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King, Kingship

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sources until Alexander the Great's expansion across the region – indeed, one of our earliest historical sources, the Narmer Palette from the late fourth millennium BCE, celebrates the power of the Egyptian monarch. Although scholars today debate what merits the definition "king," the terms traditionally translated this way – Sumerian *lugal*, Akkadian *šarru(m)*, Egyptian *nsw*, Hittite *haššuš*, West Semitic *mlk* (Heb. *melek*) – all refer to a single, individual sovereign ruling a given people or region. Kings were by definition male – the famous example of the Egyptian ruler Hatshepsut being an exception that proves the rule, as although her sex was no secret, she was depicted iconographically as male through much of her reign.

Although modern monarchs tend to be thought of in narrowly political terms, the ancient Near Eastern king, as the specially chosen representative of the gods, had a much broader ambit. The kings had important political, cultic, legal, and military roles; as Henri Frankfort observed, "if we refer to kingship as a political institution, we assume a point of view which would have been incomprehensible to the ancients" (3). The specifics of these roles changed from society to society and period to period, however, complicating any attempt to describe kingship with generalities. Due to this diversity, it will be useful to summarize the significant aspects of ancient Near Eastern royal ideology, focusing on the two civilizations which have yielded the most material to allow us to understand the institution.

In Egypt, dynasties came and went but the office of kingship existed almost without interruption for nearly three millennia (although "king" could mean different things at different periods, ranging from the ruler of all of Lower and Upper Egypt to the ruler of only Tanis and its immediate vicinity). The king had several functions, but most flowed from the underlying purpose of serving as the guarantor of universal order, or *maʾat*. The king was simultaneously the ensurer of *maʾat* – Egypt could dissolve into disharmony and instability without his proper action – and bound by *maʾat* – he could operate within the created order but not change its principles. As head administrator in the land, the king was ultimately responsible for taxation and the basic running of government and economy; as high priest, he performed a plethora of cultic rituals and sponsored temples to maintain Egypt's divine favor; as chief justice, he was responsible for the execution of justice and considered the origin of all laws; as military leader, he subdued all enemies to preserve Egypt's status as superior to its uncivilized neighbors. It has often been asserted that the Egyptian kings were perceived as divine, but the reality is more complicated. Every king had an elaborate titulary consisting of five official names, two of which were related to the falcon god

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I. Ancient Near East

Kingship was one of the most resilient institutions of the ancient Near East. While individual kings were often called into question, the idea rarely if ever was, and kings ruled all the major ancient Near Eastern civilizations from the time of our earliest

Horus, suggesting that the king in some way exhibited the qualities of this deity; moreover, the king was held to be the son of Re, the sun god, through most of the ancient period. Yet at the same time, iconographically the king was always depicted facing the gods and giving them homage, indicating an inferior position. In later periods, several texts raise questions about various kings, recognizing the fallibility of the human ruler. In sum, it is most accurate to say that Egyptians believed the king to possess certain divine attributes and a special relationship with the gods, but they simultaneously acknowledged his human status.

In Mesopotamia, divine status did not occupy the kings so much. There are occasional indications that the king assumed divine attributes, such as in the case of the third-millennium ruler Naram-Sin of Akkad, who in his famous victory stele dons a horned helmet that presumably signifies his divinity. But such depictions are the exception rather than the rule, and especially in later periods, the Mesopotamian ruler more typically presented himself as the specially elected, but human, vicegerent of the gods. Militarily, the king typically traveled with the army. Presumably, he was rarely exposed to danger (though kings did occasionally die in battle, such as Sargon II of Assyria). Kings routinely took all the credit for military victories in their propaganda; conversely, if a kingdom suffered a series of military defeats, the king often found himself in a precarious position. As in Egypt, the establishment of justice was a critical aspect of Mesopotamian royal ideology. By virtue of their divine election, kings were required to rule uprightly and serve their subjects. One sees this easily in the prologue to the famous *Code of Hammurabi*, in which the Babylonian king Hammurabi asserts that the gods Anu and Enlil called him "to bring about justice in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evildoer, so that the strong might not oppress the weak." As the nexus between the gods and humanity, the king also had an important cultic role, presiding over the most important festivals and demonstrating exemplary piety to the people. Finally, the king also governed most aspects of the Mesopotamian economy, including the collection of taxes, oversight of food production, and other such matters.

With the rise of Hatti in the second millennium, the Hittite king grew to rival the rulers of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and the Hittites drew much of their royal ideology from these long-established powers. It is more difficult to speak with confidence about the smaller states in Syria-Palestine, which have yielded fewer texts. Ugarit was governed by a king in the Late Bronze Age; we can ascertain few details about royal ideology in Ugarit, though we know that, as in Egypt and Hatti, the kings of Ugarit were treated as gods after their death. Owing to the fact that the Levant was usually dominated by either Egyptian, Anatolian, or Mesopotamian powers, true kingship seems not to have emerged in most polities in the region – including Aram, Israel, Judah, the Transjordanian states, and others – until the early first millennium. Before that, these entities were governed by someone better described as a chief or sheikh.

The amount of power wielded by the crown shifted with the vicissitudes of the various ancient Near Eastern civilizations. In every society some tension emerged between the palace and the temple. Often the king dominated and held priestly power in check, but when a weak king ruled the priesthood sometimes grew more autonomous, assuming certain royal prerogatives and essentially exercising authority over certain areas. Such periods occasionally led to the fragmentation of a given society, such as at the onset of the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt.

Among the more powerful empires of the ancient Near East, the king's means of exercising hegemony over the realm changed at different periods. Sometimes the king attempted to rule from a strong central government with a complex bureaucracy, as in the Ur III empire of the late third millennium. At other times, especially in the first millennium as the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian empires extended the boundaries of hegemony beyond anything previously witnessed, kings delegated authority to a large number of (usually indigenous) vassal rulers whom they kept subservient – that is, paying annual tribute – via a combination of threats and promises of military protection. This means of ruling from a distance had various degrees of success. In general it was a comparatively low-maintenance method of keeping rule over a large territory and increasing the royal coffers, but revolts were not uncommon. The political history of most of the Levantine states from the 9th century BCE onward, including and perhaps especially Judah, cannot be understood apart from this constant jockeying for power between the local ruler and the distant suzerain.

As has been the case with so many monarchies in world history, most ancient Near Eastern kings attempted to establish a dynasty. We have little direct evidence for the protocols that governed royal succession in most ancient Near Eastern civilizations, and doubtless the procedures for determining the successor were not the same everywhere, nor were they monolithic within a given society. Although the kingship often passed to the eldest son, there is little evidence that primogeniture strictly governed royal succession. Instead, it appears that before a sitting king died he was expected to nominate a successor, who was chosen from a pool of eligible candidates, essentially his sons who were of age.

The security of the king's throne depended on his being perceived as the legitimate ruler. Kings derived their legitimacy from a number of factors including royal lineage, popular approval, faithful leadership of the kingdom, and especially divine election. Because the office of kingship was bestowed by the gods, the king had a divine mandate to rule. While on the one hand this granted absolute authority to the king, on the other hand, if the king erred in the execution of his duty then his election by the gods could be called into question. Military defeats, for example, were seen as indications of divine displeasure with a ruler and often undermined a king's legitimacy. Similarly, kings were expected to behave virtuously; situations where a king acted with insufficient rectitude sometimes led to questions about his suitability. Left unaddressed, rumors of ineptitude or malfeasance could reach a critical mass and lead to a coup. By the same token, from the perspective of the upstart, coups were often difficult to pull off successfully because of the same ideology. Because a sitting king was deemed to have a divine mandate by default, any would-be usurper had to convince his constituency that the king had fallen out of favor with the gods, or else the attempt to dethrone him would be against the divine will. Coups were not infrequent, however, and most often they were instigated by members of the royal household.

The accession of Hattusili III, a Hittite king from the 14th century BCE, can illustrate all aspects of this. Hattusili was a military commander during the reign of his brother Muwatalli. When his brother died, Urhi-Tessup, the nephew of Hattusili and son of Muwatalli, assumed the throne without apparent incident. Some years later Hattusili deposed his nephew and seized the throne for himself in what appears to the outsider to be a blatantly unjustifiable coup. Fortunately, Hattusili's rhetorical strategy to legitimize himself has been preserved in a famous text known as his *Apology*. In it he recounts that although he was loyal to Urhi-Tessup, his nephew was jealous of his former military successes, so he stripped him of his offices. Through this treacherous act Urhi-Tessup disqualified himself from kingship. Hattusili recounts that he refrained from retaliating to Urhi-Tessup's humiliation for seven years out of respect for his brother, but when he could endure it no longer he ousted him. The goddess Ishtar, who had provided for Hattusili throughout his life, then promoted him to the kingship. This fascinating text illustrates the sort of propaganda that had to be disseminated to legitimize Hattusili with his new subjects. Several other apologies survive from the ancient world; each has different particulars but justifies the king's actions in dubious situations (often the seizure of the throne from a seemingly legitimate predecessor who is portrayed as unworthy) and reinforces his legitimacy through emphasis of his divine election, military prowess, the previous king's imprimatur, and other means.

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Andrew Knapp

II. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

By the 1st millennium BCE, kingship was a non-controversial institution in the Near East (see above "I. Ancient Near East"). Extant texts consider the ruler as military leader, builder of public works (temples, palaces, and entire capital cities as in the Assyrian Dur Sharrukin), progenitor of the dynasty, and ritualizer whose ministrations mediate the benevolence of the divine realm to humankind. Most of these elements also appear in the HB, though often with a critical attitude toward the easy correlation between the divine and human realms.

One way to understand this spread of viewpoints is in terms of legitimacy, expressible in Weberian terms as the socially accepted notion that the king was owed obedience, and that such deference would both reflect the will of the divine realm and foster the "proper" order of the human world. While a non-circular definition of legitimacy is difficult to articulate, kingship should not be reduced to its pragmatic bureaucratic functions or the accumulation, use, and distribution of power among the king and his backers. Rather, kingship is also a phenomenon of language and other forms of symbolic creation (art, music), and as such can be understood as a topic of discourse through which societies construct their understanding of reality. For the Israelite texts, both in the HB and later, legitimacy is both a matter of divine decision and a reality debatable by human beings. For example, the stories embedded in 1 Sam 8–31, of varying provenances, present both the choice and deposition of Saul as YHWH's decision, in congruence with the wider ancient Near Eastern idea of the divinely ordained succession of dynasties. At the same time, the legitimacy of some dynasties provoked debate: e.g., 2 Kgs 9–10 can defend Jehu's coup d'état as YHWH's command, while Hos 1 : 4 apparently finds the event indefensible; and the Dtr History's critique of Jeroboam I must be a reaction to the Israelite monarchy's use of the sanctuaries in Dan and

Bethel to mark the boundaries of the kingdom as space conjoining king and deity (cf. 1 Kgs 12 and the practice in Cyprus and elsewhere of using local sanctuaries to validate the crown's status as symbol of the divinely ordained order). Legitimacy could be marked by the use of ritual (rites of coronation, sacrifice, or warmaking), the production of texts, the erection of public works (such as the Omride palatial compound in Samaria), and other manipulations of symbol systems.

For its part, the HB contains texts that approach kingship from at least four angles. (1) Several royal psalms and other texts assume that kingship is part of the divinely ordained world (e.g., Pss 2; 18; 20; 21; 45– 72; 89; 101; 132; 144; cf. Gen 2). Since the king insures prosperity at home and peace abroad, his work reflects the will of YHWH. This viewpoint seems to reflect the royal propaganda of the Iron Age kingdoms of Israel and Judah, even if some of the surviving texts show signs of later reworking. However, the view of the royal court reflected in the royal psalms survived in modified form in 1– 2 Chronicles, which valued the monarchy's patronage of the temple (though not its warmaking role), thus accentuating a theme present in its sources and recasting monarchs from its distant past as touchstones for its own age, when Yehud did not enjoy political independence.

(2) However, many texts critique kingship, if not as an institution per se, then almost every instantiation of it. The *locus classicus* of this approach is 1 Sam 8–12, which seems to reflect on the experiences of monarchy (not just the reign of Solomon, as often argued) and its capacity for abusing power. Since Stade's pioneering work in the 19th century, the text has often been analyzed as a combination of pro- and antimonarchic stories edited to create a dialogue on the value of monarchy, though such labels seem both anachronistic and unhelpful. Rather, the text seems to offer a way of restraining kingship (differing in details with Deut 17 : 14–20 but resembling that text in overall goal), an approach that the Dtr History as a whole follows when it (a) dismisses all kings of Israel as wicked by definition, owing to their adherence to the cults of Dan and Bethel (among other reasons); (b) criticizes most kings of Judah, including its greatest rulers; and (c) connects the destruction of the Israelite/Judahite cultures by the Mesopotamian powers to the abuses of monarchy (2 Kgs 17 : 8; 24 : 3–4, but 20; cf. Hos 13 : 10–11). By its innovative strategy of reporting the events of two kingdoms simultaneously (a historiographic technique pioneered on a much smaller scale by the Mesopotamian "Dynastic Chronicle"), the Dtr History simultaneously valorized kingship as the locus of history-making (surely a hugely influential idea that still lurks in the background of modern historiography, even in its most "from-below" approaches) and undermined any naïve attachment to that institution.

(3) Some texts transfigure or sublimate kingship. The Priestly Code of the Pentateuch does this by casting a non-royal figure, Moses, in the role of warrior, sanctuary-builder, and lawgiver (a role assigned to kings in 2nd-millennium Mesopotamia, but not later). The Isaiah tradition proceeds similarly as it evolves from an 8th-century layer that assumes the connection between crown and deity (hence Isa 7's dismay at Ahaz's refusal to seek a "sign") to a 7th- or 6th-century layer that envisions a future (not present!) righteous king and political hierarchy (Isa 32 : 1) to Deutero-Isaiah's transference of loyalty to a foreign ruler who nevertheless operates under YHWH's aegis (Isa 44–45; cf. 33). These and other texts split apart the connection between the local monarch and the heavenly one, reconfiguring the pre-Israelite idea of kingship into something more responsive to political realities and, in time, more fundamental to the ongoing western thinking on kingship.

(4) In response to domination from a series of empires with the accompanying mediatization of local rulers, a number of biblical texts consider the foreign ruler at several points on a continuum from instrument of YHWH's will (various layers of Isaiah) to hostile foe (Dan 7–12) to menacing buffoon (Esther). While no biblical text seems to parrot the propaganda of the empires in an uncritical way, they do interact with such material. The earliest instances come from texts attributed to 8th-century prophets (e.g., the pun *melek yārēb* ["contentious king"] for the Neo-Assyrian royal title *šarru rabbû* ["great king"] in Hos 5 : 13; 10 : 6; or the better known references to Assyrian propaganda in Isa 10). The marking of king and court as an exogenous (hence problematic) social structure, forced Israelite thinkers to reconsider the legitimacy of monarchy per se. This shift may explain the fact that P and Ezekiel already could consider Israelite kingship as a thing of the past, an irrelevant (not necessarily discredited) institution.

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Mark W. Hamilton

III. Greco-Roman Antiquity

Although both Greeks and Romans assumed in later times that they initially had been ruled by kings, the historicity of this claim is uncertain.

What one does find in the Greek *poleis* from the 5th century BCE onwards, at the latest, is a strong antimonarchical discourse that fundamentally associated monocracy with tyranny (Börm). Ever since classical antiquity the word τύραννος was used exclusively as a negative term in order to denote an illegitimate ruler (Luraghi 2013). Tyrants were thus considered outlaws, and numerous laws permitted or even demanded that they be killed (Luraghi 2000), a circumstance that unquestionably encouraged the polemical use of this term. "Tyrant" was always a fighting word, and not everyone described as a τύραννος can be assumed to have necessarily been an actual autocrat.

Whenever writing about a monarch in the Greek language, one was always able to draw upon a centuries-old discourse relating to tyrants. To be sure, there was no shortage of voices that juxtaposed the king (βασιλεύς) as a legitimate alternative to the τύραννος. It must be noted, however, that the freedom of the *polis* was generally deemed to be incompatible with the existence of an autocracy. The Greeks had a tendency to encode social hierarchies in a binary fashion: whoever was not a master was a slave, and wherever there was no consummate freedom, despotism ruled.

This ideology, which had arisen from within the world of the *polis*, continued to exist after most Greek cities had come under the direct or indirect rule of kings from the fourth century BCE onwards – or even earlier in Achaemenid Asia Minor. Most of these monarchies, among whom the most important were the Seleucids, the Ptolemies, the Antigonids, and the Attalids ruled over territorial states that were internally heterogeneous and in which autocracy was apparently necessary in order to mediate between competing group interests. The fundamentally precarious character of Hellenistic kingship, which Judea was confronted with in the form of the Ptolemaic and the Seleucid monarchies and whose central features were also adopted by the Hasmoneans (Trampedach) and Herod, becomes understandable against this backdrop. On the one hand, autocratic rule had proven to be the only possible way to prevent civil war at least outside the *polis* and was soon considered to be effectively indispensable. On the other hand, even within Hellenism and from a Greek point of view, monarchy remained in many ways a merely secondary, less-than-ideal order fraught with a structural legitimacy deficit (Gotter 2008: 185–86).

Less than the institution of kingship itself, it was specific, individual kings who stood under particularly great pressure to justify themselves as a matter of principle. Dynastic legitimation may have been important, but it was not enough, for the Hellenistic king had to justify his rule by way of victories, success, and benefactions (Gehrke), and he had to seek to unite behind him the groups of the king-dom that were playing a decisive role at that moment. The cult of the ruler – to be understood primarily as a rite of loyalty – played an important role in this regard. As a rule, it was the subjects who initially took the initiative in cultic worship, thus seeking to shape their hierarchical relationship to the monarch in a way that was outwardly consistent with the ideal of political freedom (Chaniotis). However, in the Seleucid Empire beginning with Antiochus III (223–187 BCE) – and among the Ptolemies at an even earlier period – the rulers themselves began taking part in initiating this cult. If the king did not succeed in mediating between particular interests, his legitimacy suffered, leading to the threat of revolts, seizures of power, and civil wars. The Maccabean revolt should also most probably be understood in this light. It began as the uprising of a group within the Jewish elite who believed that the Seleucid kings were discriminating against them for the benefit of a rival party.

The Roman Empire's expansion into the eastern Mediterranean put the Hellenistic monarchies under rapidly increasing pressure. At the latest as of the Third Macedonian War (171–168 BCE) it became impossible to carry out any political campaigns against the Romans, and any attempts by the kings to compensate for this loss of prestige and freedom of action proved to be of no avail (Gotter 2013). The end of the last important Hellenistic monarchy, the Ptolemaic empire, fittingly coincides with the establishment of autocratic rule by Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE) in the *Imperium Romanum*. The antimonarchical sentiment was just as strong in Rome, at least among its ruling classes, as it had been in the Hellenistic world. The supposed overthrow of the kingdom in 510/509 BCE, known as *regifugium*, constituted a founding myth of the Roman nobility. As a result, Augustus could not allow himself to rule as a *rex* or a *dictator perpetuus*. The title of "king" remained proscribed in Rome, even though terms such as *regnum* and βασιλεία certainly continued to be used unofficially. The status of the ruler as *princeps* was instead justified formally by conferring upon him special comprehensive powers that were intended to "integrate" him outwardly into the *res publica restituta*; in reality, however, he was *legibus solutus* (CIL VI 930) and enjoyed an enormous scope of action. Whatever the emperor wished was carried out.

For the time being, the establishment of the Augustan Principate succeeded in pacifying the Roman Empire after long civil wars which had also put a heavy burden on Syria and Asia Minor and it stabilized conditions in the provinces (*pax Augusta*). The *princeps* functioned as the patron of local elites, and an emperor cult was established early on. For centuries the Roman monarchy was not seriously challenged. At the same time, chronic difficulties in ensuring smooth successions, resulting not least

from the unresolved tension between dynastic and meritocratic conceptions, and the large number of *principes* who died a violent death are indicative of how precarious the position of particular emperors could be (Flaig: 174–209). The resignation of a *princeps* as well as any form of legal opposition remained out of the question. Actual or supposed threats to imperial authority, by a *rex Iudaeorum* for instance, were met with brutal force. The failure to integrate important groups entailed the risk of civil warfare such as in 69 CE, the "Year of the Four Emperors." The final victor, Vespasian (69–79 CE), took advantage of the First Jewish War (66–73 CE) to portray himself and his son to Romans as successful military commanders, thus legitimizing his rule.

The ideology of the Principate, which had always been directed towards a mostly Italic constituency, declined in importance in the third century CE. In view of the crisis plaguing the Roman monarchy at the time, rulers sought new ways of stabilizing their position. Constantine I (306–337 CE) not only strengthened dynastic notions, but also introduced very publicly elements and symbols of kingship into Roman emperorship. Even more striking was the emergence of a Christian monarchic discourse influenced particularly by the OT (Isele). While autocratic rule, be it in the Hellenistic world or in Rome, had never been free of religious elements, Constantine adopted a religious faith which, not least on account of its ever more radical monotheism and claim to be the only faith, seemed particularly appropriate for making it possible to speak positively of a monarchic order on earth (Rebenich: 1188–92). Yet this development also presented its own, new vulnerabilities: a Christian discourse critical of rulers emerged in the *Imperium Romanum* by the fourth century at the very latest. The Christianization of the emperorship in Late Antiquity, which reached its zenith with Justinian (527–565 CE), while fundamentally increasing the acceptance of the monarchy, enabled the pressure on certain individual rulers under certain circumstances to increase, as became repeatedly apparent particularly in the context of dogmatic controversies.

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Henning Börm

IV. New Testament

In the NT the term for "king" is βασιλεύς (= Heb. *melek*) and for "kingship" βασιλεία (= Heb. *malkût*). In Greek βασιλεύς denotes (especially in ancient societies) the king, as absolute (hereditary) ruler in contradistinction to a democratically elected leader, while βασιλεία primarily denotes the *office* or *rule* of the king. In the NT ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ (see "Kingdom/Kingship of God II. New Testament") has dynamic sense: *God's rule*, while other references to βασιλεία may have either abstract or concrete sense (concrete "realm" is, from 2nd cent. BCE on, expressed also by τὸ βασίλειον, [palace, capital] "state" [*Sib. Or.* 3.159; *T. 12 Patr.* 4.17, 22, etc.]).

In both Greek and Semitic thought, βασιλεύς – *melek* is the absolute ruler. His legitimacy is illustrated by the Sumerian myth that "kingship was lowered from heaven" (*Sumerian King list*, AS n. 11, *ANET*, 265). In Israel there is an ambivalence regarding "king" and "kingship": on the one hand, the demand for a king is understood as a rejection of YHWH's rule (1 Sam 8:5–7; see above, "II. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament") and on the other, YHWH himself chooses a king (1 Sam 8:7, 22; 9:15–17). The terms of kingship are spelled out in 1 Sam 8:11–18. Thus, in the NT, "king" and "kingship" are applied in the entire gamut from God's kingship (Matt 1:6; 2:2; 5:37; Acts 17:7) to Satan and his emissaries' kingship (Rev 9:11; 17:9–14). The area over which a king rules (his kingdom) may vary according to the political dispensation.

1. King. Beginning with David, the type king (Matt 1:6) – central to the lineage of the Gospel's subject – Matthew introduces the antitype, Jesus, as "the new-born king" (2:2). In John, on seeing Jesus' teaching and esp. works, the crowds decide to crown him king to provide for them (6:15) – an honor Jesus declines. In the apostolic preaching, Jesus is presented as king (Acts 17:7) and his royal dignity is affirmed both in the Gospels (e.g., Matt 25:31, 46) and in the Epistles (e.g., Phil 2:9–11).

Most of the references to "king" in the NT, however, relate to earthly kings (Matt 17:25; 22:25; Luke 22:25; Acts 4:26; 2 Cor 11:32; Rev 6:15; 16:12–14; 17:2) with whom Jesus' followers often will be in conflict. The example is set by the Master himself; his birth alarms Herod, who seeks

to destroy him (Matt 2:3). Because the Romans brook no other king than Caesar (John 19:12), Jesus' followers will stand trial before kings (Matt 10:8; Acts 9:15). The kings of the earth live a soft life (Matt 11:8), exacting tax from their subjects (Matt 17:25), but will stand helpless before God and the Lamb (Rev 6:15–16). In the last stages of the final drama, the drying up of the Euphrates prepares the way of the kings from the East (Rev 16–12). These, influenced by three evil spirits in the form of frogs from the dragon, false prophet and beast, gather at Armageddon (Rev 16:13–16). The great Babylon – evidently an allusion to Rome with its seven and ten kings (Rev 17:9, 12), with whom the kings of the earth have committed adultery (Rev 18:3, 9) – are defeated and destroyed by the Lamb, who alone is King of kings and Lord of lords (Rev 19:16).

2. Kingship. Although ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ/τῶν οὐρανῶν has abstract, dynamic sense ("God's rule"), the use of βασιλεία in the NT fluctuates between abstract "rule" and concrete "kingdom" or "realm." Thus, the tempter shows Jesus the kingdoms of the world (Matt 4:8; Luke 4:5), and the nobleman of the parable went to a far country to procure himself a kingdom (Luke 19:12–15). Similarly, in Mark's little apocalypse, the βασιλεῖαι that rise up against each other must refer to kingdoms concretely (Mark 13:8; also Luke 21:10).

Over against this concrete use, stands the abstract use, when Jesus, answering Jewish taunts that he drives out demons by Beelzebul, enunciates the principle that a kingdom (in concrete sense: Mark 3:24; Matt 12:25 and Luke 11:17) divided, cannot stand. So, too, with Satan's βασιλεία –"rule" (abstract: Matt 12:26; Luke 11:18). In the same way Rev 17:12 speaks of ten horns (kings) who have not yet assumed their "rule" (βασιλεία). The βασιλεία that is given to the Beast (Rev 17:15–17) is surely the right to "rule." Similarly, the whore Babylon, representing Rome, has exercised her "rule" (βασιλεία) over the kings of the earth.

The use of βασιλεία, sometimes as "realm" and sometimes as "rule," explains its ambivalence within one and the same instance, or when the abstract sense passes over to the concrete. Thus, according to Heb 11:33, the (presumably) Maccabaean martyrs face both the "rule" of evil and the state mechanisms for persecution. The singular βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου that becomes God's and Christ's (Rev 11:15) probably reflects "rule" that is expressed concretely in the world, while the beast's βασιλεία that is immersed in darkness (Rev 16:10), seems to include both senses of "rule" and "realm" (cf. "they gnawed their tongues"). Revelation 1:6: ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ Θεῷ ("and made us to be a kingdom, priests serving God"; cf. 5:10), as the variants hint (βασίλειον 046, 1854, etc.; βασιλεῖς MT; ἱεράτευμα 2351; ἱερατείαν ‭א‬), probably

echoes 1 Pet 2:9: βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα ("royal priesthood").

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Chrys C. Caragounis

V. Judaism

■ Second Temple, Hellenistic, and Rabbinic Judaism
■ Medieval Judaism

A. Second Temple, Hellenistic, and Rabbinic Judaism

1. Introduction. Conceptions of kingship in Second Temple and rabbinic literature vary dramatically. Several factors shape, and complicate, the sundry perspectives recorded in this corpus. First, these writings address different phases of royalty: a historic past (including the uneven legacy of the Israelite and Judean kingdoms); a complex and shifting present (encompassing the highly divisive rule of the Hasmoneans and Herod); and an anticipated eschatological future (whose significance and imminence is in dispute). Second, most of the authors live within, or proximate to, a broader socio-political context (primarily a Hellenistic or Roman one), and their works are influenced to different degrees by this encounter (the *Letter of Aristeas*, 187–300 even contains a symposium on Hellenistic kingship written by a Jewish author living in Alexandria). Third, certain of these works construct a religious imaginary centered upon God's kingdom (rooted in the biblical canon) and conceive of earthly kingship as an extension of, or an affront to, the divine throne. Any given account of kingship in this oeuvre is thus simultaneously informed by a confluence of temporal, contextual, and theological factors.

A common scholarly method of appraising Second Temple and rabbinic treatments of kingship appeals to a limited taxonomy to categorize respective accounts as either pro- or anti-monarchic, which fails to capture the richness and diversity of this corpus. Moreover, the secondary literature rarely offers a positive exposition of the respective conceptions of monarchy that are represented in these texts, including an evaluation of the king's primary powers and responsibilities; his relationship to God and the priests; and the overall significance of monarchy in the worldview of the au-

thor(s). This entry will survey several seminal accounts of kingship that are recorded in Second Temple and rabbinic literature that represent a broader range of positions, and highlight distinctive aspects of their respective conceptions of monarchy.

2. *Psalms of Solomon*. A leading exemplar of an exultant royalist text is *Pss. Sol.* 17, an indomitable eschatological poem, replete with scriptural allusions (e.g., 2 Sam 7; Jer 33; Isa 11; Pss 2, 72, 89, and Dan 7), authored by a Jew living under imperial rule. Carefully structured, this psalm both opens and closes with a resounding declaration of God's kingship and eternal rule (17:1, 46). Within this framing, the psalm expounds upon the singular stature of the elected Davidic dynasty and its anticipated restoration (17:4, 21; all other kingdoms, whether Jewish or Gentile, Hasmonean or Roman, are illegitimate and sinful according to the author, 17:5–20). The Davidic scion thus serves as an extension, or even embodiment, of God's sovereign rule (the psalm tellingly elides any distinction between them by seamlessly shifting its subject). A flawless and saintly figure (17:32, 36–37), the Davidic king uses his preternatural gifts to vanquish evil (17:22–25, 35–36) and guide the righteous (17:26, 41). Endowed with extraordinary wisdom (17:29, 35, 37), he serves as a just leader and supreme judge (17:26, 29, 43). Devout and reverent (17:40), he bestows brilliant honor on God's kingdom (17:30) and is himself an object of glory (17:31, 42). Deriving his entire mandate from his trust in God (17:33–34, 39), he flourishes, and is ever-fortified, by God's eternal promise and blessing (17:4, 37–38, 42).

3. Philo. A positive, but more nuanced, portrait of kingship is recorded in Philo's *Special Laws* (4.151–188a). Drawing on Platonic thought, Philo introduces his subject by accenting the significance of proper governance – the "art of arts" and "science of sciences" for society (4.156) – which requires the election of a worthy figure to serve as a ruler-king (referred to interchangeably in this section as βασιλεύς [king], and ἄρχων [ruler]). At the same time, Philo also bases his account of monarchy upon Scripture (especially Deut 17) and accordingly imbues the monarchic role with much religious significance. The king is instructed to absorb (i.e., internalize) the laws of the Torah, and to govern by its dictates in a balanced and equitable manner (4.160–169). When fully animated by its spirit, the king will morph into a kind of νόμος ἔμψυχος (a living law), like Moses (the archetypal philosopher-king) and the Patriarchs before him (see *Mos.* 1.162 and *Abr.* 5). Following in the footsteps of Moses, the king serves as a supreme judge and oversees the administration of law (*Spec.* 4.169–175, based on Exod 18 and Deut 1). Notably absent from Philo's account of kingship is any responsibility over warfare or use of coercive force. In other words, the Philonic

monarch is a philosopher-king, rather than a warrior-king. Philo likewise studiously separates the king's jurisdiction from the temple and the domain of the priests.

In all, Philo's king towers over the social-religious order, even as his role is carefully delimited in certain respects. Indeed, Philo repeatedly implies that the king must emulate the kingship of God (4.164, 187–188). Yet, despite Philo's avowed royalism, he does not conceive of the monarchic institution as inviolable. Envisaging the lasting achievements of a just king (4.169), Philo cautions of the destructiveness of a corrupt one (4.183-5). Only a titanic figure can fulfill the outsized role of Philo's idealized king.

4. *Temple Scroll*. Among the sectarian writings in Qumran, the most detailed exposition of royal authority is found in the "Law of the King" section (11Q19 57–59) of the *Temple Scroll* (a lengthy scroll that expands upon various dimensions of a future utopian temple), interpolated into the scroll's restatement of Deut 17. Introduced as a royal charter to be issued by the priests, the Law of the King (based in part on a pastiche of scriptural references, including 1 Sam 8) carves out a discrete, if secondary, role for the king alongside the sect's priestly leadership. The king's enumerated powers include administering justice (57:11–15, 19–20) and waging wars (58:1–21). But the scroll also checks the king's powers in these domains (Barzilay argues that these limitations were added in a later redaction) by requiring that he receive consent from others (for judging and counsel he must operate alongside a council of thirty-six (57:14–15), and for warfare he must consult with the high priest who wears the priestly vestments (58:18–21). Crucially, nowhere does the scroll assign a role for the king in the temple cult, the most seminal responsibility in the scroll's worldview. In an important coda, the scroll underscores the king's essential limits in a more fundamental sense by invoking the conditional nature of the royal covenant (59:2–21). In other words, only a righteous king will flourish (and serve as a spiritual exemplar for the people). This reflects a measure of equivocation about kingship that has no parallel in the scroll's idyllic treatment of priesthood.

Elsewhere in Qumran literature, one finds discrete references to royal figures from the past (e.g., *CD* or 4QMMT), present (e.g., 4Q448), or messianic future (e.g., 4Q175Testim). The latter eschatological texts generally privilege a priestly descendant over a Davidic one (e.g., 4Q161, based on verses from Isa 10–11). A roughly contemporary work, *Aramaic Levi*, goes further in advancing a striking ideology which concentrates all powers, including kingship, in the hands of the Levites. Indeed, one can discern throughout Second Temple literature a distinct tradition of a priestly monarchy (see Goodblatt).

5. Josephus. All of the texts discussed so far endorse monarchy in one form or another. In marked contrast, certain works ignore, or even subvert, this institution. For instance, a passage attributed to Hecataeus (its authenticity is a matter of debate) asserts that the Jews have never had a king and have always been led by priests, in plain defiance of the historical record (*Aegyptiaca* 5, cited in *GLAJJ* 1:25–9). The undertone of anti-monarchy implicit in this passage reverberates loudly throughout the writings of Josephus. Sounding a familiar trope from Roman political discourse, Josephus levels a sustained critique against monarchic rule. For example, when Josephus rewrites Samuel's rebuke of kingship (1 Sam 8), he expounds on its drawbacks (*Ant.* 6.35–44), and when he restates the latter part of the book of Judges he carefully purges it of its pro-monarchic content (*Ant.* 5.132–178). Reframing Deuteronomy's verses on kingship, Josephus interpolates an introductory clause which identifies aristocracy as the optimal form of government, and in turn derogates monarchy as a plainly inferior or even illegitimate alternative (*Ant.* 4.223–224). In his later work *Against Apion*, Josephus further refines his "constitutional" theory by singling out theocracy (as opposed to monarchy and other classical forms) as the ultimate regime (*Ag. Ap.* 2.164–5). Relying upon the steadfast rule of sacral laws, God's sovereignty transcends the whims of imperious kings and domineering leaders.

6. First Maccabees. Several works reflect a more complex record on kingship. For example, consider 1 Maccabees, a work that is often described as unabashed propaganda on behalf of monarchic rule. Yet, this ostensibly one-dimensional work actually preserves (or its monarchic ideology is informed by) conflicting traditions about kingship: the biblical royalist trope of sacral kingship being the province of Judah (1 Macc 2:57, alluding to 2 Sam 7); the strident anti-monarchic sentiment of the Roman Republic (1 Macc 8:14–16); the surrounding context of Hellenistic kingship; and the cumulative consolidation and royal appearance of Hasmonean (royal) rule (e.g., 1 Macc 14:43–44). Notwithstanding the obvious tensions among these traditions, this carefully crafted work registers dissonant perspectives.

7. Rabbinic Literature. The polarizing nature of monarchy is perhaps most forcefully captured in rabbinic literature (in contrast with the above works, this corpus is redacted after the end of Judean kingship). Thus, aggadic literature contains glowing references to kingship, as well as scathing rebukes (contrast *BerR* 94 with *DevR* 5, 8). One passage even identifies three biblical kings (Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh) who have forfeited their share in the world to come (*mSanh* 10:2). Moreover, halakhic literature openly debates the legitimacy of the monarchic institution as well as the scope of royal powers (see *tSan* 4:5 and *SifDev* 156). No other leadership institution is so frankly called into question. Moreover, each side of this foundational debate formulates its position in stark terms: One opinion (as formulated in the Tosefta) considers the historical selection of a monarch to be the fulfillment of a core national commandment (based on Deut 17), and the other (as formulated in the Midrash) describes it as a despicable rejection of God pursued out of idolatrous intent (based on 1 Sam 8). The unusual formulations capture the stakes. Monarchy either is a foundational institution or a grave mistake.

More subtle is the varied treatment of monarchy in the Mishnah (e.g., *mSan* 2:2-5) and the Tosefta (e.g., *tSan* 2:15, 4). Whereas the former is systematically pro-monarchic, the latter contains more uneven materials. Even in its support of monarchy, the Mishnah stakes out an original position that is worth briefly considering.

Similar to the *Temple Scroll*, *mSan* 2:4 assigns the king a commanding role in warfare, but also requires that the king obtain the prior consent of the high court of seventy-one. But in marked contrast with the *Temple Scroll* and the other texts cited above, the Mishnah excludes the king from administering justice (*mSan* 2:2, but see 2:4). This notable separation forms part of a larger pattern established by the Mishnah (*mSan* 2:2–3) wherein the king operates outside of the standard normative framework, separate from the temple and at a distance from the people (the Mishnah in fact positions the high priest in a symmetrically opposite leadership role, *mSan* 2:1). Standing alone, the king enjoys unique prerogative (*mSan* 2:4, which also softens certain biblical restrictions enumerated in Deut 17 that limit the king; see also *SifDev* 158–59), and commands singular honor (*mSan* 2:5). While Mishnah Sanhedrin invokes the precedent of the Davidic monarchy several times (with references to 1 Sam 25, and 2 Sam 3, 12), its referent seems to be an idealized, but decidedly non-messianic, political ruler. Notably, later talmudic discourse appeals to Davidic ancestry to elevate the standing of the patriarchate and the exilarch (see, e.g., *bSan* 5a, 38a).

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David C. Flatto

B. Medieval Judaism

Throughout Jewish tradition there exists a positive attitude toward kings and monarchies as an appropriate system of government in Israel. Abraham was promised: "and kings shall come forth from you" (Gen 17:6), and so the Torah commanded: " you may indeed set over you a king whom the Lord your God will choose" (Deut 17:15). Likewise Samuel the prophet wrote "the rules of the monarchy" (1 Sam 10:25), and from the time of Saul, David, and Solomon, there is a sacred monarchical tradition continuing throughout the HB/OT. Maimonides (*MishT*, Hilkhot melakhim 1:3) took up the talmudic tradition of the commandment to appoint a king when entering the land of Israel (*bSan* 20b), and concluded that already Joshua has to be considered a king, stressing thereby the importance of the king and the kingdom in general, like other medieval commentators (e.g., Naḥmanides [1194–1270] and Menachem ha-Me'iri of Perpignan [ca. 1250–1316]).

But parallel to this monarchist voice, another dominant, anti-monarchist, voice also exists in the same Jewish tradition, from the Bible and the Talmud and up to our day. This "anarchist" voice (in the positive sense, as argued by Martin Buber, of a voice which repudiates the kingdom of man in favor of the kingdom of heaven) rejects the king and the monarchy, and also suggests an alternative: a federal, communal and non-centralized political regime. This is a surprising stance, insofar as medieval Jews enjoyed the protection of Muslim and Christian states whose kings, at least the just rulers, protected their Jewish subjects, wherefore the Jews were actually inclined to support the monarchist regime. This anti-monarchist stance shall be exemplified by four leading Jewish scholars: Judah ha-Levi (1075–1141), Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164), Maimonides (1138–1204) and Don Isaac Abarbanel (1437–1508).

1. Judah ha-Levi. The idea that Judah ha-Levi is an "anti-monarchist" is based on Gerald J. Blidstein and others following him (Harvey 2003; Shapira 2015: 296–307; and Goodman: 99). Although Judah ha-Levi is known to have nurtured the national idea, "nationalism" does not always mean "monarchy"; this can be inferred from the absence of the idea of a king in ha-Levi's thought, especially in those places in the Kuzari where its presence would

be expected. The Rabbi (*he-ḥaver*) thus argues (2:26–28) that the national structure of Israel resembles "the sanctuary," where the "ark," which contains the Ten Commandments, is the "heart" of the nation, and the priest and the prophets are "the head of the nation," while the king is absent. Ha-Levi knew Arabic and was familiar with the allegories common in the Moslem world which always identified the "heart" of the human body with the king. Therefore, when ha-Levi systematically omits the king from his allegories, it has been inferred that this omission is due to an anti-monarchist political stance. This is also the case concerning the Kuzari's description of the ideal ruler (3:3): According to the Rabbi, the ruler is "pious," a kind of finance minister more than a king, uninterested in power, and concerned only with the "distributive justice" (Harvey 2003: 10) needed for the existence of human society. According to ha-Levi, Jews do not admire kings, but rather people who control themselves. Similar ideas appear in ha-Levi's exegesis on *Sefer Yetsirah* (Book of Formation) and in his sacred and profane poetry. These views of ha-Levi apparently stem from (a) his opposition to the belligerence of monarchic rule; (b) his understanding of Jewish history, which is not subject to ordinary historical processes; and (c) his understanding of the Bible itself, which opposes monarchy.

2. Abraham ibn Ezra. The claim that R. Abraham ibn Ezra held an "anti-monarchist" political stance was first put forth in a work based on the dissertation of Menachem Ratson entitled "Theocracy and Humanity." And indeed, examining the biblical commentaries of Ibn Ezra reveals an anti-monarchist stance much broader than that of Isaac Abarbanel, presented in detail throughout sixteen out of the twenty-four biblical books. In his opinion, the king is "vanity, and destined to vanity" and is of no benefit to humankind (comm. on Mic 4:9; Ratson: 28); the very power with which he is invested discriminates against the citizens; his monarchist rule constitutes an economic burden on civil society (comm. on Deut 17:17; Ratson: 31); he does not enforce justice (re Eccl 4:1); his ruling power corrupts; he is the main cause of the people's social deterioration; etc. In contrast to this, Ibn Ezra also presents a positive political alternative preferable to monarchy: freedom through social consent and even "a social contract" (this is why the Pentateuchal law opens with the statutes concerning slaves, the weakest group in society; comm. on Exod 21:2); the Sabbath, the Sabbatical Year, and the Year of Jubilee are the source of humanity's freedom; the preferred political entity is the social framework of people scattered in every place, not being subject to a single centralized regime. The messianic age will see a single universal society with the people of Israel at its core (comm. on Isa 53:10–11), and the freedom of men shall be based

on "the kingdom of God" or "the kingdom of the sages" (and under no circumstances on the rule of kings; Ratson: 132).

3. Maimonides. Maimonides is considered a pronounced monarchist, as can be inferred especially from "The Laws of Kings and Wars" at the end of *Sefer Shoftim* (The Book of Judges) in the *Mishneh Torah*. Nevertheless, an opposite trend can also be traced, beginning with a long line of restrictions on the king, restrictions which have no counterpart in the universal history of monarchy, ancient and modern alike, such as the Pentateuchal prohibitions against multiplying horses, gold, and wives (Deut 17:14–17). These restrictions are developed ad absurdum in Maimonides, to the extent that some have questioned the very ability of the monarchy to endure under such restricting circumstances. But the real revolution takes place at the transition from ch. 11 ("The King Messiah") to ch. 12 ("The Messianic Age"), the last chapter of the *Mishneh Torah*. While ch. 11 focuses on the functioning of the human king, in ch. 12 the king almost disappears, and instead "The Messianic Age" appears, where there shall be no king and no wars: all these will disappear, and the entire world will be occupied with spiritual matters and with "the knowledge of God only." It turns out, surprisingly, that the political monarchy of Maimonides (in ch. 11) has been replaced by religious "anarchy" (in ch. 12; and in the same positive meaning of the kingdom of God replacing the kingdom of humankind). A parallel phenomenon has also been discovered at the end of the *Guide of the Perplexed* (see Shapira 2015: 322–24); and the conclusions of Blidstein (Blidstein 1983; Lorberbaum).

4. Don Isaac Abarbanel. Abarbanel, a philosopher and Bible commentator, served as a minister of finance in Spain and, after having been expelled from there in 1492, also in Naples, Italy. He was thus well acquainted with the monarchist regime and its morally degenerate character, and parallel to his ardent criticism of it, he elaborated a profound historical account of the biblical kings in Israel, the majority of which were corrupt. Abarbanel also suggested substituting the European monarchies with democratic republics, like Venice and Florence, which are ruled by elected leaders and not by kings, and which exemplify the civilized state. Abarbanel expressed these ideas in several of his books (such as *Yeshuʿot malko* ["Salvation for his king," cf. 2 Sam 22:51; Ps 18:51), but especially in his biblical commentaries, e.g., in his commentary on the tree of knowledge (Gen 2), which in his opinion alluded to "natural reality"; Nimrod (Gen 10), a monarch who broke down the natural boundaries and human equality; the tower of Babel (Gen 11), which substituted the cooperative agricultural society with the centralized state, etc. Abarbanel also criticized the monarchy openly in his commentaries on the Pen-

tateuch (Deut 21), on 1 Sam 8, and more, and in the opinion of Harvey and Ravitzky, following Leo Strauss, he was "the most significant anti-political Jewish philosopher of the middle ages and the renaissance." Although he was "anti-political" in his opposition to the centralized state, he was "political" in his criticism of the state and his encouragement of its substitution with "the kingdom of God."

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Amnon Shapira

VI. Christianity

It was accepted in much of medieval Europe that kings, although not part of God's original plan, were necessary, and had divine backing (Thomas of Aquin, *De regno* 1.1, citing Eccl 4:9; Prov 11:14; Ezek 37:24, and Eccl 5:8 [Vg.]). The need for obedience to the king was frequently justified by reference to Rom 13 supporting "existing authorities."

Medieval kings drew on biblical images in ceremony and iconography, evoking Christ or "good" biblical leaders, particularly David and Solomon, the patriarchs, or the Maccabees (Kantorowicz 1997: 61–78; Kantorowicz 1946: 56, 57, 59, 63; Nelson: 217; Saul: 357). Such biblical examples and the idea of sacral kingship became more important in the West from the 7th century onwards, being taken up by the Carolingians in particular (Hen: 283; Kantorowicz 1997: 46, 48; Bourdeau), and from the medieval period into the early modern era, some kings claimed Christ-like healing power (Barlow). The example of the king-priest Melchizedek stimulated differing views as to the priestly dimension of kingship (Kuehn).

Advice to kings followed biblical recommendations of justice, defense of the poor and the church, and the enforcement of God's law (Thomas of Aquin, *De Regimine Principum*, citing Prov 29:14; Deut 17:18–19; William of Pagula, citing Ps 146:8, Ezek 46:18; p. 113 ch. 15; Manegold, citing Rom 13:4; Job 39:10).

Kings such as Alfred of Wessex linked their lawmaking to the Ten Commandments and the law of Christ (Hudson: 22; Exod 20; 21–23; Acts 15:23–29; Matt 7:12). Whether or not they were subject to secular law was debated throughout and beyond the medieval period (Salisbury: 4:2–4; citing Deut 17:14–21). There were warnings that bad rule by kings could ruin their people, referring to Prov 26:8; 11:14 and Sir 10:3 (Salisbury: 4:7), and that minor kings endangered realms (Eccl 10:16; Lewis: 142). Biblical examples of Saul and Holofernes could be cited in favor of removal or killing of unjust kings (Salisbury: 4:20; McCulloch: 469), but some considered even unjust kings sacrosanct (Atto of Vercelli: 258). Martin Luther continued to use Rom 13:1 to argue against rebellion (McCulloch: 160–61), and injunctions against touching the Lord's anointed (1 Sam 26:9) were still used to argue against rebellion in 17th century England, though this did not go uncontested (Sharp: 55, 62).

Occasionally, kings engaged in preaching or theological debate (Pryds: 10–11; McCulloch: 198). Some post-Reformation kings also had a role in translations of the Bible, as head of a national church or arbiters of religious allegiance. While Luther favored the "godly prince," some Reformed protestants leaned towards republican government (McGrath: 7, 10, 207).

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Gwen Seabourne

VII. Other Religions

Clear evidence of biblical influence on the institution of kingship can be seen in the South Pacific, on the one hand, and Ethiopia, on the other, despite the disparity between these two regions in history, culture, and location.

The Bible played a role in the introduction of the monarchy in Tonga. Traditional Tongan society was kinship based with a series of chiefdoms spread over the multiple islands. The second and successful attempt at Christianizing the islands by Methodist missionaries beginning in the 1820s resulted in the simultaneous rise of Christianity and the monarchy. In addition to other strategies, missionaries worked closely with the paramount chief Tāufaʿāhau, and also through mission schools engaged in selective reading of the Bible aimed at transforming the fractious social organization of the Tongan islands. Mission schools utilized a curriculum that endorsed monarchy as a divine institution binding king and people together in a unique covenant with God. First Samuel, the single biblical book in the curriculum, was translated as a means of enforcing the parallel between Tonga and ancient Israel's evolution from tribal society into a monarchy.

The creation of kingship was presented as divinely supported with sovereignty established through godly control particularly against enemies. As Tāufaʿāhau rose to the newly created throne with the name George I, biblical narratives provided continued support for his reign as this was extended over different islands. At the baptism ceremony for Joaji (George), the new king's comparison with Saul, chosen for his obvious physical and moral stature, draws directly upon 1 Sam 9:2. Further, the exploits of Saul as a defender of the monarchy and divine rule against those seen as idolaters feature prominently in a series of five booklets published on 1 Samuel to enlist Tongan consent to monarchical rule. Although appealing to biblical stories, the actual shape of the initial Tongan monarchy reflected contemporary models of the English monarchical configuration.

In the case of Ethiopia, royal mythology utilizes the Bible to stress the sacral nature of their kings. Appealing to an already established monarchy, the biblical texts provide an additional layer of justification for Ethiopian monarchs. Combining sources of 1 Kgs 10:1–13 and 2 Chron 9:1–12 in their He-

brew and Greek translations, Ethiopian texts like the *Kebra Nagast* assert continuity between the famed Makeda of Abyssinian legend and the biblical figure of the Queen of Sheba. The *Kebra Nagast* traces the line of Ethiopian monarchs to Menelik I, the purported offspring of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon of Judah conceived at the end of her six-month stay in Jerusalem. This confluence of the two streams – Axumite and Israelite heritages – provides the foundation for the Ethiopian monarchy. The *Kebra Nagast* presents the Ethiopian monarchy as the successor to the Jerusalem throne inheriting the promises and possibilities of the Davidic monarchy such as surpassing the military power of Rome. Although the Ethiopian monarchy ended in 1974, Rastafarian veneration of Haile Selaisse sustains aspects of the royal mythology.

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Steed Vernyl Davidson

VIII. Literature

Medieval poets could celebrate the revelation of God's invisible kingship in his visible handiwork (Odo of Cluny, in Raby: no. 111), or prophesy his advent on the day of judgment in "terrible majesty" (Thomas of Celano, in Raby: no. 259). Likewise in English hymnody he is the "Lord enthroned in heavenly splendour" (*The English Hymnal* 319), who will be "robed in dreadful majesty" (Charles Wesley, *The English Hymnal* 7). In the HB/OT, however, a king is above all a warrior (1 Sam 8 : 11) and *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt* is Lord of hosts. Accordingly Venantius Fortunatus writes: "The royal banners forward go;/The Cross shines forth with mystic glow" (*The English Hymnal* 94). Drawing on an "Antiochene" comparison of the incarnate Word to a king putting off his robe, the Syrian *Hymn of the Pearl* represents him as a captive and denuded prince in Egypt (Elliott: 441). In the Orthodox narrative Satan is humbled but avenges himself on Adam; therefore in William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, Christ must return as king of glory to storm the doors of hell (*Passus* 18.315–23), fulfilling the prophecy "lift up your heads, O ye gates" (Ps 24 : 10). The same acclamation accompanies his enthronement in a gnostic psalm (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.8.18–19). Since he occupies it as a lion at Rev 5 : 5, he is represented as the lion Aslan in C. S. Lewis' *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. Nevertheless, it is as the lamb (Rev 5 : 6) that he is "crown[ed] with many crowns" in Matthew Bridges' hymn (*The English Hymnal* 381). The title "prince of peace" (Isa 9 : 5) enables Origen to identify him with Solomon in the Song of Songs (*Cant.*, Origen: 88). It implies for Richard Crashaw that he was king of the Jews (Matt 2 : 2) in a sense unknown to Herod:

> Heaven's king, who doffs Himself weak flesh to wear,/
> Comes not to rule in wrath but serve in love.
> (*Poems* 28)

Thus in the Saxon *Heliand*, song 36, he proves himself Christ the Ruler by healing a woman of foreign birth (Murphy: 97). The Anglo-Saxon *Dream of the Rood*, where the dead Christ is still ruler and lord of victories (Hamer: 165) is inspired by an apocryphal reading of Ps 96 : 10, in which Christ "reigns from the Cross" (cf. Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 41).

As king of Israel (John 1 : 49) and the Wisdom by whom kings reign (Prov 8 : 15), Christ is adored by three kings in a mediaeval elaboration of Matt 2 : 1–11 (Joannes of Hildesheim, *The Three Kings of Cologne*). He is a model for Constantine, the "radiant sun" of a universal empire (Eusebius, *Laud. Const.* 3.4); for Arthur, the once and future king (Malory, *Morte Darthur* 21.7); and for Charles I, whose *Eikon Basilike* intimates that his scaffold will be an image of the Cross.

Bossuet, *Politics drawn from Holy Scripture* 3.1 was only one of many who proved the divine right of kings from Rom 13 and other texts. In civil war, however, it may seem that God the true king has been dethroned (D'Aubigné, *Les Tragiques* 5.5). The suffering Christ is the archetype for the *Roi Pêcheur* (King-Fisher, King-Sinner) of the Grail romance (Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval*) and for the maimed king who receives sustenance from the Grail after suffering a wound that blights his kingdom (Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*). Both King-Fisher and Christ have been seen as instances of the widespread custom – copiously illustrated in James G. Frazer's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (1906) – of slaying a king to secure the rejuvenation of the land (Weston: 118–63). Robert Graves conjectures that Christ was deliberately fathered by Herod's son Antipater on the feast-day of Rimmon, the Hebrew Dionysus (*King Jesus* 71–76). The identity of the third ruler whose kingdom of grace will succeed those of Cain and Judas remains elusive in Ibsen's *Emperor and Galilean* (1.3). By contrast, the title of Sayers' cycle of plays, *The Man Born to be King*, is transparent. Where Dante, *Paradiso* 32.61–63 enjoys a proleptic vision of Christ as king in the Paradise that consummates all desire, H. G. Wells can offer the modern world only a prosaic, stochastic and Christless gospel of *God the Invisible King* (1917).

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Mark Edwards

IX. Visual Arts

Scripture indicates at least two opposing points of view on the matter of kingship in ancient Israel, pro-monarchical and anti-monarchical, and nearly all tension between these two poles arises from an existential question: Who is king? If through her whole experience of the exodus, Israel maintains that the Lord God is the ruler, and he too governs the universe, what human being could or should take his place? Nonetheless, the people demand that the prophet Samuel find them a king. Samuel, maintaining the Lord God as Israel's king, does so reluctantly and anoints Saul (1 Sam 8 : 6–22; 10 : 1).

Saul's great act of disobedience (1 Sam 13 : 7–15) will lead to national disaster and his suicide (1 Sam 31 : 1–6; Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, *The Death of Saul*, 1675, Braith-Mali Museum, Biberach an der Riss). The narrative in 1 Samuel continues, however, and leads the reader through the rise of the nation's successful, second king, David. This young shepherd gains a place at Saul's court by playing the harp to calm the irascible Saul (1 Sam 16 : 21–23) as seen in the Master of the Ingeborg Psalter, *Initial Q: David Before Saul* (ca. 1205, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum MS 66, fol. 55) and Rembrandt's *David and Saul* (1660, Mauritshuis Museum, The Hague). David also gains favor by slaying the Philistine, Goliath (1 Sam 17 : 37–51) and befriending Saul's son, Jonathan (1 Sam 18 : 1–5); Cima di Conegliano combines both occurrences in his *David and Jonathan* (ca. 1505, National Gallery, London, *see* →EBR 14, plate 10a).

With Saul and Jonathan dead, David steps up to assume the throne, first in Judah (2 Sam 2 : 4) and then in Israel (2 Sam 5 : 1–3). In this role, he becomes the model king throughout the biblical narrative, and the stand-off between the monarchists and the anti-monarchists reaches a compromise: A king rules as God's anointed and is responsible for carrying out divine law. Not to do so makes one a wicked king, as the accounts of 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, and all the Prophets, fully demonstrate. After David, such an understanding is foregrounded and becomes the model for all Israel's kings within the HB/OT; Josiah particularly, and to a lesser extent, Solomon, fit this pattern.

David is not flawless, however, and, indeed, can be quite sinful. His adulterous affair with Bathsheba is well-known (2 Sam 11 : 2–5), and he repents as soon as Nathan makes it known to him (2 Sam 12 : 1–13), a moment which Palma the Younger captures (*The Prophet Nathan Admonishes King David*, ca. 1615, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). This quality along with the fact that the biblical account contains special note of David's handsomeness (1 Sam 16 : 12), earn him renown, as seen in works of Donatello (1440, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence), Michelangelo (1504, Accademia dell'Arte, Florence), Verrocchio (1475, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence), and Bernini (1624, Galleria Borghese, Rome).

Church and state overlap in nearly every depiction of kings and their kingdoms. References to the king as the "Lord's anointed" surface in 1 and 2 Samuel, where Saul and then David gain their legitimacy from ritual unction. In both the Christian East and West, monarchs believe that their appointment to rule comes directly from God, and because Scripture champions David and rulers like him, kings and emperors at the very least have to appear as if they were ruling as the Lord's minister. Consequently, many of the representations of the adoration of the magi have the trio dressed as and referred to as kings in order to underscore the humility that earthly rulers must show before Christ, the Lord of Lords. Fabriano lavishly depicts this understanding in *Adoration of the Magi* (1423, Uffizi Gallery, Florence, *see* → plate 1b); simultaneously, the magi's obedience acknowledges the universality of Christ's kingship, thus fulfilling Isaiah's prophecy (60 : 1–6).

Standing as the complete antithesis of a good monarch and demonstrating an insuperable arrogance is King Ahab of Israel (1 Kgs 16 : 30–22 : 38). His wife, Jezebel is more infamous (see "Queen, Queenship"), but as Gustave Doré shows, Ahab himself also meets a disgraceful end ("Death of Ahab," *La Grande Bible de Tours* [London 1866]).

In the NT, all the messianic prophecies from the HB/OT describing God's anointed king surface and focus on the divine Messiah, Jesus Christ, who is seen as the fulfillment of the long-promised priest, prophet, and king. At the conclusion of his earthly ministry, the people of Jerusalem welcome Jesus as a king, calling, "Hosanna to the son of David" (Matt 21 : 1–11; Mark 11 : 1–10), a scene which artists depict as the arrival of a royal entourage (Fra Angelico, 1450, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, San Marco, Florence). Reflection on the Scripture then sees Christ as the King of the universe, an enthronement that comes about through his passion, death, and resur-

rection. The universality of Christ's mercy and justice wrought by his resurrection extends to all eternity, both before and after his earthly ministry. This theological point is seen in Istanbul's Chora Church frescoes, which combine the action of Christ's resurrection with his harrowing of hell (*Anastasis/Harrowing of Hell*, ca. 1315).

A king's greatness depends on the splendor of his retinue, and church architecture, particularly but not exclusively in the Byzantine era, portrays the heavenly court through its frescoes, mosaics, dome, and apse. The vagaries of time have taken their toll on Hagia Sophia, but parts of its apse (867) have been restored revealing Mary the Mother of God with the enthroned Christ in her lap, an image which simultaneously accents the pre-existent Christ, his Incarnation, and his eternal rule over the universe. San Vitale Basilica in Ravenna provides one of the finest examples of the Byzantine style. The central apse contains a mosaic of Christ Pantocrator seated on an orb, i.e., the universe. In lower panels on Christ's right and left are his vice-regents, Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora respectively (547). Monreale Cathedral, albeit of a later era and of Norman construction, situates Christ Pantocrator in its apse, overlooking humankind and creation (ca. 1180). Similarly, the dome of Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel in Aachen, has a restored, ancient mosaic of Christ Pantocrator (ca. 805, restored 1881).

The last book in the NT, Revelation, defines the theological understanding of kingship and kingdom for so much of the biblical tradition and the culture it birthed. The heavenly Jerusalem, understood as the heavenly kingdom, is perfect in all its dimensions and materials. Christ rules redeemed creation, which becomes one with the New Jerusalem on high (Rev 21). There is no need for the sun or moon, for God's glory provides all the light needed, the fulfillment of the Isaiah's prophecy (60 : 1–6). Christ is the Davidic, messianic king now glorified. All imperfect secular kingdoms cease to exist. The apse mosaic in Rome's Saint John Lateran Basilica shows this very scene. The face of Christ, surrounded by nine angels, appears to be descending toward earth (Heb 12 : 22–24; Rev 21 : 2). The waters of baptism, coming from the dove-shaped Holy Spirit above the jeweled cross, wash Christians into the church and thus into the heavenly Jerusalem (324 with later restorations)

With the conclusion to Revelation and the art which it inspires, the kingdoms of the earth meld with the Kingdom of God to form one reign and realm under Christ, a realization of Isaiah's vision (11 : 1–10) and the subject of Edward Hick's *Peaceable Kingdom* (1826, National Gallery of Art, Washington, *see* →*EBR* 13, plate 1b).

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Michael Patella

X. Music

In addition to the musical importance of the notion of the kingship of God, and of Christ, discussed in "Kingdom/Kingship of God VII. Music" (also for music written to pay tribute to post-biblical Christian kings), biblical kings have received substantial treatment in various musical genres. Above all, numerous oratorios and operas have retold biblical narratives in which kings played important roles. It is undoubtedly true that the musical means employed to represent the elevated status of kings and kingship, royalty and power, are to a high extent the same as those found in music praising the kingship of God or Christ. Exceptions to this concern musical representations of attributes characterizing Christ's kingship in a way which subverts a traditional royal (powerful) image, i.e., Christ's suffering as a sign of his particular kingship (see the discussion in "Kingdom/Kingship of God VII. Music"). Aside from musical splendor and solemnity (in various historical and individual styles), musical representations of kingship vary with the individual narrative and are treated in the context of the biblical books or topics in which they belong.

By far the greatest musical impact among the kings of the HB/OT belongs to David whose musical legacy is enormous (see "David VIII. Music," "Kings [Books] VII. Music" and especially "David and Jonathan VIII. Music"). Not least the narrative complex involving David's relationship to King Saul and his being anointed to replace Saul has given dramatists and composers occasion for complex dramatic psychological expression of Saul's feelings of rejection, his wish for power, as well as David's seeming innocence combined with courage, strength, and leadership in the fight against the Philistines. In very different ways, musical representations of David's and Saul's kingships with many psychological angles and musical nuances have been composed in Marc-Antoine Charpentier's sacred opera *David et Jonathas* (1688), George Frideric Handel's oratorio *Saul* (1739), Carl Nielsen's *Saul and David* (1902), Arthur Honegger's *Le roi David* (1921), and other music dramas.

The musical characterizations of heathen kings from the HB/OT and the NT have usually been much more one-dimensional, since they are also normally portrayed as villains in the biblical narratives. This is so for King Belshazzar and (although less so, also in the biblical narrative) for King Darius portrayed in medieval dramas and (later) oratorios

(see "Belshazzar V. Music," "Daniel [Book and Person] VIII. Music" and "Darius the Mede II. Music"). It is certainly so for King Holofernes (see "Judith VI. Music") and for the royal figures of the NT, Herod the Great and Herod Antipas (see "Herod the Great VII. Music" and "Herod Antipas V. Music").

For bibliographical references, see the entries cross-referenced above.

Nils Holger Petersen

XI. Film

Biblical films make use of several different images and related perceptions of kingship that are found throughout both Testaments: 1) king as absolute tyrant, 2) king as disapproved servant of God, 3) king as ideal head of the nation, 4) king as ironically subversive clown, and 5) God (or Christ) as ultimate king of kings in the universe. Films have been quick to adopt and depict these five images following biblical accounts and through creative imagination.

First and foremost, the concept of a king as an absolute tyrant is the earliest overture image of king in the OT/HB, particularly in Exodus. The Pharaoh as king of Egypt, self-declared god-king, appears as the ruthless oppressor of Israelites and stiff-necked opponent of YHWH God (Exod 1–14). When his kingship is threatened by the high birth rate among enslaved Israelites, the Pharaoh is quick to kill all newborn boys among them. *The Ten Commandments* (dir. Cecil B. DeMille, 1956, US) and *Exodus: Gods and Kings* (dir. Ridley Scott, 2014, US) adroitly project this dual conception of king as violent tyrant and opponent of God onto their depictions of the Pharaoh. In the latter, the Pharaoh's arrogance culminates when pitted against Moses, who represents God. He declares, "I'm a god, I'm a god!" This image of human kings as absolute tyrants sets up the ultimate negative background against which the Bible's other images of kingship are better understood.

Second, the image of a king as a disapproved servant of God is the main staple of historical writings of the OT/HB. After the era of Judges, Israelites demand their own king in the flesh so that they "may be like all the nations" which are powerful and prosperous (1 Sam 8). God warns them that a king would abuse his powers and become a tyrranical oppressor like Pharaoh. The historical writings narrate that most divinely-anointed kings, who are supposed to rule the nation in a theocratic way, fail to do so; thus they are readily disapproved by God. They fail to be faithful servants of God over God's people by becoming conventional tyrants. *Saul e David* (dir. Marcello Baldi, 1965, IT/ES, *David and Saul*) and *Jeremiah* (dir. Harry Winer, 1998, IT/DE/US) carefully follow the biblical narratives in binary thematic structures that respectively contrast a corrupt king with a newly-anointed good king and the pro-
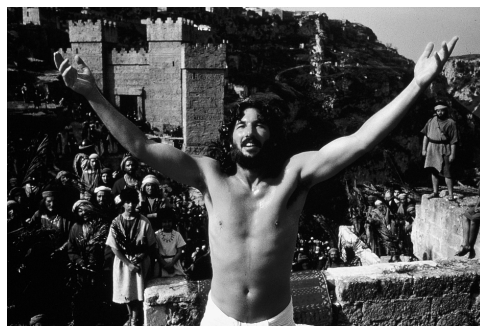

Fig. 8 *King David* (1985)

phet's voice of justice. The dualistic ethical setup of the two films is unrealistically flat. Yet, it still conveys well the theme of the human king's frailty and shortcomings, which is a main point of the historical writings.

Third, despite the previously reserved notions of kingship, there is a strong wish for ideal kingship in the OT. For instance, in spite of his personal sins, King David is considered a supreme model of a God-anointed king, and so the perpetual Davidic line of kingship is recommended and ideologized (2 Sam 7 : 5–16; Isa 9 : 7; 11 : 1–5, Jer 30 : 9, Ezek 34 : 23–24). Coming to the NT, even Jesus is called the Son of David (Matt 4 : 8–16; an heir of Davidic kingship). This concept of idealized kingship is represented in *King David* (dir. Bruce Beresford, 1985, UK/US). The film begins with Samuel admonishing and forsaking King Saul and his household because of his disobedience before God (1 Sam 13). Samuel then searches for a righteous king and ultimately anoints David. The rest of the film keeps the basic biblical narrative line, though some significant changes appear, of how faithful David was until he became king and continued to be so up until death (see fig. 8). Yet, both the Bible and film do not forget to narrate that David was an imperfect person committing such grave sins as murder and adultery with Bathsheba. Even an ideal king has inherent deficits.

The fourth concept of king as ironically subversive clown appears in the Gospels against the context of Roman colonial rule. In place of ancient kingship, now Jesus appears as the perfect king of the Davidic line, yet at the same time as a very humble one riding a donkey for his kingly march into Jerusalem (Mark 11 : 1–16; John 12 : 13–15). On top of that, he was hung on the cross with a crown of thorns on his head and with the pejorative title, "King of Jews." All these images and activities embodied by Jesus are subversive of conventional conceptions of ancient kingship (and contemporary Roman emperorship as well). Jesus makes utter deconstruction and satire of all failed kingship in Israel's history, by himself being a degraded "clown

king." His subversive strategy was successful at least for the NT writers. For Jesus ironically shows that his humble kingship is more powerful than the previous one and can even overcome death. Further, all four Gospels claim that his clown kingship is redemptive for the whole world. *The Passion of the Christ* (dir. Mel Gibson, 2004, US) fully imbues itself with this satirical, humble, yet subversive kingship of Jesus in a highly artistic and bluntly bloody way. The film depicts Jesus in the lowest human form ever possible in brutal graphics. Jesus shouts out in pain, cries out in loneliness, and walks out to the cross hopelessly and with blood flowing. There is no beauty, power, and authority in that wrecked body of Jesus. But, the film's purpose does not end there. It attempts, in an ironic sense, to prove that this tortured Jesus is truly the Savior of the world.

A final conception of kingship is that of God (or Christ) as the ultimate king of kings in the universe. This message is a common theme of apocalyptic literature (e.g., Dan 2:21; Rev 2:5; 3:21; 14:14; 17:14; 19:15–16). God reigns over all the earth despite outward appearances to the contrary (see "Kingdom/Kingship of God VIII. Film").

Like biblical authors, films tend to suggest that all human kings are temporal and doomed to fail. God or Christ is the only eternal and infallible king. This is echoed in films such as *A Man for All Seasons* (dir. Fred Zinnemann, 1966, UK), in which Thomas Moore reluctantly makes a principled stand against the heretical course of his friend and king Henry VIII when the latter attempts to break from the church in order to obtain an annulment. This film and others suggest that there are limits to a human king's divine right to rule (Rom 13).

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