

A black and white photograph of a muscular man's silhouette against a cloudy sky. The man is shown from the back, looking slightly to the right. He has a very athletic build with prominent muscles. The sky is filled with soft, white clouds, and the lighting creates a strong contrast between the dark silhouette and the bright background.

# The Davidiad

MARKO MARULIĆ



Marko Marulić

# The Davidiad

*edited & translated by*

Edward Mulholland



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## Acknowledgements

This edition presents Marko Marulić's *Davidiad* in a readable Latin edition with its first ever complete English translation. It promises to bring to a wider audience a masterpiece that was lost for centuries and then found, having survived a fire but, alas, not unscathed. Like his manuscript, Marko Marulić deserves to be rediscovered by many in this year, 2024, the fifth centenary of his death.

My interest in Marulić goes back two decades, to when I was teaching in New York and tutoring in Latin a young man named Anthony Valle, a fellow native New Yorker. Anthony's father was from near Pula, in Istria, and his mother, née Martinović, was from Olib. He asked me if I had ever heard of Marulić or of the *Davidiad*. I had not. Intrigued, I searched online and found a copy (in a Vienna bookstore) of Glavičić's 1974 edition. The origin of this present edition thus comes from the pride and knowledge that Croatian Americans have of their literary ancestors.

At some point in the next decade, I translated the first 150 hexameters and put them aside. After later relocating to Georgia and then Kansas, and teaching Spanish and Latin at Benedictine College, my department chair, Daphne McConnell, told me about encouragement and sponsorship for humanities projects at the Hall Center for the Humanities at the University of Kansas. The idea of translating the *Davidiad* in its entirety emerged. I knew if I could translate the first few books over a summer, I would be motivated to persevere. The Hall Center offered a quiet office at the University of Kansas for three weeks in the summer of 2018, and I was able to finish the first four books. The staff at the Center couldn't have been more gracious.

Thanks are due to friends and colleagues George Nicholas and Steve Mirarchi for reading and commenting on those initial books. Susan Traffas, with whom I was co-directing the program *Great Books: The True, and Good, and the Beautiful*, offered encouragement and wise advice. Over the next few years, I was able to finish a few books each summer, and then a book or two on each Christmas or Spring break.

In late 2019, with the end finally in sight, I reached out to Bratislav Lučin, who invited me to Split when the translation was finished. It was he who informed me that my translation was not only the first ever

complete English translation, but the first in any language other than Croatian. He shared his own work on the Latin text and his enthusiasm for the project was a light through the dark days ahead.

I finished the first version of the translation in the spring of 2020, just as the world ground to a halt. The Covid-19 pandemic gave me time to review my translation of the epic and finish the *Tropological Commentary*. I am grateful to Anna Sluder for proofreading the translation when it was completed. The next year, Samantha Lehman did valuable work on the *marginalia* and formatting for that first version of the translation.

I was not able to travel to Split until the *Colloquium Marulianum* began again in April, 2023. At the time, I was able to meet Bratislav Lučin and several other Marulić experts. It was through those contacts that I was put in contact with Jeroen De Keyser at LYSA publishing, who was gracious enough to accept the project for the LYNX series of Neo-Latin texts. His assistance has been absolutely essential in the preparation of this volume. He is an editor's editor. He has done much of the heavy lifting, especially regarding the modifications of the Latin text, the *apparatus criticus*, and the *apparatus fontium*. I believe our work on the latter is a valuable contribution to Marulić scholarship. Thanks are also due to him, together with Neven Jovanović and Keith Sidwell, for helpful suggestions that have improved key verses of the translation.

For more translation suggestions, encouragement, and scholarly example, a debt of gratitude is also owed to my colleague Lionel Yaceczko. A big thank you as well to the Sheridan Center for Classical Studies at Benedictine College and its director, Andrew Salzman, for supporting this edition.

None of this would have been possible without the patience and encouragement of my family, above all that of my wife, Valerie.

*Quicquid agam, minus est illo, quod debeo...* (Dav. 8.357).

Edward Mulholland



## Introduction

In his brief life of Marulić, his contemporary and fellow citizen of Split, Franjo Božičević (Franciscus Natalis, 1469-1542) wrote that he died “not with difficulty (as others are wont to do) or vexed with a long-lasting illness, but praising his Lord and Creator, ‘upright of life and undefiled by sin’ he gave up the ghost; he fought the good fight, he finished the race, he kept the faith.”<sup>1</sup>

In describing the manner of his death, Božičević places Marulić’s life within the twin poles of Christian humanism. He assumes his reader would catch and concur with his allusions to the opening lines of Horace’s *Odes*, 1.22 (“Integer vitae scelerisque purus”) and to St. Paul’s words about his own impending death in 2 Timothy 4:7 (“Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi”). He writes to an audience well versed in both traditions. Horace and St. Paul represent the two poles of classical learning and Judaeo-Christian revelation. They are a fitting framework for the life and work of Marko Marulić, and particularly for his epic poem the *Davidiad*.

### 1. An Overview of Marulić’s Life and Work

Marko Marulić was born in Split, Croatia (then the Republic of Venice) on August 18, 1450.<sup>2</sup> His family name in Croatian was Pečenić,<sup>3</sup> but the family Latinized the surname in the fifteenth century to Marulus or De Marulis. Both his father, Nikola Marulić and his mother, Dobrica Obirić were of noble families. He was the oldest of eight children, six boys

<sup>1</sup> “Non difficulter (ut alii solent), aut diutina aegritudine consternatus, sed laudans Dominum Creatorem suum, ‘integer vitae scelerisque purus’ spiritum efflavit. Bonum certamen certavit, cursum consummavit, fidem servavit.” (*Vita Marci Maruli Spalatensis per Franciscum Natalem Concivem Suum Composita*, vi, in Marcovich 2006, 221). The manuscript of the *Vita* is in the Gradska knjižnica Marka Marulića, the City Library of Split, which is named after Marulić (ms. M-35, f. 104r-107r).

<sup>2</sup> The best source in English for Marulić’s life is Lučin 2007. I will follow this closely, also using the Spanish edition, Lučin & Gálvez 2000. For excellent overviews of Marulić’s life and works see, among others, Tomasović 1999, Borsetto 2004, and Lučin 2008, as well as the bibliographical synthesis in Posset & Lučin 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Also written Pecinić or Picinić. See Lučin 2007, 277.

and two girls. His father was well read, and even hand-copied “for himself and his family” an edition of Cicero’s *On Duties*.<sup>4</sup>

As a young man he went to a school directed by the Italian humanist Tideo Acciarini (1427/30 – c. 1500). Born in the Italian region of Le Marche, Acciarini directed the school in Split and went on to lead schools in Zadar and Dubrovnik before returning to Italy.<sup>5</sup> In Dubrovnik, Acciarini would have as his pupils two other Croatian humanist poets: Ilija Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cervinus, 1463-1520) and Jakov Bunić (Iacobus Bonus, 1469-1534).<sup>6</sup>

It was during these school years that Marulić, following a classical curriculum of *studia humanitatis* (Latin and Greek grammar, poetry, rhetoric, moral philosophy, history),<sup>7</sup> would write his first Latin verses, in imitation of Ovid. He excelled in art as well as writing.<sup>8</sup> Around 1465 he wrote a humanistic *epistula* in verse to the poet Juraj Šižgorić (Georgius Sisgoreus, 1445-1509).<sup>9</sup>

It is supposed that the next step for Marulić was the study of law, and probably in Padua, which would mean that his stay there (possibly 1468-74) overlapped for a time with that of Juraj Šižgorić. In the late 1470s and the 1480s, Marulić’s name appears on contracts and other notarized documents confirming his practice of law and his participation in the public life of his native city, as well as on commercial agreements for the transport of goods between Split and Venice.<sup>10</sup> Marulić scholar Franz Posset notes:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> “sibi et suis” (Lučin & Gálvez 2000, 8).

<sup>5</sup> A poem written by Acciarini in 1471, presumably while he was *magister humanitatis* in Split, was discovered and first published in 2015 (see Lučin 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Bunić was the first Croatian to publish an epic poem: *De raptu Cerberi* (Rome, c. 1490).

<sup>7</sup> For how Marulić’s library well represented these studies, see Lučin 1997.

<sup>8</sup> Krsić 2000, 39.

<sup>9</sup> Šižgorić was from Šibenik, Croatia. He studied at the University of Padua, getting his degree in Canon Law in 1471 (see Bettarini 2008). His *Elegiarum et carminum libri tres* (first published in Venice in 1477) is considered the first published work of a Croatian poet. He was also a friend of Tideo Acciarini (Lučin 2015, 113).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Lučin & Gálvez 2000, 8.

<sup>11</sup> Posset 2021, XXIX. The *Repertorium* itself is a marvel, with more than 1,400 pages of citations and passages, most ethical in character, from Scripture, the Fathers of the Church, classical authors and humanists. It is the ploughed field from which Marulić would harvest his later works. See Novaković 1998.

*The Davidiad*

1517

*Sanctissimo cardinali, episcopo Portuensi patriarchaeque Aquileiensi  
Dominico Grimano Marcus Marulus in Domino salutem*

1. Quum te, sanctissime Grimane cardinalis, et omnibus ingenuis disciplinis<sup>1</sup> egregie institutum audiam et officii dignitate generisque claritate imprimis eminere sciam, me tibi deditissimum esse tuique studiosissimum nulla alia re commodius aptiusque testari potui quam ut litterarii  
5 operis aliquid ederem tuoque nomini dedicarem. Aggressus sum itaque rem plane viribus meis imparem, sed non a virtutibus tuis alienam: Davidis regis gesta versibus expressi, historiam secutus quam in sacris proditam codicibus veram esse non ambigo. Eam poëticis numeris Pierioque lepore exornare conatus sum, quo tibi tua gravitate dignius,  
10 tuae sanctitudini delectabilius munusculum offerre possem. 2. Caeterum ad hoc perficiendum multa mihi impedimento erant: iampridem intermissa condendi carminis cura, Hebraicorum nominum Latinae linguae inusitata relatio, locorum quoque a nullo prorsus geographorum nostrorum satis explanata vocabula. Has tamen omnes difficultates  
15 meus erga sanctitatem tuam amor pervicit. Ille quod intermiseram revocavit, ille etiam nomina, quae plerunque (ut nosti) absque ulla casuum declinatione in libris divinis proferuntur, declinare me compulit, ut sermonis nostri sensus apertior fieret, ille denique locorum situs, quos plene diserteque exponere non poteram, divinare me fecit.  
20 3. Appendicem etiam operi adiunxi soluta utens oratione, singulorum voluminum argumenta. Deinde historiae veteris contextum ostendi novae esse figuram.

4. Quod opus si sanctitati tuae placuerit, facile criticorum ronchos invidorumque subsannationes contemnemus, vel potius in illas  
25 incidere minime verebimur, quandoquidem tanta est tua unius apud omnes autoritas, ut quicquid abs te probatum noscitur, id ipsum vel arroganter improbare vel palam carpere audeat nemo. 5. Sed dicet aliquis: “Ut quid γλαῦκας Ἀθήνας, ut quid ligna in silvam portas? Quare

1 Aquileiensi T<sup>p</sup>c Lu Aquilegiensi T<sup>ac</sup> Ma 10 sanctitudini T Lu sanctitati Ma

28 cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 301 (τί φής; τίς γλαῦκ' Ἀθήνας' ἤγαγε;), Cic. *Fam.* 6.3.4 (“Sed rursus γλαῦκας εἰς Ἀθήνας, qui haec ad te”); Eras. *Adag.* 111 (“Ululus Athenas”) | cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.34 (“in silvam non ligna feras”); Eras. *Adag.* 657 (“In silvam ligna ferre”)

*To the Most Reverend Cardinal, Bishop of Porto and Patriarch of Aquileia Domenico Grimani, M. Marulić sends a Greeting in the Lord*

1. Since I hear that you, most holy Cardinal Grimani, have been instructed most wonderfully in all noble disciplines<sup>1</sup> and I know that you are greatly exalted because of the dignity of your office and the glory of your family, I have been able to bear witness most duly and readily to the fact that I am most devoted to you and most fond of you by nothing more than by composing a literary work and dedicating it to your name. I have therefore undertaken a task clearly unequal to my strength, but not inconsistent with your virtues: I have expressed the exploits of King David in verse, following the story which has been put forth as true – I doubt it not – in the sacred pages. I have endeavoured to adorn it with poetic meter and the Muses' charm so that I might offer a token more worthy of your dignity and more pleasing to your holiness. 2. Many things were impediments to my finishing this task: the worry about a poem long ago interrupted, the uncommon relation of Hebrew names to the Latin language, words for places not sufficiently explained by any of our geographers. Nevertheless, my love for your holiness overcame all of these obstacles. It recalled for me that which I had interrupted; it compelled me to decline, so that their meaning might be more apparent in our language, even those many names which, as you know, are brought forth in the holy books without any declension of cases; finally, it made me guess the location of places which I had not been able to explain fully and eloquently. 3. I even added an Appendix to the work in prose, that is, the plot summaries of each book. Thereafter I have shown the context of an old story to be pre-figuring a new one.

4. So if the work is pleasing to your holiness, we shall easily spurn the rattling of critics and the mockery of the envious, or rather we shall scarcely fear to happen upon them, when indeed your authority is so great that whatever is known to be approved by you, no one may dare arrogantly to disapprove or openly critique. 5. But one might object: "Why do you bring owls to Athens, why wood to the forest? Why indeed, to one who overflows and abounds in the trappings of all the

<sup>1</sup> Such "noble disciplines" were the Liberal Arts, considered essential to the education of a nobleman.

huic, qui scientiarum omnium ornamentis affluit atque abundat, litterarium munus mittis?” Cui ego ingenue respondebo: “Talem virum, tam eruditum, tam sanctum, tam in omni laudis genere celebrem nullo alio munere iustius convenientiusque colere poteram quam hoc uno, quo ipsum plurimum delectari arbitratus sum, eo videlicet, quod nostram religionem sapiat, quod Christum sonet, quod odorem illum, quo animae fideles reficiuntur, fragret.” Ad haec non me fugiebat eam esse litteratorum naturam, ut quanvis ipsi in omni liberali doctrina politissimi excultissimique sint, minus etiam eruditorum opuscula interdum non inviti legant. 6. Nos itaque non ista mittimus, ut doctiorem instruamus, ne proverbio locus detur: “Sus Minervam,” sed ut doctissimum honore, quo possumus, prosequamur. Abundabat et David noster, quum iam regnum accepisset, divitiarum copia, nec tamen dedignatus est a Siba, servo modici, admodum pretii munuscula accipere.<sup>2</sup> Ita spero te quoque, sanctissime Cardinalis virque doctissime, pro tua in omnes humanitate in nostro opere suscipiendo facturum. Quod quum feceris, non accipies beneficium, sed dabis. Exiguum est enim quod tibi mittimus, multum autem quod abs te poscimus: ut tantum digneris quod mittitur accipere meque in clientulorum tuorum numero habere. Vale.

36 cf. Cic. *Fam.* 13.1 (“est enim omni liberali doctrina politissimus”) 38 non inviti legant] Cic. *Fin.* 1.4 39 cf. Cic. *Ac.* 1.5 (“nam etsi non sus Minervam, ut aiunt, tamen inepte quisquis Minervam docet”), *Pis.* 37 (“hinc igitur natum adagium ‘sus Minervam’”), *Fam.* 9.18.4 (“etsi sus Minervam”); Eras. *Adag.* 40 (“Sus Minervam”) 42 II Sam. 16

sciences, do you send a literary gift?" To such a one I will frankly answer: "I have not been able more justly and suitably to honour such a man, so erudite, so holy, so renowned in all types of praise by any other gift than by this one, by which I thought he would be much delighted, for the very reason that it smacks of our religion, it resounds with Christ, and is redolent with that odour by which the souls of the faithful are restored." Furthermore, it did not escape me that the nature of literate men is such that even though they be most cultivated and polished in all learned doctrine, even so they not unwillingly read the works of less erudite men from time to time. 6. Therefore we do not send this that we may instruct a more learned man, lest occasion be given for the proverb: "A sow teaches Minerva," but rather that we may attend a most learned man with the honour we are able to bestow. Our David abounded likewise, since he had already received the kingship, with an abundance of riches, and yet he did not spurn to accept gifts of modest value from Ziba, a servant.<sup>2</sup> This I hope that you, a Cardinal most holy and man most learned, might do as well in receiving our work, for your gentility towards all. And once you have done so, you will not have received a benefit, but will have conferred one. A very small thing we send to you but a big thing we seek from you: that you deign to accept what is sent and to consider me among the number of your retainers. Farewell!

<sup>2</sup> The episode is from 2 Samuel 16 (see *Dav.* 9).

## Liber I

### ARGUMENTUM

*Regum lib. I, 3 cap. XIII. Samuel propheta arguit Saulem regem inobedientiae in Deum et regnum de familia eius transferendum praedicit. XV. Iterum denuntiat eum de regno eiiciendum, quia iussus interficere Amalechitas, regi eorum Agago pepercerit. Quem coram adductum Samuel ipse in frustra concidit. XVI. Samuel ungit Davidem regem futurum. Saul agitatus immundo spiritu Davide citharam pulsante refocillatur. David fit armiger Saulis. XVII. Goliath interimit. Palestini fugiunt.*

Davidis memorare pii gesta in clyta regis  
instituto. Quis nunc dignas in carmina vires  
suppeditet? Non Cirrhaeae de vertice rupis  
descendens lauroque caput praecinctus Apollo,  
5 non Nysae numen, furiata mente Lyaeus  
Pieridumque chorus. Nam non ego dicere Troiae  
excidium Thebasve paro nec sparsa cruore  
Thessala Romano bellis civilibus arva,<sup>4</sup>  
sed caelo cognatum opus arcanisque sacratum  
10 mysteriis. Quorum qui solus crederis autor,  
solus, magne Deus, mihi iam cantanda ministres.

Gens quondam Iudaea potens opibusque virisque,  
orbe sub Eoo residens, non inscia verae  
religionis erat; ritus moremque sacrorum  
15 edidit monstrante Deo, referentibus ipsis  
e caelo afflatis certissima quaeque prophetis.  
Hinc unum celebrare Deum, virtute creata  
cuius cuncta forent, coepit, terramque polumque  
qui regat et sensus cunctis vitamque ministret.

12 *Iudaei*

2 eius] sua T<sup>ac</sup>

3 de vertice rupis] *Man. Par.* 2.1.142 4 caput praecinctus] *Ov. Met.* 1.699 6 Troiae  
excidium] *Verg. Aen.* 5.626 12 cf. *Ov. Met.* 6.426 (“opibusque virisque potentem”)  
13 cf. *Lucan. Phars.* 1.252 (“orbe sub Eoo sedem”) 18 terramque polumque] *Verg. Aen.*  
2.251



## Book One

### SUMMARY

*First Book of Kings,*<sup>3</sup> chap. XIII. Samuel the prophet rebukes Saul the king for disobedience to God and predicts the kingdom will be transferred from his family. XV. He again announces that Saul will be ejected from the kingship, since when ordered to kill the Amalekites he spared their king, Agag, whom Samuel himself slays when brought bound before him. XVI. Samuel anoints David king-to-be. Saul, disturbed by an unclean spirit, is revived by David playing the harp. David becomes Saul's squire. XVII. He slays Goliath. The Philistines flee.

Of David, loyal king, great deeds to tell  
I do ordain. Who now unto my songs  
Shall worthy strength supply? Not laurel-crowned  
Apollo coming down Cyrrhean crags  
5 Not Nysa's numen, mind-enfuri'd Bacchus,  
No Muses' troupe. For I make ready not  
To tell the fall of Troy or Thebes, nor blood  
Of Rome in Thessaly shed through civil strife,<sup>4</sup>  
But heaven's work, and blessed by mysteries  
10 Arcane, whose author are you alone, Great God,  
May You alone provide what I must sing.  
    An eastern race once strong in men and wealth,  
The Jews were not unmindful of the true  
Religion, they had learned the sacred rites  
15 And holy practices with God as guide,  
As prophets spoke inspired truths from heav'n.  
Thence they began to worship one true God  
Whose power made all things, the earth, the sky,  
Who rules and grants both sense and life to all.

<sup>3</sup> Marulić uses the older numbering of the Vulgate, wherein there are four books of Kings: the first two correspond to First and Second Samuel and the last two correspond to First and Second Kings in later editions.

<sup>4</sup> Here Marulić refers to the great Latin epic poems: Troy recalls Vergil's *Aeneid* (already eluded to by calling King David *pius* like Vergil's hero Aeneas, whose epithet is *pius*), Thebes recalls Statius' *Thebaid* and Thessaly refers to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, the epic of the Roman civil wars.

20 Quos vero gentes aliae populique colebant,  
 hos non esse deos, sed prorsus daemonas ipsos,  
 quorum homines capti iam pridem fraudibus errant,  
 vix numeranda suis venerantes numina votis.

Ergo Iudaicae primus moderamina gentis

25 Ciso natus Saul et regni sceptrum tenebat,  
 non recto officio nixus nec legibus aequis, Samuel  
 quum Samuel vates dictis mordacibus illum propheta  
 aggrediens et facta Deo non grata revolvens  
 haec responsa dedit: “Quoniam tibi certa Tonantis  
 30 iussa sequi nulli fuerit post talia curae,  
 isto te indignum, quo te dignatus honore est,  
 censuit atque alium, regni cui tradat habenas,  
 iam sibi prospexit successoremque regendo  
 constituit populo, notum pietate fideque,  
 35 quanquam humili de plebe virum. Sed sanguinis omnes  
 exsuperat tenebras cum laudum lumine virtus.”  
 Haec effatus abit moestum tristemque relinquens  
 iam Saulem et multa perculsum pectora cura.

At quia continuo tali pro crimine poena  
 40 non inflictum fuit, iussus rex perdere gentem  
 Amalechitarum, rursum mandata reliquit,  
 rursum iussa Dei temnens servavit Agagum,  
 victor commisso captum certamine regem,  
 illius armentis etiam pecorique pepercit.  
 45 Ergo Dei immemorem res effecere secundae.  
 Sed frustra excusat facinus damnante propheta,  
 “Ignovisse viro pietas me compulit,” inquit,  
 “illaesas autem pecudes dimittere suasit  
 religio, ut sacras stet plurima victima ad aras.” –  
 50 “Falleris,” exclamat Samuel, “vanoque favore  
 facta iniusta tegis, quoniam non gratior ulla est  
 caelicolum regi, sacris quae imponitur aris,  
 hostia quam semper studio curaque fideli

25 *Saul rex* 27 *Samuel propheta* 47 *Saul* 50 *Samuel*

27 dictis mordacibus] Prud. *Psy.* 349 35 humili de plebe] Ov. *Met.* 3.583 | de plebe  
 virum] Man. *Par.* 1.2.352 49 victima ad aras] Man. *Par.* 3.613 51 gratior ulla est] Verg.  
*Buc.* 6.11

- 20 While other nations, peoples, honour paid  
 To those who were not gods, but demons sure,  
 Whose captive men did err long since, defrauded,  
 Avowing powers hardly to be numbered.
- The first to steer the Jewish race was Saul
- 25 Who, born the son of Cis, the sceptre held.  
 He stood not on right duty or just law.  
 Him prophet Samuel chides with biting words,  
 Revealing that his deeds displeased his God  
 With this remark: "Since you care not to heed
- 30 God's thundering commands, from now henceforth  
 Unworthy He declares you of the honour  
 He had deigned. Another He shall grant  
 The kingdom's reins. His watchful eye has picked  
 The next to rule the race, one loyal and true,
- 35 Although from humble stock. For virtue does  
 Surpass all blood obscure with light of praise."  
 He spoke and went, both sad and downcast leaving  
 Saul with smitten heart and worries sore.
- And since the penalty for such a crime
- 40 Came not right then, again the king, commanded  
 To destroy the tribe of Amalec,  
 Did disobey, again spurned God's decree.  
 Agag he kept alive, the captured king,  
 He spared his herds and flocks for victor's spoils.
- 45 Thus victory made him forget his God.  
 Reproached, he futilely excused his crime,  
 "Devotion made me pardon him," he said,  
 "Religion too, bids leave the sheep unharmed,  
 Thus many victims sacred shrines may have." –
- 50 "You're wrong," shouts Samuel, "shrouding unjust deeds  
 With empty praise; no victim is more dear  
 To Heaven's King, upon the altar placed,  
 Than with unfailing care and eagerness

## Liber V

### ARGUMENTUM

*Regum lib. I,*<sup>37</sup> *cap. XXV. Abigail domum reversa Nabalem ebrium offendit. Quo mortuo David eam sibi copulat. Alteram etiam duxit Achinoen. Saul Micholam tradit Phalto. XXVI. Ziphæis prodentibus Davidem obsidet in colle Achilae. David noctu ingressus eius tentorium, tulit cyphum et hastam. Quam ob rem*  
5 *Saul placatus abiit. XXVII. David fugit in Palestinam ad Achim regem. Habitat in Sicelech. Praedatur gentiles et fingit se praedari Israhelitas. XXVIII. Palestini cogunt exercitum in Saulem. Saul propius castrametatus timuit. Dimissis castris abiit consultum phitonissam de eventu belli. Samuel apprensus praedixit adversa. Ille prae dolore vix exoratus ut cibum caperet, nocte reversus est in*  
10 *castra.*

Scandebat medium caeli Sol aureus orbem  
ferventemque magis spirabant naribus ignem  
Pyrous rapidusque Phlegon et lucis Eous  
fecundus plenusque suis ardoribus Aethon,<sup>38</sup>  
5 quando tecta domus Nabal sedula coniux  
succedens vidit dapibus convivia largis  
fervere et impletis undantia vina lagenis  
afferri pariter positis longo ordine mensis.  
Atria tota strepunt istis famulantibus, illis  
10 nunc hoc, nunc illud poscentibus, omnis et ipsa  
plebs recubans vario tempus sermone trahebat.  
Risusque et cantus creberque per ora susurrus  
fertur et elatae rumpunt laquearia voces.  
Qualiter in magno pecudum grege saepe ruditus  
15 mugitusque sonat balatu mixtus ovili  
grunituque suum, tum vox confusa canore  
diverso patulas hominum circumtonat aures,

1 *Meridies* 14 *Comparatio*

2 cf. Lucr. *DRN* 5.29 (“equi spirantes naribus ignem”); Verg. *Georg.* 2.140 (“tauri spirantes naribus ignem”), *Aen.* 7.281 (“semine ab aethero spirantis naribus ignem”) 3 cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.153-54 (“interea volucres Pyrois et Eous et Aethon, / Solis equi, quartusque Phlegon hinnitibus auras”) 11 cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.748 (“vario noctem sermone trahebat”)

## Book Five

### SUMMARY

*First Book of Kings,*<sup>37</sup> XXV. Abigail, returning home, encounters a drunken Nabal, at whose death David takes her for his wife. He takes a second wife, Achinoam. Saul hands Michal over to Palti. XXVI. With the Ziphites advancing, Saul searches for David on the hill of Hachilah. Entering his tent at night, David takes his water jug and spear. Wherefore Saul, placated, departs. XXVII. David flees to King Achish among the Philistines. He dwells in Ziklag. He raids the gentiles and pretends to raid the Israelites. XXVIII. The Philistines gather an army against Saul, who, encamped nearby, is afraid. Leaving camp, he goes to consult a witch about the outcome of the war. Samuel, appearing to him, predicts adversity. He, because of distress, is barely persuaded to eat something and returns to camp by night.

The golden sun had scaled up half earth's sky,  
Pyroïs snorted out impetuous fire,  
As did swift Phlegon, Eous, lush with light,  
And Aethon full of ardour all his own,<sup>38</sup>  
5 When to Nabal's house came his tireless wife  
She saw a feast was raging, banquets broad,  
And flowing wines brought forth in flagons full,  
With tables set as well in lengthy ranks.  
The halls all hummed, the staff now bringing this  
10 Now that to those demanding; all the throng  
Reclining, frittered time with sundry talk.  
Guffaws and songs and mouths' repeated mutters  
Stir; raised voices crack the raftered roof.  
As in great barnyard herds oftentimes the brays  
15 And moos resound entwined with bleats from sheep  
And grunts from swine, then blurry noise with tunes  
All muddled thunders round our human ears,

<sup>37</sup> See n. 3 above.

<sup>38</sup> Pyroïs, Eoüs, Aethon and Phlegon, Greek names all related to fire, are the four horses of the chariot of the Sun God Helios in Greek mythology.

- talis ibi per tota ruens triclinia clamor  
 murmure multiplici latas repleverat aedis.  
 20 Inter convivas Nabalem forte maritum  
 cernit, qui manibus plenum cratera duabus  
 sustulit amplexus labrisque admovit et ore  
 exhaustum cupido totum consumpsit hiatum.  
 Et tunc illa quidem deprendit tam magis ipsum  
 25 incaluisse aliis, quanto maiore bibendi  
 libertate solet dominus quam servulus uti.  
 Potus Nabal erat, perplexo verba palato  
 dimidiata refert non blaesae crimine linguae,  
 sed vini vitio venas inflante madentes.  
 30 Ipse idem nescitque loqui nescitque tacere.  
 Murmurat ore, manu gestit, conivet ocellis.  
 Et nisi quod mensis innixus pectore pronus  
 ebrius accumbat, pedibus consistere rectis  
 non bene sufficeret. Talem quum provida coniux  
 35 vidisset, siluit. Quid enim suadere loquendo  
 capto mente potest aliquis vel dicere, quod non  
 ventus et instabiles properent auferre procellae?  
 Ast ubi iam noctis convivia laeta secutae  
 alta quies crapulam digessit mensque nitere  
 40 coepta nitente die est, verbis aggressa maritum  
 Abigail narrat quae gesserat. Ille periculo  
 territus audito trepidos vix sustinet artus.  
 Inde stupens nec adhuc meritas evadere poenas  
 posse timet. Veluti mediis qui fluctibus olim  
 45 iactatum fragili meminit se forte carina,  
 quos vix effugit fluctus, exhorret eosdem  
 nec potis est illos animo memorare quieto.  
 Liber erat poena Davidis munere Nabal,  
 sed mulctante Deo stultae commissa loquelae  
 50 et benefactori mala probra relata, repenti  
 post bis quinque dies rapitur sub Tartara leto.

20 *Nabal ebrius* 44 *Comparatio*

23 hiatum *Ma* hiacum *T* Hiacum *Lu*

21 cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.82 (“ingentem manibus tollit cratera duabus”) 38 Ast ubi iam] Juven. *Ev.* 3.100; Phil. *Sphor.* 5.133 42 cf. Man. *Par.* 1.3.583 (“miseros vix sustinet artus”)

So, too, such clamour ran through every couch,  
 And filled the room with motley murmurs wide.  
 20 Among the guests by chance she spies Nabal  
 Her husband, who with both hands clasps a bowl  
 And holds it to his lips, with willing mouth,  
 And guzzles down the wine until it's drained.  
 She then detects that he, more than the rest,  
 25 Is flushed, how much more liberal in his drink  
 Is wont to be the master than the slave.  
 Nabal was drunk, his tangled palate spoke  
 Divided words, not caused by stutt'ring tongue,  
 Wine's ill effects puffed up his sodden veins.  
 30 He knew not how to speak nor how to hold.  
 Mouth murmurs, gesture hands, and eyes connive.  
 Unless the drunkard leaned his stooping chest  
 Against the table, straightened legs were not  
 Enough to stand. His watchful wife thus saw  
 35 Him and was mum. For what can one in words  
 Persuade or say to minds ensnared, which winds  
 And storms unstable soon won't blow away?  
 But when night's deep repose which follows bliss  
 From feasts his drunkenness dissolved and mind  
 40 Began, with day, to clear, in words she addressed  
 And told her husband what she'd done. He, seized  
 By peril heard, can scarce sustain his limbs.  
 He, stunned, fears he no longer can evade  
 Due punishment. Like one recalls the time  
 45 He'd plunged from fragile keel amidst the waves  
 Which barely he escaped, and now he shuns,  
 Nor can he think of them with spirit calm.  
 Nabal, by David's gift, was torment free,  
 But since God charges penalties for faults  
 50 When foolish tongues repay good men with scorn,  
 Nabal's in ten days snatched to Tartarus.

## *Tropologica Davidiadis expositio*

1. Sub Veteris instrumenti historiis Novi latere mysteria Apostolus<sup>137</sup> testatur dicens: “Omnia illis contingebant in figuram.”<sup>138</sup> Ostendere igitur aggrediar, Spiritu Sancto adiuvante, brevi verborum compendio Davidis res gestae, quas, ut potuimus, nostra poesi complexi sumus, quo spectent quosve typos<sup>139</sup> in se habere mihi videantur novitatis. 2. In omnibus fere Davidem puto personam gerere Christi; Saulem autem Iudaeos, qui Christum persequebantur,<sup>140</sup> significare; tum sub prophetarum dictis factisque contineri utriusque Legis<sup>141</sup> auctoritatem.

I. 1. Igitur per Samuelem prophetam arguitur Saul inobedientiae in Deum, et David succedit in regno, quia Iudaeis, Evangelio non creditibus, quos utriusque Scripturae redarguit auctoritas, Christus incipit regnare cum tribu Iuda, id est cum his, qui ipsum confitentur Dei Filium mundique Dominum ac Salvatorem.

2. *Samuel* autem, qui interpretatur “audiens Deum”,<sup>142</sup> in frustra concidit Agag, regem Amalechitarum. Apostoli, Christo audientes, impugnant gentilium sacrificia simulachrorumque cultum gladio lacerant veritatis. *Agag* enim “festiva solennitas” dicitur,<sup>143</sup> *Amalech* “gens bruta ac fatua” interpretatur.<sup>144</sup> David “virum manu fortem” sonat et “vultu desiderabilem”. Hic est Christus, qui ligavit fortem ipse fortior, et idem desideratus cunctis gentibus a populo fideli suscipitur, atque a Iudaeis regnum transfertur, dicente propheta: “Quum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra.”<sup>145</sup> Translatum est regnum de tribu Benjamin ad tribum Iuda, id est de filiis amaritudinis ad filios confitentes Christum regem et glorificantes. Utrumque enim significat *Iuda*.<sup>146</sup>

1 *Semeus*

2 I Cor. 10.11

<sup>137</sup> St. Paul is frequently called “the Apostle” in Christian Latin literature.

<sup>138</sup> Bible citations in this section have been quoted from the Douay-Rheims translation. Hebrew etymologies are based on Strong’s *Concordance*, citing its reference numbers.

<sup>139</sup> Marulić uses the Latin word *typus* (“type”) which comes from the Greek word τύπος. In Romans 5:14, St. Paul says that Adam “is a figure [τύπος] of him who was to come.” This passage and 1 Corinthians 10:11 which he has already cited show the beginnings of “typology” or a reading of the Old Testament as pre-figuring the New.

<sup>140</sup> Here Marulić echoes the common view of his time, that the Jews were collectively responsible for Christ’s death.



## *Tropological Commentary on the Davidiad*

1. The Apostle<sup>137</sup> bears witness that the mysteries of the New Testament lie hidden under the stories of the Old, saying: “All these things happened to them in figure.”<sup>138</sup> Therefore I shall endeavour to show, with the help of the Holy Spirit, in a brief verbal summary, where David’s deeds, which we have embraced in poetry as we have been able, are aiming, or what types<sup>139</sup> of the New they seem to me to contain within them. 2. In almost all things I consider David to represent the role of Christ, but Saul to signify the Jews who persecuted Christ,<sup>140</sup> and then the authority of both Laws<sup>141</sup> to be contained under the sayings and deeds of the prophets.

I. 1. Therefore, through the prophet Samuel Saul is censured for disobedience to God, and David succeeds him in the kingdom. Since, with the Jews, whom the authority of both Testaments censures, not believing the Gospel, Christ began to reign with the tribe of Judah, i.e. with those who confess him to be Son of God and Lord and Saviour of the world.

2. *Samuel*, though, whose name means “one hearing God”,<sup>142</sup> cuts to pieces Agag, King of the Amalekites. The apostles, hearing Christ, assail the sacrifices and idols of the gentiles and slash their cult with the sword of truth. For Agag is said to be “a festive solemnity”<sup>143</sup>, and *Amalek* means “an ugly and fatuous people”.<sup>144</sup> David expresses a man strong in arm and desirable in aspect. This is Christ, who, being stronger, bound the strong man, and Himself desired by all nations, is received by a faithful people and his kingship is transferred from the Jews. As the prophet says: “When the Holy of Holies has come, your anointment shall cease.”<sup>145</sup> The kingship has been transferred from the tribe of Benjamin to the tribe of Judah, i.e. from the sons of bitterness to the sons confessing Christ as king and glorifying Him. For *Judah* means both.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>141</sup> That is, the Old and the New Law or Testaments.

<sup>142</sup> According to Strong, Samuel (8050 שְׁמוּאֵל, *Shemuel*) means “name of God”.

<sup>143</sup> Not in Strong.

<sup>144</sup> Not in Strong.

<sup>145</sup> This statement corresponds to no exact Vulgate reference. The closest matches are Daniel 9:24 and Isaiah 66:1. Marulić may be following Augustine (*Contra Iudaeos paganos et Arianos* 12, PL 42.1124) in citing it as scriptural. It is also quoted as scriptural in Medieval works such as *Piers Plowman* 18, 109.

<sup>146</sup> Strong says Judah (3063 יְהוּדָה, *Yehudah*) probably means “praised”.

25 3. Saul agitur spiritu immundo, et Davide citharam pulsante refo-  
cillatur. Hoc est: Iudaei in immunditia infidelitatis versantes desipiunt,  
quidam tamen Christum audiendo convertuntur. 4. Iam primum David  
fit armiger Saulis, quia Christus primum docuit Iudaeos et crucem,  
quae eius arma sunt, inter illos portavit, ut Ioannes testatur. 5. Goliath,  
30 inter idolatras Palestinos fortissimum, interemit. Christus diabolum, qui  
gentibus dominabatur, Evangelii vulgatione contrivit. 6. Palestini Davi-  
dem fugiunt, ut in illum rursus armentur. Gentiles ecclesiae Christia-  
nae persecutionem parant, nolentes recipere Christum. *Palestini* quippe  
“oris confusiones” interpretantur.<sup>147</sup> Quid autem gentilium errore con-  
35 fusius deos innumeros colentium? Interpretantur etiam “ora mallea-  
torum”, quia martyres Christi persecutionum malleis tundere aggressi  
sunt.

II. 1. David cum Ionatha, Saulis filio, inicit amicitiam, et eius revelatio-  
nibus a Saulis invidia salvatur. *Ionathas* “columbae donum” interpreta-  
40 tur,<sup>148</sup> quod Spiritus Sancti donum est. Spiritus autem Sancti dono  
Iudaeis Lex data est. Ideo Ionathas Saulis est filius, cuius Legis revela-  
tione patuerunt mysteria Christi, quae in illa continentur sub velamine  
figurarum.<sup>149</sup> Hinc nos ipsorum Iudaeorum, propriae Scripturae non  
credentium, manifestam cernentes insaniam, pericula occidentis litterae  
45 vitamus et Spiritui qui vivificat adhaeremus. Ob hoc Ionathas, id est  
Spiritus Sancti donum, nostrae fidei favet et eorum reprobatur perfidiam.

2. Saul tamen Davidem praeficit militibus. Et Iudaei initio patiuntur  
ut plebem doceat Christus et magister eorum sit. 3. Quum autem Saul  
vidisset praeferi sibi Davidem laude virtutis, odio eum habuit et vitae  
50 illius insidiari coepit. Sic Iudaeorum principes, quum cernerent plebem  
abire post Christum et miracula eius praedicare, invidentes quaesierunt  
eum interficere.

4. Saepenumero cum Davide in gratiam se redire simulat Saul, et  
Iudaei Christum tentantes blandius interrogant, non ut discant, sed ut  
55 accuset. 5. Saul despondit Davidi filiam Michol pro praepitiis Palesti-

46 Sancti] Sanctus T<sup>ac</sup>

29 cf. Ioh. 19.17 44 cf. II Cor. 3.6 (“littera enim occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat”)

<sup>147</sup> Strong notes that the name for the Philistines comes from the land Philistia (6429), which derives from *palash* (6428 פלש) a verb meaning “roll” or “wallow” as an act of mourning and hence perhaps “migratory”.

3. Saul is stirred by an unclean spirit and is revived when David plays the lyre. This is the Jews who are foolish, turning toward the uncleanness of infidelity, who nevertheless are converted by hearing Christ. 4. David becomes Saul's armour-bearer first, since Christ first taught the Jews and among them carried the cross, which is his arms, as John bears witness. 5. He slays Goliath, the strongest of the Philistine idolaters. With the spread of the Gospel, Christ tramples the devil, who was lording over the nations. 6. The Philistines flee David to be once again armed against him. The gentiles, not wishing to receive Christ, prepare the persecution of the Christian Church. *Philistine* indeed means "shame of the mouth".<sup>147</sup> What is more shameful than the error of the gentiles who worship innumerable gods? It also means "the mouths of hammerers", since they endeavoured to strike the martyrs of Christ with the hammers of persecutions.

II. 1. David begins a friendship with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and by his revelations is saved from Saul's envy. *Jonathan*<sup>148</sup> means "gift of a dove", which is the gift of the Holy Spirit. And the Law was given to the Jews by a gift of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, Jonathan is Saul's son, by whose revelation of the Law the mysteries of Christ have been laid open, which are contained within it under a veil of figures.<sup>149</sup> Hence we, seeing the manifest madness of the very Jews who did not believe their own Scriptures, avoid the perils of the letter which kills and adhere to the Spirit which gives life. On account of this, Jonathan, that is, the gift of the Holy Spirit, fosters our faith and reproves their perfidy.

2. Saul nevertheless put David in charge of his soldiers. And the Jews, at the outset, allow Christ to teach the people and be their teacher. 3. But once Saul saw that David was preferred to him in praise of virtue, he held him in hate and began to plot against his life. Thus, the Jewish leaders, when they saw the people follow after Christ and preach his miracles, sought to kill Him in envy.

4. Saul repeatedly pretends that he is again in favour of David, and the Jews, testing Christ, question Him more courteously, not that they might learn, but that they might accuse Him. 5. Saul gives his daughter

<sup>148</sup> Strong 3129 (יונתן, *Yonathan*), same name as Strong 3083 (יהונתן, *Yehonathan*), meaning "The LORD has given".

<sup>149</sup> The word "figure" is in this sense a synonym of "type", as in the opening of the *Tropological Commentary*.

# Indices

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