָר אַפְּבָנְכָה כְּלָרָא
כְּנָסָט : וּבְנֵי אַפְּסִים יְשָׁעָיו וְכְנֵי שְׁוֹלְשָׁן וְכְנֵי שְׁפָנָן אַתְּ לְעָן : וְבָנְיִרְעָן
אַתְּ פְּתָחָי הַוְרָה וְוּנְחָנָה תִּימָר לְאַבָּנִים : וּבְנֵי עַמְלָה פְּתָחָה וְזָהָאָלָה
תְּבוּ בְּנֵי וְחַסְאָרָה : וְלָאָהָה לְשָׁלָשָׂה בְּגַס פִּיאָס בְּנָתָה וְרָשָׁשָׂה עַבְרָה
מְשִׁירָהָמָרָה : וְלִוְנְ שְׁנָן אַתְּ גַּתְנָה לְרִיעָת עַבְרָוָן אַתְּ וְחָלָר
וְאַתְּ עַמְלָה : וְעַתְּרָה-הַרְהָרָה אַתְּ עַבְרָה וְעַבְרָה הַלְּגָרָה
לְלָה אַתְּ עַמְרָה : וְעַרְוָה הַלְּגָרָה אַתְּ חַרְמָרָה וְלְזָהָלָה
וְלָה וְלָה אַתְּ סְכָסָה וְסְפָסָה תְּרִי אַתְּ טָלָסָה : וְשָׁלָם הַוְלָד אַתְּ יְקָלָה
וְקַמְפָה הַלְּגָרָה אַתְּ אַלְיָשָׁעָה : וּבְנֵי כָּרָב אַתְּ רַחְמָאָל מְשָׁעָנְכָרְבָּה
אַבְּיָזְבָּה וְבִינְרָשָׂה אַבְּיָתְבָרָן : וּבְנֵיהָרָוָן קְרָה וְחַפְּחָרָס מְשָׁעָנָה
וְפְּסָעָוָלָר אַתְּ דְּרָמָם אַבְּיָזְבָּה וְקַסְפָּה אַחֲ שְׁמִי : וְבָרָ
שְׁפִיכָּעָן וְפִיכָּעָן אַנְיָה בְּתָאָרָה : וְעַפְוָה פְּלָנְשָׁבָלָה לְהַאֲתָתָה
וְזָהָבָה שְׁמָעָה : פְּלָנְשָׁבָלָה מְעָרָה וְלְרַשְּׁבָּר אַתְּ הַדְּרָחָה : וְלָרָה
שְׁעָף אַבְּיָזְבָּה אַתְּ שְׁאָאָכָסָכָנָה וְאַבְּיָזְבָּה וְבִעָוָתָבָה כְּלָעָסָה :

PLATE VII

HAGIOGRAPHA

I Chronicles 2:51-55; 3:1-24; 4:1-20

Biblia Rabbínica

Venice, 1516 - 17

אוֹהֶה הוּא בְּעִילָבֵן חַזְרָה בְּכָרְפָרָה שָׂוֵבֵל אֶפְקָרִת יָעָרָם:
טוֹסֵף אֲכִיבָה לְחַסְדָּרָאכְבִּיכְה נָגֵר וְהַיְבָנָס לְשָׁוֹלָאכְיִקְרָם
עוֹוֹס הַרְאָתָשָׁה מְתָבָתָה וְסַפְחוֹתָה קְרִיתָה יְעָרָס תִּהְרָא וְזִבְחָתָה
וְזַבְשָׁתָה וְזַבְשָׁעָתָה פָּאָהָה נְזָאָה וְנְאָעָתָה וְאַשְׁחָאָה וְגַעַל שְׁלָבָאָתָה
לְהַמָּה וְגַעַל עַטְרוֹת בֵּית אַזְכָּרָה וְגַעַל חַרְמָה הַצְּשָׁעָה וְסַפְחוֹתָה
סְפָרָם שְׁבוֹן וְעַזְרָעָתָם שְׁמָעָתָם יְשָׁמָעָתָם הַמָּה הַקְּלָנָתָהָם
פְּתַחְתָּאָרְבָּמְגָלָה וְאַהֲרָה כְּנִירָאָרָה

עפנאי או בוחר ואל שמעו אל פוליטון מה נוכחותינו ואלה עשו איה
ואל פולטשעה: כי בנוירוטיך כנברג'ישים מתרחחים
וילטראט בזבזת הדרישות אבדה גאנטזטיגונג: ווירט גו

וְנִשְׁלַחֲרָקָעָם אֶלְيָהָכָן אֶסְאָן וְהַעֲפָטָכָן : זֹרֶם בְּנֵי
אֶתְתָּחוֹתָה בְּנֵו וְאֶשְׁבָּנו אֶתְתָּחוֹתָה בְּנֵו עֲזָרָה בְּנֵו יְהֻתָּה בְּנֵו : אֶתְתָּנוֹ
בְּנֵי שְׂמָחָה בְּנֵי שְׂמָחָה בְּנֵי שְׂמָחָה בְּנֵי שְׂמָחָה בְּנֵי שְׂמָחָה בְּנֵי שְׂמָחָה

וחוקקו בנו פסנזה בנו: אמן בנו אשירנו בנו; ובגינע איזהו הבכור
ויתן החנני גזעיקים האליזו אודק' הווערכעיש שום; וכן גוועקס

ובנעה בנו צדקה יונה, ובגיגוניה אפר שאלחיאל בןנו; ופלכרים פריח ושגיאר יקפה הושפע ונרביה; וגבי פריה ורוכבל וטבלי

ובן־זרכבל־סלאט וגנינה־וישטייט־אוחזם : ורשותה לאומית־ברית
וחסירה־איסביב־אפרתען : ובן־חנניה־בלטוויזשען בני רפיה־כני

אך בנו עבדה בוגרניך: ובנו שכניה טפשיה ובני צפעה החטוא
ויאלי ובריהו נעריה והפטשתה. ובדנעירות אוולען ווילען

וְעַזְרָיָם שְׁלֹשָׁה: בְּנֵי אֶלְעָזֶר קָדוֹשׁ גָּדוֹלָה שִׁיבָּתָן וְעַקְבָּה
גַּתְחָן וּוְלֹהוּנָן פְּכַתָּה;

ונחין וזריזין ענין טביהו: וראתה בן-ישראל ה'לך את הארץ ית' הצעיר וכברPsi ותו יטול: ה'לך אה'זח'ז'י ואחר לאר א'לה משפח'ה הארץ טו: ו'ל'ה'א'ב'ע'ל'ס

וירא אח אחותיו ואחר רדרר והוא משבחוה הדר עזינה ורדר עזינה
וירעד ואישפם ורכש וקס אחתס האלא בפונו: ופנא לאכני נר
שרור אבוי חמשה אזהה בעניהם בכור אפרחה אכ' ביה להסיטו

עורך אבּ מושה צאה ביחסורו בכור אפרחה כי כוחם הוא
אבּ תקוע הי שתוישים רלאג'ונערונג ותלך לו נערעה אח' אחים
זאת חסר גאנטזיאן ונתה באשכער אלג'ונערונג ובענ מלאה

צ'רחה צ'רחה וצ'רחה ואה האשכתר איזה הבו גערעה וצ'רנה רוחה
אַחֲרָמֵל בְּגִתְּרָהּ וְצַנְעָן: וְקֹזְחוּ לְרִיאָת עֲנוּב וְאַתְּהָצְבָּהּ וְסַפְחָת
וְהַשְׁוֹנָא וְגַדְבָּל אֶפְאָא וְאַתְּהָרְאָה אֶבְאָא גַּעַן

אַתְּ רֹתֶל קִרְרוֹתָם. נִזְתֵּן עַבְדָּךְ גָּבָר פָּאָחוֹ וְאַבְוֹרָ קְרָאָה שְׁפִּיכְעָבָן
לְאַפְרִיכְיָלְרָפְכָעָכְךָ. נִזְקְרָא עַבְדָּךְ אַלְמָנָה שְׁרָאָל לְאַנְרָ אַטְבָּרָ
בְּגַרְבָּיוֹנְגְּרָבְּרָהָמָתָן גְּבָרָלְגְּרָבְּרָהָמָתָן גְּבָרָלְגְּרָבְּרָהָמָתָן

חַבְרָנִי וּחֲרָבִית אֶת נְבוּזָרְזָנָא וּשְׁמִיתָ כְּרֻעָה לְמַתְעֵזָנוּ
וּבְאַלְמָס אֶת אָשָׁר שָׁאַלְוָה וְכֹלֶב אֲחוֹת שְׁמָה הַלְוִיר אֶת סְמִיר הַוָּא

אֲבִיכָּתְּחֹן וְאַשְׁׁחֵן הַמְּלֹאכָה בִּתְרֵפָה אֶת פֶּסֶחָה וְאֶת חַנְקָה אֲכִילָה עיר-נֶצֶח אֶלְהָה אֱלֹהִים רְכָתָה וּבְנֵי קָמָן עַתְּכִיאָל וּשְׂרָה וּבְנֵי עַתְּכִיאָל

תחת: ומונחי הולוֹאת עפורה וטורה חוריידאת זאכאנען
חרשים פיתרשיםהו : ובגענעלבן יפנה ערוז אלהונען ובניא אלה

קנו: ובניהם לאו נז'ו ווילה פורטואה שראן, וכן עזריאלי ורוי
ועפרניון וונדר את סרטיותת של ווילה תעסח אכיאשטען.

ונטהנו ריחריהו לרהאות עדר אביגדור ואחר נרכזני מטווות;
וקתואן אביו גונזואה להכני תחתי בפרעה אטרולחסר; וכן

אשר הזרה אחותה נתם אֶקְעָלָה הנרמָו אַסְתָּהָעָו וְמַעֲכָבִי
ובן שֵׁם אַסְגָּן וְרַבָּה בְּחַמָּן וְרוֹלָן גְּבִינָה יְאַזְזָקָם וְבְצָבָטָם

הנ' שטח אספנותו ורשותו נחנן וחורין ובגע שטח אספנותו ורשותו
חו' מוכיר למלחה ובוטה ורשותה מיליה היבואת מצלביה העממית כהן מל' מוכיר
ו' בוגר בית אספנות ורשותה מיליה היבואת מצלביה העממית כהן מל' מוכיר

* יריבת כויהןין וכוכבון מוקם ברכס, ב' אביזר לב האנטק' ר' קהה מכהן נזיר גולגולת החרוטה כחרטם הגה פ' א'ו'ן טיסכו כרגען וווטיס הדרת' החדרן נחרן בקונפ' טפ'ה חביב מענגיון לנו'ן מהוועט בבראש גראט' גלן גן

הנזכר בכתובת טביה החכמת מרגנסוס ולג'תתו סהרה רוחם כרכבת הרכבת כלבון
יפס מהפכה הרדיקאלית, ובו היילךן, קר-ליהט ור' וילקון הוציאו. ג.ת.ן.כ.ב.
בית פורנרו מרים ור' וילקון, בית יוחנן ור' וילקון עלה. וול נמי בקדשו היה

PLATE VIII

HAGIOGRAPHA

I Chronicles 1:1-2

Rabbinic Bible

Shiloh Edition

Israel, 1970

The condition of the 1524-25 Blomberg edition of Venice was such that it was not possible to be duplicated. Thus, the yellow marking reveals what was added to the Rashi commentary between 1524-25 and 1970.

ודן כיב און דטב וויר בירש חיבורתא זיך'ו¹, וטיפנזהן יבואו כי ה' וטקייהת יעלו. יהונ' זאנר בעור חולץ הו. אומצ'ו רדו שמי' זאנר. יהל הלא מנט וויל הול. ישית ב' בסוקן. יגאן צוק הראשון נרכנו. יוואל מהר' עאל לא ווישע. זום וגשא הרטון וויס לבבו. ירטות זטבנוי זאנר.

הגהה אני שולח לכם את

חר סן אחר עשר מלין דתביבן בייח' וקרין כ"ג ולמנון בשמעם דשכואל, ויבו ויבא אל סחנה ישראל. יבאו קרטא יבלו בטוב ימיהם. באפרם ויהי



IE. RUGU * RUGALU r. cuiet c. idu, s. ier. soqcl inu lito mal cu lisan
dagiu ign nci uncmu qmok. si cho khali qagno ueno. crak

«**»** «**»** **ԵՐԵՎԱՆ** **ԼՐԱՏԱՆ** **ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ**

* KONG ANNU GL CEGEN * UGGULU AG LIE UGUMAGULI * KONG XU UGUMI KUW MOKKULI * KIE KEGI LIE UGUM AGUL * KUCH JAU UGEG EGREG * KEGI QUOLIO

הבירוש לדברי היחסים לדבריו חור בו יוסף במוחו ניל.

שְׁתַּי אָנוֹשׁ : בְּקִינּוֹ מַהֲלֵלָאֵל יְהָרָה : חֲנֻקָּה מַחְוֹשָׁלָה

רַדְקָה

(6) **אָדָם** שֶׁתְּנוּתָה. זה סוג מפער כתובלה וכח נקי וכך . וכן קיון. מלבדו
ירך. חינוך. מתקומם. למן. ניח. טש. גבל טש ו煦. ו煦. כתוב
כמוי

מצודת דוד

(6) **אדם** סוף הג'ת. ככל שמספר סדרהeson מוגן וולג'ו צולג'ת מלה סוף הג'ת. סוף הג'ת כמו סטמונול וולג'ו נטהר מוכט ורט'ג'ס סדרהeson: (7) גת'ג' גת'ג' רח'ג' רח'ג' וו-

PLATE IX

HAGIOGRAPHA

I Chronicles 1:3-26

Rabbinic Bible

Shiloh Edition

Israel, 1970

The condition of the 1524-25 Blomberg edition of Venice was such that it was not possible to be duplicated. Thus, the yellow markings show what was added between 1524-25 and 1970.

וְאֶת־הַעֲרֵקִי וְאֶת־הַפְּנֵי : י וְאֶת־הָאֲרוֹן וְאֶת־
הַצְמָרִי וְאֶת־הַחֲמָתִי : י בְּגַן שֵׁם עַלְפָס וְאֶשְׁר
וְאֶרְפְּכָשָׂר וְלֹוד וְאֶרְם וְעַזְזָן וְחוֹזֵל וְגַנְתָּר וְמַשְׁךָ :
י וְאֶרְפְּכָשָׂר יַלְד אֶת־שָׁלָח
וְשַׁלְח יַלְד אֶת־עֲבָרִי : י וְעַבְרִי לְדֹר שְׁנִי בְּנִים שֵׁם
הָאָחָר פָּלָג בַּי גִּימְזוֹ נְמֻלָּגה הָאָרֶן וְלָסָס אֲחָיו
יְקַפְּנוּ : יְקַפְּנוּ יַלְד אֶת־אַלְמָוֶר וְאֶת־שְׁלָפוֹתָר
חַצְרָמוֹת וְאֶת־יְרָחָנִי וְאֶת־הַרְוָסָס וְאֶת־אוֹזָל וְאֶת־
דִּקְלָה : י י וְאֶת־עִיגָּל וְאֶת־אַבְיכְמָל וְאֶת־שְׁבָא :
י וְאֶת־אָופִיר וְאֶת־חוֹזֵילָה וְאֶת־יוֹבָב כָּל־אֶלְהָה
בְּנֵי יְקַפְּנוּ : י שֵׁם אֶרְפְּכָשָׂר שָׁלָח : י עַבְרִי
פָּלָג רְעוֹן : י שְׁרוֹג נְחֹרְתָּרָה : י אַבְרָם רְעוֹן

דש

ימני גוון ותיגל ומישך ותינס : ובנין גמר פג'ריא
אשכנו ורפח וחונטה : ובנוי גוון אלישת הולוי וכוכב
תירשיה בטים ורודניים כבני חם כיש ומזרים ואן גולי
זוויליס זכונם זכונען : ובנוי בוש סבא ותילה וסבתא^ג
רעלם ואסבתא ובני רעמה שבא ורדן : וביש נחנן גול
לער אתרנמדור תוא החל להוות נפור בארכן : סיק יול
ומצאים ילד אתילרים ואתעננים ואחד קייז
ויהבים ואתינפחים : ואת-פרטלים ואחד^ד
פשלחים אשר יצאו משם פלשטים יואה
את-כפרלים :
ובנין יכר את-צ'וון בקר ואת-ת'וון : י ואחד ל-ז'
חיבם ואת-האמני ואת-הברנשי ואת-ההטי^ה

דרכם

הנ' קוכור מגוב ומורי לאו טלט סודיך גליג טום גלב כיו מגוב וגבי מורי לאו טלאל טס נקיס והזוניס : וודוינס . ולהן (בצ) הו' הילר זוקוינס ציזיראל קוטומען קוחהילא קו' גראין כל'גונס נבען הנחון לאקסה דודוינס נקס : (ז) הו' האל נא' לאויסם . בכ' ר' ח' נטה נר כהנא כל' ווינגרן תל' גולדס נוינה גליג ייס' הא' ד' יומעט לנטו'ו לארכו'ו ס' וכקוויטס נקחו'ו וס' (ז) מהרטייס . פתקרטיס וכטולו'ו בס' סט'ו'ו ולד' וגוי' (ז) הס' וככען עטפס קרו' ו' ז' ווינו'ו דצחון וגב' גאנלו'ו עטוו'ו נא' מאס' י' נאנד סקטו'ו וטראטן היל'ג נכו'ווע טווי'ו דזגמתה הא' הנט' גאנדו'ו (ה'ח'ט'ה כ') צו'ו כי' גולד חוייס ט' מהו' סכה וווקר וווחו' נוינו' הרפכנד ואוונך לא' מהו' צנו'ו מוקטן עפקו'ו . נכו'ו' כו' עדר טכל שמות חזרו'ו לנו' נטו'ו לדרכ' בו' לא' ע' כה'חיל' צו' פעם גזריך מסע' כתוו'ו טל' גולדס מצל' גולדס סאנפל'ו'ו וו' וו'ו'

מצורות ציון

(1) ויזיפת... וגוזרת כתיב וויזיפת נגיד' וככמ' כבבוח ביאן נגיד' וכו' נגיד' נגיד' נגיד' צייר' כבבוח ויל' פכיד' כל מלך' כבבוח כי גדו פלוי : (ט) טפלה. עזין' מלך' ופכיד' זיין'

CHART 77

Map showing the distribution of the *Leptothrix* group in the northern part of the Great Lakes and Lake Ontario. The figure shows the locations of the 100 stations where the group was found. The stations are numbered 1 through 100. The figure also shows the locations of the 100 stations where the group was not found. The figure also shows the locations of the 100 stations where the group was found in the southern part of the Great Lakes and Lake Ontario.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

In the bibliography to Chapter One, page 95,
following A.E. Cowley's entry please add:

Dan, Yoseph, "Samuel Ben Kalonymous He Hasid ('The
Pious') of Speyer," Encyclopaedia Judaica,
Vol. 14, MacMillan Co., Jerusalem, 1971, p. 809.

In the bibliography to Chapter Five, page 101,
following the name Bar-Zev please add the name Asher.