

**THE EARLY JEWISH TRANSMISSION OF PSALM 16:
FROM PSALM TO MESSIANIC PROOF TEXT IN LUKE-ACTS
VOLUME 1**

James L. Johns
New College

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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to address one question: What may be known about the early Jewish transmission of Psalm 16 and how may the early Jewish transmission of Psalm 16 help us understand its messianic usage in Acts 2:14-36 and 13:16-41? Chapter 1 provides an overview of Psalm 16's journey from Hebrew poetry to messianic proof text. By examining the transmission of psalmody in Second Temple Judaism, the two-way relationship between prophecy and psalmody is seen as influencing the appropriation of Psalm 16. The Hebrew Bible shows the Psalms becoming part of the post-exilic practice of inner-biblical exegesis. Psalms are appropriated eschatologically within prophetic texts. In the extrabiblical literature of Second Temple Judaism, the Psalms are gradually seen to have a distinctive function as prophetic proof texts. Chapter 2 finds that Psalm 16's significant literary features confirm its sharing in ancient Syro-Palestinian poetic traditions. The poet of Psalm 16 uses traditional material, literary motifs, and stylistic techniques common to other Northwest Semitic languages. Psalm 16 appears to employ a variegated, heterogenous language reflecting an early stage of Hebrew as evidenced by its relatively dense cluster of Israelite Hebrew features. The form of Psalm 16 is that of a *Vertrauenspsalm*, "psalm of confidence." The language of the psalmist intimately expresses confidence in YHWH's provision, even in the case of death. Chapter 3 argues that Psalm 16's structure clearly supports its classification as a psalm of confidence and emphasizes its major theme of trust in YHWH. No textual, linguistic, formal, or structural evidence suggests a composite Psalm. A working translation of Psalm 16 suggests that, for its readers, Psalm 16 sets up a tension which awaits resolution. Sourced in the claim of a *Heilsorakel* (to which we have no further access), and confirmed in ongoing communion with YHWH, the psalmist may affirm something which partly fits received views on human destiny but also transcends them. This resolution is only barely sketched at the outer edge of the Hebrew Bible, in resurrection and post-mortem distinction between the righteous and the wicked. Yet, the resolution of this tension is clearly seen in the subsequent interpretation of Psalm 16 in extrabiblical Judaism, in the developing apocalyptic eschatological and messianic views found in other writings of extrabiblical Judaism, and in the applied messianism of early Christianity. Chapter 4 argues that LXX Psalm 15 renders MT Psalm 16 with stereotypical equivalents and therefore, represents an appropriate translation of the figurative Semitic phrases as they are understood in the context of the Jewish thought world of its time. The LXX version represents an apocalyptic eschatological reading of MT Psalm 16 which is at least more explicit, and perhaps a significant movement beyond, its meaning in the context of the formation of the MT-150 Psalter. Thus, apocalyptic eschatological readings of immortality and resurrection can be seen to emerge conceptually from within MT Psalm 16. 4Q177 appropriates Psalm 16:3a in an essentially apocalyptic eschatological series of messianic observations on אחרית הימים, "the latter days." Like in the messianic arguments of 4Q174 and 11Q13, 4Q177 uses Psalms as the basis for claiming that the Qumran community inherits the promises of the Davidic tradition. Chapter 5 concludes that in the speeches of Peter and Paul in Acts 2 and Acts 13, we find Luke's argument to be *haggadic* midrashic in style. Therein, LXX Psalm 15 is treated as a Davidic oracle and is used as an historicized proof text and as a tool to link together other prophetic texts. The evidence now shows that an apocalyptic eschatological orientation and interpretive methods practiced in proto-rabbinic and other Jewish groups are shared by those first appropriating LXX Psalm 15 in early Christian tradition. The appropriation of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts arises from this context of an apocalyptic eschatological worldview within a Judaism that understands itself to be experiencing אחרית הימים, awaiting the Davidic Messiah. In conclusion, the messianic appropriation of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts exhibits a long exegetical history. Psalm 16's transmission history demonstrates that its appropriation in Luke-Acts should be considered as early and that it is not the result of exclusively Christian inspiration. Psalm 16 did not become messianic in early Christian tradition – it entered early Christian tradition as a Davidic messianic oracle. Further, Psalm 16's transmission history helps us to understand that only the appropriation of this oracle as a *testimonium* to the resurrection of Jesus the Nazorean was the result of early Christian inspiration.

CONTENTS

VOLUME 1

PREFACE vi

ABBREVIATIONSvii

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter

1. AN OVERVIEW OF PSALM 16'S JOURNEY FROM PSALM TO MESSIANIC PROOF TEXT

A. The Question.....	3
B. Biblical Psalmody and Prophecy	4
C. Formation of the MT Psalter.....	13
D. The Emergence of Scripture	17
E. Formation of the LXX Psalter.....	22
F. Qumran Psalms and Psalters.....	28
1. Qumran <i>Pesharim</i> and Psalms.....	28
2. The 11QPs ^a Psalter	31
G. משיח at Qumran	34
H. Psalms as Prophecy in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.....	40
I. The Appropriation of Psalm 16 before Luke-Acts.....	44
J. The Appropriation of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts.....	48

2. THE HEBREW TEXT OF PSALM 16

A. Textual Evidence.....	53
1. The Earliest Textual Evidence.....	53
a. 4QPs ^c	65
b. 5/6HevPsalms	68
c. 4Q177	72
2. Masoretic Text Family Evidence.....	74
B. Linguistic Features.....	75
C. Issues of Form.....	115
1. The Psalter	115
2. Psalm 16.....	124

3. THE STRUCTURE AND A WORKING TRANSLATION OF PSALM 16

A. The Structure of Psalm 16.....	130
B. A Working Translation of MT Psalm 16	138
1. Superscription (Verse 1a)	138
2. Introduction (Verse 1b).....	139
3. First Section (Verses 2-6).....	142
a. Sequence One (Verses 2-4a)	142
b. Sequence Two (Verses 4b-6).....	153
4. Second Section (Verses 7-10).....	158
a. Sequence One (Verses 7-8)	158
b. Sequence Two (Verses 9-10).....	162
5. Conclusion (Verse 11).....	169

4. THE APPROPRIATION OF PSALM 16 IN LXX PSALM 15 AND 4Q177	
A. LXX Psalm 15 Translation	175
1. Textual Evidence	175
2. Translation and Analysis	175
a. Superscription (Verse 1a).....	175
b. Introduction (Verse 1b).....	176
c. First Section (Verses 2-6).....	177
1. Sequence One (Verses 2-4a).....	177
2. Sequence Two (Verses 4b-6).....	180
d. Second Section (Verses 7-10).....	182
1. Sequence One (Verses 7-8).....	182
2. Sequence Two (Verses 9-10).....	185
e. Conclusion (Verse 11).....	192
B. 4Q177 Appropriation.....	194
5. THE APPROPRIATION OF PSALM 16 IN ACTS 2:14-36 AND 13:16-41	
A. Psalms in Luke-Acts	208
B. Psalm 16 in Acts 2:14-36.....	220
C. Psalm 16 in Acts 13:16-41.....	227
CONCLUSION.....	236
VOLUME 2	
Appendix	
1. JOINING THE DISCUSSION OF THE SCRIPTURAL STATUS OF 11QPs ^a	238
2. C. H. DODD'S "BIBLE OF THE EARLY CHURCH"	242
3. THE TESTIMONIES OF C. H. DODD.....	243
4. THE GRADUAL EXPANSION OF THE BOOK OF PSALMS	244
5. TEXTS FROM THE DAVIDIC PROMISE TRADITION TAKEN TO REFER TO THE "RAISING UP" OF THE DAVIDIC DESCENDENT.....	245
6. QUMRAN REFERENCES TO AN ESCHATOLOGICAL MESSIAH.....	248
7. THREE GENERATIVE PASSAGES IN THE RISE OF MESSIANISM	250
8. THE CONCEPT OF THE DAVIDIC "SON OF GOD".....	253
9. 4Q177: RECONSTRUCTION OF FRAGMENT 14 BY ANNETTE STEUDEL	256
10. 4Q177 REFERENCES	257
11. INDEX OF PSALM QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT IN OLD TESTAMENT ORDER	264
12. INDEX OF OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS IN THE BOOK OF ACTS IN NEW TESTAMENT ORDER.....	266
13. THE PSALM QUOTATIONS IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE AND THE BOOK OF ACTS IN NEW TESTAMENT ORDER: A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT TEXTS AND APPROPRIATIONS.....	267
14. PSALMS SCROLLS	294
15. THE MASORETIC TEXT FAMILY OF EVIDENCE	297
16. MITCHELL DAHOOD'S "THE GRAMMAR OF THE PSALTER" (P SALM 16 ILLUSTRATIONS).....	300
17. THE LINKS BETWEEN MT PSALMS 15-18.....	302
18. שְׁאוּל IN THE HEBREW BIBLE.....	307

19. W. A. M. BEUKEN'S STRUCTURAL LAYOUT OF PSALM 16.....	311
20. MARC GIRARD'S STRUCTURAL LAYOUT OF PSALM 16	312
21. ÁNGEL RODRÍGUEZ'S STRUCTURAL LAYOUT OF PSALM 16.....	313
22. THE TEXT OF LXX PSALM 15	314
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	319

PREFACE

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B. Declarations

This thesis is the result of my own composition and has not been submitted for any other degree. All sources consulted are listed in the Bibliography. This document is processed using Microsoft Word and Linguist’s Software fonts and its presentation is controlled by their parameters.

ABBREVIATIONS

BDAG	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
BDB	<i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BDF	<i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
CTA	<i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i>
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>
DSS	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations</i>
EDNT	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
HALOT	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
IBHS	<i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i>
KAI	<i>Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften</i>
KTU	<i>Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i>
LEH	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i>
LXX	Septuagint
MM	<i>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament: Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
MT-150 Psalter	Masoretic Text Psalter
NIDNTT	<i>The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i>
NIDOTTE	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i>
Old Greek	The original text of the LXX
RS	<i>Mission de Ras Shamra: Volume 16: Ugaritica V</i>
RSP	<i>Ras Shamra Parallels</i>
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
TWAT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
TWOT	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i>
UBS	<i>The Greek New Testament</i>

INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to address one question: What may be known about the early Jewish transmission of Psalm 16 and how may the early Jewish transmission of Psalm 16 help us understand its messianic usage in Acts 2:14-36 and 13:16-41?

Chapter 1 will provide an overview of Psalm 16's journey from Hebrew poetry to messianic proof text. Due to Psalm 16's stereotypical language and the anonymity of its author(s) a transmission history will be difficult to propose. So we will first examine the transmission of psalmody in Second Temple Judaism – in particular, the relationship between psalmody and prophecy in formulating early Jewish tradition. The formation of Psalters¹ will be introduced, as will the emergence of Scripture.² The traditioning, or historicizing, of David in these processes will be a particular focus within the context of the evolving Davidic promise tradition. The post-exilic practice of appropriating the Psalms³ as prophetic proof texts will be broadly examined. The transmission history of Psalm 16, as may be evident in the Hebrew text of the final MT form, will be introduced and summarized. The only known early Jewish appropriations of Psalm 16 outside the Book of Acts, the LXX⁴

¹ "Psalter" is a collection of Psalms regarded as Scripture by a community.

² "Scripture" refers to a work or works regarded as ancient and especially authoritative or sacred and understood to be of divine origin.

³ "Psalm" will be used to designate a specific composition within an authoritative collection of Psalms (Psalter), e.g. the Masoretic, Septuagint, and 11QPs^a Psalters, while "psalm" will be used more broadly to describe any composition of Hebrew poetry. See Sigmund Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism between 1900 and 1935: Ugarit and Psalm Exegesis," *Vetus Testamentum* 5 (1955): 13-33; William H. Bellinger, Jr., *Psalmody and Prophecy* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1984), 83-94; James L. Kugel, "Poets and Prophets: An Overview," in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. James L. Kugel (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 1-25; Appendix 1.

⁴ The term "LXX," or "Septuagint," will be used to refer to the Greek translations traditionally included under that title. For discussion of this usage see R. Timothy McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 5-7; Albert Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title: The Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), vii; Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 27. For discussion of the collection, see Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 85-257; Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 29-68; Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica*, 2nd ed., trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 52-4; Rahlfs' Prolegomena and the critical apparatus throughout the text of Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*, vol X of *Septuaginta – Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931). See Robert Holmes and Jacob Parsons, eds., *Vetus Testamentum graecum cum variis lectionibus*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1798-1823) for a list and description of the manuscripts employed. Also see Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 122-70 for a similar listing of manuscripts. Cf. Tyler F. Williams, "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert et al, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 248-76.

Psalm 15 and 4Q177, will be introduced and set in context. Lastly, the appropriation of LXX Psalm 15 in Acts 2:14-36 and 13:16-41 will be summarized.

Chapter 2 will analyze diachronically the textual evidence of Psalm 16. First, the Dead Sea Scrolls textual evidence will be examined (4QPs^a, 5/6HevPsalms, 4Q177), followed by a presentation of the MT family of evidence. Then the LXX family of textual evidence will be introduced as it relates to the MT family of evidence (though the LXX textual evidence itself will be presented in chapter 3). Linguistic features of Psalm 16 will be examined and conclusions drawn as to their evidentiary witness to Psalm 16's transmission history. The formation of the MT-150 Psalter will be examined for information that might be useful in better understanding the transmission of Psalm 16. The unit of Psalms 15-18 will also be analyzed for evidence of transmission history. Psalm 16's *Gattung* will be determined and conclusions drawn as to its likely usage.

Chapter 3 will examine the structure of Psalm 16 in hopes of better understanding its transmission history. Based on the foregoing findings, a working translation of Psalm 16 will attempt to uncover the evolution of meanings attributed to the language of Psalm 16 in its transmission history.

Chapter 4 will analyze LXX Psalm 15 as an appropriation of MT Psalm 16. The LXX Psalm 15 textual evidence will be presented in summary fashion. LXX Psalm 15 will then be analyzed for evidence of the transmission of MT Psalm 16. Likewise, 4Q177 will be analyzed for evidence of Psalm 16's transmission.

Chapter 5 will focus on the appropriations of LXX Psalm 15 in Acts 2:14-36 and 13:16-41 within the context of Luke-Acts and within the context of hermeneutical practices up to that time. While Luke's use of Scripture will not be presented in exhaustive detail, the appropriation of LXX Psalm 15 will be fully analyzed.

Lastly, we will summarize our foregoing findings and conclude as to how the early Jewish transmission of Psalm 16 may help us understand its messianic usage in Acts 2:14-36 and 13:16-41.

CHAPTER 1
AN OVERVIEW OF PSALM 16'S JOURNEY
FROM PSALM TO MESSIANIC PROOF TEXT

A. The Question

Over the last century the appropriation of Psalm 16 in the arguments of Acts 2:14-36 and Acts 13:16-41 has been a vexing issue in Luke-Acts studies.¹ Neither Second Temple Judaism² nor the New Testament gives evidence of any wide use of Psalm 16, but it appears to have been important in Luke's milieu, because he uses it at the heart of the messianic arguments of Acts 2 and Acts 13. The history of scholarship, with its numerous proposals regarding the usage of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts would suggest that a transmission history of Psalm 16 might enrich our understanding of the appropriation of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts.³ C. H. Dodd, in his *According to the Scriptures*, proposes that Psalm 16 was a part of the "Bible of the Early Church" although he does not classify its usage and does not include Psalm 16 among the *testimonia* of the earliest Christians.⁴ Barnabas Lindars, in his *New Testament Apologetic*, asserts that while the usage of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts exhibits previous exegetical history done with the Hebrew text, its appropriation in Acts 2 and Acts 13 is primitive and pre-apologetic. Lindars argues that by reading Psalm 16 messianically, Christian exegesis appears to part company with any previous Jewish exegesis.⁵ In other words, Psalm 16 became "messianic" by its association with Jesus of Nazareth.⁶ Donald Juel, in his *Messianic Exegesis*, concludes that the speeches in Acts 2 and 13 represent sophisticated midrashic arguments that cannot be classified as early or typical. Further, Juel states that the use of Psalm 16 cannot be considered early or typical of early Christian

¹ See C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1952), 13-4, 23, 27, 109-10, 118-9, 130-8; Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), 38-45, 140-4, 201, 252; Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., "The Promise to David in Psalm 16 and Its Application in Acts 2:25-33 and 13:32-37," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 23 (1980): 219-29; Donald Juel, "Social Dimensions of Exegesis: The Use of Psalm 16 in Acts 2," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 43 (1981): 543-56.

² Outside of the LXX translation itself and the appropriation of it in Acts, the only other extant appropriation of Psalm 16 prior to Luke-Acts is in 4Q177.

³ See Darrell L. Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan Old Testament Christology*, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 12 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1987), 169-81; I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary*, *Tyndale New Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 71-80; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, *The Anchor Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 247-61.

⁴ See Appendices 2 and 3.

⁵ Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 38-45, especially 41.

⁶ Also see Nils Dahl, *The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1974), 24-5, 129-45.

exegesis.⁷ Is the enlistment of Psalm 16 as a messianic *testimonium* in the apostolic age the result of exclusively Christian insight or inspiration?⁸

Given the stereotypical language and the anonymity of the psalmists it is difficult to propose a transmission history of Psalm 16.⁹ So, what may be known about the history of Psalm 16 that might enrich our understanding of its appropriation in Luke-Acts?

By examining the transmission of psalmody in Second Temple Judaism, the two-way relationship between prophecy and psalmody may be seen as influencing the appropriation of Psalm 16. Substantial help in understanding the usage of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts may be found by analyzing the Hebrew text of Psalm 16.¹⁰ Further, by examining the primitive Christian apologetic it becomes evident that the early Christian apologetic is almost entirely based on quotations from the Psalms and Prophets.¹¹ What in the history of Psalm 16 might help us better understand its key role in the messianic arguments of Acts 2:14-36 and Acts 13:16-41?

B. Biblical Psalmody and Prophecy

In the Hebrew Bible, earlier prophets use psalmody primarily to encourage the faith of their present community. The later prophets similarly use psalmody in hortatory and didactic ways, but also appropriate the Psalms as prophecies concerning a future age understood as soon to be inaugurated by Israel's YHWH. This future-oriented use of psalmody is evident not only in the Prophets, but also in the compilation of the MT-150 Psalter itself.¹² The future-oriented, or eschatological,¹³ use of psalmody is further amplified

⁷ See Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 146-7; "Social Dimensions," 550-6.

⁸ See F. F. Bruce, "The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor*, ed. Gary A Tuttle (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 7-17, who argues that this Davidic strand of Christian interpretation represents a primitive line of Old Testament exegesis to which the Christ-event gave rise in the earliest days of the church's existence.

⁹ E.g., see Ángel A. Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien: Análisis exegético y teológico del Salmo 16; Aplicación a la vida religiosa* (Madrid: Publicaciones Claretianas, 1993); "Datación y 'Sitz im Leben' del Sal 16," *Revista Biblica Italiana* 42 (1994): 385-408; Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms 1-50: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1966) 86-91; Pierre Auffret, "C'est pourquoi se rejouit mon coeur. Étude structurelle du Psaume 16," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 40 (1996): 73-83; Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, Word Biblical Commentary (Waco, Tex.: Word, 1983), 153-9; W. A. M. Beuken, "Psalm 16: The Path to Life," *Bijdragen* 41 (1980): 368-85; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Critical Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 233-42; Marc Girard, *Les Psaumes Redécouverts: De la structure au sens (1-50)* (Saint Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1996), 320-9.

¹⁰ See Chapter 2.

¹¹ See Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 272-86.

¹² See Appendix 4 for a recent depiction of a widely held view of the gradual stabilization of the MT-150 Psalter.

¹³ The term "eschatological" will be used to refer to a perspective relating to experiencing אַחֲרֵי־יָמֵי־הַמָּוֹת, "the latter days" and/or יוֹם־יְהוָה, "the day of YHWH" (e.g., Genesis 49:10; Numbers 24:14; Amos 5:18; Joel 2:1; Isaiah 13:6; 2 Esdras 10:59; 4Q177 fragments 1-4, 14, 24, and 31, line 5; Acts 2:17; Hebrews 1:2,

in the compilation and translation of the LXX Psalter. Yet another literary edition of the Psalter, 11Q5 (or 11QPs^a),¹⁴ exhibits an even more heightened apocalyptic¹⁵ eschatological¹⁶ orientation in its use of psalmody.¹⁷ Further, a Davidic messianism,¹⁸ as seen in the MT-150

etc.). Thus, “eschatology” is not a particular set of teachings, but a horizon on which to place aspects of Jewish religious thought and practice. Scripture and tradition are interpreted with reference to אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה. Part of the force for such a perspective is a belief in the faithfulness of YHWH, whose promises have yet to be fulfilled.

¹⁴ The three manuscripts which seem to contain this form of the Psalter are 11Q5 (11QPs^a), 11Q6 (11QPs^b), and 4Q87 (4QPs^c). See Appendix 1.

¹⁵ “Apocalyptic” will be used to designate a genre of literature that contains a particular worldview. Basic features include presentation as supernatural revelations, and a focus on the final end of life and history. Generally, there are two types: (a) an unfolding of history over several epochs; and (b) mysteries of the heavenly world. Life on earth is seen as being shaped by supernatural forces, which are both good and bad. There will be a divine judgment to reward the good and punish the wicked, and this judgment will have its effect not only on the last generation, but also on the individual dead. Some aspects of the apocalyptic worldview, such as the belief in demonic powers, were widely shared in the Hellenistic age, and others, such as judgment after death, eventually came to be shared widely in Judaism. See John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1998), 1-11.

¹⁶ “Apocalyptic eschatological” will be used to describe an eschatological orientation that does not differ qualitatively from the eschatology of the apocalypses of the third to the first centuries B.C.E. (e.g., *1 Enoch* and Daniel 7-12). In an apocalyptic eschatological orientation, the mediation of divine revelation as authority for interpretation of traditional texts is an integral part of an apocalyptic worldview. In other words, the apocalyptic worldview that develops in the Greco-Roman literature asserts the mediation of divine revelation as God’s activity in part as a solution to a dualistic universe in need of divine judgment. See Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 1-31; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins: Diversity, Continuity, and Transformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 122. *1 Enoch* 1-5 describes the coming theophany, using the form of a judgment-salvation oracle in Third Isaiah (see Hanson, *Dawn*, 106-7, 119-20, 143-5, 162-3, 170-1), with language similar to Numbers 24, Deuteronomy 33, and Micah 1. (An “oracle” is inspired speech, cited directly. It may be understood as a basic subgenre of prophetic speech.) *1 Enoch* 24-27 uses the form of an apocalypse to cast Third Isaiah's description of the New Jerusalem. Daniel 7-12 also describes a new age and Daniel 12:2-3 suggests the language of Isaiah 65-66 and the motif of the exaltation of the suffering servant (Isaiah 52:13-53:12). The exaltation of the suffering servant, which appears to be a symbol for the restoration of the nation in the context of Second Isaiah, is interpreted individually to refer to the glorification of the teachers of the Torah who gave their lives in the effort to make “many righteous” (רַבֵּי צְדִיקִים, Daniel 12:3). Resurrection of the body, as presented in Daniel 12:1-3 is not the standard Jewish formulation among those who believed in the transcendence of death. Variety in Jewish texts includes resurrection of the body (2 Maccabees 7), resurrection of one’s spirit (*1 Enoch* 102-104), immortality of the soul (Wisdom of Solomon 2, 5; 4 Maccabees), and assumption of the spirit to heaven (*Jubilees* 23:31).

¹⁷ See Appendix 1 for definitions of the terminology employed in, and an outline of, the current debate regarding the scriptural status of 11QPs^a. Also see Eugene C. Ulrich, “The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Later Stages in the Composition of the Bible,” in *“Sha’arei Talmon” Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 267-91; “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, 2 vols., ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:79-100; “The Qumran Biblical Scrolls – the Scriptures of Late Second Temple Judaism,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 67-88; “Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 1991*, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 37-40; “Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text,” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judaean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78-105; *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999).

¹⁸ I will employ the often-used definition of “messianism” of John L. McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1965), 569: “In general messianism includes those ideas which represent the Israel of

Psalter, becomes more pronounced in the LXX Psalter and becomes even more explicit in the 11QPs^a Psalter. By the intertestamental period, particular Psalms are being cited as specific prophecies awaiting imminent fulfillment. Thus, alongside its liturgical purposes, the Psalter's appeal as a collection of prophetic "proof texts" becomes apparent. This development in the understanding of psalmody as prophecy offers insights for understanding the ways in which the author of Luke-Acts uses the Psalms, and in particular Psalm 16, with a similar prophetic emphasis.¹⁹

While it is unlikely that there is evidence of direct borrowing from the Psalms, the earlier prophets contain the language of psalmody. Examples include the psalmic language of Amos 2:3 (as in Psalm 2:10).²⁰ Cultic forms are found in the doxologies of Amos 4:13 (Psalms 135:7 and 65:6), Amos 5:8-9 (Psalm 104:6-9), and Amos 9:5-6 (Psalms 104:32 and 144:5).²¹ Examples in Micah include Micah 3:4 (Psalms 18:41; 27:7-9), Micah 7:7 (Psalms 25:5; 27:9; 79:9; 130:5), Micah 7:17 (Psalms 18:46; 72:9), and Micah 7:18 (Psalms 71:19; 77:14; 86:8; 103:8-9).²² Psalmic language in First Isaiah includes Isaiah 5:5-6 (Psalm 80:12), Isaiah 29:15 (Psalm 10:11, 13), and Isaiah 32:1 (Psalm 72:1-2).²³ Psalmic forms occur in the thanksgivings for deliverance in Isaiah 12:1 (Psalm 9:1), Isaiah 12:2 (Psalm 118:14), Isaiah 12:3 (Psalm 105:1), and Isaiah 12:5 (Psalm 98:1).²⁴

the future as identical with the universal kingdom of Yahweh. It is not quite the same as eschatology, which deals with the end of history as accomplished by an intervention of Yahweh, although messianism is at least partly eschatological; nor is it quite the same as apocalyptic thought, which represents the end of history as a world catastrophe, although some forms of messianism contain apocalyptic elements. In spite of the derivation of the word, messianism does not always include the idea of a future king or deliverer; some scholars insist that the term should be so restricted in order to distinguish messianism from eschatology." Every attempt will be made to distinguish messianism from eschatology, but one will note the conflation of ideas over time particularly in the transmission and reception history of the Psalter. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 73-6. For a definition of "apocalyptic," see footnote 15.

¹⁹ See William L. Holladay, *The Psalms through Three Thousand Years: Prayerbook of a Cloud of Witnesses* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 60-5.

²⁰ Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, ed. S. Dean McBride, Jr., Hermeneia Commentary, trans. Waldemar Janzen et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 132. I rely heavily on Sue E. Gillingham, "From Liturgy to Prophecy: The Use of Psalmody in Second Temple Judaism," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 64 (2002): 471-6, for discussion of these cultic forms.

²¹ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 146-7, 215-7, 222-5, 234, 241-6, 337-8, 341-3.

²² See Ehud Ben Zvi, *Micah*, The Forms of the Old Testament Literature 21B (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 77-80, 82-7, 165-71, 173-81; Delbert R. Hillers, *Micah*, ed. Paul D. Hanson with Loren Fisher, Hermeneia Commentary (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 41-3, 84-6, 89-91; Hans Walter Wolff, *Micah: A Commentary*, trans. Gary Stansell (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1990), 100-1, 208-9, 227-30.

²³ See Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, A Continental Commentary, trans. Thomas H. Trapp (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 177-9, 183-4; *Isaiah 28-39*, A Continental Commentary, trans. Thomas H. Trapp (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 95-8, 233-8; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 206-8, 407-10, 429-31.

²⁴ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 268-70; Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 127-9; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 499-508; Brevard Childs, *Isaiah*, The Old Testament Library (Westminster John Knox: Louisville, 2000), 107-111.

Although Amos, Micah, and First Isaiah include some hope for the future (e.g., Amos 2:3; Micah 7:17; and Isaiah 32:1), their emphasis is on the present generation. The overt eschatological appropriation of the Psalms is absent. Jeremiah often imitates psalmic forms, most notably the communal and individual laments²⁵ (found predominantly in Jeremiah 3-20). Yet neither the lament form nor Jeremiah's thanksgiving psalm appears to be used with an overt eschatological emphasis.

Habakkuk, titled an oracular vision,²⁶ is filled with psalmic material and begins with the language used in the psalms of lament (cf. 1:2-4 with Psalms 13:1-2; 74:10; 89:46 and 1:12-13 with Psalm 5:4-5). The lament of Habakkuk 1:12-17 shares the same structure, language, and context as that of the laments in the Psalter.²⁷ In Habakkuk 2, YHWH responds with promise of a vision and of the enemy's defeat. The final chapter of Habakkuk is a psalm, which continues Habakkuk's vision in the form of a hymn. This psalm concludes with an expression of the certainty of YHWH's hearing.²⁸ Thus, Habakkuk 3 functions as a lament with its plea and certainty of hearing.²⁹ Habakkuk thereby uses the lament tradition to express to YHWH's faithful a prophecy which functions as a proclamation of future salvation and protection.

Second Isaiah alludes to Psalms and these now take on a more future-oriented emphasis. Cultic forms and psalmic expressions are used to speak of YHWH returning and delivering his people from exile.³⁰ The new exodus (Isaiah 40:3-5, 9-11; 52:11-2) is set in a new creation. Israel's vindication through the return from exile is the suffering servant's

²⁵ I will employ the traditional *Gattungen* as described by Hermann Gunkel. See Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 1-33; Herman Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel*, trans. James D. Nogalski (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 1-21 (especially 15-21), 22, 66, 82, 99, 121, 222, 235, 237, 240, 244, 249.

²⁶ The oracular form is used and is given an historical context.

²⁷ Particularly, the community laments with military enemies involved (e.g., Psalms 60; 74; 79).

²⁸ Cf. Psalms 10:1; 12:6; 27:12; 28.

²⁹ Cf. Psalms 10; 12; 28; 31; 55. As pointed out to me by Timothy H. Lim, Habakkuk 3 would come to be transmitted separately among the LXX *Odes* as well as continue to be considered as the conclusion to Habakkuk. See Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 349-52.

³⁰ The consensus appears to be that Second Isaiah forms a bridge between pre-exilic and post-exilic prophets in the overt eschatological use of Psalms. See, e.g., J. H. Eaton, *Vision in Worship: The Relation of Prophecy and Liturgy in the Old Testament*, (London: SPCK, 1981), who tracks the influence of Psalms 81, 95, and 50 in Second Isaiah. Eaton also considers Psalms 110, 132, 72, 144, 21, 20, 91, 113, and 45 to be used in Second Isaiah for the purpose of giving the people a vision for a new age about to dawn. On the future-oriented use of psalmody in the Servant Songs and the formulaic psalmic language in Second Isaiah, see Inger Ljung, *Tradition and Interpretation: A Study of the Use and Application of Formulaic Languages in the so-called Ebed YHWH-Psalms* (Lund, Sweden: Gleerup, 1978). On the future-oriented elements in Isaiah's oracles of salvation see M. Lohfink and E. Zenger, *Der Gott Israels und die Völker: Untergehung zum Jesajabuch und zu den Psalmen* (Stuttgart: Katholischer Bibelwerk, 1994). For discussion, see R. N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1983), 20-42; Bellinger, *Psalmody and Prophecy*, 78-82.

exaltation in the presence of the kings and the nations (Isaiah 52:13-53:12; cf. Ezekiel 37).³¹ Second Isaiah employs the “eschatological hymn of praise” in Isaiah 42:10-13; 44:23; 45:8; and 49:13 where YHWH is acclaimed as the one who will redeem.³² This appears to mark the beginning of a more explicit use of psalmody in a future-oriented way. Subsequent to the loss of the monarchy the Psalms provide a rich resource to address the crisis of faith caused by the apparent non-fulfillment of prophecy after the exile.³³ The Psalms become part of the post-exilic practice of “inner-biblical exegesis” used to reassure the people of the ultimate vindication of the earlier prophetic promises.³⁴

Thus, Israel may be seen as living its traditions. Ancient traditions are adjusted and added to and given a new life by incorporation into new interpretations: “The older *traditum* is dependent upon the *traditio* for its ongoing life.”³⁵ This method of inner-biblical exegesis may be understood as the methodological precursor to the midrashic tradition in Judaism.³⁶

³¹ See Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 46-56: A Commentary*, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 253-69; Childs, *Isaiah*, 407-23; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 344-57.

³² See Jerome Creach, “The Shape of Book Four of the Psalter and the Shape of Second Isaiah,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 80 (1998): 63-76. On the use of the stereotypical and liturgical language of the Psalms by the prophets from Second Isaiah onwards see Matitiah Tsevat, *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms*, Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 9 (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1955), 4, 5, 16, 18, 20, 40-1, 86-7, 100; Robert C. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 112-9; and Anneli Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer in the Psalms* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 109-111.

³³ On this issue, see Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Reactions and Responses to Failure in the Old Testament Prophetic Traditions* (London: SCM, 1979), 157-83, 214-9; Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism*, 149-60, 181-2, 191-3, 195-200; William Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM, 1998), 5: “Messianism owes its own continuing influence throughout the Second Temple period in large part to the convergence between its thematic importance in the Hebrew Scriptures and the pressures of contemporary Jewish life.”

³⁴ See Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 15; Beth D. Tanner, *The Book of Psalms through the Lens of Intertextuality* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 28-83.

³⁵ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 6-15.

³⁶ I will use the term “midrash” broadly and essentially to designate an exegetical process, based on an interpretive stance, which may be seen most clearly in a genre of literature. The focus of this interpretive stance is the surface irregularities of the biblical text, which may be seen most clearly in the Psalms. See James Kugel “Two Introductions to Midrash” in *Midrash and Literature*, ed. Geoffrey H. Hartman and Sanford Budick (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 77-103. I will follow the view of Renée Bloch that midrash, like prophecy, is unique to Israel since it presupposes faith in revelation found in Scripture. “Israel” is understood in a broad sense that includes not only the Israelites and the Jewish people but also the followers of Jesus (consistent with the Book of Acts). Following Bloch, “midrash” will be understood to include late biblical exegeses, translations, post-biblical interpretations of the late Second Temple Period, and the New Testament documents. In the Hebrew Bible, מִדְרָשׁ is used in 2 Chronicles 13:22; 24:27. For discussion see Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Midrash* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), s.v. “The Origins and Emergence of Midrash in Relation to the Hebrew Bible,” by Timothy H. Lim.

As related to the use of Psalm 16 in 4Q177 and in Luke-Acts, Géza Vermès’s definition of applied exegesis will be illustrated. This basic type of post-biblical interpretation, described as applied exegesis, will be understood to occur when an interpreter adapts the Scripture to contemporary circumstances. This form of interpretation will be viewed as playing a key role in the formulation of *halakha* and in the belief that biblical prophecies have been fulfilled in the interpreter’s day. See Géza Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 9-10, 199, 221; P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, eds, *The*

Daniel Boyarin argues that:

The intertextual reading practice of the midrash is a development (sometimes, to be sure a baroque development) of the intertextual interpretive strategies which the Bible itself manifests. Moreover, the very fractured and unsystematic surface of the biblical text is an encoding of its own intertextuality, and it is precisely this which the midrash interprets. The dialogue and dialectic of the midrashic rabbis will be understood as readings of the dialogue and dialectic of the biblical text.³⁷

The Psalter, with its multitude of fractured and unsystematic texts written, edited, and compiled over hundreds of years, becomes fertile ground for tradition making. With the compilation and appropriation of Psalms, one sees the transformation of pieces of law, story, and poetry via another reader-writer's ideology and historical circumstance. The old is used again. In the years after Alexander the Great, Jewish traditions take shape as evidenced by evolving interpretations of Scriptures. As one traces the development of biblical traditions, one sees the material that remains in use. The material that is not reused falls out of the tradition making process.

Thus, intertextuality is not to be understood as an innocent or an objective enterprise.

Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), s.v. "Biblical Midrash," by Géza Vermès.

Pure exegesis is seen to arise from four primary causes: (1) there is uncertainty about the meaning of a word; (2) there are perceived gaps in the biblical passage; (3) apparently contradictory passages need to be harmonized and explained, and (4) the meaning is unacceptable. For discussion see Neusner and Avery-Peck, *Encyclopedia*, s.v. "The Origins."

While there may be no decisive evidence to prove that the term "midrash" was used before 100 C.E. to designate a genre of biblical interpretation like those of classic rabbinic texts, a similar kind of exegesis, both in structure and techniques, will be found. Cf. Philip S. Alexander, "Midrash and the Gospels" in *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983*, ed. C. M. Tuckett, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 7 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1984), 1-18, who delimits the term to apply to early rabbinic exegesis of the Talmudic and post-Talmudic periods; and see Neusner and Avery-Peck, *Encyclopedia*, s.v. "The Origins."

Perhaps Richard Sarason's definition of "midrash" captures the essence of both pure and applied exegesis and best states my intended usage of the word: "As a mode of scriptural interpretation, midrash is characterized by its dense overreading of the biblical text. Every lexical element is deemed to bear syntactic meaning. Meaning also is generated associatively through the juxtaposition of superficially similar textual elements (i.e., words, phrases, verses) from throughout Scripture that are construed as indicating substantive similarities and interrelationships among their discrete contexts. Underlying these hermeneutical techniques is the conviction that the scriptural text in all its details constitutes the revealed word of God, hence every textual element is significant and conveys a meaning (frequently multiple meanings) intended by the divine Author; there are no redundancies. Moreover, Scripture is treated as a kind of oracle requiring interpretation; many of the techniques employed by the rabbis are common to ancient dream interpretation, oracle interpretation, and divination. Thus the act of interpretation is deemed to be an encounter with the revealed mind of God." John H. Hayes, ed. *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), s.v. "Midrash," by Richard S. Sarason.

³⁷ Daniel Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of the Midrash* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1990), 15. Fishbane and Boyarin describe in their reading of the Hebrew Scriptures what Julia Kristeva and others have described in literary theory. See Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon Roudiez, trans. A. Jardine, et al. (London: Blackwell, 1980). For example, Jacques Derrida writes, "A 'text' ... is henceforth no longer a finished corpus of writing, some content enclosed in a book or its margins, but a differential network, a fabric of traces referring endlessly to something other than itself, to other differential traces." Jacques Derrida, "Living On: Border Lines," trans. James Hulbert, in *Deconstruction and Criticism*, ed. Harold Bloom, et al. (New York: Continuum, 1979), 84.

It is a hermeneutic fraught with the ideology of the reader-writer or reader-editor. In a sense, by examining the history of Psalter making and the appropriation of Psalms one watches the production of meaning in the development of ongoing traditions.³⁸

Allusions to and imitations of Psalms become a common practice in the post-exilic prophets. The most frequent imitations of form are those of the hymn and the lament. For example, Joel provides a good illustration of both in 1:15-20,³⁹ 2:12-23,⁴⁰ and 3:9-18⁴¹ with the lament form used at the beginning to dramatize the effects of the coming judgment and the hymn used near the end of the book to depict the later restoration.⁴² Traditional psalmic material is applied to the prophet's context in order to make the point of the prophecy in its setting. Third Isaiah also includes prophetic liturgies: Isaiah 59:1-21 is a combination of lament and oracle⁴³ of deliverance, and 60:1-62:12 mixes together hymnic forms with prophetic intercession within the context of future hope.⁴⁴ In the later additions in Isaiah 24-27, hymnic forms (24:14-16; 25:1-5; 26:1-6) are used to describe a future period of restoration. Cultic language is blended with a number of older mythological motifs, giving this unit ("the Little Apocalypse") a more apocalyptic tone.⁴⁵ In each of these examples the eschatological content within the psalmic form is now more evident.

These prophets still do not explicitly cite a Psalm, but within these psalmic forms, there are plain correspondences to Psalms. Psalms may be echoed in the hymns and laments in Joel. For example, Joel 2:17, like Psalms 79:10 and 115:2, speaks of the taunts from

³⁸ See Holladay, *Psalms*, 57-65.

³⁹ These verses contain fragments of laments that appear to be shaped for the current situation in post-exilic Israel. See Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 23, 33-6.

⁴⁰ From Joel 2:18 forward, oracles concerning the future and promising new life and victory for Jerusalem are the focus. This same pattern is found in community lament psalms in which there is a change from plea to response (cf. Psalms 12; 60; 85; 108).

⁴¹ Habakkuk 3 is a response to previous lament and is in the tradition of the oracles in community laments and of the expression of a certainty of hearing in lament psalms. Similarly, Joel concludes with further oracles about the future restoration of Judah and Jerusalem and is dependent upon Zion and enthronement psalms. See Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68.

⁴² See Bellinger, *Psalmody and Prophecy*, 86-9.

⁴³ See John J. Collins, *Daniel: with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, The Forms of the Old Testament Literature 20 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 23.

⁴⁴ One may note here the development of the tradition from Second Isaiah, where hymns in praise of YHWH as king and creator are used in offering a vision for future restoration (e.g., Isaiah 42:10-13; 45:8; 49:13). See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 184-218; Roger N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 219-39; John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, Word Biblical Commentary (Waco, Tex.: Word, 1987), 277-98; Westermann, *Isaiah 46-56*, 342-67; Childs, *Isaiah*, 481-500.

⁴⁵ See Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 346-79; Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 196-223; John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, Word Biblical Commentary (Waco, Tex.: Word, 1985), 309-51; Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, A Continental Commentary, trans. Thomas H. Trapp (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 439-602; Childs, *Isaiah*, 171-98.

neighbors in the apparent absence of YHWH;⁴⁶ Joel 2:23 has associations with Psalm 149:2, where both refer to the “sons of Zion” rejoicing and being joyful in YHWH (using the same roots שמח and גיל in each case).⁴⁷ Joel 3:12, like Psalm 98:9, speaks of YHWH’s coming judgment on the surrounding nations. Elsewhere in Joel, 1:3 has links with Psalm 78:4 (an older historical Psalm) proclaiming the deeds of YHWH for generations to come. Also, Joel 2:10 parallels a royal Psalm, Psalm 13:7, in using the theophanic language of the earth quaking to describe the coming of YHWH. Likewise, Third Isaiah takes up this theophanic language of Psalm 18:7, 9 in Isaiah 64:1, 2. In psalmic forms, Isaiah 60:21 refers to the promise of the inheritance of the land to the faithful like Psalm 37:11, 22. Further, Isaiah 60:9, 11 is like Psalm 70:10 in that it speaks of the bringing in of the wealth of the nations. More explicitly, Isaiah 58:8 and Psalm 85:13 both utilize the phrase “righteousness will go before him,”⁴⁸ perhaps indicating a formulaic expression. Correspondence from a psalmic lament may be seen in Isaiah 64:12 and Psalm 74:10-11 (regarding reproaches about the silence and absence of YHWH). Two examples of correlation from psalms of thanksgiving are Isaiah 57:15 and Psalm 34:18 (regarding a protector of the contrite and brokenhearted) and Isaiah 65:24 with Psalm 91:15 (answering the call of prayer). While there is emphasis in Third Isaiah on the community’s present needs, there are also clear instances of the eschatological use of psalmody (e.g., Isaiah 58:8; 60:9; 64:1-2).

Haggai and Zechariah rarely imitate psalmic forms, although they frequently use psalmic language, which may suggest direct borrowing from particular Psalms. Haggai 1:13 and Psalm 46:7, 11 (a Zion hymn) both speak of YHWH’s presence with his people in Zion, and Haggai 2:22, as in Psalm 46:9, describes YHWH overthrowing kingdoms and destroying the enemies’ chariots.⁴⁹ Haggai may be drawing on the message of exilic prophets such as Second Isaiah or it may be a more general adaptation of the Zion tradition. Zechariah’s use of royal Psalms (18, 72, 110, 118, and 132) may indicate Zechariah’s dependence upon earlier prophets. However, the allusions to the royal psalms in Zechariah are more likely to be a more direct borrowing given that Ezekiel and Second Isaiah did not appeal very much to a royal Davidic theology, choosing instead to speak in more theocentric terms of YHWH as King. Correspondences include Zechariah 2:12 and Psalm 132:13-14, which speak of YHWH’s choice of Jerusalem as his dwelling place. Zechariah 6:13 has some interesting

⁴⁶ See Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 39-41, 51-3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 58, 63.

⁴⁸ Isaiah 58:8 reads יְהוָה לְפָנֶיךָ צְדָקָה, “your righteousness will go before you.”

⁴⁹ Hans Walter Wolff, *Haggai: A Commentary*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 49-55, 101-4; Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1987), 35, 66-70.

affiliations with Psalm 110:4 in the reference to priestly rule and a royal throne. Zechariah 8:6 has correspondences with Psalm 118:23 concerning YHWH's deeds in Zion being marvelous in the sight of the people.⁵⁰ In Zechariah 9:10 as in Psalm 72:8 the prophet refers to the promise of victory for the coming king, and in Zechariah 9:14 he describes the coming of YHWH in the same theophanic language as in Psalm 18:14.⁵¹

Occasionally, narratives also adapt psalmody in order to provide an important point of continuity with the past while looking ahead to a better future. An example is 2 Samuel 23:1-7, which, when compared with the preceding poetic text, 2 Samuel 22 (almost identical to Psalm 18), could be read as a prophetic vision of the future of the Davidic dynasty.⁵² In this setting (Psalm 18:51; 2 Samuel 22:51) David receives the title מָשִׁיחַ, “anointed one,”⁵³ in a context that speaks of him as “the anointed (מָשִׁיחַ) of the God of Jacob, the sweet psalmist of Israel” (2 Samuel 23:1). In exilic and post-exilic texts, the Davidic dynasty tradition of 2 Samuel proves durable and adaptable. While expectation for a renewed Davidic monarchy is possibly attested in Ezekiel 17:22-24, other interpretations of the tradition are clearly present: Ezekiel 34:23-24,⁵⁴ 37:24-25, and Jeremiah 30:9 speak of a figure typologically⁵⁵ similar to David, the “new David.” Of course, the Davidic dynasty tradition also proves expendable by some. For example, Sirach's ideal Israel may not have a place for a king, let alone a Davidic king (e.g., Sirach 45:25; 47:11, 22; 49:4-5).⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 164-6, 357-62, 417.

⁵¹ See David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 252 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 139-46; Joyce G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentary (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1972), 166-7, 169; David L. Peterson, *Zechariah 9-14, Malachi*, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: John Knox, 1995), 59-60, 63-4.

⁵² See Robert Alter, *The David Story: 1 and 2 Samuel* (New York: Norton & Company, 2000), 336-48; Robert Gordon, *1, 2 Samuel* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999), 304-11.

⁵³ מָשִׁיחַ, “anointed one,” is a multivalent term that can refer to a king, to a future Davidic king, to the high priest, to a prophet, or to a transcendent heavenly figure מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַךְ, “as the son of man.” See Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism*, 91-117.

⁵⁴ With reference to the future, ideal David. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 113-26.

⁵⁵ I will use the term “typological” to refer to a strategy of interpreting Scripture that attempts to discern the structural affinity between two of YHWH's actions. Typology becomes the dominant Christian interpretive mode in its first few centuries. See Leonard Goppelt, *TYPOS: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. Donald Madvig (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 1-22, 198-205; David L. Baker, *Two Testaments, One Bible: A Study of the Theological Relationship between the Old and New Testaments* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1991), 179-99; Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical τύπος Structures* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1981), 93-111; Gerhard von Rad, “Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament,” in *Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics*, ed. Claus Westermann, trans. James L. Mays (Atlanta: John Knox, 1963), 17-40; G. W. H. Lampe and K. J. Woolcombe, *Essays on Typology* (London: SCM, 1957).

⁵⁶ See Kenneth E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 25-52; John J. Collins, “Messianism in the Maccabean Period” in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, ed. Jacob Neusner, et al. (Cambridge:

In summary, the Hebrew Bible shows the Psalms becoming part of the post-exilic practice of inner-biblical exegesis. Therein, Psalms are appropriated eschatologically within prophetic texts.

C. Formation of the MT Psalter

The clearest biblical examples of this traditioning process, however, may be observed within the Psalter itself, wherein the Davidic superscriptions and the historical details about David are added in order to place psalmody in an earlier period of history,⁵⁷ while at the same time pointing ahead to a new Davidic era. In this way, the Psalter provides a bridge between the past and the present, and also between the known and the unknown.⁵⁸

Brevard Childs describes the editorial addition of the Psalm titles as “surely the most far-reaching alteration with which the collector shaped the canonical Psalter.”⁵⁹ Also, Childs finds allusions and intertextual connections between the superscriptions and the Psalms themselves.⁶⁰ The wide variety between the texts of superscriptions in early textual traditions appears to be conclusive evidence that the superscriptions were added by later editors. Differences in superscriptions are seen between the MT, LXX,⁶¹ 11QPs^a,⁶² *Targum*,⁶³ and Peshitta texts.⁶⁴ These editorial comments, then, were added in the forming

Cambridge University Press, 1987), 98-9. Cf. Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1987), 526, 528; Saul M. Olyan, “Ben Sira’s Relationship to the Priesthood,” *Harvard Theological Review* 80 (1987): 281-6; Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism*, 125, 220, n. 16. For discussion of the significant textual difficulties with Sirach 45:25, see Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty*, 131-44.

⁵⁷ See Albert Pietersma, “David in the Greek Psalms,” *Vetus Testamentum* 30 (1980): 213-26; Margaret Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 79-91. An interesting example of this phenomenon is the use of Psalms 105:1-15; 96:1-13; 106:47-48 in 1 Chronicles 16. The account is of David bringing up the ark to Jerusalem, but the Psalms referred to are probably post-exilic compositions. The Chronicler is concerned to give contemporary psalms ancient significance and through this to show a continuity with the past. Psalms with historical superscriptions in the MT-150 Psalter are 3, 18, 30, 34, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, and 142. Like Psalm 16, Psalms 56, 57, 58, 59, and 60 are superscripted as a מִכְתָּבִים לְדָוִד. These superscriptions in particular ask the reader to make an intertextual connection between the Psalm and David’s life.

⁵⁸ See Gillingham, “From Liturgy,” 476.

⁵⁹ Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 520.

⁶⁰ Brevard S. Childs, “Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 16 (1971): 143-4.

⁶¹ For a full discussion, see W. Staerk, “Zur Kritik Psalmüberschriften,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 12 (1892): 91-151; B. Jacob, “Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 16 (1896): 288-91.

⁶² See Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 146-9, 117-34.

⁶³ C. D. Preuss, “Die Psalmüberschriften in Targum und Midrasch,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 71 (1951): 44-54.

⁶⁴ See J. M. Vosta, “Sur les titres des Psaumes dans la Pešitta, surtout d’après la recension orientale,” *Biblica* 25 (1944): 210-35.

of the Psalter versions some time after the Persian period. This superscripting process, as with the process of the formation of the Psalter versions, was a gradual one apparently occurring in stages over hundreds of years.⁶⁵ Sigmund Mowinckel calls these titles “the typical Jewish midrash.”⁶⁶ Similarly, Erich Zenger argues that the Psalm titles are to be read as indicating a horizon for understanding. Zenger further argues that 2 Samuel texts may shed light on the shaping of the Psalter and that this intertextual clue also offers possibilities in understanding the shaping of sections of the Psalter, which opens even more intertextual horizons.⁶⁷

The midrashic tradition reflected in the Psalm superscriptions may be understood as a precursor to rabbinic *haggadic* exegesis.⁶⁸ Narrative *haggadah*, interpretation by the retelling of a story, has a long history, dating back into the Persian period as may be seen in such texts as 1-2 Chronicles, *Jubilees*, and a wide variety of other texts found at Qumran and in the Pseudepigrapha.⁶⁹ As seen as early as in 1 Chronicles, the Psalms were used as source material for subsequent retellings.⁷⁰ Michael Fishbane argues that this tradition developed early and that it operated under the general principle of historicizing the unhistorical and was concerned with correlating the Psalms to the “real” life of David and Israel.⁷¹ Elieser Slomovic calls this method of exegesis “corrective midrash.” This type of exegesis involves more than just the life of David and is often added to Psalms that already carry historical

⁶⁵ See Elieser Slomovic, “Toward an Understanding of the Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 91 (1979): 350-2, where he points to a time frame for the canonical process from the First Temple period through the post-exilic period and into the production of rabbinic literature. It is even harder to set a cutoff date in the Jewish exegetical tradition, where Psalms are reinterpreted via different situations at least until the Middle Ages. E.g., Uriel Simon, *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms from Saadiah Gaon to Abraham Ibn Ezra*, trans. Lenn Schramm (Buffalo, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1991), 163, discusses how Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra, in 1156 C.E., bases his readings not on the historical superscriptions attached to the Psalms, but ties them to historical information he finds in Chronicles. Thus, the early intertextual tradition that may be seen in the canonical texts of various traditions continues through hundreds of years of midrashic exegesis. Also see Appendices 1 and 4.

⁶⁶ Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 2 vols., trans D. R. Ap-Thomas (New York: Abingdon, 1962), 2:100.

⁶⁷ Erich Zenger, “Was wird anders bei kanonische Psalmenauslegung?” in *Ein Gott eine Offenbarung*, ed. Fredrich Reiterer (Würzburg: Echter, 1991), 407.

⁶⁸ *Haggada* may be defined as follows: “For the ancient rabbis, who first used the term, *aggadah* was ... comprehensive in scope, and applied to moral and theological homilies, didactic expositions of historical motifs, expositions and reinterpretations of ethical dicta and religious *theologoumena*, and much more.... As distinct from the process of *halakhic* exegesis, which is concerned with developing and expounding the law, *aggadic* exegesis was at once theological and reflective, moral and practical.” Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 281.

⁶⁹ For discussion, see Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism*, 14-28.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., 1 Chronicles 16:8-36 which is a composition based on Psalm 105:1-15 (1 Chronicles 16:8-22), Psalm 96:1-13 (1 Chronicles 16:23-33), and Psalm 106:1, 47-8 (1 Chronicles 16:34-6).

⁷¹ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 404.

superscriptions in the MT-150 Psalter.⁷² Those that involve a Davidic superscription often title a traditional poem with a specific event in David's life, thus providing for a reading of the Psalm as if it referred to a historical event.⁷³ Similar appropriations of traditional poems can be seen in the Qumran commentaries on the Psalms in which a general statement in a Psalm is quoted with reference to particular circumstances in the community's experiences.⁷⁴

Part of this shift from poetry to prophecy is due to the way in which the Psalms come to be understood as oracles which are unfulfilled. This transformation may be seen as David is attributed with uttering the Psalms in a prophetic voice (2 Samuel 23:1-7; "David's Compositions" in 11QPs^{a75}). These Psalms are no longer performed by a Davidic king, which would have been the case in the First Temple period, nor are they just preserved in memory of earlier Davidic kings, in the hope that a restored monarchy would one day allow them their original use. These Psalms are now read with a future orientation, whereby the more functional term משיח is now seen as a title of status, the "Messiah," referring to the one coming once and for all time from the house of David.⁷⁶ Those with an apocalyptic eschatological orientation of living in אֲרָרְיָהּ הַיָּמִים recognize that if these oracular texts are to be fulfilled, their meaning must be realized soon.⁷⁷ Within an apocalyptic eschatological frame of reference, part of the Psalms' shift from poetry to prophecy also involves understanding the figure of David in a typological fashion. As some superscripts identify the subject matter of poems with their author David, so the apocalyptic eschatological reader recognizes the typological implications of what the Psalm may say regarding a Davidic Messiah. "More than most texts, probably because of their association with David, the Psalms become the scriptural basis for messianic fulfillment."⁷⁸

In addition to the superscripting, the MT-150 Psalter contains ample evidence of the

⁷² Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding," 353. Slomovic uses the example from Rabbi Eleazar where Psalm 27 has the superscription "A Psalm of David" but is interpreted beside the narrative concerning the crossing of the Dead Sea in Exodus 14 and 15 (355).

⁷³ I rely heavily on discussion of the role of the figure of David in the collection process in George J. Brooke, "Psalms and Psalters at Qumran," presented to the Society for Old Testament Study (Dublin, 2002), especially 8.

⁷⁴ E.g., 1Q16; 4Q171; 4Q173; 4Q174; 4Q177; 11Q13.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 1 and James A. Sanders, ed., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 4, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 48, 92.

⁷⁶ See Horbury, *Jewish Messianism*, 7-35; Sue E. Gillingham, "The Messiah in the Psalms: A Question of Reception History and the Psalter," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 209-37; Holladay, *Psalms*, 67-89; Chapter 2.

⁷⁷ E.g., the appropriation of Genesis 49:10; Numbers 24:14; etc., as summarized in Appendices 5, 6, 7, and 8.

⁷⁸ Brooke, "Psalms and Psalters," 9. Brooke goes on to argue that this may be seen in the New Testament in the "historicized proof-texting of the passion narratives, as well as in such works as the Epistle to the Hebrews."

major lines of an organic development characterized by the intentional, creative work of authors or editors who produced revised editions of the traditional form of a passage or collection. Royal psalms, having cultic use by Davidic kings in the time of the First Temple, were evidently still used in the Second Temple period (witnessed by additional superscriptions and the allusions in post-exilic prophets).⁷⁹ By the time that the Psalms were being compiled into a recognizable collection, the royal psalms would have been incorporated with an increasingly eschatological awareness of their importance.⁸⁰ Royal psalms such as 2, 45, 72, and 89 are read like the royal oracles in 2 Samuel 7:4-17, Isaiah 9:1-7, 11:1-9, Jeremiah 23:1-8, and Ezekiel 34. This may be why royal psalms such as Psalm 2:6-9, Psalm 72:1-4, and Psalm 89:10-37 have been included at the seams of the first three books of the MT-150 Psalter. It may be that the suggestion of specific prophetic oracles or intercessions within these Psalms (e.g., Psalm 2:5-9; 72: 1-4, 5-9, 8-11; 89:19-37) also influenced their appropriation as prophetic texts.

The shaping of the MT-150 Psalter is now viewed within a final frame motivated by theological, not liturgical, purposes.⁸¹ Royal psalms form part of this framework and represent the messianic hope pervading the final collection. Wisdom motifs played an editorial part and eschatological reinterpretation was applied not only to royal psalms but to the whole MT-150 Psalter in its final formation.

Wisdom concerns and messianic concerns are evident in the final shaping of the MT Psalter.⁸² Yet the theocratic theme within Books IV and V suggest an increasingly future-oriented approach to psalmody in the minds of the collectors: the age of the coming reign of YHWH promised by the prophets is to be fulfilled.⁸³ Davidic superscriptions in Books I-III would also have been read in light of this future hope, so that what was understood as referring to a royal figure of the past gradually came to be seen as pointing instead to the

⁷⁹ See Holladay, *Psalms*, 57-65.

⁸⁰ See Appendix 4 for a recent depiction of a widely held view of the gradual stabilization of the Book of Psalms.

⁸¹ See Chapter 2 for discussion.

⁸² See Gerald H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series (Chico, Calif.: Scholars, 1985), 11, 139-198, 199-228; Roger N. Whybray, *Reading the Psalms as a Book*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 222 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 15-99; J. H. Eaton, *Psalms of the Way and the Kingdom*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 199 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 48-53, 119-22, 127-34; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction*, 511-23; Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms*, trans. Keith R. Crim and Richard N. Soulen (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), 250-8, especially 253; Chapter 2.

⁸³ See the survey in Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 66-89; also John H. Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata about the Davidic Covenant," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* (1991): 21-31; Gerald H. Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter: A Consideration of Editorial Linkage in the Book of Psalms," in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, Jr., Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 159 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 72-82.

coming reign of YHWH.⁸⁴ Likewise, the introduction to the Psalter, Psalms 1-2, and Psalms with similar tones (Psalms 72-73 and 89-90 are good examples) would also have been interpreted together with this same future-oriented theocratic content.⁸⁵ Thus, the MT Psalter evidences the reading of Psalms as prophetic texts carrying along a messianic hope on an eschatological horizon.

In summary, the Psalter contains in its superscriptions and in its shaping an intertextual method that is used beyond the superscriptions in biblical exegesis. This way of reading the Psalms continues forward in biblical interpretation, serving as an impetus for seeking other Psalms and narratives to provide additional ways to read the Psalms and narratives together.⁸⁶

D. The Emergence of Scripture

This way of reading the Psalter is part of a much larger prophetic bias within the developing biblical tradition as a whole. Thus, the formation of the Psalter should be understood within this broader future-oriented framework.⁸⁷ The dominant way of referring to authoritative Scripture in the late Second Temple period is in terms of the Law and the Prophets.⁸⁸ The Law would have been understood as a relatively well-settled collection of five books, the Prophets as broader and more open-ended. The open-ended character of the Prophets gives rise to a wide-ranging set of descriptions.⁸⁹

In the prologue to Sirach, the references “through the Law, the Prophets, and the others that followed them” may suggest that the then recognized books were all understood as part of the Prophets, which would include the Psalms.⁹⁰ Another relevant text which may refer to the writings of David and/or the Psalms as if the Psalms were part of the prophetic books is *Miqsat Ma‘ase Ha-Torah* (4QMMT), section C, lines 10-12.⁹¹ The restored text is:

⁸⁴ See Wilson, *Editing*, 209-14.

⁸⁵ Childs, *Introduction*, 518. Such may also be true of the prophetic oracle of Psalm 16:7. See Chapter 3.

⁸⁶ As mentioned, the use of Psalm 18 in 2 Samuel 22 clearly evidences this interpretive process of reading Psalms with their superscriptions in the shaping of narratives.

⁸⁷ John Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1986), 21-3; Holladay, *Psalms*, 60-5, 81-9.

⁸⁸ As argued by Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2000), 111-49. Also see John Barton, *Oracles of God*, 23-29, 35-95; “Canons of the Old Testament,” in *Text in Context: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study*, ed. A. D. H. Mayes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 200-22; *The Spirit and the Letter: Studies in the Biblical Canon* (London: SPCK, 1997), 1-34; Holladay, *Psalms*, 81-2.

⁸⁹ See Brooke, “Psalms and Psalters,” 6-8.

⁹⁰ Barton, *Oracles of God*, 47-8; and see Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets*, 150-87.

⁹¹ Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 10, *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqsat Ma‘ase Ha-Torah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 58-9; Timothy H. Lim, “The Alleged Reference to the

[כתב]נו אליכה שתבין בספר מושה [ו]בספר [י]הנ[ביאים וברויו] [ד]
[במעשׁי] דור ודור

There seems to be reference to collections of authoritative texts here: “We have [written] to you so that you may study (carefully) in the book of Moses and in the books of the Prophets and in David / (and) [in events of] ages past.”⁹² Philo reports about the Therapeutae that they study⁹³ “Laws and oracles given by inspiration through Prophets and the Psalms and the other books whereby knowledge and piety are increased and completed.” Hints of the division of authorities may be found in 2 Maccabees 2:13: “These things were narrated also in the archives and memoirs of Nehemiah; as well as how he founded a library and collected the books about the kings and the prophets, and the books of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts.” Josephus describes the authoritative books of Judaism thus: “Of these, five are the books of Moses ... the prophets subsequent to Moses wrote the history of the events of their own times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life.”⁹⁴

The interpretation of Scripture as being Law and Prophets, with David’s writings included, could also be inferred from Luke. Luke 24:26-27 reads: “Was it not necessary for the Christ to suffer these things and to enter into his glory? Then beginning with Moses and with all the prophets, he explained to them the things concerning Himself in all the Scriptures.” The following reference in Luke 24:44 seems to restate this same thrust from Luke’s Jesus: ὅτι δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ, “That everything written about me in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled.” Therein, πληρωθῆναι indicates a prophecy/fulfillment schema which then includes the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms.

The LXX, which has been transmitted only in Christian tradition, seemingly implies

Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible,” *Revue de Qumrân* 77 (2001): 23-37; Brooke, “Psalms and Psalters,” 5-8.

⁹² Timothy H. Lim supports a reading of this passage in 4QMMT as endorsing two groups of Scriptures, the Law and the Prophets, and proposes that “in David” refers not to writings of David but to the deeds of David. Lim, “The Alleged Reference,” 27-37; cf. Philip S. Alexander, “The Bible in Qumran and Early Judaism,” in *Text in Context: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study*, ed. A. D. H. Mayes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 40, and Brooke, “Psalms and Psalters,” 6, who read “(the writings of) David.” Also note that Hebrews 4:7 reads ἐν Δαυὶδ and accompanies the citation of Psalm 95:7. For discussion see Lim, “The Alleged Reference,” 34.

⁹³ Philo, *On the Contemplative Life or Suppliants (De Vita Contemplativa)*, 25.

⁹⁴ Josephus, *The Life Against Apion*, 1:37-43. For a reconstruction of Josephus’s scheme of twenty-two books and other passages relevant to the formation of the canon, see James Barr, *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 127-9. For discussion, see Steve Mason, “Josephus and His Twenty-Two Book Canon,” in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee M. McDonald, James A. Sanders (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 110-27.

an evolving understanding of Scripture both in its arrangement and in its translation.⁹⁵ At least in many manuscripts, the LXX appears to preserve an ordering of the books which may give the Old Testament⁹⁶ a historical and an eschatological orientation. The LXX begins with a section of historical books, without any distinction of rank between Pentateuch and Former Prophets.⁹⁷ Esther includes Greek additions and is followed by Judith, Tobit, and (usually) 1 and 2 Maccabees. At the other end, relating more to the future, are the Prophets, in varying order, but always including Daniel⁹⁸ and the Lamentations of Jeremiah. In the center of the LXX is a section of material modern scholars generally label “wisdom literature” – Proverbs, Job, Qoheleth, Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, Psalms, and the Song of Songs. Thus, the thrust of the whole arrangement may be eschatological – from the creation to the consummation promised through the Prophets.⁹⁹ In this arrangement the Psalms are placed between this past and future orientation; they look back, but they also look forward to an idealized future.¹⁰⁰

By placing the Prophets at the end of the canon, the Greek tradition ensures that the Old Testament will be heard as pointing beyond itself to some future fulfillment and that eschatology will be a guiding theme through the whole.¹⁰¹ Like the Torah is central for the Hebrew Bible as a model for the rest of Scripture, it may be that prophecy is not only the climax of the LXX but also the essential key to understanding the LXX as a whole.¹⁰² Just

⁹⁵ See Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*, trans. Mark E. Biddle (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002), 41-60. For a comparison of the LXX ordering with the BHS see Barr, *Holy Scripture*, 127.

⁹⁶ The term “Hebrew Bible” will be used generally, but “Old Testament” will be used with respect to the Christian Scriptures. In contrast to the relatively fixed order of the Hebrew Bible manuscripts, the sequence of the documents in the LXX codices differs widely at points. For discussion, see Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 59-60.

⁹⁷ See Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 59-60; Swete, *Introduction*, 218-20; E. Earle Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity* (reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992), 34-5.

⁹⁸ The extension of the role of prophet to Daniel is also shared in Palestinian Judaism as attested by the 4Q174 text from Qumran. 4Q174 1-3, 2:3 reads: אֲשֶׁר כְּתוּב בְּסֵפֶר דְּנִיָּאֵל הַנְּבִיאַיָּה, “which is written in the book of Daniel, the prophet.” John M. Allegro, ed., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 5, *Qumran Cave 4:1 (4Q158-4Q186)*, coll. Arnold A. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 54; Jacob Milgrom, “Florilegium: A Midrash on 2 Samuel and Psalms 1-2 (4Q174=4QFlor),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6B, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Henry W. L. Rietz (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2002), 254. Note that the quotation of Daniel follows similar quotations of Isaiah and of Ezekiel in column 1.

⁹⁹ Barton, *Oracles of God*, 21-2.

¹⁰⁰ The *Odes* (sometimes varied in number), attested from the fifth century (Codex Alexandrinus) in all Greek Psalms manuscripts, contain three New Testament “psalms”: the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46-55), the *Benedictus* (Luke 1:68-79), and the *Nunc Dimittis* (Luke 2:29-32) from Luke’s birth narrative. Thus, with respect to the use of psalmody, the LXX clearly demonstrates that it is a Christian collection. See Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 78-80. Included among the LXX *Odes* is Habakkuk 3. The LXX *Odes* and the New Testament canticles resemble Qumran’s *Hôdâyôt*, which were also shaped by models of the Psalms.

¹⁰¹ Barton, *Oracles of God*, 21-3.

¹⁰² See John Goldingay, *Approaches to Old Testament Interpretation*, rev. ed. (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1990), 138-45.

as all scriptural books can by extension be called “Torah” in Judaism, so in Christian tradition all scriptural books can be called “prophecy.” Thus, 2 Peter 1:20-21 implies that the whole of Scripture can be called “prophecy” (in the characteristically Christian sense of predictions about the fulfillment of YHWH’s promises). The appropriateness of the LXX arrangement for a Christian reading of the Hebrew Bible, and its support for understanding prophecy as eschatological prediction, is apparent. In fact, it appears that the Greek Bible in its present form was a Christian collection from its earliest compilation.¹⁰³ Thus, in some traditions the Psalms were seen as a continuation of the prophetic books.

Further, the LXX renderings of the pentateuchal prophecies of Genesis 49:9-10, Numbers 24:21 (LXX 23:21), and Deuteronomy 33 are messianic interpretations which most likely belong to the third century B.C.E.¹⁰⁴ They presuppose a chain of exegetical connections that has given shape to a developed messianic interpretation at the end of the Persian period.¹⁰⁵ The importance of Genesis 49:9-10, Numbers 24:21, and Deuteronomy 33 in the Greek period appears to be in their guarantee of a succession of rulers out of Jacob/Israel.¹⁰⁶

Looking to אֶחָרִית הַיָּמִים in Genesis 49:1, Jacob prophecies in verse 10 that a שֶׁבֶט, “scepter” (LXX: ἄρχων, “ruler”) and a מִחֶקֶק, “ruler’s staff”¹⁰⁷ (LXX: ἡγούμενος

¹⁰³ See Albert C. Sundberg, Jr., *The Old Testament of the Early Church* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 52-3, 82, 88, 93, 102-3, 129-30; “The Septuagint: The Bible of Hellenistic Judaism,” in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee M. McDonald, James A. Sanders (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 68-90; Robert A. Kraft, “Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures: A Methodological Probe,” in *Paganisme Judaïsme, Christianisme. Influences et Affrontements dans le Monde Antique. Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon*, ed. A. Benoit, (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1978); Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 109-53, 191-200, 204-19, 223-35, 247-55; Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 1-17, 25-34, 41-50, 57-74, 75-95, 105-27.

¹⁰⁴ Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 35-51; Hengel, *The Septuagint*, 75-80.

¹⁰⁵ See Horbury, *Jewish Messianism*, 46-51. Other instances of what appears to be LXX messianic interpretation include Ezekiel 34:25 and 2 Samuel 7:11b. Ezekiel 34:23-4 expresses the promise that YHWH will set up a new David as shepherd and prince over Israel. In the next verse (34:25) the MT and the LXX read: וְכָרַתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִית שְׁלוֹם, “I will make with them a covenant of peace” / καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ Δαυὶδ διαθήκην εἰρήνης, “I will make with David a covenant of peace.” Thus, according to the MT, YHWH will make a covenant of peace with the people; in the LXX he makes it with the new David.

A comparison of the MT and LXX for 2 Samuel 7:11b reveals an interesting difference: וְהָגִיד לְךָ יְהוָה כִּי־בֵית יֵשְׁבֶה־לְךָ יְהוָה, “And YHWH announces to you that YHWH will make a house for you” / καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ, “And the Lord announces to you that you will build a house for him.” In the MT, YHWH promises that he will establish a dynasty for David, while in the LXX, God announces that David will build the temple for him. (Note that the Lucianic recension returns to the meaning of the MT.)

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix 7.

¹⁰⁷ Ludwig Koehler et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, rev. ed., 3 vols., trans. and ed. M. E. J. Richardson (Leiden: Brill, 1996) s.v. “חֶקֶק”; Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann, *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*, trans. Mark E. Biddle (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997), s.v. “חֶקֶק,” by G. Liedke; G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, rev. ed., 9 vols., trans. by John T. Willis and David E. Green (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977, 1988, 1995, 1998), s.v. “חֶקֶק,” by H. Ringgren.

[ἡγεομαι], “governor”¹⁰⁸) will never be lacking from Judah. LXX Genesis 49:9 renders the MT’s עָלִיתָ בְּנֵי מִטְרָף יְהוּדָה מִטְרָף בְּנֵי עָלִיתָ, “Judah is a lion’s cub; from the prey, my son, you have gone up” with σκύμνος λέοντος Ιουδα ἐκ βλαστοῦ υἱέ μου ἀνέβης, “Judah is a lion’s cub; from a shoot, my son, you came up.” The second part of this rendering recalls Isaiah 11:1, MT: וַיֵּצֵא חֹטֵר מִגִּזְעוֹ יְשִׁי וְנֹצֵר מִשְׁרָשָׁיו יִפְרֶה, “A shoot will come out from the stump of Jesse, and a bloom will grow out of his roots.” The LXX reads, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης Ιεσσαὶ καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης ἀναβήσεται, “A staff will come out of the root of Jesse; and a flower will come up out of the root.” LXX Genesis 49:10 also renders the MT’s וְלוֹ יִקְהָה עַמִּים, “and the obedience of the peoples is his,” with καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν, “and he is the expectation of the nations.” Here the LXX appears to presuppose the connection between the oracle of Genesis 49:10 and the Davidic Isaiah 11:1.¹⁰⁹ This interpretation of Genesis 49:10 may also be seen in 4Q252, fragment 2.¹¹⁰

The oracles of Balaam also speak of הַיָּמִים הַהֵלֵךְ (Numbers 24:7) when a succession of rulers from Israel culminates in a great king who will crush the final adversary (LXX Numbers 23:17-24:17). The MT Numbers 24:7 reads וְיִלְמִים מִדְּלִי וְזָרְעוֹ בְּמִים רַבִּים וְיָרֵם, “water will flow from his buckets and his seed will have abundant water and his king will be higher than Agag and his kingdom will be exalted.” The LXX reads, ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ καὶ κυριεύσει ἐθνῶν πολλῶν καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ἢ Γωγ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀυξηθήσεται ἢ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, “A man will come forth from his seed, and he will be lord over many nations, and his kingdom will be exalted above Gog¹¹¹ and his kingdom will be grown.” This “man”¹¹² is then further identified in LXX Numbers 24:17. Numbers 24:17 reads in the MT כּוֹכַב מִיַּעֲקֹב וְקֶדֶם שֶׁבֶט, “a star will come out of Jacob and a scepter will rise out of Israel.” The LXX reads, ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ιακωβ καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ισραηλ, “a star will rise out

¹⁰⁸ J. Lust et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992, 1996), s.v. “ἡγεομαι.”

¹⁰⁹ This connection also may be assumed in 1 Chronicles 5:2.

¹¹⁰ See discussion on pages 36-7 and Appendices 6 and 7. The reference to צֶמַח דָּוִד, “Branch of David,” in 4Q285 5, 3:2-6, like in 4Q252 and 4Q174, points to the expected Davidic Messiah in an appropriation of Isaiah 10:34-11:1. Also note that this connection between Genesis 49:10 and Isaiah 11:1 apparently shapes Revelation 5:5.

¹¹¹ “Gog” is to be understood as the apocalyptic adversary of the latter days. See, e.g., LXX Amos 7:1; Ezekiel 36-39; *Sybilline Oracles* 3:319-21. Also see Johan Lust, “Messianism and Septuagint,” in *Congress Volume, Salamanca 1983*, ed. J. A. Emerton, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 36 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 178; “The Greek Version of Balaam’s Third and Fourth Oracles. The ἄνθρωπος in Num. 24:7 and 17. Messianism and Lexicography,” in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris, 1992*, ed. Leonard Greenspoon and Olivier Munnich (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 235-6, 251-2.

¹¹² See Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal Books)*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), s.v. “שֶׁבֶט” and “ἄνθρωπος.”

of Jacob, and a man will rise up out of Israel.” The messianic “man” of LXX Numbers 24:17 also may be seen in LXX Isaiah 19:20.¹¹³

Similarly, LXX Deuteronomy 33:4-5 exhibits a messianic interpretation of Moses’ final blessing. The MT reads (4) תּוֹרַה צְהַלְלֵנוּ מִשָּׁה מוֹרְשָׁה קְהֵלַת יַעֲקֹב (5) וַיְהִי בִישֻׁרוּן מֶלֶךְ (4) בְּהַתְאַסֵּף רָאשֵׁי עַם יִחַד שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, “Moses charged us with instruction, as a possession of the assembly of Jacob. And a king came in Jeshurun when the leaders of the people gathered together - the tribes of Israel.” The LXX reads (4) νόμον ὃν ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν Μωυσῆς κληρονομίαν συναγωγᾶς Ιακωβ (5) καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ἄρχων συναχθέντων ἀρχόντων λαῶν ἅμα φυλαῖς Ισραηλ, “Moses charged us with the law, which is an inheritance of the assembly of Jacob. And a ruler will come in the beloved when the leaders of the peoples are gathered together - the tribes of Israel.” The LXX’s use of the future tense (ἔσται for וַיְהִי) and the translation of עָפָה with the plural λαῶν may suggest a messianic interpretation in accord with LXX Genesis 49:10 and LXX Numbers 23:21.¹¹⁴

As demonstrated by the ways of referring to Scripture in the late Second Temple period and in the arrangement and translation of the LXX, an increasingly future-oriented reading of Scripture may be seen to emerge.

E. Formation of the LXX Psalter

The compilation and translation of the LXX Psalter bears witness to an evolving prophetic bias.¹¹⁵ The Davidic messianism evident in the compilation of the MT-150 Psalter is made more pronounced by the LXX translators in the practice of supplying more Davidic superscriptions to Psalms – a practice that continued right through the LXX translation process.¹¹⁶ In the LXX Psalter, Psalm 151 acts as a Davidic postscript to the whole of the Psalter. Consequently, as compared with its contemporary proto-MT Psalter edition, the LXX Psalter evidences a more pronounced Davidic messianism from a heightened apocalyptic eschatological orientation.

The more opaque Hebrew superscriptions may show a distinctive prophetic emphasis by the LXX translators. For example, the term לְמִנְצֵי, used in fifty-five headings, could be read as a piel participle of נָצַף to indicate a worship leader (“one who excels” or “one who is

¹¹³ See Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition*, 56-60, 159-60, 165-6; Lust, “The Greek Version.”

¹¹⁴ *Targum Neofiti* and the *Fragmentary Targum* also exhibit this same messianic interpretation of Deuteronomy 33:4-5. See Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “עָפָה” and “λαός.”

¹¹⁵ See Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995), 16-33, 134-7, 138-64.

¹¹⁶ Pietersma, “David in the Greek Psalms,” 213-26, who finds at least thirteen more Davidic superscriptions than in the Hebrew tradition.

preeminent”) as in 1 Chronicles 15:21.¹¹⁷ Taking מְנַצֵּחַ as a substantive of נָצַח or נִצְחָה, another reading could mean “for eternity.” This interpretation seems to have been intended by the LXX translators, rendering מְנַצֵּחַ לְ as εἰς τὸ τέλος.¹¹⁸ Another example may be found in Psalms 45, 69, and 80, where עַל־שִׁשְׁנַיִם (or the equivalent) is translated in the LXX as ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθήσομένων, “for transformation.”¹¹⁹ Thus, viewed as an edition of the Psalter, the LXX Psalter may be considered a theological document of proto-Pharasaic Judaism.¹²⁰

Joachim Schaper argues that the clearest illustrations of a prophetic bias in translation are found within the Psalms themselves. Schaper proposes nine examples of eschatological exegesis on the part of the LXX translators and nine examples of messianic exegesis.¹²¹ For example, Psalm 1:5 reads עַל־כֵּן לֹא־יִקְמוּ רְשָׁעִים בַּמִּשְׁפָּט, “therefore the wicked will not stand in the judgment.” The LXX reads διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει, which Schaper translates, “therefore unbelievers will not rise (i.e., from death) in judgment nor will sinners [rise] in the counsel of righteous men.”¹²² The use of ἀναστήσονται for יִקְמוּ may create a more eschatological emphasis in the Greek. But Martin Flashar¹²³ more cautiously concludes that while there is much to be said for the interpretation of “they will not be resurrected,” it remains only one possible explanation of the LXX rendering. While Flashar suggests that this passage would then be parallel to a form of a contemporary Jewish belief in afterlife documented elsewhere (e.g., *Psalms of Solomon* 3:11, LXX Psalm 101:27; 18:9; 60:7; 71:17; and 118:89, 90, 91), he concludes that this is only a possibility for the rendering in 1:5. Flashar’s tentativeness is well appreciated, noting that when the semantic component of “up” or “again” is called for, the LXX regularly uses ἀνίστημι, as in the case of YHWH who is repeatedly urged to stand up and take action (also see Psalm 19:9; 34:11; 40:9, 11; 77:5, 6; 87:11; 93:16). That the LXX of Psalm 1:5 creates potential for subsequent

¹¹⁷ This is the traditional rendering. See Willem A. VanGemeren, ed. *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997) s.v. “נָצַח,” by David W. Baker; *HALOT*, s.v. “נָצַח”; Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), s.v. “נָצַח.”

¹¹⁸ Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 18-9. Note that the equivalent of the Masoretic vocalization is followed by Aquila, who has τῶ νικοποιῶ.

¹¹⁹ Which may suggest the transformation of the cosmos, of which lilies are a symbol. *Ibid.*, 19-20.

¹²⁰ See Schaper, *Eschatology*, 7-33.

¹²¹ Schaper, *Eschatology*, 46-72 (Eschatological: Psalm 1, 16, 22, 46, 48, 49, 56, 59, 73), 72-107 (Messianic: Psalm 2, 8, 45, 60, 68, 72, 80, 87, 110). Cf. Claude E. Cox “Schaper’s Eschatology Meets Kraus’s Theology of the Psalms,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert et al, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 289-311.

¹²² Schaper, *Eschatology*, 47-8.

¹²³ Martin Flashar, “Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 32 (1912): 113-6.

interpretations is a different matter.

Schaper finds Psalm 8:5 to be another example of an eschatological bias in the LXX translation. The LXX rendering of $\text{בְּרֵךְ יְהוָה יְהוָה}$ as υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου may suggest in its context not so much a representative human figure as often elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible,¹²⁴ but a figure who is crowned as a co-ruler over creation. This may be seen by the use of ἐπισκέπτη in the following part of the verse:

τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μιμήσκη αὐτοῦ,
ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπτη αὐτόν;

Schaper reads, “What is man, that you are concerned about him, or the son of man, that you choose [‘visit’] him?”¹²⁵ In the next verse, the Hebrew describes this figure as מַעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים , “a little lower than God,” which the LXX renders in context:

ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχὺ τι παρ’ ἀγγέλους,
δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν.

“You have made him a little lower than the angels, and crowned him with glory and honor.”

The LXX does not usually render מַלְאָכִים with ἄγγελοι , but here the מַלְאָכִים may have been changed to ἄγγελοι .¹²⁶ In the context of this Psalm, the LXX appears to expand the reading of υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in the previous verse, understanding the figure as part of the angelic host. If υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου was a phrase used with supernatural overtones at this time, then the eschatological bias of the LXX translators may be evident.¹²⁷ Chosen by God ($\text{ὅτι ἐπισκέπτη αὐτόν}$), the υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου is the promised deliverer who “descends from his dwelling place among the angels to dwell on earth.”¹²⁸ Thus, LXX Psalm 8 may be read as a prophetic promise about to be fulfilled.¹²⁹ Despite Schaper’s argument, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου

¹²⁴ The phrase is often used in the second line of a parallelism in Hebrew poetry with אִישׁ אָנוּשׁ , or בְּרֵךְ as a way of describing humankind in relation to YHWH. This designation suggests privilege as well as mortality (e.g., Numbers 23:19; Isaiah 51:12; 56:2; Jeremiah 49:18, 33; 50:40; 51:43; Job 16:21; 25:6; 35:8; Psalms 80:17; 146:3).

¹²⁵ Schaper, *Eschatology*, 76.

¹²⁶ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “ מַלְאָכִים ” and “ ἄγγελος .”

¹²⁷ See F. J. Moloney, “The Reinterpretation of Psalm VIII and the Son of Man Debate,” *New Testament Studies* 27 (1981): 656-72. David N. Freedman, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), s.v. “Son of Man,” by George W. E. Nickelsburg.

¹²⁸ This is how Hebrews 2:6-8 reads Psalm 8:4-7. Hebrews 1:5-14 goes further in asserting that the representative human being, now revealed in Christ, has superiority over the angels.

¹²⁹ Later interpretations continue in this direction. See Wenceslaus M. Urassa, *Psalm 8 and Its Christological Re-Interpretations in the New Testament Context: An Inner-Contextual Study in Biblical Hermeneutics* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998), 59-67 for Targumim and 106-13 for midrashic texts. In the Aramaic Targumim, as in the LXX, two superscriptions name David specifically as a prophet (Psalm 14 and 103); the Psalms of Korah (45, 46) are attributed to the spirit of prophecy; Psalm 72 is described as spoken in prophecy by Solomon; and Psalm 98 is designated as a “prophetic Psalm.” See Gillingham, “From Liturgy,” 481. For more examples and discussion see Craig A. Evans, “The Aramaic Psalter and the New Testament: Praising the Lord in History and Prophecy,” in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. Craig A. Evans (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 2004), 44-91, especially 60-2.

appears to be a stereotypical rendering of אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים בְּ (in singular and plural), thus rendering his conclusion only a possibility.¹³⁰

Schaper's arguments for eschatological and messianic exegesis within the LXX Psalms texts themselves may not be convincing because his method is faulty.¹³¹ Schaper's comparison of Rahlfs's 1931 Göttingen edition of the LXX Psalms with the Leningrad Codex printed in the *BHS*¹³² obscures difficult textual issues that should be identified prior to any meaningful comparison. His failing to separate default, un-marked (stereotypical) renderings from non-default, marked renderings leaves his conclusions unpersuasive.¹³³ Further, Schaper gives no account of the history of the transmission of the Hebrew or the Greek texts nor of the larger context of passages in question. Many scholars still conclude that theologically tendentious interpretations occur rarely in the LXX Psalms while granting that all translation inevitably involves some interpretation.¹³⁴

Schaper's attempt at delineating eschatological readings on the part of the LXX translators from messianic emphases read into the Psalms by the LXX translators fails to

¹³⁰ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “בְּ” and “טִיֹּס”; “אֱלֹהִים” and “ἄνθρωπος.” 11Q13 1-2:10 includes אֱלֹהִים in its quotation of Psalm 82:1. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* frequently use the term אֱלֹהִים for God, unlike the more common Qumran practice. Many occurrences of אֱלֹהִים in the *Sabbath Songs* could refer to God or to angels (who are commonly referred to therein as אֱלִים, “divine beings,” מַלְאָכִים, “angels,” קְדוּשִׁים, “holy ones,” and רִחוּת, “spirits”). See James H. Charlesworth and Carol A. Newsom, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 4B, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997).

¹³¹ See Albert Pietersma, “Review, Eschatology in the Greek Psalter,” *Bibliotheca Orientalia* 54 (1997): 185-90; Melvin K. H. Peters, “Review, Eschatology in the Greek Psalter,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 116 (1997): 350-2; A. van der Kooij, “On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms,” *Vetus Testamentum* 33 (1983): 67-74; Cox, “Schaper’s,” 289-311. Following Flashar’s method, translators should be presumed innocent and then proven to be authors. Flashar demonstrates that one can only prove exegesis in translation by first examining textual matters and then delineating unmarked/default (stereotypical) renderings from marked/non-default renderings. No doubt exegesis exists in any translation, but, one must find it, not just assert it.

¹³² A. Alt et al., eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, rev. 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990).

¹³³ For discussion of a more reliable method and its implementation see Staffan Olofsson, *God is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990) and *The LXX Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the LXX* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), who correctly comments that “Only a close study and description of as many factors as possible lying behind the translation can hope to uncover this subjective moment in the text.” *God Is My Rock*, 14.

¹³⁴ See, for example, Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 60; Cox, “Schaper’s,” 304; Pietersma, “Review,” 188; Emanuel Tov, “The Septuagint,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Readings, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1988), 176; F. W. Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church: The Septuagint Psalms Compared with the Hebrew, with Various Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), xx; Sebastian P. Brock, “Translating the Old Testament,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 87. For a full discussion of this Psalter in the context of translation work in antiquity, see Elias J. Bickerman, “The Septuagint as a Translation,” in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History, Part One*, ed. Elias J. Bickerman (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 167-200.

convince and leaves one wondering if eschatological exegesis and messianic exegesis in the LXX Psalter can be separately analyzed. Most particularly, can Jewish eschatological orientation and Davidic messianism read into the LXX Psalter during the time of its translation and transmission be separated?¹³⁵

Flashar's more careful study of the exegetical content of the LXX concludes that the social and religious context of the LXX Psalms translation may be seen in its νόμος theology.¹³⁶ By this Flashar means that for the LXX Psalms translator(s), as with early Judaism in general, the center point of thought is "das sittliche wie das religiöse Leben normierenden Gesetzes."¹³⁷ Flashar further concludes that eschatology, borne out of its social and religious setting, was a major influence on the LXX Psalter's translation.¹³⁸

Similarly, John Sailhamer's study of the translation technique of the LXX for the Hebrew verbs and participles in Psalms 3-41 confirms Flashar's findings.¹³⁹ For example, Sailhamer compares LXX Psalm 37 to both the MT and to the פֶּשֶׁר, *pesher*, of Psalm 37 from Qumran, 4Q171 (4QpPs37).¹⁴⁰ Sailhamer concludes that the later reading of Psalm 37

¹³⁵ See Schaper, *Eschatology*, 26-30. Schaper follows Wilhelm Bousset in arguing that the development of Jewish eschatological and messianic beliefs did not correspond to the same religious needs among the Jewish people. Schaper describes the messianic hope as a political one and the development of eschatology as a need for orientation in individual lives. See Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., ed. H. Greßmann (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1926), 213-42. For my concern see, e.g., Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)*, vol. 2, rev. English ed., ed. Géza Vermès et al (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973-1987), 514. While Bousset may be correct as to their original sources, by the second and first centuries B.C.E. the development of Jewish eschatological beliefs and Davidic messianic beliefs is seen in the association of eschatological hope with messianic figures. Old Testament passages that are understood to express various divine promises of a guaranteed perpetual succession of David's dynasty were not originally "messianic" in this strict sense, such as Genesis 49:10; Numbers 24:15-19; 2 Samuel 7:11-17; 22:44-51 (= Psalm 18:44-51); 23:1-3, 5; Isaiah 11:1-9; Amos 9:11; Zechariah 3:8; 6:12-13. That these eschatological texts may become messianic may be understood as a further development. Also see John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 23; Appendices 6 and 7.

¹³⁶ Flashar, "Exegetische Studien," 168-74. The emphasis on תּוֹרָה may also be seen in 11QPs^a's arrangement of Psalms. See Appendix 1. *Targum Psalms* also appears to prominently emphasize תּוֹרָה. For examples and discussion see Evans, "The Aramaic Psalter," 44-91, especially 50-2.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, evidenced particularly in the rendering of תּוֹרָה by νόμος.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 162-5, evidenced particularly in the rendering of הוֹשִׁיעַ by σωζειν.

¹³⁹ See John H. Sailhamer, *Studies in Biblical Greek*, vol. 2, *The Translational Technique of the Greek Septuagint for the Hebrew Verbs and Participles in Psalms 3-41* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 18, who chose to analyze Book I of the Psalter because it contains some of the oldest Psalms in the Psalter.

¹⁴⁰ In Qumran literature the term פֶּשֶׁר, *pesher*, describes a literary genre that may be understood as a sub-genre of pre-rabbinic midrash. The term "midrash" as used in 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:14 appears to have a technical connotation in this context, perhaps not referring to a literary genre (as the later midrashic texts) but identifying a method of scriptural exposition. See Laurence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1 (Oxford: University Press, 2000), s.v. "Florilegium," by George J. Brooke. (For discussion see page 196.) The Qumran *pesherim* are of two types. Most are continuous systematic interpretations of one biblical book (such as 4Q171). Others are thematic and include passages from different biblical books (such as 4Q174, which may better be understood as a thematic commentary or midrashic text containing *pesherim*). Formally, *pesher* consists of the explicit citation of an extract from Scripture which is then given an interpretation. The interpretation is introduced by a technical formula containing the word פֶּשֶׁר. There now appears to be general agreement that in these formulae the term

in the eschatological climate of Qumran does go beyond the horizons of the MT Hebrew text to project the message of the Psalm onto a future hope.¹⁴¹ Sailhamer then compares the Qumran *peshet* to the LXX translation of Psalm 37 and concludes that the LXX translation follows a similar reading. Sailhamer argues that this is, therefore, a common reading within early Judaism occasioned by the social and religious climate of the translators.¹⁴²

By considering the feature of verb tense Sailhamer seeks to describe the influence of eschatology on the choice of equivalencies for Hebrew verbal forms. He finds that it is the eschatology of early Judaism that made itself felt most prominently in the choice of verbal equivalencies in translation. Sailhamer finds a basic tension within LXX Psalms 3-41 between historical reality and religious vision. The resolution of the tension comes through an eschatological view that looks beyond existing social and historical realities for its expression of religious vision.¹⁴³ Sailhamer reasons that, in looking beyond the present state of things into a future reversal, the LXX translator has sided with many of his apocalyptic contemporaries in the expression of his religious vision. Sailhamer concludes that the LXX translator expresses his future hope by rendering prefixed Hebrew verbs with the Greek future tense forms.

While Sailhamer's comparison of LXX Psalm 37 to 4Q171 is compelling, his argument for eschatological influence based on verbal equivalencies is not. In the LXX Psalter, the default rendering of the prefixed Hebrew verb is the Greek future tense.¹⁴⁴ To assert this equivalence, and the like, as evidence of theological exegesis or influence must be proven from non-default renderings.

פֶּשֶׁר reflects the tradition of the interpretation of dreams and visions attested in Daniel 2, 4, and 5. The content of *peshet* is controlled by a scriptural passage thought to be prophetic or visionary. This material includes not only the prophetic books but also visionary passages such as Nathan's oracle to David (2 Samuel 7:5-16) and all of the Psalms. Thus, *peshet* will be used to describe a distinct form of biblical interpretation that includes the structure of (a) lemma; (b) introduction formula using פֶּשֶׁר; (c) line by line commentary on the scriptural passage. See R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden, eds., *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London: SCM, 1990), s.v. "Peshet," by George J. Brooke; F. F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* (London: Tyndale, 1960), 7-11; Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 1-9, 192-225, 230-6, 244-7; James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Concensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 1-16; Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 13-8, 24-7, 44-53.

¹⁴¹ Also see Horgan, "Psalm Peshet 1 (4Q171=4QpPs^a)," in *DSS 6B*, 6-24.

¹⁴² Sailhamer, *Studies*, 149-73.

¹⁴³ Similarly, Ellis Rivkin describes the problem that occurred in Israel around the second century B.C.E. (if not earlier) and, with even greater urgency, during the time of the Hasmonaeans by naming as the central motive for the formation of Pharasaic Judaism "the growing incongruence between the structure of experience and the structure of the Pentateuch." Ellis Rivkin, *A Hidden Revolution* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1978), 244. Also see Horbury, *Jewish Messianism*, 5, 64-108; Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism*, 190-3.

¹⁴⁴ See Mozley, *The Psalter*, xvi; Pietersma, "Review," 188.

F. Qumran Psalms and Psalters

1. Qumran *Pesharim* and Psalms

The *peshar* form of interpretation clearly shows a shift in the understanding of psalmody by the second century B.C.E. This understanding of psalmody, as seen in the Qumran *pesharim*, contrasts with the primarily allusive adaptation of the Psalms by the biblical prophets. In part, this change appears to be due to the fact that the Psalter has become a more established collection. Citations of more accepted texts become an important practice.¹⁴⁵ In part, it is also due to an evolving and heightening apocalyptic eschatological orientation, whereby it is believed that the future age promised by the biblical prophets is about to be fulfilled.

The Qumran community understands itself to have entered a new covenant¹⁴⁶ that constitutes it as the true Israel, YHWH's eschatological community. Because YHWH has revealed to its members the correct interpretation of the Torah, they are able to live according to YHWH's will, and all others are bound for imminent damnation.¹⁴⁷ The Spirit of Truth (the Angel of Light) guides the Qumran community (the children of light) and all others are shepherded by the Spirit of Falsehood (the Angel of Darkness).¹⁴⁸ The mediator of divine revelation gives authority to the Qumran self-identity and worldview. The Qumran community believes that it is preparing the way for YHWH¹⁴⁹ through its interpretation and practice of Torah.¹⁵⁰ Ancient prophetic texts interpret Torah by looking to אַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים, and therefore speak of present events and the new age that will be ushered in.¹⁵¹

The most important Qumran texts that use specific citations of Psalms are the *pesharim*, which presume the Psalms to be prophetic oracles. Three most significant examples cite passages from Psalms 37, 45, 57, 68, and 127 and offer an expanded eschatological interpretation of them (1Q16; 4Q171; 4Q173).¹⁵² Regarding appropriation of the Psalms as prophecy, the *Florilegium* (4Q174) is most relevant as a commentary on

¹⁴⁵ See Wilson, *Editing*, 9-11, 63-92, 199-228; Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 135-49; Barton, *The Spirit and the Letter*, 8-11; James C. VanderKam, "Questions of Canon Viewed through the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee M. McDonald, James A. Sanders (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 91-109. Cf. Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1998), 129-34.

¹⁴⁶ See, e.g., 1QS 5:7-8, 21.

¹⁴⁷ See, e.g., CD 1:8-2:1; 1QS 2:4-18.

¹⁴⁸ See, e.g., 1QS 3:13-4:26; 4Q266 1-8; cf. 1QM.

¹⁴⁹ See 1QS 8:12-16 and its appropriation of Isaiah 40:3.

¹⁵⁰ See, e.g., 1QS 8:12-16; cf. 5:10-20; CD 6:2-11. For a parallel, cf. *Jubilees* 23:26.

¹⁵¹ See, e.g., 1QS 8:14-6.

¹⁵² See Horgan, *Pesharim*, 65-70 (on 1Q16, a commentary on Psalms 57 and 68), 192-226 (on 4Q171), and 226-8 (on 4Q173) mainly a commentary on Psalm 37, with fragments of Psalms 45 and 127. See Horgan, "Psalm Peshar 1," in *DSS 6B*, 6-24; and "Psalm Peshar 3," in *DSS 6B*, 31-4; Charlesworth, *The Pesharim*, 1-16; Lim, *Pesharim*, 14-5, 38-43, 51-3.

Psalms 1, 2, and 2 Samuel 7:10-14.¹⁵³ Also important are the 4QCatena, over thirty fragments of an eschatological nature linked together by the formula באחרית הימים, “in the latter days.” Of these, 4Q177 and 4Q182 are most pertinent to our study, due to their references to Psalms 6, 11, 12, 13, and 16.¹⁵⁴ Another significant example is the Melchizedek text (11Q13), a citation of specific verses mainly from Psalms 82 and 87.¹⁵⁵

While citing the Psalms, these texts use the *peshet* form of exegesis in different ways and together demonstrate how much the Psalms were read from a distinctly prophetic perspective. 4Q171 discusses the destiny of the good and wicked in the latter days by way of reference to Psalms 37 and 127.¹⁵⁶ 4Q174 should be read more as a midrashic commentary than one specifically employing the *peshet* form of exegesis. 4Q174 contains several quotations not only from Psalms 1-2 but also from 2 Samuel, Exodus, Amos, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Deuteronomy. George J. Brooke concludes that the emphasis of the interpretation in 4Q174 is on the immediacy of revelation.¹⁵⁷ The importance placed upon the gift of interpreting such revelation shows how different this mode of interpretation is from that in the biblical prophetic tradition.¹⁵⁸ Special divine revelation mediates an interpretation of traditional texts that are read to portray an imminent eschatological victory like in the apocalypses of the Hellenistic period.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ See *DJD* 5, 53-7; George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium, its Jewish Context*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 29 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 38-40, 91-3, 129-31, 144, 144, 155-6, 159; Milgrom, “Florilegium,” 250-63; Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditions-geschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 („Florilegium“) und 4Q177 („Catena A“) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 190-2; Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 23.

¹⁵⁴ See John Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V des ‘Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,’” *Revue de Qumrân* 26 (1970): 163-276, especially 236-48 on 4Q177; Timothy H. Lim, “11QMelch, Luke 4 and the Dying Messiah,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 90-2.

¹⁵⁵ See J. J. M. Roberts, “Melchizedek (11Q13=11QMelch),” in *DSS 6B*, 264-73; Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter,” 23-72; Holladay, *Psalms*, 500-2; Lim, “11QMelch,” 90-2.

¹⁵⁶ On the prophetic use of Psalms 37 in this scroll see Holladay, *Psalms*, 60-5; 104-5. Also see M. R. Lehmann, “Midrashic Parallels to Qumran Texts,” *Revue de Qumrân* 3 (1961-62): 545-51, especially 548, who notes that the same prophetic use of this Psalm is evident in *Genesis Rabbah* 42:1, and argues that there is little difference in the way the Psalms are used at Qumran as citations to demonstrate the fulfillment of prophecy and in rabbinic readings.

¹⁵⁷ See discussion on pages 195-8; Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism*, 170.

¹⁵⁸ On the *middôt*, or rules of exegesis, as they apply to 4Q174, see Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 6-36. George J. Brooke, “Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May 1996*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 35-7, 39-42 offers an analysis of the interpretation of Psalm 2 in 4Q174 compared with the same Psalm in Hebrews 1, showing the independent prophetic and messianic readings of the same Psalm from within different traditions.

¹⁵⁹ See, e.g., *1 Enoch*, Daniel 7-12, *Jubilees*, *Testament of Moses*, (also see Sirach 24:23-24, where Ben Sira argues that Torah is the presence of heavenly wisdom, and his exposition mediates Torah’s wisdom, granting life to those who obey it). Qumran texts that employ language traditional in the apocalypses include,

For example, in 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:18-19, using Psalm 2:1-2, we read:

(18) Why do the nations rage and the peoples meditate on a vain thing, the kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers take counsel together (or, against the community) against the Lord and against (19) his anointed; the real interpretation of the matter (פֶּשֶׁר הַדְּבָר) [is that “the nations” are the *Kit]tim* and those who take [refuge in Him are] the chosen ones of Israel in the latter days.¹⁶⁰

This *peshet* on Psalm 2 is a combination of ideas taken from Daniel 7 and 12 and interwoven with ideas from the Psalms. Psalm 2 is a text repeatedly alluded to in the biblical prophetic tradition as well as at Qumran. Its importance as a prophetic text is seen further in its use in *1 Enoch* 47, *Wisdom of Solomon* 1-6, *4 Ezra* 7:28-29 and 13, and *Psalms of Solomon* 17.¹⁶¹

Thus, the Psalms are gradually seen to have an authoritative status and a distinctive function as prophetic proof texts heralding in an age promised by the biblical prophets. The *peshet* mode of interpretation focuses on fulfillment. The *peshet* formula shows how earlier texts are now to be read: this meaning was previously hidden, and they could only be read in a generalized way, but now their deeper meaning is in the process of being made plain.¹⁶²

Various Psalms are now cited as prophecies about to be fulfilled, which represents the major shift from reading Psalms as poetry to appropriating the Psalms as prophecy.¹⁶³ Understanding psalmody as prophecy leads to the increasing number of “eschatological psalms.”¹⁶⁴ Eschatological imitations of Psalms, in the tradition of Second Isaiah, but now more widespread and varied, further illustrate the ways in which psalmody was understood as prophecy. Qumran examples of eschatological hymns, full of psalmic language, include the *Apostrophe to Zion*, *Hymn to the Creator*, and *Plea for Deliverance* in 11QPs^a. The imitations of Psalms in the *Hôdâyôt* (1QH; 1Q36; 4Q427-432) include several psalmic allusions.¹⁶⁵ 1QH 2:20-30 is an eschatological psalm. Several *Hôdâyôt* employ traditional

e.g., 1QS 11:3-9; 1QH 9:24. For an explicit claim to special divine revelation see, e.g., 1QpHab 7:1-5. Also note that multiple copies of the Enochian corpus, Daniel, and *Jubilees* have been found at Qumran.

¹⁶⁰ Translation from Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 88, 93.

¹⁶¹ See Appendices 5 and 8.

¹⁶² See Lim, *Pesharim*, 13-15, 24-43, 44-53.

¹⁶³ See Harry P. Nasuti, *Defining the Sacred Songs: Genre, Tradition and the Post-Critical Interpretation of the Psalms*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 218 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 152.

¹⁶⁴ Eschatological psalms in Qumran literature include the apocryphal psalms of 11QPs^a, of which the *Apostrophe to Zion* (also found in 4QPs^f 7-8) is the clearest example and the *Hôdâyôt* (1QH; 1Q36; 4Q427-432), of which 1QH 2:20-30 contains many allusions to the canonical Psalms. The Apocrypha/Deuterocanonicals have eschatological psalms in Greek, such as Tobit 13 (Zion's restoration); Baruch 4:5-5:9 (return of the exiles to Zion); and Sirach 36:1-17 (hope for deliverance from the wicked). The pseudepigraphic examples include the *Testament of Solomon* 23 (verse 4, with its reference to Psalm 118:22); 3 Maccabees 2:2-20 and 6:2-15 (prayers following Psalms 78, 106, 135, and 136); *Sibylline Oracles* 3:350-488 (with correspondences to Psalms 2 and 48); *Psalms of Solomon* 11 (return and restoration of Zion); and the Horarium to the *Testament of Adam* (having allusions to Psalms 104 and 148).

¹⁶⁵ For discussion see Holladay, *Psalms*, 106-10.

apocalyptic eschatological language like “new creation,” “resurrection from the dead,” and “standing in the presence of the holy ones” to describe an individual’s present situation in the community.¹⁶⁶ Other *Hôdāyôt* that are relevant examples of this oracular understanding of psalmody are those that portray a confidence in a new age of salvation based on the speaker’s claims to intimate knowledge of YHWH.¹⁶⁷ Other Qumran texts are more difficult to clarify. For example, 4Q380 contains phraseology that echoes or is echoed in known scriptural Psalms.¹⁶⁸ 4Q381 could be part of a royal collection of texts that may predate some of the compositions in the MT-150 Psalter.¹⁶⁹ The psalm in 4Q381 fragment 15 is very close in its phrasing to Psalms 86 and 89, and the psalm in fragment 24, lines 7-11, imitates Psalm 18 and 2 Samuel 22.¹⁷⁰

2. The 11QPs^a Psalter

11QPs^a (11Q5), which may best be understood as another version of the Psalter (along with the MT-150 Psalter and the LXX Psalter at least), exhibits an even more pronounced Davidic messianism from a heightened apocalyptic eschatological perspective.¹⁷¹ It may be argued that the 11QPs^a collection should be considered as a scriptural Psalter (and not as a secondary collection dependent upon the MT-150 Psalter) on three grounds: attribution to Davidic prophecy, structural principles,¹⁷² and usage.¹⁷³ The

¹⁶⁶ See, e.g., 1QH 11:19-23; 19:3-14.

¹⁶⁷ E.g., 1QH^a 4:26; 6:25; 9:21; 12:23; 17:32; 20:12-13. See Bonnie P. Kittel, ed., *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1981), 48-55, which lists the psalmic vocabulary in 1QH 2:20-30. Also see Esther G. Chazon, “Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 1, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 244-70 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 244-70; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 133-41; Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 36-44.

¹⁶⁸ See Eileen M. Schuller, “Non-Canonical Psalms,” in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*. Vol. 11, *Qumran Cave 4, VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*, ed. Esther Eshel et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 75-172; *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986); “Qumran Pseudepigraphic Psalms,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 4A, *Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Henry W. L. Rietz (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1997), 1-39. Also see discussion on pages 54-6.

¹⁶⁹ Schuller dates these psalms to the late Persian or early Hellenistic period. See Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 46-52; “Qumran,” 2. Also see discussion on pages 54-6.

¹⁷⁰ Schuller, “Qumran,” 14-5 and 18-9.

¹⁷¹ Ben Zion Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter: 11QPs^a,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 59 (1988): 23-72; Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 17-34, 146-9; James A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), 9-21; Wilson, *Editing*, 155-60; “The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter: Comparison of Editorial Shaping,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 59 (1997): 448-64. See Appendix 1.

¹⁷² For structural analyses of 11QPs^a, see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 172-201; Patrick M. Skehan, “A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs^a,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 34 (1973): 195-205; “Qumran and Old Testament Criticism,” in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. Mathias Delcor (Paris: Duculot, 1978), 163-82; Wilson, *Editing*, 124-31; “Qumran Psalms Manuscripts and the Consecutive Arrangement of Psalms in the Hebrew Bible,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45 (1983): 337-88; “Qumran Psalms Scroll,” 448-64;

collection appears to have been organized in accordance with principles similar to those found in Books IV and V in the MT-150 Psalter.¹⁷⁴ The editorial shaping evidenced in the Davidic traditioning of the MT-150 Psalter (as seen mainly in the addition of Davidic superscriptions and in structural principles) continues in 11QPs^a as seen in its prose and poetic additions, arrangement, *David's Compositions*, and in superscriptions contrary to MT and LXX traditions.¹⁷⁵ The prose composition, *David's Compositions* (11QPs^a 27:2-11) explicitly credits David with the divine gift of prophecy (line 11): כּוֹל אֱלֹהִים דִּבֶּר כְּנְבוּאָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לוֹ מִלְּפָנֵי הָעֵלְיוֹן, “All these he uttered through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.” This statement is probably influenced by 2 Samuel 23:1-7 and Psalm 140:1-5, and shares the view of David as a prophet held outside Qumran.¹⁷⁶ The view of a prophet as a מְשִׁיחַ, “anointed one,” known from the case of Elisha (1 Kings 19:16),¹⁷⁷ is found in a more developed form in Qumran literature as it is applied to prophetic figures in general (e.g., 1QM 11:7;¹⁷⁸ 6Q15 3:4;¹⁷⁹ CD 2:12¹⁸⁰). The Qumran instances appear to

Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter,” 23-72; Michael Chyutin, “The Redaction of the Qumranic and the Traditional Book of Psalms as a Calendar,” *Revue de Qumrân* 63 (1994): 367-95. See Appendix 1.

¹⁷³ Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 204-27; James A. Sanders, “The Scrolls and the Canonical Process.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 2, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1-23; “Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a),” *Harvard Theological Review* 59 (1966): 83-94; “Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon,” *McCormick Quarterly* 21 (1968): 1-15; “The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed,” in *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida*, ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley (Paris: Mouton, 1974), 79-99.

¹⁷⁴ Wilson, *Editing*, 190-230; “Qumran Psalms Manuscripts,” 377-88; Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter,” 23-72.

¹⁷⁵ The LXX practice of adopting MT orphan Psalms as Davidic by adding Davidic superscriptions continued in 11QPs^a. For example, 11QPs^a Psalm 104 includes a superscription contrary to the MT, but as some LXX manuscripts. 11QPs^a Psalm 123 includes a superscription contrary to the MT and LXX traditions. 11QPs^a Psalm 151A includes a superscription that does not admit doubt of Davidic authorship, contrary to the LXX. Brevard Childs, “Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 16 (1971): 137-50; Albert Pietersma, “Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter,” in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998*, ed. Bernard A. Taylor (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 99-138; “David in the Greek Psalms,” 213-26. See Chapter 3 for discussion. Also see Appendix 1.

¹⁷⁶ See Nasuti, *Defining*, 150-2; James L. Kugel, “David the Prophet,” in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. James L. Kugel, 45-55 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 45-55. See, e.g., Josephus, who says, καὶ ὁ μὲν προφητεύειν ἤρξατο τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν μετοικισαμένου, (the Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David) “who, when the divine spirit had removed to him, began to prophesy.” *Jewish Antiquities* 5:249. And see Josephus’ description of Old Testament prophets: ἀλλὰ μόνων τῶν προφητῶν τὰ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ παλαιότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπίπνοιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων, “the prophets alone had this privilege, obtaining their knowledge of the most remote and ancient history through the inspiration, which they owed to God.” *The Life Against Apion* 1:176-179.

¹⁷⁷ And see Psalm 105:15; 1 Chronicles 16:22 for the parallelism of “anointed ones” and “prophets.”

¹⁷⁸ Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, trans. Batya and Chaim Rabin (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 310.

¹⁷⁹ Maurice Baillet et al., eds. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 3: *Les “petites grottes” de Qumran: exploration de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 7Q, à 10Q, le rouleau de cuivre*, 2 vol. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 1:130.

follow a formula, ביד מושה וביד כול עבדיו הנביאים, “through Moses and through all his servants the prophets”), which may be echoed and made more explicit in Luke 24:44: “that everything written about me in the law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms must be fulfilled.”

The Qumran community consistently expresses its view that Scripture is being fulfilled through the community, and that the present times are the beginning of the end.¹⁸¹ For the Qumran community, David is the prophet *par excellence* and his prophecies are now being fulfilled in their community.¹⁸² In addition to the Psalms scrolls, the *War Scroll* (1QM), describing the final battle against the *Kittim*, and the *Damascus Document* (CD) both give evidence of prominent prophetic concerns.¹⁸³

The idealized and paradigmatic status of David is widely attested in the Hebrew Bible, particularly as seen with reference to the Psalms.¹⁸⁴ David is understood as the founder of Israel’s greatest royal dynasty, is favored with a covenant with YHWH (Psalm 89; 2 Samuel 7),¹⁸⁵ and becomes the inspiration for a good deal of Jewish messianic hopes.¹⁸⁶

In time, a “new David” is the hope of a messianism that has become fused with a heightened apocalyptic eschatological orientation. This development of the Davidic dynasty

¹⁸⁰ Accordance 6.1.2 [CD-ROM] (Altamonte Springs, Fla.: OakTree Software, Inc., 2004), s.v. “CD, משיח.”

¹⁸¹ See Michael A. Fishbane, “Use, Authority, and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1988), 339-77, especially 373-5, on prophetic exegesis at Qumran.

¹⁸² See, e.g., *DJD* 4, 10-4, 91-3, 134-7; Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 21-6.

¹⁸³ See John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 91-109; James E. Bowley, “Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran,” and Michael A. Knibb, “Eschatology and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” both in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, 2 vols., ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:354-78 and 2:379-402. And see Appendices 5, 6, and 7.

¹⁸⁴ See Walter Bruggemann, *David’s Truth in Israel’s Imagination and Memory*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortune, 2002), especially 86-112; Alan M. Cooper, “The Life and Times of King David According to the Book of Psalms,” in *The Poet and the Historian: Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism*, ed. Richard E. Friedman (Chico, Calif.: Scholars, 1983), 117-31; Steven L. McKenzie, *King David: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 25-46, especially 38-44.

¹⁸⁵ See Dennis C. Duling, “The Promises to David and their Entrance into Christianity – Nailing Down a Likely Hypothesis,” *New Testament Studies* 19 (1973): 55-77; Philip Z. Satterthwaite, “David in the Books of Samuel: A Messianic Hope?” in *The Lord’s Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite and Richard S. Hess (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 41-65; Nahum Sarna, “Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis,” in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann, Brandeis University Studies and Texts, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 29-46.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix 5. And see S. E. Johnson, “The Davidic-Royal Motif in the Gospels,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 87 (1968): 136-50; J. J. M. Roberts, “The Old Testament’s Contribution to Messianic Expectations,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1992), 39-51; Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Concepts of *mašiah* and Messianism in Early Judaism,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1992), 79-115.

tradition may be seen clearly in Qumran literature.¹⁸⁷ The Davidic Messiah of 11QPs^a corresponds to the hope expressed in various Qumran manuscripts that explicitly express a Davidic messianism. The Davidic tradition contributes significantly to the messianic expectations of the Dead Sea Scrolls, just as it does to that found in the Old Testament Prophets. Not all of the eschatology of the Scrolls is messianic, nor is all of the Qumran messianic material Davidic, but it appears that the Davidic tradition is one of the most important scriptural sources for the future hopes of the Qumran community.

G. משיח at Qumran

One sees in the differing Qumran texts that use the term משיח what may be three main developments beyond earlier Old Testament usage.¹⁸⁸ In addition to the application of the title to prophets of old (see, e.g., 1 QM 11:7-8¹⁸⁹; 6Q15 (6QD) 3:4¹⁹⁰; CD 2:12¹⁹¹; 5:21-6:24¹⁹²), the term משיח is also clearly used in the sense of an expected or future Messiah. The third development is the expectation of other figures along with the Messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel. The usage to refer to a future Messiah demonstrates that the term had already become titular in Judaism, referring to an expected or eschatological anointed agent of YHWH to be sent for the good of His people. Many of these texts were written or copied not long after the final redaction of the Book of Daniel¹⁹³ and speak of one or two expected figures. This may be a development beyond the future reference found in Daniel 9:25, עַד-מְשִׁיחַ נָגִיד, “until messiah, a prince.” The scrolls provide ample evidence for the expectation of a Davidic Messiah, described along the lines of the Messiah in the *Psalms of Solomon*. It may be that a priestly dominance characterized Qumran messianism during its

¹⁸⁷ See Appendices 5, 6, and 7.

¹⁸⁸ See Appendix 6.

¹⁸⁹ Jean Duhaime, “War Scroll (1QM, 1Q33),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Joseph M. Baumgarten (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994), 118-9.

¹⁹⁰ Joseph M. Baumgarten and Michael T. Davis, “Damascus Document Fragments (4QD, 5QD, 6QD),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and English Texts with English Translations*, vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1995), 78.

¹⁹¹ Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and English Texts with English Translations*, vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1995), 14-5.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 22-3.

¹⁹³ See John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, *Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 1-40; *Daniel: With an Introduction*, 2-24; *Apocalypticism*, 1-70.

“classic” period (from ca. 100 B.C.E. onward),¹⁹⁴ while various Cave 4 documents may suggest an increase in royal-Davidic expectation in the community’s later years (ca. 4 B.C.E. to 68 C.E.)¹⁹⁵

The following Qumran texts clearly show the belief in the coming of a Messiah, or two Messiahs, as prevalent among Essene Jews in Palestine of the last two centuries B.C.E.:

(1) 1QS 9:11¹⁹⁶

ונשפטו במשפטים הרשונים אשר
החלו אנשי היחד ל>ה<תיסר
בם עד בוא נביא ומשיח
אהרון וישראל

... but they shall be governed by the first regulations, by which the men of the community began to be instructed, until the coming of a prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel.

This expectation of a Messiah of Israel appears to be a natural development of the Old Testament promise of a future “David,” and also of the קְּמִיחַ נְגִיד of Daniel 9:25.

(2) 1QSa 2:11-12¹⁹⁷

... [זה מו]שב אנשי השם [קריאי] מועד
לעצת היחד אם יוליד [אל]
א[ת] המשיח אתם יבוא [ב]רואש כול
עדת ישראל וכול א[חיו בני] אהרין
הכהנים

[This is the as]sembly of the men of renown [summoned] to a meeting for the council of the community, when [God] will beget the Messiah among them. He will enter [at] the head of all the congregation of Israel and all [his] br[others, the sons] of Aaron, the priests.

(3) 1QSa 2:14-15¹⁹⁸

ואחר י[שב מש]יח ישראל וישבו לפניו
ראשי א[לפי ישראל אי]ש לפי כבודו

¹⁹⁴ See Jean Starcky, “Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumran,” *Review Biblique* 70 (1963): 481-505; James H. Charlesworth, “From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology: Some Caveats and Perspectives,” in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, ed. Jacob Neusner et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 225-64.

¹⁹⁵ See Duling, “The Promises,” 64; Fitzmyer, *The Semitic Background*, 139; J. Liver, “The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs in Sectarian Literature in the Time of the Second Commonwealth,” *Harvard Theological Review* 52 (1959): 149-85.

¹⁹⁶ Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, “Rule of the Community (1QS),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 1, *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Frank M. Cross (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994), 40-1.

¹⁹⁷ D. Barthélemy, et al., eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 1, *Qumran Cave I* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 110; James H. Charlesworth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Rule of the Congregation (1QSa),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 1, *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Frank M. Cross (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994), 116-7.

¹⁹⁸ *DJD I*, 110, 117-8; “Rule of the Congregation,” 110, 116-7.

And afterwards the [Mes]siah of Israel will ta[ke his seat]. Then there will sit before him the heads of the th[ousands of Israel, ea]ch according to his dignity.

(4) 1QSa 2:20-21¹⁹⁹

ואח[ר יש]לח משיח ישראל ידיו בלחם

And afterwards the Messiah of Israel will put forth his hands to the bread.

It may be that הכוהן, “the priest” (2:19) is the Messiah of Aaron (1QS 9:11)²⁰⁰ and together with the Messiah of Israel is expected to preside over a banquet באחרית הימים, “at/in the latter days.” The priest and the Messiah of Israel may represent an explicit messianic development of בני היצָהָר, “the two sons of oil,” of Zechariah 4:14.²⁰¹

(5) 4Q252 (4QpGen^a) 1, 5:3-4²⁰²

(vacat) [ואל]פי ישראל המה הדגלים
עד בוא משיח הצדק צמח /
דויד כי לו ולזרעו נתנה ברית
מלכות עמו עד דורות עולם ...

... and the thousands of Israel are “the standards” until the coming of the righteous Messiah (the annointed one of righteousness), the Scion/Branch of David. For to him and to his offspring has been given the covenant of kingship over/of His people for everlasting generations.

Here the term צמח “Scion” or “Branch” is explicitly joined with “David” and related to the coming of the Messiah, to whom is attributed “righteousness,” as it is to the Scion/Branch in Jeremiah 23:5 (והקמתי לדוד צמח צדיק), “I will raise up for David a righteous branch/scion”).²⁰³ In this commentary on Genesis 49:10, שליט, “a ruler,” is added to the text. Thus, 4Q252 1, 5:1 reads [לן] א יסור שליט משבט יהודה, “A ruler shall not depart from the tribe of Judah.” That person is further identified in line 2 as יושב כסא לדויד, “one sitting upon the throne of David.” This addition then prepares the way for the reference, in line 3 (above) to a kingly and Davidic Messiah, whose appearance will mark the eschaton. This messianic interpretation of Genesis 49:10 shows “how the implicit thrust of the Old Testament thus finally comes to explicit formulation.”²⁰⁴

The mention of צמח דויד, “the Branch/Shoot of David,” correlates to the person

¹⁹⁹ *DJD 1*, 111, 117-8; “Rule of the Congregation,” 110, 116-7.

²⁰⁰ Collins, *The Scepter*, 76.

²⁰¹ Fitzmyer, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 86.

²⁰² See George J. Brooke, “252 4QCommentary on Genesis A,” in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, vol. 22, *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George J. Brooke and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 185-207; “The Genre of 4Q252: From Poetry to Peshet,” *Dead Sea Discoveries 1* (1994): 160-79; Joseph L. Trafton, “Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252=4QComGenA),” in *DSS 6B*, 203-19.

²⁰³ See Appendices 5 and 6.

²⁰⁴ Fitzmyer, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 88. See Appendix 7.

referred to in 4Q174 1-2, 21, 1:11, the commentary on Psalms 1-2 and 2 Samuel,²⁰⁵ which speaks of YHWH's establishing forever the royal throne of one to whom he will be father and whom he will regard as his son:

הואה צמח דויד העומד עם דורש
התורה אשר [...] בציון באחרית הימים

He is the Branch/Scion of David who is to arise with the Interpreter of the Law, who [...] in Zion in the last days.

The "Branch/Scion of David" of 4Q174, a reflection on Psalms 1-2 and 2 Samuel, which alludes to Jeremiah 23:5, 33:15, and Psalm 132:17, should be understood as the same expected messianic figure in 4Q252. Thus, both 4Q174 and 4Q252 witness to a significant development in Jewish history and look to the day when YHWH will raise up for Israel a new Davidic Messiah.²⁰⁶ At this stage of development, the "Branch/Scion of David" is the same as משיח ישראל.²⁰⁷

(6) CD 14:18-19²⁰⁸

וזה פרוש המשפטים אשר [ישפטו
בהם בקץ הרשעה עד עמוד משיח
אהרן וישראל ויכפר ערנם

This is the exact interpretation of the regulations [by] which [they will be judged in the wicked end-time, until the rising of the Mess]iah of Aaron and Israel, and he will expiate their iniquity.

In this text the singular משיח is followed by a singular verb (a form of this text is found in 4Q266 10:11-13).²⁰⁹

(7) CD 19:10²¹⁰

והנשארים ימסרו לחרב בבוא משיח
אהרן וישראל

And those who are left will be given over to the sword at the coming of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel.

The singular Messiah appears and his appearance marks the time of eschatological visitation.

²⁰⁵ See Allegro, *DJD* 5, 248-63; Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 204; Milgrom, "Florilegium," 248-63.

²⁰⁶ See Appendices 5 and 6.

²⁰⁷ Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 72. In 4Q161 (4QpIsa^a) 7-10, 3:22, צמח is restored to produce another instance of the Branch/Scion of David: [צמח] דויד העומד באח[רית הימים], "[the Branch/Scion of] David who arises at the en[d of days]." See *DJD* 5, 11-15 and plates 4-5; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 70-86; "Isaiah Peshar 4 (4Q161=4QpIsa^a)," in *DSS 6B*, 97. 4Q161 preserves portions of Isaiah 10:22-11:5. The Qumran interpretation applies Isaiah 11:1-5, which describes the shoot of Jesse, the Davidic Messiah, eschatologically. See Appendices 5, 6, and 7.

²⁰⁸ Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document," 56-7; Magen Broshi, ed., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992), 36-7.

²⁰⁹ See Joseph M. Baumgarten et. al, eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Dessert*, vol. 18, *Qumran Cave 4: XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 72.

²¹⁰ Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document," 30-1; Broshi, *Damascus Document*, 42-3.

(8) CD 19:35-20:1²¹¹

... מיום האסף {יור מורה} {מיום} מורה
היחיד עד עמוד משיח מאהרן
ומישראל

... from the day of the gathering in {erasures} of the Teacher of the Community (reading היחיד, not היחיד) until the rising of a Messiah from Aaron and from Israel.

Again one reads of the expectation of the rising of a singular Messiah marking the arrival of the end time.

(9) 4Q521 2, 2 + 4²¹²

[כי השמים והארץ ישמעו למשיחו]

[for the heavens and the earth will listen to His Messiah.

While this text goes on to differ from others that refer to the future משיח, it agrees with them in its expectation of a coming messianic figure.

(10) CD 7:15-16²¹³

... ואת כיון צלמיכם מאהלי דמשק []
ספרי התורה הם סוכת
המלך כאשר אמר והקימותי את סוכת
דוד הנופלת ...

And the foundation of your images beyond the tents of Damascus [Amos 5:27]. The books of the Law are the tents of the king, as it says, "I will re-erect the fallen tent of David [Amos 9:11]."

The meaning of this appeal to Amos 9 and its "fallen tent of David" becomes clear in the subsequent interpretation of CD 7:17-21. The prophecy of Amos is understood to anticipate the appearance of the Davidic Messiah who will, along with the כוכב, "star," who interprets the Law, rise as the שֶׁבֶט, "scepter," foretold in Numbers 24:17, and shatter Israel's enemies.²¹⁴ Although there is nothing explicitly Davidic about the prophecy in Numbers 24, its association here with Amos 9 suggests that it was so understood in the *Damascus Document*. Appeals elsewhere to Numbers 24 in Qumran literature support and clarify this interpretation.²¹⁵ This same passage from Amos 9 is cited in Acts 15:14-18.

²¹¹ Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document," 32-5; Broshi, *Damascus Document*, 44-7.

²¹² See Émile Puech, ed., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 25, *Qumrân Grotte 4: XVIII. Textes Hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 10; "Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)," *Revue de Qumrân* 60 (1992): 475-519; John J. Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994): 98-112.

²¹³ Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document," 26-7.

²¹⁴ See Appendices 5, 6, and 7. For discussion see Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 63-4. A similar interpretation of Numbers 24:17 is attested in the LXX and in the *Testament of Judah* 24:1-6. Also see 4Q175 and 1QM 11:6-7.

²¹⁵ For discussion, see Craig A. Evans, "David in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, *Journal for the Study of the*

(11) 4Q161 8-10, 3:15-23²¹⁶

[ויצא הוטר מגו]ע[ן] ישי ונצר משו[ן]רשיו
יפרה ונח]ה עלו ר' [וח] ...
22 [217] דויד העומד באח[ר]רית הימים

15²¹⁸ [There will come forth a Shoot from the st]ump of Jesse, and a branch
[will grow] out of [his] ro[ots. And] on him [will re]st the sp[irit of] ...
22 [...] David, who will take (his) stand in the lat[ter days ...]

This reference is to an eschatological Davidic king, a Davidic Messiah who plays a prominent role in the final battle against the *Kittim*. Again, messianic titles and prophetic allusions are correlated - the “Branch of David” mentioned by Jeremiah is identified with the Shoot from the stump of Jesse (Isaiah 11:1-5). It is in light of this commentary on Isaiah that the *War Rule Scroll's* (1QM, 4QM) view of the future may be read.

In 4Q285 5, 2:2-6, Isaiah 10:34-11:1 is similarly appropriated in a description of a messianic figure who will conquer Israel's enemies in the latter days.²¹⁹ While the word משיח does not occur in 4Q285, its צמח דויד, “Branch of David” is a reference, like in 4Q174 and 4Q252, to the expected Davidic Messiah, משיח הצדק, “the righteous Messiah” of 4Q252.

(12) 11Q13 2:18²²⁰

והמבשר הו[א]ה [משיח הרו]ח
אשר אמר דנ[א]ל עליו עד משיח נגיד
שבועים שבעה ומבשר[ר]

And “the messenger” i[s] the anointed of the spir[it about] whom Dan[iel] said, [“Until (the coming) of an anointed one, a leader, (there shall be) seven weeks.”²²¹ And “the messenger of]

Melchizedek, the messianic deliverer and eschatological judge of 11Q13, is described by appropriating and linking Isaiah 52:7 and Daniel 9:25b.²²² Melchizedek's role is derived

Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 192; Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 63-4. Also see Appendices 6 and 7.

²¹⁶ *DJD* 5, 11-15 and plates 4-5; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 70-86; “Isaiah Peshar 4,” 94-7. See Appendices 5, 6, and 7.

²¹⁷ Perhaps restore [פּשֶׁר הַפְּחָגִם עַל צִמְחָה] following Allegro except for הפּחָגִם. See *DJD* 5, 11-15 and Horgan, “Isaiah Peshar 4,” 96.

²¹⁸ Lines 15-20 preserve a quotation from Isaiah 11:1-5; restorations generally follow the MT. Horgan, “Israel Peshar 4,” 96; Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 57-8.

²¹⁹ See Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “Messianic Hope and 4Q285: A Reassessment,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 113 (1994): 81-91; *DJD* 5, 13-5; Evans, “David,” 193; Fitzmyer, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 101-3; Appendices 5 and 6.

²²⁰ Hebrew text and translation are from J. J. M. Roberts, “Melchizedek (11Q13=11QMelch),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6B, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Henry W. L. Rietz (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2002), 269.

²²¹ Quotation of Daniel 9:25b.

²²² 11Q13 2:15-19; The messiah of Daniel 9 is linked to the messenger of Isaiah 52:7. See Lim,

from an interpretation of Psalm 82,²²³ and he is said to proclaim an emancipation to release the sons of God from the burden of their sins.²²⁴

H. Psalms as Prophecy in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Among the many allusions to Psalms and imitations of psalmody in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha perhaps the most significant prophetic citation of a Psalm is found in 1 Maccabees 7:16-17.²²⁵ The text reads: “So they trusted him; but he seized sixty of them and killed them in one day, in accordance with the word which was written (LXX: κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἔγραψεν αὐτόν), ‘The flesh of your saints and their blood they poured out round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.’” This quotation, from the LXX of an exilic lament, Psalm 79:2-3 (LXX 78:2-3), is used in order to glorify the “saints” (סַדִּיקִים), who had been persecuted for their faith. In Maccabean times these would have been understood as the “Hasidim,” or separated ones.²²⁶ The appropriation of this Psalm to describe current events as part of “the word which was written” is a certain indication that Psalm 79 is now seen as prophecy in the process of being fulfilled, like a *pesher* reading in the Dead Sea Scrolls. As Devorah Dimant comments, “The contemporary situation is read into the Psalm, which is apparently considered as a prophecy.”²²⁷

Psalms of Solomon 17 is another example of the appropriation of the Psalms as oracles being fulfilled.²²⁸ This psalm, similar in tone and argument to Psalm 89, announces the trials of a new age, in the context of Pompey’s capture of Jerusalem and exile of

“11QMelch,” 92.

²²³ See discussion on pages 198, 207.

²²⁴ 11Q13 2:6.

²²⁵ 1 Maccabees 7:16-17 appears to be a reminiscence of Psalm 79:2-3. 1 Maccabees 1:36-40 also draws from community laments, e.g., Psalms 44, 74, and 79. For a survey of the use of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran, see Peter W. Flint, “‘Apocrypha,’ Other Previously-Known Writings, and ‘Pseudepigrapha’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 2, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 24-66.

²²⁶ From previous context in 1 Maccabees 7, the “saints” were more specifically Jewish scribes who had come to the Seleucid governor Bacchides to plead for peace, but who had then been treacherously murdered.

²²⁷ Devorah Dimant, “Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1988), 391. Also see U. Rappaport, “A Note on the Use of the Bible in 1 Maccabees,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May 1996*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 175-79.

²²⁸ The *Psalms of Solomon* probably emanated from proto-Pharasaical circles ca. 60 B.C.E. See David Flusser, “Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo and Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1984), 573; Géza Vermès, *Jesus the Jew* (London: Collins, 1973), 130; Holladay, *Psalms*, 97-8; Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty*, 267.

Aristobulus II, before the coming of the Messiah. Royal Psalms such as 89:3-4 and 132:11-12 are recalled and used in a prophetic sense: David's kingdom is promised to last forever (*Psalms of Solomon* 17:4) and the time is coming when the new "son of David"²²⁹ will be raised up as promised (*Psalms of Solomon* 17:21). Just as the Davidic kings are divinely appointed, so the coming deliverer, fulfilling the line of David, will bring a new world order. The hope for the punishment of sinners "with an iron rod" (*Psalms of Solomon* 17:24) and the hope for their flight at the king's rebuke (*Psalms of Solomon* 17:25) are in accord with the promises as understood as being made to David in Psalm 2:9-10: "You shall break them with a rod of iron ... be warned, O rulers of the earth." In these texts with their apocalyptic influence, the messianic figure from the Davidic line in the royal "Psalms of David" becomes a messianic figure for all time.²³⁰ Thus, the present age is a witness to the fulfillment of the prophetic promises made in the Psalms of/for David (*Psalms of Solomon* 17:23-42).

Messianism may be viewed as important in other texts from the Herodian period forward as seen explicitly in *1 Enoch* 37-71,²³¹ the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (2 *Baruch*),²³² 2 *Esdras*,²³³ the *Third and Fifth Sybilline Oracles*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In narrative books such as the Greek *Esther*,²³⁴ *Judith*,²³⁵ *Tobit*,²³⁶ and 1-2 *Maccabees* the overthrow of Israel's enemies is stressed, often based on Psalms being understood as prophecy awaiting fulfillment. For example, the books of *Maccabees* present kings and high priests in a light that shows how messianic expectation would be fulfilled.²³⁷ While 1 *Maccabees* 2:49-70 lists examples for the sons of Mattathias, the patriarch of the Hasmoneans, the stress on David appears to assimilate the former David to the expected future son of David.²³⁸ Later, like *1 Enoch*²³⁹ and the *Fifth Sybilline Oracle*,

²²⁹ Also see Mark 10:47-48; Matthew 1:1-17; 9:27; 15:22; 21:9, 15; Luke 1:32; 2:4; 3:23-38; Acts 13:22-23; Romans 1:3-4; Revelation 5:5; 22:16; Appendix 8.

²³⁰ This king is described in language also drawn from Isaiah 11:2, 4 (verses 24, 37) and Ezekiel 34 (verse 40). See Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 276-83; Gillingham, "From Liturgy to Prophecy," 487-8; Appendix 8.

²³¹ Regarding a Davidic king see *1 Enoch* 49:3; 62:2; cf. Psalm 2:2; Isaiah 11:2-4; 48:8, 10. Regarding the servant of God see *1 Enoch* 48:1-6; 49:4; cf. Isaiah 49:1-6; 42:1; *1 Enoch* 62-63; cf. Isaiah 52-3.

²³² See 4-5 (cf. Deuteronomy 32 and Isaiah 60).

²³³ See especially 2 *Esdras* 13:39-40. Also note that like the *Psalms of Solomon*, explicit mention of a messianic leader occurs amidst an emphasis on deliverance by God himself.

²³⁴ See 13:9, 5 (cf. Psalm 47:6-9); 14:3, 8-12 (cf. Psalm 95:13); 17 (cf. Deuteronomy 32:38).

²³⁵ See 16:2-17 (cf. Psalm 96; Exodus 15; 1 Samuel 17:47; 2 Chronicles 20:15; Deuteronomy 32:41-3; Isaiah 66:14-16, 24). Also see 9:8, 13; 10:8; 13:4; 15:9; 16:18-20.

²³⁶ See 13:1, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15.

²³⁷ See, e.g., 1 *Maccabees* 4:30 which praises Judas and Simon but still leaves room for a future divine deliverance; 2 *Maccabees* 2:17-18 where the priesthood is restored but a future ingathering into the sacred place is still to be fulfilled.

²³⁸ See especially 2:57 (cf. 2 Chronicles 6:42; LXX Isaiah 9:5-6; *Psalms of Solomon* 17:32-7). For discussion see Horbury, *Jewish Messianism*, 56-7.

²³⁹ See 46:1; cf. Daniel 7:13-14.

2 Esdras 3-14 (*4 Ezra*) reflects the synthesis of Daniel 7 with the tradition of a Davidic Messiah.²⁴⁰ The Messiah of *4 Ezra* is symbolized by the lion of Judah's blessing in Genesis 49:10 and his deeds of victory and redemption are those expected of the Davidic Messiah of LXX Isaiah 11 and Psalms 2 and 110.²⁴¹ Here, Daniel's "son of man" is understood as the Davidic Messiah.²⁴²

As seen in the literature of the period, the Davidic dynasty tradition is interpreted in the Second Temple period in a variety of ways according to the intention of the literary work in which it is used. Reference to the Davidic dynasty tradition is not limited to "messianic" interpretations.²⁴³ However, in at least six texts from three communities of Palestinian provenance active between ca. 60 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. – *Psalms of Solomon* 17, 4Q252,²⁴⁴ 4Q174, 4Q161 (4QpIsa^a),²⁴⁵ 4Q521, and *4 Ezra* – the Davidic dynasty tradition is interpreted to explicitly express hope for a Davidic Messiah.²⁴⁶ These six texts, to the extent that they appropriate Scripture, read the contemporary situation into the Scripture used, which is apparently considered as a prophecy. While one finds different characteristics and functions ascribed to the Davidic Messiah in these texts there is a generally consistent portrayal of this figure in the four texts from Qumran.

The hope of *Psalms of Solomon* 17 is based on an interpretation of the Davidic dynasty tradition that posits an eternally valid dynastic promise on the basis of which God would raise up an ideal Davidic king – a king who would rule Israel and the world. In 4Q252, Genesis 49:10 is read in terms of an everlasting Davidic covenant, on the basis of which the Messiah of Righteousness, the Branch of David, would come. 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:10-13 interprets 2 Samuel 7:11b-14 in conjunction with Amos 9:11a to reveal the coming Branch of David, who would stand with the Interpreter of the Law and take office to save Israel. On the basis of Isaiah 11:1-5, 4Q161 8-10, 3:11-29 speaks of a militant Davidic figure whose sword would judge the nations, especially the *Kittim*. Isaiah 11:3b is reinterpreted in order to place the judging activities of the Davidic Messiah under the guidance and supervision of the priests. In 4Q521, the Davidic Messiah is identified with the Prince of the Congregation and depicted as the leader of the Sons of Light in the

²⁴⁰ See 2 Esdras 12:11, 34; cf. 7:33. Also see 13:1-53.

²⁴¹ See especially 13:1-53.

²⁴² This interpretation is already attested in *1 Enoch*, perhaps from the beginning of the Herodian period. This understanding may imply the pre-existence of the Messiah as suggested by Psalm 110:3 and Micah 5:1. For discussion see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, vol. 1, ed. Klaus Balzer, Hermeneia Commentary (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001), 7, 58, 83, 119, 407.

²⁴³ See Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty*, 265-71.

²⁴⁴ See Trafton, "Commentary," 203-19.

²⁴⁵ See Horgan, "Isaiah Peshet 4," 83-98.

²⁴⁶ See Appendices 5, 6, and 7.

eschatological war against the *Kittim*. In particular, the Branch of David executes judgment against the nations and kills the king of the *Kittim*.²⁴⁷ In *4 Ezra* 12:32, the Messiah in the eagle vision is said to come from the seed of David. The role of this Messiah is to deliver Israel from the oppressive rule of the nations and to gather the remnant of Israel. This Davidic Messiah is described as pre-existent and performs a similar role as the cosmic Messiah in *4 Ezra* 13, the man from the sea.

While Davidic messianism would eventually become “traditional” in both rabbinic Judaism and in Christianity, Second Temple Judaism does not exhibit a standard messianic expectation. Instead, one finds different biblical models of kingship reflected in Jewish thought on royal messiahs. In the early Jewish period, messianism rooted in the Davidic dynasty tradition is largely represented by reflection on the Psalms and on related texts associated with David.

In summary, in the earliest stage of reflection on the Psalms, represented by the biblical prophets from the exilic period onwards, the Psalm forms are imitated and psalmic language is borrowed in order to create a general vision for the future. The transitional stage, when the Psalter as a whole is viewed with a more general future-oriented focus, marks the beginnings of the canonical process of both psalmody and prophecy, and reflects the influence of a developing eschatological worldview and hence a prophetic bias in the reading of the Psalms.²⁴⁸ In the time of the exilic and post-exilic writers (e.g., Ezekiel, Second Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Nehemiah) one begins to read of YHWH’s intervention on behalf of David and his dynasty as the continuation of his salvific deeds recalled in Israel’s ancient texts. Here, one begins to see the fusion of eschatology and Davidic messianism.²⁴⁹ The latest stage represents the use of biblical texts from Maccabean times onwards; this is when specific Psalms are cited as proof texts in the same way as are prophetic texts, in order to announce the arrival of a new age.²⁵⁰ Throughout, one sees current circumstances and ideologies of interpreters read into ancient Psalms.

²⁴⁷ Whereas the ideal king in the Temple Scroll and the Messiah of Israel are not described as Davidic figures, the Prince of the Congregation is portrayed as a Davidic Messiah in texts that appear to be dated from the Herodian period. It may be that an explicitly Davidic messianism emerged at Qumran during the Herodian period.

²⁴⁸ See Horbury, *Jewish Messianism*, 25-35; Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism*, 120-3, 129-30; 145-6; Gillingham, “From Liturgy to Prophecy,” 488.

²⁴⁹ See Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism*, 120-3; Horbury, *Jewish Messianism*, 27-35.

²⁵⁰ Along with the promise of a future “David,” who will reign as king and deal righteously with YHWH’s people, there is formulated the coming of a מָשִׁיחַ, “an anointed one,” that is a future anointed agent of YHWH to be sent on behalf of His people. This is seen in Daniel 9:25: מִן־מִצְאָה דְבַר לְהָשִׁיב וּלְבָנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם: “... from the utterance of a word to restore and build Jerusalem until [the coming of] an anointed one, a prince.” This passage in Daniel is part of the prophecy about the restoration of Jerusalem, an explanation

Thus, in the late Hellenistic period the Psalms are cited explicitly as prophetic texts. A recognizable “core” of psalmody having been established, Psalms now provide specific illustrations of the present fulfillment of promises. In the time between the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167 B.C.E. and the capture of Jerusalem in 63 C.E., the Psalms are seen not only as hymns and prayers to be used as a resource for faith in the present crisis, but also as prophetic assurances that these are אַחֲרֵי־יָמַי, “the latter days,” embodying promises of an age of salvation about to break in.

In this period, eschatology is “now dressed up in apocalyptic guise, in order to give it an immediate reference to the writer’s own time.”²⁵¹ The heightened sense of expectation, which characterizes this reinterpretation, is especially noticable in the *pesharim* and in the *Hôdāyôt*, which contain citations of and verbal allusions to the Prophets and Psalms. In this time of intense apocalyptic eschatological expectation the form of kingship assumes great importance over against the claims of the Hasmonean rulers. Messianic prophecies come into prominence²⁵² on an apocalyptic eschatological horizon of understanding.

I. The Appropriation of Psalm 16 before Luke-Acts

Psalm 16’s journey into its key role in the arguments of Acts 2:14-36 and Acts 13:16-41 appears to have been a long one. The Dead Sea Psalms scrolls represent the most ancient primary witnesses to the text of the MT-150 Psalter. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls the Psalms are represented more than any other work, which may indicate the importance of the Psalter for the Qumran community. The text of Psalm 16 appears in three of the Dead Sea Scrolls Psalms manuscripts: 4Q85 (4QPs^c), 5/6HevPsalms, and 4Q177.

In 4QPs^c, Psalm 16:7-10, as preserved in Fragment 1, is similar to the MT-150 Psalter text with only a minor difference of orthography.²⁵³ The manuscript is inscribed in a

of an oracle from Jeremiah (25:11-12; 29:10). The title מָשִׁיחַ is used as a title in a temporal prepositional phrase expressing a future “anointed one.”

²⁵¹ Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 276. See Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 71-90. For example, the later chapters of Daniel contain expressions of lament from Jeremiah and use visual images drawn from Ezekiel. Also see Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 62-74, under his category of “Apocalyptic-Eschatological Scriptures”; Appendices 2 and 3.

²⁵² E.g., *Testament of Levi* 18 is seen to apply Isaiah 11:1-9 to the coming Messiah. *Testament of Judah* 24:1-3 alludes to Psalm 45 and Zechariah 9:9, and the fragment following *Testament of Judah* 24:5 makes reference to Isaiah 11:1 and Psalm 45:6. The Davidic Messiah appears plainly in both *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and 18. See Appendices 5, 6, and 7.

²⁵³ See Eugene Ulrich et al., eds. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 16, *Qumran Cave 4:11 (Psalms to Chronicles)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 49; Chapter 2. While minor, this difference is unknown among extant manuscripts of the MT family.

late Herodian hand.²⁵⁴ The surviving fragments of 5/6HevPsalms preserve Psalm 16's superscription in column 7, line 4. A late Herodian date (ca. 50-68 C.E.) seems appropriate.²⁵⁵ 4Q177 represents a collection of exegetical observations based on citations and allusions to biblical passages.²⁵⁶

The Psalms are interpreted in 4Q177 using a *peshet* formula, and quotations from the Psalms are supplemented by quotations or allusions from biblical prophets. 4Q177 also explicitly mentions "the book of the Torah" and the "book of Ezekiel the prophet."²⁵⁷ The author's comprehension of Scripture is plain: it is YHWH's own word, once written by the prophets, including David who is the supposed author of the Psalms. The reflections on prophetic writings are oriented by *אחרית הימים*, "the latter days," which have already begun, but whose final consummation is still longed for.²⁵⁸ 4Q177 contains a series of observations oriented within *אחרית הימים* when the righteous *קדושים* will triumph over their enemies. The central theme of 4Q177 may be understood as a triumphal messianism that encompasses divine vengeance on oppressors and an ingathering to Zion, which is based on an eternal hope in relationship with YHWH.²⁵⁹ The biblical proof texts are mainly the superscriptions and first verses of Psalms with allusions to other apocalyptic passages.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁴ For discussion, see Frank M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. Ernest Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961); and for examples see Frank M. Cross, "Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, 2 vols., ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998-99), 1:379-402; *DJD* 16, 50.

²⁵⁵ Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Texts from Nahal Şe'elim (Wadi Seiyal)," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Madrid, 1991, vol. 2, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 663; Yigael Yadin, "Expedition D," *Israel Exploration Journal* 11 (1961): 40.

²⁵⁶ Pending the reissue of *DJD* 5, the reconstruction of 4Q177 by Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 71-6, will be followed. Steudel numbers the five columns from VIII to XII based on her conclusion that 4Q177 is a continuation of 4Q174. Steudel's conclusion as to the relationship between 4Q174 and 4Q177 will not be followed in this work, although 4Q177 is considered to be similar to 4Q174. See Appendices 9 and 10 for the texts, adapted from Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 57-124. Also see Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 236-48.

²⁵⁷ Additionally, Annette Steudel tentatively suggests reading *הַנְּבִיאִים בְּסֵפֶר* in 4Q177 fragments 5, 6, 8, line 9 (cf. line 11). Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 71, 77. Timothy H. Lim suggests reconstructing to *בְּסֵפֶר הַתְּהִלִּים* as an interpretive comment on the preceding lemma of Psalm 11:1. Lim, "The Alleged Reference," 31.

²⁵⁸ See Annette Steudel, "Eschatological Interpretation of Scripture in 4Q177 (4QCatena^a)," *Revue de Qumrân* 53 (1990): 473-81; "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *Revue de Qumrân* 61 (1993): 225-46; "4QMidrEschat: 'A Midrash on Eschatology,'" in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 1991*, vol. 2, 531-41, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner (Leiden: Brill, 1992); *Der Midrasch*; Jacob Milgrom and Lidija Novakovic, "Catena A (4Q177=4QCat^a)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6B, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Henry W. L. Rietz (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2002), 286-304.

²⁵⁹ Cf. the explicitly messianic ingatherings of *Psalms of Solomon* 17:26, 42-44 and 2 Esdras 13:39-40 (2 Esdras 3-14 = the *Apocalypse of Ezra* [4 Ezra] probably completed in its present form under Domitian). See Chapter 4.

²⁶⁰ See Appendix 10 for annotated references.

Paleographically, 4Q177 is written in the “rustic semiformal” script, which is found in several documents from the early Herodian time, but is typical of the late Herodian manuscripts.²⁶¹ Therefore, 4Q177 may be dated either in the early Herodian²⁶² or late Herodian period.²⁶³ 4Q177 contains numerous expressions that are characteristic of the Qumran documents. In form and in commenting on the introductory verses of several Psalms, 4Q177 resembles 4Q174, part of which is a midrash on Psalms 1 and 2.²⁶⁴ Annette Steudel offers an elaborate proposal that 4Q174 and 4Q177 represent different parts of a single composition, which she calls an “eschatological midrash” (4QMdrEschat^{a,b}).²⁶⁵ While Steudel’s analysis clarifies that 4Q174 and 4Q177 are similar compositions, her thesis that 4Q174 and 4Q177 preserve different parts of the same composition remains possible, but not conclusive (since there are no textual overlaps). Several textual differences from the MT family demonstrate that other text traditions may have been used.²⁶⁶

Linguistic features of Psalm 16 lead one to conclude that MT Psalm 16 has been based on older traditions. Psalm 16 contains a large Canaanite, and especially Phoenician, substrate, being expressed partly by the appearance of word pairs common to it and Canaanite.²⁶⁷ Psalm 16 contains words (e.g., בַּל, נָצַח, and תַּחַֿשׁ) that are part of the particular diction of biblical poetry,²⁶⁸ and may be a northern composition based on several linguistic features that appear to represent aspects of a northern dialect of Hebrew.²⁶⁹ Psalm 16’s significant literary features confirm its sharing in ancient Syro-Palestinian poetic traditions. The poet of Psalm 16 uses traditional material, literary motifs, and stylistic techniques common to other Northwest Semitic languages. Psalm 16 appears to employ a variegated but heterogeneous language reflecting an early stage of Hebrew, as evidenced by its relatively dense cluster of northern, or Israelite, Hebrew features. Instances of what have become known as features of archaic biblical Hebrew suggest a closer affinity in language and style with northern dialects.

²⁶¹ Cross, “Development,” 139 and 175.

²⁶² See Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 236.

²⁶³ See Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 59.

²⁶⁴ See Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 236-48.

²⁶⁵ See Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 57-70; “4QMdrEschat.”

²⁶⁶ See Appendix 10.

²⁶⁷ Yitzhak Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literature* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1984), 461. See Chapter 2.

²⁶⁸ See Tsevat, *A Study*, 16, 18, 20.

²⁶⁹ See Gary A. Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1990), 29-33; Ángel Rodríguez, “Datación y ‘Sitz im Leben’ del Sal 16,” *Revista Biblica Italiana* 42 (1994): 385-408; Chapter 2.

In terms of form and structure, Psalm 16's *Gattung* is that of a *Vertrauenspsalm* ("psalm of confidence") along with Psalms 4, 11, 23, 27:1-6, 62, and 131.²⁷⁰ A "certainty of having been heard" characterizes Psalm 16, which is in part due to a *Heilsorakel* ("divine message") in verse 7.²⁷¹ The form and language of the psalmist intimately expresses confidence in YHWH's provision. As seen in the concluding verse 11, a theme of trust dominates. Psalm 16 contains structural markers such as verbal forms and recurrences indicating the function of verse 1b to be an introduction and verse 11 to be a conclusion. Based on the employment of verbal forms, compositions, adverbial particles, and structural word pairs, the body of Psalm 16 appears to be laid out in two main sections, verses 2-6 and verses 7-10. The center of section one may be understood as verses 3-4a and the center of section two as verse 9. The unity of Psalm 16's composition is suggested by its structural markers. No textual, linguistic, formal, or structural evidence suggests a composite Psalm.²⁷²

While the LXX Psalter exhibits a growing Davidic messianism from a heightened eschatological orientation, the translation of Psalm 16 (LXX 15) itself may not contain any clear and distinct evidence of the LXX's contributions to these evolving traditions. Schaper asserts that two LXX renderings of Psalm 16 exhibit a new promise of personal, bodily resurrection:²⁷³

1. From the Hebrew בְּבִטְחוֹן "in security," to $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota$ "upon hope" (verse 9);
2. From the Hebrew בְּיָמִין "pit," to $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ "destruction, physical corruption" (verse 10).

However, in both cases the LXX renderings are widely attested standard Hebrew-Greek equations.²⁷⁴ While $\text{בְּיָמִין}/\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ "corruption," may be an extension beyond earlier Old Testament concepts of afterlife, the religious vocabulary of second and first century B.C.E.

²⁷⁰ Herman Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel*, trans. James D. Nogalski (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 121. Leopold Sabourin also includes Psalm 3. Leopold Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (New York: Alba House, 1974), 2:90.

²⁷¹ Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 125.

²⁷² See Girard, *Les Psaumes*; Auffret, "C'est pourquoi"; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*; and Chapter 3 for analysis.

²⁷³ Schaper, *Eschatology*, 48-50. Schaper follows the work of Ernst Haenchen, who asserts that the LXX renderings are very free and are unwarranted based on the Hebrew texts. In the case of $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$, Haenchen asserts a mistranslation – making an erroneous derivation of בְּיָמִין (a pit) from בְּיָמִין (to spoil). Haenchen concludes that the Hebrew speaks only of preservation from death, the Greek of preservation from decomposition – and only the latter permits the christological interpretation in Acts. Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 182. See Sidney Jellicoe, "Hebrew-Greek Equivalents for the Nether World, Its Milieu and Inhabitants, in the Old Testament," *Textus* 8 (1973): 18, who also asserts a LXX mistranslation.

²⁷⁴ E.g., LEH, s.v. " $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota$ " and " $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ "; Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. " בְּיָמִין " and " $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ "; " בְּיָמִין " and " $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota$," which is a rendering particularly common in prophetic texts. LEH defines " $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ " as "a destruction, corruption (stereotyped equivalent of בְּיָמִין decay, pit, grave) Psalm 15(16):10." Also see Roland E. Murphy, "Šahat in the Qumran Literature," *Biblica* 39 (1958): 61-6, who concludes that "corruption" is a common meaning of בְּיָמִין at Qumran. See Chapter 3 for analysis and discussion.

Palestine broadly attests this meaning, as seen in Wisdom of Solomon 5:15-23, 4 Maccabees 9:20-22; 17:11-12; and 1QS 4:11-14.²⁷⁵ In general, the LXX translation of Psalm 16 seems to closely track the underlying predominant Hebrew word usages of its time.²⁷⁶ Thus, one may conclude that MT Psalm 16 would have been read like LXX Psalm 15 in its milieu. Therefore, the LXX translation of Psalm 16 may best be understood as witnessing to a then current reading of the underlying Hebrew text, not as a witness to a new exegesis of the Hebrew text.²⁷⁷ Based on the New Testament's quotations, it is clear that the LXX Psalter is the primary edition used by the New Testament authors.²⁷⁸

Most of the Jewish texts with which Luke-Acts shares ideologies reflect social, cultural, and religious conflict. These circumstances are the context for the apocalyptic eschatology that characterizes much of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity around the turn of the era. The appropriation of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts arises from this context of an apocalyptic eschatological worldview within a Judaism²⁷⁹ that understands itself to be experiencing *אחרית הימים*, awaiting the Davidic Messiah.

J. The Appropriation of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts

The New Testament writers share the assumptions made by the Qumran community that scriptural interpretation is possible only to those inspired by the Spirit of YHWH and that contemporary events form a key to the understanding of the biblical texts taken to be prophetic.²⁸⁰ Apocalyptic eschatological convictions pervade everything: the prophetic dimensions of the biblical texts are central, and the present is understood as the latter days and as a time of fulfilled promises (e.g., 1 Corinthians 10:11; Acts 2; Matthew 1-2; Luke 1-2,

²⁷⁵ Accordance, s.v. “שחור” and “διαφθορά.”

²⁷⁶ As appears to be the case with the LXX Psalter generally. See Chapters 3 and 4.

²⁷⁷ Contra Schaper, *Eschatology*, 48-50, 165-8.

²⁷⁸ See Appendices 11, 12, and 13.

²⁷⁹ Like the Qumran community and the Enochic group, the early Christians saw themselves as the true Israel, the eschatological community, reconstituted by the mediation of divine revelation. Their dualistic worldview included a cosmic conflict between the powers of good and evil and expected an imminent final judgment that would usher in a new age. Thus, the thoughtworld of the early Christians resembles that of an apocalyptic wing of Second Temple Judaism. See Chapter 5.

²⁸⁰ See, e.g., the instructions given to Habakkuk in 2:1-2 interpreted in this way (1QpHab 7:1-5) (although the [overall] eschatological views of the Qumran community and the early church are different). See Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, eds. *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 5-9; John J. Collins, “The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 74-90; Marinus de Jonge, *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 3-27, 164-79, 102-24; John Nolland, “Salvation-History and Eschatology,” in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 63-82; Craig A. Evans, “The Prophetic Setting of the Pentecost Sermon,” in *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 212-24.

etc.). In Paul and in John, it is explicitly stated that inspiration is required for a proper understanding of the biblical texts (2 Corinthians 3 and John 6). Therefore, New Testament interpretation can be designated as pneumatic and formulated by an apocalyptic eschatological orientation.²⁸¹ Thus, the emerging New Testament christology is seen as it is being pneumatically formed within an apocalyptic eschatological framework. New Testament interpretation, as summarized in 2 Corinthians 3:14, assumes that prophecy finds its fulfillment in the coming of Jesus and in the history of his followers. Since Jesus Christ is the key that opens up the meaning of the Old Testament, the early Christians assume some passages prophesied the coming of Jesus.²⁸² The earliest thinkers of Christianity declare that in the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ an act of absolute judgment and absolute redemption had occurred. This complex event becomes the center from which the whole history of the people of YHWH, both backwards and forwards in time, is to be understood.

The primary use of the Psalm citations in Luke-Acts is in a “fulfillment” manner to refer to passages which are understood as prophecies and find found their “fulfillment” in Jesus’ resurrection and in the related events now taking place.²⁸³ Evidently, Old Testament passages acknowledged as messianic in post-biblical Jewish tradition had already played a critical role in the development of the Christian exegesis seen in Luke-Acts.²⁸⁴

The scriptural program for “the Christ,” of which Jesus speaks twice in Luke 24, forms the thematic introduction to Acts. The centrality of Jesus’ identity as Messiah is stressed in the author’s presentation of Peter’s speech in Acts 2, in his prayer in Acts 4:24-30, and in Paul’s speech in Acts 13. Taken together, the speeches presented in the opening chapters of Acts construct a framework within which the story of the Book of Acts may be understood. The speeches of Acts construct this framework through interpretation of biblical texts. They flesh out Jesus’ thematic statement in Luke 24:44-47 that his death and resurrection as Christ, as well as the preaching of repentance and forgiveness to all nations,

²⁸¹ David E. Aune, “Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity,” in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 126-50; Max Turner, “The ‘Spirit of Prophecy’ as the Power of Israel’s Restoration and Witness,” in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 327-47.

²⁸² For an incisive discussion of 2 Corinthians 3, and its “new covenant hermeneutics,” see chapter 4 of Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

²⁸³ See Appendix 13. Also see William S. Kurz, “Promise and Fulfillment in Hellenistic Jewish Narratives and in Luke and Acts,” in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke’s Narrative Claim upon Israel’s Legacy*, ed. David P. Moessner, (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 1999), 147-70; and David Peterson, “The Motif of Fulfillment and the Purpose of Luke-Acts,” in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*. Vol. 1, *Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 83-104.

²⁸⁴ See Appendices 2, 3, 11, 12, and 13.

γέγραπται, “has been written.” In the speeches of Acts we see the biblical proof texts. The theme of YHWH’s fulfillment of messianic promises dominates the speeches and prayers of Acts 2, 3, 4, 7, and 13.

In Acts 2, the author shows that a new time of repentance is at hand during which “all who call upon the name of the Lord will be saved” (Acts 2:21). In the presentation of the argument of the Pentecost speech in Acts 2, Peter is seen using Joel 3:1-5, Psalm 16:8-11, Psalm 110:1, and Psalm 132:11 in a manner similar to *haggadic* midrash.²⁸⁵ Since these texts were fulfilled in Jesus’ resurrection, Jesus is to be worshiped as Messiah. In Acts 13, Paul is seen using Psalm 16:10, Psalm 2:7, Psalm 89:20, 1 Samuel 13:14, Isaiah 55:3, Habakkuk 1:5, and Isaiah 49:6 in in a similar fashion.²⁸⁶ In Acts 3, Peter is viewed demonstrating the power of faith “in the name of the Lord” by healing a lame man, while also warning his projected audience that those who do not heed the invitation to repentance will be ἐξολεθρευθήσεται, “rooted out” of the people of God. The basic christological image of the Messiah is still in view: “But God has thus fulfilled what he had foretold through the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ would suffer ... so that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus, who must remain in heaven until the time of universal restoration that God spoke long ago through the mouth of his holy prophets” (Acts 3:18, 20-21). Interestingly, in Acts 3 the Old Testament quotations are from the Pentateuch: Exodus 3:6, 15 (3:13), Deuteronomy 18:15-16 (3:22), Deuteronomy 18:19 (3:23a), Leviticus 23:29 (3:23b), and Genesis 22:18; 26:4 (3:25).

In Acts 4:11, Psalm 118:22 is used to declare Jesus’ resurrection and heavenly power. Jesus (Luke 20:17) and the early church (1 Peter 2:7) clearly applied Psalm 118:22 to the resurrection.²⁸⁷ In Peter’s prayer of Acts 4:24-30, the term *πάϊς* is used twice to speak of Jesus (Acts 4:27, 30), a rare occurrence in the New Testament, which seems to link servant imagery and royal ideology. In Acts 4:25 David is also called God’s *πάϊς* and the conduit through whom the Lord, by the Holy Spirit, spoke Psalm 2. Thus, the term *πάϊς* in the context of Acts 4 may be understood as royal language, appropriate to King David and to the Messiah. Peter’s prayer includes one quotation (Psalm 2:1-2) which speaks messianically of τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ... τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, “the Lord and his anointed.” In Acts 4:27-28, the quotation of LXX Psalm 2:1-2 is appropriated in a *peshet*-style interpretation. Peter’s prayer effectively offers God an interpretation of what Psalm 2 really means – as a point by point

²⁸⁵ See Appendices 12 and 13.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ And see Appendix 13 for usage of Psalm 118:22-26 in the Synoptics.

fulfillment of the Davidic prophecy. Like at Qumran, the text of Scripture is maintained and the elements in the text are aligned with events in the community's history.²⁸⁸

Stephen's speech in Acts 7 appears to complete the framework of the overall plan of the Book of Acts by locating the division that the apostles' preaching creates among Jews within Israel's own history. In recounting Israel's history, Stephen quotes Genesis 12:1; 15:13-4; 17:8; 48:4; Exodus 1:8; 2:14; 3:2, 5-8, 10, 12; 32:1, 23; Deuteronomy 18:15; Amos 5:25-7; and Isaiah 66:1-2. Stephen's speech rereads Scripture in a fashion that may be called a sort of targumic style – Luke follows the LXX diction in the telling of his own version of the story.²⁸⁹

Of the Psalm citations in the Book of Acts, several of the quotations are unique to the Book of Acts.²⁹⁰ The use of Psalm 2:1-2 is unique to Acts 4:25-26 (although Psalm 2:7, which is used in Acts 13:33, is quoted in Hebrews 1:5 and 5:5).²⁹¹ The unique quotation of Psalm 109:8 with Psalm 69:25 in Acts 1:20 is used as scriptural explanation, also by way of fulfilled prophecy, of Judas' betrayal and death. The use of Psalm 69, as in John 2:17; 15:25, and Romans 11:9-10; 15:3, presupposes the Psalm's prior messianic use such that this text is assumed to be relevant to the rejection of Christ. The surprising interpretation of Psalm 16:8-11 which underlies its unique New Testament usage in the programmatic speeches of Acts 2 and Acts 13 is supported by appeal to Psalm 132:11 and Psalm 110:1 (as well as to Joel 3:1-5) in Acts 2, and by appeal to Psalm 89:20 and Psalm 2:7 (as well as to 1

²⁸⁸ Since Acts 4:23-31 lacks the *pesher* formula, it will be considered similar to the Qumran *pesherim* in interpretive style but not as an equivalent form. See footnote 140 above. The *pesher* of 4Q171 parallels the interpretation of Scripture in Acts 4:23-31. See Horgan, "Psalm Peshier 1," 6-24; *DJD* 5, 42-50. Also see Chapter 5.

²⁸⁹ See Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 82; Chapter 5. Acts 7 may be understood more broadly as an example of the "Rewritten Bible" genre (along with, e.g., Deuteronomy 15:12-18; 16:1-8; 1, 2 Chronicles, Psalm 78, 105, 106; Hebrews 11; Sirach, *Jubilees*, Wisdom of Solomon, *1 Enoch* 6-11, etc.). For discussion, see R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden, eds., *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London: SCM, 1990), s.v. "Rewritten Bible," by C. T. R. Hayward. For a full discussion of the phenomenon prior to Acts, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, especially 281-440; *The Exegetical Imagination: On Jewish Thought and Theology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 1-21; Hans Peter Rüger, "Oral Tradition in the Old Testament," in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 64, ed. Henry Wansbrough, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 107-20; Shemaryahu Talmon, "Oral Tradition and Written Transmission, or the Heard and Seen Word in Judaism of the Second Temple Period," in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 64, ed. Henry Wansbrough) Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 121-58, who locates "Rewritten Bible genre" within the process of "oral tradition"; Daniel J. Harrington, "The Bible Rewritten (Narratives)," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 239-46.

²⁹⁰ See Appendices 11 and 13.

²⁹¹ The lack of Psalm 2 quotations may be understood in light of this messianic oracle's language which speaks about triumphing over enemies. To the earliest followers, Psalm 2 hardly seemed to fit Jesus' earthly career. But, given the facts of Jesus' resurrection, glorification, and heavenly session, Psalm 2 is then effectively employed. Logically, use of Psalm 2 in Acts 4 may follow the context of argumentation for the resurrection, glorification, and heavenly session of the Messiah. Thus, Psalm 2:1-2 may fit neatly in Peter's "prayer" of Acts 4 as well as in the christological sections of Hebrews 1 and Hebrews 5. But Psalm 2:7 is found at the center of Paul's resurrection-apologetic in Acts 13.

Samuel 13:14 and to Isaiah 55:3) in Acts 13.²⁹² Similar to other Psalm citations in Acts,²⁹³ Psalm 16:8-11, Psalm 2:7, and Psalm 89:20 are employed in a promise and fulfillment type of argument similar to *haggadic* midrash.

²⁹² The citation and usage of Psalm 16 is unique to Acts as is the citation and usage of Psalm 89 and Psalm 132.

²⁹³ See Appendices 11, 12, and 13.

CHAPTER 2

THE HEBREW TEXT OF PSALM 16

A. Textual Evidence

1. The Earliest Textual Evidence

Traditional methodological assumptions and previously settled issues have been called into question since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The pluriformity of text types evident in Palestine during the Second Temple period demands from contemporary scholars careful attention to complex textual matters.

The Psalms scrolls that were discovered in the Judaean desert are the most ancient primary witnesses to the text of the canonical Book of Psalms.¹ Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Psalms are represented more frequently than any other work, which may indicate the importance of the Psalter for the Qumran community.² Of the 150 Psalms found in the MT, 126 are represented in the over forty Qumran Psalms scrolls and related collections.³ The remaining twenty-four Psalms may well have been included but are now lost.⁴ At least fifteen noncanonical psalms or compositions are also distributed among five Qumran Psalms manuscripts (11QPs^a, 4QPs^f, 4Q522, 11QPs^b, 11QPsAp^a). Six of these compositions were previously familiar to scholars and are grouped with Psalms that would appear in the MT-150 Psalter: 151A, 151B, 154, 155, *David's Last Words* (2 Samuel 23:1-7), and Sirach 51:13-30.⁵ *David's Last Words* (2 Samuel 23:1-7), along with the previously unknown

¹ Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 236; Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 73; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. "Psalms, Book of," by James Limburg. A fact made more important if one rejects the authenticity of the "Letter of Aristeas" (See James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983], 2:7-34 and Swete, *Introduction*, 533-606) as it might relate to the origin of the LXX and if one holds the view that the Writings may not have been translated into Greek until the first century B.C.E. For discussion see Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 33-7; Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 35-65; Würthwein, *Text*, 50-2; cf. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 183-212.

² The published lists of the manuscripts indicate that the biblical books most represented are Psalms (36), Deuteronomy (28-29), Isaiah (21), Exodus (16-17), and Genesis (15-17). James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 30-1; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 2nd rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 104-5; Ulrich Dahmen, "Psalmentext und Psalmsammlung: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit P. W. Flint," in *Die Textfunde vom Toten Meer und der Text der Hebräischen Bibel*, ed. Ulrich Dahmen, Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Germany: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 109.

³ For a listing of the Psalms scrolls see Appendix 14.

⁴ Of Psalms 1-89, nineteen no longer survive (3-4, 20-21, 32, 41, 46, 55, 58, 61, 64-65, 70, 72-75, 80, 87); of Psalms 90-150 five are not represented (90, 108?, 110, 111, 117).

⁵ See Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*; Kittel, *Hymns*; James A. Sanders et al., "Non-Masoretic Psalms," in *DSS 4A*, 155-215; *DJD 11*; Eileen Schuller, "Qumran Pseudepigraphic Psalms," 1-39; Sanders,

David's Compositions serve to affirm David's prophetic authority and authorship of the 11QPs^a collection.⁶ Psalm 151 is the final composition in the LXX Psalter and is considered a single composition in its Greek, Syriac, and Latin translations. The existence of two Hebrew compositions in 11QPs^a may show that the versions represent a transformation of two separate psalms into one unit.⁷ Psalms 154 and 155 appear to preserve the underlying Hebrew text of the Syriac translations.⁸ Sirach 51:13-30 (the second canticle) is distinct from the other Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions, all of which may represent the same recension of this canticle. Nine other noncanonical psalms or compositions are included among the Psalms scrolls: *Apostrophe to Judah*, *Apostrophe to Zion*, *David's Compositions*, *Eschatological Hymn*, *Hymn to the Creator*, *Plea for Deliverance*, and Psalm 1-3 of *A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken*.⁹

The Dead Sea Scrolls include many psalms or songs that are not grouped with Psalms now found in the MT-150 Psalter. Two such important manuscripts are Noncanonical Psalms A (4Q380) and Noncanonical Psalms B (4Q381). The psalms in these two scrolls are very similar to biblical Psalms in vocabulary, style, theme, and content.¹⁰ Penitential psalms or individual laments are evident. Several of these psalms contain superscriptions; none of them is connected with David.¹¹

The oldest two Psalms scrolls, 4QPs^a and 4QPs^w, appear to date from the second century B.C.E.¹² As compared to the MT, twelve Psalms scrolls contain major disagreements or "macro-variants."¹³ Differences in order of Psalms appear in seven scrolls from Cave Four (4QPs^a, 4QPs^b, 4QPs^d, 4QPs^e, 4QPs^k, 4QPsⁿ, 4QPs^q). Three scrolls contain major disagreements in content (4QPs^f, 4Q522, 11QPsAp^a)¹⁴ and two scrolls contain macro-

Dead Sea Psalms; DJD 4.

⁶ It is assumed that *David's Last Words* (2 Samuel 23:1-7) were originally in columns 26-27 in 11QPs^a, although only the last six Hebrew words of verse 7 are extant in the scroll (despite the misleading textual difference that appears there: הַצִּנִּיִּת; MT: הַנִּיִּת). Cf. Psalm 57:5: הַנִּיִּת וְהַצִּיִּים. See Sanders, *DJD 4*, 48-9; 81-93.

⁷ Sanders concludes that LXX Psalm 151 depends ultimately on 151A and 151B. Sanders, *DJD 4*, 58-64. Cf. Ben Zion Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter: 11QPsalms^a," *Hebrew Union College Annual 59* (1988): 65-7.

⁸ Sanders, *DJD 4*, 64-76; Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter," 67-8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 54-93, and Sanders, et al., "Non-Masoretic Psalms," 193-233.

¹⁰ See Eileen Schuller, "Non-Canonical Psalms," in *DJD 11*, 1-39; also see pages 30-1.

¹¹ See Schuller, "Qumran Pseudepigraphic Psalms," 1-39; Sanders et al., "Non-Masoretic Psalms," 155-215; and Schuller, "Non-Canonical Psalms," 75-172. Esther Eshel et al., "Apocryphal Psalm and Prayer," in *DJD 11*, 403-26. For other noncanonical psalms and prayers found at Qumran, see the following, all in *DSS 4A*: Peter W. Flint, "A Form of Psalm 89," 40-5; James H. Charlesworth and Dennis T. Olson, "Prayers for Festivals," 46-106; Dennis T. Olson, "Words of Lights," 107-54; Dennis T. Olson, "Daily Prayers," 235-86.

¹² See Appendix 14 for paleographic dating estimates.

¹³ See the listing "Macro-Variants by Order" and "Macro-Variants by Content" in Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 154-5.

¹⁴ In 4QPs^f Psalms 22, 107, and 109 are represented along with several apocryphal psalms. 4Q522

variants of both order and content (11QPs^a and 11QPs^b). Inclusion of compositions not found in the MT occurs in one scroll from Cave One, five scrolls from Cave Four, and three from Cave Eleven. As compared to the MT, the Psalms scrolls contain hundreds of different readings (not considering orthography) of varying types.¹⁵ That the stabilization of the Book of Psalms, which is evident in the Qumran scrolls, occurred in two stages is the first component of what has become known as the “Qumran Psalms Hypothesis,” as proposed by James A. Sanders.¹⁶ For Psalms 1-89 there appears to be a correlation between fixed order and the presence of superscriptions, and between fluidity and the lack of superscriptions.¹⁷ The order of contiguous Psalms in the scrolls corresponds with that of the MT-150 Psalter for Psalms 1-89 with few exceptions. But for Psalms 90-150 the order of contiguous Psalms largely contradicts the MT arrangement.¹⁸ Regarding correlation of content, one may conclude that the presence or absence of compositions that are not found in the Masoretic Psalter indicates that the content of Books I-III (Psalms 1-89) was stabilized, since additional pieces are never joined with any of Psalms 1-89, while the content of Books IV-V (Psalms

preserves parts of Psalm 122:1-9 together with at least one other composition. 11QPsAp^a seems to contain three apocryphal compositions followed directly by Psalm 91 which ends the document. The superscription לְדָוִד is evident in column 4:4.

¹⁵ For discussion and lists of differences by manuscript (Chapter 3) and differences by Psalm and verse (Chapter 4), see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 50-134. Also see Schiffman and VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Psalms, Book of,” by Peter W. Flint.

¹⁶ Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms*; Schiffman and VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Psalms Scroll,” by James A. Sanders. James A. Sanders’ proposals are investigated and affirmed by Peter W. Flint in *Dead Sea Psalms* and Gerald H. Wilson, *Editing*, 199-288; Gerald H. Wilson, “Qumran Psalms Manuscripts and the Consecutive Arrangement of Psalms in the Hebrew Bible,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45 (1983): 377-88. See Appendix 1.

¹⁷ Only three deviations from the MT ordering of Psalms 1-89 are obvious: 31→33 in 4QPs^a and 4QPs^d and 38→71 in 4QPs^a. These deviations coincide with the rare absence of superscriptions in Psalms 1-89 of the MT. See Wilson, *Editing*, 155-90; Wilson, “Qumran Psalms Manuscripts,” 377-88; Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 117-34 and 146-9; and see Brevard Childs “Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 16 (1971): 137-50; Albert Pietersma, “David in the Greek Psalms,” *Vetus Testamentum* 30 (1980): 213-26.

¹⁸ Agreements and conflicts with the MT in arrangement:

Books	Consecutive	Agreements	Conflicts
I (1-	20	18 or 90%	2 or 10%
II (42-	13	12 or 92%	1 or 8%
III (73-	6	6 or 100%	0
IV (90-	18	7 or 39%	11 or 61%
V (107-	62	24 or 39%	38 or 61%

Flint, “Psalms, Book of,” 704. For detailed analysis, see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 135-43 and 254; Wilson, *Editing*, 116-38 and 231-5; Wilson, “Qumran Psalms Manuscripts,” 377-88. But see Dahmen, “Psalmentext,” 112-4, for a critique of Flint’s statistical method and detailed findings noting the following:

1) The conflicts with the MT in Books IV and V should be 46%, not 61% (see Dahmen 112-4 for details).

2) The number of attested transitions in Books I-III is less than half (Dahmen calculates 40%, and Flint lists these transitions on pages 138-41 of *Dead Sea Psalms*).

Therefore, more caution ought to be exercised in drawing conclusions from the conflicts in order present in Books IV and V.

90-150) remained fluid during the Qumran period.¹⁹ This suggests that the first part of the Psalter had already been finalized with respect to arrangement before the Qumran period began in *circa* 150 B.C.E. Psalms 90-150 are more fluid and appear in various combinations, suggesting that the second part of the Psalter remained unstabilized during the Qumran period, which ended in 68 C.E.²⁰ Thus, agreements between the MT-150 and the scrolls may be regarded as indicative of stability, while disagreements in order or content provide evidence of fluidity.²¹ While literary dependence on a proto-MT-150 Psalter (a tradition which had evidently reached fixation in the content and order of its central core as is seen in its relationship to the LXX Psalter)²² is evident in Qumran, neither the final selection nor the final order of texts is evident from the Qumran manuscripts.²³ The textual pluriformity of the Hebrew Psalter is documented both in the fragmentary manuscripts from Cave Four and the extensive manuscript from Cave Eleven. The Hebrew Psalter was only to reach finalization towards the end of the first century C.E., when all other editions were eclipsed and the proto-MT survived.²⁴

¹⁹ Conflicts with the MT in content:

Books (Psalms)	"Apocryphal" Psalms
I (1-	0
II (42-	0
III (73-	0
IV (90-	2
V (107-	11

Flint, "Psalms, Book of," 704; also see Wilson, "Qumran Psalms Manuscripts," 377-88.

²⁰ For detailed analysis, see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 135-9; Wilson, *Editing*, 139-228.

²¹ Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 136-7; Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 13, 158.

²² The LXX reflects the order of the MT-150 Psalter suggesting that a proto-MT-150 Psalter reached fixation prior to the translation of the LXX Psalter. The Qumran manuscripts may exhibit a literary dependence on the order of the proto-MT-150 Psalter.

²³ That the 11QPs^a Psalter presupposes knowledge of a proto-MT-150 Psalter has been strongly argued by Roger T. Beckwith, among others. See Roger T. Beckwith, "The Courses of the Levite and the Eccentric Psalms Scrolls from Qumran," *Revue de Qumrân* 44 (1984): 499-524; "The Early History of the Psalter," *Tyndale Bulletin* 46 (1995): 1-28; Skehan, "Liturgical Context," 195-205; "Jubilees and the Qumran Psalter," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 37 (1975): 343-47; Dahmen, "Psalmentext," 111-123, especially 121-2. However, supposing that the MT-150 Psalter was the only one of authoritative status from the second century B.C.E. is not warranted.

²⁴ See Jack P. Lewis, "Jamnia Revisited," and James A. Sanders, "The Issue of Closure in the Canonical Process," both in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee M. McDonald, James A. Sanders (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 146-62, 252-66 respectively; Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 1, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 323-36; "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 67-88; "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 1991*, vol. 1, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 37-40; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985); Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 6. Cf. Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1998), esp. 169-84; Roger T. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1985); "Early

Two or more Psalters appear to be represented among the Qumran Psalms scrolls.²⁵ Other manuscripts apparently represent at least three literary editions of the Psalter: Edition I (Psalms 1/2-89), Edition IIa, i.e., the “11QPs^a-Psalter” (or Edition I plus the arrangement found in 11QPs^a), and Edition IIb, the “MT-150 Psalter” (or Edition I plus Psalms 90-150 as found in the MT).²⁶ Edition I was possibly the sum content of some scrolls. Edition IIa is represented by 4QPs^c, 11QPs^b, and by 11QPs^a. Edition IIb is attested by MasPs^b and perhaps by some Qumran manuscripts. Some scrolls (such as the 4QPs^f, 4Q522, and 11QPsAp^a arrangements) may contain further literary editions of the Book of Psalms.²⁷ The phenomenon of multiple literary editions of other canonical books at Qumran, in the SP, and in the LXX (e.g., Samuel, Jeremiah, Daniel) supports the existence of multiple editions of the Psalter.²⁸

11QPs^a may have been a collection compiled and used by wider Jewish circles – including those at Qumran – who advocated the solar calendar. The 364-day solar calendar evident in this 11QPs^a collection is attested in other Jewish writings that predate the Qumran community (*1 Enoch, Jubilees*).²⁹ Further, the absence of explicit Qumranic references suggests that the individual compositions in 11QPs^a may predate the Qumran period. Regarding the structure of 11QPs^a, two main organizing elements have been identified: a

History,” 1-28; “The Courses,” 499-524. For a summary of differing views, see the current discussion in Leslie McFall, “The Evidence for a Logical Arrangement of the Psalter” *Westminster Theological Journal* 62 (2000): 233-56.

²⁵ James A. Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 10-11; “The Scrolls and the Canonical Process,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 2, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 1-23 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2-22; Wilson, *Editing*, 63-92; Gerald H. Wilson, “The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter: Comparison of Editorial Shaping,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 59 (1997): 448-64; Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 150-227; Eugene C. Ulrich, “The Qumran Biblical Scrolls,” 77-8; “Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text,” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judaean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks, (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78-105.

²⁶ A “separate collection,” or a “literary edition,” may be defined as “an intentional reworking of an older form of the book for specific purposes or according to identifiable editorial purposes.” Ulrich, “Pluriformity,” 32. See Sanders, “The Scrolls,” 150-227; Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter,” 23-72; David M. Howard, Jr., “The Structure of Psalms 93-110” (Ph.D., diss., University of Michigan, 1986); and Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 21-6. The nature of the Qumran Psalms Scroll as a variant copy of Scripture or as a liturgical collection is disputed. Flint’s is an important work supporting Sanders’s and Wilson’s view but some hold a view that 11QPs^a is a liturgical collection. Cf. Beckwith, “Early History”; “The Courses,” 499-524; Skehan, “Liturgical Complex,” 195-205; Menahem Haran, “11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms,” in *Minhan le-Nahum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of His 70th Birthday*, ed. Marc Z. Bettler et al., Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 154 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 193-201; Dahmen, “Psalmentext,” 109-26.

²⁷ Sanders, “The Scrolls,” 2-22; Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 150-71; Wilson, *Editing*, 93-121; “Qumran Psalms Manuscripts,” 377-88.

²⁸ George J. Brooke, “*E Pluribus Unum*: Textual Variety and Definitive Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 107-19; Ulrich, “The Qumran Biblical Scrolls,” 67-88.

²⁹ Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 199-200; Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter,” 37.

relationship to the solar calendar and a strong Davidic emphasis (evidenced by the placement of Davidic psalms throughout the manuscript,³⁰ by the prose piece *David's Compositions*, by the reworking of and additions to older psalms and smaller collections, and by the inclusion of apocryphal psalms). Also evident are groupings according to form or genre, the juxtaposition of opening and closing formulae, liturgical additions, ideological-historical repositioning and rewording, and thematic linkage.³¹ It may be argued that the 11QPs^a collection (Edition IIA) should be considered as a scriptural Psalter (and not as a secondary collection dependent upon MT-150) on three grounds: attribution to Davidic prophecy, structural principles,³² and usage.³³ This collection appears to have been organized in accordance with principles similar to those found in Books IV and V in the MT-150 Psalter.³⁴ The editorial shaping evidenced in the Davidic traditioning or historicizing of the MT-150 Psalter (as seen mainly in the addition of Davidic superscriptions and in structural principles) continued in 11QPs^a as seen in its poetic and liturgical additions, arrangement, *David's Compositions*, and in superscriptions contrary to MT and LXX traditions.³⁵

In this period, the issue is about a community's attitude to authoritative, rather than canonical, texts.³⁶ The diversity of textual types and literary editions is characteristic of this period and the reception (or selection) of the proto-MT probably occurred some time around 100 C.E.³⁷

³⁰ Sanders, "The Scrolls," 2-22; Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 227; Wilson, "Qumran Psalms Scroll," 463-4; *Editing*, 63-138; Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter," 71-2.

³¹ Wilson, *Editing*, 139-230; "Qumran Psalms Manuscripts," 377-88; Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter," 23-72.

³² For structural analyses of 11QPs^a, see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 172-201; Skehan, "Liturgical Complex," 195-205; "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. Mathias Delcor (Paris: Duculot, 1978), 163-82; Wilson, *Editing*, 124-31; "Qumran Psalms Manuscripts," 377-88; "Qumran Psalms Scroll," 448-64; Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter," 23-72; Michael Chyutin, "The Redaction of the Qumranic and the Traditional Book of Psalms as a Calendar," *Revue de Qumrân* 63 (1994): 367-95.

³³ Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 204-27; James A. Sanders, "The Scrolls"; "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a)," *Harvard Theological Review* 59 (1966): 83-94; "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," *McCormick Quarterly* 21 (1968): 1-15; "The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed," in *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida*, ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley (Paris: Mouton, 1974), 79-99.

³⁴ Wilson, *Editing*, 190-230; "Qumran Psalms Manuscripts," 377-88; Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter," 23-72.

³⁵ The LXX practice of adopting MT orphan Psalms as Davidic by adding Davidic superscriptions continued in 11QPs^a. E.g., 11QPs^a Psalm 104 includes a superscription contrary to the MT, but as some LXX manuscripts. 11QPs^a Psalm 123 includes a superscription contrary to the MT and LXX traditions. 11QPs^a Psalm 151A includes a superscription that does not admit doubt of Davidic authorship, contrary to the LXX. Childs, "Psalm Titles," 137-50; Pietersma, "David in the Greek Psalms," 213-26; "Exegesis and Liturgy," 99-138. Also see Appendix 1.

³⁶ See Eugene Ulrich, "The Notion and Definition of Canon," in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee M. McDonald, James A. Sanders (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 21-35.

³⁷ James Barr, *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 1-22; Lim, *Holy Scripture*, 6; Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 67-88; Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 13-15; Otto

Attempts to describe the textual situation of the Second Temple period in light of the Qumran scrolls include theories of local texts (Egypt, Palestine and Babylon),³⁸ *Gruppentexte*,³⁹ multiple texts⁴⁰ that are either close to the MT (e.g. 1QIsa^b), LXX (e.g. 4QJer^b, 4QExod^{b18}), and SP (e.g. 4QpaleoExod^m, 4QExod-Lev^{f19}) or show affinities and significant differences from all of them (e.g. 4QSam^a), and multiple literary editions.⁴¹ The fluid textual situation in the Second Temple period apparently includes both texts that cluster around the proto-MT, septuagintal, and pre-Samaritan text types and others that cannot be classified by any one of these traditional standards.⁴² So, the textual situation of the Psalter at the time of the New Testament should be understood as fluid – particularly with respect to Books IV and V – and more than the traditional MT and LXX textual traditions should be kept in view. The common assumption that the Qumran community had proto-MT texts that they then altered for their exegetical purposes is now in need of examination with the recognition of the plurality of text types in this period.⁴³ Further, it is no longer possible to assume the proto-MT as the standard text form from which all others varied. In the evident context of textual fluidity and diversity, the proto-MT text is one well-attested witness among many.

In fact, history does not show that a single text of the MT (i.e., the Received Text) ever existed. Both of the major Ben Asher texts, the Leningrad Codex (i.e., MT^{L44}, ca. 1008 C.E., the oldest complete manuscript of the Hebrew Bible available) and the Aleppo Codex

Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction Including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the Works of Similar Type from Qumran*, trans. Peter R. Ackroyd (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 560-71; Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 100-6; VanderKam, "Questions of Canon," 91-109.

³⁸ Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 168-94.

³⁹ Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible – A New Outlook," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, ed. Frank M. Cross and S. Talmon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 321-400, esp. 380-1.

⁴⁰ Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 114-7, describes five groups of texts: (1) texts written in the Qumran practice; (2) proto-MTs; (3) pre-Samaritan texts; (4) texts close to the presumed Hebrew source of LXX; and (5) non-aligned or independent texts.

⁴¹ Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 99-120; Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 67-88; Lim, *Holy Scripture*, 19; Ulrich, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 79-100.

⁴² Craig A. Evans, "The Scriptures of Jesus and His Earliest Followers," in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee M. McDonald, James A. Sanders (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 185-195.

⁴³ Timothy H. Lim, "The Qumran Scrolls, Multilingualism, and Biblical Interpretation," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 65; Lim, *Holy Scripture*, chapter 5; Emanuel Tov, "The Significance of the Texts from the Judaean Desert for the History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible: A New Synthesis," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 290, ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 282-3.; Brooke, "E Pluribus Unum," 107-22; Ulrich, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 85.

⁴⁴ David Noel Freedman et al., eds., *The Leningrad Codex: A Fascimile Edition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

(ca. 925 C.E. – which lacks Psalms 15:1-25:2), are part of what is known as the MT. This MT text type is best understood as a family of texts which includes numerous divergent readings from the medieval Leningrad Codex as well as the Masoretic textual notes.⁴⁵ There were numerous Masoretic manuscripts extant prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein has shown them to be almost exclusively witnesses to the medieval Masoretic tradition.⁴⁶

The form of the MT was apparently finalized in three periods or stages:

Stage 1: Originated among the Babylonian Jews, the Pharisees, or “Temple circles” and ended with the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. (or perhaps with the end of the Second Jewish Revolt in 135 C.E.). This first period spans a long time and is characterized by marked differences among the textual witnesses.⁴⁷

Stage 2: Extended from the destruction of the Temple until the eighth century C.E. and was characterized by more and more textual consistency as rabbinic scholars sought to standardize the text of the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁸

Stage 3: Extended from the eighth century until the end of the Middle Ages and was characterized by almost complete textual uniformity. During this period, the Masoretes set out to produce a standard text of the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁹

The Qumran scrolls are written in three languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. Of the 822 texts listed in the official catalogue, sixty-one (or seven percent) are written in Aramaic, twenty-five (or 3 percent) in Greek, and the remaining 736 (or ninety percent) in Hebrew.⁵⁰ The multilingual context of Palestine between 200 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. and the Greek biblical texts found in Caves Four and Seven lead to the conclusion that at least some members of the Qumran community were able to read Greek.⁵¹ The presence of targumic

⁴⁵ The MT family includes over six thousand manuscripts which belong to this group. For the MT’s stages of development, see especially Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, trans. John Elwolde (reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 50-266; and Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 11-39.

⁴⁶ Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition,” *Biblica* 48 (1967): 243-90. And see Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 21-79, for further discussion.

⁴⁷ Frank M. Cross, “The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert,” *Harvard Theological Review* 57 (1964): 281-99; Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms*, 18; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 29-30. For discussion, see Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 1-160.

⁴⁸ Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 33-35; Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 161-201.

⁴⁹ Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 162-202; *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, trans. and with commentary by Martin Abegg, Jr., Peter W. Flint, and Eugene Ulrich (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), x-xi; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 35-6.

⁵⁰ Lim, “The Qumran Scrolls,” 67.

⁵¹ Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 131-4; Lim, “The Qumran Scrolls,” 70.

text forms in first century Palestine also adds to the diversity of text forms that represent the context into which the Psalter was received during the New Testament period.⁵²

The septuagintal family of translations is itself a diverse collection of Greek literature encompassing: (1) translations of the contents of the Hebrew Bible; (2) additions to some of its books; and (3) works written originally in Greek (or in some instances in Hebrew) but not included in the Hebrew canon.⁵³ While there is no uniformity with regard to the New Testament's textual source, the importance of the septuagintal family of translations in the New Testament period is established based on the New Testament's dependence on the septuagintal Greek translations of the Old Testament.⁵⁴ What is commonly called the Septuagint, or LXX, is actually an "eclectic" collection of various translations done at different times by different people who used different approaches.⁵⁵ To illustrate, the method employed by Rahlfs in attempting to establish the original text of the LXX Psalter involves six groups of manuscript sources:⁵⁶

1. Lower Egyptian: for example, B and S (Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus)
2. Upper Egyptian: for example, U (*Papyrusbuch, enthaltend* Psalms 10:2-18:6 and 20:14-34:6)
3. Western: for example, R (Codex Veronensis)
4. Hexaplaric (to Origen's recension): for example 2005 (Fragment of Hexapla)

⁵² Moisés Silva, "The New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Text, Form, and Authority," in *Scripture and Truth*, eds. D. A. Carson and John D. Woodbridge (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 147-65. For discussion see Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 112-60.

⁵³ For discussion, see Sundberg, Jr., "The Septuagint: The Bible of Hellenistic Judaism," in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee M. McDonald, James A. Sanders (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 68-90; Swete, *Introduction*, 197-366; Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 67-108; Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 77-85; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. "Septuagint."

⁵⁴ Swete, *Introduction*, 381-405; Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 321-4; Ackroyd and Evans, *Cambridge History of the Bible*, s.v. "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New," by C. K. Barrett; E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 10-20; Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, eds., *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1993), s.v. "Old Testament in Paul," by Moisés Silva; Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 53-73; Evans, "The Scriptures of Jesus," 185-195.

⁵⁵ For discussion of the collection, see Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 85-257; Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 29-68; Würthwein, *Text*, 52-4. See Rahlfs's Prolegomena and the critical apparatus throughout the text of Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*. See R. Holmes and J. Parsons, eds., *Vetus Testamentum graecum cum variis lectionibus*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1798-1823) for a list and descriptions of the manuscripts employed. Also see Swete, *Introduction*, 122-70 for a similar listing of manuscripts. Cf. Tyler F. Williams, "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert et al, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 248-76.

⁵⁶ Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 6, 21-70. For a critical assessment of Rahlfs's core manuscript groupings, see Cameron Boyd-Taylor, et al., "The Assessment of Manuscript Affiliation within a Probabilistic Framework: A Study of Alfred Rahlfs's Core Manuscript Groupings for the Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, Robert J. V. Hiebert, et al., eds., Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements Series 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 98-124. Also see Albert Pietersma, "Proto-Lucian and the Greek Psalter," *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978): 66-72.

5. Lucianic (to Lucian's recension): for example Z (Codex Zugninensis rescriptus)
6. Mixed: for example A (Codex Alexandrinus – which lacks Psalms 49:20-79:11)

Four principles or criteria for selection of the Old Greek are employed by Rahlfs:⁵⁷

1. When a reading is attested by the Lower Egyptian, Upper Egyptian and Western texts (i.e., the three most ancient groups), it is accepted as the Old Greek.
2. When conflicting readings are attested among the three ancient text-groups, the reading that is equivalent to the MT is selected.
3. When the three older groups disagree with the MT, while the younger (Hexaplaric and Lucianic) groups support it, Rahlfs adopts the reading of the older groups as the Old Greek and regards the Hexaplaric and Lucianic readings as corrections towards the proto-MT.
4. In doubtful cases, Rahlfs accepts the reading of B' (i.e., B and S) as constituting the Old Greek, but not B alone.

Based on Qumran and other manuscript evidence, Rahlfs's "eclectic text" requires revision and updating – whereas fewer than 100 manuscripts were collated for Rahlfs's edition, approximately 1,200 manuscripts of the Psalms are now available.⁵⁸ The criteria employed for selection of the Old Greek need to be revised so as to account for the evidence from Qumran, the evidence from other manuscripts either not considered or subsequently discovered, and for significant advancements made in the method of LXX research.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 71-2. And see the discussion in Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 230; Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint in Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 297-318; Boyd-Taylor, "Assessment," 98-111.

⁵⁸ See Albert Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978); Jobs and Silva, *Invitation*, 313; Albert Pietersma, "Ra 2110 (P. Bodmer XXIV) and the Text of the Greek Psalter," in *Studien zur Septuaginta – Robert Hanhart zu Ehren: Aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages*, ed. D. Fraenkel et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 262-65; "Septuagint Research: A Plea for a Return to Basic Issues," *Vetus Testamentum* 35 (1985): 299-300; "Articulation in the Greek Psalms: The Evidence of Papyrus Bodmer XXIV," in *Tradition of the Text: Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of His 70th Birthday*, ed. D. Barthélemy et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 297-318; J. W. Wevers, "The Rendering of the Tetragram." In *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert et al., Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 35; Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 230. In private communication, Anneli Aejmelaeus, Director of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen, and Udo Quast, Psalms team leader, state that the recollection of the Psalms manuscripts at Göttingen will not be completed until around the year 2015.

⁵⁹ See Jellicoe, *Septuagint*, 297-318; Pietersma, "Septuagint Research," 296-311; "A Prospectus for a Commentary on the Septuagint," *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 31 (1998): 43-8; "The Greek Psalter: A Question of Methodology and Syntax." *Vetus Testamentum* 26 (1976): 60-9; Boyd-Taylor, "Assessment," 122-3; In particular, internal considerations such as translation technique are now given much credence in modern septuagintal studies. E.g., see Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, Robert J. V. Hiebert, et al., eds., Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements Series 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 54-73; Williams, "Towards a Date," 252-76.

Emanuel Tov describes four stages in the development of the text of the LXX: (1) the original translation; (2) a multitude of textual traditions resulting from the insertion of corrections (mainly toward the Hebrew) in individual scrolls; (3) textual stabilization in the first and second centuries C.E.; and (4) the creation of new textual groups and the corruption of existing ones through the influence of the revisions of Origen and Lucian in the third and fourth centuries C.E. However, in light of the pluriformity of Hebrew texts this theory may imply too much homogeneity in the Hebrew traditions from the outset of the development of the text of the LXX.⁶⁰ Clearly, at the time of the New Testament, the Old Testament Greek text itself was not uniform. Therefore, the task of the modern student is one of sorting and making critical judgments about a vast array of uneven textual witnesses while following stated principles and controlled procedures.

It may be that New Testament usage reflects a realistic attitude toward the LXX. The New Testament uses the LXX widely but it does not confine itself to the LXX – when they prefer, the New Testament writers use other translations.⁶¹ For example, when Paul quotes biblical passages he uses a translation that is readily at hand; on other occasions “his biblical quotation corresponds to no known translation.”⁶² Occasionally, Paul’s quotations seem to reflect a mixed text.⁶³ Further, if Paul quotes an Old Testament passage in a form that differs from the “standard” Greek text but that is attested in isolated manuscripts or in a later translation, most scholars would explain the divergence as having originated with a competing textual tradition.⁶⁴ Also, it is reasonable to assume that Paul’s ability to read Aramaic and Hebrew determines how he uses the Old Testament (as in Paul’s use of Habakkuk 2:4 in Galatians 3:11).⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997) 10-12, and see the discussion of Paul de Lagarde’s theory of LXX origins and the Göttingen school of thought in Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 324-35; Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 29-44; and Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. “Septuagint.”

⁶¹ Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 323-35; Jobes and Silva, *Invitation*, 183-205; D. Moody Smith, “The Pauline Literature,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 272; David Gooding, *Relics of Ancient Exegesis: A Study of the Miscellanies in 3 Reigns 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 117. And see Hawthorne and Martin, *Dictionary of Paul*, s.v. “Old Testament in Paul.”

⁶² Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 259-61; Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1986), 103-60; Lim, *Holy Scripture*, 26-7; Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 379.

⁶³ Stanley, *Paul*, 255; Hawthorne and Martin, *Dictionary of Paul*, s.v. “Old Testament in Paul.”

⁶⁴ As in 1 Corinthians 15:54, where Paul’s citation of Isaiah 25:8 departs from the LXX and agrees with a later version attributed to Theodotion. See Hawthorne and Martin, *Dictionary of Paul*, s.v. “Old Testament in Paul”; Stanley, *Paul*, 255.

⁶⁵ See Smith, “Pauline Literature,” 273; Hawthorne and Martin, *Dictionary of Paul*, s.v. “Old Testament in Paul”; Lim, *Holy Scripture*, 148-9.

The LXX translators would have used Hebrew manuscripts produced at about their time (or earlier), when the textual situation of the Psalter was unstable. The Qumran scrolls and those found in other areas of the Judean desert confirm that peculiar LXX renderings occasionally reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the MT. The LXX Psalter shares a number of readings with the Judean scrolls over against the MT.⁶⁶ Many of these differences are of relevance to our understanding of the LXX Psalter because they agree with specific Greek manuscripts against the MT.

Of the Dead Sea Psalms scrolls that share common readings with the LXX text or with other Greek manuscripts, these may be classified under three main categories:⁶⁷

1. Agreements against the MT in minor details. Some of the Hebrew readings with the LXX in these readings may have been present in the *Vorlage* of the LXX Psalter.

2. Agreements against the MT in more significant aspects (including substitutions of verbal or nominal root, addition of superscripts or *Hallelujahs*, additions of phrases or strophes, verse-division, the Divine name, agreement regarding the end of the Psalter). The majority of these provide strong evidence for a *Vorlage* that differs from the MT. For example, 11QPs^a now affirms that Hebrew copies of Psalm 151 were circulating in Palestine around the turn of the Common Era. Another example may be provided in Psalm 145:13 (LXX 144:13), where the missing *nun* verse in the Masoretic version of this acrostic poem may be found in what may be related forms in 11QPs^a and the LXX.⁶⁸

3. Agreements with other Greek manuscripts against the MT and LXX. The Judean scrolls contain readings that do not concur with the MT or the LXX but appear in other Greek manuscripts that were not accepted by Rahlfs as containing the Old Greek for

⁶⁶ For a listing, see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 231-6; Peter W. Flint, "Variant Readings of the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls against the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint Psalter," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium, in Göttingen 1997*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 341-3.

⁶⁷ For a partial listing and discussion see Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 232-60. For a full listing and final collation, see Flint, "Variant Readings," 337-65.

⁶⁸ The J line of Psalm 145 found in 11QPs^a does not necessarily indicate dependence by or on the MT-150 Psalter or the LXX, nor is it necessarily the same form as in the LXX. They read:

MT 145:	verse missing (cf. verse 17)
LXX (144:13):	πιστὸς κύριος ἐν [+ πασιν = בכּוּל G ^{mss}] τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.
11QPs ^a (17:2-3):	נאמן אלוהים בדבריו וחסיד בכּוּל מעשׂיו

All that may be certain is that the LXX, 11QPs^a, and MT-150 Psalter all seem to know the same Hebrew *Vorlage* of this Psalm. Perhaps each has dealt with the defect in its own way. Contra Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 235, who concludes that 11QPs^a represents the same verse form as the LXX and contra Dahmen, "Psalmentext," 117-8, who argues that the 11QPs^a line preserves an older textual stage as found in the LXX that was "dogmatically" later changed in the MT. And see Kennicott manuscript 142 in Johannis B. de Rossi, *Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamentii*, 4 vols. (Parma: Regius, 1784-88), 88, for יהוה בכּוּל־דְּבָרָיו וְחָסִיד as pointed in BHS, footnote 13a.

these entries. These readings are often very ancient and should be considered for determining the Old Greek of the Psalter.⁶⁹

Traditionally it has been generally accepted that, at the time of the New Testament, several groups or types of biblical texts existed in ancient Palestine and elsewhere, especially those groups or types represented in the SP, the LXX, and the received MT. The post-Qumran picture of the overall textual situation in the Second Temple period includes both texts that cluster around the proto-Masoretic, septuagintal, and pre-Samaritan text types and others that cannot be classified by any one of these standards. As for the Psalter in particular, the textual situation at the time of the New Testament appears to be more stable for Psalms 1-89 than for Psalms 90-150. The Psalter of the New Testament period appears to be represented by fluid proto-MT texts, septuagintal type texts, and non-aligned Hebrew and Greek texts.

The text of Psalm 16 appears in three of the Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts: 4QPs^c, 5/6HevPsalms, and 4Q177.⁷⁰

a. 4QPs^c

Fragments of this scroll preserve a substantial portion of text representing fifteen Psalms, ranging from Psalm 16 to Psalm 53. Among all the Psalms scrolls from Qumran and other Judaean sites, 4QPs^c is fifth (after 11QPs^a, 4QPs^a, 5/6HevPs, and 4QPs^b) in terms of the highest number of verses preserved. Professor H. Stegemann examined the manuscript in July 1996 and concluded that the surviving pieces are from the outer parts of a very long scroll that originally contained all of the Psalter.⁷¹ The surviving fragments are as follows:⁷²

<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Passage</u>	<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Passage</u>
1	16:7-10	10	42:5
2	17:1(?)	11	44:8-9(?)
3-4i	18:1-14	12	45:8-11
5	18:16-18	13-15 i (col. 1)	49:1-17
4ii	18:32-36, 39-41	15 ii-16 (col. 2)	50:13b-51:5a
6	27:12-28:3	15 iii, 17 (col. 3)	52:5b-53:1
7	28:4-5	18	46:8? Or 46:12?

⁶⁹ E.g., Flint's listing of variants suggests that the following categories sometimes preserve the Old Greek: the Western group (e.g., 106:36; 134:21); the mixed group (e.g., 68:18; 103:3; 106:36; 106:41; 118:37; 135:15); and the Lucianic group (e.g., 106:36; 113:25; 118:37; 118:49; 150:1). See Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 236.

⁷⁰ See Appendix 14 for a summary listing of the contents of the Dead Sea Psalms scrolls.

⁷¹ *DJD* 16, 49.

⁷² *Ibid.*

<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Passage</u>	<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Passage</u>
8	35:27-28	19-25	Unidentified
9	37:18-19	[26	Not from this MS]

The scroll is in a poor state of preservation and has deteriorated considerably since the two main photographs (PAM 43.023 and 43.156) were taken. There is no apparent evidence of stitching. Both vertical (fragments 4, 15) and horizontal (fragment 15) rulings are visible, and the distance between the tops of letters in successive lines measures 6-7 millimeters. Because this manuscript sometimes preserves large intervals between successive Psalms, it can be difficult to determine whether apparent top or bottom margins are in fact intervals (cf. fragment 8). The columns contained thirty-three lines (cf. fragments 13-17) and were approximately twenty-six centimeters high and up to 8.5 centimeters wide (fragment 15ii).

The manuscript is inscribed in a late Herodian formal hand.⁷³ Apparently copied *circa* 50-68 C.E., 4QPs^c is roughly contemporaneous with 4QPs^b, 4QPs^e, 4QPs^g, 4QPs^j, 4QPs^s, 4QPs^t, 4QPs^u, 11QPs^w, 11QPs^d, 11QApocrPs and 5/6Hev.⁷⁴ With respect to orthography 4QPs^c and the MT are generally similar (see below), although this scroll is slightly more sparing.⁷⁵ For example, in Psalm 50:21 the shorter morphological form ך— is preserved once where the MT has כה—. The orthography of 4QPs^c may be seen in:

<u>Frg., line</u>	<u>Psalm</u>	<u>4QPs^c</u>	<u>4QPs^j</u>	<u>MT</u>	<u>MT^{mss}</u>
1, 2	16:7	כלית׳		כל־יות׳	
12, 2	45:8	ששן		ששון	
15 i, 23	49:11	ימחו		ימוחו	
15 i, 24	49:11	יאבדו	ינ]אבדו	יאבדו	
15 i, 25	49:12	משכנותם	משכנו]תם	משכנתם	
15 ii, 27	50:21	ואערך		ואערךה	
15 iii, 32	52:11	חסידך		חסידך	חסידך

The substantial amount of text preserved in 4QPs^c shows few textual differences against other Judaean scrolls and the MT; this manuscript may be regarded as a representative of the edition of the Psalter that is also preserved in the MT. One of the more

⁷³ For discussion, see Frank M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. Ernest Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 133-209; and for examples see Frank M. Cross, "Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1998-99), 1:379-402; *DJD* 16, 50.

⁷⁴ See Appendix 11.

⁷⁵ *DJD* 16, 50.

interesting different readings is יבין in Psalm 49:13 (fragments 13-15 i, 26), where 4QPs^c appears to agree with the LXX (στυγηκεν) against ילין in the MT (but cf. verse 21 יבין MT, ילין MT^{mss}; not extant in this scroll).

The format is generally stichometric, with two cola written to the line, but in some cases (columns 1:28-29, 30-31; 3:24-25, 26-27) the last word of a colon extends to the new line because there was insufficient room on the preceding one. The arrangement of 4QPs^c almost always corresponds with the MT as regards the components of individual cola (for an exception, see at 45:10), but it often differs as to the distribution of cola in individual lines. In this edition the reconstructed parts of columns usually follow the MT for the spaces between cola, except where too many cola would make a line too long for the manuscript (e.g., [אל תתנני בנפש צרי] for Psalm 27:12ab in fragment 6, line 1, where the MT has יאל־תתנני בנפש צרי). New verses or units frequently start at the beginning of the line, which is usually the case in the MT, but in many instances these begin in mid-line, since poetic units can be grouped in different configurations. When 4QPs^c is compared with the MT^L, it is clear that the MT^L preserves many ancient stichometric features (cola, divisions, intervals, and indentations) found in this Qumran scroll.

4QPs^c is particularly interesting with respect to the arrangement of cola and the divisions between them. The scribe used five types of division: (a) a short interval of 2-7 millimeters between cola within a line; (b) a somewhat longer interval between verses or cola; the only surviving examples are on fragment 15 and usually measure about 1.2 centimeters (columns 1:19, 23, 28, 31 [not preserved]; 3:28, 30) but can extend to 2.3 centimeters (column 3:33, in the superscription to Psalm 53); (c) an indentation at the beginning of a new line before a new colon (column 6:7, 8); (d) a half-line indentation on the new line to signal the beginning of a new Psalm (6:4); (e) a full blank line between successive Psalms (column 1:14).

4QPs^c preserves Psalm 16:7-10 as follows:

Fragment 1

[אף נחלת שפר] ה עלי ⁷ אב[ר]ך [את יהוה אשר יעצני אף]	1
[לילות יסרון] ני כליתי ⁸ שו[י]תי יהוה לנגדי תמיד]	2
[כי מימיני] בל אמוט ⁹ ל[כן שמח לבי ויגל כבודי]	3
[אף בשר] י ישכן לב[טח] כי לא תעזב נפשי לשאול]	4
[לא תתן ח[ס]י] ד[ך] לראות שחת ¹¹ תודיעני ארח חיים]	5

According to the *DJD 16* reconstruction, the first section of Psalm 16:7 (fragment 1, 1) follows a relatively short interval, as is used throughout this fragment, but appears to extend beyond the end of the verse's first cola (with the inclusion of פֶּן at the end of line 1). The MT^L and the *BHS* include the adverbial פֶּן at the beginning of verse 7's second cola. This spacing is also seen in the MT^L verse 9 with the inclusion of פֶּן at the end of a line and beyond the end of the first cola, where the *DJD 16* reconstruction and the *BHS* place the פֶּן at the beginning of the second cola. Otherwise, the *DJD 16* reconstruction of Psalm 16:7-10 follows the bicola and tricola layout of the *BHS*.

b. 5/6HevPsalms

The surviving fragments of this manuscript preserve a substantial portion of text in eleven columns, with eighteen Psalms represented, ranging from Psalm 7 to 31 (see below⁷⁶). Among the Psalms manuscripts, only 11QPS^a and 4QPs^a contain a greater number of verses.⁷⁷ Found in Naḥal Hever, 5/6HevPsalms is one of three Psalms manuscripts found outside of the Qumran area (the others being MasPs^a and MasPs^b). The contents of 5/6HevPsalms may be summarized as:

<u>Col.</u>	<u>Frg.</u>	<u>Preserved Contents</u>	<u>Estimated Contents</u>	<u>Lines per Col.</u>
1-2	—	(not preserved)	[1:1-7:5]	[28]
3	1 i	7:13-8:1; 4-10	7:6-8:10	28
4	1 ii	9:12-10:6	9:1-10:6	28
5	2 + 1 iii	10:8-10, 18; 11:1-5a	10:7-12:1	28
6	3 + 1 iv	12:6-13:3; 14:2, 4	12:2-14:7	28
7	4	15:1-16:1	15:1-17:4ab	28
8	5	18:6-13a	17:4c-18:13ab	28
9	6 + 7	18:17-43	18:14-43	28
10	—	(not preserved)	[18:44-22:3]	[28]
11	8 + 9	22:4-9; 15:21	22:4-23:1	28
12	10 + 11 + 12	23:2-6; 24:1-2; 25:4-6	23:2-25:7b	28
13-14	—	(not preserved)	[25:7c-28:9]	[28]
15	13 i	29:1-2; 30:3	28:9-30:12	28
16	13 ii	31:3-22	30:13-31:24a	28
?	14	(unidentified piece)	(unidentified piece)	[28]

⁷⁶ James Charlesworth et al., eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 38, *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 141.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

With the exception of fragments 1, 5, and 9, the writing is generally clear. Horizontal ruling is evident on fragments 1, 2, and 13 and vertical ruling appears on fragment 1. Stitching holes appear on fragments 8 and 9 (left), and 10? and 11 (right). Because of the stichometric format, the number of letter-spaces per line varies greatly. Lines containing fewer or smaller cola have as little as 25 letter-spaces (column 12:2, 7), but in cases where the stichometric format required a large amount of text in a line, the number can be as high as 62 spaces (column 16:5).⁷⁸

In the summer of 1991, Annette Steudel reportedly examined the manuscript and made a reconstruction detailing the position of each fragment relative to the columns of the original scroll.⁷⁹ She apparently concluded that this scroll was rolled with the end on the inside, and the beginning on the outside. Moreover, Steudel and Peter Flint, the *DJD* volume editor of 5/6HevPsalms, have concluded that the surviving fragments likely represent columns 3-16 of a much larger scroll which probably contained all 150 Psalms in some seventy-five to eighty columns, and was between 6.75 and 7.20 meters in length, excluding the handle sheets.⁸⁰ A second, somewhat less likely, possibility is that the original scroll contained only a Davidic Psalter (Psalms 1-41) in some 21 columns, measuring approximately 1.9 meters, excluding the handle sheets.⁸¹ Using Steudel's reconstruction and an electronic edition of *BHS*, the editor of the *DJD* volume has proposed a reconstruction of the contents and format of every column for which at least some text is present.⁸²

The script of 5/6HevPsalms is a formal bookhand that is described by Ada Yardeni as "Herodian, ... early 1st century."⁸³ Of the examples recently provided by Frank M. Cross,⁸⁴ the writing is most similar to 4QDeut^j; moreover, as indicated in the editions of 5/6HevNum^a, XHev/SeNum^b, and XHev/SeDeut,⁸⁵ it also has affinities with the script of those three scrolls and that of 4QPs^b. Thus, a late Herodian date (ca. 50-68 C.E.) seems appropriate.⁸⁶ The orthography of 5/6HevPsalms is sparing, perhaps more so than the MT. The shorter morphological forms (ף- and ן-) are used consistently.⁸⁷

⁷⁸ Ibid., 142.

⁷⁹ As referenced in *DJD* 38, 142.

⁸⁰ *DJD* 38, 142.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., 142-66. "Because of its close textual affinity with MT^L and its stichometric structure, the missing portions of 5/6HevPsalms may be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence" (145).

⁸³ Greenfield, "The Texts from Naḥal Se'elim (Wadi Seiyal)," 663.

⁸⁴ Cross, "Palaeography," 1:379-402 and plates 9-14.

⁸⁵ *DJD* 38, 143.

⁸⁶ Yigael Yadin dates the script of this fragment later than that used in most of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but earlier than that found in the biblical fragments dating to the Bar Kokhba period which were found in Wadi Murabb'at. Thus, Yadin dates this fragment to the second half of the first century C.E. and assumes that it

The orthography of 5/6HevPsalms may be seen in:

<u>Col.</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Psalm</u>	<u>5/6HevPsalms</u>	<u>MT</u>	<u>MT^{mss}</u>
4	15	9:15	אָגְלָה	אָגִילָה	
5	4	10:9	לְחַטָּף	לְחַטּוֹף	
9	7	18:20	וַיִּצְיָאֵנִי	וַיִּצְיָאֵנִי	
9	12	18:26	גִּבֹּר	גִּבְרָה	נְבוֹר
9	20	18:34	בְּמוֹתַי	בְּמֹתַי	
11	1	22:4	תְּחַלּוֹת	תְּחַלּוֹת	תְּחַלָּה
11`	2	22:6	בְּשׁוֹ	בְּשׁוֹ	

5/6HevPsalms contains very few different readings against the MT^L as in the *BHS*; most of the listed differences are against MT^{mss}.⁸⁸ The most important difference is at Psalm 15:3 (column 7:3), for which the scroll contains only two of the three cola found in the MT; verse 3a (לְאֶרְגֵל עַל־לְשׁוֹן) is not present in 5/6HevPsalms. Also, it appears that the Davidic superscription for Psalm 15 is lacking, since verse 1 proper begins on the first line of column 7. As for the textually troubled acrostic Psalm now found in Psalms 9-10 in the MT (combined as Psalm 9 in LXX), 5/6HevPsalms presents the textual form, also in two Psalms, that occurs in the MT. Further, the form of Psalm 18, much of which is preserved in columns 8 and 9, is close to that found in MT Psalm 18, and not the form in 2 Samuel 22.

The *DJD* volume editor has concluded that the surviving text contains no errors, corrections, or supralinear letters (but see [בפע] ל at column 4:17, and חטאֹהֶת] at column 12:28.)⁸⁹

Unless they begin at the top of a column (Psalm 9 in column 4:1 [reconstructed], and Psalm 15 at column 7:1), new Psalms consistently begin after a full one-line interval, even when the previous Psalm ends early in a line. For example, Psalm 7 ends in the first half of column 3:15, and is followed by the completely empty line 16, before the beginning of Psalm 8 in line 17. Such is also the case with Psalm 16:1 at line 7 of column 7. Full line intervals between Psalms may be summarized as:

predates the Bar Kokhba war by several decades. Yadin, "Expedition D," 40.

⁸⁷ *DJD* 38, 143-4.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

<u>Psalms</u>	<u>Col.</u>	<u>Interval at Line</u>	<u>Preserved</u>
7 + 8	3	16	x
9 + 10	4	22	x
10 + 11	5	16	x
11 + 12	5	27	reconstructed
12 + 13	6	10	x
13 + 14	6	18	reconstructed
15 + 16	7	7	x
16 + 17	7	22	reconstructed
17 + 18	8	13	reconstructed
22 + 23	11	27	reconstructed
23 + 24	12	8	x
24 + 25	12	21	reconstructed
28 + 29	15	2	reconstructed
29 + 30	15	16	reconstructed
30 + 31	16	2	reconstructed

The text of Psalm 15:1-16:1 is preserved in 5/6HevPsalms as:

Column 7 (fragment 4)⁹⁰

top margin

[יהוה] מִי יגור באהלך מִי [ישכן בהר קדשך]	1
[הולך] תָּמִים וּפְעַל צְדָק וּדְבַר אֱמֶת בִּלְבָבוֹ	2
[לא ע] שָׁה לרעהו רעה וחר [פה לא נשא על קרבן]	3
[נבון] הֵּ בְעֵינָיו נִמְאָס וְאֵת יִרְאֵי יְהוָה יִכְבֹּד	4
[נשבע] לְהִרְעֵה וְלֹא יִמָּר כִּסְפּוֹ [לא נתן בנשך]	5
[ושחד על נקי] לְאֵל [ק] ח עֲשֵׂה אֵל [לא ימוט לעולם]	6
[] <i>vacat</i> []	7
[] <i>vacat</i> מִכֹּתֶם לְדוֹר [] <i>vacat</i> 16:1	8

This is the single fragment discovered by Yigael Yadin several years after the others were found by Bedouin.⁹¹ The only photograph available is that printed in Yigael Yadin, "Expedition D" plate D. Only the top margin is preserved for this column, which appears to have originally contained Psalm 15:1-17:4ab. A single-line interval precedes the beginning

⁹⁰ Following the reconstructions of both *DJD* 38, 153-4, and Yadin, "Expedition D," 40.

⁹¹ Yadin, "Expedition D"; *DJD* 38, 154.

of Psalm 16 at line 7. It appears that Psalm 15 was written without the Davidic superscription found in the MT (מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד) and in the LXX for two reasons: (a) The alignment precludes the heading from being placed before מִי יגור באהלך [יהוה] in line 1; and (b) it is unlikely that the superscription occupied the final line of column 6 (a configuration which does occur for Psalm 12 in column 5:28). This is because – as occurs elsewhere in 5/6HevPsalms – Psalm 15 would need to be preceded by a blank line in column 6:27; there was no room for an additional two lines in that column.⁹²

The alignment of line 8 (Psalm 16:1) shows the superscription מִכֹּתֶם לְדָוִד] to be indented. If the transcription is correct, this must be the superscription to Psalm 16; the only other title containing this word order is the one for Psalm 60, לְמִנְצַחַת עַל-שׁוֹשַׁן יְעִרֹת מִקָּפָם, לְדָוִד לְלַמֵּד, which is too long for the present format.

The *DJD* volume lists the fragment's differences as⁹³:

15:1 (1)] מִי MT] ומי MT^{mss} LXX Syriac Hier

15:1 (1) באהלך MT LXX] באהליך MT^{mss} Targum(s)

15:3 (3)] [לא ע]שה לרעהו רעה (additional colon) MT LXX

(5/6HevPsalms contains two cola for verse 3 where MT has three, with no parallel for the first.⁹⁴)

15:4 (4) נמאס MT] ונמאס MT^{mss}; ποσθηρευόμενος LXX

c. 4Q177

Thirty-four poorly preserved fragments have survived from this manuscript representing a collection of exegetical observations based on citations and allusions to biblical passages.⁹⁵ The biblical texts are drawn principally from the first seventeen canonical Psalms, which seem to provide the framework of this collection. Also referred to are other biblical and apocryphal passages, as well as more ancient historical events (Abraham in fragments 12-13, Joshua in fragment 22, and Jacob in fragments 1-4).⁹⁶ The scriptural contents of 4Q177 may be viewed as summarized in Appendix 10.

⁹² *DJD* 38, 155.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Note that this tricola MT verse structure is repeated in 15:4 and 15:5.

⁹⁵ Pending the reissue of *DJD* 5, the reconstruction of 4Q177 by Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 71-6, will be followed. See Appendix 9.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 4 for discussion of content and literary genre.

The scriptural references range from what appear to be indirect allusions to direct citations.⁹⁷ 4Q177 seems to be constructed according to the scheme biblical quotation-interpretation-biblical quotation-interpretation, etc. The proportion is about 1:3.⁹⁸ The sequence of the Psalms quotations corresponds mainly to their sequence in the biblical Psalter.⁹⁹ Quotations from the Psalms are supplemented by quotations from other prophetic texts. The manner of citation is consistent throughout. *Pesher* formulae are only used in connection with Psalms.¹⁰⁰ The interpretations of the other quotations are introduced by other formulae, usually applying personal pronouns. The phrase כְּתוּב, “it is written,” is used for other prophetic citations,¹⁰¹ but the verb אָמַר, “to say,” (or no introductory formula) is used in connection with the Psalms.

The columns of 4Q177 seem to be of a consistent height of sixteen lines.¹⁰² Apparently no signs of dividing lines for columns have survived.¹⁰³ The width of the spaces between columns is about 1.0 centimeters but can vary to 2.0 centimeters.¹⁰⁴ The writing has been described as of the rustic semi-formal school and dated to early or late Herodian times.¹⁰⁵ This type of script is common in the 4Q cave and may be found particularly in the nonbiblical manuscripts (e.g., see 4Q171). Characteristic of this tradition of writing is the use of the medial פ instead of the final form (e.g., see column 1 (VIII), 10).¹⁰⁶

⁹⁷ See Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 57-124. Steudel numbers the five columns from VIII to XII based on her conclusion that 4Q177 is a continuation of 4Q174. Steudel's conclusion as to the relationship between 4Q174 and 4Q177 will not be followed in this work. See Appendix 10 for the texts and Appendix 9 for reconstruction of column 3 (X) containing Psalm 16:3a.

⁹⁸ Annette Steudel, “Eschatological Interpretation of Scripture in 4Q177 (4Q Catena^a),” *Revue de Qumrân* 53 (1990): 476. And see Chapter 4 for discussion.

⁹⁹ The sequence is interrupted in the case of Psalm 6 (after Psalm 17).

¹⁰⁰ The פֶּשֶׁר (*pesher*) formulae are:

1. Col. 1 (VIII), 8 following Psalm 11:1
2. Col. 2 (IX), 9 following Psalm 13:2-3
3. Col. 2 (IX), 14 possibly following Ezekiel 25:8*
4. Col. 3 (X), 6 following Psalm 17:1

*If reconstructed following Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 243, with an original *pesher* formula, this would be the only time in both 4Q174 and 4Q177 that the preceding and subject quotation comes from outside the Psalter. Perhaps a better reconstruction here would be to introduce the interpretation with a personal pronoun and the taking up of a word of the quotation (אָשֶׁר) as is more common. Cf. column 3 (X), 1, 1f and other Qumran texts. See Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 98, who suggests הַיָּמִים [בְּאַתְרֵי] הַיָּמִים. With הַיָּמִים/הַיָּמִים, the subject of קִבְּצוּ would be defined in more detail.

¹⁰¹ Both 4Q174 and 4Q177 (as well as 4Q182) use a similar elaborated form of כְּתוּב formulae that contain both the addressee of the quotation and the origin of the quotation.

¹⁰² Fragment 5 has sixteen lines and an upper and a lower margin.

¹⁰³ Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 58.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 236; Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 59. See Frank M. Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. Ernest Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 139 and 175, regarding script type and 138, line 5 regarding date; Milgrom and Novakovic, “Catena A,” 286.

¹⁰⁶ Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 59.

The orthography of 4Q177 shows a strong leaning to a *plene* script (see Appendix 10 for various examples). Prepositions with suffixes occur both with the long spelling of the suffixes (e.g., לְהַמָּה) as well as the short form (e.g., לְהֵם). As for personal pronouns, הַמָּה is only found in its long form. The third person masculine and feminine pronoun is found in 4Q177 in long (e.g., fragments 3, 7; 2, 14) and short forms (e.g., fragments 14, 5; 12, 8).

Other than instances of known Qumran writing practices that differ from those of the MT and of textual differences within the MT family, several differences from the MT demonstrate that other text traditions may have been used.¹⁰⁷ The quotation of Psalm 11:2 in column 1 (VIII), 8 may correspond to the LXX reading over against the MT.¹⁰⁸ This quotation of Psalm 11:2 also corresponds with the Peshitta over against the MT.¹⁰⁹ The quotation of Micah 2:10b-11 in column 1 (VIII), 10 may also be analogous to the Peshitta. In column 2 (IX), 2, with the insertion of הַנְּבִיאַ and the omission of זְבָאוֹת, the quotation of Zechariah 3:9 does not accord well with the MT. If in column 2 (IX), 3 Isaiah 6:10 is quoted, the LXX seems to be the text form followed.¹¹⁰ If in column 2 (IX), 14 Ezekiel 25:8 is quoted (where we find at least an allusion), both Steudel and Strugnell reproduce a reading in a version similar to the LXX by adding בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל.¹¹¹ Further, both Strugnell and Steudel suggest that the reading הַעַמִּים (instead of the MT הַגּוֹיִם) may resemble the Peshitta.¹¹² In column 3 (X), 4, the quotation of Psalm 17:1a includes the form לְתַפְלְתִּי which is unique in the Psalm tradition.¹¹³ The reference to Ezekiel 22:20 in column 4 (XI), 5 may be a different version of the MT or perhaps a free reproduction of a *pesher*.¹¹⁴ In column 4 (XI), 8, the quotation of Psalm 6:4, 5a includes differences (רַעְתָּהּ for MT וְאֵתָּהּ and חוֹנְנִי instead of MT שׁוֹכֵן יְהוָה) without parallels in other known text traditions.

2. Masoretic Text Family Evidence

The Hebrew text of Psalm 16 as found in the *BHS* accurately reflects the text found in MT^L. Unfortunately, the Aleppo Codex does not contain the text of Psalm 16.¹¹⁵ In addition to the MT^L, the Masoretic notes and references (both the *Masora parva* “Mp”¹¹⁶ and the

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix 10 for a listing of differences with the MT. And see Chapter 4 for discussion of the appropriation of Scripture in 4Q177.

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix 10.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix 10 and Chapter 4 for discussion.

¹¹¹ Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 244; Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 72.

¹¹² Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 245; Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 98.

¹¹³ Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 102-3.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix 10.

¹¹⁵ The Aleppo Codex lacks Psalms 15:1-25:2.

¹¹⁶ *BHS* xii-xix; William R. Scott, *A Simplified Guide to BHS: Critical Apparatus, Masora, Accents, Unusual Letters, and Other Markings*, 3rd ed. (North Richland Hills, Tex.: BIBAL Press, 1995), 37-51;

Masora magna “Mm”¹¹⁷), along with the Masoretic text manuscripts collated by Benjamin Kennicott¹¹⁸ and Johannis B. de Rossi¹¹⁹ portray the family of manuscripts known as the MT. Thus, the MT of Psalm 16 may be viewed as summarized in Appendix 15.

B. Linguistic Features

Hermann Gunkel’s seminal work begins the modern practice of comparing Hebrew psalms with Sumerian-Babylonian psalms and with Egyptian psalms. While noting that Hebrew was from the beginning “a mixed language,”¹²⁰ Gunkel emphasizes common features between Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hebrew psalms both in terms of *Gattung* and *Sitz im Leben*.¹²¹ Gunkel insists that the Psalter, as a collection of religious lyrics, must be studied within the context offered by the existence of other literary compositions of the same general pattern not only in Israel and Judaism but also in the earlier or contemporary cultures of Mesopotamia and Egypt. As an initial step in comparing the compositions, Gunkel seeks to classify the psalms according to their *Gattung*. The presupposition governing his approach is that of first being able to establish the *Sitz im Leben* for each psalm. Gunkel distinguishes five main *Gattungen* (hymns, communal complaint psalms, royal psalms, individual complaint psalms, and individual thanksgiving psalms), all argued to be cultic in origin and each having features which reappear in the wider context of Israel’s religious literature, so that one is continually confronted with the important questions of interrelationship and mutual dependence.¹²² Gunkel’s conclusions regarding linguistic phenomena, sporadic references to historical events, and arguable connections with relatively more datable documents lead him to theories regarding a literary history of the Psalter. Regarding Psalm 16, Gunkel sees an evolution into a psalm of confidence (*Vertrauenspsalm*) which he argues had developed from his category of complaint psalms (*Klagelieder des*

Reinhard Wonneberger, *Understanding BHS: A Manual for the Users of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 2nd new ed, trans. by Dwight R. Daniels (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1990), 64-9; Page H. Kelley et al., *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 46-193.

¹¹⁷ Gérard E. Weil, *Massorah Gedolah: iuxta codicem Leningradensem B19a*, vol. 1, *Catalogi*. (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1971), 203-4, 336, 355, 371.

¹¹⁸ Benjamin Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1776-80), 2:316-8 (for Psalm 16).

¹¹⁹ De Rossi, *Variae Lectiones*, 3:8-10 (for Psalm 16).

¹²⁰ Hermann Gunkel, “The Poetry of the Psalms: Its Literary History and Its Application to the Dating of the Psalms,” in *Old Testament Essays: Papers Read before the Society for Old Testament Study at its Eighteenth Meeting, Held at Keble College, Oxford, 1927* (London: Charles Griffin, 1927), 119.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 118-42; Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel*, trans. James D. Nogalski (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), especially 4-5, 132; Hermann Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction*, trans. Thomas M. Horner (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 1-4. E.g., Gunkel finds Psalm 19a to be Canaanite in origin.

¹²² Gunkel’s minor *Gattungen* include communal thanksgiving psalms, pilgrimage psalms, and liturgies. Hermann Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 6th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 1-33.

Einzelnen).¹²³ In these psalms of confidence, the expression of trust often found in the laments is expanded throughout the psalm.

Others also compare Hebrew psalms to Sumerian-Babylonian psalms¹²⁴ and Egyptian psalms¹²⁵ mainly emphasizing similarities in form and structure.¹²⁶ In his study of individual prayers in Sumerian, William W. Hallo demonstrates the importance of Mesopotamian hymnic and prayer material for the study of the Hebrew Bible.¹²⁷ Mesopotamian parallels to Psalm 16 in language and in form are evident. Like psalms of confidence in the Hebrew Bible, the Sumerian composition published under the title “Man and His God: A Sumerian Variation on the ‘Job’ Motif”¹²⁸ and the Akkadian poems of the “righteous sufferer” (*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*)¹²⁹ reflect liturgies of thanksgiving of the sufferer to his god¹³⁰ for having saved him from destruction. In *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (beginning with verse 13), like Psalm 16, the sufferer recalls being close to the pit, dream revelations, and his soul being saved from the pit by god. It seems that these *topoi* are found in the type of individual prayers known in Mesopotamia beginning with the third millennium B.C.E. and spreading to Syria and Palestine.¹³¹ Some scholars have preferred to think of the Mesopotamian parallels as strictly typological. For example, Godfrey R. Driver’s study of Babylonian hymns and psalms concludes that, while Babylonian hymns and psalms are expressed in similar forms, even in

¹²³ Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 121, 127, 190; Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 50-5. See the following section for more discussion of the reformulation of Psalm 16.

¹²⁴ E.g., see Godfrey R. Driver, “The Psalms in the Light of Babylonian Research,” in *The Psalmists: Essays on Their Religious Experience and Teaching, Their Social Background, and Their Place in the Development of Hebrew Psalmody*, ed. D. C. Simpson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), 109-75; Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms*, trans. Keith R. Crim and Richard N. Soulen (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), 36-51. Charles Cumming, in his comparison of the Akkadian and Hebrew hymns, makes a case for indirect dependence mediated through earlier contacts of Canaan with the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Charles G. Cumming, *The Assyrian and Hebrew Hymns of Praise* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934). And George Widengren, in his survey of the individual psalms of lamentation in Akkadian and in Hebrew literature, argues that the Akkadian psalms must have exerted an indirect influence on the Hebrew Psalter through the medium of the earlier cultic literature of Canaan. George Widengren, *The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents: A Comparative Study* (Stockholm: Thule, 1937), see especially 1-36.

¹²⁵ E.g., see A. M. Blackman, “The Psalms in the Light of Egyptian Research,” in *The Psalmists: Essays on Their Religious Experience and Teaching, Their Social Background, and Their Place in the Development of Hebrew Psalmody*, ed. D. C. Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), 177-97; Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 43-51.

¹²⁶ See the next section for a discussion of issues surrounding Psalm 16’s form and structure.

¹²⁷ William W. Hallo, “Individual Prayer in Sumerian: The Continuity of a Tradition.” In *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser*, ed. William W. Hallo (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1968), 71-89.

¹²⁸ Samuel N. Kramer, “‘Man and His God’: A Sumerian Variation on the ‘Job’ Motif.” In *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Martin Noth and D. Winton Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 170-82.

¹²⁹ Wilfred G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), 51-62.

¹³⁰ In this thesis, I follow the scholarly convention in using “God” when referring to the God of Israel (as mentioned in the Hebrew Bible), but in using “god” when referring to another deity.

¹³¹ For discussion, see Moshe Weinfeld, “Job and Its Mesopotamian Parallels: A Typological Analysis,” in *Text and Context: Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F. C. Fensham*, ed. W. Claassen, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 48* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 217-26.

words philologically the same as those in Hebrew psalms, this is largely due to the fact that both languages derive from the same parent speech.¹³² While concluding that Babylonian hymns and psalms did not exercise any significant theological influence on the works of the Hebrew psalmists,¹³³ Driver does draw out numerous verbal similarities. Both Babylonian and Hebrew people shared idioms and figures of speech in which often the very words were philologically identical. Thus, Driver concludes that Babylonian may be used to interpret obscure Hebrew words. Driver gives Psalm 16:9 as an example. According to Driver, there is no true parallelism between “heart” (לֵב) and “glory” (כְּבוֹד) in such lines as Psalm 16:9:

My heart (לֵבִי) is glad and my glory (כְּבוֹדִי) rejoices;
My flesh also dwells in safety.¹³⁴

But Driver notes that in Babylonian poetry the liver is often regarded as an organ of emotion, being used especially for the heart or the temper. Therefore, since the Babylonian word *kabbittu*, “liver,” is cognate with the Hebrew כֶּבֶד, “liver,” it may be restored in the Hebrew text for כְּבוֹד, “glory.” Psalm 16:9 will then run:

My heart (לֵבִי) is glad and my liver (כְּבֶדִי) rejoices,
and should be compared with the Babylonian phrase:

May thy heart be at ease, may thy liver be appeased!¹³⁵

Also, for example, A. M. Blackman concludes, on the basis of parallel language, that Hebrew psalmists were indebted to Egyptian forms and religious content in such biblical compositions as Psalm 104, Psalm 1, and the penitential psalms. Blackman reasons that these compositions are derived from Egyptian prototypes that came into Hebrew psalmody through the medium of Phoenicia.¹³⁶ Such Egyptian hymns may have been employed in the Temple worship of Byblos, which essentially was an Egyptian colony.¹³⁷ In time, these hymns, or motifs from these hymns, would be taken over and adapted by the native Phoenicians. In turn, the Phoenicians may have passed them on to the Hebrews either during Solomon’s reign, when Hiram’s workmen built the Temple in Jerusalem, or during Ahab’s

¹³² Driver, “The Psalms,” 137.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 123.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 122-3, referencing Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1900), iii, 29, and 30.

¹³⁶ A. M. Blackman, “The Psalms,” 177-97.

¹³⁷ William F. Albright, “The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. Ernest Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 332. For a recent survey of the history of Egypt from ca. 1400 B.C.E. to the Amarna Age, see Cyrus H. Gordon, and Gary A. Rendsburg, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 4th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 52-87.

reign, whose Phoenician wife,¹³⁸ Jezebel, is known to have favored the introduction of Phoenician religious and political ideas.¹³⁹

Prior to the discovery of the Ugaritic texts, the affinities between biblical psalmody and Canaanite literature had been discussed primarily based on hymnic fragments in the El-Amarna letters. While a small number of the El-Amarna letters (written in Babylonian cuneiform script and Assyrian-Babylonian) came from rulers of larger kingdoms in Asia Minor, mainly they are letters from princes of Syrian and Palestinian city-states to the Egyptian kings Amenophis III and IV (ca. 1411-1358 B.C.E.), who in some fashion, ruled both countries at that time. These letters appear to contain passages with embedded fragments of Canaanite psalms that the Syrian and Palestinian princes used in their servile flattery of the Egyptian kings.¹⁴⁰ Franz M. T. Böhl compares parts of the El-Amarna letters with Psalm 139:8¹⁴¹ and Psalm 27:8.¹⁴² Anton Jirku cites twenty-four Canaanite psalm fragments and adduced biblical parallels to nineteen of them, sixteen from the Psalms and three from Job.¹⁴³ Jirku finds the cited passages markedly different from their context, and from other sections from within the letters, because of their religious tones and poetic vitality. Further, Jirku argues that the “fragments of Canaanite psalms” were not composed by the El-Amarna letter writers since fragments containing exactly the same text were repeatedly written by both the same and by different writers. Jirku concludes that the various letter writers must have made use of pre-existing religious songs to show their reverence to the kings of Egypt.

¹³⁸ 1 Kings 16:31.

¹³⁹ Cultural influence on Israel by Phoenicia has been assumed at least from the seventh to the second centuries B.C.E.. See William F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1957), particularly 243-4. And see Gordon and Rendsburg, *The Bible*, 183-236; Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: YHWH and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 42-4; Lester L. Grabbe, “‘Canaanite’: Some Methodological Observations in Relation to Biblical Study,” in *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992*, ed. George J. Brooke et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 113-22.

¹⁴⁰ Hugo Winckler, *Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen*. Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1895) 123. For a recent survey of the history of the Amarna Age, see Gordon and Rendsburg, *The Bible*, 82-94.

¹⁴¹ Franz M. T. Böhl, “Hymnisches und Rhythmisches in den Amarnabriefen aus Kanaan,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 35 (1914): 337-40 (referencing Jørgen A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915), 1:264:14-19).

¹⁴² Böhl, “Hymnisches,” 337-40 (referencing Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1:165:4-8).

¹⁴³ Anton Jirku, “Kanaanäische Psalmenfragmente in der Vorisraelitischen Zeit Palästinas und Syriens,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 52 (1933): 108-20. For further discussion of the hymnic fragments in the El-Amarna letters, see Mark J. Mangano, “Rhetorical Content in the Amarna Correspondence from the Levant” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College, 1990).

Like Böhl, Jirku also cites a letter from a man named Tagi to the king of Egypt as exhibiting the appropriation of a Canaanite psalm fragment parallel to Psalm 139:8.¹⁴⁴ Jirku translates this fragment as:

If we ascend to heaven,
If we descend to the earth,
Our life is in your hands.

In the midst of reports of events of a trivial nature one finds this sort of servile flattery. Jirku notes that this fragment sharply departs from the style and content of its literary surroundings (as do all the twenty-four instances Jirku cites) and concludes that it had to be quoted out of its original context and assessed as a literary work of religious character. To illustrate, the complete letter from Tagi is translated:

To the King, my lord,
It is Tagi, your servant!
I fell before the feet of the king, my lord,
Seven times seven.
Behold, I am a servant of the king,
And I have striven to gather,
The caravans by my brother.
He was almost murdered.
I am unable to send the caravans to the king, my lord.
And I ask your representative,
Whether my brother were not almost killed.
Furthermore, our eyes (are) fixed on you.
If we ascend to heaven,
If we descend to the earth,
Our life is in your hands.
And lo, now I have tried to send the caravans to the king by my friend.
And the king, my lord knows,
that I serve the king and (for him) am on my guard.¹⁴⁵

Regarding parallels to Psalm 16, Jirku finds two instances of the appropriation of language similar to Psalm 16:11a. In a letter from Aziri of Amurru (Jirku notes that this is a Syrian state which experienced its greatest expansion in the third millennium B.C.E.) to the king of Egypt we find:

What more do I seek?
The beautiful countenance of the king, my lord, do I seek.¹⁴⁶

In a letter from a son of Aziri of Amurru written to an Egyptian official we find:

You give me life and you give me death!

¹⁴⁴ Jirku, "Kanaänische Psalmenfragmente," 116 (referencing Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1:264:15-19).

¹⁴⁵ My English translation (*passim*) from the German of Jirku, "Kanaänische Psalmenfragmente," 119-20 (referencing Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1:264).

¹⁴⁶ Jirku, "Kanaänische Psalmenfragmente," 114 (referencing Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1:166:6-8).

I gaze on your face and you are indeed my lord!¹⁴⁷

A man called Bajadi writes to an Egyptian official:

Yes, I learn of your greatness, my lord.

You [plural] give us life and you [plural] give us death!¹⁴⁸

Here a psalm about the multiplicity of deities is applied to one person, the king. Also, while the last two quotations are from different authors, they seem to draw from a similar source.

Following the discovery of the Ugaritic texts, the relationship between biblical and Canaanite literature has been discussed in numerous studies in which the linguistic, stylistic, literary, cultural, cultic, and religious features common to these literatures are emphasized.¹⁴⁹ The corpus of Ugaritic poetry may be understood as including the mythological and epic texts, which are mostly in narrative verse, and excludes letters, legal and economic texts as well as the ritual texts.¹⁵⁰ Structural markers include parallelism and division into prosodic units of approximately the same length. The principal problems in comparing Ugaritic poetry to biblical Hebrew poetry may be the Ugaritic use of verse for narrative, which is virtually unknown in Hebrew,¹⁵¹ and a general lack of hymns found in Ugaritic. Also, unlike Akkadian and Hebrew verse, there does not appear to be prevalent clustering of similes in Ugaritic poetry.¹⁵²

H. Louis Ginsberg draws attention to the affinities between Hebrew psalmody and Ugaritic literature.¹⁵³ In comparing various aspects of Psalm 29 with Ugaritic literature,

¹⁴⁷ Jirku, "Kanaänische Psalmenfragmente," 115 (referencing Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1:169:7-10).

¹⁴⁸ Jirku, "Kanaänische Psalmenfragmente," 115 (referencing Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1:238:29-33).

¹⁴⁹ E.g., see Wilfred G. E. Watson, "Ugaritic Poetry," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, ed. Wilfred G. E. Watson and Nicolas Wyatt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 165-92; Yitzhak Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew and Ugaritic Psalms*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994); Nicolas Wyatt, *Myths of Power: A Study of Royal Myth and Ideology in Ugaritic and Biblical Tradition* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996); Nicolas Wyatt, "The Religion of Ugarit: An Overview," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, ed. Wilfred G. E. Watson and Nicolas Wyatt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 529-85.

¹⁵⁰ Watson, "Ugaritic Poetry," 165-6 (a definition which is comparable to Matitiahu Tsevat's broad definition of Hebrew poetry). See Tsevat, *Study*, 4-5.

¹⁵¹ For a discussion of the inherent problems in studying Ugaritic verse, see Watson, "Ugaritic Poetry," 166-8. James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 59-95; see John C. L. Gibson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar-Syntax*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 64-104; "The Anatomy of Hebrew Narrative Poetry." In *Understanding Poets and Prophets: Essays in Honour of George Wishart Anderson*, ed. A. Graeme Auld, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 152 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 143-8; Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1985), 83-6.

¹⁵² Watson, "Ugaritic Poetry," 192; *Classical Hebrew*, 4-9; Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 170 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 104-91.

¹⁵³ H. L. Ginsberg, "A Phoenician Hymn in the Psalter," in *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti Roma, 23-29 Settembre 1935* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1938). Unless otherwise noted, I have used the Ugaritic transliterations and translations (along with the apparatus) of John C. L. Gibson in

Ginsberg concludes that this Psalm is a metamorphosis of a Canaanite hymn. Similarly, Theodor H. Gaster observes that various biblical Psalms, Psalm 29 in particular, bear resemblances to Canaanite psalmody.¹⁵⁴ Gaster argues that these Psalms were originally hymns to the god Hadad, which were later adopted as part of Israelite worship.¹⁵⁵ Ginsberg and Gaster originally argued for affinities on the basis of parallel language and subsequently came to recognize the mythological background to certain biblical Psalms. For example, Ginsberg recognizes an early Canaanite grammatical form in Psalm 29:6, where for the MT וַיִּרְקִינֵם he reads וַיִּרְקֵם with an archaic coordinative suffix ׀.¹⁵⁶ For Gaster, the Babylonian poem *Enuma eliš* and the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* provide the “true interpretation” of biblical Psalms that contain parallel language.¹⁵⁷ Such is the case with Psalm 93, the psalm in Habakkuk 3, and Gaster suggests that “Psalm 29 is ... the typical ‘hymn of laudation’ detached from its mythic context, YHWHized, and preserved as an independent composition.”¹⁵⁸ Noting the abruptness of the end of the laudation at Psalm 29:9, Gaster assumes an immediately antecedent lacuna (with a missing subject) which he fills by a comparison with *Enuma eliš* vi, 144.¹⁵⁹ Thus, Gaster proposes to restore something like:

קהל קדושים יהללוהו	The concretion of the holy ones praise him.
ובהיכלו כלו אמר כבוד	And in his palace all of it recites the Glory.

In so doing, Gaster also then compares קהל קדושים to its usage in Psalm 89:6 and the מַפְחַרְתָּהּ of the inscription of *Yehawmilk of Byblos*.¹⁶⁰ Gaster concludes that the word קדושים denotes the pantheon in the eighth century B.C.E. Canaanite magical plaque from Arslan Tash, and that the same usage may be recognized in Psalm 16:3; Job 5:1, 15; Hosea 12:1; and Zechariah 14:5.¹⁶¹

Canaanite Myths and Legends, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1978).

¹⁵⁴ Theodor H. Gaster, “The Earliest Known Miracle-Play?” *Folklore* 44 (1933): 379-90; “Psalm 29,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 37 (1946-7): 55-65.

¹⁵⁵ Gaster, “Earliest Known,” 379-90; “Psalm 29,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 37 (1946-7): 55-65.

¹⁵⁶ Other examples of this coordinative suffix which Gaster believed to be misunderstood in the MT are: (a) Numbers 24:17 עֲקֹב יַעֲקֹב – “Jacob’s star ruleth”; (b) Deuteronomy 33:3 וְהָם הָכּוּ לְרַגְלֶךָ – “and they – they crouch at thy feet that they may receive thine utterances”; (c) Joel 1:17 נִהְרָסוּ מִגְרוּחַ – “overturned are the barns”; (d) Psalm 42:5 אֶדְדִּים עַד בַּיִת אֱלֹהִים – “I move to the Temple.” Gaster, “Psalm 29,” 65.

¹⁵⁷ Gaster, “Psalm 29,” 57. Standard transliteration practices will be followed as summarized in Stanislav Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language: With Selected Texts and Glossary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 21.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. A conclusion also reached by others such as Frank M. Cross, “Notes on a Canaanite Psalm in the Old Testament,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 117 (1950): 19-21; *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 151-6.

¹⁵⁹ Gaster, “Psalm 29,” 62.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

William F. Albright has exerted considerable influence on the study of the relationship between Ugaritic literature and Hebrew psalms. Albright writes on the verbal and stylistic similarity of Canaanite literature to Hebrew poetry, especially to early poems such as the *Song of Miriam* (Exodus 15), the *Song of Deborah* (Judges 5), the *Blessing of Moses* (Deuteronomy 33), Psalm 29, and Psalm 68.¹⁶² In his study of the psalm in Habakkuk 3, Albright discusses the metrical, stylistic, and mythical parallels between Ugaritic texts and Habakkuk 3.¹⁶³ Albright concludes that Ugaritic exerts a direct literary influence on Israelite psalmody and music.¹⁶⁴

Albright's students John H. Patton and Mitchell Dahood explore other relationships between Ugaritic and the Hebrew Bible. Patton discusses four elements in common to Canaanite literature and the Psalms: (a) prosody; (b) thought patterns (mythical elements and cultic concepts); (c) word patterns (seven common concepts); and (d) word parallels (dozens of parallel words).¹⁶⁵ Patton lists a great number of roots which the two languages have in common and also the usage of verbs in comparable stems. Patton compares the vocabulary of the Psalms with the vocabulary of the then extant Ugaritic literature and finds that approximately 46% of all roots appearing in the Psalms are common to both, while 54% of the roots appearing in Ugaritic are common to both.¹⁶⁶ Regarding the language of Psalm 16, Patton notes the roots כֹּרַס (16:5)¹⁶⁷ and מִנֵּה (16:5)¹⁶⁸ as being distinctively parallel in Ugaritic with their particular usage in Psalm 16.

In general, Patton finds that the phonemes occurring in the literature of Ugarit and in the Hebrew of the Psalms show time development rather than dialectic variation, though there is "a little dialectic difference."¹⁶⁹ Patton sees the dialectic and time differentiation of such a minor nature that he concludes that the two languages may "almost be called contemporaneous, especially with the archaisms which are prevalent in the Psalms."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶² William F. Albright, "The Role of the Canaanites," 328-62. See particularly 339, 351. Also see "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm 68)," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 (1951): 1-39; "Two Little Understood Amarna Letters from the Middle Jordan Valley," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 89 (1943): 7-21.

¹⁶³ William F. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, ed. H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1950), 1-20.

¹⁶⁴ Albright, "The Role," 351. (A direct literary relationship as argued by others such as Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, especially see 112-3; 142-4; 147; 343-6.)

¹⁶⁵ John H. Patton, *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1944), particularly 47-8.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Patton's principal conclusion that linguistically the literature of Ugarit is a kindred dialect to the Hebrew of the Psalms is well known today.

In current dialogue, some scholars hold the view that Ugaritic is a Canaanite dialect (the Canaanite languages being understood to include the Old Canaanite of the Amarna glosses, Phoenician, Moabite, and biblical Hebrew).¹⁷¹ Others maintain that Ugaritic is an independent language "quite distinct from Canaanite."¹⁷² Ginsberg's classifications of northwest Semitic languages, as followed by many scholars today, are:¹⁷³

- a) Canaanite
 - i) Phoenic (Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Punic; probably also Philistine and Ashdodite) (oldest group of Canaanite)
 - ii) Hebraic (Hebrew and Moabite; probably also Ammonite and Edomite)
- b) Aramaic
 - i) Common
 - ii) Samalian

That the grammar, syntax, and vocabulary of biblical Hebrew poetry resemble that of Ugarit is widely understood today as is the similarity between Canaanite poetry and biblical poetry which manifests itself in the use of common metrical features and parallelism. Patton's assertions regarding direct influence of the Canaanite of Ugarit upon the composition of the Psalms as seen in religious-cultic parallels and concepts common to the two literatures still occupy an important place in current comparative scholarship.¹⁷⁴ Patton himself recognizes the danger of going beyond the comparative linguistic evidence. While maintaining a direct influence of the Canaanite of Ugarit upon the composition of the Psalms, Patton ends his study by saying:

This study deals only with comparisons. If it were to include also contrasts, ideas would play an important role. The same words, word patterns, and thought patterns may be used to express totally different ideas. If these ideas are taken out of their concrete form of expression and used in any type of figure of speech, their original connotation may be entirely lost. This would be found to be true of the spiritual and moral significance of the Psalms and the Ugaritic literature.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ See Josef Tropper, "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Language?" in *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992*, ed. George J. Brooke et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 343-53; Segert, *Basic Grammar*.

¹⁷² Daniel Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 3. And see Ian Young, *Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 5 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993), 5; Albrecht Goetze, "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?" *Language* 17 (1941): 127-38; Zellig S. Harris, *Development of Canaanite Dialects: An Investigation in Linguistic History* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1939), 127-38.

¹⁷³ H. Louis Ginsberg, "The Northwest Semitic Languages." In *The World History of the Jewish People*. Vol. 2, *Patriarchs*, ed. Benjamin Mazar, 102-6. Jerusalem: Jewish History Publications, 1970), 102-6. For further discussion, see Young, *Diversity*, 4-71; Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 29-62.

¹⁷⁴ E.g., see Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew*; Young, *Diversity*.

¹⁷⁵ Patton, *Canaanite Parallels*, 48.

Numerous studies of parallel word pairs and concepts occurring in Ugaritic literature and the Psalms have now followed.¹⁷⁶ Roger T. O’Callaghan’s 1954 study, “Echoes of Canaanite Literature in the Psalms,” seeks to highlight the influence of Canaanite literature on the Psalms and to illustrate that particular passages in the Psalms are best understood in light of their Canaanite background. In Psalm 16:2 O’Callaghan notes that we read “I said to YHWH, my Lord art thou ...” and the verse ends *טוֹבָתִי בְל־עָלֶיךָ*, which the LXX and Vulgate both translate, “You have no need of my goods/goodnesses.”¹⁷⁷ Yet O’Callaghan further notes that Symmachus, the *Jerusalem Targum*, and the “new Roman version” (1945) read *non sine te*, which suggests the emendation *בלעדריך*.¹⁷⁸ Apart from the fact that *טוֹבָתִי* is most naturally translated “my happiness” here,¹⁷⁹ rather than “goods,” O’Callaghan suggests that the translations have gone too far. We may have recourse to Phoenician where the particle *bl* is not only negative, as is well known¹⁸⁰ (compare Psalm 141:4b, “and with men who work iniquity I shall never eat [יִבְל־אֶלְחָם] of their delicacies”), but it may also be asseverative.¹⁸¹ Thus, in the Ugaritic legend of Aqhatu, the phrase (2 Aqht i, 21) *bl ðt bn lh*, in the immediately preceding context can be translated positively only, “may he indeed have a son.”¹⁸² Therefore, it is possible that we may read in Psalm 16:2 “my happiness is indeed in [literally “on” or “upon”] thee.”¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶ Beginning in 1946, see e.g., Joseph Coppens, “Les Parallèles Du Psautier Avec les Textes De Ras-Shamra-Ougarit,” *Le Muséor* 59 (1946): 1-30, dealing with eighteen parallel word pairs and concepts (seventeen from the Psalms and one from Habakkuk 3) between Ugaritic literature and the Psalms; and “Trois parallèles ougaritiens du Psautier,” *Expository Times Literature* 23 (1947): 173-7, in which three more parallels are noted (Psalm 110:3, 6; 82:7).

¹⁷⁷ Roger T. O’Callaghan, “Echoes of Canaanite Literature in the Psalms,” *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954): 166.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ BDB, s.v. “טוֹבָדָה.” For discussion, see pages 143-4.

¹⁸⁰ O’Callaghan, “Echoes,” 166. Also see Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 57; Matitiahu Tsevat, *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms*, Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 9 (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1955), 48-9, 50; BDB, s.v. “בִּלְ”; E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, rev. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 481; Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2 vols., trans. and rev. T. Muraoka (reprint, Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1996), 2:607; Johannes F. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*. *Analecta Orientalia* 46 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1970), 125; Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual: Newly Revised Grammar, Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Paradigms, Glossary, Indices*. *Analecta Orientalia* 35 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955), 61, 86, 89, 97, 246; Sivan, *Grammar*, 184-5; Segert, *Basic Grammar*, 100.

¹⁸¹ O’Callaghan, “Echoes,” 166; Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, Word Biblical Commentary (Waco, Tex.: Word, 1983), 155; Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 61, 86, 89, 97, 246. Cf. Takamitsu Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985), 125-7.

¹⁸² O’Callaghan, “Echoes,” 166.

¹⁸³ For this use of *עַל* cf. Psalm 7:11 *עַל־אֱלֹהִים* – “my shield is in God.” In both cases the *עַל* indicates the source of support. To translate *עַל* as “from” is also acceptable here provided its force is not separative, as in Psalm 4:7. See pages 143-4 for discussion of *עַל* in Psalm 16:2.

Matitياهو Tsevat has attempted to describe the idiom of the psalms as compared to the whole of classical Hebrew.¹⁸⁴ Tsevat groups linguistic items (words, forms, and phrases) based on concentration in the Hebrew Bible – by the ratio of occurrences in psalm passages to outside occurrences.¹⁸⁵ Based on this method, the language of Psalm 16 includes the following three words that Tsevat thereby concludes are part of the particular diction of biblical poetry:

1. בָּל (39:25 – i.e., thirty-nine times inside biblical psalm passages and twenty-five times outside.)¹⁸⁶
2. נֶצַח / נִצָּח (22:16 – twenty-two times inside biblical psalm passages and sixteen times outside.)¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Tsevat, *Study*. Tsevat considers the following as psalm passages in the Hebrew Bible: the Book of Psalms, exclusive of 45 and the headings of individual psalms; Genesis 9:26 and 14:20; Exodus 15:2-18; Deuteronomy 32:3f; 33:2-5; Judges 5:2-5, 31a; 1 Samuel 2:1-10; 1 Kings 8:12f.; Isaiah 6:3; 12; 25:1-5, 9; 26:1-19; 33:2, 20; 38:10-20; 42:10-12; 44:23; 51:9f.; 59:9-15a; 63:7-64:11; Jeremiah 10:24; 11:18-20; 12:1-3; 14:7-9, 19-22; 15:11; 15:11, 15-18; 16:19; 17:12-18; 18:19-23; 20:7-13; 31:18f.; Joel 1:19f.; 2:17; Amos 7:2, 5; Jonah 2:3-10; Micah 7:14-20; Nahum 1:2-8; Habakkuk 1:2-4, 11b-17; 3:2-19; Job 7:7-21; 9:27-31; 10:2-22; 13:20-14:22; 30:19-23; Lamentations 1:9b-11, 20-22; 2:20-22; 3:19f., 23, 43-45, 55-66; 5. *Study*, 4-5.

¹⁸⁵ Tsevat notes that in order to appreciate the ratio of the single elements, one must bear in mind that the psalms represent only about one twelfth (8.5%) of the Hebrew Bible. *Study* 10, 79. And see pages 2-14 for a detailed description of Tsevat's assumptions and method.

¹⁸⁶ Of the sixty-four total occurrences found, Tsevat notes Psalm 10:4, 6, 11, 15, 18; 16:2, 4 (*bis*), 8; 17:3 (*bis*), 5; 21:3, 8, 12; 30:7; 32:9; 46:6; 49:13; 58:9; 78:44; 93:1; 104:5, 9 (*bis*); 119:121; 140:11f.; 141:4; 147:20; Isaiah 26:10f., 14 (*bis*), 18 (*bis*); 33:20 (*ter*) as being in poetry. Of the thirty-nine times, six are from Isaiah 26 (the so-called "Isaiah Apocalypse" or "Eschatological Psalm," Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 365-73) and three from Isaiah 33 ("A Psalm of Petition and Praise," Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 435-47. The *Qere* in Hosea 9:16 is not counted, the *Kethiv* being preferable. Tsevat, *Study*, 86-7. See *HALOT*, s.v. "בָּל," which counts approximately fifty occurrences, noting the odd concentrations in Psalms and Isaiah and that they are mostly in poetical texts and are often repeated in a short passage (e.g., Isaiah 26:10-18 seven times; 33:20-24 seven times; Psalm 10:4-18 five times) and most often used with the imperfect. *HALOT* also notes that בָּל is used with בָּרַח sixteen times. David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998), s.v. "בָּל," counts sixty-nine occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, two in Sirach, and fifteen in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The occurrences in Sirach are 35:4 (with imperfect) and 11:5 (preceding a preposition in a nominal clause). The occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls with an imperfect verb are 4Q413 1:3; 4Q525 14:2, 8; 4QTestim 20; 4QM^a 11:1, 12; 4QShirShab⁴ 23:1, 4; 4Q525 14:2, 6; 4QBark^c 1:5; 4QHod^c 3:2; 4QBark^c 1:8; 4AQRitPur 42:1, 5; IQS 8:8 (twice). Other usages are found in 4Q418 81:4; 4Q422 10:4; 4QRitMar 257:2; 4QRitPur 102:2. Abraham Even-Shoshan, ed., *A New Concordance of the Bible: Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic Roots, Words, Proper Names, Phrases, and Synonyms*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1997), s.v. "בָּל," also lists sixty-nine biblical occurrences as does Accordance, s.v. "בָּל." The five additional occurrences of בָּל in the Hebrew Bible increase Tsevat's ratio (adding all five to what Tsevat considers poetry). Also note that Johannes Friedrich says regarding בָּל, "Hebr. בָּל nur poetisch." *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 125.

¹⁸⁷ Psalm 9:7, 19; 10:11; 13:2; 16:11; 44:24; 49:20; 52:7; 68:17; 74:1, 3, 10, 19; 77:9; 79:5; 89:47; 103:9; Isaiah 33:20; Jeremiah 15:18; Job 14:20; Lamentations 5:20 (Habakkuk 1:4). (1 Samuel 15:29, Lamentations 3:18 and 1 Chronicles 29:11 have other meanings and are not counted.) Tsevat, *Study*, 94. Tsevat's forty-one occurrences are confirmed by the count of Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. "נֶצַח" – "נִצָּח" which includes the occurrence of Psalm 16:11 as meaning "forever" along with Amos 1:11. Also listed are three occurrences in Sirach and thirty-nine in the Qumran manuscripts which seem to parallel the various usages of נֶצַח in the Hebrew Bible. See pages 169, 172, 203-4 (footnote 251). Also listed is one instance with a similar adverbial usage, meaning "forever," in *Genizah Psalms* 1:11. *HALOT*, s.v. "נֶצַח," also lists forty-one occurrences and defines the usage at Psalm 16:11 as adverbial, meaning "forever," Even-Shoshan and Accordance list forty-five occurrences, including three noun forms Tsevat apparently disregarded and one instance (Amos 8:7) that Tsevat would not have considered as being in a psalm passage.

3. שָׁחַת (12:11 – twelve times inside biblical psalm passages and eleven times outside.)¹⁸⁸

In analyzing his findings, Tsevat concludes that the contents of the psalm passages only account for a minority of the particular language of the psalm passages. Consequently, Tsevat looks for other causes for the peculiarities of the idiom of the psalms. First, Tsevat looks at the idea that there is a tendency of prayer in general to perpetuate, at a later time, the common language, secular or sacred, of an earlier period.¹⁸⁹ Tsevat reasons that linguistic features which are common to the biblical psalm passages and Canaanite dialects, but which are not proportionately shared by the rest of the Hebrew Bible, share a common heritage from a time when Hebrew and other branches of Canaanite were not yet separated. Tsevat concludes, therefore, that Hebrew devotional poetry has preserved remnants of an earlier linguistic stage which has almost been lost in more common biblical Hebrew.

With respect to Ugaritic material, Tsevat does not assume that Ugaritic is to be understood as a Canaanite dialect. Stylistic similarities between Ugaritic and biblical literature may be explained by the “wave theory,”¹⁹⁰ which Tsevat finds especially applicable to cultic language. Tsevat concedes the possibility of mutual linguistic influence during the greater part of the second millennium B.C.E. as Canaanite and Ugaritic were similar enough for such influence not to cause too much divergence from the peculiar norm of either language.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Tsevat divides the occurrences of שָׁחַת as follows:

(a) “Pit” 5:3 (Psalm 7:16; 9:16; 35:7; 94:13; Job 9:31 [either to (a) or (b)])

(b) “Hell” 7:8 (Psalm 16:10; 30:10; 49:10; 55:24; 103:4; Isaiah 38:17; Jonah 2:7).

Tsevat, *Study*, 100. The eleven occurrences not considered by Tsevat to be found in psalm passages are: Proverbs 26:27; Job 17:14; 33:18, 22, 24, 28, 30; Isaiah 51:14; Ezekiel 19:4, 8; 28:18. Tsevat’s finding of twenty-three total occurrences of שָׁחַת in the Hebrew Bible is confirmed by Even-Shoshan, *Concordance*, s.v. “שָׁחַת”; Gerhard Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1958), s.v. “שָׁחַת”; Accordance, s.v. “שָׁחַת.” In addition to these occurrences of this noun form, there are numerous occurrences of verb forms (see page 163-4, footnote 219, and pages 167-9 for discussion).

¹⁸⁹ Tsevat, *Study*, 46. “Religious ritual is the most conservative aspect of any culture or society, so much so that even after the significations of specific rituals no longer are meaningful, the rituals nevertheless are perpetuated (often with new significations attached to them).” Gary A. Rendsburg, “An Essay on Israelite Religion,” in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: New Series, Vol. 8*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 12. And see Leopold Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (New York: Alba House, 1974), 1:62-3.

¹⁹⁰ Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: Henry Holt, 1933), 317-18.; Goetze, “Ugaritic,” 16, 91; cf. William F. Albright, “Two Amarna Letters,” 7-8; and “The Role,” 339, 351. For a defense of the “wave theory,” not by assuming migration of ethnic groups but by reference to the existence of *linguae francae*, see Joshua Blau, “Hebrew and North West Semitic: Reflections on the Classification of the Semitic Languages,” *Hebrew Annual Review* 2 (1978): 21-44.

¹⁹¹ Tsevat, *Study*, 48.

In his listing of Canaanite material, Tsevat includes בל (occasionally lengthened to אבבל or אִיבבל) which he notes is very frequent in Canaanite literature.¹⁹² Tsevat also lists בל as being common in Ugaritic literature.¹⁹³ Overall, of the 166 elements of the particular language of the psalms, that is, elements which in biblical Hebrew are known solely or overwhelmingly from the psalms, thirty-five to forty are known from Canaanite, Ugaritic, and Old Babylonian sources of Israel's precursors or contemporaries.¹⁹⁴ Accordingly, Tsevat concludes that psalm language has preserved parts of linguistic strata which are older than biblical Hebrew in general. As a parallel, Tsevat offers the example of Tannaitic prayer. Some of the features in Tannaitic prayers that are basic to biblical Hebrew, but are otherwise unknown to Middle Hebrew, are the usage of the relative pronoun אשר, the infinitive absolute, the infinitive construct with various prepositions, the *waw* conversive, and the vocabulary.¹⁹⁵

Tsevat suggests that the presence in the Hebrew Bible of particular devotional language which has perpetuated otherwise rare forms of speech can be explained in two ways: (1) A genuine Israelite idiom might have been partly preserved in it, representing a stage of language history as old as the oldest pieces of the Hebrew Bible; (2) the language of the biblical psalms passages is a continuation of the cultic language used at the Canaanite shrines at the time of the Israelite immigration into Palestine. The Israelites adopted the language along with other customs and beliefs. These two explanations are not mutually exclusive but they do indicate roughly the same age as the time to which Tsevat traces back the origin of psalm language, the time of the immigration of the Israelite tribes into Palestine. Both explanations show a tradition of psalm idiom in Israel from its earliest times as a "nation." Thus, the psalms are not latecomers in Israel's culture. Rather, a broad tradition carried early language into later poems.

In arguing that Psalm 68 is a catalogue of songs, Albright assigns the catalogue to a comparatively early date (to the time between the thirteenth and the tenth centuries B.C.E.).¹⁹⁶ Albright's dating of Psalm 68 implies an even earlier dating for the rise of psalm singing at large in Israel. Tsevat concludes that the existence of a whole psalm literature at

¹⁹² Ibid. Similarly, see J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 125.

¹⁹³ Tsevat, *Study*, 50. As discussed Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 61, 86, 89, 97, 246; Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 125; Sivan, *Grammar*, 184-5; Segert, *Basic Grammar*, 100, 181.

¹⁹⁴ Tsevat, *Study*, 55, 141.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 58-9.

¹⁹⁶ William F. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm 68)," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 (1951): 9-10.

the time of Solomon has been proved by Albright. Tsevat reasons that the results of his own study project the beginning of psalm composition in Israel back before the time of David.¹⁹⁷

In a 1955 critique¹⁹⁸ of Albright's view of the "fundamental importance"¹⁹⁹ of the Ugaritic texts in Psalms study, Sigmund Mowinckel highlights the fact that "real psalms" are "scantily" represented among the Ugaritic texts.²⁰⁰ Mowinckel agrees that the hymnic fragments in the El-Amarna letters, as collected and discussed by Jirku and Böhl, and the isolated hymnic lines in Ugaritic literature, which have been discussed by Patton and Coppens, demonstrate the historical connection between Hebrew and Canaanite psalmody. Also, Mowinckel admits that Psalm 19a (following Gunkel and others) and Psalm 29 (following Ginsberg and others) might be Canaanite psalms. Further, Mowinckel broadly states that:

The Ugaritic texts have given us samples of religious poetry in 'the language of Canaan,' from a time before the Israelite immigration, representing a culture adopted by the Israelites, and a religion from which, to say the least, they took over many religious forms and conceptions, positively as well as negatively (by 'contrast influence').²⁰¹

Mowinckel's view of the literary features of any individual psalm is only understood against the background of his placing fundamental importance (following Gunkel) on a psalm's *Gattung* and definite *Sitz im Leben*. Mowinckel argues (following Gunkel) that the *Gattungen* spring up out of a traditionally fixed function in religious life, a situation and a function which created the elements of form and content which are peculiar to the *Gattung* of any psalm. Understanding that the Psalms were composed for use in recurring cultic situations leads Mowinckel to explain why the Psalms "nearly always" express themselves in general, often stereotyped, phrases and metaphors.²⁰² Mowinckel takes for granted that the institution of Temple singers must be as old as the Temple itself. And if the origin of Temple singing and Temple psalmography is due to Canaanite impulses – as Psalms

¹⁹⁷ Tsevat, *Study*, 60.

¹⁹⁸ Sigmund Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism between 1900 and 1935: Ugarit and Psalm Exegesis," *Vetus Testamentum* 5 (1955): 13-33.

¹⁹⁹ As quoted by Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism," 13. And see William F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel: The Ayer Lectures of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, 1941* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942), 126.

²⁰⁰ Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism," 14. However, Mowinckel wrote before the publication of Manfred Dietrich, et al., eds., *Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit. Teil 1 Transkription*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 24/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Germany: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976), text 1.119 (123-4) in Andrée Herdner, "Nouveaux textes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra XXIV, Campagne 1961," in *Ugaritica VII*, ed. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Paris: Mission archéologique de Ras Shamra, Collège de France, 1978), 35-9 and the hymns to Baal (Text 3) and El (Text 2) published by Charles Virolleaud, "Les Nouveaux Textes Mythologiques et Liturgiques de Ras Shamra," in *Mission de Ras Shamra: Volume 16: Ugaritica V*, ed. Jean Nougayrol et al. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1968), 551-9.

²⁰¹ Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism," 14.

²⁰² Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism," 16.

criticism has emphasized – the Canaanites must have had “singers,” a stipulation which Mowinckel ascertains from Ugarit around 1400 B.C.E.²⁰³ For Mowinckel, this proves that Hebrew Temple music rests on pre-Israelite traditions.²⁰⁴

With respect to the relationship between Psalms and the Prophets, Mowinckel finds, both regarding style and content, that the psalmodic style was imitated by the prophets.²⁰⁵ The style of hymns as well as laments (national and individual ones) is older than Second Isaiah, Jeremiah, and First Isaiah (6:3), and existed fully developed in their time, just as Amos already refers to the use of the Psalms in the service as a regular element (Amos 5:23). Mowinckel reasons that the piety of the Psalms provides the background of the actions of the prophets as a consequence of “the prophets as an organization belonged to the Temple personnel and played an instrumental part in the public cult.”²⁰⁶ However, Mowinckel does not necessarily equate the canonical Prophets with cult prophets. Historically, the seer and priest evidently were the same cultic functionary, the keeper of the sanctuary. Somewhere along the way in Israel, however, these two functions came to be separated. The seer moved more toward the prophetic function and the priest became a mediator of YHWH’s revelation in the cult; he pronounced the priestly oracle. Mowinckel finds the prophetic origin separate from priestly origins, and not as old as the priestly origins. Yet the early נביאים do function in relation to the sanctuaries. They are Temple prophets, part of an institution, an organization of Temple functionaries which owes much to the cult. They were visionary and came to be bearers of revelation. These people were also related to the music of the cult and in the end the institutional cult prophet faded into the musical background of the cult. Ultimately, Mowinckel finds no basic distinction between the prophetic and priestly methods of bearing revelation.²⁰⁷

Oracles are often found in psalms, many of them cult-liturgical compositions of many voices. Mowinckel considers these to be prophetic psalms. The inspired cult prophet speaks YHWH’s word to the people, whether king or nation or individual. These oracles are often in response to laments and prayers for help, though the elements of blessing and warning are

²⁰³ Following Albright, who understands *šārīm* as a class of Temple personnel at Ugarit ca. 1400 B.C.E. Albright, *Archaeology*, 209.

²⁰⁴ Mowinckel, “Psalm Criticism,” 19.

²⁰⁵ Contra Gunkel, who saw the chronological influence to be primarily, but not exclusively, from prophet to psalmist. Gunkel and Begerich, *Introduction*, 319-32.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 20. For discussion, see Aubrey Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, 2nd ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962).

²⁰⁷ Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel’s Worship*, 2 vols., trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (New York: Abingdon, 1962), 2:53-78.

also present. So Mowinckel sees the prophetic element in the Psalter in terms of form and content, primarily in the oracles.²⁰⁸

Examples of cult prophecy which have later been expanded include the first two chapters of Habakkuk (who Mowinckel calls a cult prophet and psalm poet) which Mowinckel takes to be a psalm, a lament, and prayer liturgy. Habakkuk 3 is a cultic psalm, a psalm of confidence (*Vertrauenspsalm*) based on YHWH's past great works.²⁰⁹ Mowinckel also notes that the Book of Joel mixes the psalm style and the prophetic style.²¹⁰ Thus, Mowinckel sees a clear relationship between psalmody and prophecy while affirming the similarity in form and content in both kinds of literature. While Mowinckel acknowledges that the situation is complicated with canonical Prophets, he does assert that their psalmic elements may in some cases be accounted for by the influence of the tradition of cult prophets.²¹¹ In other words, the Psalms have chronological priority and much of the influence must originate there.

Related to the other religions of the Near East, Mowinckel finds the psalmography of Israel to be in far-reaching conformity not only of phraseology, use of metaphors, and the like, but even between the various types and their places within the cultic situation. Mowinckel finds in common both hymns and psalms of lamentation and thanksgiving, public as well as private, but concludes that it is not a question of an individual Israelite psalmist having imitated a definite Babylonian or Egyptian psalm, but of participation in a common oriental tradition of religious, poetical style, based on analogous cultic situations and rituals much older than the origin of the historical people of Israel. In other words, Israel stepped into a cultural circle with fixed conventions, and adopted essential features from it in form and content, adapting them to the demands of Yahwehism. Mowinckel goes on to say that "It can likewise now be taken for granted that there are close historical connections in style and ideology between the Canaanite religious poetry and the much older Babylonian and Egyptian cult ideology and psalmography."²¹²

While agreeing with Albright that the Canaanites served as intermediaries when Israel adopted oriental psalmography, Mowinckel maintains, largely due to the paucity of Canaanite evidence, that it is impossible to say how great the resemblance may have been

²⁰⁸ Ibid.; Sigmund Mowinckel, "The 'Spirit' and the 'Word' in the Pre-Exilic Reforming Prophets." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 53 (1934): 199-227.

²⁰⁹ Mowinckel, "The Spirit," 210; Sigmund Mowinckel, "Zum Psalm des Habakuk: Habakuk 3," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 9 (1953): 1-23.

²¹⁰ Mowinckel, "The Spirit," 210.

²¹¹ Mowinckel, *The Psalms*, 2:65-73. For discussion, see William H. Bellinger, Jr., *Psalms and Prophecy* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1984), 9-27.

²¹² Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism," 22.

between the Israelite stylistic tradition and the Canaanite one. Mowinckel concedes that it is *a priori* “very likely that the earliest Israelite psalmography in no small degree consisted of remodellings of Canaanite originals.”²¹³ But Mowinckel prefers to think in terms of the power of stylistic tradition rather than direct literary adaptation.²¹⁴ Mowinckel summarizes the contribution of Ugaritic literature to Psalms scholarship as follows:

Apart from this, the real and greatest importance of the Ugaritic texts to Psalm investigation lies in three domains: 1) they provide us with the Canaanite background of many of the mythical conceptions and metaphors contained in the Psalms as in all other Hebrew poetry, and also give interesting parallels to many religious ideas, as the Egyptian and Babylonian texts have also done; 2) they give an abundance of contributions, as yet far from exhausted, to lexicography, grammar, poetical phraseology and so on, in the Psalms as well as in Hebrew literature of other descriptions; 3) they give interesting and illuminating analogies to the numerous versions of the mode of composition called “thought-rhyme” (*parallelismus membrorum*) common to all poetry of the ancient Near East, and thus show us the types, which broadly speaking seem to have been the immediate patterns of the Israelite poets.²¹⁵

Mowinckel finds the Canaanite material in the Psalms rather evenly distributed over the religious and literary history of Israel (a span of time which Mowinckel finds evidenced by Job, Habakkuk 3, and Second Isaiah). Mowinckel’s main methodological objection to Albright’s attempts to date biblical poetry is that the existence of old elements in a given text cannot always provide a solid ground for making chronological judgments, since those elements, whose roots stretch back – linguistically – to remote antiquity, may still be circulating within compositions written, or rewritten, – historically – at a relatively late date.²¹⁶ Therefore, Mowinckel’s critique of Albright’s view, and of the direction of Albright’s followers, regarding the importance of the Ugaritic texts ends with a warning against drawing premature conclusions from the evidence, especially concerning Psalm chronology and the date of the prevalence of Ugaritic influence on the Psalms.²¹⁷

The most comprehensive study of the relationship between Ugaritic literature and the Psalms is found in Mitchell Dahood’s three volume commentary on the Psalms.²¹⁸ Dahood

²¹³ Ibid., 23.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 28. Exeptions where Mowinckel does see direct literary dependence include Psalms 19a; 29; 72; 104 (Egyptian).

²¹⁵ Mowinckel, “Psalm Criticism,” 24.

²¹⁶ For discussion, see Avi Hurvitz, “Can Biblical Texts Be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew,” in *Congress Volume, Oslo, 1998*, supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 80, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 146-7; and Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 11-2.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 26.

²¹⁸ Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms 1-50: Introduction, Translation, and Notes, The Anchor Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1966); *Psalms 51-100: Introduction, Translation, and Notes, The Anchor Bible* (New York:

argues that Psalms exegetes have not made sufficient use of Ugaritic literature, in particular criticizing Mowinckel for failing to utilize the Ugaritic material for philological analysis.²¹⁹ Similarly, Dahood criticizes Hans-Joachim Kraus's commentary on the Psalms²²⁰ for failing to recognize the importance of Ugaritic literature for a proper understanding of the Psalms.²²¹ Dahood's approach may be seen clearly in his discussion of Psalm 16 as found in his commentary²²² and in his "The Grammar of the Psalter."²²³ Dahood's "The Grammar of the Psalter" is a comparative grammar based on northwest Semitic texts (particularly Ugaritic) and lists only those grammatical and stylistic phenomena which "have been elucidated by the study of the Psalter within the northwest Semitic purview."²²⁴ In other words, Dahood's "The Grammar of the Psalter" presupposes direct Ugaritic foundations.

Dahood understands Psalm 16 to be a profession of faith composed by a Canaanite convert to Yahwehism, and asserts that the language and style are peculiarly Phoenician.²²⁵ With seemingly every interpretive decision in his analysis of Psalm 16, Dahood appeals for settlement to Ugaritic and Phoenician parallels.²²⁶ In subsequent works, Dahood lists hundreds of additional word pairs common to the Psalms and Ugaritic literature. However, while commonly relying on word pairs for matters of structure and meaning,²²⁷ current scholarship has reduced the number of fixed word pairs understood to be shared by the Psalms and Ugaritic literature to less than 200 in total.²²⁸ It seems clear for the development of poetic parallelism in the biblical Psalms that the poets must have had at their disposal a

Doubleday, 1968); Psalms 101-150: Introduction, Translation, and Notes, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1970).

²¹⁹ Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, xvi.

²²⁰ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59; Psalms 60-150: A Critical Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald. (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1993).

²²¹ Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, xvi-xvii.

²²² Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 86-91.

²²³ Dahood, *Psalms 101-150*, 361-456.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 363. And see Appendix 16 for a listing of all of Dahood's illustrations from Psalm 16.

²²⁵ Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 87-91; Appendix 16.

²²⁷ E.g., see Mark Girard, *Les Psaumes Redécouverts: De la structure au sens (1-50)* (Saint Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1996), 320-9; Auffret, "C'est pourquoi," 73-83; Rodríguez, "Datación," 385-408.

²²⁸ Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 133-4; Yitshak Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literature* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1984), pages 6-47 for a history of the study of word pairs highlighting the contributions of H. L. Ginsberg (6-8), U. Cassuto, (9-11), M. Held (11-14), S. E. Loewenstamm (14-18), R. G. Boling (18-23), S. Gevirtz (23-26), W. Whallon (26-29), P. B. Yoder (29-32), M. Dahood (32-41), W. G. E. Watson (41-44), E. Z. Melamed (44-45), and J. C. Greenfield (45-47). Some critics have challenged Dahood's entire approach. E.g., see Herbert Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 79 (1967): 322-50; Oswald Loretz, *Die Psalmen: 90-150*, vol. 2 *Alter Orient und Altest Testament* 207 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Germany: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979); and "Die Ugaritistik in der Psalmeninterpretation," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 4 (1972): 167-9, who adopts a radical approach of denying the existence of extensive affinities between Ugaritic literature and the biblical Psalms.

store of word pairs (whether synonyms, antonyms, *merismi*, related words, etc.).²²⁹ The fixed nature of many pairs has led scholars to think that the pairs may have already been found in literary form, either in oral tradition or written down.²³⁰ It would seem that the word pair played the same role in Hebrew poetry as did the formula in classical Greek verse. A high percentage of word pairs in a particular passage may be an indication that the text originated orally, although this does not necessarily follow.²³¹ In other words, a biblical poet develops an idea or theme using traditional material, literary motifs, known forms, and stylistic techniques. In this way, the psalm is traditional (or stereotypical), but is also original.²³² Contemporary scholars find the following word pairs to be a significant literary feature of Psalm 16:²³³

	Verse Reference	1 st Word/ (lexical form)	2 nd Word/ (lexical form)	Avishur, <i>Stylistic Studies</i>
1.	16:3	קדוש) לקדושים	אדיר) ואדירי	461
2.	16:5a, 6b	חלק) חלקי	נחלה) נחלת	758
3.	16:2b, 6a	טובה) טובתי	נעים) בנעים	281, 314, 387-8
4.	16:9	שמח) שמח	גיל) ויגל	768
5.	16:9	לב) לבי	כבוד) כבודי	761
6.	16:10b, 11a	ראה) לראות	ידע) תודיעני	259, 261, 293-4
7.	16:10a, 11a	נפש) נפשי	חיים) חיים	66
8.	16:11	שבע) שבע	נעים) נעמות	452, 458, 460-1
9.	16:4b, 10a	דם) מדם	נפש) נפשי	253, 559, 577
10.	16:4b, 10b	נשא) אשא	נתן) נתן	82-3
11.	16:4c, 10a	שפה) שפתי	נפש) נפשי	761 (with לב)
12.	16:7a, 11a	ברך) אברך	חיים) חיים	445-6, 461
13.	16:7b, 11b	כלוה) כליותי	פנה) פניך	761 (with לב)
14.	16:2, 11	טובה) טובתי	שמחה) שמחות	281, 534
15.	16:1, 9	חסה) חסיתי	בטח) לבטח	229, 233-4, 667

²²⁹ "Most of the literature on the subject accepts the hypothesis that there was a tradition of fixed word pairs in Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry." Adele Berlin, "Grammatical Aspects of Biblical Parallelism," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 50 (1979): 18.

²³⁰ See L. Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1988), 61-3. For further discussion see Berlin, "Grammatical Aspects," 18.

²³¹ Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 137.

²³² *Ibid.*, 66-86, 128-42.

²³³ Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*. For recent examples of these word pairs used as structural markers, see Girard, *Les Psaumes*, 320-9; Auffret, "C'est pourquoi," 73-83; Rodríguez, "Datación."

	Verse Reference	1 st Word/ (lexical form)	2 nd Word/ (lexical form)	Avishur, <i>Stylistic Studies</i>
16.	16:3, 6	בְּאֶרֶץ (ארץ)	נַחֲלָה (נחלה)	199, 278
17.	16:3, 10	בְּאֶרֶץ (ארץ)	לְשֹׂאֵל (שואל)	278

Based partially on the following four word pairs in Psalm 16, Yitzhak Avishur concludes that Palm 16 contains a “large Canaanite, and especially Phoenician substrate, being expressed partly by the appearance of the four pairs common to it and Canaanite.”²³⁴

1. נעים // שבע Psalm 16:11

The pair occurs four times in syndetic parataxis in the Azitawadda inscription.²³⁵

Based on its irregularity and its rarity in biblical Hebrew, Avishur concludes that this pair is borrowed directly from Phoenician.²³⁶

2. אדיר // קדוש Psalm 16:3

A pair which Gaster had proposed as having a Canaanite parallel, to which Avishur agrees.²³⁷

3. גיל // שמח Psalm 16:9

This pair is common to Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Ammonite.²³⁸ In the Hebrew Bible the pair is found in syndetic parataxis as a pair of verbs in Habakkuk 1:15 and likewise in reverse order in Joel 2:21 (also see Isaiah 25:9, Psalms 31:8; 118:24). As a pair of nouns the pair is found in Isaiah 16:10, Jeremiah 48:33, Joel 1:16, and Psalm 45:16. As a parallelism (in addition to Psalm 16:9) see Isaiah 9:2; 66:10; Hosea 9:1; Zechariah 10:7; Psalms 32:11; 48:12; 96:11 (= 1 Chronicles 16:31); 149:2; Proverbs 2:14; 24:17 and in reverse order, Psalm 14:7 (= Psalm 53:7). Parallelisms in chiasmic form are found in Proverbs 23:24-25 and Psalm 97:1, 8. Parallelism of noun and verb is found in Isaiah 29:19 and Psalm 51:10. In the construct state the pair occurs in Psalm 43:4. In the Hebrew Bible there is no parallelism between the nouns, but in Sirach it appears twice, once in a bicolon (30:22) and once in a tricolon (34:28). In the *War Scroll* the verbs are parallel in 13:12-13. The verb pair occurs in parallelism

²³⁴ Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*, 461.

²³⁵ Ibid., 452. See Hebert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962-1964), 26A I:6, II:7, 12-13, 16.

²³⁶ Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*, 458.

²³⁷ Gaster, “Psalm 29,” 292; Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*, 461.

²³⁸ See Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*, 574-6; Umberto Cassuto, “Parallel Words in Hebrew and Ugaritic,” in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, vol. 2, *Bible and Ancient Oriental Texts*, ed. Umberto Cassuto, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 65; *The Goddess Anath: Canaanite Epics of the Patriarchal Age*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1971), 31; Jonas C. Greenfield, “Lexicographical Notes II,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 30 (1959): 142-3; Robert G. Boling, “‘Synonymous’ Parallelism in the Psalms,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 5 (1960): 238; Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 129; Watson, *Traditional Techniques*, 154.

in Ugaritic²³⁹ and in an Ammonite inscription of approximately the seventh century B.C.E.²⁴⁰ In Psalm 16:9, as is common with Ugaritic verse, the word pair is used in internal parallelism (as is used extensively in Hebrew) to bond the two halves of the line together.²⁴¹

4. לב // כבוד Psalm 16:9

This pair is known in Ugaritic, Akkadian, and in biblical Hebrew.²⁴² The pair occurs mainly and frequently in Akkadian as a parallelism²⁴³ (in regular and reverse order) and in sequential refrains of the pair.²⁴⁴ In Ugaritic the pair is also found as a parallelism in at least three texts.²⁴⁵

Yet despite the evident Phoenician substrate, and other ancient Near East parallels, Avishur does not find that Psalm 16 was Canaanite (or that it was composed by a Canaanite).²⁴⁶ Preferring the more cautious approach advocated by Mowinckel and seen in some more recent scholarship,²⁴⁷ Avishur has continued the investigation of Ugaritic poetry along the line of its assumed parallel relationship to Hebrew poetry. Avishur's approach does not accept the view of Albright and Dahood that treats Ugaritic literature and the Hebrew Bible as a single literature. Avishur's approach continues upon the general foundations laid by the work of Umberto Cassuto and others who analyze stylistic and

²³⁹ Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*, 575-6 (see, e.g., Andrée Herdner, ed., *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939* [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963], 16 [125]: 14-15, 98-99).

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 576.

²⁴¹ Watson, *Traditional Techniques*, 152-4. For discussion, see pages 162-5.

²⁴² Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*, 562-3; Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath*, 120; Samuel E. Loewenstamm, "Grenzgebiete ugaritischer Sprach- und Stilvergleichung." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3 (1971): 94; Watson, *Traditional Techniques*, 264.

²⁴³ Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*, 562-3 (e.g., *CTA K*, 12; Stephen Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen königsinschriften*, Vorderasiatische bibliothek 4 [Leipzig, J.C. Hinrichs, 1912], 238 II:50; John A. Brinkman, et al., eds., *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary K* [Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1971], 12).

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 562-3.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 562 (*CTA* 19 [1 Aqht] i, 34-35; *CTA* 12 [75]:12-13; *CTA* 18 [3 Aqht] i, 17-18). For an instance of a parallelism in reverse order, see *CTA* 3 ['*nt*] ii, 25-26. For discussion, see Watson, *Traditional Techniques*, 264.

²⁴⁶ Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew*, 26-28.

²⁴⁷ E.g., Umberto Cassuto, "Biblical and Canaanite Literature," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*. Vol. 2, *Bible and Ancient Oriental Texts*, ed. Umberto Cassuto, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 16-18; "Chapter 3 of Habakkuk and the Ras Shamra Texts," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*. Vol. 2, *Bible and Ancient Oriental Texts*, ed. Umberto Cassuto, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 3-15; "Psalm 68," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*. Vol. 1, *Bible*, ed. Umberto Cassuto, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 241-84; Samuel E. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literature*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 204 (Neukirchen-Vluys, Germany: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980); *From Babylon to Canaan – Studies in the Bible and Its Oriental Background* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992); Peter C. Craigie, "Parallel Word Pairs in Ugarit Poetry: A Critical Evaluation of Their Relevance for Psalm 29," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979): 135-40; "The Comparison of Hebrew Poetry: Psalm 104 in the Light of Egyptian and Ugaritic Poetry," *Semitics* 4 (1974): 10-21; *Ugarit and the Old Testament*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), especially 67-90.

literary features common to biblical and Canaanite literature, and assume that biblical literature is the continuation of Canaanite literature whose first stages are represented by Ugaritic texts.²⁴⁸ For example, in analyzing a Ugaritic prayer to Baal,²⁴⁹ *KTU* text 1.119, Avishur notes similarities of language, form, and content to Psalm 29.²⁵⁰ While Avishur is unable to fit this Ugaritic prayer into one of Gunkel's *Gattungen*, he does highlight the assurance that the prayer will be answered as being similar to Gunkel's description of "prophetic liturgies" (*Prophetische Liturgien*), and a phenomenon which Gunkel called "the certainty of hearing" (*Die Gewissheit der Erhörung*) in biblical Psalms.²⁵¹ Patrick D. Miller, Jr., also notes the affinities between *KTU* 1.119 and biblical complaint psalms.²⁵² The (priestly) bracket (lines 26-28 and 35-36) around the prayer to Baal may be parallel to the biblical Psalms.²⁵³ Before the prayer it serves to identify the reason for the petition; after the prayer it announces Baal's response and deliverance. *KTU* 1.119 has the characteristic elements of the divine response to complaints as one often encounters them in biblical Psalms and in the oracles of salvation in Second Isaiah:

- a. announcement that the deity has heard or will hear the prayer;
- b. announcement of the deity's delivering action.

Gunkel goes on to argue that the biblical psalms of confidence (*Vertrauenspsalmen*) (Psalms 4; 11; 16; 23; 27:1-6; 62; 131) developed from the complaint psalms (*Klagelieder des Einzelnen*) and are characterized by this certainty of hearing. Gunkel also concludes that the Babylonian-Assyrian counterparts are of particular significance for understanding the individual complaint songs and calls the Babylonian genre "extraordinarily extensive."²⁵⁴ Regarding the correspondence of Babylonian psalms to biblical Psalms, Claus Westermann agrees and concludes that the most striking difference between the Egyptian and the Babylonian psalms lies "in the astonishing predominance of prayer and confidence in those

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ *KTU*, text 1.119, 123-4. See Herdner, "Nouveaux textes," 35-9; Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew*, 253-76.

²⁵⁰ Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew*, 255-67, concluding, e.g., that Psalm 29 and this Ugaritic psalm exhibit "the use of the same structural schema, *inclusio*, and the usage of three-, seven-, and tenfold repetition."

²⁵¹ Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew*, 269; Gunkel and Bgrich, *Introduction*, 180-90. See pages 124-9, 158-61 for discussion of this aspect of Psalm 16.

²⁵² See Patrick D. Miller, Jr., "Prayer and Sacrifice in Ugarit and Israel," in *Text and Context: Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F. C. Fensham*, ed. W. Claassen, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 48 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 139-55.

²⁵³ Ibid., 151-2.

²⁵⁴ Gunkel and Bgrich, *Introduction*, 121-2. For discussion, see the following section. And see Cumming, *Assyrian*, especially 1-15 and all the parallels illustrated in pages 95-160; Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, especially 36-51, for agreement with Gunkel's judgment regarding the widespread parallels in Babylonian literature.

of Egypt.”²⁵⁵ Further, in analyzing the affinity between Psalm 29 and Ugaritic literature, Avishur adduces additional stylistic-literary parallels from Phoenician inscriptions and from Akkadian literature, and concludes that the affinity is manifest not only in the use of common vocabulary, but also in the use of common phrases and fixed word pairs.²⁵⁶

Thus, on a literary level, resort to the Ugaritic literature is based on a stability of resources and forms.²⁵⁷ Scholars have now developed a view of “Canaanite prosody” on a formal level that mainly affects poetic and prosodic structures. On the level of stylistic discourse, broad acceptance of the usefulness of the comparison of shared Canaanite poetic structures for the understanding of biblical discourse is seen in the contemporary exegesis of Psalms.²⁵⁸ However, lexicographical correlation, while largely assumed by some modern dictionaries of biblical Hebrew, must be validated by the context of each text. An equalization of Ugaritic and Hebrew words, when each one functions in its own linguistic and thematic context is unwarranted.

As illustrated by James Barr, proposals of lexicographical equation often suffer from the weakness inherent in any comparative transposition: between the northern Canaanite of the Late Bronze Age and the southern Canaanite of the Iron Age there is a temporal, spatial, and cultural gap that demands caution in such correlations, taking into account the semantic displacement that linguistic data suffer in such circumstances.²⁵⁹ Likewise, and in a related manner, proposals of ideological correlation between the Psalms and Canaanite-Ugaritic mythology and religious *praxis* often suffer from equating an idea with a word.²⁶⁰ Further, the “Canaanite” religion and cult mentioned at various places in the Hebrew Bible often exhibits differences from the pantheon and cult known from the Ras Shamra texts.²⁶¹

²⁵⁵ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 43.

²⁵⁶ Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew*, 39-110.

²⁵⁷ For further discussion see Willem van der Meer and Johannes C. de Moor, eds., *The Structural Analysis of Biblical and Canaanite Poetry*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 74 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988); Gregorio del Olmo Lete, “Approaching a Description of the Canaanite Religion of Ancient Israel: Methodological Issues,” in *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992*, ed. George J. Brooke et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 259-73.

²⁵⁸ E.g., Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*; “Datación”; Auffret, “C’est pourquoi”; van der Meer and de Moor, *Structural Analysis*.

²⁵⁹ See James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 21-45; *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 76-94, 277-87, 412-36.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.* For examples of this problem in Psalms studies, see Adrian H. W. Curtis, “The Psalms Since Dahood,” in *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992*, ed. George J. Brooke et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 7-10; for illustrations of a cautious and critical approach, see Peter C. Craigie, “Parallel Word Pairs in Ugarit Poetry: A Critical Evaluation of Their Relevance for Psalm 29,” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979): 135-40.

²⁶¹ See Grabbe, “Canaanite.” Cf. John Day, “Ugarit and the Bible: Do They Presuppose the Same Canaanite Mythology and Religion?” in *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on*

Gary Rendsburg argues that Psalm 16 was written by a north Israelite poet whose northern Hebrew dialect (“Israelian Hebrew”) ²⁶² included many isoglosses with Phoenician. ²⁶³ Rendsburg’s conclusions are reached through analysis of the different linguistic strata that he isolates through his study of the grammar and lexicon of biblical Hebrew. Rendsburg adopts Avi Hurvitz’s and Matitياهو Tsevat’s method ²⁶⁴ (distribution, extra-biblical sources, opposition, and concentration) in isolating linguistic features of biblical Hebrew and relies on the earlier efforts of dating biblical poetry of William L. Moran ²⁶⁵ and David A. Robertson. ²⁶⁶ While Rendsburg agrees that biblical Hebrew is essentially a literary language, ²⁶⁷ he deals extensively with the phenomenon of diglossia as well. ²⁶⁸ Further, Rendsburg utilizes the theory of S. A. Kaufman ²⁶⁹ regarding “style-

Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992, ed. George J. Brooke et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 35-52.

²⁶² The term referring to a northern Israelite dialect versus a southern Judahite dialect. H. Louis Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1982), 1-2.

²⁶³ Gary Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 33.

²⁶⁴ Gary A. Rendsburg, “Hurvitz Redux: On the Continued Scholarly Inattention to a Simple Principle of Hebrew Philology,” and Avi Hurvitz, “Hebrew and Aramaic in the Biblical Period: The Problem of ‘Aramaisms’ in Linguistic Research on the Hebrew Bible,” both in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 369 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 104-28 and 24-37; see Tsevat, *Study*, 1-12; “Linguistic Criteria for Dating Problematic Biblical Texts,” *Hebrew Abstracts* 14 (1973): 74-9; *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1982); “Can Biblical Texts,” 146-60; “The Relevance of Biblical Hebrew Linguistics for the Historical Study of Ancient Israel,” in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1997: Division A: The Bible and Its World*, ed. Shmuel Ahituv et al. (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999), 26-33. For another example of the usage of Hurvitz’s method, see Mark Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 90 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990). Rendsburg follows Hurvitz’s lead in sticking to the MT, except where the Masora no longer recognized ancient forms. Rendsburg gives Psalm 16:2 as one such case. *Linguistic Evidence*, 17.

²⁶⁵ William L. Moran, “The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. Ernest Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 54-72.

²⁶⁶ David A. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Hebrew Poetry*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 3 (Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972). For rejection of this method see Philip R. Davies, “Biblical Hebrew and the History of Ancient Judah: Typology, Chronology and Common Sense,” in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 369 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 150-63; *In Search of “Ancient Israel,”* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 48 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992). For a response, see Avi Hurvitz, “The Historical Quest for ‘Ancient Israel’ and the Linguistic Evidence of the Hebrew Bible: Some Methodological Observations,” *Vetus Testamentum* 47 (1997): 301-15; “Relevance.”

²⁶⁷ For discussion see Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1993); William Chomsky, *Hebrew: The Eternal Language* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986).

²⁶⁸ “Diglossia” refers to two co-existing variables of the same language, one used for literary and formal purposes and one used for colloquial and informal purposes. C. A. Ferguson, “Diglossia,” *Word* 15 (1959): 325-40. See Gary A. Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1990). Rendsburg agrees with the prevalent thought that spoken Hebrew differed considerably from the biblical Hebrew norm and was probably closer to Mishnaic Hebrew. See Moses H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 11. Recently, Augustinus Gianto discussed diglossia in the

switching” or “code-switching” (intentional stylistic representations of Trans-Jordanian speech on the part of Hebrew authors within Hebrew texts) in explaining his results. Rendburg’s thesis of a northern regional dialect of Hebrew also follows the dictates of dialect geography which assume that it is most likely for linguistic features common to the neighboring languages to appear in Hebrew in the regions bordering the Phoenician, Moabite, Ammorite, Aramaic, and Deir ‘Alla speech communities.²⁷⁰

Rendburg’s dialectical approach builds on older scholarship that emphasizes a diachronic development of the language of early biblical poetry.²⁷¹ Previous studies of early biblical poetry usually focus on a corpus including Genesis 49; Exodus 15; Balaam’s Oracles in Numbers 23-24; Deuteronomy 32, 33; Judges 5; 1 Samuel 2; 2 Samuel 1; 22 (= Psalm 18); 23; Psalms 68; 104; and Habakkuk 3. Increasingly, it is understood that the poetry of the Hebrew Bible, like that of other northwest Semitic languages, employs a variegated, heterogeneous language reflecting an earlier stage of Hebrew with a closer affinity in language, style, and content with neighboring northern dialects.²⁷² Further, biblical books now shown to have distinctive northern linguistic features, leading some scholars to conclude that they are of northern composition, include Hosea,²⁷³ Amos,²⁷⁴ Qoheleth,²⁷⁵ Proverbs,²⁷⁶

Hebrew Bible from a sociolinguistic viewpoint. He analyzes the forms and range of social markers and concludes that attitudes toward foreign speech, social relations, and religious preferences in ancient Israel produced linguistic variation in the Hebrew Bible. “Variations in Biblical Hebrew,” *Biblica* 77 (1996): 493-508.

²⁶⁹ S. A. Kaufman, “The Classification of the North West Semitic Dialects of the Biblical Period and Some Implications Thereof,” in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Panel Sessions. Hebrew and Aramaic Languages*, ed. Mosheh Bar-Asher (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1988), 54-5, particularly regarding the illustrations from Numbers 22-24 and Job. Also related to Job, see Jonas C. Greenfield, “Aramaic Studies and the Bible,” in *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980*, ed. J. A. Emerton, Supplement to *Vetus Testamentum* 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 129-30.

²⁷⁰ J. K. Chambers and Peter Trudgill, *Dialectology*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 15-36 and 103-24.

²⁷¹ E.g., see Frank M. Cross and David N. Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975); Eduard Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, ed. Raphael Kutscher (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), 77-86; Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 50-160, especially 56-7; Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence*, 29-43 (Robertson treats as archaic Genesis 49, Exodus 15, Balaam’s Oracles in Numbers 23-24; Deuteronomy 32, 33; Judges 5, 1 Samuel 2, 2 Samuel 1, 2 Samuel 22 (= Psalm 18), Psalm 68, Habakkuk 3, Job, and Psalms 81:7-8; 104:5-8). For discussion of the theoretical foundation of the diachronic approach, see Mark Rooker, “The Diachronic Study of Biblical Hebrew,” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 14 (1988): 199-214.

²⁷² See Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 56.

²⁷³ E.g., see A. A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea*. International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), liii-lxi; Yoon J. Yoo, “Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Hosea” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1999).

²⁷⁴ For discussion, see Yoo, “Israelian Hebrew,” 13.

²⁷⁵ James R. Davila, “Qoheleth and Northern Hebrew,” in *Sopher Mahir: Northwest Semitic Studies Presented to Stanislav Segert = Maarav* 5-6, ed. Edward M. Cook (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 69-87, esp. 87; Robert Gordis, “Was Koheleth a Phoenician?” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955): 103-14.

²⁷⁶ Kaufman, “Classification,” 41-57; Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage*, 34-8.

Job,²⁷⁷ Ruth,²⁷⁸ and Song of Songs.²⁷⁹ In addition to the passages that were previously understood as archaic, other biblical passages now thought to preserve numerous Israelian Hebrew features, and which may be considered of northern provenance, include the northern material in 1 Kings 13, 2 Kings 17,²⁸⁰ Isaiah 24-26,²⁸¹ Micah 6-7,²⁸² Psalms 9-10, 16, 36, 45, the Korah Psalms (42-49, 84-85, 87-88), 53, 58, 74, the Asaph Psalms (50, 73-83), 116, 132, 133, 140, 141,²⁸³ and Nehemiah 9.²⁸⁴

Rendsburg considers Psalm 16 as a northern composition based on the following seven linguistic features:

1. There is a marked tendency in this Psalm to use לֹא as a negative particle (verses 2, 4 (twice), and 8).

Since this is a standard term in Phoenician²⁸⁵ (the form אֹל does not appear as a form of negation),²⁸⁶ and is common in Ugaritic,²⁸⁷ Rendsburg understands its concentration as an Israelite Hebrew trait.²⁸⁸ Of the sixty-nine total occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, לֹא appears

²⁷⁷ David N. Freedman, "Orthographic Peculiarities in the Book of Job," *Eretz-Israel* 9 (1969): 35-44, especially 43. Kaufman, "Classification," 54-5; Gary A. Rendsburg, "Some False Leads in the Identification of Late Biblical Hebrew Texts: The Cases of Genesis 24 and 1 Samuel 2:27-36," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 121 (2002): 26.

²⁷⁸ Jacob M. Myers, *The Linguistic and Literary Form of the Book of Ruth* (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 4, 8.

²⁷⁹ S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, rev. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 448-9; Marvin Pope, *Song of Songs: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 33-4, 362.

²⁸⁰ Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 9; Charles F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), 208-9.

²⁸¹ Scott B. Noegel, "Dialect and Politics in Isaiah 24-27," *Aula Orientalis* 12 (1994): 177-92.

²⁸² Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage*, 25-31.

²⁸³ For discussion of these individual Psalms, also see Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence*, where he treats the following as northern: Psalms 9-10, 16, 29, 36, 45, Korah Psalms (42-49, 84-85, 87-88), Psalms 53, 58, 74, Asaph Psalms (50, 73-83), Psalms 116, 132, 133, 140, 141; John P. Peters, *The Psalms as Liturgies: The Paddock Lectures for 1920* (New York: Macmillan: 1922) 9-10, 273-5, 32-50, 270; "A Jerusalem Processional," *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1 (1920-1): 36-41; Michael D. Goulder, *The Psalms of the Sons of Korah*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 20 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1982), 16-9; Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 105, 193, 335, 353, 359; Julian Morgenstern, "The Interpretation of Ps. 48A," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 16 (1941): 93; "The Mythological Background of Psalm 82," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 14 (1939): 80-1; 121-4; Otto Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*, 6 vols., ed. Rudolf Sellheim and Fritz Maass (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Sieback): 1962-79), 3:221-32; 4:132-6; Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage*, 31-4.

²⁸⁴ For Nehemiah 9 see A. C. Welch, "The Source of Nehemiah IX," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 47 (1929): 130-7 and Gary A. Rendsburg, "The Northern Origin of Nehemiah 9," *Biblica* 72 (1991): 348-66.

²⁸⁵ Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 125; Richard S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 32 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978), 46; Ginsberg, "Northwest Semitic," 109.

²⁸⁶ Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 161; Ginsberg, "Northwest Semitic," 109.

²⁸⁷ Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 61, 86, 89, 97, 246; Joseph Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 49.

²⁸⁸ Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence*, 24-5, 29, 106. Again, this particle has long been considered an archaism. See Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 57.

in texts Rendsburg understands as northern (or as previously considered as archaic), or in texts exhibiting style-switching (e.g., the occurrences in Isaiah 26, 33, and 44),²⁸⁹ all but eighteen times.²⁹⁰

2. The expression אָמַרְתָּ לַיהוָה, “you (feminine singular) said to YHWH,” in verse 2 is quite strange.

The context calls for a first person singular verb here and indeed this is how most of the early versions understood the passage.²⁹¹ Rendsburg believes that Dahood is correct to recognize Phoenician orthography here.²⁹² In Phoenician scribal practice final vowels were not indicated by *matres lectionis*, for example, first person common singular perfect verbs were written *ccct*,²⁹³ so that אָמַרְתָּ would stand for “I said” as well as “you said.” (Rendsburg concludes that it is difficult to explain why the Masora preserved אָמַרְתָּ here, except to suggest that the tradents knew it was not a second person masculine singular form, that they did not consider the possibility of a first person common singular form due to the lack of final *yod*, and that therefore, the reading of a second person feminine singular form developed.) Rendsburg reasons that it is probable that Israelite scribes from the northern or northwestern border regions also employed Phoenician orthography and that the Bible occasionally has preserved such spellings.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁹ And see discussion in Yoo, “Israelian Hebrew,” 88.

²⁹⁰ Rendsburg admits these eighteen occurrences (Isaiah 14:21; 35:9; 40:24 (twice); 43:17; Psalm 17:3 (twice), 5; 21:3, 8; 30:7; 32:9; 93:1; 96:10; 119:121; 147:20; and 1 Chronicles 16:30) may be found in texts which lack additional Israelite Hebrew features, but concludes that אָמַרְתָּ is an Israelite Hebrew trait based on its extra-biblical origin and disproportionate appearance in northern texts. Rendsburg follows the method of Tsevat, *Study*, 7-8, and estimates the ratio of Judahite literature to Israelite literature to be 4:1. *Linguistic Evidence*, 15.

²⁹¹ See Charles A Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 2 vols., The International Critical Commentary (reprint, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), 1:122, for a survey.

²⁹² Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87. Although he does not cite the parallel Phoenician usage, also see Johannes Lindblom, “Erwägungen zu Psalm XVI.” *Vetus Testamentum* 24 (1974): 190. As in Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 121. In Aramaic, the Qal/“G” first person singular form would also be אָמַרְתָּ. See Frederick E. Greenspahn, *An Introduction to Aramaic*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 36; William B. Stevenson, *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 46, 88.

²⁹³ Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, 58, 60.

²⁹⁴ Rendsburg notes that the other attestations of this usage in the Bible are 1 Kings 8:48, Ezekiel 16:59, Psalm 140:13, and Job 42:2, in all cases as *Kethiv* with the *Qere* reading אָמַרְתָּ. With the exception of the second of these occurrences, this distribution confirms his conclusion. Based on the use of the Phoenician month names *Ziv*, *Bul*, and *Ethanim* in 1 Kings 6:1, 6:37-38, 8:2, Rendsburg states that it is most likely that the description of the construction and dedication of Solomon’s Temple is the product of Phoenician scribes. In other words, not only did Phoenician architects and craftsmen build the Temple, their scribes also recorded the activity. Thus, Rendsburg explains the orthography of 1 Kings 8:48. Psalm 140 is understood as northern and the spelling in Job 42:2 could be added to the orthographic evidence adduced by Freedman in favour of the Israelian provenance of the book. See Freedman, “Orthographic Peculiarities.”

- Twice in this Psalm, the feminine nominal ending תְּ- is preserved, in מִנְחָה , “portion,” in verse 5 and in נַחֲלָה , “heritage,” in verse 6, as opposed to the standard Hebrew ending תְּ- .

It is true that the first of these is in the construct state, but the vocalization תְּ- , with *qamets*, as opposed to תְּ- with *pathach*, indicates that this is a deviation from the Judahite Hebrew norm. Rendsburg notes that forms with the ending תְּ- / תְּ- appear disproportionately in northern contexts. Many examples of feminine singular nouns ending in תְּ- (in absolute or construct state) and תְּ- (in the absolute state) in the Bible may be explained as northernisms.²⁹⁵ This may be borne out by the following instances of this usage: שֹׁפְעָה , “multitude,” in 2 Kings 9:17 appears in a story about the northern kings Jeroham and Jehu and is actually placed in the mouth of an Israelian scout; Jeremiah utilizes the words יְהֻרָה , “abundance,” in Jeremiah 48:36 and תְּהִלָּה , “praise,” in Jeremiah 49:25 (*Qere*) in speeches aimed at Moab and Damascus, respectively; the musical instruments מְחֻלָּה in Psalm 53:1, 88:1, and נְגִינָה in Psalm 61:1 may have been borrowed from Canaanites who preserved the תְּ- suffix; the form חַיִּית in Psalm 74:19 occurs in a northern composition; the form שְׁנָה , “sleep,” in Psalm 132:4 occurs in a northern poem, and מֵאָה , “hundred,” in Qoheleth 8:12 is explicable if we agree to the northern origin of Qoheleth. The form חַמָּה in Hosea 7:5 may be considered as being in a northern text.²⁹⁶

- The root נעם occurs twice in Psalm 16, in בְּנְעֻמִים , “in pleasant places,” in verse 6 and in נְעֻמָּה , “pleasantness,” in verse 11.

This root is the normal word for “good, lovely, sweet, pleasant” in Ugaritic and Phoenician.²⁹⁷ As an indication of its common usage in Phoenician, Rendsburg points out that Richard Tomback lists thirteen occurrences of נעם in his lexicon.²⁹⁸ By comparison, in a

²⁹⁵ Gary A. Rendsburg, “Morphological Evidence for Regional Dialects in Ancient Hebrew,” in *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Walter R. Bodine (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992). Other instances of this usage are archaic poetic diction, e.g. פְּרִיָּה “fruitful” (?) in Genesis 49:22 (twice), זִמְרָה “strength/song” in Exodus 15:2, Isaiah 12:2, Psalm 118:14; or they are Aramaisms, e.g., קֶצֶת “end” in Daniel 1:2, 5, 15, 18, Nehemiah 7:20; or they may even be Akkadianisms, e.g. בְּרִיקָה “emerald” in Exodus 28:13 = Akkadian *barrāqtu*.

²⁹⁶ Yoo, “Israelian Hebrew,” 88-90. The evidence from toponyms which retain תְּ- / תְּ- is also germane, in that they are concentrated mainly in the north: two in Asher (חֲלִיקָה , חֲלִיקָה), three in Naphtali (חַמָּה , חַמָּה , חַמָּה), one in Issachar (אֲנַחְרָה), one in Zebulun (זְבֻלֹן), one in Ephraim (מְחֻלָּה), and two in Transjordan (חַמָּה , חַמָּה). Accordingly, the presence of two such nouns in Psalm 16 is understood as a strong indication of the Psalm’s northern provenance.

²⁹⁷ For a general description regarding the usage of נעם in Ugaritic and Phoenician, see Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 297.

²⁹⁸ Tomback, *Comparative Semitic Lexicon*, 215-17. Rendsburg notes that this work is only a dictionary, not a concordance of the Phoenician inscriptions. Additional instances of the root נעם may be found in the corpus of Phoenician and Punic epigraphic remains.

much larger corpus of literature, note that נענ occurs only 30 times in the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, נענ is a fairly common element in Phoenician personal names.²⁹⁹ In addition, נענ is the Phoenician name for Adonis,³⁰⁰ and the same name is borne by one of the leading Aramaean characters in the Bible, the general Naaman (2 Kings 5). All of this suggests that the root נענ was common in areas to the north of Israel, Phoenicia in particular but perhaps Aram as well.

More importantly, of the thirty biblical occurrences of נענ, a vast majority occur in texts where northern origin may be likely. Nine times נענ occurs in Proverbs, twice it appears in Song of Songs (1:16, 7:7), and once it is used in Job (36:11). It is attested ten times in Psalms. Of these, two are in Psalm 16 (verses 6 and 11), two are in Psalm 141 (verses 4 and 6), one occurs in the Asaph collection (81:3), and one occurs in Psalm 133 (verse 1).

Other instances of נענ also have northern connections. Genesis 49:15 is Jacob's blessing to Issachar, one of the northern tribes. 2 Samuel 23:1 recently has been argued to be a northern composition.³⁰¹ Isaiah 17:10 appears in the address to Damascus and Ezekiel 32:19 appears in the address to Egypt, so that style-switching may be likely in these two cases.³⁰² The remaining four usages of נענ are less likely to have northern affiliations, but even with these some ties may be possible. Two passages in David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 Samuel 1:16; 1:26) are admittedly from the pen of a Judahite poet, but the setting is Gilboa and the two slain heroes are Benjaminites. Finally, the two cases in Zechariah (Zechariah 11:7; 11:10) may be explained as northern influence over post-exilic Hebrew or as continuations of the address to Lebanon in 11:1-3. In other words, maximally twenty-six of thirty or minimally twenty-two out of thirty usages of the root נענ in the Bible appear to be in northern texts. Coupled with the Phoenician and Ugaritic evidence, Rendsburg concludes that נענ was commonly used in Israelite Hebrew, and only very rarely employed in the dialect of Judah.

5. The word נענ in verse 6 represents one of only three uses of the root נענ, "good, pleasing, beautiful," in the Hebrew Bible.

²⁹⁹ F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1972), 102, 146-47, 176, 185, 362.

³⁰⁰ See W. F. Albright, *YHWH and the Gods of Canaan* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1968), 186-87.

³⁰¹ Rendsburg, "Northern Origin"; and Gary A. Rendsburg, "Additional Notes on 'The Last Words of David' (2 Samuel 23:1-7)," *Biblica* 70 (1989): 403-8.

³⁰² Rendsburg notes that, given the close ties between Egypt and Byblos from at least the third millennium B.C.E., whatever Canaanite may have been known in Egypt was probably of the Phoenician dialect type.

The other two attestations are in Genesis 49:21 and Job 26:13.³⁰³ The former appears in Jacob's blessing to Naphtali, one of the northernmost tribes, and the latter appears in a book with much Aramaic coloring. In addition, the root שפר is extremely common in Aramaic; it appears at Sefire, five times in Daniel, and frequently in post-biblical Aramaic.³⁰⁴ Based on its distribution in the Bible and the cognate usage in Aramaic, Rendsburg concludes that the Hebrew root שפר was an element of Israelite Hebrew, though not of Judahite Hebrew.

6. The noun שְׂמֵחוֹת in verse 11 occurs only here and in Psalm 45:16.

Since the latter appears in another presumably northern Psalm, Rendsburg finds good reason to parse this vocable not as the plural of שְׂמֵחָה, "joy," but rather as a dialect variation thereof.³⁰⁵ Rendsburg notes that in most Canaanite dialects the feminine singular nominal ending ת – was retained.³⁰⁶ The form שְׂמֵחוֹת, then, would be the northern Hebrew variant of the standard שְׂמֵחָה. This may be proved for שְׂמֵחוֹת in Psalm 45:16 and for שְׂמֵחוֹת in Psalm 16:11 as well.³⁰⁷

7. In verse 11 appears the parallel word-pair שָׂבַע, "fullness," and נְעִמּוֹת, "pleasures."

As Avishur points out, this pairing is unique in the Bible, but the two words are collocated as a syndetic parataxis four times in the Phoenician inscription of King Azitawadda.³⁰⁸ Rendsburg considers this fact significant and adds this pair to his list of northern features exhibited by Psalm 16.

Presently, there are notable differences between the type of language used for biblical poetry, which seems to be closer to the languages found among neighboring northern

³⁰³ Rendsburg excludes the noun שְׂפָרִירו "his canopy (?)" in Jeremiah 43:10, which may or may not be related to our root.

³⁰⁴ Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols. (New York: Pardes, 1950), s.v. "שפר."

³⁰⁵ Dahood (*Psalms 1-50*, 91) was on the right track when he wrote "It may or may not be significant that the *dis legomenon* plural *s^emāhōt* occurs in highly Phoenicianizing contexts," but he did not carry this observation to its ultimate conclusion. Moses Buxton sensed that the word should be singular. He translated it "joy" and called it an "intensive plural, intensifying the idea expressed – a nicety which is lost in the translation." *The Psalms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 512.

³⁰⁶ This statement may be refined by noting that in Phoenician the ending was actually –ōt, because short *a* shifted to *ō*. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, 29-30, 106-7. The length of the *ō* vowel is unclear.

³⁰⁷ There are other nouns in the Bible which end in ת – which are feminine singular and not feminine plural. An investigation of them led Rendsburg to the conclusion that they too are northernisms. Here may be mentioned חֵכְמוֹת, "wisdom," in Proverbs 1:20, 9:1, and חֵכְמוֹת, "wise lady," in Judges 5:29, Proverbs 14:1, compositions with northern affinities; אֲהָבָה, "love," in Psalm 45:1; יְשׁוּעָה, "salvation," in Psalm 53:7, which is the northern version of יְשׁוּעָה in Psalm 14:7; בְּהֵמוֹת, "beast," in Psalm 73:22 (where the context calls for a singular noun); אֲרִי, "wrath," in Psalm 76:11, Proverbs 22:24; עֵדוּת, "testimony," in Psalm 132:12 and הוֹלֵלוּת in Qoheleth 1:17, 2:12, 7:25, 9:3. On Judges 5 see Charles F. Burney, *The Book of Judges: With Introduction and Notes* (London: Rivingtons, 1918), 171-76. And see Rendsburg, "Morphological Evidence."

³⁰⁸ Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*, 452, 461 (e.g., KAI 26 A I:6 II:7, 12-13, 16).

peoples, and that employed by classical biblical prose. There are also notable differences between the northern (Israelite) and southern (Judahite) dialects of Hebrew contained in the Hebrew Bible. The Israelite dialect seems to be most prominent in biblical texts that contain what has traditionally been understood as archaic³⁰⁹ or early biblical Hebrew. Further, although Ugaritic may be understood as distinct from Hebrew as a language, a virtual identity of many rhetorical devices, locutions, and poetic diction has been observed.³¹⁰ Enough word pairs may be identified in Phoenician sources to place the Phoenician language in a special category with Ugaritic and Hebrew. For many scholars, the evidence from extant texts is generally considered to point to a common literary tradition shared by Ugarit, Phoenicia, and Israel.³¹¹

A special literary relationship between Ugarit, Phoenicia, and Israel evidently was mediated to Israel through Phoenicia. Perhaps the most careful way to view the relationship between Ugaritic and Phoenician (since Ugarit was destroyed before the period in which Phoenicia is evident) is to hold out a theory that sees both the Ugaritic and later Phoenician linguistic sequences as based on a common forerunner.³¹²

Relying on modern scholarship's view of diglossia, Ian Young proposes the existence of a "pre-existent literary prestige language," a forerunner (as yet unidentified) which the Israelites found already established in Canaan and which the Israelites then took over.³¹³ Young also suggests that the diversity of peoples in early Israel would have been reflected in a diversity of native languages being spoken in early Israelite history.³¹⁴ Regarding El-Amarna Canaanite, Young views Ugaritic and Amarna Canaanite as northern and southern variations of the same basic literary tradition (further explaining the literary relationship between Ugaritic and the later southern dialects of Phoenician and Hebrew).³¹⁵ The diversity of the language of ancient Israel may be viewed as that of divergent northwest Semitic dialects – biblical Hebrew being a descendant of the literary prestige language of Canaan which is found evidenced in the El-Amarna letters. Therefore, beneath the surface of

³⁰⁹ The term "archaic Hebrew" is used differently by scholars today. In this thesis, the term is used to name a characteristic language as seen in the corpus of the pre-exilic epigraphic material and in the poetry of Exodus 15, Judges 5, Genesis 49, Deuteronomy 32-33, Numbers 23-24, as well as Psalm 68 and other early psalms. See Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 56-68, for a current summary of the particular linguistic features which have traditionally been understood as being "archaic."

³¹⁰ Stanley Gevirtz, *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 32 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 162; Cassuto, "Biblical and Canaanite Literature," 16-59.

³¹¹ For discussion see Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 29-62; Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 200-1; Young, *Diversity*, 4-11; Albright, "Two Little Understood."

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ Young, *Diversity*, 6-7.

³¹⁴ And see Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 52-6.

³¹⁵ And see Albright, "Two Little Understood"; Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 37-40.

standardized biblical Hebrew, one may accept the likelihood of dialects reflecting the diversity of the origins of the people of early Israel.³¹⁶

While Israelite Yahwehism exhibits a major break with Canaanite religious tradition, their shared “prestige language” may be seen in the archaic and dialectical features which are found most frequently in the Hebrew Bible in the work of the poets of archaic biblical Hebrew. For example, the Phoenician orthographic tradition favors highly defective forms and evidently the Phoenician of this period has almost no *matres lectionis*.³¹⁷ The historical tendency in the biblical Hebrew tradition is toward *plene* spelling. Finding the Phoenician orthographic tradition within a Hebrew poem would point back to a shared literary tradition. The earliest poems in the archaic biblical Hebrew corpus³¹⁸ would seem to come from the pre-monarchic period prior to the division described in the Book of Judges. Archaic biblical Hebrew is marked by being open to a wider variety of sources than later Hebrew. Based on historical and social factors, which have been traditionally asserted, yet without any direct evidence, it seems probable that standard biblical Hebrew had its origin in the period of the united monarchy.³¹⁹ The reason for considering archaic biblical poetry as being of northern origin is explained by Sáenz-Badillos:

When we consider that the cultural and religious centre at the time of the Judges was in the north of Israel, in the mountains of Ephraim and Benjamin, it is not surprising that the language of archaic biblical poetry has obvious connexions with the poetry of the Canaanite north. In contrast, classical Hebrew prose is clearly linked to the reigns of David and Solomon and their successors in Jerusalem. This does not necessarily mean that the advent of the Davidic monarchy saw a replacement of the northern language by the southern – rather, an ‘official’ language was created, which was used at court and in educated circles in Jerusalem, and which was intended to be as understandable in the north as in the south, although, clearly, southern features would have predominated. The language of prophetic and liturgical poetry from this period is not markedly different from that of the prose writings.³²⁰

³¹⁶ Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 52.

³¹⁷ David N. Freedman, “The Masoretic Text and the Qumran Scrolls: A Study in Orthography,” *Textus* 2 (1962): 87-102; Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 38-9, 66; Frank M. Cross and David N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence*. American Oriental Series 36 (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1952), 45-8.

³¹⁸ A minimal listing of these oldest poems includes *Testament of Jacob* (Genesis 49), *Song of the Sea* (Exodus 15), *Oracles of Balaam* (Numbers 23-4), *Testament of Moses* (Deuteronomy 33) and *Song of Deborah* (Judges 5). David Noel Freedman, *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1980), 169.

³¹⁹ Young, *Diversity*, 20-1, 125; Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence*, 155.

³²⁰ Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 68. (The differences between archaic biblical Hebrew and northern Hebrew then being understood as due principally to the poeticism of archaic biblical texts causing variations and to the changes in regional dialects.)

Yet, the stage of development of biblical Hebrew which would represent the end of archaic biblical Hebrew poetry may be seen as a change in style, rather than only a linguistic development.³²¹ Many archaic linguistic features being employed may be due to stylistic considerations, not age. Such elements may reflect a deliberate application of antique style, or a literary borrowing from earlier sources, placed in the extant biblical setting as a stylistic device by a later author.³²² Thus, the different strata evident in biblical poetry may be seen in existence concurrently if the archaic features are understood as stylistic and not related strictly to diachronic linguistic development. Even so, the particular archaic linguistic features themselves may be understood to be sourced in a common literary tradition spread across the general Syro-Palestinian area.³²³ The biblical parallels to Canaanite and Ugaritic poetry are characteristic of shared poetic traditions.

While it is generally accepted that Canaanite and Aramaic are descendents of a common parent, Aramaic is not to be understood as a variant of a common “prestige language.”³²⁴ It may be that the Canaanite “prestige language” continued as such until Imperial Aramaic was established as the *lingua franca* of the Assyrians in Syria-Palestine. In the Hebrew Bible, archaic biblical Hebrew is rich in dialectical Aramaic forms and vocabulary. Driver finds that much of the distinctive coloring of Hebrew poetry is related to Aramaic (based on Hebrew words whose poetic parallels are attested in Aramaic).³²⁵ Driver concludes that these are not loanwords from Aramaic, but Old Semitic words which otherwise can only be traced in Aramaic. In other words, in Hebrew poetry broadly viewed, we have evidence of an Aramaic stratum beneath the surface of standard biblical Hebrew. Kutscher points out that Aramaic coloring is part of the wisdom tradition.³²⁶ Young notes this fact as a part of his reminder that biblical Hebrew was also a spoken language. The prophetic oracles and wisdom sayings were spoken performances, as were classical songs

³²¹ Ibid. “We know that standard poetic Hebrew has altogether supplanted early poetic Hebrew by the eighth century.” Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence*, 155.

³²² See *IBHS*, 11-2; Hurvitz, “Can Biblical Texts,” 146-7; Jacobus A. Naudé, “The Transitions of Biblical Hebrew in the Perspective of Language Change and Diffusion,” in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 369 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 189-214.

³²³ Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 201.

³²⁴ Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 12, 29, 35-6.

³²⁵ Godfrey R. Driver, “Hebrew Poetic Diction,” in *Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, 1953, Copenhagen*, ed. George W. Anderson, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 26-39. For the argument that northern Hebrew has more in common with Aramaic than does Judahite Hebrew see Avi Hurvitz, “The Chronological Significance of ‘Aramaisms’ in Biblical Hebrew,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 18 (1968): 234-40.

³²⁶ Kutscher, *A History*, 72. It has even been suggested that the basic materials (proverbs, etc.) of the common wisdom tradition of the ancient Near East were transmitted in Aramaic form. Hurvitz, “The Chronological Significance,” 236.

and poems such as the Psalms, Song of Songs, and the archaic biblical Hebrew poems.³²⁷ The influx of Aramaisms affecting Hebrew was intensified after the Babylonian exile, and the influences of Aramaic upon Hebrew apparently increased with time.³²⁸

In analyzing linguistic criteria, great difficulty surrounds the task of separating the chronologically significant forms from the insignificant. Avi Hurvitz has rightly observed that the most significant criterion for chronology is that of linguistic opposition where two words are found for the same function and where the occurrence of each word is characteristic of different chronological strata of the language. In our study, the use of בל in Psalm 16 would be an example of a potentially chronologically significant form.

Evidence based on orthography is less certain. Since the discovery of the plurality of text types in the Qumran biblical texts, divergent scribal traditions in such matters as *plene* and *defectiva* spelling must be considered. According to Cross and Freedman, the first stage in Hebrew orthography is the Phoenician stage (down to the tenth century B.C.E.) which is characterized by the absence of vowel letters. Cross and Freedman's second period is the Aramaic phase which they date from the ninth century.³²⁹ The first part of this Aramaic phase includes the introduction of final *matres lectionis*. In other words, evidence points to Aramaic for the development of *matres lectionis*.³³⁰ In Psalm 16:2, the form אַמְרָה may be considered as potentially chronologically significant.

David Robertson's linguistic study, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Hebrew Poetry*, attempts to use the criterion of archaic language as a basis for dating poetic works as archaic biblical Hebrew. The only definite linguistic distinction that Robertson is able to draw between archaic biblical Hebrew and standard biblical Hebrew is that there is a clustering of archaic elements in archaic biblical Hebrew, while there is no such clustering in standard biblical Hebrew.³³¹ Robertson's evidence shows that the primary characteristic of archaic biblical Hebrew is not that in it we see a full representation of the older form of the language (Robertson finds only Exodus 15 to be completely consistent in its use of archaic features). On the contrary, Robertson shows the difference between archaic biblical Hebrew and standard biblical Hebrew to be stylistic.

³²⁷ Young, *Diversity*, 89.

³²⁸ For discussion of this widely held view see Hurvitz, "Historical Quest," 304-5. Cf. Davies, *In Search*, 102.

³²⁹ See Cross and Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, 32-59; Young, *Diversity*, 102.

³³⁰ See Cross and Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, 32, 59; Young, *Diversity*, 103; Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 66; see Ziony Zevit, *Matres Lectionis in Ancient Hebrew Epigraphs*, American Schools of Oriental Research Monograph Series 2 (Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1980) for additional evidence of the Hebrew inscriptions from the First Temple period.

³³¹ Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence*, 148.

Like Freedman, Robertson sees that the poets writing archaic biblical Hebrew seem to have had greater freedom to make choices among the sources available to them.³³² Another feature of the archaic biblical Hebrew poetry which distinguishes it from standard biblical Hebrew is its openness to the use of dialectical forms, most notably those considered Aramaisms. Since the line between what is archaic and what is dialectical is not clearly definable, a rare form should not necessarily be considered as an old one.³³³ The characteristic language of archaic Hebrew poetry could be due to the poem's great antiquity and also to its possible northern provenance, an area which was more exposed to the cultural innovations of neighboring peoples and which had more contact with their language. However, it seems unlikely that the language of archaic Hebrew poetry is simply the dialect of the northern tribes in contrast to the southern dialect which later became dominant.³³⁴ Consequently, it may be best to define archaic biblical Hebrew as a style of Hebrew poetry which exhibits a markedly freer employment of archaic and dialectical forms than is the case in standard biblical Hebrew. Under this definition, Psalm 16 may be considered as potentially archaic biblical poetry.

Robertson asserts that a large number of Psalms derive from the ongoing celebration of the cult during the period of Solomon's First Temple.³³⁵ He reasons that many of the so-called royal and Zion psalms were composed before the career of Isaiah, seeing that the motifs in them are determinative of much of Isaiah's message.³³⁶ Robertson also notes the resemblance of pre-exilic prophetic poems to many Psalms that he thereby considers as being pre-exilic. His thinking rests upon an assumption that the prophetic class had an integral relationship with the cult – thereby, cultic types and phraseology are seen to have influenced prophetic diction.³³⁷

Robertson concludes his study with a working hypothesis regarding the dating of biblical Psalms that exhibit a clustering of archaic linguistic features. Based on the assumptions that standard biblical Hebrew originated in the period of the united monarchy (the assumed period of linguistic transition from archaic to standard biblical Hebrew), and that the earliest of the archaic biblical Hebrew is Exodus 15 (which is from the twelfth century), Robertson assigns Judges 5 to the end of the twelfth century, Deuteronomy 32, 2

³³² Freedman, *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy*, 193.

³³³ Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence*, 4.

³³⁴ Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 62. Thus, Cyrus H. Gordon concludes that the Old Testament "parallels are due rather to a common poetic heritage than to late borrowings." Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 201.

³³⁵ And see Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 448.

³³⁶ Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence*, 152-3; Young, *Diversity*, 125.

³³⁷ Young, *Diversity*, 125; and see Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 80-1, who sees the cultic influence most clearly in Jeremiah, Joel, and Ezekiel.

Samuel 22 (= Psalm 18), Habakkuk 3, and Job in the eleventh – tenth century, Psalm 78 in the late tenth or early ninth, and the other Psalms exhibiting a clustering of archaic features as well as standard biblical Hebrew features in the ninth century or thereafter.

Based on current scholarship, the following linguistic features of Psalm 16 may now be considered significant:³³⁸

1. The superscription מִכְתָּם לְדָוִד may be considered as an editorial addition. It is widely agreed that the superscriptions affixed to most of the Psalms in the MT (and to virtually all in the LXX) are secondary additions to the compositions involved.³³⁹ A comparison between the Psalms' superscriptions and the cultic-liturgical traditions of the Chronicler's history reveals connecting traditions. The Levitical priesthood that stands behind the Chronicler's history presents itself as the priesthood responsible for the performance of the Psalms in the post-exilic Temple community. The provision of explanatory headings was promoted by this Levitical circle. Presumably, those Levites went back to their traditions, to the cultic traditions of the Jerusalem Temple of pre-exilic times, and to extant collections of psalms. It is possible that individual terms and references go back to the earliest times. Accordingly, the interest in David as the founder of the Temple and of organized worship may be viewed as not just a trend in Chronicles but as a return to a basic Jerusalem Psalm tradition.³⁴⁰ That the meaning of מִכְתָּם is not clearly attested is also significant, as is the separation of Psalm 16 from the other four Psalms with a similar superscription (Psalms 56-60).³⁴¹ These textual difficulties are rooted in the manifold stratification of the Psalms tradition.
2. The initial reference to deity is to אֱל (verse 1), which is then quickly followed by usage of יְהוָה (verse 2) and אֱלֹהֵי (verse 2). The divine name אֱל is found most often in Psalms (seventy-seven times), Job (fifty-five times), Isaiah (twenty-four times), and Genesis (eighteen times), and is apparently avoided in Judges, 1-2 Samuel, and 1-2 Kings.³⁴² The form אֱל, used of the supreme god, is especially well distributed in northwest Semitic languages and in Akkadian.³⁴³ In the period

³³⁸ For other linguistic features which arguably may be significant, see Appendix 16 for Mitchell Dahood's findings and A. Rodríguez, "Datación," 394-6, who closely follows Dahood.

³³⁹ See Childs, "Psalm Titles."

³⁴⁰ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 32.

³⁴¹ See pages 138-9 for discussion.

³⁴² These represent the majority of the 238 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible. Accordance, s.v. "אֱל"; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. "אֱל," by W. H. Schmidt: "אֱל occurs regularly in metrical texts and in archaizing language."

³⁴³ Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. "אֱל"; *HALOT*, s.v. "אֱל"; and for the wide distribution at

up to David, אל was a more popular element in theophoric personal names in the Hebrew Bible than יהוה.³⁴⁴ The mythological texts from Ras Shamra exhibit אל as a god at the head of the pantheon. In this usage, an expression of close personal relationship to God, as in the address in prayer, one hears “an idiom common among Israel’s neighbors.”³⁴⁵ In the Hebrew Bible, the form lends itself to expression of close relationship to God both in laments and in songs of thanksgiving (e.g., Psalms 18:3; 22:2; 42:9; 63:2; 102:25; 89:27). The first person singular suffix is commonly used; the second person, third person, and first person plural suffixes do not occur.³⁴⁶

3. The form אֱמִרָה (verse 2) may be understood as a case of *scriptio defectiva* and explained by Phoenician influence over the Hebrew.³⁴⁷ The Mp which indicates that this unique form or meaning is a masculine gender may be followed.³⁴⁸ Other difficulties with the text of Psalm 16 relating to *yod* include the form תִּוְמִיךָ (qal masculine singular participle, תִּמְךָ) in Psalm 16:5 which would seem to include a superfluous *yod* (the expected form would be תִּוְמִיךָ). A verb תִּמַּךְ, from which the hiphil form תִּוְמִיךָ could be developed, is unknown in the Hebrew Bible. The LXX σύ εἶ ὁ ἀποκαθιστῶν points to a participial construction, as do the 23 Hebrew manuscripts listed by Kennicott that omit the *yod*.

Regarding the form כָּל־חַפְצֵי־בָרָךְ in Psalm 16:3, the LXX has apparently read כָּל־חַפְצֵי־בָרַם. The Mp indicates that this expression is unique. Kennicott and de Rossi yield no direct manuscript support for the LXX reading, but do offer other variants which might explain the LXX reading.

The form נַחֲלָתִי in Psalm 16:6 is rendered by the LXX as τὴν κληρονομίαν μου and similarly in the Syriac. The Mp indicates that this expression is unique. This LXX reading of נַחֲלָתִי may be based on context alone, as the following עָלַי

Qumran, see Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. “אל.” For discussion of the Canaanite influence on divine kingship at the beginning of the Hebrew settlement, see John C. L. Gibson, “The Kingship of YHWH against Its Canaanite Background,” in *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992*, ed. George J. Brooke et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 101-12. And see Day, “Ugarit and the Bible.”

³⁴⁴ See Johannes C. de Moor, *The Rise of Yahwism: The Roots of Israelite Monotheism* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 32.

³⁴⁵ Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “אל”; and for usage in Babylonian prayers see Joachim Begrich, “Die Vertrauensäußerungen im israelitischen Klageliede des Einzelnen und in seinem babylonischen Gegenstück,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46 (1928): 236, 242, 244-5.

³⁴⁶ Accordance, s.v. “אל”; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “אל.”

³⁴⁷ The influence may also be from Aramaic. See page 101, footnote 292.

³⁴⁸ Contra Julio Treballe Barrera, “Salmos de mujeres,” *Estudios Bíblicos* 57 (1999): 665-82.

- might yield. If so, the “missing” *yod* of the MT would be found in the MT's immediate context.³⁴⁹
4. The unusual particle **בַּל** is used four times (verses 2, 4 [twice], and 8) in Psalm 16 and may indicate Phoenician and Ugaritic influence.³⁵⁰
 5. The phrase **אָמַרְתָּ (לְיְהוָה אֲדֹנָי) אֶתְּהָ טוֹבָתִי** in verse 2 is a formulaic expression (perfect verb, pronoun, noun + suffix) well known in biblical Psalms.³⁵¹
 6. The form **קְדוֹשִׁים** in verse 3 may be traced back to its parallel usage in referring to Canaanite gods.³⁵²
 7. The feminine nominal ending **תְּ** in **מִנְתְּ** (verse 5, in construct state) and in **נִחְלָתְ** (verse 6) as opposed to the standard Hebrew ending **הַ**, may be due to its northern origin.
 8. The root **נעם** in **נְעִמִים** (verse 6) and in **נְעִמוֹת** (verse 11) may be of northern origin.
 9. The root **שפר** in **שִׁפְרָהּ** (verse 6) may be an element of Israelite Hebrew, as may be seen in its cognate usage in Aramaic and its only other biblical usage in Job 26:13.
 10. The noun **שִׁמְחוֹת** (verse 11) may be a northern Hebrew variant of the standard **שִׁמְחָה** and understood as a feminine singular.
 11. The dense cluster of stereotypical word pairs in Psalm 16 may point to an oral tradition preceding the Psalm's written form.³⁵³
 12. The parallel word pair **שִׁבְעַת** and **נְעִמוֹת** in verse 11 is unique in the Hebrew Bible but the pair is found as a syndetic parataxis four times in the Phoenician inscription of King Azitawadda.³⁵⁴
 13. The following word pairs also may be understood to have parallels in northwest Semitic languages similar to their usage within parallelisms in Psalm 16:³⁵⁵

³⁴⁹ Contra Dahood; see Appendix 16.

³⁵⁰ The use of the negative particle **לֹא** in verse 10 following the prior usages of **בַּל** is not unusual in other instances where **בַּל** is found. E.g., in Psalm 10:6 and in Isaiah 33:21 **לֹא** immediately follows **בַּל** in a parallel phrase. In Psalm 147:20 the reverse is found. See footnote 186.

³⁵¹ Robert C. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 51.

³⁵² As in Psalm 89:6; Job 5:1, 15; Hosea 12:1; Zechariah 14:5. For discussion, see pages 145-51. Also see Appendix 15 regarding the *plene* spelling.

³⁵³ See pages 93-5 and the following section for discussion of form related issues.

³⁵⁴ *KAI* 26 A 1:6; 2:7:12-13, 16.

³⁵⁵ See Loren R. Fisher, ed. *Ras Shamra Parallels*, 2 vols. *Analecta Orientalia* 49 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1972, 1975). Another possible pair is **יָד // שִׁפְהָ** (verse 4 and reversed in Psalm 140:4-5, *yd // špt* (*KTU* 1.22 I:4; *RSP* 1:197) where **מִיָּדָם** “from my hands” is read for **מִדָּמָם** “of blood” in Psalm 16:4.

<u>MT Psalm 16</u>	<u>Ras Shamra Parallel</u>
a. קדוש // אדיר (verse 3)	<i>qdš // adr</i> (KTU 1.16 I:7-8) (RSP 1:323)
b. שמח // גיל (verse 9) ³⁵⁶	<i>smḥ // gl</i> (KTU 1.16 I:14-15) (RSP 1:354)
c. לב // כבוד (verse 9) ³⁵⁷	<i>lb // kbd</i> (KTU 1.3 II:25-26) ³⁵⁸ (RSP 1:245-6)
d. אל // אדון (verses 1, 2) ³⁵⁹	<i>adn // 'il</i> (RS 606:1-2) ³⁶⁰ (RSP 1:100-1)
e. בל // בל (verse 4) ³⁶¹	<i>bl // bl</i> (KTU 1.19 I:44-45) (RSP 1:144)
f. נסך // נסך (verse 4) ³⁶²	<i>nsk // nsk</i> (KTU 1.2 II:40-41) (RSP 1:276)
g. כוס // מנת (verse 5)	<i>ksm // mnth</i> (KTU 1.17 I:32-33; II 4:21) ³⁶³ (RSP 1:323)
h. אף // ו (verse 9) ³⁶⁴	<i>ap // w</i> (KTU 1.19 I:16-17) ³⁶⁵ (RSP 1:120)
i. נתן // עזב (verse 10) ³⁶⁶	<i>ytn // 'db</i> (KTU 1.17 V:26-27) (RSP 1:219)
j. פנים // חיים (verse 11) ³⁶⁷	<i>hym // pnm</i> (RS 1018:18-19) (RSP 1:179-80)

³⁵⁶ Also see Isaiah 9:2; 66:10; Hosea 9:1; Psalms 21:2; 32:11, etc. Boling, “‘Synonymous’ Paralellism,” 238.

³⁵⁷ Also see Psalms 57:8-9; 108:2. The presence of the Ugaritic parallelism *šmḥ // gl* in Psalm 16:9 may reinforce the repointing of MT קְבוֹדִי to כְּבוֹדִי. Some Hebrew manuscripts read כְּבוֹדִי.

³⁵⁸ Also see KTU 1.12 I:13; 1.19 I:34-35; etc.

³⁵⁹ Also see Psalm 68:21.

³⁶⁰ For a reproduction and discussion of this text, see RSP 2:281.

³⁶¹ Also see Psalms 17:3; 104:9; 140:11-12; Isaiah 26:10, 14; 33:23; 40:24; 44:9; etc.

³⁶² Also see Genesis 35:14; Numbers 28:7; 2 Kings 16:13; Jeremiah 7:18; 44:17, 18; etc.

³⁶³ For the reading in 2 Aqht see CTA. The English rendering “spelt” for *ksm* has been accepted by various scholars. See Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, 280; Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch*, entry 1359. Dahood parses the Ugaritic *ksmh* of 2 Aqht as *ks* (medial enclitic) *m*, (pronominal suffix) *h* and translates: “one who will consume his cup in the house of Ba‘al, his portion in the house of El.” Dahood renders the phrase מְנַת־חֶלְקִי וְכוּסִי in Psalm 16:5: “you have portioned out my cup of smooth wine.” Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 89. But see RSP 1:90 for a discussion of *ksm* – that the *ksm* may mean some kind of flour or grain of lesser quality than wheat, such as spelt, does not indicate that it could not be used in rituals. “The materials chosen for rituals had theological (liturgical, magical, mythological) factors which determined them.” RSP 1:90. On Dahood’s rendering of חֶלְקִי as “smooth wine” (based on Ugaritic parallels) see discussion of the Ugaritic textual difficulties of KTU 2.13:16-17 in Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 155.

³⁶⁴ Also see Psalm 89:6; 135:17; Isaiah 35:2; Qoheleth 2:9, etc.

³⁶⁵ Also see KTU 1.5 VI:25-26; 1.16 VI 25-26; 1.1 IV:30-31; etc.

³⁶⁶ Also see Genesis 39:4, 6; Nehemiah 9:27-8; Psalm 10:14 for reverse order. In Psalm 10:14 עֹזֵב would be rendered “to entrust oneself.”

³⁶⁷ These two are parallel if שְׂמֵחוּת and שִׁבְעַת is taken as an instance of *hendiadys* and the two cola are

k. חיים // שְׂמַחֹת (verse 11)³⁶⁸

hym // *smh* (KTU 1.16 I:14;
II:98-9)³⁶⁹ (RSP 2:13)

l. פנים // עֵמֶן (verse 11)³⁷⁰

pnm // *ymn* (KTU 1.4 V:108-109)
(RSP 1:313)

14. Psalm 16:7 contains a thanksgiving formula which precedes a statement that gives the reason for the act of praise, namely, a favor by the divine being. This formula is well attested in ancient religious texts.³⁷¹
15. The use of אֵל with an emphatic sense (verses 6, 7, and 9), rendered “indeed,” denoting addition – especially of something greater, and implying something surprising or unexpected, is very rare in prose (where וְ is more usual) and may be understood as a feature of poetic diction.³⁷² Used with reference to a preceding sentence, and rendered “also,” or “how much more” after an affirmative clause, אֵל is to be found distributed throughout prose and poetry.³⁷³ Here in Psalm 16, אֵל is understood not as a conjunction but as an adverb used rhetorically.³⁷⁴
16. The asyndetic verbal clause of Psalm 16:4, אָהַר מְהָרָה, may be characteristic of archaic biblical poetry.³⁷⁵
17. The use of a masculine plural form, as opposed to the usual use of feminine plurals, to connote an abstract noun as in הַבְּלִיַּם (verse 6), נְעֻמִים (verse 6), and חַיִּים (verse 11) is often found in poetry.³⁷⁶
18. The noun שָׁחַת (verse 10) occurs twenty-three times in the Hebrew Bible, almost always in poetry.³⁷⁷ Divine intervention in saving an individual from שָׁאוּל or

rendered:

You will make me know the path to life,
The full enjoyment of your presence [literally “face”].

³⁶⁸ Also see Psalm 85:7.

³⁶⁹ Dahood notes that חַיִּים “denotes ‘eternal life’ precisely as in *Ugaritic Textbook*, 2 Aqht VI: 27-29: *irš hym watnk blmt wašlhk ašsprk ‘m b’l šnt ‘m bn il tspr yrhm*, ‘Ask for eternal life and I will give it to you, immortality and I will bestow it upon you. I will make you number years with Baal, with the gods you will number months.’” Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 91. For the reading *nšmh* in RS 125:14, see CTA, 72. For discussion, see RSP 2:4.

³⁷⁰ Also see Psalm 44:4: יְמִינֶךָ “your right hand” // אֹרַח פְּנֵיךָ “the light of your face.”

³⁷¹ E.g., see RS 25.460:28, 29 and discussion of this formula in RSP 2:389. Also see Anneli Aejmelaesus, *The Traditional Prayer*, 92-3, and the next section for a discussion of form related issues.

³⁷² BDB, s.v. “אֵל”; Christo H. J. van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé, and Jan Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 312-3. Also see Psalm 89:28. For discussion see Muraoka, *Emphatic Words*, 141-3.

³⁷³ Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. “אֵל.”

³⁷⁴ Gibson, *Grammar*, 38; Williams, *Hebrew Syntax*, 64.

³⁷⁵ See Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 60; Joüon, *Grammar*, 2:593.

³⁷⁶ Gibson, *Grammar*, 17.

שָׁחַת followed by an individual's thanksgiving is a basic motif in ancient religious texts.³⁷⁸

19. The noun form שָׁחַת (verse 11) occurs primarily in Psalm passages³⁷⁹ where it is used adverbially.

In summary, Psalm 16's significant literary features confirm its sharing in ancient Syro-Palestinian poetic traditions. The poet of Psalm 16 uses traditional material, literary motifs, and stylistic techniques common to other Northwest Semitic languages. Psalm 16 appears to employ a variegated, heterogenous language reflecting an early stage of Hebrew as evidenced by its relatively dense cluster of Israelite Hebrew features. Instances of what have become known as features of archaic biblical Hebrew suggest a closer affinity in language and style with northern dialects.

C. Issues of Form

1. The Psalter

As seen in recent scholarship, the prevailing interests in Psalms studies have to do with questions about the composition, editorial unity, and overall message of the Psalter as a book (i.e., as a literary and canonical entity that coheres with respect to structure and message) and with how individual Psalms and collections fit together.³⁸⁰ It has long been recognized that the present shape of the Psalter reflects a long history of development in both its oral and literary stages.³⁸¹ However, Psalms studies are very different from what they were in 1970.³⁸²

Westermann's studies of the larger literary structure of the Psalter move from the literary classification of individual psalms to studying their arrangement in the collection. Westermann's observations begin with attempts to describe the diachronic process of the

³⁷⁷ See footnote 188; G. Johannes Botterweck, et al. eds., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1993), s.v. "שָׁחַת," by L. Wächter; *HALOT* s. v. "שָׁחַת"; Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. "שָׁחַת"; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. "Psalms, Theology of," by Bruce K. Waltke; Franciscus Zorell, ed., *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome: Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1947), s.v. "שָׁחַת"; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. "שָׁחַת," by D. Vetter.

³⁷⁸ E.g., *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (Si 55(q), Reverse) verse 13, Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 53; and RS 25.460. Similar to Psalm 16:10-11, the Akkadian *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* text also features a salvation from *šht* in order to "see the light of life." For discussion, see Weinfeld, "Job and Its Mesopotamian Parallels," 217-25.

³⁷⁹ See footnote 187.

³⁸⁰ For discussion see David M. Howard, Jr., "Recent Trends in Psalms Study," in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 329-44; and Mitchell, *Message*, 48-65.

³⁸¹ Childs, *Introduction*, 511.

³⁸² See Mitchell, *Message*, 48-65; Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 250-8.

Psalter's compilation and end with conclusions that the Psalter displays an overall pattern of progress from lament to praise, that praise psalms have a closural function in internal collections, and that the royal psalms form part of the framework of the Psalter.³⁸³

Brevard S. Childs argues that there is a distinct eschatological thrust in the canonical shaping, and therefore in the final form, of the Psalter.³⁸⁴ Childs sees Psalms 1 and 2 as an introduction³⁸⁵ which creates an eschatological framework for the whole collection, imposing a messianic interpretation even on originally non-messianic Psalms. In the period during which the Psalter was finally redacted (i.e., in the post-exilic period up to the time of the LXX translation), a contemporary understanding of Psalm 2 would have referred it to the coming judgment and kingship of God. Since the monarchy had long been destroyed, the term מְשִׁיחַ would have been understood only of the eschatological deliverer.³⁸⁶ Childs infers from the use of royal psalms throughout the collection that their original *Sitz im Leben* has been disregarded by the final redactors, and that they now represent the presence of the messianic hope pervading the final collection.³⁸⁷

Childs writes:

Although the royal psalms arose originally in a peculiar historical setting of ancient Israel which had received its form from a common mythopoetic milieu, they were treasured in the Psalter for a different reason, namely as a witness to the messianic hope which looked for the consummation of God's kingship through his Anointed One.³⁸⁸

According to Childs, this eschatological reinterpretation applies not only to the royal Psalms, but to the entire Psalter:

However one explains it, the final form of the Psalter is highly eschatological in nature. It looks toward to [*sic*] the future and passionately yearns for its arrival. Even when the psalmist turns briefly to reflect on the past in praise of the 'great things YHWH has done,' invariably the movement shifts and again the hope of salvation is projected into the future (Psalm 126:6). The perspective of Israel's worship in the Psalter is eschatologically oriented. As a result, the Psalter in its canonical form, far from being different in kind from the prophetic message, joins with the prophets in announcing God's coming Kingship. When the New Testament heard in the Psalms eschatological notes, its writers were standing in the context of the Jewish canon in which the community of faith worshiped and waited.³⁸⁹

³⁸³ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 250-8.

³⁸⁴ Childs, *Introduction*, 511-8.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 511-3. A view which is corroborated by the fact that Psalms 1 and 2 are the only two Psalms that lack a superscription both in the MT and in the LXX.

³⁸⁶ Childs, *Introduction*, 516.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 515-6.

³⁸⁸ Childs, *Introduction*, 517.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 518. The recent thematic study of David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter*, proposes that the Psalter is to be interpreted eschatologically and the Davidic kingship actually forms the basis for

The presence of earlier collections of Psalms throughout the Psalter is evident, for example, in the collections of Asaph and Korah, and in the pilgrimage songs of Psalms 120-134.³⁹⁰ Just prior to the collection of Psalms 120-134 (commonly referred to as the Pilgrim's Psalter) is Psalm 119, unique in that it is a Psalm in praise of the law and which may be an anthology in literary form.³⁹¹ In function, Psalm 119 falls within the wisdom genre and, along with Psalm 1, may form a framework around the intervening Psalms. Westermann argues that this once was a Psalter (Psalms 1-119) which bears witness to an important stage in the "traditioning" process in which the Psalter, as a collection, no longer primarily had a cultic function, but rather circulated in a tradition devoted to the law.³⁹² Thus, the Psalms had now become the word of God which is to be read, studied, and meditated upon.³⁹³ Westermann argues that this same stage in the "traditioning" process is indicated for the prophetic books by the closing sentence of the Book of Hosea (14:10):

מִי חָכָם וַיִּבֶן אֱלֹהֵי נְבוֹן
וַיֵּדְעוּ כִּי־יִשְׁרִים דְּרָכָי יְהוָה וְצַדִּיקִים
יֵלְכוּ בָם וּפְשָׁעִים יִכָּשְׁלוּ בָם

Those who are wise understand these things;
those who are discerning know them.
For the ways of YHWH are right and the upright walk in them,
but transgressors stumble in them.

The original cultic role of the Psalms has been subsumed under a larger category of wisdom. Analogous to Israel's wisdom collection and later prayerbooks, the meditation on the Psalter serves as a guide along the path of life.³⁹⁴ The later collections (120-134; 138-145) show signs of subsequent editorial inclusion, and current scholarship has convincingly demonstrated that the present Psalter divisions have arisen from a long and complex process of growth and are not only the result of liturgical influence.³⁹⁵ For example, the colophon-like conclusion of Psalm 72, כָּל־וּתְפִלּוֹת דָּוִד בֶּן־יִשָּׁי, "the prayers of David, son of Jesse, are complete," also appears to mark an earlier collection since other Psalms attributed to David follow. It is also clear that the Psalms have undergone a complex history of literary

eschatological hope in a messianic figure that is to be found throughout the collection. While much of Mitchell's support for his thesis rests on hypothetical connections with the eschatological program of Zechariah 9-14, his focus on eschatology in the Psalter is beneficial.

³⁹⁰ Childs, *Introduction*, 511; Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 252-3.

³⁹¹ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 402-21; Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 253.

³⁹² Westermann's thought is corroborated by the fact that both Psalm 1 and Psalm 119 lack superscriptions (although LXX 118 adds Ἀλληλουια).

³⁹³ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 253; and also Childs, *Introduction*, 513-4.

³⁹⁴ See Joseph Reindl, "Weisheitliche Bearbeitung von Psalmen: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Sammlung des Psalter," in *Congress Volume, Vienna, 1980*, ed. J. A. Emerton, *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 333-56.

³⁹⁵ See Hartmut Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion: alttestamentliche Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie* (München: Kaiser, 1974), 147-67.

redaction such as is visible in the Elohist editing of the “Elohistic Psalter” (Psalms 43-83).³⁹⁶ Book I (Psalms 3-41), one of two Davidic collections (3-41 and 51-72), appears to be one of the earliest collections and is made up almost entirely of Psalms attributed to David which are by category overwhelmingly laments of an individual.³⁹⁷ It may be that the gathering of Davidic prayerbooks began the process that led to the Book of Psalms. Within the overall structure of Book I, two categories of people dominate the Psalms.

There is some sense in which human community is broken up into the way of the wicked and the way of the righteous. How these two groups act, and the way they go, is very much the subject matter of these Psalms. Nearly half of the references to the “wicked” in the Psalter are in Book I. Apart from Psalm 119, the primary emphases on the Torah are found explicitly and implicitly in Book I. Psalm 19 is the most direct reflection of Psalm 1, as it spells out the positive character of the Torah and its benefits for those who study and keep it. But the focus on the Torah is found also in the entrance liturgies of Psalms 15 and 24. The answers to the questions asked of those seeking entrance into the holy place reflect Torah stipulations. Pierre Auffret suggests that Psalms 15-24 form a particular group of Psalms arranged in a ring structure of which Psalms 15 and 24 are the outer ring, or *inclusio*, and Psalm 19 the center. Therein, Psalms 16 and 23 are balancing songs of trust, Psalms 17 and 22 are balancing laments, and 18 and 20-21 are balancing royal psalms.³⁹⁸ If Auffret’s structural proposition is correct, it places a group of Psalms with a focus on obedience to and delight in the Torah at the center of Book I.

As illustrated in the work of Westermann and Childs, several principles now guide investigation into the form and structure of the Psalter. First, a literary rationale (a redactional agenda) is responsible for the final form of the Psalter. Second, this rationale reflects a non-liturgical *Sitz im Leben*. Third, wisdom motifs play some part in the scheme.³⁹⁹

Gerald H. Wilson’s *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* has shaped recent scholarly discussion of the Psalter’s composition. Wilson (a student of Childs) lays a careful methodological foundation for examining a collection of psalms as a “book,” in that he traces other examples of hymnic collections from the ancient Near East: the Sumerian Temple Hymn Collection and Catalogs of Hymnic Incipits and the Qumran Psalms manuscripts. In

³⁹⁶ James L. Mays, *Psalms*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville, Ky.: John Knox, 1994), 13-4; Childs, *Introduction*, 511.

³⁹⁷ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 254.

³⁹⁸ Pierre Auffret, *La sagesse a bâti sa maison: Études de structures littéraires dans l’Ancien Testament et spécialement dans les Psaumes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 409-38.

³⁹⁹ See Howard, “Recent Trends,” 329-44; Mitchell, *Message*, 54-65.

each, Wilson finds editorial techniques in the outline of its final form, and accordingly provides methodological controls for approaching the Psalter. Wilson then turns to the canonical Hebrew Psalter in search of these extrabiblical editorial techniques along with others. He finds explicit and tacit (non-explicit) types of evidence that the Psalter was designed by its redactors as a purposefully ordered arrangement of lyrics. For Wilson, “explicit” indicators are found in superscriptions and the postscript to Books I-II and Psalm 72:20 while “tacit” indicators are found in editorial arrangements such as the grouping of Psalms with doxologies at the end of Books I-IV, or the grouping of הַלְלֵהוּ יְיָ Psalms (104-6, 111-17, 135, 146-50) at the end of Psalter segments. However, with respect to “tacit” indicators, Wilson may have overlooked important evidence for the canonical arrangement of the Psalter, namely, the numerical strength of the divine names *in each Psalm*.⁴⁰⁰ Such evidence may help explain how Psalm 16 found its way into Book I of the Psalter between Psalms 15 and 17 and how Psalm 16 became separated from the rest of the *Miktam* Psalms in Book III, (which are contiguous from 56 to 60). That the Psalm superscriptions represent editorial activity is now a virtual consensus among scholars.⁴⁰¹ By the time the LXX was produced there had been a process of attributing more and more untitled Psalms to David, a process which continued right through the LXX translation.⁴⁰² Reopening the issue of the Psalter’s arrangement as evidence of editorial shaping has proved to be most fruitful recently.⁴⁰³ While it may now be generally agreed that the final form of the Psalter evidences a purposeful editorial process of shaping and ordering the lyrics and the smaller collections into a coherent collection, debate continues over the editorial agenda behind the Psalter’s redaction.

In addition to the many older studies of Psalter arrangement based on divine names and genre terms in their superscriptions, more attention is now being given to arrangement

⁴⁰⁰ McFall, “Evidence,” 227. See Appendix 4 for a diagram of a proposed arrangement of the Psalter.

⁴⁰¹ Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 451; Pius Drijvers, *The Psalms: Their Structure and Meaning* (London: Burns & Oates, 1964), 19; Pietersma, “David in the Greek Psalms,” 213; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 65; Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, trans. Herbert Hartwell. The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 95.

⁴⁰² Pietersma, “David in the Greek Psalms,” who finds at least thirteen “orphan” psalms attributed to David in the Old Greek text of the LXX. Clearly, the Qumran community considered David as the author of the entire Psalter. See Appendix 1.

⁴⁰³ Herman Gunkel was skeptical of finding any uniform principle governing the arrangement of the Psalter. As a result, the canonical arrangement came to be viewed as an accidental product of an extended collection process. *Einleitung in die Psalmen: die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933), 436, 447. This has been the scholarly view since Gunkel’s day until recently. Wilson notes that most commentaries give very little space to a discussion of the final arrangement of the Psalter; citing Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, xxx-xxxi, as an example. For discussion, see Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 250-8; Mitchell, *The Message*, 50-65.

based on association of words and expressions.⁴⁰⁴ Thematic and linguistic links are seen to exist between adjacent Psalms.

Psalms 1 and 2 together may be understood as constituting the Psalter's introduction, and Psalm 3 as being the beginning of Book I.⁴⁰⁵ This is confirmed by Psalms 1 and 2 being the only untitled Psalms both in the LXX and in the MT.⁴⁰⁶ Each of the five "books" within the Psalter concludes with a Psalm ending with a short doxology (Psalms 41, 72, 89, 106, 145). The occurrence of royal psalms at significant junctures (2, 72, 89) is an important indicator of the Psalter's structure and of one of its themes.⁴⁰⁷ Wilson notes that these Psalms occur in Books I-III of the Psalter, whereas thereafter Wilson argues that focus is on Psalms of YHWH's kingship (Psalms 93-99, 145). Wilson sees in Psalm 89 signs that the Davidic monarchy has "failed"; and therefore, in Books IV and V, royal psalms are deemphasized in favor of YHWH's kingship (especially in Psalms 93-99), as the Psalter proclaims YHWH's kingship above all.⁴⁰⁸ Wilson goes on to speak of a "royal covenantal frame" to the Psalter, consisting of Psalms 2, 72, 89, and 144, and a "final wisdom frame" consisting of Psalms 1, 73, 90, 107, and 145 (the first Psalms of Books I, III, IV, and V along with the final Psalm of Book V proper).⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁴ Some look back to the work of Umberto Cassuto, who notes that many seemingly unrelated sections in the Pentateuch, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets are joined not only by association of ideas, but also, and primarily, by association of words and expressions. Umberto Cassuto, "The Sequence and Arrangement of the Biblical Sections," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, vol. 1, *Bible*, ed. Umberto Cassuto, trans. Israel Abrahams. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 1-6. E.g., Jerome F. Creach's *The Choice of YHWH as Refuge in the Editing of the Psalter*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 217 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), finds a very promising middle way between works focusing on macrostructure (such as Wilson's *The Editing* and David Mitchell's *Message*) and those focusing on microstructures (such as Howard's "Structure"). Creach takes a semantic-field (or thematic) approach, studying the associated field of one specific lexeme. For more examples and discussion, see McFall, "Evidence," 233-56.

⁴⁰⁵ Pierre Auffret, "Complements sur la structure littéraire du Ps 2 et son rapport au Ps 1," *Biblische Notizen* 35 (1986): 7-13; *La Sagesse*, 141-77; James L. Mays, "'In a Vision': The Portrayal of the Messiah in the Psalms," *Ex Audito* 7 (1991): 1-8; Patrick D. Miller, Jr., "The Beginning of the Psalter," in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, Jr., *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 159 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 83-92. Cf. Wilson, *Editing*, 173, 204-8, and Walter Brueggemann, "Bounded by Obedience and Praise: The Psalms as Canon," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 50 (1991): 63-92.

⁴⁰⁶ Some Western manuscripts of Acts 13:33 quote Psalm 2:7 and refer to its being written ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ ... τῷ πρώτῳ. See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1994), 363-5. The same idea may be seen in 4Q174 which includes a midrash on Psalm 1:1, follows with a brief *pesher* and proceeds, without further introduction, to quote the opening lines of Psalm 2 followed by their *pesher*. See 4Q174, column 1:14-19 in *DJD* 5, 53-4. Both the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmuds contain examples of rabbinical exegesis that count Psalms 1 and 2 as one psalm. Origen states that he had two Hebrew manuscripts, in one of which the second Psalm was joined to the first. In quoting the two psalms, Justin Martyr passes from the first to the second without indicating any break, and Eusebius, Appollinaris, and Euthymius Zigabenus refer to this Hebrew practice. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 363.

⁴⁰⁷ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 250-8; Childs, *Introduction*, 515-7.

⁴⁰⁸ Wilson, *Editing*, 209-14.

⁴⁰⁹ Gerald H. Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter: A Consideration of Editorial Linkage in the Book of

For Wilson, the wisdom frame takes precedence over the royal covenantal frame, and thus “trust in the power of human kings and kingship is ultimately given up, and hopes rest on Yhwh, who rules forever, and who alone is able to save.”⁴¹⁰ In Wilson’s scheme,⁴¹¹ Book IV (Psalms 90-106) stands at the editorial “center” of the Psalter, harkening back to Exodus and wilderness themes with its focus on YHWH alone as king. Wilson writes:

As such this grouping stands as the “answer” to the problem posed in Psalm 89 as to the apparent failure of the Davidic covenant with which Books One-Three are primarily concerned. Briefly summarized, the answer given is: (1) YHWH is king; (2) He has been our “refuge” in the past, long before the monarchy existed (i.e., in the Mosaic period); (3) He will continue to be our refuge now that the monarchy is gone; (4) Blessed are they that trust him!⁴¹²

The major break in the Psalter after Book III is confirmed by the evidence from Qumran, which indicates stability in order and arrangement of Books I-III before that of Books IV-V. The break after Psalm 89 is also confirmed by the Psalm superscriptions. In Books I-III, Psalms are grouped primarily using author and genre designations in the superscriptions. But in Books IV-V the primary grouping technique revolves around the use of superscriptions with יהוה יהוה and יהוה יהוה.⁴¹³

Wilson’s sketches of the Psalter’s contours have shaped current scholarly discussion of the Psalter’s composition. That Book V ends at Psalm 145 and that 146-150 comprise a concluding doxology is generally accepted today. Also generally accepted is the recognition of royal psalms at significant junctures and that a significant break is found after Psalm 89. Contrary to Wilson’s view that Psalm 2 begins Book I, a better case is made that Psalms 1 and 2 together constitute the Psalter’s introduction.⁴¹⁴ Therefore, the themes of YHWH’s and his anointed king’s sovereignty that are proclaimed in Psalm 2 also function as introduction to the entire Psalter, along with the wisdom theme of Psalm 1. That Psalm 144 is a royal, Davidic Psalm, adjacent to Psalm 145, a kingship of YHWH psalm, means that at the end of the Psalter as at the beginning, the earthly and heavenly expression of YHWH’s kingdom stand together as messages of hope.⁴¹⁵

Psalms,” in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, Jr., Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 159 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 72-82.

⁴¹⁰ Wilson, “Qumran Psalms Scroll,” 464. Wilson’s view of the MT-150 Psalter’s focus is in contrast to the 11QPs^a Psalter, which concludes with an interesting focus on the Davidic king.

⁴¹¹ J. C. McCann, Jr. also argues that the Psalter is ultimately a book of wisdom, containing YHWH’s instruction for the faithful and emphasizing his kingship. J. Clinton McCann, Jr., *A Theological Introduction to the Book of Psalms: The Psalms as Torah* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993).

⁴¹² Wilson, *Editing*, 215.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 155-90.

⁴¹⁴ Miller, “Beginning”; Pierre Auffret, *The Literary Structure of Psalm 2*, trans. David J. A. Clines, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1977).

⁴¹⁵ Howard, “Recent Trends,” 337.

In contemporary Psalms studies, wide acceptance of the makeup of smaller collections contained within the Psalter's final form has now been reached. Following the first collection of the Psalms of David (Psalms 3-41, i.e., Book I), also known as the Yahwehistic Psalms of David,⁴¹⁶ is the Elohistc Psalter (Psalms 42-83).⁴¹⁷ The Elohistc Psalter, identified by the redactional nature of the collection seen in its change of the divine name to אֱלֹהִים, evidently existed independently of the Yahwehistic collections before their collation by a later redactor. Within the Elohistc Psalter, Psalm 42 begins an earlier collection, the Psalms of Korah (Psalms 42-49). The Elohistc Psalms of David (Psalms 51-72) stand before the Psalms of Asaph (Psalms 73-83). The end of the Elohistc Psalms of David coincides with the conclusion of Book II of the Psalter. Appended to the Psalms of Asaph is a small collection of Yahwehistic Psalms of Korah (Psalms 84-88, excluding 86) and Psalm 89, a royal psalm, which closes Book III of the Psalter. Thus, two larger collections (Psalms 3-41 and 42-83 [plus 84-88]) are framed by two royal psalms, Psalms 2 and 89.

On the whole, Books I-III contain more fixed, self-contained groups than do Books IV and V. Books IV and V contain more individual Psalms and smaller groups, further evidencing the relative stability of Books I-III of the Psalter. In Book IV, the next recognizable grouping is Psalms 93-99, the Psalms of the kingdom of YHWH (excluding Psalm 94), which is the first of the larger groups of psalms of praise to be found in the Psalter. Psalm 100 appears to have been added to this collection of praise psalms as a doxology. The two groups following (Psalms 103-107 and Psalms 111-118)⁴¹⁸ are framed, and interrupted by individual psalms. Again, Psalms 120-134 constitute a self-contained Book of Psalms of the worshipping community which was possibly added to the earlier collection bounded by Psalms 1 and 119. The small collection of Psalms 140-143 is joined together by content, and Psalms 144 (which seems to be a secondary composition of parts of other Psalms) and 145 function as the conclusion to the Psalter. The Psalter closes with a series of psalms of praise (Psalms 146-150) dominated by an imperative call to praise.

⁴¹⁶ In Psalms 1-41 (Book I) יהוה occurs 278 times and אֱלֹהִים forty-eight times. McFall, "Evidence," 229.

⁴¹⁷ In Psalms 42-83, the term אֱלֹהִים occurs 303 times, whereas יהוה occurs only eighty-nine times. In Psalms 84-89, יהוה occurs thirty-one times and אֱלֹהִים sixteen times. In Psalms 90-150, יהוה occurs 341 times and אֱלֹהִים forty-seven times. McFall, "Evidence," 229.

⁴¹⁸ See Appendix 4. Psalms 135 and 136 may belong to the collection of Psalms 111-118.

Thematically, Psalms 15-18 may be seen as a unit, within the larger unit of Psalms 15-24.⁴¹⁹ Thereby, Psalms 15-18 may be understood as answering the opening questions of Psalm 15:

O YHWH, who may abide in your tent?
Who may dwell on your holy hill?

יְהוָה מִי־יִגֹּר בְּאֶהֱלֶיךָ
מִי־יִשְׁכֵּן בְּהַר קֹדֶשְׁךָ

The response may be seen not only in the remainder of Psalm 15, but spoken by the individual respondents in Psalms 16:1-2, 5-8, 9, 11; 17:3-5, 7, 8, 14-15; 18:2, 3, 6, 16, 21-22, 30, 31, 35-36, 43, 48, 50. Psalm 15, like Psalm 24, is understood as a psalm about YHWH's enthronement⁴²⁰ which functions as an entrance, or תּוֹרָה, liturgy and may presuppose an original *Sitz im Leben* in a cultic worship service. In Psalm 15:2-5, the priest communicates an answer for the laity to the question of their required condition if they wish entry onto the holy mountain. Only the person who lives according to the covenant and keeps the ordinances of the relationship between YHWH and his people may enter. The composition and early use of Psalm 15 in the pre-exilic cultus is well established.⁴²¹ Later as a prayer song, Psalm 15 brought home to the petitioner the characteristics of the צְדִיק and became an ingredient of the תּוֹרָה piety of Jerusalem. The contrasts between צְדִיק and רָשָׁע in Psalms 15-18 are quite numerous and extended, as illustrated in Appendix 17. The theme of the צְדִיק being delivered and abiding with YHWH is central to the experience of the individual speakers of Psalms 16-18. While Psalm 17 has traditionally been understood as a complaint song,⁴²² it contains a certainty of hearing (Psalm 17:6) and concludes, like Psalm 16, with the assured presence of YHWH (verse 15) as a victorious refuge. Psalm 18 has traditionally been understood both as an individual thanksgiving psalm⁴²³ and as a royal psalm.⁴²⁴ Psalm 18 opens with an expression of love to YHWH, who is then immediately described as the speaker's deliverer and refuge (Psalm 18:2). Psalm 18 also contains a certainty of hearing (verse 3), description of a victorious deliverance, and concludes with assurance that YHWH gives triumphs to his king – to his anointed – to David, and his descendants forever (verse 50). In Psalm 16, the speaker appeals to YHWH solely based on his faith (verse 1), while in

⁴¹⁹ See Gerhard von Rad, "'Righteousness' and 'Life' in the Cultic Language of the Psalms," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, ed. Gerhard von Rad, trans. E. W. T. Dicken (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 243-66.

⁴²⁰ Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 72.

⁴²¹ Kraus, *Psalm 1-59*, 227.

⁴²² Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 121.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 99. Psalm 18 shows signs of later reformulation and may consist of at least two parts. The individual thanksgiving is presumably older than the remainder and may have taken on a formulary status. See Kraus, *Psalm 1-59*, 257-8; Albright, *Archaeology*, 129; Frank M. Cross, Jr., and David N. Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18^a," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 72 (1953): 16-7.

Psalm 17 the speaker's appeal is based on his faith as seen in his righteousness (verses 1, 3, and 5). Psalm 18 combines and sums up both the speaker's faith (verses 1-6) and the speaker's righteousness (verses 19-24) in thanking YHWH for deliverance. Thus, Psalm 18 may be viewed as the climax of the responses to the questions of Psalm 15:1. In their final form, the links between Psalms 15-18 as seen in the expressions employed are many and varied.⁴²⁵

In summary, the Psalter's final form evidences a redactional agenda which reflects royal motifs, wisdom motifs, and a non-liturgical *Sitz im Leben*. Psalms 1 and 2 constitute the Psalter's introduction and Psalms 144 and 145 function as the conclusion. Therein, earthly and heavenly expressions of YHWH's kingdom stand as messages of hope. Book I may represent one of the earliest collections of psalms within which David's individual complaints include the portrayal of the way of the righteous versus the way of the wicked. Psalms 15-24, and Psalms 15-18 within this larger unit, share significant linguistic and thematic links primarily relating to refuge in YHWH.

2. Psalm 16

Psalm 16 is a "psalm of confidence" (*Vertrauenspsalm*) along with Psalms 4, 11, 23, 27:1-6, 62, and 131.⁴²⁶ These expressions of trust and thanksgiving share much in common with Gunkel's category of individual complaint psalms (*Klagelieder des Einzelnen*), the most common form of psalm in the Psalter.⁴²⁷ Gunkel has rightly understood the psalm of confidence as a subcategory of the individual complaint psalm.⁴²⁸ Individual complaint songs may be seen outside the Psalter as imitated in Jeremiah's complaint songs,⁴²⁹ as heard in several of the speeches of Job,⁴³⁰ and in the complaints of Sirach.⁴³¹ The *Sitz im Leben* of the *Gattung* is not easily recognized since the poetry often proceeds with general expressions.

The "certainty of having been heard" of the individual complaint psalm is characteristic of this form and is the basis of the psalm of confidence. Most of the elements constituting the individual complaint psalm are found in the psalm of confidence, but in the

⁴²⁵ See Appendix 17 for a listing.

⁴²⁶ Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 121; Aejmelaus, *The Traditional Prayer*, 92-3. Sabourin also includes Psalm 3. *Psalms*, 2:90.

⁴²⁷ Psalms 3; 5; 6; 7; 13; 17; 22; 25; 26; 27:7-14; 28; 31; 35; 38; 39; 42; 43; 51; 54; 55; 56; 57; 59; 61; 63; 64; 69; 70; 71; 86; 88; 102; 109; 120; 130; 140; 141; 142; 143.

⁴²⁸ For discussion, see Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 133-8; Weiser, *Psalms*, 172; Sabourin, *Psalms* 2:90, 96-9.

⁴²⁹ Jeremiah 11:18-20; 15:15-21; 17:12-18; 18:18-23; 20:10-13; and cf. Jeremiah 12:1-6; 15:10-12; 20:7-9, 14-18.

⁴³⁰ Job 6:2-7:21; 9:25-10:22; 13:23-14:22; 16:6-17:9; 19:17-20; 23:2-17; 29:1-31:37; and cf. 3:3-26.

⁴³¹ Sirach 51:10, 11; cf. 17:25; 21:1; 28:2-3; 31:31; 38:9-11; 39:5; also 14:17-19; 17:27-28; 18:8-10; 22:27-23:6.

psalm of confidence the confidence motif predominates. The conspicuous mood swing that one notices in the “certainty of having been heard” following an individual complaint and petition may have been originally precipitated by a divine message (*Heilsorakel*).⁴³² Gunkel rightly argues that the *Heilsorakel* as such is not a sufficient explanation for these psalms. In addition, a real change must have taken place in the one speaking.⁴³³ One of the primary concepts in the set of ideas found in the individual complaint psalms is that of the protection of the worshiper. The most basic way of communicating this is by joyful expression of the certainty that the worshiper’s petition had been heard, perhaps best understood as proximity to divine presence. While it may be that the *Heilsorakel* is the most probable explanation for the presence of this certainty, this cannot be assured. In the majority of individual complaint psalms the certainty of hearing does not take the form of an explicit oracle but rather that of response to some divine word of assurance. Since such assurance and judgment is understood to come from YHWH, these expressions of certainty are similar in intent, if not form, to prophetic speeches. In this sense they may be called a “prophetic” element in the Psalms. Some kind of experience and communication from YHWH is behind the certainty of hearing.⁴³⁴

In these individual complaint psalms, it is not the identity of the cultic functionary who may have delivered the expression of certainty, nor any type of assurance leading to that expression, which determines that the text has a prophetic character.⁴³⁵ It is rather primarily the function which the language conveys. This prophetic function in the individual complaint psalms may be understood primarily in a liturgical context rather than in an explicitly historical one. In the frequent expression *קִוִּיתִי יְהוָה קִוְתָהּ נַפְשִׁי וְלִדְבָרוֹ הוֹחֵלֵתִי*, “I wait for YHWH; my soul waits, and in his word I hope,”⁴³⁶ perhaps one finds the “word of YHWH” to be the divine revelation which the poet hopes to hear, and which will give the poet back his life and health.⁴³⁷ While most of the individual complaint psalms exhibit a prophetic element which may be traced to a cultic setting, this is not true for Psalms 16, 42/43, 55, 61, and 120. Unlike the majority of the psalms of this type, these show no

⁴³² Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 125.

⁴³³ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 65.

⁴³⁴ The vague language of the individual complaint psalms is also found in their expressions of certainty. This kind of general language is also found in prophetic literature. Witness the difficulty of dating many prophetic oracles.

⁴³⁵ Oracular elements in the Psalter could have a priestly origin, as could the certainty of hearing. See Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet*, 4, 8, 25.

⁴³⁶ E.g., Psalms 130:5, 7; 138:4; 5:4; 38:16; 119:74, 81, 114, 147; Micah 7:7.

⁴³⁷ Psalm 130:5. The expression which Habakkuk 2:1 uses for the prophet's watch for revelation, *וְאֶצְפֶּה לְרֵאוֹת מַה יִּדְבָּרֵבִי*, “I watch to see what he will speak with/in me,” is primarily encountered literally with variations in the individual complaint psalms.

evidence of being composed with any connection to the cult. It is evident from their language that such poems must be understood as a private outpouring of their psalmist and that they were not specified for worship performance.⁴³⁸ As with the other psalms of confidence, the personal tone of Psalm 16 is more apparent than in the thanksgivings.⁴³⁹ Occasionally the individual complaint psalms express desire for YHWH and Zion amidst a painful longing for the surroundings of the holy Temple.⁴⁴⁰ These psalm texts contradict Mowinckel's argument that they were only composed as worship service formulae by professional poets among the Temple personnel for use by the laity.⁴⁴¹

The overall style of the individual complaint psalm includes cultic formulae. At the same time, because of their dynamic language and their evident diversity, it appears that some of the individual complaint psalms are quite different than the majority. It is not clear, and is not suggested by the language of the preserved texts, that the psalm of confidence developed from the individual complaint psalm.⁴⁴² Of course both types manifest traces of formulaic origin. Therefore, one must consider whether all of this poetry has been reworked for use by the community. Characteristically, almost all individual complaint psalms have been composed in apparently life-threatening situations.⁴⁴³ However, more emphasis is placed on the impressions of external circumstances than on the external negative experiences themselves. It is in this form where the religion of the Psalter confronts death.

Within complaint psalms, the poet often speaks of mortal threats in the vocabulary of his petition.⁴⁴⁴ In this context of petition, the term *שְׂאוֹל* is largely avoided.⁴⁴⁵ *שְׂאוֹל* occurs sixty-five times in the MT.⁴⁴⁶ Unlike the synonyms *שְׁחַת* and *בְּוֹר*, *שְׂאוֹל* does not have a common physical meaning but is always used of the underworld. While the underworld is not a central feature of the Hebrew Bible, it is almost universally accepted that *שְׂאוֹל* means the underworld, the realm of the dead deep below the earth.⁴⁴⁷ *שְׂאוֹל* is always anarthrous in

⁴³⁸ Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 127.

⁴³⁹ Sabourin, *Psalms*, 2:90.

⁴⁴⁰ E.g., Psalms 27:4; 31:23; 17:15; 57:2; 42:3; 43:4; 61:5; 42:5; 55:15; Jonah 2:5.

⁴⁴¹ The following twelve poems lack any notation directed to the worship service: Psalm 7, 16, 17, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, [33], 34, 35, 37. Contra Sigmund Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien I: Äwän und die individuellen Klagepsalmen* (reprint, Amsterdam: Verlag P. Schippers, 1966), 157. See Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer*, 94.

⁴⁴² Contra Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 121.

⁴⁴³ Only Psalms 77 and 120 appear to be exceptions.

⁴⁴⁴ E.g., Psalms 102:12, 24, 25; 109:23; 22:19; 41:6, 9; 13:4, 5; 51:6; 143:7; 84:4.

⁴⁴⁵ The only exceptions are Psalms 6:6; 88:4; and Syriac Apocryphal Psalm 4:3.

⁴⁴⁶ Isaiah 7:11 may be added to this, where *שְׂאוֹלָה* is often emended by many scholars who suspect textual error in the MT to *שְׂאוֹלָה* following Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (εἰς ἄδην). See the *BHS* apparatus. See Appendix 18 for a listing of the occurrences of *שְׂאוֹל*.

⁴⁴⁷ See Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל," by G. Gerleman; *TWAT*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל," by L. Wächter.

the Hebrew Bible, and is largely found in psalmodic, reflective, and prophetic literature.⁴⁴⁸ The only exception, Numbers 16:33, uses שְׂאוֹל where the narrator reiterates Moses' words to describe the rebels' judgment. Otherwise, שְׂאוֹל never occurs in narrative accounts of death. It is also absent from legal material. Strikingly, שְׂאוֹל is absent from texts that deal with necromancy, whether Pentateuchal prohibition, prophetic denunciation, or the narrative description of 1 Samuel 28. So, שְׂאוֹל may be described as a term of direct speech, as seen in its usage.⁴⁴⁹

References to שְׂאוֹל are scattered across the whole period of the Hebrew Bible, regardless of when texts may be dated. The term did not belong to any one particular period, but remained a constant, if only occasional, term for the underworld.⁴⁵⁰ While underworld references occur mostly in poetic material, clear underworld references are relatively few and most of these indicate little reflection. Between שְׂאוֹל and its traditionally accepted synonyms there are about a hundred references to the underworld, excluding debatable allusions. In comparison, the stem מָוֹת alone occurs approximately a thousand times in the MT. The references to the underworld in other ancient Near Eastern literature are relatively more numerous. In Akkadian there were numerous words and epithets for the underworld, and many of the Sumerian and Ugaritic myths deal with, or refer to, the underworld and its gods.⁴⁵¹ The underworld remains a generally undeveloped and vague element of Israelite religious literature. שְׂאוֹל has different nuances in different contexts, but these are nuances of the single basic concept of the underworld.⁴⁵²

שְׂאוֹל is at the opposite theological extreme to YHWH, and the dominant feature for its inhabitants is their separation from him.⁴⁵³ The individual complaint psalms prefer to use suggestive images for שְׂאוֹל, such as: שָׁחַת/שְׁחַת (Psalm 30:10), בְּאֵר (Psalm 69:16), and בּוֹר (Psalm 28:1; 88:5; 143:7). Yet even these terms are infrequent in this form and are found more frequently in the category of individual thanksgiving psalms.⁴⁵⁴ Descriptions of

⁴⁴⁸ *TWAT*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל"; Philip S. Johnston, "The Underworld and the Dead in the Old Testament" (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1993), 3-26, particularly 4. See the next section for discussion.

⁴⁴⁹ See *TWAT*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל"; Johnston, "The Underworld," 4; Philip S. Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2002), 39-46, 69-73.

⁴⁵⁰ Contra Martin-Achard, who argues that it "appears in Israel after the period of the monarchy." This would imply a post-exilic date for Amos 9:2; Hosea 13:14; Isaiah 5:11; 7:14. Robert Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life: A Study of the Development of the Doctrine of the Resurrection in the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1960), 37.

⁴⁵¹ See *TWAT*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל"; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל."

⁴⁵² See Appendix 18 for a listing of the occurrences of שְׂאוֹל by main emphasis.

⁴⁵³ See *TWAT*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל"; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל."

⁴⁵⁴ E.g., שָׁחַת in Psalms 103:4; 107:20; Isaiah 38:17; Jonah 2:7; Sirach 51:2; cf. also Job 33:24, 28; בּוֹר in Psalms 30:4; 40:3; Lamentations 3:54. See Johnston, "The Underworld," 73; Appendix 18 for a listing of

distress using underworld terms fall into three categories:⁴⁵⁵ simile, indirect statement, and direct statement.

The individual thanksgiving psalms refer relatively frequently to personal deliverance from death and the underworld. Of Gunkel's (and Barth's) sixteen thanksgiving psalms:⁴⁵⁶ (a) five mention שְׂאוֹל (often with other underworld terms); (b) two more use synonyms; (c) two more mention death and/or the underworld; and (d) the other seven have no likely underworld reference. The individual complaint psalms occasionally speak more clearly of the underworld with mention of the בְּמַעְמְקֵי-מַיִם, "in deep waters,"⁴⁵⁷ כָּל-מִשְׁבְּרֵיךָ וְגִלְיֵךָ, "all your torrents and your breakers,"⁴⁵⁸ and the terrible שְׂטַפְתָּנִי, "and a flood overflows me."⁴⁵⁹

Many Israelites may have envisioned everyone departing to the underworld upon death. But the Hebrew Bible shows a striking imbalance in the use of underworld terms. שְׂאוֹל and its synonyms predominantly portray the fate of the wicked, occasionally portray the fate of the righteous in the event of untimely and unnatural death, and that of the righteous *in extremis* and therefore perhaps considered under divine judgment.⁴⁶⁰ Where the righteous experience a natural death, there is an absence of any reference to שְׂאוֹל. Occasionally the contrast between the fates of the wicked and the righteous is obvious.⁴⁶¹ But this is not developed theologically in terms of differentiated post-mortem destiny, though it perhaps contains the seed of later developments.⁴⁶² There is no alternative distinction specified for the righteous. In the passages concerning the possible leaving of the person in שְׂאוֹל, there is a marked use of נִפְּשׁוּ, and a marked predominance of this term over the other anthropological expressions that might accompany it or be in parallelism with it.⁴⁶³ The thought of the envelopment of the נִפְּשׁוּ in שְׂאוֹל appears to be especially hurtful.

The particular expressions used portray a different mood about the journey into the underworld. In the thanksgiving songs, the underworld is encountered in the narrative of the situation of deliverance and describes the condition from which the deliverance of the

the occurrences of שְׂאוֹל in the MT-150 Psalter by *Gattung*.

⁴⁵⁵ See Appendix 18 for a listing of the usage of underworld terms by category.

⁴⁵⁶ Psalms 18; 30; 32; 34; 40A; 41; 66; 92; (100); (107); 116; 118; 138; Isaiah 38:10-20; Jonah 2:3-10; Job 33:26-28; Sirach 51; *Psalms of Solomon* 15; 16; *Odes* 25; 29. Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 199. (Psalms 100 and 107 are communal, not individual.)

⁴⁵⁷ Psalm 69:2-3, 16; Lamentations 3:54. See *TWAT*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל."

⁴⁵⁸ Psalm 42:8; Jonah 2:4.

⁴⁵⁹ Psalm 69:3, 16; Jonah 2:4.

⁴⁶⁰ See *TWAT*, s.v. "שְׂאוֹל"; James Barr, *The Garden of Eden and the Hope of Immortality* (London: SCM, 1992), 29.

⁴⁶¹ E.g., Psalm 49:15-16.

⁴⁶² For discussion, see Barr, *The Garden of Eden*, 29-56; Johnston, "The Underworld," 7-26.

⁴⁶³ E.g., Psalms 16:10; 30:4; 49:16; 86:13; 88:4; Isaiah 38:19.

recovered one proceeded. The language of thanksgiving, including that of the psalms of confidence, includes clearer, bolder references to the underworld. As compared to the thanksgivings, the personal tone of the psalms of confidence is even more intimate. The language of the individual complaint psalms is more reserved, suggesting the mood of the poet's spiritual condition. In summary, the form of Psalm 16 is that of a psalm of confidence – the language of the psalmist intimately expresses confidence in YHWH's provision, even in the case of death.

CHAPTER 3
THE STRUCTURE AND
A WORKING TRANSLATION OF PSALM 16

A. The Structure of Psalm 16

As seen in the concluding verse 11, a theme of trust dominates this psalm of confidence.¹ The literary structure of Psalm 16 leading up to the conclusion has been elusive due in large part to the textual difficulties of verses 2-4.² The history of scholarship relating to the structure of Psalm 16 includes a diversity of propositions and numerous variations with regard to determining its structural units. Typical of older scholarship's reliance on meter in determining structural units, Charles A. Briggs finds three strophes: (a) verses 1-4 (a tetrameter octastich consisting of synthetic lines); (b) verses 5-8 (four synonymous couplets); and (c) verses 9-11 (a synonymous couplet between two synonymous triplets).³ Following the bicola and tricola layout of the MT^L and the *BHS* text, W. A. M. Beuken distinguishes three sections: (a) verses 1-4a; (b) verses 4b-10; and (c) verse 11.⁴

Beuken follows *BHS*'s classification of Psalm 16 verses 1b-2, 3-4a, and 11 as tricola. For the first tricolon, Beuken understands 1b to be the more independent member. Verses 1b-2 and verses 3-4a are seen as one another's pendant. In the first section, Beuken sees a chiasmic structure:

Take care of me, O God	שְׁמַרְנִי אֱלֹהִים	1b (first half)
Their pains will multiply	יִרְבּוּ עֲצָבוֹתָם	4a (first half)
I take refuge in you	חָסִיתִי בְךָ	1b (second half)
They courted after another	אָחַר מִתְהַרְוּ	4a (second half)

Beuken also reads *לְקַדְוֹשִׁים* in verse 3 as the pendant of *לְיְהוָה* in verse 2 so that *אֲמַרְתָּ* controls both. Beuken's central section is itself divided, according to concentric symmetry, around verse 7: verses 4bc, 5, and 6 invoking in inverse order verses 8, 9, and 10.⁵

The corpus of Psalm 16 contains all the bicola verse lines. Two negative sentences enclose this middle section: in the first (verse 4bc) the psalmist is subject, in connection with

¹ Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer*, 93.

² See Louis Jacquet, *Les Psaumes et le cœur de l'homme: étude textuelle, littéraire et doctrinale. Volume 1: Psaumes 1-41* (Gembloux, France: Duculot, 1975), 400-2, for a survey of the proposed emendations to verses 2-4.

³ Briggs, *Psalms*, 1:119-22. For discussion and criticism of this traditional approach, see Watson, *Traditional Techniques*, 330-4, Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, 140; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 150-1; Schökel, *A Manual*, 34-47.

⁴ See Appendix 19 for Beuken's structural layout.

⁵ W. A. M. Beuken, "Psalm 16: The Path to Life," *Bijdragen* 41 (1980): 368-70, 375.

verses 2-3; in the last (verse 10) YHWH is subject, as in the following verse 11. Around the blessing of verse 7a there are two panels (verses 5-6 and verses 8-9), each having two verse lines; stylistically and form-critically they are one another's pendant.

Verse 11a and 11b together are antithetically parallel to verse 10. The antithesis of verse 10a and 11a is plain. But verse 10b and 11b are also parallel. Here לְרֵאוֹת שְׁחַת, “to see the pit,” and אֶת־פְּנֵיךָ, “with your presence,” correspond antithetically. The concluding verse 11b and verse 11c are parallel – either synthetically or perhaps progressively based on תָּצֵן, “perpetually.”

Based mainly on linguistic recurrences within Psalm 16, Marc Girard sees, after an introductory verse, one section in verses 2-6 and another section in verses 7-11.⁶ Girard's first section represents a concentric symmetry around verses 3-4a, verse 2b invoking verse 4bc and verse 2ab invoking verses 5-6. Girard's second section is composed of a parallel structure between verses 7-8a and verses 9-11.

Girard's first section follows the model of a regular diptych with two panels. Verses 2 and 4b-5 share the common denominators of the divine name YHWH, the pronoun אֲנִי (verses 2a and 5b), and the negative particle בִּלְ. It is the idea which is the same in both cases: YHWH has become everything for the psalmist. Verses 3-4a and 6 correspond both thematically and by the synonymous words תִּפְחֵן (verse 3b), “delight, pleasure,” and נִעְמִים // שְׂפֵר (verse 6ab), “delightful, pleasant, goodly.” On the semantic plane, Girard sees an antithesis in the psalmist's opposition to the pleasures of idolatry (verses 3-4a versus verses 4b-5) followed by an effect of the poet's profession of faith in YHWH (verse 6). The movement of the first section is from a Yahwehist profession of faith (verse 2), to an anti-pagan satire (i.e., false pleasure in verses 3-4a), to an anti-pagan and pro-Yahwehist profession of faith (verses 4b-5), to its effect (verse 6).

Girard's second section is structurally marked by recurrences in the formula AB // AB. Verses 7 and 9 correspond to one another. It is here that the whole somatic terminology of deep interior organs is concentrated as is the typical vocabulary of the action of grace: בָּרַךְ (verse 7a), “bless,” has its counterpart in שִׂמְחָה and גִּיל (verse 9), “rejoice.” The particle כִּי (verses 8b and 10a), “for,” and the use of יְמִין (verses 8b and 11c), “right hand,” bridge the correspondence between verse 8 and verses 10-11. Girard also notes as synonymous the words תָּמִיד and נִצָּח (verses 8a and 11c), “continually, perpetually,” and the words נֶגֶד and בְּפָנֶיךָ (verses 8a and 11b), “before, in front of.” In verse 8a, כִּי introduces the presence of

⁶ See Appendix 20 for Girard's structural layout. For discussion, see Girard, *Les Psaumes*, 320-9.

YHWH as the psalmist's basis of confidence, *בְּלֹא-אֶמוּנָה*, "he is at my right hand, I will not be moved," as in verse 10a, where *כִּי* introduces a similar thought which is then continued in verse 11. The affirmation of verse 11 negates the inherent antithesis of verses 8 and 10 and *תוֹדִיעַנִי אֶרְחַח חַיִּים*, "you make me to know the path of life," may be synonymous with *בְּלֹא-אֶמוּנָה*, "I will not be moved." The symbolism subsists according to a complementary relationship between a protected human "right hand" and a divine protecting "right hand" (verse 11c). The spatial symbolism of intimacy between the psalmist and YHWH is in play from verse 1b through verse 11. The panel of verses 9-11 is framed by an *inclusio*: *שִׂמְחָה*, "rejoice," in verse 9a and the substantive *שִׂמְחָהוֹת*, "joys," in verse 11b. The internal certitude of salvation provokes an unassailable and fully satisfying joy in the psalmist. YHWH has become – or remains more than ever – the supreme pleasure of the psalmist.

Regarding the overall coherence of the Psalm, Girard finds the use of *אֶף* (verses 6b, 7b, and 9b) as formal unifying markers. In the two diptychs, Girard finds that they begin in similar doxological fashion and conclude similarly:

<i>אָמַרְתָּ לַיהוָה</i> (2a)	<i>אֶבְרַךְ אֶת־יהוָה</i> (7a)
<i>חֲבָלִים נָפְלוּ-לִי בַּנְּעָמִים</i> (6a)	<i>תוֹדִיעַנִי ... שָׁבַע ... נְעֻמּוֹת</i> (11)

The three uses of *כִּי*, "for," link the beginning of the Psalm (verse 1) to the last section of the last diptych (verses 8b // 10a). The three motifs introduced with "for" are interconnected: because the psalmist has taken refuge (verse 1b) at the right hand of God (verses 8b and 11c) the one praying is sure of not faltering, that is to say of enjoying the path of/to life (verses 8b // 10-11).

On a thematic level, Girard proposes an overall structure of AB // B'A' seen emerging from the introduction. The psalmist's plea for preservation (verse 1a) sends us to the major theme of the second diptych (verses 7-11) as seen in "I will not be moved," "not surrender me to Sheol," and "know the path of life." The second element of the introduction (verse 1b) "I take refuge in you" sends one on to the major theme of the first diptych as seen in "you are my good," "the portion of my allotment," "my cup," "my lot," my "beautiful inheritance" (verses 2-6).

In conclusion, Girard asserts a balanced cohesion to this poem and argues for a compositional unity at its origin. From the point of view of sense, Girard concludes that Psalm 16's structure is that of confident prayer reflecting a more existential than circumstantial nature. During the Psalm's first movement, the poet speaks to YHWH (verses 1-6): praying to him and professing his Yahwehist faith. Then as YHWH has spoken to him

during the night (verse 7b) – either with the aid of dream theophanies or through the channel of prayer – the psalmist reaches an unshakeable confidence (verse 7-9) and speaks once again to his God, with complete assurance (verses 10-11).

By following Girard’s methodology and by tracing the stereotypical word pairs of Psalm 16, Pierre Auffret finds two structured ensembles partly interleaved with one another.⁷ The first section includes verses 1-7a and is concentric around verses 3 and 4a. What the faithful one declares that he will do or that he wishes to do assumes (in verse 1) or recalls (in verse 7a) what he declares in verses 2a, 3, and 4bc. The first section’s center of verses 3-4a and the second section’s center of verse 9 are framed by units employing negation: negation of any other happiness than that which comes from YHWH (verse 2), or of another cult than that which is to be devoted to YHWH (verses 4bc), the assurance of not wavering (verse 8b), and of not being abandoned to the pit (verse 10). All these negations serve to evoke positive gifts. Auffret summarizes his first section schematically as:

C (1a)

A (1b)	
A (2a)	B (2b)
A' (3)	B' (4a)
A (4bc)	B (5-6)
A (7a)	

C (7ab)

After an introductory verse, verse 2 opens a A(2a), B(2b) // A'(3), B'(4a) parallelism that Auffret summarizes as:

אָמַרְתָּ לַיהוָה

אֲדַנִּי אֶתָּה

טוֹבֹתַי כֹּל־עָלַיָּךְ

לְקַדּוֹשִׁים
אֲשֶׁר־בָּאָרֶץ הַחַיָּה
וְאֲדִירַי

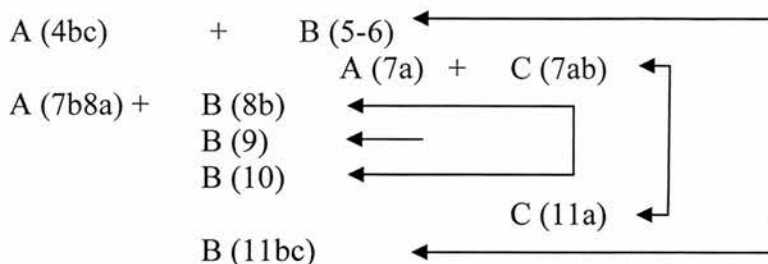
כֹּל־חֲפָצַי־בָּכֶם

יָרְבוּ עֲצוֹתֶם
אַחַר מְהֵרָה

In the subsection of verses 4bc-6, verses 4b and 4c are parallel. Auffret sees verse 4a as directly opposed to 2b and reads verse 4c’s plural suffix of שְׂמוֹתֶם as referring back to the “idols” in verses 3b and 4ab. In verses 5-6 the psalmist presents in great detail the statement of verse 2b regarding the happiness which YHWH assures him of. This happiness is echoed

⁷ Auffret, “C’est pourquoi,” 73-83. For a listing of Psalm 16’s stereotypical word pairs utilized by Auffret, see pages 93-4.

in verse 9. Auffret's second section, verses 4b-11, is concentric around verse 9 and may be seen as:

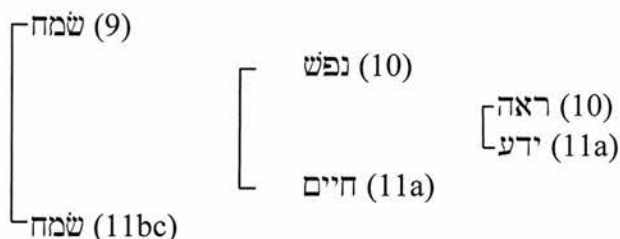


The literary arrangement of verses 4b-7a is A + B and A + C, 7a (A) echoing 4bc (A), the blessing of YHWH at the refusal to participate in idolatrous cults. In verses 7b and 8a a unity is found in the psalmist's commitment to YHWH. Two temporal indicators, אַף־לַיְלֹוֹת, "even at night," (verse 7b) and תָּמִיד, "constantly," (verse 8a), frame this meditation which finishes with a decisive orientation towards YHWH (verse 8a). Verse 8b picks up again a pronouncement of happiness based on the faithful one's stability brought by YHWH. This same happiness is again spoken in verse 9, but in three positive propositions. The first two propositions are parallel to one another, לִבִּי + שָׂמַח // וַיִּגַּל + כְּבוֹדִי, "my heart is glad" // "my glory rejoices," the last one echoing them in inverse order יִשְׁכֵּן לְבֶטֶחַ, "my body will dwell in safety." Auffret's literary structure of verses 4b-11 finds a center in verse 9, where Auffret reads two stereotypical word pairs, גִּיל // שָׂמַח and לֵב // כְּבוֹד. Verse 10, as in verse 8b, expresses with כִּי, in negative turns of phrase, the reasons for the psalmist's security and frames the happiness of verse 9. From verse 10a to 10b the parallel is clear.

Verse 11a is parallel to verse 7ab in that the tasks of counseling and informing are strongly related to one another. The articulation of verse 10 to 11a is doubly marked, first by the presence of the stereotypical pair יָדַע // רָאָה, here in inverse order, with a clear correspondence between not making to see the pit and making to know life. Second, the demarcation is read in the stereotypical pair חַיִּים // נַפְשׁ of verses 10a and 11a. Not to abandon the נַפְשׁ of the faithful one to שְׂאוּל returns in effect to making known to him the path of/to life. In verse 11bc one reads a last evocation of the happiness procured for his faithful one by YHWH. At either end of it is indicated the intensity: נֶצַח, "perpetually," and שְׂבַע, "satisfying abundance," between which we read in parallel אֶת־פָּנֶיךָ + שְׂמֵחָוֹת, "joys with your presence," and בְּיַמִּינְךָ + נְעֻמּוֹת, "pleasantness in your right hand," the face and the right hand of YHWH therefore assuring joys and delights to his faithful one. Around the center of verse 9, verses 8b and 10 (negation + כִּי), verses 7ab and 11a (tasks of counseling and showing), and verses 5-6 and 11bc (נָעִים) correspond symmetrically to one another. The

symmetrical relationship between verses 5-6 and 10 is not indicated by any recurrence, but clearly by the opposition between the two end couplets, arranged in a parallel manner, נַעֲמִים // שְׁפָרָה and שְׁחַת // שְׂאוֹל. In verses 7b, 8a, as in 11bc we read on the one hand indications of length of time, נָצַח, תָּמִיד, אֶף־לַיְלֹת, “perpetually,” “constantly,” “even at night,” and on the other hand the terms כְּלִי־חַיִּי, “my innermost being,” and פְּנֵיךָ, “your face/presence,” for bodily parts. Thus, the center of verse 9 confidently states the jubilation of the psalmist over his security in YHWH which may be understood from what precedes it (verses 5-8) and from what follows it (verses 10 and 11).

The concluding section, verses 9-11, is also viewed as a chiasm:⁸



In his recent structural analysis of Psalm 16, Ángel A. Rodríguez finds the structure of Psalm 16 in four sections: (a) the introduction (verse 1b), (b) first section (verses 2-6), (c) second section (verses 7-10), and (d) conclusion (verse 11).⁹

In the first six verses the perfect verbal forms dominate.¹⁰ From verse 7 to the end the imperfects prevail.¹¹ In verse 6, two perfects accumulate and an imperfect leads the shift in verse 7. The qal perfect form of verse 1b is preceded by an imperative and by the causal כִּי . Verse 1 formally relates itself with the rest of the Psalm in two ways. First, the vocative אֱלֹהִים has immediate correspondence with the vocatives of verse 2 and with that of verse 5 (יְהוָה). Second, the causal כִּי corresponds to the כִּי of verse 10. The hiphil imperfect of verse 11 begins the conclusion. Following verse 7 more particles are utilized and these insist on emphasis. The pronoun אֲנִי is only found in verses 2 and 5.

From this distribution, Rodríguez deduces that the first section reaches up to verse 7, where the second section begins. The first section is initiated in verse 2 with the first person verb and the second section begins with the first person verb of verse 7. The introductory succession of verbal forms of verse 1 (imperative + qal perfect) is not repeated and the causal

⁸ This chiasm could also be completed with מִיִּן , which is read in verses 8b and 11c, but Auffret considers verse 8b as a part of the unity of the first subsection.

⁹ Rodríguez's structural layout may be seen in Appendix 21.

¹⁰ Five times in the qal form, while the imperfect appears three times (two times in qal and one time in hiphil – all in verse 4). Contra Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 139-40, who counts six perfects and four imperfects.

¹¹ Seven times, while the perfects appear only four times. Contra Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 139-40, who counts ten imperfects and two perfects.

יְיָ unites both verbals in a relationship of cause and effect. This effect, security and fullness in YHWH, is the object of verse 11's concluding hiphil imperfect verb.

The first sequence (verse 2) of section one (verses 2-6) begins with אָמַרְתָּ, which is followed by a double vocative. The vocatives are followed by a double confession, first positive then negative. The second sequence, verses 3-4, repeats the first sequence a), b), c), and is still dependent upon the verb אָמַרְתָּ. It is no longer YHWH who is invoked but the קְדוֹשִׁים.¹² The simple negation of A)c is now a double negation in B)c'. The third sequence, verses 5-6, begins with the word יְהוָה and is still dependent upon the verb אָמַרְתָּ. The following phrase commences with the pronoun אָתָּה which corresponds to the אָתָּה of verse 2b. The member A')c'' corresponds with a double divine action to the double negation of B)c'.

Structurally, the first sequence of section one centers on YHWH, the second sequence on the idols, and the third sequence turns once again to YHWH. The A-B-A' structure places as important the central element of idolatrous power. Thematically, sequence A centers itself in the Yahwehist confession, with the double positive and single negative formula. Sequence B deals with the rejection of idolatry. Sequence A' turns back to YHWH. The unity of this section may be seen in the thematic equivalence of אֲדֹנָי, "my Lord," and טוֹבָתִי, "my good," of verse 2 to the concrete signs of divine goodness in verses 5-6: מִנְתַּחֲלָקַי, "the portion of my allotment," כּוֹסִי, "my cup," הוֹמִיךְ גּוֹרְלִי, "he who holds my lot," חֲבָלִים, "boundary lines," נַחֲלָת, "inheritance." The positive confession A)b, on the other hand, corresponds antithetically with the idolatrous B)b'. The negative confession A)c resounds in the double rejection of B)c'. If there is no one above YHWH, then as a consequence there is no reason to worship other gods.

The second section, verses 7-10, commences with recognition of the divine power: it is YHWH who gives security. The piel imperfect verb אֲבָרַךְ, "I praise," stresses this proclamation of trust. Verse 7 initiates the new section and formally unites it with the first section by the use of the name YHWH. Simultaneously it formally relates to the following verses: with verse 8 through YHWH; with verse 9 through the emphatic particle אֵף; with verses 8, 9, and 10a through the somatic paradigm: כִּלְיוֹתַי, "my innermost being," in verse 7b, לִבִּי, "my heart," and כְּבוֹדִי, "my glory," in verse 9a, בְּשָׁרִי, "my body," in verse 9b, and

¹² Rodríguez maintains the parallelism of קְדוֹשִׁים and אֲדֹנָי and does not correct the MT. Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 141-2. Contra Franz D. Hubmann, "Textgraphik und Psalm 16:2-3," *Vetus Testamentum* 33 (1983): 101-6.

נַפְשִׁי, “me,” in verse 10a. The particle כִּי of verse 8b establishes a relationship between it and the meaning of the particle אֲנִי of verse 7a as they both function emphatically. The לְכֵן, “therefore,” of verse 9 marks the beginning of the second sequence. The particles כִּי and אֲנִי of verses 8b and 9b are both emphatic. The somatic paradigm of verse 9 may be a continuation, and is a consequence, of the lexeme מִיְמִינִי, “at my right hand,” of verse 8b. Thematically, the stability of verse 8b, בִּלְאֵמוּט, “I will not be moved,” corresponds to the security of verse 9, בְּשָׁרִי יִשְׁכֵּן לְבֵטַח, “my body will dwell in safety.” In verse 10 the psalmist (נַפְשִׁי) concludes the somatic paradigm in summary fashion. If the psalmist abides and בִּלְאֵמוּט, it is כִּי, “because,” YHWH will not abandon him to Sheol – YHWH will not allow him to see the pit. The particle כִּי fundamentalizes the trust repeatedly proclaimed in the Psalm. Refuge in YHWH – the ongoing presence of YHWH – is the psalmist’s stated source of confidence. Even לַיְלֹת, “at night,” YHWH instructs this one.

The way for the concluding verse 11 has been prepared in the body of Psalm 16. In the substantive שְׂמֵחֹת, “joys,” the שִׂמְחָה of verse 9 resounds. The נְעִמּוֹת, “pleasantness,” substantive has appeared in verse 6 in its masculine form, נְעִמִים. The phrase בְּיְמִינֶךָ, “in your right hand,” has its precedent in verse 8’s מִיְמִינִי. Thematically, the teaching, תּוֹדִיעֵנִי, recalls the complementary verbal forms of verse 7: יִסְרֹנֵנִי and יַעֲצָנֵנִי. The שְׂבֹעַ, “fullness,” is related to the divine goodness of verse 2, טוֹבָתִי, and with the images of fullness of verses 5, 6, and 9. The noun form used as a temporal adverb, נֶצַח, is an echo of the perpetuity of the adverb תָּמִיד of verse 8a. Consequently, verse 11 is closely united with the rest of the Psalm, and may be understood as its conclusion.¹³

The compact unity of Psalm 16 is supported by the use of the emphatic particle אֲנִי which acts as a verbal link between the first and second section. The particle אֲנִי is also an important structural element in the second section. The unity of Psalm 16 is also seen in the use of the causal כִּי, which not only acts as a structural marker for the second section (verses 8b and 10a) but it also links the introduction with the end of the Psalm.

Based on his structural analysis, Rodríguez concludes:

1. Psalm 16 is a confession of the Yahwehist’s faith.
2. The “concentric symmetry” of the first section around verses 3-4 confirms that idols are a danger to the psalmist.
3. The entire Psalm tends towards verse 11, its conclusion.

¹³ Werner Quintens, “Le Chemin de la Vie dans le Psaume 16,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 55 (1979): 240.

4. The relationship of opposition between I.A)b and I.B)b' and the relationships of equivalence between I.A)b and I.A')b'', as the anticipation of the “fullness” in the “goodness” theme, suggests that the Psalm is a development of the positive confession of faith in verse 2, טוֹבֵתִי בְּלִעְלֵיךְ.

5. The structure of Psalm 16 supports its designation as a psalm of confidence.

In summary, *BHS*'s bicola and tricola layout may be maintained as the final MT textual format of Psalm 16. Psalm 16 contains structural markers such as verbal forms and recurrences indicating the function of verse 1b to be an introduction and verse 11 to be a conclusion. Based on the employment of verbal forms, compositions, adverbial particles, and structural word pairs, the body of Psalm 16 appears to be laid out in two main sections, verses 2-6 and verses 7-10. The center of section one may be understood as verses 3-4a and the center of section two as verse 9. The unity of Psalm 16's composition is suggested by its structural markers. No textual, linguistic, formal, or structural evidence suggests a composite Psalm. Psalm 16's structure clearly supports its classification as a psalm of confidence¹⁴ and emphasizes its major theme of trust in YHWH.

B. A Working Translation of MT Psalm 16

1. Superscription (Verse 1a)

מִכְתָּם לְדָוִד (1a)

Translation

1a. A *Miktam* of David.

The meaning of the term מִכְתָּם is uncertain.¹⁵ The term occurs in the MT six times, in the titles to Psalms 16, 56-60.¹⁶ The main lines of interpretation were laid down by early modern times. Eight different ideas are represented among the various proposals.¹⁷ The interpretations offered over the centuries include the view that a *Miktam* is related to כתב, “write.” This is reflected by the LXX rendering *στηλογραφία* and is the oldest known interpretation of the word. It is commonly thought that the כ of כתב has somehow changed to ם.¹⁸ It is possible to postulate a Hebrew root כתם, “to inscribe,” closely related to כתב, “to write,” as in מִכְתָּם of Exodus 39:30 and Isaiah 38:9. From this root, מִכְתָּם may have

¹⁴ Although Psalm 16 contains hymnic accents (verses 5-7) and a sapiential accent (verse 7).

¹⁵ I rely heavily on Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 154 for the following discussion.

¹⁶ Even-Shoshan, *Concordance*, s.v. “מִכְתָּם.” Cf. 1 Maccabees 14:27; 3 Maccabees 2:27.

¹⁷ For detailed analysis of each idea see Carleton T. Hodge, “Miktam,” in *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau*, ed. Alan S. Kaye (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 634-41.

¹⁸ See H. W. F. Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*, trans. Samuel P. Tregelles (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), s.v. “מִכְתָּם.”

developed and it may be that the only other occurrence of a form related to this root is in Jeremiah 2:22 – מִכְתָּם; usually translated “stained” as in the later Syriac verb *ktham*.¹⁹ In Jeremiah 2:22, מִכְתָּם perhaps should be translated “inscribed.” Other proposals regarding the term מִכְתָּם include “a golden psalm” from the noun form כְּתָם as in some early rabbinical interpretations;²⁰ an epithet of David, “humble, blameless,”²¹ as followed by Aquila, Symmachus, and Jerome; “a silent prayer”;²² “an atonement psalm” from the Akkadian *katāmu*, “to cover”;²³ and the name of an early collection of psalms.²⁴

The most probable interpretation of מִכְתָּם is to understand that there is a specialized kind of writing involved, “inscribed.” This is reflected in the Greek’s *στυλογραφία* of the LXX, Theodotion, and Origen as well as the Targum’s *glīpā trīṣā*, “straight writing,” and the Vulgate’s *tituli inscriptio*, “inscription of a title.” Tentative support for this interpretation may come from the six Psalms entitled מִכְתָּם in the Psalter. Four, in their titles, are associated with times of crisis, which might have been events warranting recording in an inscription.²⁵

2. Introduction (Verse 1b)

שְׁמַרְנִי אֵל בְּיַחְסִיתִי בָּךְ (1b)

Translation

1b. Take care of me, O God, for I take refuge in you.

The brief introduction of Psalm 16 represents the stereotypical language of a conventional prayer for protection. The root שָׁמַר appears in various Semitic languages with the fundamental meaning of “to protect.”²⁶ The verb is attested 468 times in the Hebrew Bible, and is found sixty-nine times in the Psalter.²⁷ The religious usage of שְׁמַר, as here in

¹⁹ See *HALOT*, s.v. “כתב,” “כתום”; Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. “כתב”; BDB, s.v. “כתב.”

²⁰ For discussion, see Hodge, “Miktam,” 636-7.

²¹ But the grammar makes this suggestion unlikely. See the LXX textual evidence presented in Appendix 22.

²² Eerdmans, cited by Derek Kidner, *Psalms 1-72: An Introduction and Commentary on Books I and II of the Psalms*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (London: Tyndale, 1973), 38, and see Hodge, “Miktam,” 637.

²³ Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 2:209. Mowinckel takes *katāmu* to include “atone for.” He considers the correction of מִכְתָּב to מִכְתָּם in Isaiah 38:9 to be improbable, as the psalm there is one of thanksgiving. However, the Akkadian *katāmu* may not have been recorded as including the meaning “cover” in the sense of “atone for” as does the Hebrew כָּפַר. See discussion of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* entry in Hodge, “Miktam,” 637.

²⁴ Briggs, *Psalms*, 1:lx.

²⁵ See Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 154.

²⁶ Cf. Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook: Grammar, Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Indices* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), 249; *KAI* 1:48:2; 2:65. Also see Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 39-40, for discussion of similar usage in Phoenician and Akkadian.

²⁷ Accordance, s.v. “שמר.”

Psalm 16, depicts man's need to observe the commandments of the covenant²⁸ and YHWH's activity of protecting and caring for man.²⁹ The imperative form used permits us to understand that the psalmist is contemplating danger,³⁰ without our knowing immediately what the danger is. The danger is not made explicit by adding a complement to the verb שָׁמַר, as is usual in other places.³¹ By comparison, Psalms 17:8, 25:20, and 86:2 use this same imperative along with others. The lack of an object in Psalm 16, and the use of a single imperative, appears to be due to a difference of literary genre. Unlike Psalms 17, 25, and 86, Psalm 16 is not an individual lament, but is a psalm of confidence.³²

The interlocutor, in whose hands the fulfillment of the expressed desire is left, is אֱלֹהִים. YHWH is first addressed with the vocative אֱלֹהֵי, referring to the only true God.³³ Such is the proper name of God known by the ancient Canaanites and also by the patriarchal clans.³⁴

The latent confidence in the initial imperative has an evident reason: the causal כִּי clause asserts the psalmists's basis of confidence.³⁵ He is taking refuge in אֱלֹהֵי.³⁶ The psalmist's statement of God's ongoing care moves the introduction from petition to trust.

²⁸ The faithful keep the covenant (Genesis 17:9, etc.) including the instructions, precepts, and commandments of YHWH. Such is the obligation of the Levites specifically (Leviticus 8:35; Numbers 1:53) and of all the faithful (Deuteronomy 4:2). The obligation of the faithful is particularly stressed in Psalm 119. Also, particular importance is given to Sabbath observance (cf. Exodus 12:17; Leviticus 19:3).

²⁹ In Deuteronomy 11:1 one finds a correspondence between divine observance (שָׁמַר) and human observance (שָׁמַר) (cf. also Deuteronomy 5:10; 7:9). If this reciprocity is present in the Psalter (see Psalm 145:20), divine care goes beyond the fidelity of the faithful. YHWH, besides protecting the faithful (Psalms 87:10; 86:2), is the protector of the simple (Psalm 116:6) and of the pilgrims (Psalm 146:9). Divine protection covers all of life including entrance and exit (Psalm 121:8). YHWH watches over life (Psalms 25:20; 41:3; 97:10), protecting it from all evil (Psalm 121:7), from traps (Psalm 141:9), and from violent men (Psalm 140:5). YHWH takes care of all the bones (Psalm 34:21) with the intimacy and closeness that the pupils of the eyes symbolize (Psalm 121:8). YHWH is the "guardian of Israel" (Psalm 121:4, with שָׁמַר used six times in this Psalm). Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. "שָׁמַר," by G. Sauer. And see Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 233-6; Weiser, *Psalms*, 173; Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87.

³⁰ Although the imperative may have, at times, common usage with interjections as expression of the speaker's sentiments. Joüon, *Grammar*, 2:378-9, 381-6, 650-1.

³¹ Ordinarily the danger from which the psalmist is preserved or guarded is described with the preposition מִן. See, e.g., Psalm 121:7 (twice); 141:9; 140:5; Proverbs 6:24; 7:5; etc. Some authors understand the danger to be that of apostasy. See, e.g., Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life*, 149.

³² See Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer*, 93.

³³ From among the various etymological explanations given for the divine name אֱלֹהִים, Frank M. Cross suggests the best is that which understands it to derive from "to be strong," "to have preference." The form אֱלֹהִים would coincide with the stative form of a weak root. The other major proposal considers the verb root as denominative of a primitive noun. *TWAT*, s.v. "אֱלֹהִים," by Frank M. Cross. BDB, s.v. "אֱלֹהִים": "God (the only true God, needing no article or predicate to define him)." For discussion, see Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. "אֱלֹהִים" and Jenni and Westermann, s.v. "אֱלֹהִים."

³⁴ Otto Eissfeldt, "El and Jahweh." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1 (1956): 25-37. אֱלֹהִים figures in poetic texts, many of which appear to proceed from the north. While אֱלֹהֵי appears over 2,600 times in the Hebrew Bible, אֱלֹהִים is found 238 times as follows: Psalms seventy-seven times, Job fifty-five times, Isaiah fifty-four times (fifteen times in Second Isaiah), Genesis eight times, Deuteronomy thirteen times. אֱלֹהִים appears in texts that are composed rhythmically (cf. also the oracles of Balaam in Numbers 23-24, eight times) and with archaic language. This data led Frank M. Cross to think that the Book of Job is northern. *TWAT*, s.v. "אֱלֹהִים."

³⁵ Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer*, 93.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 92-3.

The qal perfect form הִסְתַּיִתִּי may best be understood as a stative, representing ongoing intimate relationship.³⁷ The noun and verb have crystallized fundamentally in liturgical language.³⁸ With variables, the theme of taking refuge in YHWH occurs twenty-six times in the Psalter.³⁹ The poetic origins of the word הִסְתַּיִתִּי are detected in texts like Judges 9:15 and Isaiah 30:2 where the powerful gives shade to the weak. The poetic reach of the expression וְלַחֲסוֹת נִצָּל , “to take cover in the shade of,” may be seen in its common reference to a tree or a wing and as the underlying image in the preposition תַּחַת . Ruth (2:12) takes refuge under the wings of the God of Israel.⁴⁰ The use of הִסְתַּיִתִּי in Psalm 16 is more stereotyped. While the verbs שָׁמַר and הִסְתַּיִתִּי often refer to the sanctuary’s function as asylum,⁴¹ there is no image other than God mentioned by the psalmist. In Psalm 16, the verb הִסְתַּיִתִּי alludes to the totality of the relationship that the psalmist has with YHWH. The same thing is achieved in other Psalms that complete the verb הִסְתַּיִתִּי with the preposition בְּ followed by a personal pronoun or the divine name.⁴² Thus, the generic שָׁמַר has its correlate in the formulaic הִסְתַּיִתִּי . The echoes of this formula of trust are recognizable in Isaiah 28:15 and Joel 4:16. Cultic texts prefer the verb in confessional pronouncements of confidence. Metaphorically, the expression means to place confidence in or to rely on someone.⁴³ As a “rock” (Deuteronomy 32:37), a “shield” (Psalm 144:2; Proverbs 30:5), and even a mothering bird with outstretched wings (Psalm

³⁷ Translated as stative perfect, “implying that the state-cum-action is still going on ... because the QATAL often dovetails with stative QATALs and with present YIQTOLs.” J. C. L. Gibson, *Davidson’s Introductory Hebrew Grammar-Syntax*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 62-3. Also see Psalms 7:2; 11:1; 31:2.

³⁸ The use of the verb exclusively in qal is concentrated in the Psalms: twenty-five times of the thirty-seven times that it appears in the Hebrew Bible (also in Isaiah three times, Proverbs twice, 2 Samuel twice, and once in each of Deuteronomy, Judges, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Ruth). The Psalter uses the first person singular of the perfect in the following passages: 7:2; 11:1; 16:1; 25:20; 31:2; 57:2; 71:1; 141:8; 144:2. It is normally constructed with the preposition בְּ , except in Psalm 91:4 and in Ruth 2:12.

³⁹ For discussion, see L. Alonso Schökel and Cecilia Carniti, *Salmos I (Salmos 1-72): Traducción, Introducciones y Comentario*, 2nd ed. (Navarra, Spain: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1994), 297.

⁴⁰ Cf. Psalms 36:8; 61:5; 91:4. The figures of shade and wings come together in Psalm 57:2.

⁴¹ *HALOT*, s.v. “שָׁמַר,” with הַיְהוָה as subject and an accusative of person. For discussion, see Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 297; *HALOT*, s.v. “חֲסוֹה”; Clines, *Dictionary*, חֲסוֹה . On שָׁמַרְנִי see Psalms 17:8; 140:4; 141:9. On הִסְתַּיִתִּי see Psalms 7:1; 11:1; 25:20; 31:1; 71:1; 141:8; 144:2. Thus, הִסְתַּיִתִּי can mean the search for protected space (the sanctuary). The expression of confidence, however, does not solely mean the actual search for asylum, but also the inner attitude of the one praying. Whoever hides with YHWH (Psalm 61:5; 91:1-2, etc.) appropriates the experience of prior generations.

⁴² Cf. Psalms 2:12; 5:12; 7:2; 11:1; 18:3, 31; 25:20; 31:2, 20; 34:9; 34:23; 37:40; 57:2; 64:11; 71:1; 118:8, 9; 141:8; 144:2. In at least nine of these Psalms God giving protection in the Temple is projected in the symbolic language of the prayer. That does not mean that in Psalm 16 we are attending to a “spiritualization” of the jurisdiction of God (contra Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, vol. I, *The Theology of Israel’s Historical Traditions*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1965], 402) but rather the image of the sanctuary is a prototype of all YHWH’s protection and is used by way of analogy (see Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 159-60). See Psalms 17:8; 57:1-2; 59:16-17; 61:45; 64:10-11.

⁴³ Creach, *The Choice of YHWH*, 37-8; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “הִסְתַּיִתִּי,” by Andrew E. Hill; Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. “הִסְתַּיִתִּי”; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, and *HALOT*, both s.v. “הִסְתַּיִתִּי”; *TDOT*, s.v. “הִסְתַּיִתִּי,” by J. Gamberoni.

57:2; 61:5), YHWH can be trusted. Theologically, הָסָה emphasizes human insecurity and inability in the face of calamity and divine security and ability to harbor and preserve those in distress.⁴⁴ Consequently, believers often petition YHWH for refuge in laments or praise him for providing such security in the past in songs of confidence.⁴⁵

Verse 1 seeks divine action – that of care and protection – and alludes to human action – that of seeking refuge. This psalm of confidence arises out of the religious experience of the psalmist, but does not necessarily imply an impending calamity.⁴⁶ The psalmist's death is in view (verse 10), whether understood as imminent or as remotely contemplated. Emphasis is placed on the psalmist's relationship with YHWH, not on the setting.⁴⁷

3. First Section (Verses 2-6)

a. Sequence One (Verses 2-4a)

אָמַרְתָּ לַיהוָה אֲדֹנָי אַתָּה טוֹבָתִי בְלִ-עָלְיָךְ (2)
 לְקְדוּשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־בְּאָרְץ הַמָּה וְאֲדִירֵי כָל־חַפְצֵי־בָם (3)
 יָרְבוּ עֲצָבוֹתָם אַחַר מְהֵרָו (4a)

Translation

2. I declared to YHWH,⁴⁸ my Lord,⁴⁹ “You are my good; there is no one above you!”

⁴⁴ See Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, and *NIDOTTE*, both s.v. “הָסָה.”

⁴⁵ The formulaic use of this expression is seen in Psalms 7:2; 11:1; 16:1; 18:3; 25:20; 31:2; 46:2; 57:2; 61:4-5; 62:8-9; 71:1, 7; 91:2, 9; 94:22; 141:8; 142:6; 144:2. For discussion of this formula as being the central theme of the Psalter, see Creach, *The Choice of YHWH*, 30, 31, 37-8, 45-6, and especially 134 regarding הָסָה and Psalm 16.

⁴⁶ John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 3 vols., trans. James Anderson (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981), 1:216; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 156-9; Weiser, *Psalms*, 173. For an argument that the psalmist is facing an imminent physical danger and that, specifically, the psalmist is near death, see Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*, trans. Francis Bolton (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1871), 217; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 235.

⁴⁷ The psalmist begins with the patriarchal designation of God and intensifies its usage with the following plural intensive (as in Psalms 2:7; 8:1). Also, note the possessive pronominal suffix used for emphasis in verse 2. Further, the God enthroned on Zion is אֲדֹנָי – the individual may approach him (cf. Psalm 1).

⁴⁸ Frequently, the linguistic construction לַיהוָה אֲדֹנָי has been understood as the indirect object of the verb אָמַרְתָּ. Next follows the content of the declaration of the psalmist (here אַתָּה טוֹבָתִי). E.g., A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Book of Psalms with Introduction and Notes*, 3 vols. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 1:73; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 233-6; Carroll Stuhlmüller, *Psalms 1 (Psalms 1-72) and Psalms 2 (Psalms 73-150)*. Old Testament Message: A Biblical-Theological Commentary (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1983), 115; Weiser, *Psalms*, 173; R. J. Tournay, *Seeing and Hearing God in the Psalms: The Prophetic Liturgy of the Second Temple in Jerusalem*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 118 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 93; “Le Psaume 16:1-3” *Revue Biblique* 95 (1988): 332-6. However, Mitchell Dahood asserts a “vocative lamed,” which is found in Ugaritic with divine names. See Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87; Appendix 16; Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 109. This would make the vocative אֱל of verse 1 parallel to אֲדֹנָי in verse 2. This parallel construction of both names is found both in Ugaritic (*adn // il*) as in the Hebrew Bible. Cf. Psalm 68:21-2 (אֱלֹהִים // אֲדֹנָי); Psalms 114:7; 136:2-3; Exodus 34:23; Deuteronomy 10:17. And see *RSP*, 1:100-1. For a summary of proposed emendations to verse 2 see Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 234.

⁴⁹ See Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “אֲדֹנָי,” by E. Jenni. The ending ך, is old and appears not to be equivalent to the possessive ך. ending. The ך, ending is found in the Ugaritic literature and serves to

3. (I declared) to the holy ones who are in the land, (they, the powerful ones – all my delight was in them):

4a. “The pains of those who have courted another [god] will multiply.”⁵⁰

Beginning verse 2, אֲמַרְתָּ is read as first person singular, following an earlier orthography.⁵¹ The sense is energetic, like that of a profession or affirmation.⁵² The pronoun אֲתָּה is united with the following lexeme טוֹבָתִי with which it forms a nominal proposition.⁵³ A parallelism between אֲדַנִּי and טוֹבָתִי is also known from Psalms 86:17; 111:10, Jeremiah 15:11; 31:12, 2 Chronicles 30:18. Thus, the psalmist makes a profession of faith.⁵⁴

טוֹבָתִי בַל־עָלְיָךְ, “my good, there is no one above you,” is read as a phrase without correction since we lack significant manuscript evidence to emend.⁵⁵ בַּל is read as a negative adverbial particle before a preposition in poetic and prophetic style.⁵⁶ עַל is

emphasize the meaning of the word affected by it. In this case, ׀, elevates אֲדַנִּי to an emphatic state giving it the meaning of “absolute Lord.” *TDOT*, s.v. “אֲדַנִּי,” by Otto Eissfeldt; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 50-1; and see *KTU* 1.2, IV:5. As ׀, reinforces the meaning of אֲדַנִּי, it may be understood that from the beginning of this Psalm there exists an opposition between YHWH (the absolute Lord) and the gods. This shade of meaning may be well captured by the LXX’s “κύριος μου.”

⁵⁰ May also be read, “They multiply their pains who have courted another [god].” For discussion, see pages 152-3.

⁵¹ See Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 121. The first person singular form is supported by many Hebrew manuscripts and the Masora (see Appendix 15). The LXX and the Peshitta also understand this as a first common singular form. The form is a *scriptio defectiva* of the first person singular perfect reflecting a Phoenician orthography (where the second person singular feminine and the first person share the same form). Dahood, *Psalms 1-59*, 87; Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 155; Quintens, “Le Chemin,” 235. This peculiarity is demonstrated in the Hebrew Bible and may also be seen in Isaiah 47:10 where the MT’s אֲמַרְתָּ is found as אֲמַרְתָּ in IQIs^a. Some scholars correct the Hebrew text to the first person singular form (e.g., Weiser, *Psalms*, 173; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 1:73). Other scholars read a second person singular, and they understand the subject of the verb as either “the soul” of the psalmist (as the Targum reads) or David himself (Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 1:73) or a female (Trebolle Barrera, “Salmos”) or that the singular has a plural value, in which case others are speaking: the worshipers of the God of Israel and of other gods, the syncretists (Tournay, “Le Psaume 16:1-3”).

⁵² Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 297. The Hebrew perfect may have here the value of an instantaneous present which, occurring at the moment of speech, is already understood to be pertaining to the past. While speaking in the present moment, the psalmist may be formulating an expression with an irrevocable sense. See Joüon, *Grammar*, 2:355-65; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 46-7.

⁵³ Sigmund Mowinckel, “Zu Psalm 16, 2-4,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 82 (1957): 649-54.

⁵⁴ Linguistically, a similarly constructed profession of faith may be found in *KTU* 1.4 IV:43-4. Also, see James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with supplement (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1969), 133a.

⁵⁵ See Appendix 15. Contra Dahood, who corrects since “this ancient formula sounds like the Canaanite profession of faith found in *Ugaritic Textbook*, 51:IV:43-44 (= ‘nt:V:40-41), *mlkn aliy[n] b’l iptn win d’lnh*, ‘Our king is Victor Baal, our ruler; there is none above him.’” Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87. LXX reads οὐκ χρείαν ἔχεις, “you have no need.” Symmachus (Targum) reads οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνευ σου, “he/she/it is not without you.” Syriac reads *mn lwtk hj*, “is from you.” Proposed emendations include בַּל־בְּלִעְרִיךְ, “apart from in you” (the בַּל being pleonastic following Symmachus and the Targum); כְּלָהּ עַ, “all of it [my good fortune] rests entirely with you”; בְּלִיעַל כָּל־קַ, “[all my good things] are useless to all holy ones/gods,” as a concluding phrase of verse 2.

⁵⁶ Also see Psalm 16:4, 8; *HALOT*, s.v. “בַּל.” See BDB, s.v. “עַל־”: “my welfare is not beyond thee, i.e. does not lie outside thee.” Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 481; Joüon, *Grammar*, 2:607; Tournay, “Le Psaume 16:1-3.” BDB, s.v. “טוֹבָה־”: “Is not my welfare dependent upon thee?” The negation בַּל is found in

understood in its sense of “outside of,” “apart from,” or “beyond.”⁵⁷ בַּל-עֲלֶיךָ is, thus, a nominal proposition that consists of a negation (בַּל), a preposition (עַל), and a second person pronominal suffix. The translation might be: “there is no one above you.”⁵⁸ The rejection of other gods is inherent in this translation. One should not read טוֹבְתִי with בַּל-עֲלֶיךָ. Rather, טוֹבְתִי is joined with אֶתָּה in a divine title parallel with אֲדֹנָי.⁵⁹ YHWH is frequently described as טוֹב in the Hebrew Bible, most notably in the Psalter (e.g., Psalms 86:5; 100:5; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1, 29; 145:9) and as a frequent refrain elsewhere (1 Chronicles 16:34; Ezra 3:11; Jeremiah 33:11; Nahum 1:7).⁶⁰ The parallel expressions about seeking good and seeking YHWH in Amos 5:4, 6, 14-15 imply the same characterization of YHWH, and it may be that the good that Israel rejects in Hosea 8:3 is YHWH himself. The definition of טוֹב, “good,” is facilitated by consideration of its polar opposite רַע, “evil.”⁶¹ The command to depart from evil and do good (Psalm 34:15) clearly contrasts טוֹב with moral evil. The “good way” which YHWH will teach his people refers to moral life (1 Kings 8:36). טוֹב and יָשָׁר, “right,” often occur as parallel terms for moral goodness (2 Chronicles 14:1; 31:20). The ethical sense that can attach to טוֹב is well represented in Micah 6:8, Psalms 14:1; 37:3, Proverbs 2:20. Qoheleth uses טוֹב in the sense of the philosophical *summum bonum* (Qoheleth 2; 3:2; 8:15). YHWH’s name is טוֹב (Psalm 52:11) and he is said specifically to be “good to Israel” (Psalm 73:1). Humans may also be described as טוֹב, where a simple character reference is intended.⁶²

Therefore, אֶתָּה טוֹבְתִי may best be understood as a positive confession of faith, completed and emphasized with the negative confession with which this second verse closes.

Ugaritic and in Phoenician. See Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 98. בַּל, as a negation, occurs three times in Psalm 17 verses 3 and 5, a Psalm which shares many affinities with Psalm 16. See discussion of בַּל on pages 85-6, 100-1. Contra O’Callaghan, “Echoes,” 166-7 and Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 155.

⁵⁷ BDB s.v. “עַל”; Gesenius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “עַל.” And see Carl Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen, Germany: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1956), 81, 95-6, 105-8, 141-2. Cf. *HALOT*, s.v. “עַל,” which follows Dahood.

⁵⁸ Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87; Tournay, “Le Psaume 16:1-3,” 332-6; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 233-6; Eugenio Zolli, “Die ‘Heiligen’ in Psalm 16,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 6 (1950): 149-50; O’Callaghan, “Echoes,” 166.

⁵⁹ E.g., Psalms 15:11; 86:17; 104:28; 111:10; 119:66; 122. For discussion, see Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 53; David N. Freedman, “The Broken Construct Chain,” *Biblica* 55 (1972): 534-6; *NIDOTTE* and *HALOT*, both s.v. “טוֹב.”

⁶⁰ Also see 1 Maccabees 4:24.

⁶¹ See, e.g., Deuteronomy 30:15; Numbers 24:13; 2 Samuel 14:17; 19:35; 1 Kings 3:9; Isaiah 5:20; 7:15-16, etc.

⁶² See, e.g., 1 Samuel 25:15; 2 Samuel 18:27.

In opposition to the idols followed by Israel during such times as those of Hosea,⁶³ YHWH is proclaimed as the good and as the supreme.

Following Beuken's structural indicators of the chiasmic schema 1b-4a, the dative לְקְדוֹשִׁים in verse 3 is read as the pendant of לַיהוָה in verse 2, so that אֲמַרְתָּ controls both indirect objects.⁶⁴ אֲשֶׁר is read as a relative pronoun in a nominal clause.⁶⁵ The pronoun הַקְּדוֹשִׁים is read as a retrospective subject pronoun in a relative clause.⁶⁶ Regarding the reading of וְאֲדִירֵי as "and the noble ones," the reference may be to priests or to others considered as a special class of servants of YHWH.⁶⁷ Alternatively, significant manuscript evidence exists for reading וְאֲדִירֵי without a *waw*, thus placing אֲדִירֵי and קְדוֹשִׁים in apposition.⁶⁸ The reference would then be back to קְדוֹשִׁים, the pagan gods, or perhaps understood as the holy ones in whom YHWH is fulfilling his will for a holy nation.⁶⁹ Similarly, the *waw* may be retained, considered as a *waw* of apodosis, and left untranslated. In support of this reading, the formation of this verse, beginning with ל, leads one to expect an apodosis. The genitival phrase כָּל־הַפְּצִי־בָם, which represents the central point of the declaration of verse 3, would then clearly refer back to the קְדוֹשִׁים.⁷⁰

⁶³ Hosea 8:3. For "the enemy" of Hosea 8:3 being attributable to Baal, see Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 356; *KTU* 1.4 VII:38; Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 110-9.

⁶⁴ Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 141-2; Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 291; 297-8; Beuken, "Psalm 16," 373; Tournay, "Le Psaume 16:1-3," 332-6. Contra Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87; Hubmann, "Textgraphik."

⁶⁵ Contra Beuken, "Psalm 16," 374. BDB, s.v. "אֲשֶׁר"; Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. "אֲשֶׁר," which renders אֲשֶׁר as a pronoun introducing a relative clause, "as for the saints that are in the land."

⁶⁶ Joüon, *Grammar*, 2:596. BDB, s.v. "אֲשֶׁר": "Is an unparalleled expression for 'who are in the land'; read [אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ הַקְּדוֹשִׁים אֲדִירֵי וְגו'] 'the saints that are in the land, they (הַקְּדוֹשִׁים) are the nobles, in whom,' etc." *BHS* apparatus proposes הַקְּדוֹשִׁים ("he desired"). Beuken reads the clause following the rules of independent nominal sentences where the subject-predicate is reversed to stress the predicate. Beuken reads אֲשֶׁר as a conjunction, not a relative, and arrives at "for in the land are they (= such people)." Beuken, "Psalm 16," 374. See Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, 24-5; BDB, s.v. "אֲשֶׁר"; Genesis 3:19; Deuteronomy 3:24.

⁶⁷ BDB, s.v. "אֲדִירֵי": "of servants of יהוה (= priests? Cf. 1 Chron. 24:5 and see Cheyne)." LXX: ἐθαυμάστωσεν (aorist active indicative third singular from θαυμάστω) ("he magnified"); Syriac *wmsbh*; *BHS* apparatus proposes: אֲדִירֵי (hiphil imperfect third masculine singular [from אָדַר – "causes to be glorious/renders glorious" or הֲאֲדִירֵי "the rendered glorious" or וְאֲדִירֵים (passive participle, masculine plural [from אָדַר]) "and those caused to be inflicted, cursed."

⁶⁸ Nine Hebrew manuscripts omit the *waw* as do Aquila and Theodotion. See Hubmann, "Textgraphik"; Appendix 15.

⁶⁹ This reading follows the known word pair אֲדִירֵי and קְדוֹשִׁים. See Exodus 19:6; Deuteronomy 7:6. Dahood keeps the word pair parallel by reading קְדוֹשִׁים as the epithet of Canaanite deities and אֲדִירֵי as another epithet for Phoenician gods. See pages 93-5, 112-4 for discussion of Psalm 16's word pairs.

⁷⁰ For the reading "The saints that are in the land, they are the nobles, in whom is my delight," see S. R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of Tenses in Hebrew and Some Other Syntactical Questions*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 268; and see Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 422 for discussion of this genitival phrase referring to the whole verse. LXX adds a third masculine singular suffix to הַפְּצִי; *BHS* apparatus also proposes הַפְּצִי or הַפְּצִי (masculine plural construct). De Rossi lists five manuscripts supporting the masculine plural construct reading.

Psalm 16's greatest difficulties, both of a textual and of a philological nature, lie in verses 2-4.⁷¹ Currently, the crucial question is: who are the קְדוֹשִׁים of verse 3? Are they "holy ones," that is to say pious Israelites (in general or as a specific group, such as Levites), or "divine powers," beings of a higher order than the psalmist and in some way rivals of YHWH or powers subjected to him?

The translations of קְדוֹשִׁים as "divine powers" include explanations of both other local Canaanite deities and spirits of the dead. These explanations are based on:

1. The biblical usage of קְדוֹשִׁים itself includes a meaning that can be described as "numinous beings." Texts such as Deuteronomy 33:2, 1 Samuel 2:2, Hosea 12:1, Zechariah 14:5, Psalm 89:6-8, Job 5:1; 15:15, Proverbs 9:10; 30:3, Daniel 7:18; 8:13 indicate such a meaning known throughout all time periods represented in the Hebrew Bible.⁷²
2. In the religious language of the pre-Israelite Canaan, "holy" is not only a title of the deity, but also a synonym for it.⁷³
3. The context shows that idols are an important theme of this first section. If the word עֲצָבוֹת does not raise this theme, it surely happens in the following אָחַר מְהַרְרֵי of verse 4a. Also, שְׁמוֹתָם, "their names" must refer to plural persons, presumably to קְדוֹשִׁים, understood as divine powers.

Many see the קְדוֹשִׁים as local Canaanite deities whose worship is opposed to that of YHWH.⁷⁴ The psalmist supports his declaration of allegiance to YHWH with a disapproval

⁷¹ For alternate translations based on emendations, see Jacob Leveen, "Textual Problems in the Psalms," *Vetus Testamentum* 21 (1971): 48-58; M. Mannati, "Remarques sur Ps. 16:1-3," *Vetus Testamentum* 22 (1972): 359-61; Lindblom, "Erwägungen"; Claus Schedl, "Die Heiligen und die 'Herrlichen' in Psalm 16:1-4," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 76 (1964): 171-5; Zolli, "Die 'Heiligen,'" 149-50; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 234.

⁷² Not all commentators consider these texts as being fully valid, but generally this meaning seems to be lexicographically assured. See Jenni and Westermann, s.v. "קדש," by P. Müller; *HALOT*, s.v. "קדוש"; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. "קדש," by Jackie A. Naudé. See pages 204-5, footnote 257, for discussion of the use of קְדוֹשִׁים in the Qumran texts.

⁷³ Jenni and Westermann, s.v. "קדש," by P. Müller; Gaster, "Psalm 29"; Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87, citing the inscription of *Yehawmilk of Byblos* which calls the gods *mphrt qdšm*, "the assembly of the holy ones." For Ugaritic usage, see Marvin H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1955).

⁷⁴ E.g., Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 52; Gaster, "Psalm 29"; Pope, *El*, 13; Mowinckel, "Zu Psalm 16, 2-4," 651-2; Joseph Coppens, "Les saints du Très-Haut sont-ils à identifier avec les milices célestes?" *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 39 (1963): 94-100; Nicolaas H. Ridderbos, *Die Psalmen: Stilistische Verfahren und Aufbau mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Ps 1-41* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972), 172; Schedl, "Die Heiligen," 171; Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87; Anderson, *Psalms 1-72*, 142; Mannati, "Remarques," 360; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 156; Hubmann, "Textgraphik," 103-4; Tournay, "Le Psaume 16:1-3"; Samuel Terrien, *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 177.

of foreign cults. This view takes verse 3 as contrastive to verse 2, most often with emendation of *כָּל* (verse 3) to *בָּל*.⁷⁵

There is a clear parallelism between *קְדוּשִׁים* and *אֲדִירֵי*.⁷⁶ The lexeme *אֲדִירֵי* may be understood as an archaic absolute masculine plural noun.⁷⁷ Both *קְדוּשִׁים* and *אֲדִירֵי* are preceded by a particle (*ל* and *ו*) which relates both nouns to the verb *אָמַר* of verse 2.⁷⁸ The psalmist directly addresses the *קְדוּשִׁים* (“holy ones”) and the *אֲדִירֵי* (“powerful ones”). In Ugaritic literature, *qds* is an epithet of the god Ilu,⁷⁹ who in the epic of Aqhatu forms a parallelism with *ilm* (the gods).⁸⁰ It is also the epithet of the goddess Atiratu.⁸¹ Thus, *קְדוּשִׁים* may be a collective noun that designates the lesser gods of the Canaanite pantheon.⁸²

The biblical authors use *קְדוּשִׁים* similarly. For example, in an idolatrous context, Hosea mentions *אֱל* and *קְדוּשִׁים* as being objects of Judah’s affections (12:1). In this context, *אֱל* is the chief god of the Canaanite pantheon, surrounded by lesser gods.⁸³ The author of the Book of Job uses *קְדוּשִׁים* similarly. In inviting Job to address one of the multiple gods, Eliphaz says (5:1):⁸⁴ *וְאֵל־מִי מִקְדוּשִׁים תִּפְנֶה*, “to which of the holy ones will you turn?”

Psalm 89:6-8 gives an excellent example of what may be understood as a primitive use of the term.⁸⁵ Psalm 89:6-8 presents some interesting parallels, all situated in a heavenly setting: *בְּקִהֹל קְדוּשִׁים*, “the assembly of the holy ones” (verse 6b) forms a parallel with *בְּבָנֵי אֱלִים*, “sons/children of God” (verse 7b). A new parallel appears in verse 8: *בְּסוּד קְדוּשִׁים*, “the council of the holy ones” forms a parallelism with the divine court, in the divine environment, *כָּל־סִבְיָיו*, “all around him.” As may be seen from Ugaritic literature, the “sons/children of God” are the lesser gods. Psalm 29:1-2 invites the *בָּנֵי אֱלִים* to ascribe to YHWH glory and might. 1 Chronicles 16:28-29 reproduces the first two verses of Psalm 29 but changes *בָּנֵי אֱלִים* to *מִשְׁפְּחוֹת עַמִּים*, “families of the people.” Psalm 96:7, after

⁷⁵ E.g., Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 50, 52; Tournay, “Le Psaume 16:1-3,” 332-6.

⁷⁶ This parallelism is also found in Ugaritic literature, as discussed on pages 93-4, 113. See *KTU* 1.16 I:7-8; 1.16 I:2-23, 35-55.

⁷⁷ Schedl, “Die Heiligen,” 173. Cf. *KAI* 1:223:B:2-3.

⁷⁸ Lindblom, “Erwägungen,” 191. Beuken considers both as vocatives under the reach of the *ל*. Beuken, “Psalm 16,” 373, 376-8.

⁷⁹ *ikm yrqm bn il krt // šph ltpn wqds*, “How can one say that he/she is the son of Ilu Kirta // the progeny of the Benign and Holy One”; *KTU* 1.16 I:20-21. See Luke Dequeker, “Les Qedošim du Ps. 89 à la lumière des croyances sémitiques,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 39 (1963): 469-84.

⁸⁰ *uzrm ilm ylhm // uzrm yšqy bn qds*, “He who is dressed in clerical robes [haughty, lofty] feeds the gods // He who is dressed in clerical robes [haughty, lofty] gives drink to the saints.” *KTU* 1.17 I:20-21.

⁸¹ For discussion, see Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 56-7.

⁸² Joseph Coppens, “Les saints dans le Psautier,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 39 (1963): 485-500.

⁸³ Also see Hosea 2:1; 11:7b, 9 (parallel with *קְדוּשִׁים*).

⁸⁴ Also see Job 15:15.

⁸⁵ See Dequeker, “Les Qedošim.”

recognizing lesser gods (verses 4-5), then also changes Psalm 29:1-2's *בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים* to *מְשֻׁפְּחוֹת עַמִּים*. Thus, it appears that Psalm 29's rendering is older and has been subsequently edited.⁸⁶ The group that forms the *בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים* has its correspondence in the *בְּקִהְלֵ קְדָשִׁים* (Psalm 89:6) and in the *בְּסוּדֵ קְדָשִׁים* (Psalm 89:8a) which form the heavenly surroundings (verse 8b). Consequently, the *קְדָשִׁים* of Psalm 89, in parallel with *בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים*, are the lesser gods.⁸⁷

Psalm 16:3 seems to maintain a primitive meaning of *קְדָשִׁים* – the Canaanite gods, lesser gods whom our psalmist “served” in another time and whom he now abjures.⁸⁸ Parallel with the *קְדָשִׁים* are the *אֲדִירֵי*, “the powerful ones.” As much biblically as extrabiblically the root *אדר* is applied not only to kings and nations, but also to gods. In Phoenician, for example, *'dr* and the feminine *'drt* are epithets attributed to different deities.⁸⁹ In Ugaritic, the god Baal is called *'adr*.⁹⁰ The Hebrew Bible describes the power of YHWH by using the verb, the noun, and the adjective derived from the root *אדר*.⁹¹ Interesting is Exodus 15:11, a text in which YHWH is opposed to the gods. 1 Samuel 4:8 also describes the Philistines as referring to *הָאֱלֹהִים הָאֲדִירִים*, “the mighty gods.” Thus, as an adjective and as a noun, the root *אדר* may designate the gods as a collective.

The parallelism of Psalm 16 seems to confirm the understanding of both *קְדָשִׁים* and *אֲדִירֵי* as relating to pagan gods. Here *אֲדִירֵי* is a predicate noun that may be read as in the plural absolute state.⁹² (The form in Psalm 16:3 may be an archaic absolute state.⁹³) All that is explicitly stated regarding these gods is contained in the prepositional phrases that follow. Of the *קְדָשִׁים* it is said: *אֲשֶׁר-בְּאֶרֶץ הַמָּוֶה*, “they who are in the land.” Gramatically, this relative clause is composed of the relative *אֲשֶׁר* as the subject of the nominal phrase *אֲשֶׁר-בְּאֶרֶץ הַמָּוֶה* and *הַמָּוֶה* is read as a retrospective subject pronoun in a relative clause (referring back to *קְדָשִׁים*). Thus, the psalmist describes “the holy ones” as those who are on the earth. This reading localizes the gods: contrary to YHWH, God of the heavens, the *קְדָשִׁים* are on

⁸⁶ Gaster, “Earliest Known”; “Psalm 29”; Ginsberg, “A Phoenician Hymn”; Cross, “Notes.”

⁸⁷ Coppens, “Les saints dans,” 497.

⁸⁸ See *TDOT*, s.v. “קדש,” by H. Ringgren; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “קדש,” by H.-P. Müller. Ethical or moral quality appears to be something derived from, or read into, the primitive meaning.

⁸⁹ See Gaster, “Psalm 29,” 392, where Phoenician parallels that relate *qdšm* with *'dr* are collected and summarized. Also see Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 56-8 for more parallels.

⁹⁰ *KTU* 1.17 VI:20-22.

⁹¹ As a verb, see Exodus 15:22. As a noun, see Isaiah 10:34. As an adjective, see Psalms 76:5; 93:4; Isaiah 33:21. In Psalm 8:2, 10 the epithet of YHWH is *אֲדִיר*.

⁹² Clines, *Dictionary* and *HALOT*, both s.v. “אדר.” As a noun it also appears in Nehemiah 3:5; 10:30; 2 Chronicles 23:20 and in the construct state in Jeremiah 25:34-36 (and in some manuscripts as a reading in Psalm 42:5).

⁹³ Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 61. The most common reading appears to be a plural construct state that governs the following clause. See, e.g., Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*; and Franciscus Zorrell, ed., *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome: Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1947) s.v. “אדר.”

the earth. Likewise, אֲדִירִי is qualified by כָּל-הַפְּצִי-בָם, “all my delight was in them.” The root פָּצַח in the languages of the north (Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew) has an affective context translating pleasure or pleasantness as an attitude of soul.⁹⁴ This is the meaning of the lexeme when פָּצַח is accompanied by the preposition בּ or ל, as in verse 3.⁹⁵ פָּצַח is most often used in the Hebrew Bible to express delight or affection.⁹⁶ In theological language, God is most often the subject of the verbal action.⁹⁷ When man is the subject of the verbal action, the “word of God” (Jeremiah 6:10) or “his commandments” (Psalms 21:14; 119:25; etc.) is usually the object.⁹⁸ Based on its context, this reading may best be understood as in past time: “In them I had all my pleasure.”⁹⁹

Some take קְדוּשִׁים to refer to the spirits of the dead who have joined the celestial host and exercise some control over events on earth.¹⁰⁰ For Klaas Spronk, the קְדוּשִׁים here are opposed to God and therefore not celestial, so אֲרָץ means “underworld” and verse 4 describes the cult of the dead.¹⁰¹ But elsewhere קְדוּשִׁים denotes “the lower deities surrounding YHWH,” so “Psalm 16 seems to point to the fact that prominent dead could be reckoned among YHWH’s host.”¹⁰² Thus the קְדוּשִׁים were both chthonic and celestial¹⁰³ – both opposed to YHWH and among his host.¹⁰⁴ This is supported by the strophic balance of אֲרָץ (verse 3) with נְעַמִּים (verse 6): since *n’miy* is a Ugaritic euphemism for the underworld, נְעַמִּים “taken literally ... offers a perfect antithetical parallel to ... the netherworld in verse 3.”¹⁰⁵

However, Spronk’s hypothesis is conceptually inadequate, since Israelite thought, as expressed in the Hebrew Bible, separates celestial and underworld realms.¹⁰⁶ Further,

⁹⁴ *TDOT*, s.v. “פָּצַח,” by G. Johannes Botterweck; Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. “פָּצַח”; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “פָּצַח,” by G. Gerleman.

⁹⁵ *TDOT*; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*; both s.v. “פָּצַח.”

⁹⁶ See, e.g., 1 Samuel 18:22.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., Psalms 18:20, 26; 35:27; 41:12; etc. Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*; Clines, *Dictionary*; both s.v. “פָּצַח.”

⁹⁸ Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*; *TDOT*; Clines, *Dictionary*; all s.v. “פָּצַח.”

⁹⁹ Girard, *Les Psaumes*, 321; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 64; Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 86-7.

¹⁰⁰ Zolli, “Die ‘Heiligen,’” 150; Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1933), 111; Elizabeth M. Bloch-Smith, *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 123 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 109.

¹⁰¹ Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Kevelaer, Germany: Butzon & Bercker Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1986), 336-7.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 336.

¹⁰³ Cf. the Babylonian *Anunnaki* and the Ugaritic *rpum*.

¹⁰⁴ As in the Elijah and Elisha traditions.

¹⁰⁵ Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 337.

¹⁰⁶ Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, trans. Keith Crim (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 162-75; Johnston, “The Underworld,” 158.

Spronk's posited strophic balance is not clear:¹⁰⁷ the terms do not occur in balancing positions, and the Ugaritic euphemism is irrelevant since נְעַמִּים is read literally. Lastly, neither נְעַמִּים nor אֲרִיץ indicate the underworld and here the psalmist foresees נְעַמֹת at YHWH's right hand (verse 11).¹⁰⁸

The translation of קְדוֹשִׁים as human saints or "holy ones" retains an accepted meaning, which like its Semitic cognates can mean human or celestial beings.¹⁰⁹ The reading "holy ones," meaning human saints, is based on:

1. This meaning has significant biblical usage as may be seen in Leviticus 19:2, Numbers 16:3, Deuteronomy 33:3, Isaiah 4:3, Psalm 34:10, 2 Chronicles 35:3. Further, קְדוֹשִׁים is not used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the dead.
2. The reading of "holy ones" may render verse 3 with least emendation, taking verse 3b as a continuation of verse 3a.¹¹⁰
3. The parallelism is maintained: a twofold declaration about the קְדוֹשִׁים (verse 3ab) answers the twofold confession to God (verse 2). In both verse lines the cola end in the same way: the first with an independent pronoun, הַקֹּדֶה // אֲתָה, and the second with a pronominal suffix, בָּם // עָלֶיךָ.
4. In the expression, אֲחֵרֵי מְהֵרָה, the word אֲחֵר belongs to a characteristic semantic field that typically includes "other gods" (אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים) occurs sixty-three times in the Hebrew Bible in texts dominated by the idea of the covenant) and the usage in Psalm 16 is similar to that in Isaiah 42:8 and Exodus 34:14.¹¹¹ Therefore, it is acceptable here that אֲחֵר retains its original anaphoric function and introduces a new person or object in a contrast.¹¹² The אֲחֵר introduces an asyndetic clause following a suffix as is found especially in early poetry.¹¹³ Here, the object or person אֲחֵר introduces is "new," in that it

¹⁰⁷ Spronk's Stanza I (verses 2-6) has three strophes of two, four, and six lines respectively, with אֲרִיץ in strophe 2 line 1, and נְעַמִּים in strophe 3 line 5. הַקֹּדֶה and אֲתָה in verse 5 do not close Stanza I, so hardly form an *inclusio* with verse 2.

¹⁰⁸ Contra Spronk, נַעַם does not appear to allude to the underworld in Ezekiel 32:19.

¹⁰⁹ See the LXX, Targumim, Vulgate, BDB, s.v. "קְדוֹשׁ"; Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 288; Weiser, *Psalms*, 174; Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, 84; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Levitical priests), 236; Leveen, "Textual Problems," 52; Lindblom, "Erwägungen," 101; Beuken, "Psalm 16," 377-8; Johnston, "The Underworld," 157; Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," *Biblica* 56 (1975): 173-92, who argues that while קְדוֹשִׁים is used for celestial beings more commonly, it should be understood as "humans" in Psalm 34:10 and probably also Hosea 12:1; Proverbs 9:10; 30:3. Hasel also notes the common description of Israel as שְׂקֵדָה.

¹¹⁰ No significant manuscript evidence directly supports correction.

¹¹¹ BDB, s.v. "אֲחֵר"; *TDOT*, s.v. "אֲחֵר," by Seth Erlandsson.

¹¹² Beuken, "Psalm 16," 377-8.

¹¹³ Joüon, *Grammar*, 2:593; Sáenz-Badillos, *A History*, 60. The *BHS* apparatus suggests that a

is not yet mentioned as being compared to an entity dealt with earlier.¹¹⁴ אָחַר would not have this function if קְדוֹשִׁים already refers to other gods. If קְדוֹשִׁים refers to humans, then אָחַר more naturally opens a contrast referring back to אֱל in verse 1. Because verse 1 and 4a, as more independent cola, form one another's pendant, the reference back to אֱל is due. Read this way, verse 4a has a silencing character, in contrast to the emphatic mention of the קְדוֹשִׁים in verse 3.

5. It fits the earthly situation described in verses 5 through 11.¹¹⁵
6. In Psalm 16, the psalmist alternatively addresses YHWH and Israel, the circle in which, in the Psalter, he always cries out his complaint and testifies to his thanks. Verses 1, 5, and 10-11 are explicitly spoken to God, while verses 7-8 deal with YHWH. In verses 6 and 9 the direction of the speech is not clear. At these points in Psalm 16, there is no need of making a definite choice since prayer to YHWH and testimony about him to others go hand in hand. Praise of YHWH is also instruction for the faithful community.¹¹⁶ Within the structure of Psalm 16, verse 6 would appear to follow the thought of verse 5. Verse 9 would appear to be addressed to YHWH since verse 10 opens with a causal וְ and is spoken to YHWH. If this alternating pattern represents the situation of speaker and those addressed in verses 4-11, the double address of verses 2 and 3 being made to YHWH and to faithful Israel fits well. Similarly, verse 4a may be understood as a message for others based on YHWH's care as experienced by the psalmist. Verses 4bc contains a declaration that may function primarily as a testimony by which the psalmist obliges himself and encourages others. Verses 4bc may also confirm this orientation on two partners in the conversation, YHWH and the fellow inhabitants of the land, in that the speaker declares their direct opposites. The gods and their followers together (שְׂמוֹתָם referring to the gods and נִסְכֵייהֶם referring to the followers of the false gods) are set against YHWH and the

hemistich dropped out before verse 4.

¹¹⁴ *TDOT*, s.v. "אָחַר."

¹¹⁵ Contra Spronk who, finding a "clear parallel" of יְהוָה מְנַתְּחֵלְקֵי (verse 5) with Psalm 73:26, suggests a metaphorical land. But only חֵלְקֵי is parallel; word order, divine name, and particular context are all different.

¹¹⁶ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 26-35.

faithful community.¹¹⁷ As compared to the psalmist's experience, the sorrows of those who follow other gods will multiply.¹¹⁸

Immediately, the psalmist realizes that YHWH is the highest good. These words of trust are interpreted in verses 5-11. The affirmation of trust will include the realization that relation to YHWH is to be treasured above the gifts of life.¹¹⁹

Verse 4 presents difficulties regarding subject/verb agreement.¹²⁰ Beuken prefers the translation of the Targum and of Theodotion, arguing that if the subject is עֲצָבוֹתָם one would expect a third person feminine plural verb form.¹²¹ Therefore, many translators have read עֲצָבִים ("idols") as the subject. However, עֲצַב is a bisemic root and may connote either idols or pains.¹²²

קְדוֹשִׁים and אֲדִירֵי of verse 3 may be read as the subject.¹²³ The verb may best be read as a qal,¹²⁴ followed by an asyndetic relative noun clause whose pronoun is implicit¹²⁵ ("the pains of those who follow [or hurry after] / court another [god] will multiply"). The verb form may have a volitive aspect, and be translated with the sense of "let them be multiplied." The expression אָהָר קָהָרוּ is frequently understood as a verb denominative of the noun form meaning the dowry that a husband should pay for his wife (cf. Genesis 34:12; Exodus 22:16; 1 Samuel 18:25).¹²⁶ Dahood's proposal of a verb הָרַר, "to lust," on the basis of Ugaritic, is attractive but lacks significant support.¹²⁷

Emphatically, the psalmist's formulation corresponds to the exclusive demand of the first commandment (Exodus 20:3). There is a distinct echo of the story of the Fall in verse 4's expectation of sorrows being multiplied, since very similar words are spoken to Eve in

¹¹⁷ Beuken, "Psalm 16," 378-9.

¹¹⁸ The Targumim's *msgn* = יָרְבוּ (hiphil imperfect third masculine plural [*lamed he* verb: רָבָה]). The BHS apparatus proposes יָרְאוּ אֲחֵרִים ("others/they fear" [qal imperfect third masculine plural יָרָא]) or אֲרָקוּם הִרְעוּ "their behavior path/they behave badly (perhaps in the sense of they pervert)" (see Psalm 16:11): אֲרָקוּם "for another they exchange"; cf. Jeremiah 2:11.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Verse 8 and Psalms 23:6; 27:4. (A thought which may be expressed more clearly in Psalm 73:25.)

¹²⁰ See Leveen, "Textual Problems," 53.

¹²¹ See Beuken, "Psalm 16," 369-74; Joüon, *Grammar*, 1:270-2; Schedl, "Die Heiligen," 173; Girard, *Les Psaumes*, 321. But the feminine plural is often replaced by the masculine form, especially if the verb comes first.

¹²² BDB, s.v. "עֲצַב": "sorrows, hurts, pains ... due to idolatry"; HALOT, s.v. "עֲצַב"; Girard, *Les Psaumes*, 321; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 65. In this context, Mowinckel should be followed, who insists on the meaning of "pains/sufferings." Mowinckel, "Zu Psalm 16, 2-4," 654.

¹²³ If so, the sentence would read, "They multiply their pains who have courted another [god]."

¹²⁴ Qal imperfect of the weak root רָבָה. See BDB, s.v. "רָבָה" and Psalm 139:18.

¹²⁵ Joüon, *Grammar*, 2:593. Similarly, Kraus, *Psalm 1-59*; Gunkel, *Psalms*; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms: Translated with Text-Critical and Exegetical Notes*, 2 vols. (London: SPCK, 1939), 1:155.

¹²⁶ E.g., Delitzsch, *Commentary*; Beuken, "Psalm 16"; Tournay, "Le Psaume 16:1-3"; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*; who all follow BDB, s.v. "מָהָר."

¹²⁷ Ugaritic *hrr* occurs in only one known Ugaritic text: *b'l hmdm yhmdm // bn dgn yhrrm*, "Baal coveted them ardently // the son of Daganu desired them," *KTU* 1.12 I:38-39. See Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 88.

Genesis 3:16.¹²⁸ There could hardly be a more ominous allusion to what follows from apostasy.¹²⁹

The psalmist's behavior grows out of the intimacy of communion with YHWH which claims the whole man.¹³⁰ He is entirely dependent on YHWH.

b. Sequence Two (Verses 4b-6)

בְּלֹא־אֶסִּיד נִסְכֵיהֶם מִדָּם וּבְלֹא־אֶשָּׂא אֶת־שְׁמוֹתָם עַל־שִׁפְתָי (4bc)
יְהוָה מִנְתַחֲלָקֵי וְכוֹסֵי אֶתָּה תוֹמִיד גּוֹרְלִי (5)
חֲבָלִים נִפְלוּ־לִי בְנַעֲמִים אַךְ־נִחַלְתָּ שְׂפָרָה עָלַי (6)

Translation

- 4bc. I will not offer to them drink offerings of blood,
nor take their names upon my lips.
5. O YHWH, the portion of my allotment and my cup,
You are he who holds my lot.¹³¹
6. The boundary lines have fallen for me¹³² in pleasant places;¹³³
indeed,¹³⁴ the inheritance¹³⁵ is beautiful for me.¹³⁶

The psalmist completely distances himself from those worshiping foreign gods. The gravity of pouring out “drink offerings” is that they are dedicated to idols,¹³⁷ and of speaking

¹²⁸ C. Meyers (*TDOT*, s.v. “עצב”) distinguishes three basic meanings for this same root: (1) to be sad; (2) to vituperate; (3) to work hard. The third meaning does not appear in any biblical text related to the verb, even while the occasional use of the noun could require it. As for the noun forms, Meyers distinguishes two groups. In the first, the noun alludes to spiritual or psychic sufferings (cf. Proverbs 10:10; 15:1, 13; Job 9:28; Isaiah 50:11; Psalm 139:24). In the texts of the second group the lexeme refers to physical suffering and to work (cf. Genesis 3:16, 17; 5:29; Isaiah 13:2; 58:3; Psalm 127:2; Proverbs 5:10; 10:22; 14:23). Meyers holds Psalm 16:4 outside the two groups, yet recognizes that it might be classified within the first group. Although, Meyers prefers to relate the usage in Psalm 16:4 to that of Genesis 3:16 (twice). The noun in Genesis 3 does not refer to the pain of childbirth but to anxiety and the more generic “pain” of procreation. The verb form, in effect, is applied to the man as much as to the woman (Genesis 4:1-3, 18). Therefore, the meaning that עצב might have in Psalm 16:4 is not clear, but it is not necessarily physical pain. See Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis. I: From Adam to Noah*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961), 165.

¹²⁹ Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, 84.

¹³⁰ See Isaiah 2 for a similar antithesis between the pious and the apostles of idolatry. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 174.

¹³¹ When both subject and predicate are definite, the subject precedes the predicate and the clause is one of identification. Gibson, *Grammar*, 52. *BHS* apparatus: Many Hebrew manuscripts contain הוֹמִיד (Qal active participle masculine singular [הוֹמִיד]); cf. LXX. The Greek σὺ εἶ ἀποκαθιστῶν points to a participial construction (usual in the hymn). Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 234. The LXX adds ἐμοί; cf. the Syriac, which seems to follow the LXX.

¹³² BDB, s.v. “נפל”: “fall, be allotted, to (ל)”; Judges 18:1.

¹³³ Plural nouns in poetry used for abstract nouns. Gibson, *Grammar*, 17.

¹³⁴ אך is understood not as a conjunction but as an adverb or (before a noun) adnominal qualifier. Gibson, *Grammar*, 38. Here אך is used rhetorically, as it is in verses 7 and 9. Ronald Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 64. אך is used to indicate very clearly that the content of one clause must be added to that of another as an additional confirmation of the preceding statement. Christo H. J. van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 313.

¹³⁵ A feminine singular absolute. See *IBHS*, 101. Also see Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 223. The *BHS* apparatus suggests a first-person common singular suffix should be added to נִחַלְתָּ. Cf. LXX and the Syriac.

¹³⁶ BDB, s.v. “שְׂפָרָה”: “(the) heritage is beautiful for (pleasing to) me.”

“their names” is that the names are of false gods.¹³⁸ Both acts are strictly prohibited by YHWH.¹³⁹

The psalmist now abjures idolatry in two specific ways. Both statements are introduced by the emphatic negation, בִּלְ. The first statement may be translated without difficulty: “I will not offer to them drink offerings¹⁴⁰ of blood.” The נָסַךְ root is used in religious contexts to mean “give or offer.”¹⁴¹ The pronominal suffix has a dative value.¹⁴² Ordinarily, it is understood that the psalmist refuses to offer libations “of blood” (מִדָּמָה).¹⁴³ The second emphatic negation affects the lips (הַשִּׁפְתַּי). The second phrase is linguistically close to that of Exodus 20:7, repeated by Deuteronomy 5:11. The phrases employ the same verb, נָשַׁף, and the same verbal object, דָּמָה.¹⁴⁴ The Decalogue prohibits using the name of YHWH in vain, while Psalm 16 refers to the names of the gods. Hosea 2:19 and Exodus 23:13 parallel the meanings of Psalm 16:4c, but do not use the verb נָשַׁף. Zechariah 13:2 is also usually mentioned as a parallel with this negation.

The psalmist’s language brings to light the importance that Semites attribute to names. A name expresses the nature and particularity of a person.¹⁴⁵ In some sense, idolatrous invocation adheres one to the idol. So, in Hosea 2:18, the adoration of the gods – the prostitution of the people with the gods when YHWH is called, “my Husband,” אִשִּׁי, and not “my Ba’al,” בַּעַלִּי. Correlatively, the epithet that will designate Israel would be אִשְׁתִּי. After relationship with the gods is broken, their names will fall away from the lips of the people. Then, a new relationship with God may be initiated (Hosea 2:21).¹⁴⁶ Likewise, the psalmist’s abjuration of the idols is complete with his renunciation of all idolatrous practice. The psalmist, who in other times paid attention to the idolatrous allure, now proclaims that neither his hands nor his tongue will prostitute themselves any more.

The vocative form הִנְהִי of verse 5 connects up with the psalmist’s declaration to הִנְהִי in verse 2. These two vocatives depend on the verb אָמַר, which heads up the entire

¹³⁷ Direct object of a transitive verb. See *IBHS*. BDB, s.v. “נָסַךְ”: “Drink offerings ‘offered to other gods’”; 2 Kings 16:13, 15; Isaiah 57:6; Jeremiah 7:18; 19; 13; 32:29; 44:17, 18, 19, 25; Ezekiel 20:28.

¹³⁸ BDB, s.v. “שָׁם”: “‘Of false gods, use forbidden.’ Ex. 23:13; Joshua 23:7.”

¹³⁹ Exodus 20:3; 23:13; Deuteronomy 17:3; Jeremiah 19:13; Hosea 2:17.

¹⁴⁰ *TDOT*, s.v. “נָסַךְ,” by C. Dohmen.

¹⁴¹ BDB, s.v. “נָסַךְ”: “pour out libations to other gods.” Also see *TDOT*, s.v. “נָסַךְ.”

¹⁴² Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 88.

¹⁴³ Cf., e.g., Gunkel, *Psalms*; Tournay, “Le Psaume 16:1-3”; Weiser, *Psalms*; Oesterley, *Psalms*. Dahood points מִדָּמָה as מִדָּמָה, reading the northern contracted dual for “hands.” See *KTU* 1.22 I:4. Cf. *RSP*, 1:197.

¹⁴⁴ BDB, s.v. “שָׁם”: “of false gods, use forbidden. Exodus 23:13; Joshua 23:7.”

¹⁴⁵ E.g., 1 Samuel 25:25.

¹⁴⁶ See Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 291-2; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 157.

section.¹⁴⁷ In verse 5, יְהוָה is immediately followed by an apposition, מִנְתַּחֲלָקִי וְכוֹסִי,¹⁴⁸ “the portion of my lot and my cup.”¹⁴⁹ The invocation of verse 5 is continued with the use of the personal אַתָּה. The clause אַתָּה תּוֹמִיךְ גּוֹרְלִי, “you are he who holds my allotment,” may best be understood as one of identification.¹⁵⁰ תּוֹמִיךְ is read as a qal masculine singular participle, תּוֹמִיךְ (*scriptio plene*), following many Hebrew manuscripts.¹⁵¹ YHWH maintains the lot (גּוֹרֵל) of those who consider YHWH their portion (מִנְתָּה) and their inheritance (חֶלֶק). The lot (גּוֹרֵל) can refer to all the riches, including all of life, of those who put their trust in YHWH.¹⁵² In Daniel 12:13, Daniel is assured that at the end of the days he would rise to receive his allotted inheritance, גּוֹרֵל. Thus, the concrete term may be seen evolving and being given further figurative meanings in passages such as Isaiah 17:14; 34:17; 57:6, Jeremiah 13:25, and perhaps Psalm 125:3.

“Hymnically treated expressions of trust”¹⁵³ which are metaphorically associated with distribution of promised land follow in rapid succession. In this way, the psalmist extends his description of YHWH as מִנְתַּחֲלָקִי וְכוֹסִי throughout verses 5 and 6. The terminology (מִנְתַּחֲלָקִי, כּוֹס, גּוֹרֵל, חֶבֶל, נַחֲלָה) is associated with the institution of the distribution of land as described in Numbers 16:55; 18:21; Deuteronomy 4:21; Joshua 13:14, 23; 14:4; 15:13; 17:5.¹⁵⁴ The Levite is understood to possess the important privilege of his livelihood being

¹⁴⁷ Auffret, “C’est pourquoi,” 73-83; Girard, *Les Psaumes*, 323; Beuken, “Psalm 16,” 368-85; Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 87; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 237; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 74; Appendix 21.

¹⁴⁸ מִנְתָּה is a feminine singular construct form. See *TDOT*, s.v. “מִנְתָּה,” by J. Conrad. מִנְתָּה is a rare word used in legislation when speaking about custom tariffs or ritual portions, which are reserved (Exodus 29:26; Leviticus 7:33; 8:29). It also designates the portions of those who participate in a communion sacrifice (1 Samuel 1:45; 9:23). Contra Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 74-5, who reads מִנְתָּה as a qal second masculine singular *scriptio defectiva* form. Contra Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 53, who reads מִנְתָּה as an apocopated piel form. חֶלֶקִי is a masculine singular construct form. BDB, s.v. “חֶלֶקִי”: “in a spiritual sense.” See Psalms 73:26; 119:57; Lamentations 3:24. Contra Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 75-6, and Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 89, who read “smooth wine,” based on Ugaritic texts. For refutation of Dahood’s evidence based on more recent manuscript collation and examination, see Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 155. Also see *TDOT*, s.v. “חֶלֶקִי,” by M. Tsevat; *HALOT*, s.v. “חֶלֶקִי”; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “חֶלֶקִי,” by H. H. Schmid.

¹⁴⁹ Similarly, Oesterley, *Psalms*, 155; Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 289; Weiser, *Psalms*, 171; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 154; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 233.

¹⁵⁰ Gibson, *Grammar*, 52; Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 53; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 233; Briggs, *Psalms* 1:117, 120; Weiser, *Psalms*, 172; Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 292; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 154.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix 15. *HALOT*, s.v. “תּוֹמִיךְ” (participle with a *hireq* instead of a *tsere*, like in Isaiah 29:14; 38:5); R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke, eds. *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody, 1980), s.v. “תּוֹמִיךְ,” by R. D. Patterson. Contra Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 77-8, who argues for a root תּוֹמֵךְ and reads a hiphil imperfect second person masculine form.

¹⁵² BDB, s.v. “גּוֹרֵל”: “figuratively of Yahweh as portion, allotment of his people”; *HALOT*, s.v. “גּוֹרֵל”: “destroy, God holds”; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “גּוֹרֵל”: “life”; *TWOT*, s.v. “גּוֹרֵל,” by Earl S. Kalland: “life as a whole is one’s lot”; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “גּוֹרֵל”: “used figuratively means fate, destiny”; see Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 237-8; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 78, who argues that lots may designate eschatological destiny.

¹⁵³ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 237.

¹⁵⁴ Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:403-5. For discussion see Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 237-8.

bestowed by YHWH. The Levite's privilege comes to him not in the gift of the possession of property but in the proximity to YHWH, in YHWH himself.¹⁵⁵ The psalmist claims this unique Levitical prerogative. Further, when the psalmist calls YHWH his "portion and cup" and speaks of "lot" and "lines" and "heritage" in describing the goodness of his destiny, he is using the vocabulary and concepts that are employed in the Book of Joshua to describe Israel's occupation of the promised land as the outcome of YHWH's salvation of Israel.¹⁵⁶

The link between YHWH and the psalmist is established. In effect, YHWH divides the land with cords, or boundary lines, says Isaiah 34:17: "It is God himself who casts the lot for them (הפיל להן גורל) and his hand has portioned it out to them with a cord forever (בִּקְוֹ עַד-עוֹלָם)." The monopolizers, as Micah announces, will not have anyone to "cast the line by lot (חָבַל בְּגוֹרָל) in the assembly of YHWH" (Micah 2:5). Clearly, חֲבָלִים means the cords, or boundary lines, with which property is measured (cf. Amos 7:7; Psalm 78:55). From this basic and early meaning, "the cords" experience a semantic evolution similar to that of גּוֹרָל, which is in parallelism with חֲבָלִים in Psalm 16. חָבַל designates the territory measured (cf. Ezra 47:12) as well as the territory assigned each tribe (cf. Joshua 17:5, 14; 19:19, etc.). It also comes to designate the inheritance of Israel and Israel as an inheritance (cf. Psalm 105:11; Deuteronomy 32:9). In Psalm 16, YHWH himself comes to be the field measured and given to Israel.¹⁵⁷ The adjective נְעִים appears as a masculine plural in Psalm 16:6 and also as a feminine plural in verse 11. The basic meaning of the root is "to be elegant, gracious, pleasing." In Psalm 16, it is used as a plural abstract, with the meaning of "delicacy," "delicious place or parcel."¹⁵⁸ Frequently, the nominal lexeme נַחֲלָה, "heritage, inheritance," is read with a first person singular possessive suffix. The LXX and Syriac add the possessive pronoun which modern interpreters follow.¹⁵⁹ However, there is no Hebrew manuscript support for this addition, nor is there any need for it – as עָלַי ends this line.¹⁶⁰

The root שָׁפַר occurs six times in the Hebrew Bible (one time as a Hebrew verb [Psalm 16:6], three times as an Aramaic verb [Daniel 3:32; 4:24; 6:2], and two times as an adjective [Genesis 49:21; Job 26:13]).¹⁶¹ In each verbal context the verbal action is qualified

¹⁵⁵ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 238.

¹⁵⁶ Joshua 13:14, 23; 14:14; 15:13; 17:5.

¹⁵⁷ For the etymology of חָבַל, see *TDOT*, s.v. "חָבַל," by H.-J. Fabry. Also see Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 237-8. Cf. Joshua 17:5; 18:1.

¹⁵⁸ *TDOT*, s.v. "נְעִים," by T. Kronholm; BDB, s.v. "נְעִים": "of spiritual delights." See Joüon, *Grammar*, 1:270-2.

¹⁵⁹ E.g., Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 234; Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 53-4; Weiser, *Psalms*, 172.

¹⁶⁰ Contra Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 90, followed by Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 80-1, who asserts a *scriptio defectiva* due to Phoenician influence. See Appendix 16.

¹⁶¹ See BDB, s.v. "שָׁפַר"; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. "שָׁפַר," by David Talley. Contra *TWOT*, s.v. "שָׁפַר," by

by a dative. Gunkel asserts that שָׁפַר is an Aramaic expression, whose meaning would allude to beauty: “to be beautiful.”¹⁶² The object of the allotting action of God, נַחֲלָה, is derived from the root נָחַל, “to possess, inherit,” and the noun means “inheritance” or “possession.” This meaning is well attested in Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Phoenician.¹⁶³ The meaning in Hebrew stresses the stable character of the possession. Thus, the best translation that one could give the root נָחַל might be “to possess with patrimonial title.”¹⁶⁴ The object possessed is stable and the heir is more the clan than just the individual.¹⁶⁵ The objects that are “inherited” can be material or immaterial. One can inherit a throne of glory (1 Samuel 2:8), renown (Proverbs 3:35), the wind (Proverbs 11:29), madness (Proverbs 14:18), children (Psalm 127:3), and even YHWH himself, who is the inheritance of the Levites (Numbers 18:20; Deuteronomy 10:9; 18:2; Joshua 13:13). This is the sense of נַחֲלָה as used in Psalm 16:6.

Whether the psalmist was a Levite or appropriates the prerogatives of the Levites to himself is unclear.¹⁶⁶ Regardless, the statements in verses 5 and 6 express a final trust based exclusively on YHWH, in whom the psalmist has received his formative foundation for life.¹⁶⁷ הִיָּאֵל, the hymnic participle, is stated in complete trust. “Delightful” (נֵעַם) is the psalmist’s good fortune: to be privileged to live in relationship to YHWH, to live in YHWH himself. With the language of verses 5-7, Psalm 16 provides “gentle hints” of a “mystic” union with YHWH.¹⁶⁸ A spiritual, mystic union is implicit in the peculiarity of the Levitical prerogative.¹⁶⁹

Herman J. Austel: “שָׁפַר is used once, in the Qal (Psalm 16:6).” Contra Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 81-2, who argues for a qatala form – third masculine singular with an archaic ending. Following Dahood, Rodríguez finds the verb’s subject by considering שָׁפַר as שָׁפַר, “The Most High,” (as in Deuteronomy 32:8-9, and from early references [Genesis 14:18-22; Psalm 97:9] to extrabiblical deities in a polytheistic setting). This represents a solution that is possible in Ugaritic and in Hebrew. See Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 89, and Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 81-3, for linguistic and stylistic arguments with evidence. Also, see Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 197-205.

¹⁶² Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 53. *Genesis Apocryphon* devotes a large portion of text to this word, using it as a description of physical beauty.

¹⁶³ HALOT, s.v. “נָחַל.” Cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 444; KAI 3:3-4; 1:1; 2:5; KTU 1.3 VI:16; 1.3 VI:27.

¹⁶⁴ TDOT, s.v. “נָחַל,” by E. Lipinski.

¹⁶⁵ E.g., 1 Kings 21:3; 2 Samuel 20:1; 1 Kings 12:16.

¹⁶⁶ For the view that the psalmist is a Levite, see Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 234-42. For the view that Psalm 16 appropriates older prerogatives of the Levites, see von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:403.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Psalm 84:3-4.

¹⁶⁸ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 238.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

4. Second Section (Verses 7-10)

a. Sequence One (Verses 7-8)

(7) אָבָרַךְ אֶת־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲצֵנִי אֶף־לַיְלֹת יִסְרֹנֵי כַלְיֹתַי

(8) שְׁוִיתִי יְהוָה לְנִגְדֵי תָמִיד כִּי מִיְמִינִי בַל־אֲמוּט

Translation

7. I praise¹⁷⁰ YHWH who has advised me;
indeed,¹⁷¹ even at night¹⁷² my innermost being¹⁷³ admonishes me.¹⁷⁴
8. Constantly¹⁷⁵ I keep YHWH before me;
because he¹⁷⁶ is at my right hand, I will not be moved.

Some of the particular blessings of the “godly heritage,” which is having YHWH himself, now come into focus. To have YHWH is to enjoy guidance (verse 7) and stability (verse 8). The psalmist praises YHWH for his “counsel” or “instruction.” In a transitive sense, with a man as a complement, this is a unique verbal expression. The helpful revelation from YHWH (יַעֲצֵנִי), the *Heilsorakel*, may be adduced from verse 11: YHWH has shown the “way of life” to the poet; that is the content of the counsel or instruction.¹⁷⁷ A sapiential accent is heard in verse 7 as it anticipates the expression of verse 11, אֶרַח חַיִּים, “way of life,” which only figures in wisdom texts and signifies a rich, long, and blessed life.¹⁷⁸ Intimate counsel received directly from YHWH is also mentioned (although in indirect speech) in Amos 3:7, Job 29:4, and Psalm 51:8.

The psalmist goes on to describe movements of his conscience in verse 7b.¹⁷⁹ The deepest part of man, the “innermost being,”¹⁸⁰ is made to react to God’s counsel. The poet’s unique expression may be understood from its context, the כַלְיֹתַי constantly remind the psalmist of the revelation of YHWH.¹⁸¹ This interpretation appears to be confirmed by verse

¹⁷⁰ BDB, s.v. “בָּרַךְ”: “Adore YHWH with bended knees.”

¹⁷¹ See footnote 134 above.

¹⁷² Plural of composition: in poetry לַיְלֹת sometimes seems to mean parts of the night, nocturnal hours. Joüon, *Grammar*, 2:500. BDB, s.v. “לַיְלֹת”: “‘by night’ (sometimes parallel with ‘by day’).”

¹⁷³ BDB, s.v. “כַלְיֹתַי”: “The seat of emotion and affection”; Psalm 73:21; Proverbs 23:16; Job 19:27; and see Jeremiah 12:2 – as involving character, the object of God’s examination. Gesenius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “כַלְיֹתַי”; *TWOT*, s.v. “כַלְיֹתַי,” by John N. Oswalt; *HALOT*, s.v. “כַלְיֹתַי.”

¹⁷⁴ Two Hebrew manuscripts have יִסְרֹנֵי (perhaps for יִסְרֹנֵי).

¹⁷⁵ Adverb modifying the verb following the verb and its object. See Gibson, *Grammar*, 143.

¹⁷⁶ The personal pronoun which would be expected as the subject of this clause is frequently omitted. Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 360; “For [He is] at my right hand,” Joüon, *Grammar*, 565. The *BHS* apparatus inserts הוּא, following all the versions.

¹⁷⁷ Joachim Begrich, “Das priesterliche Heilsorakel,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 52 (1934): 81-92; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 238; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 157.

¹⁷⁸ See Quintens, “Le Chemin”; cf. Proverbs 5:6; 15:24; 10:17; 2:19; 12:28; 6:23.

¹⁷⁹ Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 299.

¹⁸⁰ *HALOT*, s.v. “כַלְיֹתַי”; *TWOT*, s.v. “כַלְיֹתַי,” by John N. Oswalt; Gesenius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “כַלְיֹתַי”; *TDOT*, s.v. “כַלְיֹתַי”; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:153; Psalm 73:21; Jeremiah 17:10.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Psalm 73:21.

8 – a permanent security is announced on the basis of a revelation of God, a *Heilsorakel*, that has taken place (verses 7a, 11).

The second section of Psalm 16 begins with, and is headed by, אָבָרַךְ.¹⁸² The subject of this piel form is usually human, and usually has YHWH as its object. Looking at the verbs that form a parallelism with אָבָרַךְ affirms that אָבָרַךְ expresses deep gratitude and recognition, definitive praise, for a benefit or favor received.¹⁸³ The piel use with the inclusion of a motivating proposition constructed with אֲשֶׁר or with כִּי belongs to this semantic field.¹⁸⁴ Later, the use of אָבָרַךְ becomes stereotypical without the use of a motivating proposition. It may be that the construction of Psalm 16:7, אָבָרַךְ with a relative clause giving YHWH's beneficial deed is pre-exilic language.¹⁸⁵ The piel imperfect verb is employed as a durative and its usage carries the modal aspect as much as the temporal value of the verb.

The fundamental meaning of אָבָרַךְ is “to advise” or “to counsel,” based on its primitive root.¹⁸⁶ The derived noun, אֵצָה, means “plan/project” as often as it means “counsel/advice.” For example, in 2 Kings 20:7 the noun form means “plan,” based on its context.¹⁸⁷ The fourth oracle of Balaam begins with the following introduction: “And now, behold, I am going to my people; come and I will advise (אֵצְאֶנִּי) you what this people will do to your people in the days to come” (Numbers 24:14). Here, the verb אָבָרַךְ has the meaning “to communicate an oracle.”¹⁸⁸ With God as the subject, this appears to be the fundamental meaning of the root. Such is the meaning appropriated in Psalm 16:7.¹⁸⁹

The second part of verse 7 grammatically centers on the third person plural verb אֵצְאוּ (with a first person singular pronominal suffix). Two Hebrew manuscripts read a third

¹⁸² See Appendix 21; cf. Psalm 95:6; Genesis 24:11; 1 Samuel 15:13; Exodus 18:10.

¹⁸³ The lexemes that form a parallelism with this usage are הָלַל (“to praise,” cf. Psalms 145:2; 135:1, 19-20; “praise” [noun form], cf. Psalms 66:8; 145:21), יָדָה (“to praise,” cf. Psalms 100:4; 145:10), שִׁיר (in piel – “to announce,” cf. Psalm 96:2; “to raise up” YHWH, cf. Psalm 145:1; “to not forget his benefits,” cf. Psalm 103:2).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Psalms 103:1; 104:1, 35; 66:8; 68:27; 96:2; 100:1; 134:1-3; 135:19-21; 145:10, 21; 26:12; 34:2; 63:5; 115:18.

¹⁸⁵ See *TDOT*, s.v. “בָּרַךְ,” by J. Scharbert; *HALOT*, s.v. “בָּרַךְ”; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “בָּרַךְ,” by Keller and Wehmeier. The piel form occurs 233 times in the Hebrew Bible (108 times in the Pentateuch, thirty-four times in Joshua-2 Kings, fifty-two times in the Psalms, seven times in Job, three times in Proverbs, and once in Ruth).

¹⁸⁶ *BDB*; Zorrell, *Lexicon*; and *HALOT*, all s.v. “אָבָרַךְ”; *TDOT*, s.v. “אָבָרַךְ,” by L. Ruppert; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “אָבָרַךְ,” by H.-P. Stähli; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “אָבָרַךְ,” by Al Wolters. Over eighty percent of the occurrences of a form of אָבָרַךְ are found in the books of 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Judges 20:7 and 2 Samuel 16:20.

¹⁸⁸ Gesenius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “אָבָרַךְ”; Zorrell, *Lexicon*, s.v. “אָבָרַךְ”; cf. Isaiah 41:48.

¹⁸⁹ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 238-9. Something similar happens in Psalm 32:8.

person singular verb form, יִפְרְנִי (with suffix), which modern exegetes understand to take YHWH as its subject.¹⁹⁰ The lexeme לַיְלֹת is understood as a dative plural noun form used adverbially, “at night.”¹⁹¹ Therefore, the subject of the verb יִפְרֵי is כְּלֵי־וֹתִי,¹⁹² “my kidneys” or “my innermost being.”¹⁹³ The verbal lexeme יִפְרֵי has a basic meaning of “to teach.”¹⁹⁴ In the piel stem, the instruction often involves admonition¹⁹⁵ and occurs most often in wisdom literature.¹⁹⁶

“Perpetually”¹⁹⁷ the psalmist lives in the certainty of the presence of YHWH bestowed on him. In other cases in which YHWH is on the right hand side, it is to protect (Psalms 109:31; 110:5; 121:5). The progression of the conscience reflected in such certainty is attributed to YHWH’s revelation and to a life then lived in communion with YHWH.

The piel form of the root שָׁנָה is found in Psalms 16:8; 21:6; 89:20; 119:30, and Hosea 10:1. While its etymology is uncertain, the five appearances of the verb שָׁנָה in biblical Hebrew poetry may be due to primitive Aramaic influence.¹⁹⁸ For Psalms 21 and 89 the meaning “to put” is valid. In Psalm 119:30, the verb שָׁנָה is in synonymous parallelism with בָּחַר with the objects “the true path” and “your commandments.” In Psalm 119:30 the meaning “to choose” is more evident. In Hosea 10:1, the verb can mean “to mature.” The usage of שָׁנָה in Psalm 16:8 appears to be similar to that of Psalm 119:30, since the objects

¹⁹⁰ E.g., Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 53-4; Oesterley, *Psalms*, 155-6. This would create a parallelism with the first part of verse 7.

¹⁹¹ Joüon, *Grammar*, 2:500. As in Psalms 92:3; 134:1; Song of Songs 3:1, 8. See Zorrell, *Lexicon*; and HALOT, both s.v. “לַיְלֹת.”

¹⁹² Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 90 (and see Appendix 16), followed by Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 91-2, reads a third person singular suffix, “his kidneys” (asserting a Phoenician orthography), referring to the “heart” of YHWH. However, no Hebrew manuscript evidence supports this reading and nowhere in the Hebrew Bible does כְּלֵי־וֹת refer to the “kidneys” of God. Rodríguez argues that since “kidneys/heart” is a well known parallelism (see pages 93-5, 113), and since the Hebrew Bible does attribute a heart to God (twenty-six times, e.g., Psalm 33:11), that it is God’s heart that is doing the teaching or admonishing at night. Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 91-3.

¹⁹³ BDB, s.v. “כְּלֵי־וֹת”: “as seat of emotion and affection – Job 19:27; Proverbs 23:16; Psalm 73:21; as involving character, the object of God’s examination – Jeremiah 12:2.” Cf. Psalms 26:2. Also see HALOT; Zorrell, *Lexicon*; Clines, *Dictionary*, all s.v. “כְּלֵי־וֹת.”

¹⁹⁴ HALOT and Zorrell, *Lexicon*, both s.v. “יִפְרֵי.” See Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 92-3, for his argument that the usage of יִפְרֵי in Psalm 16:7b is parallel to KTU 1.16 VI:21-26.

¹⁹⁵ See BDB, s.v. “יִפְרֵי”: “(the emotions of my own heart) correct, admonish me”; HALOT, s.v. “יִפְרֵי”; TDOT, s.v. “יִפְרֵי,” by R. D. Branson and G. S. Botterweck; Zorrell, *Lexicon*, s.v. “יִפְרֵי”; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “יִפְרֵי,” by M. Saebø; Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. “יִפְרֵי”; NIDOTTE, s.v. “יִפְרֵי,” by Eugene H. Merrill. Cf. Leviticus 26:18; Psalm 89:10.

¹⁹⁶ See NIDOTTE, s.v. “יִפְרֵי.”

¹⁹⁷ BDB, s.v. “תָּמִיד”: “of going on without interruption”; HALOT, s.v. “תָּמִיד”: “lasting, continually.” Cf. Exodus 25:30; Leviticus 24:3; Deuteronomy 11:12; 1 Kings 10:8.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Psalms 16:8; 21:6; 89:20; 119:30; Hosea 10:1. NIDOTTE, s.v. “שָׁנָה,” by Sam Meier; HALOT s.v. “שָׁנָה.” In Aramaic, the pael form of the שָׁנָה root often translates the biblical Hebrew שָׁנָה and שָׁנָה in the Targumim (e.g., Genesis 21:14; Judges 6:19; Psalm 39:9).

are similar (YHWH, “the true path,” “your commandments”).¹⁹⁹ The prepositional construction לְנִגְדִי may be understood in the sense of “before me” or “in front of me.”²⁰⁰ The psalmist chooses to follow YHWH.

Despite the many scholars who insert הוּא into the MT of verse 8’s second clause,²⁰¹ the insertion is not supported by any Hebrew manuscripts nor is it necessary. The prepositional phrase בְּיָמֵי may be understood as “at my right hand.” The preposition בְּ is rendered “at” or “beside,” which is a well-attested meaning.²⁰²

The psalmist’s expression portrays an interior experience, the “at my right hand” naming the place where the protection and happiness are tangible for a person.²⁰³ The כִּי is read as causal.²⁰⁴ The effect of God’s constant presence is בְּלֹא-אֶמוּט, “I will not be moved.”

The common background of the root מוּט in the Western Semitic languages seems to refer to the change of an habitual physical position to another unaccustomed one.²⁰⁵ This fundamental meaning of the root receives different shadings according to its context. Chaos threatens the stability of creation, but since YHWH founded creation, it will not be moved or destroyed (Psalms 46:3, 6, 7; 99:1; 93:1; 96:10; 1 Chronicles 16:30; etc.). The just man who trusts in YHWH will be sustained by YHWH and will not be destroyed (Psalms 21:8; 62:3, 7; 66:9; 125:1-3; etc.).²⁰⁶ The first person imperfect form with the בְּ negation is an expression of confidence,²⁰⁷ with emotional and personal connotations. The formula בְּלֹא-אֶמוּט appears to represent a stereotyped usage that makes allusion to unending life with YHWH.²⁰⁸

The use of the verb מוּט shows consistent characteristics, especially in the niph'al stem. This form is found with a cosmic sense, referring to creation being threatened by

¹⁹⁹ The rendering “keep” is meant to convey a volitional sense. See HALOT and Zorrell, *Lexicon*, both s.v. “שָׁרָה.”

²⁰⁰ The לְ may be added to delimit the meaning of נִגְדִי. HALOT and Zorrell, *Lexicon*, both s.v. “נָגַד.” BDB, s.v. “נָגַד”: “adverbial or local accusative.” Contra Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 95-6, who vocalizes the construction as the preposition “לְ” affixed to a nominal lexeme, לְנִגְדִי, and translates, “for my guide/leader.”

²⁰¹ E.g., Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 53-4; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 1:76; Oesterley, *Psalms*, 155-6; Weiser, *Psalms* 171-2.

²⁰² See BDB and HALOT, both s.v. “בְּ”; contra Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 90, and Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 96-8, who read בְּ as “at” and the suffix as a third person masculine singular (as in verse 7) “his.”

²⁰³ Cf. Isaiah 63:12; Zechariah 3:1; Psalm 73:23; 91:7; 109:6, 31; Job 30:12.

²⁰⁴ Contra Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 86, 90, and Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 98, who read the כִּי as emphatic, parallel with the usage of אֶתְּ.

²⁰⁵ See Clines, *Dictionary*, Zorrell, *Lexicon*, and HALOT, all s.v. “מוּט”; TDOT, s.v. “מוּט,” by A. Baumann. Cf. Deuteronomy 32:35; Psalms 38:17; 66:9; 94:18; 121:3; 17:5.

²⁰⁶ For discussion of the use of the verb מוּט in polemic with idolatry, see TDOT, s.v. “מוּט.”

²⁰⁷ Cf. Psalms 10:6; 13:5 (with לֹא); 30:7; 62:3, 7.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Psalms 10:6; 15:5; 104:5; 112:6; 125:1; Proverbs 10:30. Perhaps this is due to the origins of the usage of מוּט which have to do with the kingdom of death, the mortal fall of Psalm 66:9. Psalm 13:4-5 also speaks of victory over the adversary of death. See Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 92-3; 114-9.

chaotic forces, in hymns (e.g., Psalm 104:5; 1 Chronicles 16:30) and royal psalms (e.g., Psalms 93:1; 96:10; cf. 82:5). Striking is the frequent occurrence of the relatively rare negative particle בל with מוט. The application of the verb to man appears to be metaphorical and secondary. Its anthropological use is also well attested in niph'al; as in its cosmic application, it denotes “a staggering” which means one’s existence being threatened by evil powers, a shaking which ends in “falling,” in “lying, not rising”; thus “tottering” means to have no firm stand. In the niph'al, מוט with a negation is used as an expression of confidence, encouragement in anxiety, always having a personal and emotional connotation. Applied to humans, we find מוט four times in the first person with a negation – three times with בל (Psalms 10:6; 16:8; 30:7, and with לא in Psalm 62:3, 7).²⁰⁹ In all these cases, the usage expresses confidence. This is the primary use of מוט in its anthropological connotation; it is found in individual laments and thanksgiving psalms where death is in view. In the qal stem, מוט is used in a cosmic sense of the earth (e.g., Isaiah 24:19; Psalm 60:4), of mountains and hills (e.g., Psalm 46:3; Isaiah 54:10), of kingdoms, towns, and YHWH’s covenant (e.g., Psalm 46:6; Isaiah 54:10). In the qal stem, the cosmic usage in poetry is clustered in community laments and thanksgiving psalms. Anthropologically, the qal form of מוט is used as an expression of confidence with reference to the (feet of) the just (e.g., Leviticus 25:35 and Psalm 94:18) and as an expression of condemnation of the wicked (e.g., Deuteronomy 32:35 and Proverbs 24:11). In the Psalms, the anthropological usage of מוט in the qal stem occurs in individual laments (Psalm 38:17 and 55:23) where death is in view.²¹⁰ The pair of words נגדִי, “before me,” and בְּיַמִּינִי, “at my right hand,” typify the locality of YHWH’s presence to the psalmist. These definitions are developed by תָּמִיד, “constantly,” and בִּלְאֵמוֹת, “I will not be moved.” The psalmist’s destiny will remain connected with YHWH.

b. Sequence Two (Verses 9-10)

(9) לָכֵן שָׂמַח לְבִי וַיִּגַּל כְּבוֹדִי אֶפְרֵבֶשְׂרִי יִשְׁכֵּן לְבֶטַח
 (10) כִּי לֹא־תִעָזֵב נַפְשִׁי לְשֹׂאֵל לֹא־תִתֵּן חֲסִידְךָ לְרֹאוֹת שַׁחַת

Translation

9. Therefore my heart²¹¹ is glad,²¹² and my glory²¹³ rejoices;

²⁰⁹ Psalm 13:5 makes the same assertion positively. Similarly, the niph'al is found many times in the third person (singular and plural), almost always with a negative (only Psalm 82:5 without negation) – most often the form of negation is בל. The occurrences of the third person, niph'al stem are: (with לא) Isaiah 40:20; Psalms 15:5; 112:6; 125:1; and (with בל) Psalms 17:5; 21:8; 46:6; 93:1; 96:10; 104:5; Job 41:15; Proverbs 10:30; 12:3; 1 Chronicles 16:30.

²¹⁰ Accordance, s.v. “מוט”; BDB, s.v. “מוט”; Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. “מוט”; TDOT, s.v. “מוט”. For discussion, see Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 92-3, 114-9; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 157; Dahood, *Psalms I*, 78-9; Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 299-300; Beuken, “Psalm 16,” 380.

²¹¹ See BDB, s.v. “לב”; Gesenius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “לב”; HALOT, s.v. “לב”; William L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), s.v. “לב”; Hans

- indeed,²¹⁴ my body²¹⁵ will dwell²¹⁶ in safety.
 10. For you do not surrender me to Sheol;²¹⁷
 you do not permit your godly one²¹⁸ to see the pit.²¹⁹

W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, trans. Margaret Kohl (London: SCM, 1974), 40-58. For discussion of לֵב denoting “mind” in this case, see Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*.

²¹² שָׁמַח as a qal perfect stative. Kennicott and de Rossi note that two manuscripts have the qal imperfect form. See footnote 225 below.

²¹³ BDB, s.v. “כְּבוֹד”: “My honour – poetic of the seat of honor in the inner man, the noblest part of man – parallel with נֶפֶשׁ.”; Gesenius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “כְּבוֹד”; Holladay, *Lexicon*, s.v. “כְּבוֹד”; *HALOT*, s.v. “כְּבוֹד”; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “כְּבוֹד,” by C. John Collins; Genesis 49:6; Psalm 7:6; Psalm 108:2; Wolff, *Anthropology*, 64. The *BHS* apparatus notes a few Hebrew manuscripts with כְּבוֹדִי = כְּבֹדִי (questionable) (“liver” + first person common singular suffix). Kennicott lists five manuscripts reading כְּבוֹדִי. The LXX has ἡ γλῶσσά μου (“my tongue”). Note the Mp: וּבַחֲרֵי לִישָׁנָא (“and with two meanings”).

²¹⁴ The role of אֵךְ is “broadly to bring the second clause within the reference of the first.” Gibson, *Grammar*, 175. See footnote 134 above.

²¹⁵ See *TDOT*, s.v. “בָּשָׂר” by N. P. Bratsiotis; BDB, s.v. “בָּשָׂר”: “flesh for the body itself”; Gesenius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “בָּשָׂר”; *TWOT*, s.v. “בָּשָׂר” by John N. Oswalt; Holladay, *Lexicon*, s.v. “בָּשָׂר”; *HALOT*, s.v. “בָּשָׂר”; Wolff, *Anthropology*, 26-31.

²¹⁶ As to tenses, the first verb is perfect, the second verb is a waw consecutive imperfect, and the third is an imperfect. Accordingly, the first two verbs are translated as present perfect statives. The imperfect/yiqtol form, from a syntactical point of view, represents the continuation of the narrative and is used as a durative from the present on into the future. See Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 329; Gibson, *Grammar*, 102; *IBHS*, 556; Joüon, *Grammar*, 394. The *BHS* apparatus notes that two Hebrew manuscripts have שָׁמַח (qal imperfect third masculine singular) for the first verb. Kennicott and de Rossi confirm this finding. Kennicott also notes four manuscripts containing the *plene* form שָׁמַח־. Related to the imperfect, Driver finds שָׁמַח to be parallel with שָׁמַח and says, “A permanent relation of this sort may, firstly, be viewed as a completed whole, and, as such, be denoted by the perfect; but inasmuch as a state or condition most commonly declares itself by a succession of acts—more or less numerous, as the case may be—its existence may, at the same time, with equal propriety, be indicated by the imperfect as well.” Driver, *Treatise*, 39; and similarly, Gibson, *Grammar*, 63; Beuken, “Psalm 16,” 375, who notes, “the present-tense translation of *šamah libbī wayyāgèl kē bōdī* is based on the fact that *šmh* and *gyl* belong to a group of verbs, expressing a spiritual condition. These take the suffix conjugation for the present and in the *consecutio* the imperfect with *wāw* consecutive.” Contra Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 155. Kennicott notes four manuscripts that read שָׁמַח־.

²¹⁷ An imperfect denoting action continued over a long period of time. This statement is made to describe personal experience. Gibson, *Grammar*, 75. The preposition לְ combines the meaning אֵל, expressing direction. Gibson, *Grammar*, 150. BDB, s.v. “שָׂאוֹל” and “נֶפֶשׁ”: שָׂאוֹל is parallel with שָׁחַת. ; Even-Shoshan, *Concordance*, s.v. “שָׂאוֹל” and “נֶפֶשׁ”; Gesenius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “שָׂאוֹל” and “נֶפֶשׁ”; *TWOT*, s.v. “שָׂאוֹל” by Victor P. Hamilton and “נֶפֶשׁ” by Bruce K. Waltke; Holladay, *Lexicon*, s.v. “שָׂאוֹל”; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “נֶפֶשׁ” by John A. Beek and “נֶפֶשׁ” by Eugene H. Merrill; *TDOT*, s.v. “נֶפֶשׁ”; by H. Seebass; and *HALOT*, s.v. “נֶפֶשׁ.” See discussion on pages 126-9 and Appendix 18.

²¹⁸ BDB, s.v. “קָסִיד”: “(thy) pious one(s) (Kethib plural); 1 Sam. 2:9 (Qere plural); Proverbs 2:8”; Even-Shoshan, *Concordance*, “קָסִיד”; Gesenius, *Lexicon*, s.v. “קָסִיד”; Holladay, *Lexicon*, “קָסִיד”; and *HALOT*, s.v. “קָסִיד.”

²¹⁹ See *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “רָאָה” by Jackie A. Naudé and “שָׁחַת” by Eugene H. Merrill; BDB, s.v. “שָׁחַת”; *TWOT*, s.v. “שָׁחַת” by Victor P. Hamilton; Holladay, *Lexicon*, s.v. “שָׁחַת,” *HALOT*, s.v. “שָׁחַת”; *TWAT*, s.v. “שָׂאוֹל”; “שָׁחַת”; “שָׁחַת,” by J. Conrad. The word translated “pit” is poetically synonymous to “Sheol.” Briggs, *Book of Psalms*, 122. Contra Benjamin Davidson, *A Concordance of the Hebrew and Chaldee Scriptures*, rev. ed. (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1876), locates שָׁחַת in Psalm 16:10 under a separate heading of שָׁחַת and only includes the לְשָׁחַת of Job 17:14 along with it. The English gloss given is “corruption, putridity.” Also contra Bruce Waltke, who argues, “The noun *šahat* occurs 25x in the OT, always in poetry. It can be derived from the vb. *šwh*, sink down, or from the vb. *šāhat*, to go to ruin. Noms. of the pattern *šahat* derived from II *wāw* roots (e.g., *šwh* → #8755) are fem. (i.e., final *t* is the fem. suff.); noms. derived from the latter kind of vb. are masc. (i.e. the *t* is part of the root). As a result homonyms, a masc. and a fem. form, are possible. *nahat* (fem.: BDB, 629; → #5739), a derivative from *nwh*, means ‘quietness/rest,’ but *nahat* (masc.; BDB 639; → #5663) from *nāhat* means ‘descent/descending.’ All the ancient versions understood *šahat*, as a homonym. None denies it sometimes means ‘pit,’ but the LXX and Vg. understood it to mean ‘corruption’ or ‘decay’ in Ps. 9:16; 29[30]:10; 34[35]:7; 48[49]:10; 54[55]:24; 102[103]:4. Sym. so understood it in Ps. 35:7; 55:24; Aq. in

The psalmist is sure that the danger of death severing his connection with YHWH is overcome. What the psalmist hopes for his soul he likewise hopes for his body. All dimensions of the psalmist's being participate in this joyous security.²²⁰

The Masoretes note a *disjunctivi* after the first word of verse 9. Gunkel argues that the *disjunctivi* serves to suppress the word that the sign precedes, and that the Masoretes were apparently surprised that the following verse begins with a כִּי.²²¹ Rodríguez reads לִכְן as a divine attribute and translates, "Faithful One."²²² However, lacking critical support, לִכְן is rendered, "therefore."²²³

The verbs שָׂמַח and גִּיל appear in parallelism as much in biblical literature as in Ugaritic.²²⁴ Based on its biblical usage, "gladness" is not a mood but is reflected in corporality: in shining eyes, in an illuminated face, and also through gestures such as exclamation or a shout.²²⁵ If the verb שָׂמַח is compared with others that also designate happiness, such as הִלָּל ("to praise") or יָדָה ("to praise"), one notes that הִלָּל and יָדָה appear to express happiness in an articulated form, as if the narration is at a distance from the event that provokes the response.²²⁶ In contrast, he who expresses his happiness by means of the

Ps. 7:16; 30:10; Theod. in Job 33:22, 30. In addition to the LXX, Jerome and Syr. understood it this way in Ps. 16:10. Pope (*Job*, 1965, AB, 75), seemingly unaware of *šahat* (masc.) recognizes that it must mean 'filth' in Job 5:31 and tries to explain it as due to the netherworld's putrescent nature. A clear example, however, of masc. *šahat* is found in Job 17:14: 'If I say to ... (*šahat*) 'You are my father,' and to the worm (*rimmā*, worms; fem. coll., → #8231), 'My mother,' or 'my sister' (NRSV). K. Brugmann showed at the end of the last century that grammatical gender guided the poetic imagination in personification (cited by *IBHS*, 100, P. 6.3.1e). 'Worm' (*rimmā*) is fem., hence its personification by 'mother' and 'sister.' We may confidently infer, therefore, that *šahat*, personified as 'father,' is the masc. form, 'decay/corruption.'

Moreover, it can be established that the masc. form, 'corruption,' not the fem. form, 'pit,' is in view in Ps. 16:10 by the vb. to see (*lir'ót*). 'To see' expresses the ideas of 'experiencing,' 'enduring,' 'proving,' and the like, and takes for its object a nom. indicative of *state* of the soul or the body; e.g., to see sorrow (Jer. 20:18), to see famine (5:12), to see affliction (Lam. 3:1). On the contrary, when indicating the idea of *place* (e.g., pit, grave, Sheol, gates of death, etc.), the Hebrew authors use a vb. of motion; e.g., to come (Job 5:26), to go (Isa. 38:10); Eccl. 9:10), to draw near (Ps. 88:3[4]; 107:18), to descend (Job 21:13), to fall (Ps. 7:15[16]; 57:7). The expression 'to go down to the pit' occurs 4x in the Psalter; 9x in Ezek.; cf. Prov. 1:12; Isa. 38:18. In this case, the ancient versions, not modern lexicographers, have the better of the argument, and so does the NT." *NIDOTTE*, s.v. "Psalms, Theology of."

²²⁰ In verse 9, the "body" is in antithesis with "heart" and "glory," so making up the entire man, body and soul. In verse 10, נַפְשׁ is here (as often) the whole person of the man himself. For discussion, see Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 240. Also see Briggs, *Book of Psalms*, 121.

²²¹ Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 50, 54, who alters לִכְן to לְעַד, "für ewig." Also see Joüon, *Grammar*, 1:68-9 and Psalm 119:127-8, where both verses begin with עַל כֵּן.

²²² Rodríguez hypothesizes that the *paseq* was used to call attention before a divine attribute. See Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 101-4.

²²³ BDB and *HALOT*, both s.v. "לִכְן."

²²⁴ See pages 93-5, 113-4 for Ugaritic parallels. Interesting biblical examples include Psalm 19:9; Proverbs 13:9; 15:30; Sirach 31:20; and Isaiah 9:16.

²²⁵ See Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. "גִּיל," by Claus Westermann, and "שָׂמַח," by E. Rupercht; *HALOT*, s.v. "שָׂמַח." In the literature from Qumran, as in the Hebrew Bible, שָׂמַח occurs in the lament and in the praise forms, and especially in eschatological words of salvation.

²²⁶ *TDOT*, s.v. "גִּיל," by C. Barth; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 105-6.

verbs שָׂמַח or גִּיל appears to be so close to the event that he cannot react except with a cry of jubilation or with an exclamation.

In biblical usage, the subject of the verb שָׂמַח is always a person or a group of individuals, except on six occasions when it is לֵב (“the heart”).²²⁷ The semantic domain of לֵב is very broad, but in parallelism with כֶּבֶד it designates the most intimate and hidden part of man; only YHWH has access to it. Man, for his part, is capable of hearing the voice of YHWH thanks to the heart.²²⁸

The subject of the verb גִּיל is כְּבוֹדִי, “my glory/my soul.” Five Hebrew manuscripts read כֶּבֶדִי, “my liver.” Examples of scribal confusion between כְּבוֹד and כֶּבֶד are traditionally asserted as including Psalms 7:6; 30:13; 57:8-9; 108:2-3, Genesis 49:6.²²⁹ The parallelism between לֵב and כֶּבֶד (as asserted in Psalms 16:9; 57:8-9; 108:2) is also well attested in Ugaritic.²³⁰ For example, the usage in *KTU* 1.3 II:25-26 (*tǝdd kbdh bšhq // ymlu lbh bšmht*: “His liver swelled with laughter // his heart was filled with laughter”) includes both the word pair *kbd // lb* as well as the happiness motif (parallelism between *šmh* and *gil*).²³¹ Thus, while not conclusive, the five MT family manuscripts reading כֶּבֶדִי, along with the other possible occurrences of scribal confusion in the MT, and Ugaritic parallels suggest a reading of “my liver.”

A new anthropological dimension is added with the usage of בָּשָׂר, man as an ephemeral being. Of the 273 times that בָּשָׂר appears in the Hebrew Bible, 104 times it refers to animals. Not one time is YHWH described as having בָּשָׂר or as being בָּשָׂר. On the contrary, it is insistently affirmed that YHWH is not בָּשָׂר and is clearly distinguishable from any בָּשָׂר.²³²

If the root שָׁכַן is derived from the more primitive root כּוּן, whose fundamental meaning is “to be upright,” and if the fundamental meaning of שָׁכַן is “to erect” or “to raise a

²²⁷ Exodus 4:14; Psalms 16:9; 33:21; Proverbs 15:13; 17:22; 23:15.

²²⁸ See Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. “לֵב”; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “לֵב,” by F. Stolz; cf. Deuteronomy 4:29; 6:5; 10:12; 11:13; 4:9, 39; 6:6; 8:5; Jeremiah 3:17; 7:24; 9:13; 11:3; 31:31; 32:38.

²²⁹ See Schmitt, “Psalm 16, 8-11,” 234-5. And see Appendix 7, for Genesis 49:6’s usage as a generative passage in messianism. Another possible example is Isaiah 30:27. The LXX reads γλωσσα. Also see Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “כֶּבֶד,” by C. Westermann.

²³⁰ See pages 93-5, and 113-5.

²³¹ Cf. *KTU* 1.19 I:34-35: *tǝky pǝgt bm lb // tdm’ bm kdd*, “Pagatu cried in his heart, // he spilled tears in his liver.” Also *KTU* 1.12 I:12-13: *il yǝzǝq bm lb // wygmd bm kbd*, “Ilu laughed in his heart, // he rejoiced in his liver.” See pages 77, 93-5, 113-5; *TDOT*, s.v. “כֶּבֶד,” by C. Dohmen and P. Stennans; and “כְּבוֹד,” by M. Weinfeld.

²³² E.g., Jeremiah 17:5-8 and Isaiah 31:1-3. Also see *TDOT*, s.v. “בָּשָׂר,” by N. P. Bratsis; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “בָּשָׂר,” by G. Gerlemann. Contra Schmitt, “Psalm 16, 8-11,” 235, who argues that בָּשָׂר denotes a human being in its entirety.

tent,” the semantic evolution of the word may be evident. The movement may be: “to be upright” → “to erect or raise a tent” (in the pre-monarchic period) → “to establish oneself” → “to inhabit.” Thus, one may arrive at the meaning that the verb שָׁכַן has in Hebrew and in Ugaritic: “to inhabit/to remain,” and “to lodge oneself/to establish oneself,” respectively.²³³ The verbal form in the qal stem is intransitive, and when constructed with לְ indicates the place of permanence.²³⁴

The root בַּטַח has the general sense of “to feel sure, to be unworried.”²³⁵ A confidence of this type is put only in YHWH, who is viewed as the only true support of human life. The expression יִשְׁכַּן לְבַטַח, “to live secure,” abounds in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, always in contexts of restoration.²³⁶ The expression is also found in the contexts of Benjamin’s blessing in Deuteronomy 33:12, and of the benediction of Moses in Deuteronomy 33:28.²³⁷ As in these texts, the peace and tranquility of the author of Psalm 16 has to do with divine action. Divine security inspires boundless happiness in the profundities (heart and liver or soul) and tranquility in the flesh. Whether the body “camps,” “lives,” or “rests tranquilly” in peace may depend on the dating of the Psalm. If Psalm 16 is situated in the nomadic period, the meaning of “to camp” would be better. If it was composed later, one might understand “to inhabit.” If the composer looks to the future, the most adequate meaning may be “to repose.”²³⁸ The transitoriness is accentuated because of the subject בְּשׂוֹר. In essence, YHWH is understood as the author of internal happiness and vital security.

The exhilarated jubilation of the “heart” and the “liver” or “glory” has an explicative cause which is made plain in verse 10. The כִּי is causal and relates syntactically with the verbs שָׁמַח and גִּיל. The balanced parallelism of verse 10 includes לֹא־תִתֵּן // לֹא־תִתֵּן // נַפְשִׁי // שָׁחַח // שְׂאוֹל; and חֲסִידֶיךָ.

The verb עָזַב is frequently translated “to abandon, to leave behind.”²³⁹ Yet the parallelism with תָּתֵן and similar parallelisms found in the Hebrew Bible and in Ugaritic suggest a meaning of “to turn over, hand over, surrender.”²⁴⁰ The preposition לְ affixed to שְׂאוֹל is a dative use, emphasizing the local character of שְׂאוֹל.²⁴¹

²³³ See HALOT and Zorrell, *Lexicon*, both s.v. “שָׁכַן.”

²³⁴ Cf. Genesis 9:27; 26:2; 35:22; Exodus 25:8; 29:45; Numbers 5:3; 10:12; 35:34; 1 Kings 6:13; 8:12; Isaiah 8:18; 32:16; 34:17; Jeremiah 17:6; 25:24; 49:16; etc.

²³⁵ See TDOT, s.v. “בַּטַח,” by A. Jepsen. Cf. Genesis 34:25; Proverbs 3:29; 11:28; Psalm 49:52; Job 31:34; Jeremiah 48:7; 49:4.

²³⁶ E.g., Jeremiah 23:6; 33:16 and with the verb שָׁב in Ezekiel 28:26; 34:25, 27, 28.

²³⁷ For discussion, see Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 113-5.

²³⁸ Regardless, the expression שָׁכַן לְבַטַח is known and is used in the eighth century B.C.E.

²³⁹ See Zorrell, *Lexicon*, and HALOT, both s.v. “עָזַב”; TDOT, s.v. “עָזַב,” by E. S. Gerstenberger.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Genesis 39:4-6; Psalm 10:14; Nehemiah 9:27-8. KTU 1.17 II:26-27 offers a parallelism

The noun נִפְשׁ, in parallelism with הַקֹּדֵשׁ, has the value of a personal pronoun, “me.” This use of נִפְשׁ is frequent in contexts that speak of death.²⁴² The author avoids the personal pronoun in the first person because what is in his interest is to underscore his vital center, his נִפְשׁ. The parallel lexeme with נִפְשׁ is הַקֹּדֵשׁ, the godly one. From the nominal form the adjective is formed that at times expresses a property of him of whom it is predicated (the godly or faithful man, in this case, is he who practices faithfulness) and at times it has a passive sense: the godly or faithful one is reached by the divine קֹדֶשׁ.²⁴³ The author of Psalm 16 apparently moves in the same thought world as the authors of Psalms 86, 97, and 116. In all these poems, the godly one of YHWH is threatened by death, prays, and is then protected. Hence, the passive sense of הַקֹּדֵשׁ may be preferred, and rendered as “godly” or even “beloved.”²⁴⁴

The verb נָתַן has the basic meaning of “to put into movement.” It can mean “to move from one place to another, to put, to give,” or in a factitive sense it means “to occasion something, to make appear, to obtain.” In a causative sense it means “to make a person or thing be something.” The factitive sense is expressed with נָתַן and a double accusative. The causative is expressed with נָתַן and an accusative plus ל. This last construction means, “to let someone do something.” This construction is used mostly with ל plus an infinitive construct.²⁴⁵ The meaning in our case is, therefore, “you will not permit your godly one to see שְׁחַת.”²⁴⁶

While the etymology of שְׁחַת and שְׁחַת remains uncertain, studies have concluded that the form found in Psalm 16:10, שְׁחַת or שְׁחַת, is a feminine noun (formed with the final ת in

between both verbs, with a similar meaning: *bd dnil ytn qšt // lbrkh y'db qs't*, “In the hands of Danilu he put the bow // on his/her knees he/she left the arrows.” See *HALOT* and *TDOT*, both s.v. “עֹזֵב.”

²⁴¹ Contra Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 118-9, who reads שְׁחַת as a living being and the use of ל as a dative of indirect object. Similarly, contra Waltke, who reads שְׁחַת as a personified masculine form. *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “Psalms, Theology of.”

²⁴² Cf. Genesis 12:13; Numbers 23:10. See Wolff, *Anthropology*, 10-25, especially 23-5; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “נִפְשׁ,” by C. Westermann.

²⁴³ See Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “קֹדֶשׁ,” by H. J. Stoebe. Cf. Psalms 145:17; 148:4; 32:6; 86:2; 31:24; 30:5; 89:29; 32:5; 149:1; 1 Samuel 2:9; etc.; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 1:77; 221-2, concludes, “If the primary meaning of *chāsīd* is to be governed (as seems reasonable) by that of *chesed* in the Psalms, it must certainly mean one who is the object of Jehovah’s lovingkindness. And this sense suits the predominant usage of the word best.”

²⁴⁴ Similar uses of הַקֹּדֵשׁ may also be seen in Deuteronomy 33:8; Psalms 79:2; 149:9; Proverbs 2:8 (*Kethiv*); 4Q521 2.2:5, 7; 11QPs^a 19:7; 24:17; 18:10; 22:3; 22:6; Genizah Psalm 3:25; Sirach 51:12.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Sirach 5:5; Psalms 66:9; 121:3; Job 31:30.

²⁴⁶ See *TDOT*, s.v. “נָתַן,” by E. Lipinski; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “נָתַן,” by C. J. Labuschagne. Also, the usage of שְׁחַת לְרֵאשִׁית is only otherwise found in Psalm 49:10. Cf. the usage in Psalm 89:49 (יְרֵאָה הַשְׁחַת).

the feminine) derived, in most cases, from the root שחח.²⁴⁷ The meaning in Psalm 16 is to be understood as “pit” – used as a figurative expression for the grave or netherworld. That the fundamental and earliest attested meaning of “grave” or “netherworld” is intended by its usage in Psalm 16 is clear from the balanced synonymous parallelism of verse 10²⁴⁸ and from the poem’s context. A development of שחח/שחח may be seen to emerge toward a meaning of “corruption” or “destruction” and, in time, since the concept of “corruption” comes to accompany the concept of שאול, the two meanings accompany one another and the boundary between the two becomes fluid.²⁴⁹

The term שחח/שחח occurs twenty-three times in the Hebrew Bible. It indicates a physical pit only infrequently, some eight times. Two of these contain underworld allusion, since the pit is dug for the deserving wicked.²⁵⁰ More often שחח/שחח refers to the underworld: fifteen times in eleven passages.²⁵¹ Unlike שאול and בור, it sometimes has the definite article.²⁵² Like שאול, שחח/שחח usually indicates the fate desired for the wicked. Generally the righteous acknowledge rescue from it, though in extreme circumstances Job envisions it.²⁵³ Thus, שחח/שחח, like שאול, is instinctively the destiny of the ungodly rather than the godly.²⁵⁴

Biblical examples appear to be conclusive in deciding for Psalm 16:10’s שחח or “pit” to figuratively connote “grave” or “netherworld.”²⁵⁵ In the majority of biblical texts, שחח/שחח should be translated as a figurative reference to “grave” or “tomb.”²⁵⁶ Further, the

²⁴⁷ See *TWAT*, s.v. “שחח” and “שחח”; *HALOT*, “שחח”; Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 69-71; contra *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “Psalms, Theology of” (see footnote 219).

²⁴⁸ See *TWAT*, s.v. “שחח,” “שחח,” and “שאול”; *HALOT* and *BDB*, both s.v. “שחח.”

²⁴⁹ See *TWAT*, s.v. “שחח” and “שחח”; Roland E. Murphy, “Šaḥat in the Qumran Literature.” *Biblica* 39 (1958): 61-6. Contra Davidson, *Concordance*, s.v. “שחח”; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “Psalms, Theology of.” See, e.g., Sirach 51:2 and IQS 4:11-12 for the developed use of שחח to mean “corruption” within the context of eternal torment in parallel with an evolved understanding of שאול.

²⁵⁰ Psalms 9:15; 94:13.

²⁵¹ Job 17:14; 33:18, 22, 24, 28, 30; Psalms 16:10; 30:10; 49:10; 55:24; 103:4; Isaiah 38:17; 51:14; Ezekiel 28:8; Jonah 2:7.

²⁵² Job 9:31; 17:14; 33:22, 28; Isaiah 51:14; Psalm 49:9; Ezekiel 28:8.

²⁵³ The wicked: Psalm 55:23 (cf. also Psalms 9:15; 94:13); Ezekiel 28:8. *Job in extremis*: Job 17:14. The righteous: Job 33 (five times); Psalms 16:10; 30:9; 103:4; Isaiah 38:17; 51:14; Jonah 2:6. By contrast, Psalm 49:7-9 seems to imply that everyone goes to שחח/שחח. However, several factors indicate that the prescription is only partial: a) the psalmist is clearly discussing the oppressive rich, whose wealth is powerless to redeem them from שחח/שחח; b) elsewhere (Exodus 21:30; Job 33:24, 28 [cf. Proverbs 6:35]) the verb פרה, “ransom,” occurs of life already forfeited; c) the psalmist asserts his own redemption from שאול (verse 16), clearly distinguishing himself from those for whom there is no such redemption.

²⁵⁴ Contra *BDB*, s.v. “שחח,” which takes “pit (שחח) of Sheol” as a distinction within Sheol (but this is unfounded and unnecessary).

²⁵⁵ See, e.g., Psalms 7:16; 9:16; 30:10; 35:7-8; 94:13; 103:4; Job 9:30; 33:18, 22, 24, 28, 30; Isaiah 38:17; 51:14; Ezekiel 19:4; 28:8; Proverbs 26:27; Jonah 2:7.

²⁵⁶ For discussion and analysis, see Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 70-9; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*,

usage of שְׂחַת in Psalm 16:10 should be understood in a philological order: the synonymous parallelism of the whole of verse 10 and the context of Psalm 16 are clearly paralleled by similar constructions in Psalms 7:16, 9:16, Ezekiel 28:8, Job 33:22, and Jonah 2:7, among others. Thus, the meaning of שְׂחַת in Psalm 16:10 may be verified.²⁵⁷ Death in the psalmist's thought world is not only the loss of one's vital existence, but is also the loss of the presence of YHWH and the pleasures of that presence.²⁵⁸ In antithesis to this, the psalmist has hope and confident expectation of the presence of YHWH.

5. Conclusion (Verse 11)

(11) תוֹדִיעַנִי אֶרְחַח חַיִּים
שִׁבְעַת שְׂמֵחוֹת אֶת־פְּנֵיךָ נְעֻמוֹת בְּיַמִּינְךָ נֹצֵחַ

Translation

11. You make me to know²⁵⁹ the path of life,²⁶⁰
the satisfying abundance of joys²⁶¹ with your presence,
the pleasantness²⁶² in your right hand,²⁶³ perpetually.²⁶⁴

Verse 11 not only states in a positive form that which the previous verse has said negatively, but articulates a recapitulation and an imaginary expression, a global symbolizing of what precedes it. The preparation for verse 11 includes lexical parallelisms of sense:

תוֹדִיעַנִי is preceded by יִסְרוּנִי and יַעֲצֵנִי (verse 7)
אֶרְחַח חַיִּים is preceded by בַּל־אֲמוּט (verse 8)

120-4; Tsevat, *Study*, 100; and page 86, footnote 188, for Tsevat's categorization of all occurrences of שְׂחַת in the Hebrew Bible.

²⁵⁷ For methodological issues, see James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 76-80; 86-94; 178-80; 191-3; 277-81.

²⁵⁸ See *NIDOTTE*, s.v. "מוֹת," by Eugene H. Merrill; *TWAT*, s.v. "שְׂחַת"; Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. "שְׂחַת"; Wolff, *Anthropology*, 99-118; 149-56; 223-30; *TDOT*, s.v. "מוֹת" by K.-J. Illman, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry; Richard J. Bauckham, "Life, Death, and the Afterlife in Second Temple Judaism," in *Life in the Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 80-98; Johnston, *Shades*, 23-97, 201-2; N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God, Christian Origins and the Question of God*, Vol. 3 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 85-128; Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2 vols, The Old Testament Library, trans. J. A. Baker (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), 2:524; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:405; Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life*, 149-53.

²⁵⁹ With the sense of causing or permitting him. Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 350.

²⁶⁰ BDB, s.v. "אֶרְחַח": "path of life, in righteousness and enjoyment of God." Proverbs 2:19; 5:6; 15:24, as compared with שְׂחַת.

²⁶¹ Plural intensive usage to heighten the meaning. Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 398; Gibson, *Grammar*, 20. BDB, s.v. "שִׁבְעַת": "satisfying abundance."

²⁶² For discussion of abstracts see Kautzsch and Cowley, *Grammar*, 393. The feminine is preferred for abstract nouns; the masculine plural is sometimes used in poetry. Gibson, *Grammar*, 17. BDB, s.v., "נְעֻמֹת": "of spiritual delights." At שִׁבְעַת the *BHS* apparatus notes the Syriac *w'sb' mn (et satiabor a)*, "I will be sated from"; LXX: πληρώσεις με ("You will fulfill me," future active indicative second singular [πληρώω]); Theodotion: ἐπτά. Kennicott lists twenty-seven manuscripts that read שִׁבְעַת.

²⁶³ See footnotes 197 and 285.

²⁶⁴ See BDB and Gesenius, *Lexicon*, both s.v. "נֹצֵחַ"; Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. "נֹצֵחַ" and "נֹצֵחַ"; Holladay, *Lexicon*, s.v. "נֹצֵחַ" and "נֹצֵחַ."

שָׁבַע	is preceded by	טוֹבָתִי (verse 2), the images of satiety of verses 5, 6, and 9
שִׁמְחֹת	is preceded by	שִׁמְחָה (verse 9)
אֶת־פָּנָיִךְ	is preceded by	לְנִגְדִי (verse 8)
נְעֻמֹת	is preceded by	בְּנֻעָמִים (verse 6)
בִּימִינֶךָ	is preceded by	מִימִינִי (verse 8)
נֶצַח	is preceded by	תָּמִיד (verse 8)

This is an all-embracing act of faith that gets its impulse in the preceding verses. The presence of YHWH means that YHWH continues to give the psalmist knowledge, illuminates the path of his life. Thus, from the *Heilsorakel* of verse 7 (qal perfect verb form) to “making to know” (hiphil imperfect verb form) the development of the psalmist is marked. The direction of the movement that characterizes Psalm 16 may also be seen in:

- verse 1 – חָסִיתִי, “I take refuge”
- verse 4a – כָּהֲרֹוּ, “courted/espoused”
- verse 11a – אֶרְחַח חַיִּים, “path of life”

The movement of dynamic locality illustrates the development experienced by the praying person. When threatened, the psalmist takes his refuge in YHWH, he chooses a path opposite to that of those who adore idols; they will merely see their sorrows multiplied. Actually the psalmist starts out on a path, guaranteeing life itself,²⁶⁵ because this is shown as being the path which leads to YHWH’s face and his right hand.²⁶⁶

Verse 11 begins with a hiphil imperfect form of the root יָדַע.²⁶⁷ The meaning of the hiphil form is “to manifest.”²⁶⁸ It is used as a concept of revelation and it also designates

²⁶⁵ “Life” as understood in its most manifold sense, see Proverbs 5:6; 2:19; 10:17; Deuteronomy 30:15; Psalm 36:9. Although the context of verses 1-9 may be an immediate danger, within the context of verses 10-11, “life” may include “eternal life.” See, e.g., Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 91; Schökel and Carniti, *Salmos I*, 301-3; Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 127-31; Terrien, *Psalms*, 179-81; Wolff, *Anthropology*, 223-5; the “path of life” is so called, not only because of its goal but to walk that way is to live, in the true sense of the word, already (cf. Psalm 25:10; Proverbs 4:18). It may lead without a break “into God’s presence and into eternity” (Kidner, *Psalms 1-72*, 86). “The phrase ‘path of life’ can hardly be understood in any other sense than as a life lived in communion with God which will be carried on even after death; in other words, as the consummation of salvation” (Weiser, *Psalms*, 178). Cf. Psalms 73:24; 49:15; Proverbs 12:28, which may be translated, “On the road of righteousness there is life, and the treading of its path is deathlessness.” See R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 91. The “path of life” implied a path leading to the presence of God. Briggs, *Psalms*, 126. “The assertions of trust are transparent as they view the sovereign possibilities of the God of Israel. Basically, the problem of death is not solved in the Old Testament, and yet it is clear in which direction the assertions of trust point: man is destined for life. He learns to know Yahweh’s liberating power which knows no limits.” Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 240.

²⁶⁶ See Beuken, “Psalm 16,” who discusses iconographic material from Egypt in which the deity is pictured with the sign of eternal life in the right hand.

²⁶⁷ Kennicott lists four manuscripts that read הוֹדִיעֵנִי and one that omits the ך.

²⁶⁸ BDB, s.v. “יָדַע”: “make one know”; HALOT, s.v. “יָדַע.”

certain objective communications from YHWH.²⁶⁹ The psalmist speaks of God communicating with him.

The root אָרַךְ and its derivatives refer to the “road” and the “journey.”²⁷⁰ A metaphorical meaning, “the path of life,” is intended in Psalm 16:11 as is well attested in Proverbs. For example, Proverbs 15:24 speaks about the road of life upwards for the just so that he may go far away from Sheol.²⁷¹ This road is a vital teaching so that the one who knows it may avoid the road to death.²⁷² In Proverbs 15:10, אָרַךְ forms a parallelism with תּוֹכַחַת (“chastisement, correction”).²⁷³ In opposition to death, the road of life is described as the path of the one who accepts correction. These paths, opposed to death, are those frequented by the living. In Proverbs, the road of life is the antithesis of death. He goes along the path of life who, led by wisdom, remains faithful to God or the law. The faithful man finds himself at a crossroads: he must choose between “the road of life” and “the road of death” (Jeremiah 21:8). To follow the road of life one needs instruction and, at times, correction (Proverbs 6:23).

The final two verses of Psalm 16 speak of life and death, and also of instruction.²⁷⁴ To find the path of life, the psalmist needs divine instruction: he needs revelation. Such revelation is described in verse 7 and affirmed again in verse 11.

What “life” are we dealing with in Psalm 16? The language of this final section is characteristically open to interpretation as metaphor. The dynamics of the Psalm make it appropriate to understand “life” in the evident sense that the psalmist would have envisioned it. The parallel texts from Proverbs 2:19; 5:6; 10:7; 15:24 suggest the possibility of understanding “the path of life.”²⁷⁵ Verse 11b and 11c are synthetically parallel, perhaps progressively parallel if לְעוֹלָם is best understood as “forever.” Verse 11a and 11b together are antithetically parallel to verse 10. Thus, “you do not permit your godly one to see the pit” is in parallelism with “the satisfying abundance of joys with your presence.” In opposition to death, the life that is hoped for may here include the concept of immortality. Such is, in effect, the meaning of *hym* in Ugaritic:²⁷⁶ *irš hym watnk // blmt wašlḥk*, “You ask for life and

²⁶⁹ E.g., Psalm 25:4, 14.

²⁷⁰ HALOT, s.v. “ אָרַךְ ”; e.g., Psalm 8:9.

²⁷¹ Also see Proverbs 2:19; 5:6; 10:7, and the comments thereon in William McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach*, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 479-80; 287-8; 314-5; 422-3; Scott, *Proverbs*, 42-3; 53-4; 81-4, 101.

²⁷² Cf. Psalm 15:11a. See Klaus Seybold, “Der Weg des Lebens: eine Studie zu Psalm 16,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 40 (1984): 123.

²⁷³ Cf. Proverbs 10:17.

²⁷⁴ See von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:418-53.

²⁷⁵ See McKane, *Proverbs*, 479-80; 287-8; 314-5; 422-3; Scott, *Proverbs*, 42-3; 53-4; 81-4; 101.

²⁷⁶ KTU 1.17 VI:27-28, Aqhatu rejects the gift of immortality that Anatu offers him because the

I will give it to you // immortality and I will grant it to you.” Similarly close to Psalm 16 is the epic of Kirta:²⁷⁷ *bḥyk abn nšmḥ // blmtk nḡln*, “In your life, our father, we took pleasure // in your immortality we rejoiced.” While Ugaritic ideology about immortality is scarcely present in the Hebrew Bible, it could be heard in Psalm 16:11, and Proverbs 12:28, among other texts.²⁷⁸

The lexeme $\square\text{ײ}\text{ד}$ is marked with a *disjunctivi* that helps logically and syntactically divide the text. As discussed, the concluding verse 11 is a tricolon.²⁷⁹ The root שׁבַע means “to satiate oneself” or “to be satisfied/filled.”²⁸⁰ When constructed with an accusative, the accusative is an accusative of material: it indicates the material with which one is satiated.²⁸¹ The verb acquires a theological dimension if YHWH is the subject or if the object is a divine gift.²⁸² The form שׁבַע is a construct noun serving as an appositive²⁸³ to אֲרַחַח חַיִּים . שְׂמַחֹת is a plural intensive serving as a genitive. The happiness hoped for is found אֶת־פְּנִיךָ , which is precisely defined in context as being near a person.²⁸⁴

The final colon begins with an abstract intensive plural, נְעֻמֹת , whose meaning is similar to its usage in verse 6 and which stands in parallelism with שְׂמַחֹת . The theme of the divine right hand has appeared in verse 8b. Here, the expression refers to YHWH’s right hand and the preposition בְּ shades the meaning to convey essence or source, more than location.²⁸⁵

irremediable destiny of man is death. Cf. 1.17 VI:36-38.

²⁷⁷ Similar is the parallelism between $\text{ײ}\text{ד}$ and שְׂמַח . See *KTU* 1.16 I:14-5; cf. 1.15 V:18-20. The immortality corresponds to the divine sonship of the king. The parallelism between *hym* and *šmḥ* appears to support an interpretation of $\text{ײ}\text{ד}$ as immortality. The same parallelism also appears in Psalm 85:7 and Qoheleth 3:12.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Daniel 12:2; Proverbs 2:19; 3:18; 10:16; 11:19; 12:23; etc.

²⁷⁹ See pages 130, 137-8. The function of the tricolon consists of an argumentation of expression and a particular tone. Schökel, *A Manual*, 40-1; Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 160-200.

²⁸⁰ See Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “שׁבַע,” by G. Gerleman.

²⁸¹ Cf. Psalm 90:14; Job 7:4; 10:15; Proverbs 1:31; Habakkuk 2:16, etc.

²⁸² See Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “שׁבַע.”

²⁸³ Contra Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 129-30, who reads a piel infinitive absolute form.

²⁸⁴ See Raymond J. Tournay, “En marge d’une traduction des Psaumes.” *Revue Biblique* 63 (1956): 504. Cf. 1 Samuel 2:18; Genesis 19:27. The following Phoenician inscription also conveys this meaning: *ʿpḥ mlqrt*, “In presence (or before) Melqart.” Also see *KAI* 10:16 and 60:8 where בֵּן is constructed with אֶת ; pages 93, 113-4 for other parallels in Ugaritic. For discussion and references, see Rodríguez, *Tú Eres Mi Bien*, 128-131.

²⁸⁵ Here, the expression is בְּ “in” (not אֶת “at,” as in verse 8; i.e., God’s right hand as dispensing blessings and gifts) “your right hand.” Cf. Genesis 48:14ff; Proverbs 3:16. See Delitzsch, *Commentary*, 229; Calvin, *Commentary*, 1:233; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 240; contra Briggs, *Psalms*, 122: “at/with/by/on ‘thy right hand,’ as the place of honor, parallel to ‘in thy presence,’ antithetical to Yahweh’s being on his right hand in life, verse 8b – forever.”

The accusative noun form נֶצַח is used adverbially, as it is found primarily employed in Psalms passages.²⁸⁶ It refers to an unending duration, in the category of time.²⁸⁷ So the psalmist looks forward to enjoying YHWH's presence forever. Psalm 16:10-11 presents a limitless perspective, based on a claim of direct revelation from YHWH on the future and on life with YHWH. The radicalization of the psalmist's certainty of verse 11 goes along the line of a series of anthropologic concepts, enframed by YHWH and "your godly one" according to the following outline:²⁸⁸

Verse 7:	YHWH / my innermost being	כְּלִי־יְהוָה / יְהוָה
Verse 8:	before me / at my right hand	מִיְמִינִי / לְנֶגְדִי
Verse 9:	my heart and my glory / my body	בְּשָׂרִי / כְּבוֹדִי ... לִבִּי
Verse 10:	me / your godly one	חֲסִידְךָ / נַפְשִׁי

In this series, the most important transition may lie in verse 9: the psalmist's flesh/body has a part in YHWH's permanent protection. The climax follows in the parallelism of verse 10 and is augmented by the parallel expressions of verse 11. In the psalmist's vision, there is no limit to the length of YHWH's protection.

For most modern scholars interpreting Psalm 16, the avoidance of שְׂאוֹל is temporary and provisional, and the psalmist will eventually go there like everyone else.²⁸⁹ While the thought world of the Hebrew Bible considered illness, sin, and wretchedness of every sort to constitute a real participation in the reign of death and שְׂאוֹל,²⁹⁰ Psalm 16 opposes it with a limitless perspective on a future lived in relationship with YHWH. Based on his claim of direct revelation from YHWH, and through the imagery of Psalm 16, the psalmist may be expressing not only a full life until death but a personal, if undefined, hope for some form of continued communion with YHWH beyond or despite death. The psalmist is on the path of life, not death, filled with divine joy and pleasure forever. The form of this continued communion with YHWH remains vague; no spatial location is indicated, no name (in contrast with the name שְׂאוֹל) is mentioned – no details are given. Only YHWH's presence and the resultant blessings are clear.

²⁸⁶ See page 85, and footnote 187; Clines, *Dictionary*; HALOT; TDOT; Even-Shoshan, *Concordance*; Accordance; Abegg, et. al, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. Volume One: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), all s.v. "נֶצַח"; Peter R. Ackroyd, "נֶצַח – εἰς τέλος," *Expository Times* 80 (1968): 126.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Amos 1:11; Psalm 9:19; Isaiah 57:17; Jeremiah 3:5; Psalms 103:9; 77:8, 9; Isaiah 13:20; 34:10; and Psalms 19:2 and 15:18 (for parallels within the unit of Psalms 15-18, see Appendix 17). Also see Lindblom, "Erwägungen," 187. For the occurrences of נֶצַח at Qumran, see pages 203-4, and footnote 251.

²⁸⁸ See Beuken, "Psalm 16," 383.

²⁸⁹ See, e.g., Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 158; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 239-41; Schaper, *Eschatology*, 49; Johnston, *Shades*, 201.

²⁹⁰ See Christoph Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des Alten Testaments* (Zollikon, Germany: Evangelischer Verlag, 1947), 91-5, 109-13, 154.

Living in the tension between a *שְׂאֵל* associated predominantly with the ungodly and the lack of a clear alternative for the faithful, the psalmist may affirm that some alternative has been given him by YHWH. Sourced in the claim of a *Heilsorakel* (to which we have no further access), and confirmed in ongoing communion with YHWH, the psalmist may affirm something which partly fits received views on human destiny but also transcends them.²⁹¹ Thus, for its readers, Psalm 16 sets up a tension which awaits resolution.²⁹² This resolution is only barely sketched at the outer edge of the Hebrew Bible, in resurrection and post-mortem distinction between the righteous and the wicked.²⁹³ Yet, the resolution of this tension is clearly seen in the subsequent interpretation of Psalm 16 in extrabiblical Judaism,²⁹⁴ in the developing apocalyptic eschatological and messianic views found in other writings of extrabiblical Judaism,²⁹⁵ and in the applied messianism of early Christianity.²⁹⁶

²⁹¹ See Johnston, *Shades*, 202.

²⁹² The images of Psalm 16 appear to go beyond the interpretation that limits them to life before death. Contra Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 158. But the images can only be the object of an exclusive afterlife interpretation with great difficulty. Contra, e.g., Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 86. Rather, the images seem to transcend both categories. See Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 239-41.

²⁹³ Daniel 12:1-3 and perhaps Isaiah 26:19; Psalms 49:15; 73:24. See von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:402-18; Eichrodt, *Theology*, 2:496-529; Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 419, 481, 660-1, 695-704; Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life*, 86-110, 153-65, 203; Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary*, 391-5; Wright, *Resurrection*, 103-28; John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, 1989), 284, 289, 292-306, 308; Hans C. C. Cavallin, *Life After Death: Paul's Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Cor. 15* (Lund, Sweden: Gleerup, 1974), 26-110; John Day, "The Development of Belief in Life after Death in Ancient Israel," in *After the Exile: Essays in Honor of Rex Mason*, ed. J. Barton and D. J. Reimer (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996), 231-57; "Resurrection Imagery from Baal to the Book of Daniel," in *Congress Volume, Cambridge 1995*, ed. J. A. Emerton, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 66 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 125-33.

²⁹⁴ See Chapters 1 and 4.

²⁹⁵ See pages 28-46, 194-207. For discussion, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) 82-174; Day, "Development," 231-57; "Resurrection Imagery," 125-33; Peter G. Bolt, "Life, Death, and the Afterlife in the Greco-Roman World," Edwin Yamauchi, "Life, Death, and the Afterlife in the Ancient Near East," and Richard Bauckham, "Life, Death, and the Afterlife in Second Temple Judaism," all in *Life in the Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 51-79, 21-50, 80-95, respectively; Richard J. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 9-96; 132-48; 160-289; 332-90; Wright, *Resurrection*, 129-206.

²⁹⁶ See pages 48-52 and Chapter 5. For discussion, see Émile Puech, "Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed., Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1994), 235-56; Donald A. Hagner, "Gospel, Kingdom, and Resurrection in the Synoptic Gospels," Murray J. Harris, "Resurrection and Immortality in the Pauline Corpus," and Joel B. Green, "'Witnesses of His Resurrection': Resurrection, Salvation, Discipleship, and Mission in the Acts of the Apostles," all in *Life in the Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 99-121, 147-70 and 227-46, respectively; Charles H. Talbert, "The Place of the Resurrection in the Theology of Luke," *Interpretation* 46 (1992): 19-30.

CHAPTER 4
THE APPROPRIATION OF PSALM 16
IN LXX PSALM 15 AND 4Q177

A. LXX Psalm 15 Translation

1. Textual Evidence

Since the recollection and analysis of the 1,200 plus LXX Psalms manuscripts at the *Septuaginta-Unternehmen* in Göttingen will not be completed until around the year 2015,¹ the LXX text family will be presented as is currently available and in summary fashion. LXX Psalm 15 will be portrayed according to the Göttingen edition, including its apparatus,² Henry B. Swete's edition, including apparatus,³ and alongside the major recensions.⁴ Thus, the text of LXX Psalm 15 may be viewed as summarized in Appendix 22.

2. Translation and Analysis

a. Superscription (Verse 1a)

(1a) Στηλογραφία τῷ Δαυιδ.

LXX Translation

1a. An inscription⁵ of David.

The LXX rendering of סְתִי־לִדָּוִד with στηλογραφία is the oldest known interpretation of the word and assumes its root to be כְּתִב or כְּתִיב.⁶ The texts of Aquila and Symmachus appear unlikely due to the grammar involved and may suggest a different *Vorlage*. If not, they appear to be adding comment concerning the person of David. The LXX, Theodotion, Origen, and the Targum reading will be followed. The translation τῷ Δαυιδ for דָּוִד is understood as a dative of reference or possession as it is found in superscriptions throughout the Psalter.

¹ In private communication, Anneli Aejmelaesus, Director of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen, and Udo Quast, Psalms team leader, state that the recollection of the Psalms manuscripts at Göttingen will not be completed until around the year 2015.

² Rahlfs, *Psalms cum Odis*, 97-8. See discussion on pages 1, 18-9, 22, 61-5.

³ Henry B. Swete, ed., *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, vol. 2, *1 Chronicles-Tobit*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 226-7.

⁴ The Lucianic (L) recensional manuscripts are summarized in the Göttingen apparatus. Those of Aquila (ʿA), Symmachus (Σ), Theodotian (Θ), and the fifth and sixth columns (E' and S') of the *Hexapla* are presented in full as found in Fredericus Field, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum. Quae Supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in Totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), 2:106-7.

⁵ LEH, s.v. "στηλογραφία." The word στηλογραφία is only found six times in the LXX (as it renders סְתִי־לִדָּוִד). Accordance, s.v. "στηλογραφία."

⁶ For discussion, see pages 138-9.

b. Introduction (Verse 1b)

(1b) Φύλαξόν με, κύριε, ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα.

LXX Translation

1b. Take care of me, O Lord, because I have hoped in you.

The use of φύλαξόν με for יְרַחֵם is a stereotypical LXX rendering found throughout the Hebrew Bible and in postbiblical Hebrew.⁷ The action of the aorist imperative is undefined as to completion. The translation of יְרַחֵם with ἤλπισα is the standard equivalent rendering in the LXX Psalter.⁸ The poetic and metaphorical expression יְרַחֵם יְרַחֵם is most often rendered within Psalms by ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα (or the equivalent pronoun). The sense is, “I have hoped/(placed my trust) in you,” i.e., “I have found refuge/security in placing my trust in you.”⁹ The Hebrew perfect stative verb is rendered with an aorist active indicative form, which is the stereotypical rendering within Book I of the LXX Psalter.¹⁰ The verb ἤλπισα is read as an historical aorist tense and the mood is constative or culminative indicative. The ἐπὶ σοὶ is read as a dative designating the person concerned.¹¹ The connotation of ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα is similar to that of יְרַחֵם יְרַחֵם: the psalmist has placed his trust in κύριος/יְהוָה and is expectantly seeking the care of κύριος/יְהוָה from within this position of reliance. In the LXX, ἐλπίζω and ἐλπίς especially mean “count on,” with the preponderant nuance being that of “trust in,” “have recourse to,” “place one’s hope in”

⁷ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “יְרַחֵם” and “φυλάσσειν, φυλάττειν”; as is true for Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the *Hexapla*.

⁸ The occurrences of this rendering of יְרַחֵם in the Psalms are: 5:11; 7:1; 16:1; 17:7; 18:2, 30; 25:20; 31:1, 19; 34:8, 22; 36:7, 40; 57:1; 64:10; 71:1; 91:4; 118:9; 141:8; 144:2. Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “יְרַחֵם” and “ἐλπίζειν.” יְרַחֵם is also found translated in the LXX using: ἀντέχειν (Isaiah 57:13); εὐλαβεῖσθαι (Proverbs 30:5; Nahum 1:7; Zechariah 3:12); σκεπάζειν (Psalm 61:4; Sirach 14:27); σώζειν (Isaiah 14:32); πείθειν (Deuteronomy 32:37; Judges 9:15, 26; Ruth 2:12; 2 Kings 22:31; Proverbs 14:32; Psalms 2:12; 11:1; 57:1).

⁹ On the meaning of יְרַחֵם, see pages 141-2. Cf. Judges 20:36; Psalm 26:1. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and rev. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), s.v. “ἐλπίζω”; Johannes P. Louw, and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), s.v. “ἐλπίζω”; TDNT, s.v. “ἐλπίς, ἐλπίζω” by R. Bultmann and K. H. Rengstorff; Horst R. Balz, and Gerhard Schneider, eds. *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), s.v. “ἐλπίς, ἐλπίζω,” by B. Mayer; Ceslas Spicq, *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament*, vols. 1 and 3, trans. and ed. James D. Ernest (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994), s.v. “ἐλπίζω, ἐλπίς”; Colin Brown, ed., *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, vols. 1 and 2 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), s.v., s.v. “Hope, Expectation, ἐλπίς,” by E. Hoffman; Walter Bauer, Frederick W. Danker, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed., revised by Frederick W. Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), s.v. “ἐλπίζω”; LEH, s.v. “ἐλπίζω”; James H. Moulton and George Milligan, eds., *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament: Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources*, (reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), s.v. “ἐλπίς.”

¹⁰ See pages 141-2 and Sailhamer, *Studies*, 22-49.

¹¹ See BDF, 101, 122, 123.

someone.¹² Thus, the wording of LXX Psalm 15:1 well represents the figurative language of MT Psalm 16:1. While this religious meaning of personal reliance on YHWH appears to have always been intended in Psalm 16's expression, $\text{יְהוָה יְהִי־וֹפֵי}$, the LXX does broadly restrict its use of $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ to spiritual meanings.¹³

c. First Section (Verses 2-6)

1. Sequence One (Verses 2-4a)

- (2) εἶπα τῷ κυρίῳ Κύριός μου εἶ σύ,
ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν μου οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχεις.
(3) τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῆ αὐτοῦ
ἐθαυμάστωσεν πάντα τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς.
(4a) ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ ἀσθένειαι αὐτῶν,
μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτάχυναν·

LXX Translation

2. I said¹⁴ to the Lord, “You are my Lord, since you have no need of my goodness.”
3. As to the holy ones on his earth, he has made marvelous¹⁵ all of his desire in them.
4a. “The sorrows of those who make haste after these [other gods] will be multiplied;”

While the LXX, Aquila, and Symmachus appear to be rendering the same Hebrew *Vorlage*, their translations exhibit different readings. Symmachus's translation ($\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$) follows the MT word order and sense most closely. Aquila renders יְהִי־וֹפֵי with $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ (or $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$) versus $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu$ or $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu$, perhaps wanting to emphasize the connotation of a positive moral quality.¹⁶ The LXX's choice of the plural $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu$ may also represent a reading of יְהִי־וֹפֵי as referring to moral quality, although $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, in the singular, is often used in the LXX to mean the moral sense of a person.¹⁷ That Psalm 16's יְהִי־וֹפֵי could be conveying the meaning of an ethical or moral quality is clear from its usage throughout the Hebrew Bible.¹⁸ The root וֹפֵ occurs regularly in the Qumran texts, often with an ethical connotation, as in 1QS 1:2, 5; 4:26; 1QH 15:18 (a reference that depends on Isaiah 65:2). The priestly blessing in the Qumran initiation ceremony includes the prayer that God will “bless you with all good and keep you from all evil” (1QS 2:2-3). In

¹² LEH, s.v. “ $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ ”; TDNT, s.v. “ $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ ”; BDAG, s.v. “ $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$.” For discussion, see, e.g., Spicq, *Lexicon*, s.v. “ $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$.” And see, e.g., Judges 9:26; 2 Kings 18:24; Jeremiah 17:5; 48:13; Ezekiel 29:16; 1 Maccabees 2:61; 2 Maccabees 15:7; Sirach 34:13; Daniel 3:28; Proverbs 14:26; etc.

¹³ TDNT, s.v. “ $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ ”; Spicq, *Lexicon*, s.v. “ $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ ”; LEH, s.v. “ $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ ”; and see discussion at verse 9.

¹⁴ εἶπα is read as an historical aorist tense, constative indicative mood.

¹⁵ LEH, s.v. “ $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{o}\omega$.”

¹⁶ BDAG, s.v. “ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ ”; LEH, s.v. “ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$.” For the LXX use of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$ to mean “goodness” see Wisdom of Solomon 1:1; 7:26; 12:22; Sirach 45:23.

¹⁷ See, e.g., 1 Samuel 25:15. Henry G. Liddell, and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon with a Revised Supplement*, 9th ed., revised by Henry S. Jones (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), s.v. “ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ”; LEH, s.v. “ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ”; BDAG, s.v. “ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ”; NIDNTT, s.v. “ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$,” by Erich Beyreuther.

¹⁸ See pages 143-5.

IQS 11:14 God covers the iniquities of the psalmist “by his great goodness,” where טוב approximates to טוֹב. The LXX mainly uses ἀγαθός in translation of טוב, but also employs καλός and several other synonyms.¹⁹

Both Aquila and Symmachus appear to be correcting back to a proto-MT *Vorlage*. Their translations well represent the MT’s confession of faith that YHWH is the one who is exclusively “good.” The LXX may represent an unknown *Vorlage*.²⁰ If not, the LXX’s confession of faith may give evidence of a Platonic philosophical category shaping the translators’ expression.²¹ F. W. Mozley suggests that the LXX’s rendering of the difficult MT passage is a free paraphrase.²² H. B. Swete omits the last clause from his LXX text, as does Vaticanus.²³

LXX Psalm 15:3 presents difficult grammatical, syntactical, and textual issues.²⁴ If the MT of verse 3 is maintained without emendation²⁵ as the LXX’s *Vorlage*, perhaps the most apparent solution is to assume that the LXX understood קְדוֹשִׁים as the holy ones in

¹⁹ See Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “טוֹב” and “ἀγαθός,” where this equation is found in a range from Genesis to Daniel. Outside Proverbs, “ἀγαθός” is mostly neuter, and very rarely personal; in the Psalms the only other occurrences are 73:1; 118:1-4, 29; 135:3; 136:1; 143:10 (in 143:10 of God’s רִי, “spirit”; in the other instances of YHWH). As a masculine adjective see Psalm 45:2, and as a feminine adjective see Psalms 34:13; 36:5.

²⁰ See Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Critical Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 234, for suggested MT emendations, none of which appear to be necessary for the MT text itself.

²¹ *NIDNTT*, s.v. “Good, Beautiful, ἀγαθός”: “For Plato, the idea of the good is the all-embracing, highest, and dominant idea or form. Good is the power that supports and preserves in contrast to evil, which spoils and destroys (Plato, *The Republic*, 2 vols., The Loeb Classical Library, translated by Paul Shorey [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930, 1935], 2:466-71). In Plato, the idea of the good has a religious coloring (*The Republic*, 2:128-31), but Aristotle applies it as a formal concept to the totality of human relations.” Aristotle defines the goal of all action as the attainment of some form of good (Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, The Loeb Classical Library, translated by H. Rackham [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926], 2-3). The ancient Greek humanistic attitude was eclipsed in later Hellenistic thought and the predominant meaning of the concept of good is once again religious. “According to the Hermetic writings, the salvation brought about by the deity, i.e., deification, is the good” (Brian P. Copenhauer, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 6, 117-20). “Thus, the predicate ‘good’ was reserved for the deity who brings salvation (το αγαθον ὁ θεος, ‘God is the good’; *Ibid.*, 11, 127; 2, 102; 22, 144-5; 41, 171) for only he is free from attachment to the material. As an expounder of Hellenistic Judaism, Philo names ἐγκράτεια (‘moderation,’ *On the Special Laws [De Specialibus Legibus]*, 1:148-52), εὐσεβεία (‘piety,’ *On the Special Laws [De Specialibus Legibus]*, 4:143-7), and σοφία (‘wisdom,’ *Who Is the Heir of Divine Things [Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres]*, 97-101) as the highest possessions by means of which the soul finds the way to God, the highest good.” For discussion of the Platonic conception of ἀγαθός and its relationship to man, see *TDNT*, s.v. “ἀγαθός” by Walter Grundmann; Spicq, *Lexicon*, s.v. “ἀγαθοποιέω”; *EDNT*, s.v. “ἀγαθός,” by J. Baumgarten.

²² F. W. Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church: The Septuagint Psalms Compared with the Hebrew, with Various Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), 27.

²³ Swete, *Introduction*, 226.

²⁴ For alternate translations based on emendations, see Jacob Leveen, “Textual Problems in the Psalms,” *Vetus Testamentum* 21 (1971): 48-58; M. Mannati, “Remarques sur Ps. 16:1-3,” *Vetus Testamentum* 22 (1972): 359-61; Lindblom, “Erwägungen”; Claus Schedl, “Die Heiligen und die ‘Herrlichen’ in Psalm 16:1-4,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 76 (1964): 171-5; Eugenio Zolli, “Die ‘Heiligen’ in Psalm 16,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 6 (1950): 149-50.

²⁵ No significant Hebrew manuscript evidence supports emendation.

whom YHWH is fulfilling his desire for a holy nation.²⁶ Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion then appear to be correcting back to the proto-MT and its understanding of קדושים as pagan deities.²⁷ Therefore, the LXX translation given follows this assumption.

Yet, the Greek verb form ἐθαυμάστωσεν suggests a *Vorlage* of יִאֲדִיר and not יִאֲדִירִי.²⁸ The expression τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ appears to be translating יִפְצֹוּ or יִפְצֹוּ but not יִפְצֹוּ. If so, the LXX appears to read the last clause as כִּלְ-פִצְוֹ-בָם. The personal pronoun αὐτοῦ, (masculine singular) following γῆ, plainly is intended to render the pronoun הֵמָּה (masculine plural).²⁹

Thus, if verse three follows the LXX text, then the subject is the psalmist's meditation on the direction of YHWH's saving acts and favor. The term קדושים may then be understood as a name for the קְדוֹתֵי (Psalm 34:9; cf. Psalm 16:10), and translated "saints/holy ones in his land." Alternatively, if the language of verses 4-6 is understood as referring to a Levitical priest, and not just the language of Levitical priesthood in a metaphorical appropriation, the קדושים may be the Levitical priests and are so named because YHWH is in their midst (cf. Numbers 16:3). In this case, we may translate "the saints/holy ones on his earth," for we could think of the terrestrial counterpart of the heavenly beings who surround and serve YHWH. The meaning would then be that the trust that the psalmist expressed in verse 2 is based on the confidence that YHWH in a special way cares for his priestly circle and in them puts into practice his saving will or desire (יִפְצֹוּ).

LXX verse 4 also presents significant problems, as may be seen from the recensions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.³⁰ The first clause, verse 4a, renders אֲחֵרִים (used as a substantive, "other") with μετὰ ταῦτα, an accusative prepositional phrase translated "after these." It is possible that the LXX translators read אֲחֵרִים, but the LXX represents the MT as is. The LXX rendering of verse 3 leads one to assume that verse 4a contrasts the holy ones/saints, who trust in YHWH, with idol worshipers, who with their courting of strange deities heap great pains on themselves. The verb ἐπληθύνθησαν may be understood as a

²⁶ As in Exodus 19:6, Deuteronomy 7:6; 14:12, 21; 26:19, etc. See LEH, s.v. "ἅγιος"; *NIDNTT*, s.v. "ἅγιος," by Horst Seebass and Colin Brown. Cf. Psalm 34:10; 1 Maccabees 1:46; 1QM 6:6; 14:12; 1QS 8:13. Angels were also called קְדוֹשִׁים – see Tobit 12:15; *1 Enoch* 48:8-9; 1QS 11:8; 1QH 11:12, etc. Also see discussion on pages 145-53, 204-5.

²⁷ A meaning of קְדוֹשִׁים that is argued for the MT through pages 145-53. See Appendix 22 for the recensions.

²⁸ Cf. Isaiah 42:21.

²⁹ This difficulty has led some to suggest that הֵמָּה should be read as a verb form, הִמָּה. Cf. Jeremiah 31:20. See Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 234.

³⁰ See Appendix 22 and Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 234, who suggests that a half-verse has dropped out of the MT just prior to verse 4.

constative aorist tense and proleptic, anticipatory indicative mood. The verb ἐτάχυναν is a constative, epistolary aorist tense and may represent a rendering of מְהַרְרֵנִי or מְהַרְרֵנִי versus מְהַרְרֵנִי.³¹

2. Sequence Two (Verses 4b-6)

- (4bc) οὐ μὴ συναγάγω τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν ἐξ αἱμάτων
οὐδὲ μὴ μνησθῶ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν διὰ χειλέων μου.
(5) κύριος ἢ μερὶς τῆς κληρονομίας μου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου μου·
σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀποκαθιστῶν τὴν κληρονομίαν μου ἐμοί.
(6) σχοιρία ἐπέπεσαν μοι ἐν τοῖς κρατίστοις·
καὶ γὰρ ἡ κληρονομία μου κρατίστη μοί ἐστιν.

LXX Translation

- 4bc. I will not bring together³² their collections³³ of blood,
nor take³⁴ their names upon my lips.
5. O Lord, the portion of my inheritance and of my cup,
You are the one who restores my inheritance to me.
6. The boundary lines have fallen for me in the best places;
indeed, my inheritance is best for me.

The strong denial of οὐ μὴ precedes συναγάγω, a constative aorist tense in the proleptic anticipatory subjunctive mood. This LXX rendering, “I will not bring together,” translates בְּלֹא-אֶסֶף, “I will not pour out.” The LXX’s direct object, τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν ἐξ αἱμάτων, may represent the drink offerings of blood found in the MT (מִדְּמַדֵּי דְּמַדֵּי). The verb συναγάγω is unexpected and may represent the LXX translators’ interpretive understanding of the voice of Psalm 16 as being that of a Levitical priest. The cultic-ritualistic duties of libation and the procurement of an answer from YHWH for someone else could be in view based on this employment of συναγάγω.³⁵ Understood this way, verse 4 would come close to an oath of cleansing spoken here by a priest.³⁶ Both Aquila and Symmachus appear to correct back to the proto-MT with σπείσω (τὰς) σπονδὰς αὐτῶν, leaving the contrast between the psalmist’s commitment to YHWH and his promise never to worship other deities.

LXX verse 5 uses ἀποκαθιστῶν, a present active participle of ἀποκαθίστημι, for the MT’s הִרְמִינֵנִי. The root ἀποκαθίστημι has the meaning of “to bring back,” “to restore,”

³¹ The reading of μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτάχυναν may represent a *Vorlage* of מְהַרְרֵנִי אֶחָד. Cf. Jeremiah 2:11. מְהַרְרֵנִי may be read as מְהַרְרֵנִי אֶחָד followed by a piel form instead of a qal form.

³² LEH, s.v. “συνάγω”; BDAG, s.v. “συνάγω.”

³³ LEH, s.v. “συναγωγὴ”; BDAG, s.v. “συναγωγὴ.”

³⁴ BDAG, s.v. “μιμνήσκομαι.”

³⁵ See 1 Samuel 1:17.

³⁶ See Psalm 7:3-5.

“to reestablish.”³⁷ The קָמַח root has the basic meaning of “to establish” or “to hold.”³⁸ Thus, the LXX translators may have more in view than does the MT.

An apocalyptic eschatological and messianic use of ἀποκαθίστημι may be seen in its LXX employment to mean “to renew the world” or “to reconstitute,” (e.g., a kingdom). The term is used for God’s restoring of Israel to its land (Jeremiah 16:15; 23:8; Hosea 11:11). In Judaism, this comes to be understood eschatologically and messianically. The original political sense of the term may be seen in the disciples’ question in Acts 1:6 (κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ; – “Lord, is this the time when you will restore the kingdom to Israel?”). The answer accepts the expectation but denies its political significance.³⁹

In the LXX, ἀποκαθίστημι is employed to connote the meaning “to reestablish” or “to restore” when translating the MT’s שׁוּב (e.g., Genesis 40:13; Leviticus 13:16).⁴⁰ It is also used to mean “to return” when translating שׁוּב (e.g., Exodus 14:26). The term is also used to mean “to set again” when translating שׁוּב (e.g., Genesis 29:3). Other connotations include “to bring back,” or “to be brought back” (e.g., Judith 6:7; 1 Esdras 1:9). Overall, the LXX uses a form of ἀποκαθίστημι to translate a word in the Hebrew Bible thirty-three times (and uses the form fourteen times in the other texts⁴¹). Of these thirty-three occurrences, twenty-three represent a translation of שׁוּב . Of the remaining ten occurrences, the Hebrew words being translated are: שׁוּב (twice); שׁוּבָה (twice); שׁוּבָה (once); שׁוּבָה (once); שׁוּבָה (twice); שׁוּבָה (once); and שׁוּבָה (once).⁴² Thus, LXX Psalm 15:5 is the only occurrence of a form of שׁוּבָה being translated with a form of ἀποκαθίστημι.⁴³ Therefore, with the choice of ἀποκαθιστῶν for שׁוּבָה , LXX Psalm 15:3 may exhibit a specific apocalyptic eschatological and messianic concern beyond that present in the Hebrew text.

³⁷ LEH; Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*; Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*; BDAG; all s.v. “ἀποκαθίστημι”; TDNT s.v. “ἀποκαθίστημι” by A. Oepke; EDNT s.v. “ἀποκαθίστημι,” by P.-G. Müller.

³⁸ BDB, HALOT, both s.v. “שׁוּבָה.”

³⁹ Also, see Acts 3:21: ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ’ αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν – “until the time of universal restoration that God announced long ago through his holy prophets.”

⁴⁰ See Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “שׁוּבָה” and “ἀποκαθιστᾶν, ἀποκαθιστάναι.”

⁴¹ The Greek texts are 1 Esdras 1:31, 35; 5:2; 6:26; Tobit 5:16; 10:13; Judith 6:7, 10; Daniel Th. Bel. 39; 1 Maccabees 15:3; 2 Maccabees 11:25; 12:25, 39; 15:20. Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “שׁוּבָה” and “ἀποκαθιστᾶν, ἀποκαθιστάναι.”

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ In the Hebrew Bible, שׁוּבָה is also rendered in the LXX with ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι (four times), ἀσφάλεια (once), ἐγείρειν (twice), ἐπερείδειν (once), ἐρείδειν (five times), καταρτίζειν (once), and στηρίζειν (once). Also, κρατεῖν is used in Sirach 4:13; 10:13; 38:25.

Verse 6 renders מִלְּבָבִי with σχοινία, “boundary or measuring lines,” which is a stereotypical equivalent.⁴⁴ The verb ἐπέπεσάν is read as a culminative, historical aorist tense. The rendering of מִיִּמֵּינִי with κρατίστοις is unexpected. The LXX translators have chosen to use a superlative form⁴⁵ of the adjective ἀγαθός in both clauses of verse 6 (by also translating עֲלֵי פִּרְשֵׁי with κρατίστη μοί ἐστίν). At the end of the first clause (ἐν τοῖς κρατίστοις) both Aquila and Symmachus correct to a more literal reading of the MT (’A: ἐν τοῖς εὐπρεπέσι; Σ: ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις). The LXX version appears to be not only stylized but interpretive, moving from “pleasant places”⁴⁶ and “beautiful”⁴⁷ to the “best places” and the “best.”⁴⁸ LXX Psalm 15:6 is the only occurrence of the LXX using a form of κρείσσω, κρείττων, or κράτιστος to translate a form of מִיִּמֵּינִי or to translate a form of פִּרְשֵׁי.⁴⁹ Thus, the LXX rendering heightens the rhetoric of this hymnically treated expression of trust. Aquila’s rendering represents the standard equivalent. Regardless, the construction and content of verse 2 is hymnically affirmed here in the highest.

d. Second Section (Verses 7-10)

1. Sequence One (Verses 7-8)

- (7) εὐλογήσω τὸν κύριον τὸν συνετίσαντά με·
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἔως νυκτὸς ἐπαίδευσάν με οἱ νεφροί μου.
 (8) προωρώμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός,
 ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἐστίν, ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ.

LXX Translation

7. I will praise the Lord, who causes me to understand; even now, indeed at night, my innermost being chastises me.
 8. I have held the Lord continually before my eyes.
 Because he is at my right hand, I will not be shaken.

LXX Psalm 15:7’s rendering of יָעַזַּר with συνετίζω is unique in the LXX.⁵⁰ In the LXX, συνετίζω is understood in the sense of “to cause to understand.”⁵¹ A form of συνετίζω is found fifteen times in the LXX. Twelve times it renders a hiphil form of יָעַזַּר. Two times it renders a hiphil form of יָעַזַּר. The causal sense, with YHWH as subject, is present in the qal form of Psalm 16:7 rendered by the LXX with the aorist substantival

⁴⁴ Cf. 2 Samuel 8:2; Psalms 78:55; 119:61; 140:6.

⁴⁵ BDF, 33. The adjective κρείσσω, κράτιστος is the superlative of ἀγαθός. See BDAG, s.v. “ἀγαθός”; Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v. “ἀγαθός.”

⁴⁶ Clines, *Dictionary*; HALOT; BDB, all s.v. “מִיִּמֵּינִי.”

⁴⁷ BDB and HALOT, s.v. “פִּרְשֵׁי.”

⁴⁸ LEH, s.v. “κράτιστος”; BDAG and Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v. “ἀγαθός.”

⁴⁹ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “מִיִּמֵּינִי” and “κρείσσω”; and s.v. “פִּרְשֵׁי” and “κρείσσω.”

⁵⁰ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “יָעַזַּר” and “συνετίζειν.” The stereotypical rendering is βουλεῦω, or a compound, which is found over seventy times.

⁵¹ BDAG and LEH, s.v. “συνετίζειν.” Cf. *Testament of Levi* 4:5; 9:8; *Apocalypse of Moses* 13.

participle, συνετίσαντά. The LXX choice of the verb συνετίζω appears to highlight the oracular nature of the divine communication claimed in MT Psalm 16:7. The emphatic הִנֵּה is rendered ἔτι δὲ καὶ which captures well and makes explicit the grammatical and syntactical usage of the Hebrew term.⁵² The adverbial prepositional phrase ἕως νυκτὸς employs a genitive of time. The subject of the last clause, νεφροῦ μου, is the LXX's stereotypical equivalent of כְּלִי־יָדָי.⁵³ Both the Hebrew and the Greek meanings are understood metaphorically as “inner parts,” or “inner-most being,” which represents the seat of emotions and affections.⁵⁴ The only instance of νεφρός in the New Testament is in Revelation 2:23, quoting Jeremiah 11:20. The LXX's rendering of יָדָי is with its stereotypical equivalent, ἐπαίδευσάν.⁵⁵ The aorist indicative form is read as constative and dramatic. The rendering ἐπαίδευσάν connotes “admonishing” or “chastising” as a means of instruction.⁵⁶

LXX Psalm 15:8 uniquely renders הִנֵּי־נִפְשִׁי with προωρώμην, an imperfect middle indicative form read as a continuative, durative imperfect in the middle reflexive voice.⁵⁷ The Hebrew phrase expresses an affirmation that the psalmist's life is now continually oriented to YHWH. There is a nuance of volition in the Hebrew phrase; the psalmist affirms his choice of YHWH as his refuge.⁵⁸ In the LXX, only here is the verb נִפְשִׁי rendered with a form of προοράω.⁵⁹ The verb נִפְשִׁי is normally translated with ἐπιτιθέναι (Psalm 21:6); τίθεσθαι (Psalm 89:20) and οὐκ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι (Psalm 119:30). Other than in Psalm 16:8, the verb προοράω is only found in two additional LXX passages. Genesis 37:18 uses προείδον for the root הִאֵר to mean “to see someone already” from a great distance, i.e., at a time prior to the present time. Psalm 139:3 uses προείδες for the root כִּכַּח (hiphil perfect form) to mean “foresee” in a temporal sense.

Recently, scholars have suggested the following possible solutions to the connotation of προωρώμην in LXX Psalm 15:8:

⁵² See discussion on page 153, footnote 134.

⁵³ In fact, the LXX only uses νεφρός for כְּלִי־יָדָי. Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “כְּלִי־יָדָי” and “νεφρός.”

⁵⁴ LEH, BDAG, Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, and TDNT, all s.v. “νεφρός”; TDNT, s.v. “νεφρός,” by Herbert Preisker.

⁵⁵ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “רָצָה” and “παιδεύειν.”

⁵⁶ TDNT, BDAG, Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, LEH, and Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, all s.v. “παιδεύω”; TDNT, s.v. “παιδεύω,” by G. Bertram; Cf. *1 Clement* 56:4; *Psalms of Solomon* 3:4; 13:8; *Psalms* 6:2; 37:2; 89:10; 140:5.

⁵⁷ On this form see BDF 36-7; Moulton and Howard, *Grammar*, 2:190.

⁵⁸ See discussion of the MT on page 160-1.

⁵⁹ The only other passage cited by Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “נִפְשִׁי” and “προοράω,” is *1 Esdras* 5:63 (correctly 5:60), which is only transmitted from Codex A and may best be treated as a secondary reading. Codex B reads it as ἐωρακότες.

- (a) προωρώμην does not extend the meaning of יָרָא and describes the spatial relationship between the psalmist and YHWH.⁶⁰ The LXX rendering is a natural stylistic strengthening of the Hebrew. The LXX is a more visually concrete image than the MT, but the conceptual point is the same in either case.⁶¹
- (b) The LXX version may be conditioned by frequent expressions like “seeing the face” of YHWH or more briefly “seeing God.” In this case, the LXX would have chosen a more theological expression than the vague MT wording, and thus made an interpretation on the basis of Old Testament tradition.
- (c) A Hellenistic interpretation might have been present in the LXX’s choice of προωρώμην. In Greek conception, “seeing” possesses an absolute advantage over “believing” or even “hearing.” This tendency was carried forward in the practices of the mystery religions. There the highest rank to which an initiate could ascend is to the vision of God.⁶²
- (d) Since a belief in resurrection and immortality is evident in LXX Psalm 15:9-11, these perspectives may be seen as being picked up by προωρώμην in verse 8. The psalmist foresees his hoped-for reality – before the face of YHWH he will one day experience complete satisfaction.⁶³ In apocalyptic literature, seeing is strongly emphasized. For example, in *1 Enoch* 14:15-24 the speaker sees God himself.⁶⁴ Apocalyptic eschatological possibilities are present in *4 Ezra* 7:87, 91, 98 where the righteous will one day see the face of God.⁶⁵ In *Psalms of Solomon* 17:31 seeing God’s δόξα is highlighted.⁶⁶ That in the eschaton God will appear to all eyes is promised in *Jubilees* 1:28.⁶⁷

As seen in other Greek literature, the middle voice, as well as the active, of προοράω with an accusative may have the sense, “to see before one” spatially.⁶⁸ There are nine

⁶⁰ See Gert J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum* (Kemper, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1995), 105; Armin Schmitt, “Psalm 16, 8-11 als Zeugnis der Auferstehung in der Apostelgeschichte.” *Biblische Zeitschrift* nf 17 (1973): 233-5.

⁶¹ Bock, *Proclamation*, 172.

⁶² For discussion, examples, and references, see *TDNT*, s.v. “ὄραω,” by W. Michaelis.

⁶³ This view is argued by Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 105, and Schmitt, “Psalm 16, 8-11,” 233-4.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Testament of Levi* 5:1.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Apocalypse of Moses* 31-32.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Psalms of Solomon* 17:44; 18:6.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Sibylline Oracles* 5:426-7; seeing the servant of God in *4 Ezra* 13:52, and the two versions of *Testament of Zebulon* 9:3.

⁶⁸ E.g., Homer, *The Odyssey*, 2 vols., The Loeb Classical Library, translated by E. V. Rieu (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 1:198-9; Xenophon, *Hellenica, Books I-V*, The Loeb Classical Library, translated by Carleton L. Brownson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 304-5; *Sibylline Oracles* 3:569.

instances in Philo, all middle voice, mostly of the foreseeing of dangers.⁶⁹ With reference to the foreseeing of the future, Philo declares that this is impossible for men but possible for God as a result of his πρόνοια.⁷⁰ Josephus usually uses προοράω for the foreseeing of perils⁷¹ and also “to make provision for.”⁷² According to Josephus, a true provision for the future, though possible for the prophets,⁷³ is barred to mankind on account of his ἄγνοια and ἀπιστία.⁷⁴

In MT Psalm 16:8, נִרְאָה is used spatially, though figuratively. The middle reflexive voice of προοράω also appears to be used spatially, though figuratively in LXX Psalm 15:8, and may best be understood as “to hold before one’s eyes.”⁷⁵ Therefore, the LXX translation appears to represent the same figurative meaning as in the Hebrew text, except that the “seeing” aspect may be emphasized in the LXX, as it is in the apocalyptic literature. The concluding result clause, ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ, well represents the MT’s בְּלֹא-תַחֲמוּנִי.⁷⁶

2. Sequence Two (Verses 9-10)

- (9) διὰ τοῦτο ἠὺφράνθη ἡ καρδία μου,
καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου,
ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι,
(10) ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄδην
οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὁσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.

LXX Translation

9. Therefore, my heart is glad and my tongue rejoices;
even now, indeed,⁷⁷ my body will rest upon hope.
10. For you will not abandon me to Hades;
nor allow your godly one to see corruption.

⁶⁹ For references and discussion see *TDNT*, s.v. “ὄραω.” In Philo, the only instance where προοράω is not temporal is Philo, *On the Birth of Abel and the Sacrifices Offered by Him and by His Brother Cain*, 29-31.

⁷⁰ Philo, *On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit)*, 27-31.

⁷¹ E.g., Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 13:189; *The Jewish War*, 1:68-72; *Against Apion*, 1:77.

⁷² Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 16:378; 17:101. In the New Testament, προοράω or προείδον occurs only three times, twice in Acts and in Galatians 3:8. In Galatians, Paul speaks of the προείδειν of γραφή as the presupposition of its προεναγγελίζεσθαι. Acts 2:31 says of David, as the author of LXX Psalm 15, that he προΐδων ἐλάλησεν ... οὐτε ἐγκατελείφθη. What is meant is that David had advance knowledge of it. Acts 2:25 quotes LXX Psalm 15:8; the sense in Acts 21:29 is “already to have seen beforehand.” In Hebrews 11:40 προβλέπομαι means “to contemplate something in advance.”

⁷³ Josephus, *The Jewish War*, 1:68-72. Cf. Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1:199-204; 1:257-61.

⁷⁴ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 10:140-3.

⁷⁵ So BDAG, LEH, both s.v. “προοράω”; *TDNT*, s.v. “ὄραω.”

⁷⁶ Both the Hebrew and the Greek are figurative extensions, and the LXX’s μὴ negation of the aorist passive subjunctive σαλευθῶ well represents the Hebrew niphil imperfect form of מוּחַ negated with בְּלֹא. BDAG, LEH, and Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, all s.v. “σαλεύω.”; *TDNT*, s.v. “σαλεύω,” by G. Bertram; cf. *Psalms of Solomon* 8:33; 15:4. The Hebrew root מוּחַ has no stereotypical equivalent rendering in the LXX. Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “מוּחַ” and “σαλεύειν.” The verb σαλεύω is used in an eschatological context in Luke 21:25-26; *Testament of Levi* 3:9; 2 Thessalonians 2:2. Cf. Psalm 17:5. Contra Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 106. See discussion on pages 161-2.

⁷⁷ The phrase ἔτι δὲ καὶ is rendered as in verse seven.

The qal perfect stative קָמַשׁ is rendered with the LXX's aorist passive $\eta\upsilon\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta$ which is read as culminative and dramatic. This rendering is stereotypical, both for qal and piel forms of קָמַשׁ .⁷⁸ The translation of יִבְרַח־י with $\acute{\eta}$ $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ is unique⁷⁹ and the reason for it is unclear. The stereotypical equivalent would be $\acute{\eta}$ $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ $\mu\omicron\upsilon$,⁸⁰ as is used by codex Vaticanus 273 and the Syriac.⁸¹ Several solutions for the LXX's unusual rendering have been offered. Ernst Haenchen suggests that the LXX renders יִבְרַח־י very freely.⁸² Armin Schmitt proposes that the LXX rendering may have been influenced by the several places in the Psalms where the announcement of joy is done by way of the mouth (e.g., Psalms 63:6; 109:30), the tongue (e.g., Psalms 51:16; 126:2), or the lips (e.g., Psalms 71:23; 119:171).⁸³ Martin Rese suggests that the LXX has not understood the MT's use of יִבְרַח־י and has, therefore, translated it differently.⁸⁴ It may be that the change is created by the language referring to rejoicing.⁸⁵ Perhaps the LXX translators read an unknown *Vorlage*. Regardless, this change does not appear to be of any significance to the translation and exegesis of LXX Psalm 15.⁸⁶

The MT's רֶשֶׁת is rendered with $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$, which is the LXX's standard equivalent.⁸⁷ Both the Hebrew and the Greek nouns denote the physical aspect of a human being – the flesh.⁸⁸ Greek thought from the time of Homer viewed $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$ as the perishable part of a human being, in contrast to $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$.⁸⁹ The $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$ is destroyed by death, while the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ attains immortality.⁹⁰

⁷⁸ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “ קָמַשׁ ” and “ $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$.”

⁷⁹ Ibid., s.v. “ יִבְרַח־י ” and “ $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha$.”

⁸⁰ Ibid., s.v. “ יִבְרַח־י ” and “ $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$.”

⁸¹ See Appendix 22 and Donald M. Walter, et al., eds., *The Book of Psalms: The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version: Edited on Behalf of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament by the Peshitta Institute, Leiden* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

⁸² Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 181, who also asserts that יִבְרַח־י is probably a corruption of יִבְרַח־י .

⁸³ Schmitt, “Psalm 16, 8-11,” 234-5.

⁸⁴ Martin Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukes* (Gütersloh, Germany: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1969), 56. Rese follows von Rad in his argument that יִבְרַח־י is virtually synonymous with שָׂפָה and יָדָה .

⁸⁵ On glory as a figure for personal praise, see Psalms 7:6; 30:13; 57:9; 108:2-9.

⁸⁶ See Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, 56; Bock, *Proclamation*, 172-3.

⁸⁷ LEH, s.v. “ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$ ”; Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “ רֶשֶׁת ” and “ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$.” The LXX translates רֶשֶׁת with $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$ 148 times, with $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ seventy-nine times, with $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ twenty-three times, and with $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ fourteen times.

⁸⁸ See pages 163-5. Contra Schmitt, “Psalm 16, 8-11,” 235.

⁸⁹ TDNT, s.v. “ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$,” by E. Schweizer; EDNT, s.v. “ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$,” by A. Sand; Spicq, *Lexicon*, and LEH, s.v. “ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$.”

⁹⁰ However, the LXX and the New Testament usages of $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$ may reflect and maintain what appears to be the Old Testament view of the human being as an undivided whole with distinguishable parts or aspects. See TDNT, EDNT, and LEH, all s.v. “ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{x}$ ”; Wolff, *Anthropology*, 26-31.

The prepositional phrase בְּבֵטְחִי is rendered by the LXX's stereotypical equivalent $\acute{\epsilon}\pi' \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$. The LXX most often renders בְּבֵטְחִי and בְּבֵטַח with $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ⁹¹ and forms of $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$,⁹² particularly in prophetic and poetic texts. Occasionally the LXX renders בְּבֵטַח and בְּבֵטְחִי with $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\nu\eta$ ⁹³ and often with $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$.⁹⁴ The metaphorical language of verse 1, rendering $\text{בְּבֵטְחִי יִשְׁכַּחַב}$ with $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota} \sigma\omicron\iota \eta\lambda\pi\iota\sigma\alpha$, is echoed in verse 9.⁹⁵ The verb $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ is the LXX's stereotypical rendering of יָשָׁב and follows the MT's metaphysical expression – the psalmist's body is safe and will rest upon the psalmist's hope in that security.⁹⁶ The compound verb is used in the LXX to stress the thought of a longer stay than $\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\acute{\omega}$. Secure and lasting dwelling is at issue in, for example, Numbers 14:30, Deuteronomy 33:12, Psalm 16:9, and Proverbs 1:12.⁹⁷ The idea may be seen in Mark 4:32 ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$) where the birds are nesting in the branches rather than just alighting temporarily on them.

With the phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota \delta\grave{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \eta \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi \mu\omicron\upsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota \acute{\epsilon}\pi' \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$ the psalmist reiterates his trust in God's provision. The MT's meaning of 'in safety' is maintained by the LXX.⁹⁸ The original sense of complete safety and confidence through relationship with YHWH is highlighted – the psalmist knows that he will be with YHWH. Originally an afterlife is not in focus, although an unending relationship with YHWH is contemplated.

⁹¹ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. " בְּבֵטַח " and " $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ " lists Judges 18:7, 10; Psalms 4:8; 16:9; 22:9; 40:4; 65:5; 71:5; 78:53; Proverbs 1:33; 14:26; 22:19; Qoheleth 9:4; Hosea 2:20; Micah 2:8; Zephaniah 2:15; Isaiah 26:3; 32:9, 10; 47:10; Jeremiah 2:37; 17:7; 48:13; Ezekiel 28:26; 29:16; 34:27-28.

⁹² Judges 9:26; 20:36; 2 Kings 18:5, 24; 1 Chronicles 5:20; Job 24:23; Psalms 4:5; 9:10; 13:5; 21:7; 22:4, 5; 26:1; 27:3; 28:7; 31:6; 31:14; 31:24; 32:10; 33:21; 37:3; 37:5; 40:3; 41:9; 44:6; 52:8; 55:23; 56:2, 4, 11; 62:8, 10; 78:22; 84:12; 86:2; 91:2; 112:7; 115:9, 10, 11; 119:42; 143:8; Hosea 10:13; Micah 7:5; Isaiah 26:4; 30:12; Jeremiah 13:25.

⁹³ Job 11:18; Proverbs 3:23; Isaiah 14:30; Ezekiel 34:27; 38:8, 11, 14; 39:6, 26. Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. " בְּבֵטַח " and " $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\nu\eta$."

⁹⁴ Deuteronomy 28:52; Judges 9:26; 18:10; 18:27; 2 Kings 18:19, 20, 21, 22; 19:10; 2 Chronicles 32:10; Job 6:20; 31:24; 39:11; 40:23; Psalms 25:2; 49:6; 115:18; 118:8; 125:1; 135:18; 146:3; Proverbs 11:28; 14:16; 16:20; 21:22; 28:1, 25, 26; 29:25; Amos 6:1; Habakkuk 2:18; Zephaniah 3:2; Isaiah 30:15; 32:11; 36:5, 6, 7, 9; 42:17; 50:10; 59:4; Jeremiah 5:17; 7:4, 8, 14; 9:3; 12:5; 17:7; 39:18; 46:25; 48:7; 49:4, 11; Ezekiel 33:13. Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. " בְּבֵטַח " and " $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$."

⁹⁵ Contra Schmitt, "Psalm 16, 8-11," 235-6, who argues that the $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\nu\eta$ and $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ are closer to the MT than the LXX Psalm 15:9 since nuances of trust and safety are brought into the translation, while with $\acute{\epsilon}\pi' \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$ a new perspective pointing to the future is opened. Also, contra Haenchen and Conzelmann who argue, regarding the LXX rendering, that this alone enabled the Christians to hear an echo of the hope of resurrection: the psalmist was merely repeating his assurance of preservation from (untimely) death. Haenchen, *Acts*, 181; Hans Conzelmann, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 2nd ed., Hermenia Commentary, trans. James Limburg, et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 20-1.

⁹⁶ Cf. Psalms 37:3; 104:12. See Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. " יָשָׁב " and " $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$."

⁹⁷ See *TDNT*, s.v. " $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\acute{\omega}$," by W. Michaelis; BDAG and LEH, s.v. " $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\acute{\omega}$." The meaning "cause to dwell" occurs in Psalm 23:2 (cf. Proverbs 1:33; *1 Clement* 57:7; 58:1). The noun form occurs six times in the LXX. It refers to the sanctuary in Ezekiel 37:27 and connotes the act of building in 1 Chronicles 28:2. Josephus uses the term for Elijah's dwelling in a tent (*Jewish Antiquities*, 9:34) and for God's dwelling in the tabernacle or Temple (*Jewish Antiquities*, 3:202; 8:106).

⁹⁸ As also in *1 Clement* 57:7. BDAG, s.v. " $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ "; cf. Judges 18:7; Hosea 2:20; Proverbs 10:33.

The psalmist is sure that the danger of death severing his connection with YHWH is overcome – and the psalmist’s whole being participates in this security.

Given the development of views on afterlife within Judaism, later readers of MT Psalm 16 would recognize in verse 9 a confidence over death. Read with a developed view of afterlife,⁹⁹ Psalm 16 expresses a confidence that does not tell specifically how YHWH would deliver; but it expresses simply that the psalmist could expect deliverance from death and the perpetual presence of YHWH.¹⁰⁰ Thus, the Semitic rendering could be seen to contain an expression of resurrection hope when read in a resurrection context.¹⁰¹

Already in Greek thought ἐλπίς is used in connection with an awaited immortality. So Plato says that in the face of death that the philosopher is “of good hope.”¹⁰² For Plato, the true philosopher has “great hope” after death of winning what he has sought after in life.¹⁰³ Many have already died carried by “hope” of seeing again their relations who have preceded them in death.¹⁰⁴ The mystery religions, which promise initiates a blessed life after death, emphasize their promising outlook to the beyond under the term ἐλπίς.¹⁰⁵ In late Hellenism, one may find death spoken of as ἐλπίς αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν.¹⁰⁶

The LXX generally gives ἐλπίς and ἐλπίζω a specifically religious meaning. Hope which is always directed toward God is no longer a vague expectation, but a sure and certain confidence in YHWH. It is not only the virtue of certain individuals,¹⁰⁷ but also the piety of Israel.¹⁰⁸ Generally, no object is given to ἐλπίς and it is a matter of finding one’s refuge in

⁹⁹ See, e.g., 1QS 4:2-14; 1 Enoch 22; Daniel 12:1-3; 4 Ezra 8:53; 2 Maccabees 12:44; *Psalms of Solomon* 3:12; *Testament of Job* 4:9; Baruch 30:2; *Sybilline Oracles* 4:181-2; 4 Maccabees 18:17; *Testament of Moses* 10:9-10. For discussion see Richard J. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1-80; “Life, Death, and the Afterlife in Second Temple Judaism,” in *Life in the Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 51-79.

¹⁰⁰ See Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, The Old Testament Library, trans. J. A. Baker (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), 2:525.

¹⁰¹ Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, 56-7.

¹⁰² Plato, *Plato, Volume I: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. Harold N. Fowler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 142-5; 222-3.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 232-3.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 234-5.

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., Isocrates, *Isocrates, Volume I: Orations I-V*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. George Norlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), 134-5; *Isocrates, Volume II: Orations VIII-XII*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. George Norlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), 28-9; Aristides, *Aristides, Volume I: Panathenaic Oration and In Defense of Oratory*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. C. A. Behr (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 320-3.

¹⁰⁶ See Schmitt, “Psalm 16, 8-11,” 236-8; *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* [CD-ROM Volume E] (Irvine, Calif.: University of California, Irvine, 1999), s.v. “ἐπ’ ἐλπι”; Albert-Marie Denis, *Concordance Greque des Pseudépigraphes d’Ancien Testament: Concordance, Corpus des Textes, et Indices* (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1987), s.v. “ἐλπίς.”

¹⁰⁷ See, e.g., 2 Kings 18:5; Psalms 21:7; 26:1; 28:7; 32:10; 34:8, 22; 56:2, 4, 11; 91:2; 147:11; 1 Maccabees 17:4.

¹⁰⁸ See, e.g., Wisdom of Solomon 3:4; Sirach 34:13; Daniel 3:28; Psalms 22:4, 5; 25:20.

YHWH¹⁰⁹ with a resultant confidence in him.¹¹⁰ The prophets and the testimony of Israel throughout the Hebrew Bible affirm a blessedness of ἐλπὶς based on YHWH.¹¹¹ Similarly, the Qumran psalmist hopes in God (1QH 9:10, 14; 10:16; 11:31). Philo argues that only the one who has placed his hope in God is worthy of approval¹¹² and that the greatest hope is the hope in God.¹¹³ The faithful place their hope in God's nature.¹¹⁴ Josephus writes that to place one's hope in God¹¹⁵ is to have confidence in his help¹¹⁶ and to find salvation.¹¹⁷

The LXX's translation of the first colon of verse 10 includes the stereotypical equivalents of ἐγκαταλείπω for כִּוַּץ, ψυχή for שָׁפָךְ, and ἄδης for לִאֲשֵׁי. While ψυχή would naturally be understood as the whole of a life read within a post-Platonic Hellenistic culture, a reader may be pushed in the direction of a body/soul dualism.¹¹⁸ Thus, ψυχή may be read based on Hellenistic influence, as "soul," i.e., as a distinguishable component from "body." However, the LXX consistently uses ψυχή to mean "life,"¹¹⁹ like Qumran texts use שָׁפָךְ.¹²⁰ Thus, following the sense of the MT's שָׁפָךְ, ψυχὴν μου may most naturally be rendered as "me," meaning the inner life, the self, of the psalmist.¹²¹

The MT's תְּדַבֵּר is rendered with the LXX's stereotypical equivalent τὸν ὄσιόν σου, as may be seen most prominently in poetic contexts. In the LXX, ὄσιος has as its primary human reference those who are in a special relationship with God and consequently portray a special quality.¹²² It comes to characterize those who are ready to fulfill covenant

¹⁰⁹ Psalms 7:1; 13:5; 14:6; 16:1; 17:7; 18:2, 30; 31:1; 61:3; 62:7; 71:1; 73:28; 91:1-3, 9; 94:22; Proverbs 14:26.

¹¹⁰ Psalms 4:5; 9:10; 40:4; 52:5, 11; 43:5; 65:5; 71:5; 115:9-11; Isaiah 26:4; 51:5; Baruch 4:22; Sirach 2:6.

¹¹¹ Psalm 84:12; 146:5; Jeremiah 17:7; Proverbs 10:28; *Psalms of Solomon* 5:13, 16; 6:8; 8:37; 9:19; 15:1; 17:3, 38, 44; Sirach 31:14.

¹¹² Philo, *On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)*, 12-15.

¹¹³ Philo, *On the Special Laws (De Specialibus Legibus)*, 1:26-29; *On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)*, 64-70; *Flaccus (In Flaccum)*, 174-8.

¹¹⁴ Philo, *On the Special Laws*, 2:194-7; *On Abraham (De Abrahamo)*, 7-10; *On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)*, 95-102.

¹¹⁵ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 1:327; 5:222; 6:24.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:331-5; 7:158; 9:55; *The Jewish War*, 2:391.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ See, e.g., *Wisdom of Solomon* 16:4; 4 Maccabees 3:2-4; 14:6; 15:25.

¹¹⁹ See, e.g. Exodus 4:19; 12:16; 16:16; 1 Maccabees 12:51; Sirach 14:4; Genesis 1:20; Hosea 9:4; Numbers 35:11; Deuteronomy 11:18. LEH, s.v. "ψυχή"; TDNT, s.v. "ψυχή," by A. Dihle, et al.; BDAG, s.v. "ψυχή"; EDNT, s.v. "ψυχή," by A. Sand; Edwin Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889), 112-24; Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, s.v. "ψυχή"; Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v. "ψυχή."

¹²⁰ E.g., 1QH 2:21, 24, 29; 5:13, 18; 7:23; 9:33; etc. For discussion and other examples, see TDNT, s.v. "ψυχή."

¹²¹ See Pietersma, *New English*, 12.

¹²² See, e.g., Psalms 4:3; 18:26; 30:5; 31:24; 32:6; 37:28; 43:1; 50:5; 52:9; 132:9, 16; etc. Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. "דַּבֵּר" and "וֹסִיּוֹס"; HALOT, Clines, *Dictionary*, all s.v. "דַּבֵּר"; LEH, s.v. "וֹסִיּוֹס"; TDNT, s.v. "וֹסִיּוֹס," by F. Hauck; BDAG, s.v. "וֹסִיּוֹס"; EDNT, s.v. "וֹסִיּוֹס," by H. Bolz. In the LXX, ὄσιος is not used to translate שָׁפָךְ or קָרָץ.

obligations. Toward the end of the Second Temple period, the term is used in Jewish literature of those who will finally take up the struggle for freedom in the Maccabean revolt, but then withdraw when this struggle loses its religious emphasis.¹²³ The term ὄσιος occurs only eight times in the New Testament (five in Old Testament quotations) and believers never use the term of themselves.¹²⁴ In quotations, Revelation 15:4 and 16:5 use it of God. The other quotations are in Acts, where all three refer to Christ.¹²⁵

Although the word תַּחַשׁ/תַּחֲשׁ is rendered with the LXX's standard equivalent, διαφθορά,¹²⁶ many scholars claim that the LXX rendering is erroneous¹²⁷ or that the LXX translation represents new theological exegesis evident in its word choice.¹²⁸ In other words, it is commonly argued that the LXX rendering has shifted the meaning – the difference in the language is seen as being between experiencing a place (a pit) versus experiencing a physical change (corruption as bodily decay).

But at the time when the LXX arose, תַּחַשׁ / תַּחֲשׁ would have been understood naturally in terms of physical corruption and whatever else entered into prevailing notions of שְׂאוֹל.¹²⁹ The LXX witnesses to this development within the Hebrew text by consistently translating תַּחַשׁ / תַּחֲשׁ with various forms and compounds of ἀπόλυμι, ὀλεθρεύω, and φθείρω.¹³⁰ Later, both Aquila and Theodotion further demonstrate this movement within Jewish thought as they also consistently translate תַּחַשׁ / תַּחֲשׁ with διαφθορά.¹³¹ Independently of the LXX tradition, the Qumran usage of תַּחַשׁ provides evidence that the Qumran community formed associations for this word based on the idea of corruption.¹³²

While the Qumran community borrowed biblical phraseology, the language is no longer locked in by the limited horizon of the Hebrew Bible concept of the netherworld.

¹²³ See, e.g., Psalm 86:5; 1 Maccabees 2:42; 7:13; 2 Maccabees 14:6; *Psalms of Solomon* 8:23; 13:10; 14:3, 10. For discussion, see *TDNT*, s.v. “ὄσιος.”

¹²⁴ For discussion, see *TDNT* and *EDNT*, both s.v. “ὄσιος.”

¹²⁵ Acts 2:27; and 13:35. Acts 13:34 (Isaiah 55:3) uses ὄσια broadly to include the Davidic promise tradition. Hebrews 7:26 also uses ὄσιος to refer to Christ.

¹²⁶ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “תַּחַשׁ, תַּחֲשׁ” and “διαφθορά”; LEH, s.v. “διαφθορά.”

¹²⁷ See, e.g., Sydney Jellicoe, “Hebrew-Greek Equivalents for the Nether World, Its Milieu and Inhabitants, in the Old Testament,” *Textus* 8 (1973): 18.

¹²⁸ See, e.g., Schaper, *Eschatology*, 48-50; Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 107.

¹²⁹ See Bauckham, “Life, Death, and the Afterlife,” 80-98.

¹³⁰ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “תַּחַשׁ, תַּחֲשׁ” and “διαφθορά”; LEH, s.v. “διαφθορά.”

¹³¹ See Schmitt, “Psalm 16, 8-11,” 239-40.

¹³² See Murphy, “Šaḥat in the Qumran Literature,” *Biblica* 39 (1958): 61-6; Abegg, *Concordance*, s.v. “תַּחַשׁ and תַּחֲשׁ”; *Concordance*, s.v. “תַּחַשׁ.” Of the fifty-eight occurrences of תַּחַשׁ in the Qumran nonbiblical manuscripts, the ideas of “corruption,” “ruin,” and “destruction” seem to form the associations for its usage to some degree in every instance. The connotations of “corrupt,” or “ruin,” or “destruct” is clear in texts such as CD 6:15; 1QS 4:12; 1QM 3:9; 1QH^a 5:11; 4Q270 fragment 2, 2:20 (where תַּחַשׁ is in antithetical parallelism with דַּרְכֵי חַיִּים, “ways of life”); 4Q418 fragment 69, 2:6; 4Q422 2:11; 4Q434 fragment 2, 2; 4Q436 fragment 1a+b, 1:8; 1QH 2:21; 3:12. The usages of תַּחַשׁ to connote “pit” also seem to carry an association with “corruption,” “ruin,” or “destruction.” See, e.g., CD 14:2; 4Q215a fragment 1, 2:3; 4Q287 fragment 6, 4.

While the precise nature of תקש may not be determined from the Qumran texts, 1QS 4:11-14 affirms the connotation of some sort of everlasting corruption in the next world.¹³³ The *Hôdāyôt* also use forms derived from תקש in a similar fashion.¹³⁴ These texts, like LXX Psalm 15:10, use תקש in parallel with לשחח and portray a more developed view of the afterlife than earlier MT connotations.¹³⁵ The Qumran point of view appears to be similar to that found in the Wisdom of Solomon 5:15-23. In the Wisdom of Solomon, ἀφθαρσία is used three times in the sense of imperishability (Wisdom of Solomon 2:23; 6:18-19). This is not just bodily incorruptibility, as can be seen from the fact that it is contrasted with death (physical and spiritual) in 2:24. In Wisdom of Solomon 6:18-19 it stands for moral wholeness, man's claim to eternal life.¹³⁶ The corresponding adjective ἄφθαρτος modifies the divine spirit (Wisdom of Solomon 12:1) and the light of the world (Wisdom of Solomon 18:4).

The connotation of διαφθορά as “destruction,” “corruption,” or “ruin” is also well attested in Greek philosophy. The word group φθείρω-φθορά-φθαρτός is well known from older Greek philosophy.¹³⁷ In Plato, one reads the generalizing conclusion: γενομένῳ παντὶ φθορά ἐστίν¹³⁸; and in Diogenes Laertius, πᾶν τὸ γεγόμενον φθαρτόν.¹³⁹ For Aristotle, the φθαρτόν is in close connection with the γενητόν and the ἀφθαρτον corresponds to the ἀγένητον.¹⁴⁰ During the Hellenistic period, the antithetical pair φθαρτόν/ἀφθαρτον is comprehended not in an ontological or physical sense but in a religious sense.¹⁴¹ The φθορά is the opposite pole of ἀθανασία.¹⁴² In describing the Essenes' view of afterlife, Josephus stresses that σώματα are φθαρτά.¹⁴³ On the other hand, the ψύχη is ἄφθαρτος.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, 2 Maccabees 7:16 says of all people that they should be

¹³³ While 1QS 4:11-14 describes the judgment of the wicked, other passages also speak of corruption using תקש . See, e.g. 1QH 3:26-27; 2:21; CD 6:15; 14:2; 1QH 3:12; 3:16. Jean Duhaime, “Les voies des deux esprits (1QS iv 2-14) une analyse structurelle,” *Revue de Qumrân* 20 (2000): 349-67. “Everlasting corruption” may be seen most explicitly in 1QS 4:12 (לשחח עולמים); 4Q418 fragment 69, 2:6 (ולשחח לולם); 4Q222 2:11 (לשחח] ... עולם); 4Q287 fragment 6, 4 (לשחח עולמים).

¹³⁴ Also see 1QH 3:18; 3:19; 5:6; 8:28-9. The prayer in Sirach 51:1-12 is similar to the *Hôdāyôt* as is Sirach 48:5-7.

¹³⁵ Texts that clearly display a parallelism employing לשחח and תקש include 1QHa 11:16; 11:19; 4Q432 fragment 5, 5.

¹³⁶ In 4 Maccabees 9:22 and 17:12 the word ἀφθαρσία has the connotation of bodily incorruption.

¹³⁷ *TDNT*, s.v. “φθείρω,” by Günther Harder.

¹³⁸ Plato, *The Republic*, 2:244-7.

¹³⁹ Diogenes Laertius, *Diogenes Laertius, Volume II: Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. R. D. Hicks (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), 426-7.

¹⁴⁰ For discussion, see *TDNT*, s.v. “φθείρω.”

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² E.g., see Copenhauer, *Hermetica*, 6, 120.

¹⁴³ Josephus, *The Jewish War*, 2:154-8; 2:159-63; cf. 3:372.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

given the predicate ἄφθαρτος and in Wisdom of Solomon 9:15 the same expression is used specifically of the human body.¹⁴⁵ Some texts show that διαφθείρω can also take on the particular meaning of “to rot.”¹⁴⁶

Thus, the LXX usage of διαφθορά to connote “corruption” represents concepts and word usage well attested in the Greek-speaking world. Qumran texts like 1QH 3:12, 16, 18-9, 26-7; 5:6; 8:28-29; 1QS 9:16-17; 10:19-20; 11:13; CD 14:2; and especially 1QS 4:2-14 indicate that a Hebrew reader would have understood תפשׁ in terms of physical corruption in association with לאישׁ. That this understanding of תפשׁ is independent of the LXX may also be seen in the Hebrew text of Sirach 51, which parallels MT Psalm 16:10.¹⁴⁷ Thus, no LXX mistranslation has occurred and no alteration of the MT has taken place. Instead, the word תפשׁ has apparently been fixed conceptually in the translator’s milieu and the rendering διαφθοράν would emphasize concretely the results of being abandoned in לאישׁ, based on current views of the afterlife. The key element in both the Hebrew text and the Greek text appears to be the flesh. The psalmist is asserting preservation of a relationship with YHWH that includes his רבב/σάρξ. The meaning of LXX verse 10 may best be understood as being derived from the Hebrew text itself. Consequently, the common observation that only the LXX translation makes supportable a bodily preservation reading of this text is incorrect.¹⁴⁸ The MT can form the textual ground for such an argument, and the LXX rendering may be understood as a fair translation of the Hebrew usage in its context.

e. Conclusion (Verse 11)

(11) ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς·
 πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου,
 τερπνότητες ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σου εἰς τέλος.

LXX Translation

11. You have made known to me ways of life; you will fill me with joy along with your presence; pleasures are in your right hand, completely.

¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, Wisdom of Solomon 2:23 says that God made humanity ἐπ’ ἀφθαρσίᾳ.

¹⁴⁶ See, e.g., Plutarch, *Plutarch’s Moralia. Volume II: 86B-171F*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. Frank C. Babbitt (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), 10-11; *Plutarch’s Lives. Volume XI: Aratus, Artaxerxes, Galba, and Otho*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. Bernadette Perrin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 162-3.

¹⁴⁷ See S. Schechter and C. Taylor, eds. *The Wisdom of Ben Sira. Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1899), 21-3, 49-53; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus*, The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge: University Press, 1912), 345-55; Skehan and DiLella, *Ben Sira*, 560-7.

¹⁴⁸ See Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, 57, who cites three Targumim which render תפשׁ with the Aramaic כבלי meaning “corruption” (Targumim to Isaiah 38:17; Exodus 28:8; Jonah 2:7). Also, see W. Braude *The Midrash on Psalms*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959) on Psalm 16:9, 196-203; 435-6; J. W. Bowker, “Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form” *New Testament Studies* 14 (1968): 101-4; J. W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1954), 170.

The MT's **חַיִּיךְ** **חַיָּא** is rendered with the LXX's stereotypical equivalent, **ὄδοὺς ζωῆς**.¹⁴⁹ This expression may be understood as a reference to eternal life; in the LXX, **ζωή** is often used to refer to eternal life.¹⁵⁰ Of the 147 times **חַיִּיךְ** occurs in the MT, the LXX uses **ζωή** 130 times and **ζῆν** ten times.¹⁵¹ The word **ζωή** occurs 278 times in the LXX,¹⁵² in 141 instances it is the translation of the Hebrew **חַיִּיךְ** and in twenty-one it corresponds to a form of **חַיָּא**. It is only in the Hagiographa and Apocrypha that the word is clearly seen as a religious term.¹⁵³ In later Judaism, the gift of life, which has primarily a natural sense, is understood as including eternal life. Thus 4 Maccabees 18:18 is adduced with Ezekiel 37 and Proverbs 3:18 (**ζύλον ζωῆς**) as proof of eternal life. This is linked with the traditional desire for long life, as is evident in 4 Maccabees 17:12: **ἀφθαρσία ἐν ζωῇ πολυχρονίῳ**.¹⁵⁴ From the time of the Maccabees, belief in eternal life and resurrection is evidently accepted in various Jewish circles.¹⁵⁵ Circles which accepted belief in eternal life and resurrection interpreted images found in wisdom literature eschatologically.¹⁵⁶ Thus, wisdom is understood to bring life not merely in the sphere of the happiness or longevity of natural life but also life in an apocalyptic eschatological sense. This may be seen in several of the Psalms.¹⁵⁷

The prepositional phrase **μετὰ τοῦ προσόπου σου** expresses company or relationship.¹⁵⁸ The final prepositional phrase **εἰς τέλος** is most often used in the LXX adverbially as an expression of totality,¹⁵⁹ which well represents the MT's **כִּצְנֵי**.¹⁶⁰ Thus, LXX 15:11 is appropriate Greek idiom for the Hebrew terms given the MT's expression of

¹⁴⁹ Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. "**חַיָּא**" and "**ὄδοὺς**"; "**חַיִּיךְ**" and "**ζωή**."

¹⁵⁰ TDNT, s.v. "**ζάω, ζωή**"; LEH and BDAG, s.v. "**ζωή**."

¹⁵¹ Hatch and Redpatch, *Concordance*, s.v. "**חַיִּיךְ**" and "**ζωή**"; Accordance, s.v. "**חַיִּיךְ**" and "**ζωή**."

¹⁵² One hundred ninety-one times in the Hebrew Bible. Accordance, s.v. "**ζωή**."

¹⁵³ **ζωή** occurs in the historical books fifty-four times and in the prophetic books forty-three times, but it is found ninety-four times in the Hagiographa including Daniel, and eighty-seven times in the Apocrypha. TDNT, s.v. "**ζάω, ζωή**"; BDAG and LEH, s.v. "**ζωή**."

¹⁵⁴ Also see 4 Maccabees 15:3; 16:25.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. MT Daniel 12:2 **חַיִּיךְ** **חַיָּא** = **εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον** (LXX); 2 Maccabees 7:9: **εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς**; 7:14: **ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν**; 7:23: **τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῖν πάλιν ἀποδίδωσιν μετ' ἐλέους**; 7:36: **πόνον ἀέναου ζωῆς**; Job 19:25: **ἀέναος** (for **חַיָּא**). See, e.g., 1QS 4:2-14; 1 Enoch 22; 4 Ezra 8:53; 2 Maccabees 12:44; *Psalms of Solomon* 3:12; *Testament of Job* 4:9; Baruch 30:2; *Sybilline Oracles* 4:181-2; 4 Maccabees 18:17; *Testament of Moses* 10:9-10; Appendix 8.

¹⁵⁶ See the LXX, e.g., Proverbs 4:23 (**ἔξοδοι**); 5:6; 6:23; 8:35; 10:17; 15:24; 16:17; (φῶς ζωῆς) Psalm 56:13; (δένδρον ζωῆς) Proverbs 11:30; 13:12; 15:4; (πηγὴ ζωῆς) Proverbs 13:14; 14:27; 16:22; 18:4; Sirach 21:13; (ἐντολαὶ ζωῆς) Baruch 3:9; (πρόσταγμα ζωῆς) Ezekiel 33:15.

¹⁵⁷ Cf., e.g., the repetition of **ζῆσόν με** in LXX Psalm 118 and **καὶ ζήσεται εἰς τέλος ὅτι οὐκ ὄψεται καταφθοράν** in LXX Psalm 48:10 (for MT Psalm 49:10 **חַיִּיךְ** **חַיָּא** **חַיִּיךְ** **חַיָּא** **חַיִּיךְ** **חַיָּא** **חַיִּיךְ**).

¹⁵⁸ LEH, s.v. "**μετά**."

¹⁵⁹ LEH, s.v. "**τέλος**." Cf. Numbers 17:28; 2 Maccabees 5:7; 3 Maccabees 1:26; Leviticus 27:33; Wisdom of Solomon 16:5; Joshua 3:16.

¹⁶⁰ See Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. "**כִּצְנֵי**" and "**εἰς (τὸ) τέλος**." Also see discussion on pages 85, 169, 171-4, 203-4.

unqualified hope. The LXX phrasing of verse 11 may be read as carrying the same force as the MT. The Psalm's context and its conceptual frame of reference would have been, at the time of the LXX rendering, different than at the time of the final formation of MT Psalm 16.

In summary, LXX Psalm 15 renders MT Psalm 16 with stereotypical equivalents and represents an appropriate translation of the figurative Semitic phrases as they are understood in the context of the Jewish thought world of its time. In the LXX version, there is an evident apocalyptic eschatological reading of MT Psalm 16 which is at least more explicit, and perhaps a significant movement beyond, the meaning of the MT in the context of the formation of the MT-150 Psalter. Therefore, it should be understood that the apocalyptic eschatological reading of Psalm 16 evident in the LXX translation can only be obtained on the basis of context. None of the Greek word choices or syntactical relationships could in isolation, or on their own, justify such a conclusion. Analysis of the LXX text demonstrates that the MT of Psalm 16 would have been read similarly within the LXX's conceptual frame of reference. Thus, apocalyptic eschatological readings of immortality and resurrection can be seen to emerge conceptually from within MT Psalm 16.¹⁶¹

B. 4Q177 Appropriation

4Q177 appropriates Psalm 16:3a in an essentially apocalyptic eschatological series of messianic observations on אחרית הימים, "the latter days."¹⁶² The structure of 4Q177 resembles that of later midrashic texts and contains a running narrative within the interpretation.¹⁶³ Prophetic passages are used as proof texts, seemingly drawn principally from the Psalms, and are oriented by this phrase אחרית הימים, which functions as a term for the last phase of history.¹⁶⁴ This period may have begun already but distinctive features of אחרית הימים such as the coming of the Messiahs and the war against the *Kittim* remain in the future. Thus, אחרית הימים means a limited period of time directly before the age of salvation and covers aspects of the past, as well as aspects of the present time, and of the future. The present time of the community's own existence is dated to the אחרית הימים and the coming of the Messiahs and the final judgment are expected to happen within אחרית הימים.

¹⁶¹ Contra Schaper, *Eschatology*, 48-50; Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 108.

¹⁶² See pages 44-6, 72-4; Milgrom and Novakovic, "Catena A," 286-7; Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 236-48. See Appendices 9 and 10 for the texts.

¹⁶³ See Schiffman and VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Catena," by George J. Brooke.

¹⁶⁴ See Steudel, "אחרית הימים," 225-46; Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 176. An apocalyptic eschatological orientation and the self-understanding of the Qumran community is evident. This phrase is known in the Hebrew Bible in Genesis 49:1; Numbers 24:14; Deuteronomy 4:30; 31:29; Isaiah 2:2; Jeremiah 23:20; 30:24; 48:47; 49:39; Ezekiel 38:16; Hosea 3:5; Micah 4:1; Daniel 2:28; 10:14.

While the identification of 4Q177 and 4Q174 as two copies of the same composition remains problematic due to the lack of textual overlaps,¹⁶⁵ they are very similar compositions. Steudel specifies the genre of this text as a thematic midrash with parallels to the early *pesharim*.¹⁶⁶ These are mixed texts, which are concerned with special themes, but are at the same time oriented by the Psalms, similar to the *pesharim*. While the *pesharim* start from a biblical book and provide parallels from their own time, 4Q174 and 4Q177 are oriented in their own time and provide biblical proofs, based primarily on the Psalms, concerning certain themes.

4Q174 is concerned with the way various unfulfilled prophecies are being and will be fulfilled in the experiences of the community. Portions of Deuteronomy 33, 2 Samuel 7, and Psalms 1 and 2 are interpreted by secondary supporting proof texts linked to the passage they interpret by common terms, similar to the rabbinic practice of *gezerah shavah*. Passages from the Law, Prophets, and Psalms are chosen which all have particularly explicit prophetic qualities.¹⁶⁷

4Q174 quotes principally from 2 Samuel 7:10-14, Psalms 1-2, and Deuteronomy 33:8-21¹⁶⁸ with exposition that appears to have a messianic focus. 4Q174 announces the coming of two Messiahs, צִמַח דָּוִד, the “Branch/Shoot of David,”¹⁶⁹ and דְּוֹרֵשׁ הַתּוֹרָה, the “Interpreter of the Torah.”¹⁷⁰ This announcement, principally emerging from the text of 2 Samuel 7:10-14, is then supplemented by Amos 9:11a¹⁷¹ where סוּכַת דָּוִד, the “booth of David,” will be raised up. This figure is then described as:

¹⁶⁵ Contra Collins, “Review,” 315.

¹⁶⁶ Steudel, “Eschatological Interpretation,” 479. Note that Brooke describes 4Q177 as a “thematic commentary on a series of Psalms” and goes on to add that “it may not be entirely inappropriate to label the work *midrash*.” Schiffman and VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Catena.”

¹⁶⁷ See George J. Brooke, “Review: A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditions-geschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 („Florilegium”) und 4Q177 („Catena A”) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden.*” *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 26 (1995): 382; Schiffman and VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Florilegium.”

¹⁶⁸ See Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d’une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, 2 vols. (Paris: Libr. Lecoffre; J. Gabalda, 1993), 2:573; Milgrom, “Florilegium,” 248-63; Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 86-128; Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 40. (The Deuteronomy quotation may relate to the Aaronic Priest Messiah.)

¹⁶⁹ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:11; cf. Jeremiah 23:5; 33:15; 4Q161 fragments 7-10 3:22; 4Q252 5:3-4; 4Q285 5:3-4.

¹⁷⁰ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:11; cf. 4Q177 fragments 10-11, 1:5; 1QS 6:6; 8:15; CD MS A 6:7; 7:18. The second Messiah is commonly understood as the Aaronic Priest Messiah. See Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 202-5.

¹⁷¹ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:12; cf. CD 7:16; Acts 15:16. The quotation of Amos 9:11 in Acts 15:16 is the same text as in CD 7:16 and in 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:12 but differs from both the MT and LXX. See Chapter 5.

“He (is) the booth of David that is falle[n w]ho will arise to save Israel.”¹⁷⁴ Thus, the צמח דויד is equated with the סוכת דויד. A “midrash”¹⁷⁵ and *pesher* of Psalm 1:1 and quotations of Isaiah 8:11 and Ezekiel 37:23a interpret this messianic theme from the Qumran community’s apocalyptic eschatological orientation.¹⁷⁶ This eschatological deliverer is then referred to again by quotation of Psalm 2:1-2, including the reconstructed משיחו.¹⁷⁷ The orientation of לאחריית הימים¹⁷⁸ clearly sets the time frame for 4Q174, and is most prominent in its treatment of Scripture quotations. YHWH will rebuild the Temple in the eschatological age of the coming Messiahs; until then, the Qumran community will serve as a “Temple.”

4Q174 reinterprets 2 Samuel 7’s בַּיִת, “house,” through use of Exodus 15:17-8 as the eschatological Temple which YHWH will construct.¹⁷⁹ This Temple will never be destroyed because of Israel’s sins, as was the first Temple. In the present time, the true Israel, i.e., the Qumran community, will comprise a מקדש אדם, “a sanctuary of human(s).”¹⁸⁰ Keeping YHWH’s commandments may substitute for sacrifice,¹⁸¹ and may generate the same power.¹⁸² מַעֲשֵׂי תוֹרָה,¹⁸³ “works of Torah,” appear to be given the character of sacrifices, and members of the community function as priests, who are designated בני צדוק, “sons of Zadok.”¹⁸⁴ Thus, blemished persons were excluded from the community, just as they were

¹⁷² 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:13; Steudel reads: הַיֵּאָה.

¹⁷³ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:13; Steudel reads: יַעֲמִיד.

¹⁷⁴ Text and translation from Milgrom, “Florilegium,” 252-3.

¹⁷⁵ The term מִדְרָשׁ, “midrash,” immediately precedes a quotation of Psalm 1:1 which is followed by its own *pesher*, quotation of Isaiah 8:11 with interpretation, a quotation of Ezekiel 37:23a with interpretation, and Psalm 2:1-2 with its own *pesher*. Like in 4Q177, only the Psalms quotations have interpretations introduced with a formula using the technical term *pesher*. The term “midrash” as used in 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:14 appears to have a technical connotation in this context, perhaps not referring to a literary genre (as the later rabbinic midrashic texts) but identifying a method of scriptural exposition. See Schiffman and VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Florilegium.”

¹⁷⁶ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:14-7.

¹⁷⁷ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:18-9.

¹⁷⁸ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:2, 12, 15, 19; fragment 14, line 2.

¹⁷⁹ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:3, 10; fragments 1, 3, 2:1. Based on Exodus 15:17-18; cf. 11Q19 29:9.

¹⁸⁰ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:6.

¹⁸¹ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:6-7. Cf. 1QS 8:9-10; 9:3-6; Hosea 14:3; Psalm 141:2.

¹⁸² Cf. 1QS 8:6-10. And see Milgrom, “Florilegium,” 248.

¹⁸³ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:7; cf. 4Q174 1, 3, 2:2; 1QpHab 7:11; 8:1; 12:4-5 and 1QS 5:21; 6:18. Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 221, reads הוֹדָה (“thanksgiving”), which is accepted by Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 108. But see 4Q398 fragments 14-17, 2:3 and Milgrom, “Florilegium,” 248-51.

¹⁸⁴ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:17; cf., e.g., 1QS 5:2, 9; 1QSa 1:2; 2:3; CD MS A 4:1, 4; 5:5. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 193.

from the Temple.¹⁸⁵ Prior to building the eschatological Temple, YHWH will destroy the enemies¹⁸⁶ of the Qumran community.

4Q174 then interprets בַּיָּת (as found in 2 Samuel 7:11, 16) as the Davidic dynasty, thereby making a claim for the Qumran community that they are those who would inherit the promises of the Davidic tradition.¹⁸⁷ Therein, Psalms 1 and 2 are reinterpreted by *pesharim*.¹⁸⁸ Psalm 1 is interpreted in part by citing Isaiah 8:11 and Ezekiel 37:23 as referring to the Qumran community that “has not walked in the way of the wicked” (Psalm 1:1). In appropriating Isaiah 8:11, 4Q174 claims divine intervention:¹⁸⁹

ויהי כחזקת¹⁹³ [היד¹⁹² ויסירני¹⁹¹ מלכת בדרך] העם הזה¹⁹⁰

“And it was as with a strong [hand that he turned me aside from walking in the path of] this people.” This claim is immediately followed by an appropriation of Ezekiel 37:23a that they are:¹⁹⁴

... אשר לונא¹⁹⁷ ישמאו עוד בכור¹⁹⁶ [גל[ן]ליהמה¹⁹⁵

“Those who [shall] ne[ver defile themselves with all] their id[ols].” Then, after claiming that “they are the sons of Zadok,” Psalm 2:1-2 is quoted, ending with משיחו¹⁹⁸, “his Messiah.” A *peshar* follows which relates to באחרית הימים ישראל, “the chosen ones of Israel in the latter days.” The time frame is further defined by the following:

היאה עת המצרף הב[א]ה¹⁹⁹

“This is the time of the crucible coming.” The following quotation from Daniel 11:32b²⁰⁰ makes further comment on the time period and the quotation of Isaiah 65:22b-23b²⁰¹ furthers an apocalyptic eschatological claim of security for the Qumran community, a people that

¹⁸⁵ Cf. 1QM 7:4-6; 1QSa 2:5-9; 11Q19 45:12-14; CD MS A 15:15-17.

¹⁸⁶ For the expression בני בלל, cf. Deuteronomy 13:14; Judges 19:22; 2 Chronicles 13:7; CD MS A 4:12-19.

¹⁸⁷ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:10-19.

¹⁸⁸ For פשר as “the authentic interpretation,” cf. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 149-56.

¹⁸⁹ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:15-6.

¹⁹⁰ Isaiah 8:11b reads in 1QIsa MS A: כחזקת יד יסירני מלכת בדרך העם הזה.

¹⁹¹ MT: ויסירני; 1QIsa MS A: יסירני.

¹⁹² 1QIsa MS A: יד.

¹⁹³ With 1QIsa MS A, Leningradensis, Aleppo and approximately forty additional manuscripts. Many manuscripts read בחזקת.

¹⁹⁴ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:16-7.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Ezekiel 44:10. MT: בגלוליהם.

¹⁹⁶ בכור is an unattested difference from the MT.

¹⁹⁷ MT: ולא.

¹⁹⁸ 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:18-19.

¹⁹⁹ 4Q174 fragments 1, 3, 2:1; see 4Q171 fragments 1-10, 2:19; 4Q177 fragments 5-6, line 3. Cf. 1QS 1:17; 8:4; 1QM 17:1, 9; 1QH 5:16, etc.

²⁰⁰ 4Q174 fragments 1, 3, 2:3, 4.

²⁰¹ 4Q174 fragment 15, lines 2, 3.

describe themselves as being like the righteous ones of Daniel 11:32 and assert an eschatological victory:

כי זרען ברכי יהוה המה²⁰²

“because the seed [blessed by YHWH (are) they.]”

4Q177 is also similar to 11Q13 (11QMelch)²⁰⁴ in form in that a series of passages from the Hebrew Bible are interpreted from a distinct apocalyptic eschatological orientation.²⁰⁵ The passages are interpreted in light of אחרית הימים.²⁰⁶ A prominent figure in the 11Q13 interpretation is Melchizedek, who apparently develops from the character mentioned in Genesis 14:18 and Psalm 110:4. Melchizedek, who is referred to as אל and אלוהים in 11Q13, is the messianic deliverer and eschatological judge who saves the righteous and presides over the final judgment. Melchizedek's role as eschatological judge is derived from an interpretation of Psalm 82 in which he is identified with the judge אלוהים,²⁰⁷ the leader of all the “sons of God.”²⁰⁸ The quotation of Psalm 82:1 is introduced by עליו בשירי דויד אשר אמר, “concerning him in the songs of David where he said.” Those that will be saved are קדושי אל,²⁰⁹ “the holy ones of God.” Thus, Psalm 82 is treated as an oracle applying to the Qumran community.

The messianic deliverer of 11Q13 is further described by application of Isaiah 52:7 and Daniel 9:25b. In introducing the Daniel 9:25b application, the eschatological deliverer is also called משיח הרוח [ח], “the Messiah of the spirit,” which is linked to the Daniel 9 quotation by the term משיח.²¹⁰ Preceding and following the Daniel 9 quotation is a repeated quotation of Isaiah 52:7 with interpretation. Thus, the משיח of Daniel 9 is linked to the messenger of Isaiah 52:7. All of this reflection on a messianic deliverer follows the introduction of Melchizedek, who is said to proclaim an emancipation to release the sons of God from the burden of their sins. In presenting Melchizedek as the messianic deliverer, 11Q13 interprets Leviticus 25:13 as being the release described in Deuteronomy 15:2 by appropriating Leviticus 25:10, 13, and alluding to Isaiah 61:1-2.²¹¹

²⁰² 4Q174 fragment 15, lines 2-3 preserve a quotation of Isaiah 65:22b-23b.

²⁰³ 4QIsa MS A: ברך.

²⁰⁴ See Roberts, “Melchizedek,” in *DSS 6B*, 264-73.

²⁰⁵ 11Q13 quotes from Leviticus 25:9, 13; Deuteronomy 15:2; Psalms 82:1; 7:8b-9a; 82:2; Isaiah 52:7; Daniel 9:25b. 11Q13 also alludes to Leviticus 25:10 and Isaiah 61:1-2.

²⁰⁶ See, e.g., 11Q13 2:4.

²⁰⁷ 11Q13 2:9-11.

²⁰⁸ 11Q13 2:14.

²⁰⁹ 11Q13 2:9.

²¹⁰ See 11Q13 2:18 and Daniel 9:25b.

²¹¹ See 11Q13 2:5-9. Leviticus 25:10, which equates the דרוך with the יובל, is used to link Leviticus 25:3 and Isaiah 61:1-2. See Lim, “11QMelch,” 92.

Significant formal parallels exist between 4Q174, 4Q177, and 4Q175 (4QTestim)²¹² in the gathering of quotations around a central theme. 4Q175 is divided by section markers into four paragraphs, each containing a Scripture quotation, the first three biblical, the fourth from the *Psalms of Joshua*.²¹³ The 4Q175 compilation of Exodus 20:22a, Deuteronomy 5:28-29; 18:18-19, Numbers 24:15-17, Deuteronomy 33:8-11, and *Psalms of Joshua* appears to be a collection of *excerpta* or *testimonia* apparently used in Qumran theological circles.²¹⁴

The first quotation, lines 1-8, is taken from Proto-Samaritan tradition.²¹⁵ The quotation from SP Exodus 20:21b conflates readings of MT Deuteronomy 5:8b-29 and 18:18-19,²¹⁶ which is used to predict an eschatological prophet, the New Moses. The second quotation is from Numbers 24:15-17, which in Qumran exegesis applies to the eschatological priest (the Star of Jacob), and the king of the age of salvation (שבט מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל, “the Scepter of Israel”), i.e., the priestly Messiah and the royal Messiah.²¹⁷ The third quotation is from Deuteronomy 33:8-11, Moses’ blessing of Levi relating to the role of Levi in interpreting and in teaching the Torah. This *testimonium* may refer to the New Aaron, the messianic priest to come. Or it may apply to the community’s Teacher of Righteousness, the priest in present

²¹² See John M. Allegro, “Testimonia,” in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*. Vol. 5, *Qumran Cave 4:1 (4Q158-4Q186)*, ed. John M. Allegro, col. Arnold A. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 57-60; Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 225-9; Frank M. Cross, “Testimonia (4Q175=4QTestim),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6B, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Henry W. L. Rietz (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2002), 308-27.

²¹³ 4Q175 lines 21-30 is a quotation from the *Psalms of Joshua* found in 4Q379 fragments 22 2:7-14. See Carol A. Newsom, “The ‘Psalms of Joshua’ from Qumran Cave 4,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 39 (1988): 56-73; “Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q378, 4Q379),” in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, Vol. 22, *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George J. Brooke and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 237-88; Fitzmyer, *The Semitic Background*, 59-89. The fragments appear to be part of an apocryphal work used by the Qumran community.

²¹⁴ For discussion, see Hatch, *Essays*, 203-4; Fitzmyer, *The Semitic Background*, 82-9; Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 28-60. Edwin Hatch proposes a concept of biblical *excerpta* that are presupposedly Jewish, rather than Christian, collections of biblical verses in the string of scriptural passages that he finds in the writings of the early church. For him, Christian writers had taken over the practice of extracting verses from the Bible if not also the very collections made by Jews in earlier times. Hatch proposes not only manuals of controversy used in Jewish propaganda but also manuals of morals and devotion. He speaks of collections of biblical extracts but does not go so far as to propose that these were produced in book form. Hatch also grants that the textual and formal characteristics of the biblical verses varied. Some followed the LXX closely while others diverged from it (e.g., Psalm 118 [119], 21 [22] in *Barnabas* 5). There were composite quotations (e.g., Daniel 7:10 and Isaiah 6:3 in *1 Clement* 34) and scriptural chains that lacked an overall cohesion (e.g., Psalm 117 [118], Proverbs 3, and Psalm 140 [141] in *1 Clement* 61). Hatch’s theory of biblical *excerpta* is preferable to Rendel Harris’ testimony book hypothesis, or Dodd’s *testimonia* hypothesis, in the way that it posits collections of biblical texts with varying textual characteristics among Jewish communities in the Second Temple period. Also see Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 150-2.

²¹⁵ See Cross, “Testimonia,” 309-27, for discussion of 4Q17 (4QExod-Lev^f) and 4Q22 (4QpaleoExod^m).

²¹⁶ Deuteronomy 18:18-19 is used in Acts 3:23 and 7:37.

²¹⁷ As is clearly the case in 1QS 9:11. See Appendices 5 and 6. Cf. 1QM 11:6; CD 7:18-20.

time who anticipates and seemingly participates proleptically in the age of salvation.²¹⁸ The fourth quotation deals with an arch-enemy of the Qumran community and his two sons. Joshua's curse on Jericho (Joshua 6:26) is applied to them.²¹⁹ Whether the arch-enemy, perhaps the Wicked Priest,²²⁰ may be best identified as Simon and his sons Judas and Mattathias, or as John Hyrcanus I and his sons Aristobulus and Alexander Jannaeus is unclear. Based on other Qumran references, Simon and his two sons, who were assassinated guarding Jericho in 135 B.C.E., appear to be the most likely characters referred to in 4Q175.²²¹ Thus, the four *testimonia* represent gathered texts which were important in establishing doctrine apparently relating primarily to messianism in אחרית הימים.

The diarchic nature of 4Q175's expression of messianism may be traced back to the two בְּנֵי־הַיִּצְהָר, "sons of fresh oil," of Zechariah 4:14 who will take office beside YHWH in the new age.²²² Apocalyptic literature elaborates on a doctrine of two ages in which a typology of the events and offices of Israel was projected into the new age. David, the ideal king of the old Israel, is taken as the type of the king of the new age. Zadok, David's priest and high priest in Solomon's Temple, is the type of the new Zadok, the Messiah of Aaron. These two figures, one priestly and one royal, persist in later Jewish doctrines of eschatological offices as may be seen in *Jubilees* 31:16-20.²²³ At Qumran, the doctrine of the two Messiahs is prevalent, along with the Balaam Oracles concerning the Star and the Scepter (the two eschatological figures) used as a favorite proof text.²²⁴ Outside Qumran, this same doctrine of two Messiahs, supported by appeal to the Balaam Oracles, is also found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.²²⁵

²¹⁸ Cf. CD MS A 6:11. Also see Hosea 10:12 and Joel 2:23.

²¹⁹ See 1 Kings 16:34.

²²⁰ Reading 4Q175 line 23 as corrected: וְאֵנָה אֲרוֹר אִישׁ בְּלִיעֵל.

²²¹ For discussion, see Cross, "Testimonia," 309-10. See the prayer for Alexander Jannaeus in Esther Eshel et al., "A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and his Kingdom," *Israel Exploration Journal* 42 (1992): 199-229. For a positive view of John Hyrcanus, see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 13:299-300.

²²² See 4Q254 4:2. Cf. Zechariah 3:8-9; 6:12-13. See James C. VanderKam, "Messianism in the Scrolls," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1994), 211-34; John J. Collins, "Messianism in the Maccabean Period," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, ed. Jacob Neusner et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 97-110; *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1998), 71-90; *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 74-101; Craig A. Evans, "The Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Israel's Messiah: In the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 85-101.

²²³ See VanderKam, "Messianism"; Collins, *Apocalypticism*, 71-90; *Scepter and the Star*, 74-101; Cross, "Testimonia," 310.

²²⁴ See Appendices 5 and 6. Also see, e.g., CD MS A 12:23; 14:19; CD MS B 20:1; IQS 9:11; IQSa 2:11-13; IQM 11:7. For discussion, see Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 74-101; VanderKam, "Messianism."

²²⁵ See especially *Testament of Levi* 18:1-14; cf. *Testament of Reuben* 6:8-12; *Testament of Simeon*

The 4Q175 *testimonia* collection resembles the composite citations of the New Testament. 4Q175 shows that the stringing together of scriptural texts was a pre-Christian literary procedure, which appears to be followed in the New Testament.²²⁶ Texts quoted in both 4Q174 and 4Q175 are quoted at significant points in the New Testament – although principally outside of New Testament composite quotations.²²⁷

As in 4Q174, 2 Samuel 7:10-14 (the Nathan oracle in Psalm 132) is quoted in Acts 2:30 (Psalm 132:11), 2 Corinthians 6:18, John 7:42, Hebrews 1:5 (in a composite quotation), and may be alluded to in Luke 1:32-33, Acts 2:30; 7:45-46; 13:23, John 7:42, and Hebrews 12:7; 21:7.²²⁸ Amos 9:11 is quoted in Acts 15:16-17 and Amos 9:9 may be alluded to in Luke 22:31. Ezekiel 37:27 is quoted in 2 Corinthians 6:16 and Ezekiel 37:23 may be alluded to in Titus 2:14.²²⁹ Psalm 2 is quoted in Acts 4:25-26; 13:33, Hebrews 1:5; 5:5, and may be alluded to in Revelation 2:26-27; 11:18; 12:5; 19:15, 19, Matthew 3:17; 17:5, Mark 1:11; 9:7, Luke 3:22; 9:35, John 1:49, Hebrews 1:2, and Philippians 2:12. Deuteronomy 33:8-12 may be alluded to in Matthew 10:37, Luke 14:26, and 2 Thessalonians 2:13. Isaiah 65:23 may be alluded to in Philippians 2:16. Thus, the texts quoted in 4Q174 have a significant role in the formation of New Testament messianism.

As in 4Q175, Deuteronomy 18:18-91 is quoted in Acts 3:22-23 and 7:37. In Acts, the eschatological prophet is understood to be Jesus.²³⁰ In John, John the Baptist is described as denying that he is the Christ (i.e., the royal Messiah), denying that he is Elijah, and denying that he is “the prophet,” thus echoing the same categories of eschatological offices of Israel found in 4Q175.²³¹ Numbers 24:15-17 may be heard in Matthew 2:2-10 as Jesus’ birth coincides with the rise of the star in the east. In Revelation 2:28 Jesus is the star and in

7:1-3; *Testament of Judah* 21:1-5. Howard C. Kee, “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 775-828. For discussion, see Anders Hultgård, “The Ideal ‘Levite,’ the Davidic Messiah and the Saviour Priest in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*, ed. John J. Collins and George W. E. Nickelsburg (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1980), 93-110.

²²⁶ See Hatch, *Essays*, 203-4; Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 28-60.

²²⁷ As in 11Q13, Psalm 7:9 may be alluded to in Revelation 2:23. Isaiah 52:7 is quoted in Romans 10:15 and may be alluded to in Acts 10:36; 2 Corinthians 5:20; Ephesians 2:17; 6:15. Daniel 9:24 may be alluded to in Acts 10:43 and Daniel 9:26 may be alluded to in Luke 21:24. 11Q13 may also be heard in Hebrews 5:5-6, where Psalms 2:7 and 110:4 are strung together in a composite quotation serving a christological argument.

²²⁸ See Appendix 13. Also see the “Index of Quotations” and the “Index of Allusions and Verbal Parallels” in Kurt Aland et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament*, rev. 4th ed. (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1993), 887-901.

²²⁹ Ezekiel 37:5-27 is a favorite text in the Book of Revelation, alluded to in Revelation 7:1; 11:11; 21:3.

²³⁰ In Deuteronomy 18:19, the word מַנְבִּי appears in 4Q175 line 7, in the LXX, and in Acts 3:23, but is not found in the MT or SP.

²³¹ See John 1:19-23; 6:14; 7:40-42. And see Cross, “Testimonia,” 310.

Revelation 22:16 he is the bright morning star.²³² Deuteronomy 33:8-11²³³ may be echoed in Hebrews 4:14-5:10, where Jesus is identified as the priestly Messiah.²³⁴ 11Q13 may also be heard in Hebrews 5:5-10, where Psalms 2:7 and 110:4 are strung together in a composite quotation serving a christological argument.²³⁵ So, the texts appropriated in 4Q175 come to have an important role in the shaping of New Testament messianism.

4Q177 includes a series of observations, which seem to be structured by the interpretation of Psalms,²³⁶ about the historical realization of biblical passages in אחרית הימים.²³⁷ The quotations are understood as oracles and are interpreted from an apocalyptic eschatological orientation. They “explain” the eschatologically comprehended time of the Qumran community.²³⁸ The enemy, דורשי חלקות, “the seekers after smooth things” (presumably the Pharisees),²³⁹ will be defeated by a final judgment. As in other Qumran writings, the enemy is guilty of misinterpreting the Torah and the Qumran community’s hope is the final success of its own Torah interpretation. Yet, a sense of urgency is heard in the “how long” pleas taken from the Psalms.²⁴⁰ The Psalms are understood as Davidic oracles that are fulfilled in YHWH’s deliverance of the Qumran community. Other prophetic and apocalyptic texts are used as supporting proof texts linked to the Psalm they interpret by common terms and concepts.

²³² The royal and priestly offices are conflated, as they are in Hebrews.

²³³ In Deuteronomy 33:8, 4Q175 line 14 reads וּלְלוֹי אָמַר הָבּוּ לְלוֹי, and the LXX reads καὶ τῷ Λευὶ εἶπεν. The MT omits הָבּוּ לְלוֹי. The 4Q175 and LXX reading is supported by 4Q35 fragments 11-15, line 1. The same reading may be reconstructed in 4Q174 fragments 6-7, line 3. See Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 223-4.

²³⁴ The royal and priestly offices are conflated. 4Q175 lines 14-20 (Deuteronomy 33:8-10) and 4Q174 fragments 6-7, lines 3-6 (Deuteronomy 33:8-11) may both be heard in Hebrews 4:14-5:10.

²³⁵ Of the texts quoted in 4Q174 and 4Q175, Dodd considers Psalm 2 and Deuteronomy 18 to be *testimonia* of the early Christian community and includes Psalm 2; Deuteronomy 18; 2 Samuel 7; Psalm 132; and Amos 9:11-12 as part of the “Bible of the Early Church.” Like Psalm 16, Dodd does not classify these Scriptures in any of his categories. Psalm 110 is also left unclassified. See Appendices 2 and 3.

²³⁶ Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 236-48; Steudel, “Eschatological Interpretation,” 475, 479. The condition of the fragments make a conclusive argument for a Psalter-oriented sequence impossible. However, only the Psalms are followed by *peshet* interpretations and the cluster of Psalms seems to carry the weight of 4Q177’s argument. Also note that none of the biblical texts appropriated in 4Q177 is appropriated in another Qumran nonbiblical manuscript. David L. Washburn, *A Catalog of Biblical Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). (The only possible exception being 4QpIsa^c [4Q165] fragment 7, which may refer to Isaiah 32:7. Regardless, 4Q165’s texts are too fragmentary to determine the thrust of any interpretation.) See pages 44-6, 72-4, and Appendices 9 and 10.

²³⁷ See 4Q177 fragments 1-4, 14, 24, 31, lines 5 and 7; fragments 7, 9-11, 20, and 26 line 10; fragments 12-13, 1:4-5.

²³⁸ Cf. 1QS 8:5; 1QM 1:1; 4Q169 1-3; CD 4:4; 4Q171 2:18.

²³⁹ See Steudel, “Eschatological Interpretation,” 478.

²⁴⁰ עַד אֵנָּה occurs four times in the quotation from Psalm 13:2-3 (4Q177 fragments 7, 9-11, lines 8-9), and again in the quotation of Psalm 6:4-5a (4Q177 fragments 12-13, 1:5).

Following the order of Steudel's reconstruction,²⁴¹ Isaiah 37:30b, c is first quoted with reference to the current time and is followed by a quotation of Isaiah 32:7a-c²⁴² that describes the enemy. In what appears to be a response, Psalm 11:1a, 2 is quoted.²⁴³ The appropriation of Psalm 11:1a, 2 includes its superscription, לְדָוִד [לְמִנְצַח], "for the leader; of David."²⁴⁴ The psalmist's opening statement of taking refuge in YHWH is immediately followed by YHWH's reported instruction to flee the enemy. A *peshet* follows the citation of Psalm 11:1a, 2 which interprets this text with the help of Micah 2:10b-11 as applying to those that will flee and be exiled.²⁴⁵ Thus, Psalm 11:1a, 2 is reinterpreted as a Davidic oracle that is fulfilled in אַחֲרֵי־תֵּיּוֹם הַיָּמִיּוֹת. Thereafter, Psalm 12:1a appears to be quoted and applied in an extended description of the exiles that also includes a quotation of Isaiah 22:13b, c (possibly as well as Isaiah 27:11b and Jeremiah 6:14c).²⁴⁶

Psalm 12:7 is quoted at the beginning of a composite citation and appears to be an introduction to the appropriation of Zechariah 3:9 (and possibly Isaiah 6:10d)²⁴⁷ and its vision of a Davidic figure who is to usher in the age of salvation.²⁴⁸ The Zechariah 3:9 quotation immediately follows the quotation of Psalm 12:7 and the phrase כַּאֲשֶׁר כָּתוּב, "as it is written." Thus, Psalm 12:7 is appropriated as an oracle that is to be fulfilled as described in Zechariah 3:9: deliverance from guilt through a Davidic messianic figure. The links between Psalm 12:7 and Zechariah 3:9 are אִמְרוּתָהּ יְהוָה, "the words of YHWH," which are understood as applying to an apocalyptic eschatological victory brought about by a deliverer through whom YHWH will remove the guilt of the land.²⁴⁹ Thus, Psalm 12:7 is understood to be messianic in its references to YHWH's promises, which include עַתָּה אֶקְוֶה, "Now, I will arise."²⁵⁰

Psalm 13:2-3 is then quoted in appealing to YHWH for victory over the enemy. A *peshet* follows which is linked to Psalm 13 by [ע]לְ נֹצֵחַ, "concerning eternity,"²⁵¹ and is

²⁴¹ See Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 71-6, and Appendices 9 and 10. Also see pages 72-4. Cf. Milgrom and Novakovic, "Catena A," 288-303.

²⁴² Parallel to Psalm 10:2, 7-11. The column begins in the middle of a sentence and seems to conclude a discussion of Psalm 10. See Schiffman and VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Catena." Steudel suggests a possible reconstruction of Psalm 5:6a. Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 80-1. See Appendix 10.

²⁴³ Milgrom and Novakovic, "Catena A," 293, reconstruct Psalm 11:1-2a.

²⁴⁴ 4Q177 fragments 5-6, line 7.

²⁴⁵ 4Q177 fragments 5-6, line 9.

²⁴⁶ See Appendix 10.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ 4Q177 fragments 7, 9-11, 20, and 26, lines 1 and 2. See Zechariah 3:8, כִּי־הִנְנִי מְבִיא אֶת־עֵבֶדְךָ צִמְחָה, "For behold I am going to bring my servant the branch." Cf. Psalm 132:17; Isaiah 4:2; 11:1; Jeremiah 23:5; 33:15. Also see 4Q174 fragments 1-3, 1:10-12.

²⁴⁹ See Zechariah 3:8-10 and cf. Micah 4:4.

²⁵⁰ Psalm 12:6.

²⁵¹ See Milgrom and Novakovic, "Catena A," 295; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C.

oriented by בְּאַחֲרֵי יָמֵי הַיָּמִין [אֲחֵרֵי יָמֵי הַיָּמִין], “in the latter days.”²⁵² Psalm 13:5a is then quoted in referring to the enemy and a free rendering of Ezekiel 25:8b, the oracle against Moab due to Moab’s treatment of Judah, is appropriated against the חֲלָקוֹת דּוֹרְשֵׁי חַלְלֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ, “seekers after smooth things.”²⁵³ Thus, Psalm 13, along with its conclusion (verse 6), may be echoed and appropriated as an oracle to be realized in the apocalyptic eschatological victory over the enemy:²⁵⁴

וְאָנֹכִי בְּחַסְדְּךָ בָּטַחְתִּי יִגַּל לִבִּי בִּי שׁוֹעֲתֶךָ אֲשִׁירָה לִיהוָה כִּי גָמַל עָלַי

“I have trusted in your lovingkindness, my heart will rejoice in your salvation. I will sing to YHWH, because he has benefited me.”

In a triumphal thrust, Deuteronomy 7:15a is conflated with Psalm 16:3a and followed by (possibly Joel 2:2b,) Nahum 2:11b, and Psalm 17:1a in a composite citation that is oriented by בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים.²⁵⁵ The Deuteronomy 7:15a quotation appropriates promises of YHWH’s חֲסֹד including protection from diseases experienced in Egypt and affliction of enemies with these same diseases. Immediately following the Deuteronomy 7:15a citation, Psalm 16:3a is quoted.²⁵⁶ The quotation appears to reinterpret Psalm 16:3’s קְדוֹשִׁים as being the Qumran community.²⁵⁷ Joel 2:2b may immediately follow with its description of the

Tigheelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:362-367. Abegg, *Concordance*, s.v. “נֶצַח,” lists thirty-six occurrences of נֶצַח in the Qumran nonbiblical manuscripts. Of these, all but one (1QM 4:13) clearly uses נֶצַח adverbially to refer to an unending duration, in the category of time. Eternal life is plainly depicted in the expression, חַיֵּי נֶצַח (e.g., CD 3:20; 1QS 4:7; 4Q228 fragment 1, 1:19; 4Q511 fragment 2, 1:4; 6Q18 fragment 2, 2). Eternal life is also depicted with the use of נֶצַח in 1QS 4:12, 1QHa 15:15, and 5Q16 fragment 1, 3. In addition to 4Q177, eternity is also clearly expressed by נֶצַח in such texts as 1QS 11:12 (לִנְצַחִים); 1Qsb 4:26 (נֶצַח); 1QHa 9:24 (נֶצַח); and 1QHa 15:31 (לִנְצַח). The parallelism of נֶצַח // עוֹלָם is found in 1QS 4:1; 1Qsb 4:26; 1QHa 9:24; 17:25; 21:14; 4Q427 fragment 7, 2:11; and 4Q511 fragment 2, 1:4. Other parallelisms include נֶצַח // לְעַד (1QS 11:12), and נֶצַח // עַד (4Q257 5:5).

²⁵² 4Q177 fragments 7, 9-11, 20, 26, lines 8-10.

²⁵³ 4Q177 fragments 7, 9-11, 20, 26, lines 12-14.

²⁵⁴ See 4Q177 fragments 12-13, 1:12 and fragment 19, line 6 (a quotation of Isaiah 35:10a = Isaiah 5:1-11a).

²⁵⁵ 4Q177 fragments 1-4, 14, 24, 31, lines 2-5. See Appendix 7.

²⁵⁶ See Appendix 9. Strugnell suggests that the initial verse of Psalm 16 was cited in the preceding column. Steudel speculates that the following verse, Psalm 16:4, may have been reproduced as well, but there is no 4Q177 fragment containing this.

²⁵⁷ See pages 145-53 for discussion of קְדוֹשִׁים as most likely referring to pagan deities in Psalm 16:3’s earlier MT Psalter context. For discussion of קְדוֹשִׁים, “holy ones,” in the Qumran texts see Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 178-83. Many scholars hold them to be angels (as in *1 Enoch* 12:2; 14:23; 39:5, etc.). It may be that sometimes “holy ones” includes both men and angels (as may be the case in 1QS 11:7). However, 11QS 11:7 may be read as the “holy ones” being in antithetical parallelism to the “chosen ones” (designating the Qumran community, as in 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:19), Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 182-3. (But see 1QM 12:1-2; 8; 4Q491 fragment 5, 6:1-2 where “chosen ones” may be parallel to “holy ones.”) Those reading “holy ones” in the Qumran texts as saints (e.g., 1QM 3:5; 6:6; 10:10; 16:1) find parallels in texts that they read as referring to Israelites (e.g., Daniel 7; Deuteronomy 33; *1 Enoch* 65:12; 93:6; *Jubilees* 2:24 and as particular pious people in Psalm 34:10; Psalm 16:3; Tobit 12:15 and *1 Maccabees* 1:46). See Jenni and Westermann, *Lexicon*, s.v. “קְדוֹשׁ”; HALOT and BDB s.v. “קְדוֹשׁ”; page 146, footnote 73. Of the seventy-seven occurrences of קְדוֹשִׁים in the Qumran nonbiblical manuscripts, the range of meanings appears to include: (1) faithful Israelites, i.e., the Qumran community, currently living (e.g., 1Qsb 3:26; 1QM 9:8; 18:2; 1QHa 12:25; 4Q511 fragment 3, 5:11;

יְהוָה, “day of YHWH.”²⁵⁸ Nahum 2:11b is then reinterpreted and its reference to the destruction of Nineveh and the restoration of Judah and Israel is used to describe the coming judgment on Qumran’s enemies. Psalm 17:1a is quoted – oriented by the recurring phrase באחרית הימים – and is followed by a *pesher*. The *pesher* is also oriented by the phrase באחרית הימים, and begins with [אשר יעמוד איש מבינת], “that a man will arise from the hou[se of ...].”²⁵⁹ The fragmentary nature of 4Q177 leaves uncertainty, but this may also be an explicit messianic reference.

The following discussion is also oriented by the phrase באחרית הימים and includes a plea, שוב יהוה, “Return, O YHWH.”²⁶⁰ Thus, Psalm 17:13a’s plea: קוּמָה יְהוָה, “Rise up, YHWH,” may be viewed as answered by YHWH in the judgment of the Qumran community’s enemies and in the restoration of the Qumran community. The composite citation of Deuteronomy 7:15a, Psalm 16:3a, (possibly Joel 2:2b) Nahum 2:11b, and Psalm 17:1a is reinterpreted as applying to אחרית הימים and as being fulfilled when YHWH will judge the enemy and restore the קְדוּשִׁים.

A reference to אֵלֵי יְהוּדָה [את צאצא], “the offspring of Judah,” followed in the next line by the reference ולזרעו [עד] עולם, “and to his seed forever,”²⁶¹ may also be explicitly messianic in outlook. Both of these phrases precede a quotation of Hosea 5:8a. The Hosea 5:8a citation is appropriated in describing the coming judgment upon the enemy.²⁶² Thereby, an oracle originally describing the day of punishment when YHWH would become the enemy of Israel²⁶³ is reinterpreted as applying to Qumran’s enemies. The apocalyptic

11Q17 9:4; 11QT 51:8; 11Q11 5:6; 11Q20 15:2-3, etc.), (2) faithful Israelites who are already with YHWH in the heavenly council (e.g., 1QSb 4:26; 1QS 11:7-8; 1QM 12:1-2; 4Q502 fragment 1, 9:1, etc.), (3) angels (e.g., 1QSb 1:5). Almost all of the occurrences clearly refer to faithful Israelites, whether in the heavenly council or still living. Often, קְדוּשִׁים is used such that the referent is unclear - either living Qumran community members or those in the heavenly council could be intended. With the appropriation of Psalm 16:3a, which includes the qualification of the קְדוּשִׁים as being בארץ, “in the land,” the connotation appears to be the Qumran community. Accordance, s.v. “קְדוּשִׁים”; Abegg, *Concordance*, s.v. “קְדוּשִׁים,” “קְדוּשִׁים.”

²⁵⁸ See Appendices 9 and 10, Milgrom and Novakovic, “Catena A,” 289. Cf. Joel 2:2b. The word order between נהיה and כמוהו is opposite from the MT. The first three characters of כמוהו come from fragment 2; the final two characters come from fragment 24.

²⁵⁹ 4Q177 fragments 1-4, 14, 24, 31, line 6. The interpretation may also include appropriation of Zephaniah 3:4a in line 7. See Appendix 10.

²⁶⁰ 4Q177 fragments 1-4, 14, 24, 31, line 9.

²⁶¹ 4Q177 fragments 1-4, 14, 24, 31, lines 12-13. Cf. Psalm 89:5, וְבָנִי וְרַעְדָּךְ וְבָנֵי יְהוָה, “I will establish your seed forever and build up your throne to all generations. Selah.” Also see Psalm 89:27-8; 2 Samuel 7:12, 14; Psalm 2:7.

²⁶² Hosea’s trumpet may be identified either as “the Book of the Law again” (Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 241; Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 109; cf. 1QpHab 5:9-12; 4QpIsa^c 23, 2:14a) or as “the book of the Second Law” (*DJD* 5, 68). See Schiffman and VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Catena.” Steudel also reconstructs ברמה הצורה at the beginning of 4Q177 fragments 1-4, 14, 24, 31, line 14 and suggests an appropriation of Hosea 5:8b. Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 73. See Appendix 10.

²⁶³ Cf. Amos 9:2-4; 2 Kings 15:27-30.

eschatological victory is then announced with the phrase על הגתות ושמה על ויעקוב עומד על רדת[ם], “and Jacob will stand on the winepresses and rejoice over th[eir] downfall.”²⁶⁴

A quotation of Jeremiah 18:18b, which describes plots against Jeremiah, is applied in a composite citation to the enemies of the Qumran community and is oriented by לאחריית ה[י]מים.²⁶⁵ After the Jeremiah citation, the composite citation immediately continues “as David said.”²⁶⁶ A quotation of Psalm 6:2-6a is then appropriated in a plea for YHWH’s rescue. The following *peshet* interpretation is oriented by על אחריית ה[י]מים and further describes the devastation of the Qumran community’s enemies. Victory is assured for וי[ר]אי אל יקדישו שמו ובאו ציון בסמחה,²⁶⁷ “and the fe[ar]ers of God will sanctify his name, and they will enter Zion with joy.” Psalm 6:2-6a is reinterpreted as a Davidic prophecy that is fulfilled in אחריית הימים, when the Qumran community prevails over its enemies.

Thus, 4Q177 focuses on that time when the קדושים of Psalm 16:3, the holy ones, i.e., the Qumran community, will triumph over their enemies. The biblical proof texts are mainly the incipits and first verses of Psalms 6, 11, 12, 13, 16, and 17. Other prophetic and apocryphal texts are quoted as supporting texts with many others alluded to in the phrasing of 4Q177.²⁶⁸ Thereby, the Psalm incipits and first verses quoted may invoke the entire Psalm referenced. 4Q177 appropriates these Davidic individual laments and psalms of thanksgiving as Davidic oracles assuring the Qumran community of victory and restoration in אחריית הימים.

In summary, Psalm 11:1a, 2 is quoted and interpreted as a Davidic oracle that is realized in the fleeing of the Qumran community from its enemy. A deliverer comes into view in the quotation of Psalm 12:7, with its interpretation utilizing Zechariah 3:9a. Psalm 13 is also appropriated as an oracle that will find its fulfillment in the apocalyptic eschatological victory over the Qumran community’s enemy. The composite citation including the conflation of Deuteronomy 7:15a and Psalm 16:3a; (possibly Joel 2:2b) Nahum 2:11b; and Psalm 17:1a is interpreted as being realized for the קדושים in אחריית הימים when YHWH will bring restoration. The interpretation of this composite citation may include an

²⁶⁴ 4Q177 fragments 1-4, 14, 24, 31, line 15. Cf. Isaiah 63:2-3; Lamentations 1:15; Joel 3:13; Revelation 14:19-20; 19:15.

²⁶⁵ Steudel suggests the possibility of reconstructing Ezekiel 22:20c preceding the Jeremiah 18:18b quotation. Steudel, *Der Midrash*, 113. See Appendix 10.

²⁶⁶ 4Q177 fragments 12-13, 1:4.

²⁶⁷ 4Q177 fragments 12-13, 1:12.

²⁶⁸ See Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 71-80; Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 236-48; Milgrom and Novakovic, “Catena A,” 286-303.

explicit messianic reference in its phrase: [אשר יעמוד איש מבינת], “that a man will arise from the hou[se of ...]. Psalm 6:2-6a is appropriated as an oracular Davidic plea for YHWH’s rescue that finds its fulfillment in the victory and restoration of the Qumran community.

Like in the messianic arguments of 4Q174 and 11Q13, 4Q177 uses Psalms as the basis for claiming that the Qumran community inherits the promises of the Davidic tradition. In the appropriation of these Psalms, 4Q174, 11Q13, and 4Q177 share a common understanding that David is speaking prophetically about a coming Messiah. In 4Q174 and in 4Q177, the realization of the Psalms is understood to be in the emergence of a Davidic Messiah who will bring about ultimate victory and restoration.

CHAPTER 5
THE APPROPRIATION OF PSALM 16
IN ACTS 2:14-36 AND 13:16-41

A. Psalms in Luke-Acts

The Book of Psalms, by most counts, is the most quoted book in the New Testament.¹ Hans-Joachim Kraus points to the importance of the genre of the Psalms in the life of the early Christian communities. Kraus notes that not only are traditional Psalms used in the communities in preaching (e.g., Acts 1:20; 13:33) and worship (e.g., 1 Corinthians 14:26; Ephesians 5:19-20; Colossians 3:16),² but that the communities also pattern and create “new” psalms (e.g., Luke 1:46-55, 68-79; 2:29-32; Revelation 4:8, 11; 5:9-10, 12-3; 11:17-8; 15:3-4; 19:6-8).³ Various types of Psalms are used by the early Christian communities to express their story – portions of hymns, royal psalms, individual psalms of lament, enthronement psalms, psalms of confidence, individual thanksgiving psalms, historical psalms, communal laments, wisdom compositions, and mixed types.⁴ As evident from their New Testament usage, the Psalms are formative and authoritative for early Christian communities and give voice to their beliefs.

A developed use of psalmody within early Judaism reveals changes in interpretation of Psalms that may help explain why New Testament documents portray the Psalms as being used primarily as prophetic proof texts in articulating the fulfillment of prophecy in present time.⁵ New Testament examples include the prophetic citations of royal psalms at the end of Matthew,⁶ the imitations of eschatological psalms in Luke and Revelation,⁷ the christological

¹ See Appendices 11, 12 and 13. Also see Tanner, *The Book of Psalms*, 60; Bratcher, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1984), 84-86; Henry Shires, *Finding the Old Testament in the New* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 15; 219-27; Edward Dalglish, “The Use of the Book of Psalms in the New Testament,” *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 24 (1987): 27.

² Martin Hengel proposes that Psalms and other early “inspired songs” were an important medium for christological insights and claims. These compositions were understood by early Christians as prophetic oracles and seem to have been particularly associated with worship settings. Martin Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 227-91. Also see Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 73, 112, 146-9, 505-8, 514, 592-3, 605-6, 609-10.

³ See Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, trans. Keith Crim (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 177-80; Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction*, 4; Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 146-9, 505-8, 514, 592-3, 605-6, 609-10.

⁴ See Dalglish, “The Use,” 26; Appendices 2, 3, 11, and 13.

⁵ See Appendices 11, 12, and 13.

⁶ E.g., Psalm 8:3 in Matthew 21:16; Psalm 118:22-3 in 21:42; Psalm 110:1 in 22:44; Psalm 118:26 in 23:39; Psalm 110:1 in 26:64; Psalm 22:1 in 27:46.

⁷ E.g., Luke 1:46-55, 68-79; 2:29-32; Revelation 4:8, 11; 5:9-10, 12-3; 11:17-8; 15:3-4; 19:6-8.

citations of Psalms in Romans,⁸ the *peshet*-style interpretations in John,⁹ as well as the historicized proof-texting from Psalms in the speeches in Acts.¹⁰ While each New Testament work uses the Psalms as prophetic texts in different ways, it is clear that the New Testament writers are building upon already established practices. New Testament authors use current practices to their advantage by interpreting a Psalm christologically and illustrating how earlier prophecies had now been fulfilled.¹¹

Believing that the latter days are at hand, the first Christians find that the resurrection of Jesus proves him to be Messiah. Thus, the person of Jesus becomes central to the Christians' apocalyptic eschatological affirmation. This accounts for the essential difference between the early Christian use of Scripture and the early Jewish use of Scripture. For example, in the Pseudepigrapha the explicit messianic references generally are not central to the main theme. In the Qumran literature, explicit messianic references generally fit into a larger pattern of apocalyptic eschatological expectation. Thus, apart from royal psalms (e.g., Psalms 2; 89; and 110) which are necessarily messianic when appropriated in an apocalyptic eschatological perspective, a great number of Scripture proofs used messianically by the early Christians appear to have been appropriated previously in predominantly apocalyptic and eschatological passages.¹²

Luke-Acts is a form of apologetic history that portrays the Christians' relationship to the Greco-Roman empire and to the emerging Judaism of their time.¹³ In his characters' speeches, "Luke"¹⁴ shows the first Christians interpreting Scripture texts that comprise the common symbolic world of messianic and non-messianic Jews of the first century. Past analysis has demonstrated that Luke uses speeches in the same way and for the same purposes as other Hellenistic historians.¹⁵ The author places his speeches strategically to

⁸ E.g., Psalm 44:22 in Romans 8:36; Psalm 19:4 in 10:18; Psalm 69:22-3 in 11:9-10; Psalm 69:9 in 15:3; Psalm 18:49 (= 2 Samuel 22:50) in 15:9; Psalm 117:1 in 15:11.

⁹ E.g., John 12:38; 15:25; 18:9; 18:32; 19:24; 19:28; 19:36. Since the *peshet* formula is not used, these appropriations will be considered similar to the Qumran *pesharim* in interpretive style but not as an equivalent form. Cf. CD 1:13.

¹⁰ See Appendix 13.

¹¹ See Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 272-86; Appendices 11 and 13.

¹² See Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959), 13-50, who argues that an eschatological interpretation of the person of Jesus is the foundation of Christian doctrine. Also see Jean Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, trans. and ed. John A. Baker (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), 7-54, 179-204, 377-404, who argues similarly. Also see Appendices 2 and 3.

¹³ See Marion L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), 1-13, 31-8.

¹⁴ Or the persons involved in producing Luke-Acts. For discussion see Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 4-50; E. Earle Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 377-400.

¹⁵ Gerd Lüdemann, *Early Christianity According to the Traditions in Acts*, trans., John Bowden (London: SCM, 1989), 47-8; Eduard Schweizer, "Concerning the Speeches in Acts," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (New York: Abingdon,

provide an interpretation of the story that he is narrating. In this sense, Luke's speeches are a form of authorial commentary. Thus, Luke may be understood to make an extended argument similar to *haggadic* midrash¹⁶ through several speeches – thereby unifying his narrative.¹⁷

Like other early Christian writings, “proof from prophecy” is an important aspect of Luke's apologetic agenda.¹⁸ His narrative seeks to demonstrate that the events of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection are all “in fulfillment” of Scripture. Luke extends the argument from prophecy by including the development of the messianic community (e.g., Acts 3:24; 13:40; 15:15). His narrative seeks to portray “the things brought to fulfillment among us” (Luke 1:1), and the demonstration includes showing how texts of Scripture find their τέλος in the recent past or the present of his readers.¹⁹

Luke generally avoids the formulaic correlation of text and event favored by the Gospel of Matthew. In his Gospel, Luke is fonder of general summation than of direct correlation. For example, when the risen Jesus opens his followers' eyes to the meaning of Scripture we read, “‘Was it not necessary that the Messiah should suffer these things and then enter into his glory?’ Then beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them the things about himself in all the Scriptures” (Luke 24:26-27).

As seen most plainly in Luke's birth narrative, a sort of *haggadic* midrash refines the notion of prophetic fulfillment by the narrative echoing and alluding to Scripture in Luke's use of language and in his shaping of stories to evoke scriptural precedents.²⁰ For example,

1966), 208; Henry J. Cadbury, “The Speeches in Acts,” in *Additional Notes to the Commentary*, ed. Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, vol. 5 of *The Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, part I, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: MacMillan, 1933), 402-27; Martin Dibelius, “Paul on the Areopagus,” and “The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography,” both in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven, trans. Mary Ling (London: SCM Press, 1951), 26-77 and 138-85; “Literary Allusions in the Speeches of Acts,” in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven, trans. Mary Ling (London: SCM Press, 1951), 186-91.

¹⁶ See pages 8-9, footnote 36; page 14, footnote 68.

¹⁷ See Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 12; Luke Timothy Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash in the Speeches of Acts: The Père Marquette Lecture in Theology, 2002* (Milwaukee, Wis.: Marquette University Press, 2002), 47-8.

¹⁸ See Bock, *Proclamation*, 13-54; Nils A. Dahl, “The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts,” in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (New York: Abingdon, 1966), 139-58. Charles Talbert rightly warns against exaggerating the importance of this motif as a single interpretive lens. Charles H. Talbert, “Promise and Fulfillment in Lukan Theology.” In *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 91-103.

¹⁹ For a review of Luke's use of Scripture in general see Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 110 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 15-8; 65-6; Robert L. Brawley, *Text to Text Pours Forth Speech: Voices of Scripture in Luke-Acts* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1995), 5-8; Appendices 12 and 13.

²⁰ See Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1993), 235-468;

Luke's birth narrative gives special emphasis to Jesus' descent from David.²¹ Luke indicates that both Jesus and his forerunner were born into a circle of pious people who looked for the near fulfillment of the ancestral hope of Israel and associated that fulfillment with the coming of the long-expected prince of the house of David. In this regard, Luke's characters show a striking affinity with the pious circle from which, only decades earlier, the *Psalms of Solomon* came, with their reprobation of the Hasmoneans who had "laid waste the throne of David," and with their prayer that God would soon raise up the rightful heir to that throne.²² The prophecies would then be realized that Jerusalem would once again be known as the city of righteousness: "for all will be holy, and their king is the anointed Lord (χριστὸς κύριος)."²³

Luke focuses on the resurrection from an exaltation-enthronement perspective and interprets the events of the resurrection in light of Davidic messianism. Luke's applied messianism stands in a tradition within Judaism that interprets the appearance of the future Davidic king as "a raising up" by God.²⁴ The eschatological interpretation of royal Psalms, especially 2 and 110, which had a long history of usage in Judaism, is applied to the resurrection of Jesus.²⁵ This early christological interpretation, which focuses on the resurrection as Jesus' exaltation to messiahship, may be seen most clearly in Romans 1:3-4,²⁶ Acts 2:22-36, and in Acts 13:33.

Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, "Gospels and Midrash: An Introduction to Luke and Scripture," James A. Sanders, "A Hermeneutic Fabric: Psalm 118 in Luke's Entrance Narrative," and Craig A. Evans, "The Prophetic Setting of the Pentecost Sermon," all in *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 1-13, 140-53, 212-24.

²¹ See especially Luke 1:32-33 echoing 2 Samuel 7:8-16 and Luke 1:67-79; 2:1-5; 3:23-38. Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 33-190; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, 2 vols, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1970, 1985), 1:303-447; Brown, *Birth*, 239-496, especially 310-11; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, The New International Greek Testament Commentary (reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 39-174; George B. Caird, *The Gospel of St. Luke* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968), 47-78.

²² *Psalms of Solomon* 17:5-36, especially verse 21, and see R. B. Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 639-70; Herbert S. Ryle and Montague R. James, *Psalmos Solomontos: Psalms of the Pharisees, Commonly Called the Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891); Appendices 5, 7, and 8.

²³ See *Psalms of Solomon* 17:32 and Luke 2:10-11.

²⁴ See Appendix 5.

²⁵ See Appendix 8; James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Narrative Commentaries, (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity, 1996), 27-8; Hendrikus W. Boers, "Psalm 16 and the Historical Origin of the Christian Faith." *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Alteren Kirche* 60 (1969): 105-10; Marshall, *Acts*, 72.

²⁶ See Christopher J. Whitsett, "Son of God, Seed of David: Paul's Messianic Exegesis in Romans 1:3-4," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119 (2000): 661-81; John H. Hayes, "The Resurrection as Enthronement and the Earliest Church Christology," *Interpretation* 22 (1968): 333-45.

Further, the speech in Acts 2 appears in a setting that is fundamentally indebted to the prophetic tradition as found in Joel.²⁷ Not only does the formula “this is that which was spoken through the prophet Joel” (Acts 2:16) introduce the quotation of Joel 3:1-5 (LXX 2:28-32) and lead into Peter’s speech, but the setting that Luke has created for Peter’s speech is constructed using language and images from Joel.²⁸ In addition to Joel’s language, Luke adds his own. The LXX Joel 2:28-32 reads μετὰ ταῦτα, “after these things,” in agreement with the MT whereas Luke has ἐν ταῖς ἑσκάταῖ ἡμέραις λέγει ὁ θεός, “in the last days God says” (2:17).²⁹ Luke has προφητεύσουσιν “and they will prophesy,” in Acts 2:18 in addition to the one usage already present in MT Joel 3:1. Rather than the LXX’s “wonders in the heaven and on the earth below,” Luke has in 2:19 “wonders in heaven above and signs on earth below.” Luke has added the adverb κάτω, “below,” as well as the substantive σημεῖα, “signs.”³⁰ With Luke’s citation of Joel, Luke makes the gift of the Holy Spirit the fulfillment of a divine oracle (“God says”),³¹ an eschatological event (“in the last days”), one that is emphatically prophetic in nature (“they shall prophesy”), and one that is demonstrated by “signs and wonders” like those associated in apocalyptic eschatological tradition.

Luke has made the Joel citation a key passage for understanding Pentecost and also for following the entire course of his subsequent narrative in Acts.³² Craig A. Evans

²⁷ For the argument that the author is also heavily influenced by Jewish traditions about the Festival of Weeks see James C. VanderKam, “The Festival of Weeks and the Story of Pentecost in Acts 2,” in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. Craig A. Evans (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 2004), 185-205.

²⁸ The setting and argument of Acts 2:14-36 parallels that of *Testament of Judah* 24:1-8 in following Joel 3 and in Messiah pouring out the Spirit. Kee, “Testaments,” 801. See Craig A. Evans, “The Prophetic Setting of the Pentecost Sermon,” *Zeitschrift Für Die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 74 (1983): 148-50, who notes twenty words in Luke’s narrative and in Peter’s opening remarks that may be traced to Joel. Of the shared language, of special importance are the following verbs: μεθύειν (“to be drunk”) occurs only six times elsewhere in the New Testament; συγχέειν (“to bewilder”) occurs only three other times in the New Testament – all in Acts (9:22; 21:27, 31); ἐνωτίζεσθαι (“to pay attention”) is a New Testament *hapax legomenon*. This passage is also cited in Romans 10:13 and Revelation 6:12.

²⁹ No known Greek manuscript contains this reading. See Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 256; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 252; C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. Vol. 1: Preliminary Introduction and Commentary on Acts 1-14*, The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 129, 136.

³⁰ For all of the textual issues, which do not appear to be the cause of these differences, see Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 74-100; Traucott Holtz, *Untersuchen über die Alttestamentliche Zitate bei Lukas* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968), 5-14; Richard F. Zehnle, *Peter’s Pentecost Discourse: Tradition and Lukan Interpretation in Peter’s Speeches of Acts 2 and 3* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971), 28-33. The phrase τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα is derived from the LXX and also occurs in Acts 2:43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 7:36; 14:3; 15:12. In Acts 2:22, with the phrase καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἶδατε, Peter regards these as facts known to his audience.

³¹ God is also the subject of the verbs: ἐποίησεν (verses 22, 36), ἀνέστησεν (verses 24, 32), and λύσας (verse 24); and Jesus is the object (verses 22, 23, 24, 32, 36). With the employment of ἤνερεν / ἀνέστησεν (Acts 2:24, 32; 3:15; 4:10; 5:30; 10:40; 13:30, 33, 34, 37; 17:31) Luke uses a transitive verb with reference to the resurrection of Jesus (intransitives occur in Acts 10:41; 17:3).

³² See Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Sacra Pagina, ed. Daniel J. Harrington (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992), 53-6.

designates this phenomenon in Acts as “prophetic narrative” in that it is a narrative based on the New Testament author’s scriptural exegesis, which Evans finds analogous to Qumran *peshet* exegesis.³³ In the speeches of Peter and Paul in Acts 2 and Acts 13, we will find Luke’s argument similar to *haggadic* midrash in style. Therein, LXX Psalm 15 is treated as a Davidic oracle and is used as an historicized proof text and as a tool to link together other prophetic texts. Indeed, LXX Psalm 15:8-11 serves as the rhetorical and theological centerpiece of the Pentecost speech.

Luke quotes Scripture extensively showing, as Jesus told his followers, “that everything written about me in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled” (Luke 24:44). In the Gospel we find fifteen direct citations from Scripture.³⁴ They are introduced variously, and by various characters. The most elaborate introduction of Scripture is αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν, “David himself says in the book of Psalms” (Luke 20:42). With the exception of the citation from Isaiah 40:3-5 in Luke 3:4-6 – which follows and expands Mark 1:2-3 – all the citations in the Gospel occur in spoken discourse rather than in narrative exposition. Luke expands his practice of interpreting Scripture through the speech of characters in his second volume.³⁵

Luke’s use of scriptural citations follows the nuances of the LXX translation.³⁶ For example, in Peter’s first discourse in Acts, he speaks concerning the need to replace the traitor Judas (Acts 1:16-25).³⁷ Peter cites two passages from the Psalms with reference, respectively, to the death of Judas and the need to replace him.³⁸ Peter begins, “the Scripture had to be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit through David foretold concerning Judas.” His first citation is from LXX Psalm 68:26, which reads “γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ,” “Let his homestead become desolate, and let there be no one to live in it” (Acts 1:20). This citation has modifications from the LXX, which is close to MT Psalm 69:25.³⁹ Luke uses the citation to refer to Judas’s death and to the vacancy in the apostolic office his death created.

³³ Evans, “Prophetic Setting,” 150.

³⁴ Exodus 20:12-16/Deuteronomy 5:16-20 (Luke 18:20); Deuteronomy 6:4/Leviticus 19:18 (Luke 10:27); Deuteronomy 6:13 (Luke 4:8); Deuteronomy 6:16 (Luke 4:12); Deuteronomy 8:3 (Luke 4:4); Isaiah 8:14-15 (Luke 20:17); Isaiah 40:3-5 (Luke 3:4-6); Isaiah 53:12 (Luke 22:37); Isaiah 56:7/Jeremiah 7:11 (Luke 19:45); Isaiah 61:1, 2; 58:6 (Luke 4:18-19); Malachi 3:1 (Luke 7:27); Psalm 31:5 (Luke 23:46); Psalm 91:11-12 (Luke 4:10-11); Psalm 110:1 (Luke 20:42); Psalm 118:22-23 (Luke 20:17); Psalm 118:26 (Luke 19:37).

³⁵ See Appendix 13.

³⁶ See Jacques Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. John R. Keating (New York: Paulist, 1979), 103-60; Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 49-63.

³⁷ See Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), 75-112. For discussion of all of the textual issues involved with this discourse, see Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 46-61.

³⁸ For a discussion of this passage, see Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 38-63. Also see Appendix 13.

³⁹ *Ibid.* LXX Psalm 68:26: “γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτῶν ἡρημωμένη καὶ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν

With no transition, Luke has Peter add another citation, this one from LXX Psalm 108:8: “τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λαβέτω ἕτερος,” “Let another take his office.” The citation works effectively to provide scriptural warrant for the election of Matthias as Judas’s successor. The Hebrew of MT Psalm 109:8, רָבִצָּהּ קִרְיָהּ יִתְרָבֶהּ, can include the LXX’s meaning⁴⁰ but the semantic range of רָבִצָּהּ (יִתְרָבֶהּ) is quite diverse and its usages are varied.⁴¹ For Luke’s purposes, the LXX’s ἐπισκοπὴν works well since connotations of ecclesiastical leadership are established for Luke’s readers, as seen in Acts 20:28.⁴²

A clear example of Luke’s reliance on specific shades of meaning in the LXX is the citation of Amos 9:11-12 in Acts 15:16-17.⁴³ This citation occurs at the conclusion of the Jerusalem Council where it is decided that the Gentile mission is legitimate and that Gentile converts do not need to practice the customs of the Jewish nation in order to be full-fledged members of the people of God.⁴⁴ The first part of Luke’s citation from Amos is virtually the same as the LXX and the MT. According to Acts 15:16, “μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν (ἡβῶ) Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτῶν,” “after these things I will return, and I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen and repair its breeches and raise up its ruins, and I will restore it.” This serves as a proof text for understanding the Jewish messianists as the “restored Israel.” In Jerusalem, God has now “raised up the fallen tent of David.”⁴⁵

But Luke’s citation continues, “ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ’ οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ’ αὐτούς, λέγει κύριος ποιῶν ταῦτα,” “so that the rest of humanity might seek the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name has been invoked, says the Lord who is doing these things.” The LXX is significantly different than MT Amos 9:12, which reads

αὐτῶν μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν.” Luke has changed the plurals of the LXX to the singular (to fit the citation to Judas), used the pronoun in place of the LXX’s “their tents,” and reversed the word order in the second phrase.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., 2 Chronicles 23:18; 2 Kings 11:18; *HALOT*, s.v. “רָבִצָּהּ”.

⁴¹ A variety of words are used to translate the root רָבִצָּהּ, and noun forms, in the LXX. The verb is found over forty times among the nonbiblical manuscripts from Qumran, also with varied usage. See Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “רָבִצָּהּ” and “ἐπισκοπή”; *NIDOTTE*, s.v. “רָבִצָּהּ,” by Tyler F. Williams; *BDB*, s.v. “רָבִצָּהּ”; Abegg, *Concordance*, s.v. “רָבִצָּהּ”; *Accordance*, s.v. “רָבִצָּהּ.”

⁴² See Appendix 13.

⁴³ For discussion of the textual issues involved, see Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 440-50 and F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 340-341.

⁴⁴ See Nils A. Dahl, “‘A People for His Name’ (Acts XV.14),” *New Testament Studies* 4 (1957-58): 319-27.

⁴⁵ For discussion, see Jacob Jervell, “The Church of Jews and Godfearers,” in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People*, ed. Joseph B. Tyson (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 11-20; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 183-93.

לְמַעַן יִרְשׁוּ אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵיט אֲדוֹם
 וְכָל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שְׁמִי
 עֲלֵיהֶם נְאֻם־יְהוָה עֲשֵׂה זֹאת

“In order that they may possess the remnant of Edom and all the nations who are called by my name, says YHWH who does this.” The LXX’s ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, “the rest of humanity might seek,” from the MT’s אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵיט אֲדוֹם, “possess the remnant of Edom,” is what Luke uses.⁴⁶ The MT of Amos envisions a restored Davidic dynasty in an expansionist mode. The LXX speaks of a restored people that attracts humanity to itself. It is the LXX sense that Luke then has James employ as a text that prefigures the Gentiles being attracted into the “restored people of God.”

Within the general schema of promise and fulfillment Luke does not confine himself to a single mode of citing and interpreting Scripture, but uses a variety of interpretive methods.⁴⁷ For example, Stephen’s speech before the Sanhedrin (Acts 7:2-53) consistently employs the LXX text itself but rereads Scripture in a fashion that might broadly be called a sort of Targum.⁴⁸ Psalm 105 demonstrates that a didactic recapitulation of Israel’s relations with God is a traditional form⁴⁹ available to Luke. Like 1Q20 (*Genesis Apocryphon*⁵⁰), 1Q17-1Q18 (*Jubilees*⁵¹), and Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*,⁵² Luke interweaves parts of the LXX biblical text and his own contributions in what might be designated a targumic style.⁵³ Unlike Josephus’s *Jewish Antiquities*⁵⁴ and Philo’s *On Abraham, On Joseph, and On*

⁴⁶ The LXX appears to have read יִרְשׁוּ (from יִרְשׁוּ) as יִרְשׁוּ or יִרְשׁוּ and אֲדוֹם as אֲדָם.

⁴⁷ Talbert, “Promise and Fulfillment,” 93.

⁴⁸ Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 278-90; Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash*, 29. On the textual issues involved in Acts 7:2-53, see Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 278-90 and Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 190-209. Unless mentioned, none of the textual issues appears to alter the argument of this speech. See Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 82. Acts 7 may be understood more broadly as an example of the “Rewritten Bible” genre (along with, e.g., Deuteronomy 15:12-18; 16:1-8; 1, 2 Chronicles, Psalm 78, 105, 106; Hebrews 11; Sirach, *Jubilees*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, *1 Enoch* 6-11, etc.). For discussion, see Coggins and Houlden, *Dictionary*, s.v. “Rewritten Bible.” For a full discussion of the phenomenon prior to Acts, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, especially 281-440; *Exegetical Imagination*, 1-21; Rüger, “Oral Tradition,” 107-20; Talmon, “Oral Tradition,” 121-58, who locates “Rewritten Bible genre” within the process of “oral tradition”; Harrington, “The Bible Rewritten,” 239-46.

⁴⁹ Also see the parallel in Acts 13:16-52. Further analogies for outlines of “history reference” include Deuteronomy 6:20-34; 26:5-9; Joshua 24:2-13; Nehemiah 9:6-31; Judith 5:6-18; 1 Maccabees 2:52-60; Psalms 78; 106; 136; *Wisdom of Solomon* 10; Sirach 44-50; 3 Maccabees 2:2-12; 4 *Ezra* 3:4-36.

⁵⁰ See Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:28-48.

⁵¹ See Orval S. Wintermute, “Jubilees,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 35-142; James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 86-142.

⁵² See Daniel J. Harrington, “Pseudo-Philo,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 297-378.

⁵³ See Josep Ribera, “The Targum: From Translation to Interpretation,” and Avignor Shinan, “The Aggadah of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch and Rabbinic Aggadah: Some Methodological Considerations,” both in Derek R. G. Beattie and Martin J. McNamara, eds., *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements* 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 218-25 and 203-217.

Moses,⁵⁵ which follow the Bible's story line but freely transpose it into their own language, Luke does not rewrite the story in his own words.⁵⁶ Rather, Luke follows the LXX diction in the telling of his own version of the story as he appropriates LXX texts.⁵⁷ Luke – also similar to the Targumim – amplifies elements of the biblical story and fills in the gaps by means of appropriating traditions.

For example, the MT and the LXX Exodus contain no information about Moses' education in the house of Pharaoh.⁵⁸ Josephus provides a sketch of a childhood challenge to Moses and says that "he was educated with the utmost care."⁵⁹ Philo pays particular attention to Moses' education, stressing that he was instructed by Greek, Assyrian, Chaldean, and Egyptian teachers, and that he progressed especially in moral virtue.⁶⁰ *Jubilees* 47:9 insists that "Amran, [his] father, taught [him] writing" and says nothing further of Moses' education at Pharaoh's court.⁶¹ Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 9:16 says that Moses' mother maintained his Hebrew name of Melchiel.⁶² Artapanus's *On the Jews* (fragment 3) makes Moses himself the teacher of Orpheus and the source of everything worthwhile in Egyptian culture.⁶³ Stephen's version succinctly adds "he was educated in all Egyptian wisdom" (7:22). Like the parallel accounts, Stephen's speech fills in details. But as is typical of Luke, his story editing is evident in the brevity of his account. Luke's interest

⁵⁴ Josephus, *Josephus*, 9 vols, The Loeb Classical Library, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926-1965), vols. 4-9.

⁵⁵ *On Abraham, On Joseph, and On Moses*, in *Philo*, 10 vols., Loeb Classical Library, trans. F. H. Colson et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929-1962), vol. 6.

⁵⁶ The biblical texts incorporated in the speech of Acts 7 include verse (3) Genesis 12:1; (5) Genesis 17:8; 48:4; (6-7) Genesis 15:13-4; (7) Exodus 3:12; (18) Exodus 1:8; (27-8) Exodus 2:14; (30) Exodus 3:2; (32) Exodus 3:6; (33) Exodus 3:5; (34) Exodus 3:7, 8, 10; (35) Exodus 2:14; (37) Deuteronomy 18:15; (40) Exodus 32:1, 23; (42-3) Amos 5:25-7; (49-50) Isaiah 66:1-2.

⁵⁷ E.g., Acts 7:14 includes the assertion that Jacob invited seventy-five relatives to Egypt. This number follows the LXX of Genesis 46:27 and Exodus 1:5, while the MT reads "seventy."

⁵⁸ Additional examples include (1) the statement in 7:2-3 that God had addressed Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia (referring to Ur here), before he lived in Haran (but see Genesis 11:31; 12:4-5 suggesting Abraham's departure from Haran); (2) the assertion in 7:4-7 that Abraham travelled after his father died (since both the MT and LXX Genesis 11:26, 32; 12:4 seem to say that Abraham left his father, Terah, in Haran and went to Canaan alone); (3) the assertion in 7:14 that Jacob was buried in Shechem (according to Genesis 50:13 Jacob was buried at Hebron); (4) the statement in 7:16 that Abraham bought the tomb in Shechem (according to Genesis 33:19 and Joshua 24:32 it was Jacob who bought the tomb at Shechem); (5) in addition to the description of Moses' education in 7:17-22, the description of Moses as "beautiful before God" expands on the LXX, which says only that Moses' mother saw that he was ἀστεῖος, "beautiful." For discussion see James L. Kugel, "Stephen's Speech (Acts 7) in Its Exegetical Context," in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. Craig A. Evans (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 2004), 206-18.

⁵⁹ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 2:233-5.

⁶⁰ Philo, *Life of Moses (De Vita Mosis)*, 1:21-31.

⁶¹ Wintermute, "Jubilees," 138-9.

⁶² Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," 316.

⁶³ John J. Collins, "Artapanus," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 898-903.

seems to be the way in which his characters carry forward the promises of God.⁶⁴ Luke appears to have edited his account of Joseph and Moses in such a way so as to demonstrate how each fits into a pattern of sending and rejection so that these biblical examples point forward to the sending and rejection of the prophet Jesus. Thus, Luke appears to develop a Moses/Jesus typology.⁶⁵ By his editing of the biblical narrative, Luke both reinforces the prevailing view of the fundamentally prophetic character of Scripture and supports the ideological position of his community that Scripture is best understood when read as pointing toward the risen prophet, Jesus: “This is the Moses who said to the Israelites, ‘God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethren as he raised me up’” (Acts 7:37).

In the apostles’ prayer of Acts 4:24-30⁶⁶ we find a different sort of scriptural interpretation. The prayer begins with an invocation that also functions to remind readers of God’s sovereign power: “Master! You are the creator of the heaven and the earth and the sea and all the things that are in them. You are the one who said – through the mouth of David, your servant, our father, through the Holy Spirit” (Acts 4:24-5). Luke makes it plain that God spoke directly through David. Luke subsequently cites LXX Psalm 2:1-2, which is understood thusly as a Davidic oracle.

The apostles’ prayer then offers God an interpretation of what the Psalm really means: “For in this city, they did truly gather together against your holy child Jesus whom you anointed: Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, in order to accomplish everything your hand and will had determined would happen” (27-28). Luke then offers a point-by-point fulfillment of the Davidic prophecy.⁶⁷ In effect, Luke offers here not a targumic retelling but a *peshet*-style interpretation. Like at Qumran, the text of Scripture is maintained and the elements in the text are aligned with events in the community’s history.⁶⁸ As at Qumran, the Psalm is applied as prophetic to the specific circumstances of the community. Like at Qumran, hope is placed in the vindication to be accomplished by God. And, as at Qumran, the interpretation involves making a point-by-point identification between characters and events in the prophecy and the characters and

⁶⁴ Fulfillment of God’s promises is mentioned explicitly in 7:5, 17, and God’s covenant is also mentioned explicitly in 7:8.

⁶⁵ See Earl Richard, “The Polemical Character of the Joseph Episode in Acts 7,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979): 255-67; Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 287-90; Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 86-9.

⁶⁶ For discussion of the textual issues involved see Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 225-9 and Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 156-159.

⁶⁷ Pilate = the ruler; Herod = the king; the procurator/soldiery = the nations/gentiles; the Jews = the peoples. See Johnson, “Septuagintal Midrash,” 32-3.

⁶⁸ That Luke is using a *peshet*-style method is demonstrated by his adherence to the text of LXX Psalm 2:1-2. Luke’s use of λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ (this plural usage being Luke’s only instance of him not using the singular λαός when referring to Israel as a religious entity – and being the better attested and more difficult reading) shows Luke respecting the *peshet*-style interpretation.

events in the community's shared story. Luke carries out, with the LXX, a mode of interpretation similar to that the Qumran exegetes carry out with the Hebrew text.⁶⁹

The speeches of Peter at Pentecost (Acts 2:14-36)⁷⁰ and Paul at Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:16-41),⁷¹ which contain the appropriation of LXX Psalm 15, are both midrashic arguments on Davidic messianism.⁷² Therein, the assertions of trust voiced by Psalm 16, and respoken by LXX Psalm 15, provide the early Christians with the language and the categorical conceptions in which the Messiah's resurrection from death would be expressed.⁷³ The speeches in Acts 2 and 13 are of particular Lukan importance and may be understood as messianically (or christologically) introductory (parallel with Luke's birth narrative) and programmatic for Luke's promise-fulfillment schema.⁷⁴ As the inaugural addresses of Luke's two main characters, Peter and Paul, they represent exemplary models of Luke's view of the apostolic and Pauline *kerygma*. Both speeches are strongly Davidic messianic and establish the importance of the Davidic dynasty tradition in the narrative of Acts.⁷⁵ The subject of the midrashic argument is the identification of Jesus as Messiah through his resurrection, in contrast to David. Like the early creed in Romans 1:3-4 and the formula in 2 Timothy 2:8, the resurrection is presented as a fulfillment of prophecy and as vindication of Jesus as the Davidic heir. This is a favorite theme of Luke's.

In Luke 6:1-5 a David/Jesus typology appears already to have been established and is appealed to by Luke's Jesus. In responding to the Pharisees, Jesus appeals to his relationship

⁶⁹ E.g., the *peshet* of 4Q171 parallels the interpretation of Scripture in Acts 4:23-31. See Horgan, "Psalm Peshet 1," 6-24; *DJD* 5, 42-50. Cf. CD 1:13.

⁷⁰ For discussion of the textual issues involved, see Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 65-120. Unless mentioned, none of the textual issues appears to alter the argument of the speeches.

⁷¹ For discussion of the textual issues involved, see *Ibid.*, 160-200.

⁷² See J. W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1954), 168-76, who, however, unconvincingly argues that the midrashic techniques are built on the Hebrew text rather than the LXX. Also see Robert F. O'Toole, "Acts 2:30 and the Davidic Covenant of Pentecost," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 102 (1983): 253; Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse*, 17; Evald Lövestam, *Son and Saviour: A Study of Acts 13*, 32-37, trans. Michael J. Petry (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961), 7; J. W. Bowker, "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form," *New Testament Studies* 14 (1968): 96-111; E. Earle Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity: New Testament Essays* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1978), 198-208.

⁷³ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 242. As this thesis attempts to do, the most helpful procedure may be to acknowledge the shift in meaning from MT Psalm 16 in context of the MT Psalter's formation to its interpretation in Acts and then to seek to account for the change. See Chapters 3 and 4 as well as Armin Schmitt, "Psalm 16, 8-11 als Zeugnis der Auferstehung in der Apostelgeschichte," *Biblische Zeitschrift* nF 17 (1973): 229-48.

⁷⁴ See Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 65-6; Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse*, 25-6; David L. Tiede, "Acts 2:1-47," *Interpretation* 33 (1979): 64.

⁷⁵ Robert F. O'Toole points up the following similarities between these two speeches: (a) the structure, common to all missionary speeches in Acts; (b) the issues of salvation (Acts 2:21, 40, 47; 13:23, 26, 38-39, 47); (c) the quoting of Psalm 16 (Acts 2:25-32; 13:34-37); (d) the forgiveness of sins (Acts 2:38; 13:38); (e) the promises to David (Acts 2:24-36; 13:22-23, 32-37); (f) *kerygma* about Jesus (Acts 2:21-38; 13:23-39, 46-48); (g) the possibility that 2 Samuel 7:12-16 might form the background of Luke's resurrectional assertion in each passage where Luke also makes reference to Psalm 89 (Acts 2:30; 13:22). O'Toole, "Acts 2:30," 253.

with David and defends his actions based on David's earlier actions. The implication is that David had the authority to act as he did, and that Jesus has the same right, but in a higher degree, to reinterpret the law.⁷⁶ This point is expressed more forcefully in Luke than in Matthew by the omission of the language of Mark 2:27, so that the statement that the son of man is lord of the Sabbath (6:5) stands in direct juxtaposition to the allusion to David (6:3-4).⁷⁷ Jesus defends his actions, in part, based on a presumed David/Jesus typology⁷⁸ – “a greater than David is here.”⁷⁹

In Luke 20:41-44 Jesus speaks to the Scribes⁸⁰ and rhetorically challenges the claim that the Messiah would be David's son: “For David himself says in the book of Psalms (αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν),⁸¹ ‘The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit at my right hand until I put your enemies as a footstool for your feet.”’ David therefore calls him Lord, so how is he his son?” (Luke 20:42-44). The theme of Jesus' resurrection, mentioned in Luke 20:27-40 is hereby linked with the son of David.⁸² The citation of LXX Psalm 109:1 as a proof text for the resurrection and enthronement of Jesus had already become a favorite.⁸³ The primitiveness of the use of Psalm 110:1 as a *testimonium* to the exaltation of Jesus is seen by the way in which it crops up in so many strata of the New Testament.⁸⁴ Peter's

⁷⁶ See R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament* (London: Tyndale, 1971), 46-7.

⁷⁷ See Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, 228-9.

⁷⁸ Contra Bruce, “Davidic Messiah,” 7. And see 1 Samuel 21:1-6.

⁷⁹ France, *Jesus*, 46-7.

⁸⁰ Unlike Matthew 22:41, which explicitly identifies the Pharisees, and Mark 12:35, which identifies them as Scribes, Luke 20:41 has only Ἐἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦς· πῶς λέγουσιν, “Then he said to them, ‘How do they say?’” The identity of the referent may be inferred from Jesus' exchange with some Scribes (Luke 20:39-40) or with some Sadducees (Luke 20:27).

⁸¹ The citation follows LXX Psalm 109:1. The elaborate introduction (the most elaborate of Luke's introductions to Scripture citations) points up the oracular essence of David's words and the prophetic character of David.

⁸² See Appendices 5 and 8.

⁸³ In addition to the explicit citations in Matthew 22:44, Mark 12:36, and Luke 20:42, see Acts 2:34; 1 Corinthians 15:25; Hebrews 1:3 and 13, as well as allusions in Matthew 26:64; Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69; Romans 8:34; Ephesians 1:20; Colossians 3:1; Hebrews 8:1; 10:12. See David M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973), 34-51; 163-6; David P. Moessner, “Two Lords ‘at the Right Hand’ The Psalms and an Intertextual Reading of Peter's Pentecost Speech (Acts 2:14-36),” in *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson*, ed. Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 215-34.

⁸⁴ Paul's evidence in his letter to the Romans is important, for his reference in Romans 8:34 to “Christ Jesus ... , who is at the right hand of God, who also makes intercession for us,” is probably (like his reference to Jesus' Davidic descent in Romans 1:3) taken from an early formula or confession of faith. Cf. 1 Peter 3:22. See Whitsett, “Son of God,” 661-81; Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 80; Bruce, “Davidic Messiah,” 11; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 65-6. Evidence that Psalm 110 was understood as messianic before the Christian era includes 1 Maccabees 14:41-42 where messianic overtones are drawn from Psalm 110 in the proclamation of Simon as “leader and high priest forever.” See Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand*, 107; 114-4; 118. The exaltation of Jesus, in accordance with Psalm 110:1, is an integral part of the primitive apostolic message, as it has remained an integral element in the historic Christian creeds. Also see Appendix 3.

speech to the crowd gathered by the Pentecost experience offers a more elaborate scriptural argument.

B. Psalm 16 in Acts 2:14-36

The structure of the Pentecost discourse is divided into three parts by salutations and each section concludes with a scriptural proof text. The salutations that mark the sections are ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι (2:14), ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται (2:22), and ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (2:29). These three salutations delineate the argument presented in three sections:⁸⁵

1. Peter declares that they are witnessing the eschatological outpouring of the Holy Spirit foretold by the prophet Joel (MT Joel 3:1-5). This outpouring is understood as a mark of the messianic age of salvation.
2. The Jesus *kerygma* is presented. Jesus of Nazareth was killed but God has raised him from the dead (LXX Psalm 15:8-11).
3. The events taking place are related to Jesus. The argument is summed up in 2:36: God has made Jesus both Lord and Christ.⁸⁶ The development proceeds in chiasmic fashion:

A. God has made Jesus Messiah/Christ by raising him from the dead.

(a) LXX Psalm 15:8-11 (2:25-28).⁸⁷

(b) The citation cannot apply to David, David knew corruption of the tomb (2:29).

(c) The Psalm does apply to Jesus. David was a prophet and God swore to him that one of his seed would sit on the throne. David spoke this prophecy of the resurrection of the Christ. Since God raised Jesus from the dead, of which the apostles are witnesses, Jesus is Messiah/Christ (2:30-32).

B. God has made Jesus Lord by exalting him to his right hand.

(c') Positively about Jesus: Elevated to the right hand (or by the right hand) of the Father and having received from him the promise of the Holy Spirit, Jesus has poured forth this Spirit, thus causing the event to which all the heavens are witnesses (2:33).

⁸⁵ See Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse*, 26-8.

⁸⁶ Thus, following the quotation from Joel the *kerygma* forms an *inclusio* around the second part (and frames LXX Psalm 15:8-11). Gerhard A. Krodel, *Acts*, Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 82-83.

⁸⁷ LXX Psalm 15:8-11 is included as the conclusion of the Jesus *kerygma* of the second section, being used as the proof text of Jesus' resurrection. Luke omits quoting the last stich of verse 11: τερπνόητες ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σου εἰς τέλος. Luke saves the exaltation of Jesus for the second part of the argument, in which he appropriates LXX Psalm 109:1.

(b') Negatively about David: David did not ascend into heaven, which means that the citation to follow cannot have him for its subject (2:34a).

(a') Since Jesus has been raised by the Father, he is the second κύριος referred to in LXX Psalm 109:1 (2:34a-35).

In the prophetic setting of MT Joel 3:1-5, Peter announces that Jesus – a man who had been attested by God with mighty signs and wonders – has been raised up from death by God (2:22-24).⁸⁸ Peter then initiates a scriptural argument by an explicit citation from LXX Psalm 15:8-11, which he introduces with: “Δαυιδ γὰρ⁸⁹ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν,” “For David says about him” (2:25). The quotation of LXX Psalm 15:8-11 appears to be almost identical in both the reconstructed readings of the UBS and LXX texts.⁹⁰ The reading of Acts 2:25-28 agrees exactly with that of LXX Psalm 15:8-11 except for προορώμην instead of προωρώμην.⁹¹ There is a question of why Luke ends his quotation at this specific point. This might be due to Luke's adjustment to the context, or to shortening due to theological presumptions.⁹²

Peter then quotes LXX Psalm 15:8-11 applying it to Jesus the Nazarean (2:22). Peter exploits the entire passage. Thereby, LXX Psalm 15 is used not only as a historicized proof text of Jesus' resurrection (LXX Psalm 15:10), but the language of LXX Psalm 15:8-11 is used to bring together several concepts and to recall several other biblical texts. The Psalmist asserts “προορώμην τὸν κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός,” “I have held the Lord continually before my eyes,” which suggests an intimate and permanent presence with God. LXX 109:1 echoes in the next phrase: “because he is at my right hand.” The psalmist asserts that “ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι,”⁹³ “my body will rest upon hope,” and that

⁸⁸ Supported among the LXX textual witnesses by B-~~R~~, U, L^{pa}, Z, A-1219-55. See Holtz, *Untersuchen*, 49. Also see *Testament of Judah* 24:4-6 where the outpouring of the Spirit is linked with the advent of the ideal king (Isaiah 11:2), to the coming of the messenger bringing good news to the oppressed (Isaiah 61:11), and to the eschatological effusion of all humanity (Joel 3:1). Cf. 1QS 9.10 and CD 20:31. The shoot (=Branch) is the eschatological king (Isaiah 11:1; Jeremiah 23:5-33:15; Zechariah 3:8; 6:12; CD 1:7); Appendix 8; Robert Sloan, “‘Signs and Wonders’: A Rhetorical Clue to the Pentecost Discourse.” *Evangelical Quarterly* 63 (1991): 239-40.

⁸⁹ The connecting role of verse 24 (ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ) is indicated by verse 25's γὰρ, which functions as a link between the introductory formula and its quoted text on the one hand, and the immediately preceding context on the other hand. See Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 103-4; O'Toole, “Acts 2:30,” 255. Cf. Luke 20:42. Walter C. Kaiser argues that εἰς (versus περί) means that the total reference was to the Messiah. Kaiser, “The Promise to David,” 228.

⁹⁰ See Holtz, *Untersuchen*, 48; Appendix 13.

⁹¹ Apparently, the morphological difference between “ο” and “ω” was not a major issue during these times and both were used interchangeably. See Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 109.

⁹² Martin Rese argues that the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus is presumed by this point. Martin Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukes* (Gütersloh, Germany: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1969), 55-6. Also see Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 109.

⁹³ The phrase ἐπ' ἐλπίδι renders עַל־אֵלֶּיךָ, which appears to be a default rendering and suggests

God has made known to him the “ὁδοὺς ζωῆς,” “ways of life.” Peter’s quotation concludes with an assertion of complete trust: “you will fill me with joy along with your presence.”

Perhaps most importantly is how Peter builds on LXX Psalm 15:10. The one so blessed with the presence of God is characterized as “τὸν ὁσίον σου,” “your godly one.” The whole sentence that Peter goes on to argue is, “ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ᾄδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὁσίον σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν,” “For you will not abandon me to Hades; nor allow your godly one to see corruption.”⁹⁴

Peter immediately establishes that this cannot apply to David, who composed the Psalm. David is dead and buried (2:29). Then Peter applies the fundamental principle of Christian midrash: all Scripture points forward to a fulfillment; that is, all Scripture is essentially prophetic in nature.⁹⁵ This has been called “the radically christological character of early Christian exegesis.”⁹⁶ Peter seems to portray a rich appreciation of allusions and echoes implicitly present in his explicit citation.⁹⁷ Peter now proceeds to build his argument with a thick web of associative thinking. He argues since David was a prophet and knew that God had sworn to him by an oath that he would seat one of his descendents upon his throne, he looked ahead and spoke concerning the resurrection of the Messiah (Acts 2:30-1).⁹⁸ At this time, David is widely understood as having been gifted with prophetic powers.⁹⁹ Peter then applies the specific words of LXX Psalm 15:10, “for neither was he abandoned in

objective security rather than subjective hope. See pages 162-6.

⁹⁴ The word δώσεις represents the idiomatic use of ἵνα for “to permit.” Since the first person is used in verse 27a, one must suppose that τὸν ὁσίον σου was to be interpreted in the same way – “me,” “your faithful godly one.” See pages 163, 166-7; Barrett, *Acts*, 1:145.

⁹⁵ E.g., Luke 4:21; John 5:39-40; Luke 24:27, 44ff. Jesus accepts the application – indeed he claims to be – “the second meaning of Scripture.” C. S. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms* (New York: Harvest, 1958), 118. “Perhaps every assertion of the victory of God over evil eventually finds a place in relation to the death and resurrection of Christ.” Barrett, *Acts*, 1:147.

⁹⁶ Dom Jacques Dupont, as cited in John R. W. Stott, *The Spirit, the Church and the World: The Message of Acts* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1990), 76. Later still, Psalm 16 was interpreted in Judaism as an explicit reference to resurrection, though not in the same way as in Acts. E.g., *Midrash on Psalm 16:10*, “Even my flesh shall dwell in safety” – that is, after death. See Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 181, note 5. “Therefore my heart is glad, glad in words of the Torah; and my glory rejoiceth [רָגַזְתִּי], rejoices in the Lord Messiah who will rise up out of me. ... My flesh also dwelleth in safety (Ps. 16:9) – dwells in safety even after death. Rabbi Isaac said: This verse proves that neither corruption nor worms had power over David’s flesh,” W. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 1:201.

⁹⁷ See Brawley, *Text to Text*, 4-8, 37-40, 127-40. A practice that has now come to be called intertextuality (which is another way of considering midrash). See Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 10-33.

⁹⁸ See *DJD* 4, 91-3; Juel, “Social Dimensions”; *Messianic Exegesis*, 59-88, especially 75-6; J. A. Fitzmyer, “David, Being Therefore a Prophet ...” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 34 (1972): 332-9.

⁹⁹ This same assumption is made in Acts 1:16, Mark 12:36, and is implicit in the Jewish understanding of the Psalms having future reference. E.g., Psalm 2:8; 16:10; and 110:1, as applied here, and also in Acts 13:35. Also see 1 Peter 1:11. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 146-9; Jacques Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles*, 103-28; Fitzmyer, “David.” The activity of David is described as prophetic in 11QPs^a 27:11. *Targum Psalms* clearly portrays David as a prophet. For examples and discussion see Evans, “The Aramaic Psalter,” 44-91, especially 61-2, 88-91.

Hades; nor did his flesh see corruption” (2:30-31). Peter appeals to two shared experiences. The first is the audience’s knowledge of the tomb of David, proving his death (2:29).¹⁰⁰ The second experience is the witnesses’ experience of the resurrection and enthronement of Jesus: “This Jesus God raised up, of which we are all witnesses” (2:32).¹⁰¹ Psalm LXX 15 therefore refers not to David himself but to Jesus the Messiah – to the eternal enthronement of the resurrected one “to the right hand of God” (2:33). Yet this Messiah is one of David’s descendents (2:30) and Peter’s argument also refers to the promise of an eternal dynasty made to David himself (2:30). Thus, a David/Jesus typology seems to lie behind Peter’s argument.¹⁰²

In Acts 2:30, Peter alludes to 2 Samuel 7:12-16, another passage of Scripture in which God swore by oath (through the oracle of the prophet Nathan) to David concerning an eternal dynasty.¹⁰³ As discussed, this passage is also used as a messianic prophecy at Qumran (4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:7-13).¹⁰⁴ The Nathan oracle is also contained in Psalm 132:11 (LXX 131:11) whose language may have helped shape Peter’s own, “ὡμοσεν κύριος τῷ Δαυὶδ ἀλήθειαν καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀθετήσῃ αὐτήν ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου θησομαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον σου,” “The Lord swore a true oath to David, and he will surely not set it aside: ‘one out of the fruit of your loins I will set upon your throne.’”¹⁰⁵ Peter’s phrase in 2:30, “ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ,” “out of the fruit of your loins,” appears to be derived from LXX Psalm 131:11 (cf. 2 Samuel 7:12-16; Psalm 89:3-4, 35-37 [LXX Psalm 88:3-4, 35-37]).¹⁰⁶ The preceding verse, LXX Psalm 131: 10, reads, “Ἔνεκεν Δαυιδ τοῦ δούλου σου μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ χριστοῦ σου,” “For your servant David’s sake do not turn away the face of your anointed one/your Christ/(תְּחַיֶּהוּ [MT]).” This verse can be read as though David and “your anointed one” are two different figures.

The content of David’s prophecy is given in verse 31’s ὅτι clause, which, with the appropriate change of tense, reproduces the content of verse 27 (LXX Psalm 15:10). In Acts

¹⁰⁰ See Nehemiah 3:16; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 7:393-4; 13:249; 16:179-83; *The Jewish War*, 1:61.

¹⁰¹ Although the apostles did not see the resurrection of Jesus, Luke claims that they saw the risen Jesus (Luke 23:33-49; Acts 1:3-9).

¹⁰² By taking up the quotation again in Acts 13:35, Luke makes clear the difference between David and Jesus. See Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 46.

¹⁰³ The description of David as a prophet prepares the way for the allusion to the oracle that a Davidic descendent would sit upon his throne. Fitzmyer, “David,” 332.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix 6; Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 129-44; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 43-5; Marshall, *Acts*, 77.

¹⁰⁵ This promise is quoted in 4Q174 fragments 1-2, 21, 1:10, 11 and given an interpretation similar to that given in 4Q171 to Psalm 37: “This is the sprout of David” (הַזֹּאֵה צֶמַח דָּוִד).

¹⁰⁶ See Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 109, who has hypothesized that Psalm 89 is the missing link in New Testament christology – although Psalm 89 is hardly cited explicitly in the New Testament. Also see Appendices 5, 8, and 13.

2:31, Peter employs the term Χριστός, “Christ,” for the first time in the Book of Acts.¹⁰⁷ The two clauses introduced and connected by οὔτε, “neither,” οὔτε, “nor,” are in essentials synonymous and well represent the underlying Hebrew parallelism. The wording of LXX Psalm 15:10 is slightly altered as σὰρξ, which has been taken over from LXX Psalm 15:9, refers to the person of Jesus as a whole.¹⁰⁸ In verse 32 the conclusion to the immediate argument is drawn. The Old Testament prophesied that the Messiah would rise from the dead (verses 24-5), and therefore it follows that Jesus¹⁰⁹ must be the prophesied Messiah.

Verse 33 goes on to give explanation of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The resurrection is to be understood, along with the exaltation of Jesus, as an ascension to be with God. The phrase τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, “to/by God’s right hand,” may be an instrumental dative or a locative dative.¹¹⁰ The use of ὑψωθείς, “having been exalted,” may be a pointer to Psalm 68:19 (LXX Psalm 67:19, ἀνέβης εἰς ὕψος, “you have ascended on high”),¹¹¹ the verse quoted expressly in Ephesians 4:8. It may also be, as Lindars suggests, that there is an allusion to the similar phrase in MT Psalm 16:11, which refers to the pleasures in store *in* God’s right hand. This position is one of authority, and so Peter claims that it is by virtue of Jesus’ exaltation that Jesus has received from the Father the promised gift of the Holy Spirit that he has poured out upon his people.¹¹² In the author’s presentation, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit is manifest to all of Peter’s hearers. The fact of the bestowal of the Spirit offers further proof that Jesus is Messiah. The concluding words, “that you both see and hear,” refer back to the speech’s context – it may be that the whole speech was linked with the promise quoted from Joel in verses 17-21.¹¹³

Peter then brings this part of his argument to a climax with a simple opposition: οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, “It was not David who ascended into heaven,” he declares, “yet he himself says, ‘The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit at my right hand (ἐκ δεξιῶν

¹⁰⁷ The usage of Χριστός may also echo Luke 24:44-6 and anticipate the concluding proclamation and invitation of Acts 2:36, 38.

¹⁰⁸ The usage of σὰρξ does not necessarily (and here does not appear to) suggest that a flesh/soul dualism is in mind. Marshall, *Acts*, 77. For discussion see pages 162-5, 186-8.

¹⁰⁹ In Acts 2:32, τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν is placed forward in an emphatic position.

¹¹⁰ For the locative (based largely on the relation to Psalm 110:1 in the following verse), see BDF, 107; Conzelmann, *Commentary*, 30; Bock, *Proclamation*, 181; Maximilian Zerwick, *Biblical Greek: Illustrated by Examples* (English reprint (adapted from the 4th Latin edition by Joseph Smith), Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1994), 20. For the instrumental view, (based on the agency of God in verse 32), see Barrett, *Acts*, 1:149; Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 126. Cf. Psalm 118:16.

¹¹¹ However, the key term for the verbal link δόματος, “gifts,” is not found in verse 33. See I. Howard Marshall, “The Significance of Pentecost,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 30 (1977): 365-6; Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles*, 35-60; O’Toole, “Acts 2:30,” 245-58; Bock, *Proclamation*, 181-3.

¹¹² Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 42-58. For Christ’s mediation in the giving of the Holy Spirit to humankind by the Father, cf. John 14:16, 26; 16:17. For the sense cf. Psalm 68:18. This also fulfills the prediction of John the Baptist (Luke 3:16) and the promise of Jesus (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4, 5).

¹¹³ Cf. Isaiah 32:15; Ezekiel 11:19; 36:26-7.

μου) until I put your enemies as a footstool for your feet” (Acts 2:34-35).¹¹⁴ LXX Psalms 15:8-10 and 109:1 are brought together utilizing the principle of *gezerah shavah*, as both share the phrase ἐκ δεξιῶν μου.¹¹⁵ In Acts 2:34 the position of οὐ suggests that the meaning is not simply, “David did not ascend,” but “it was not David who ascended.” This recalls the proof in verses 25-31 that LXX Psalm 15:8-11 referred to Jesus and may take up the ἀνέβη of LXX Psalm 67:19. LXX Psalm 109:1, which began Luke’s midrashic argument concerning Jesus and David in Luke 20:41-42 now serves as a prophecy by David himself (λέγει δὲ αὐτός) that is fulfilled by the resurrection and enthronement of Jesus “to/by the right hand” (2:33).

Psalm 110 plays an important part in early Christian thought and evidently is used (a) to associate Jesus with and to distinguish him from David, and thus to affirm his messiahship; (b) to support the view that Jesus’ apparent defeat was in fact a stage on the way to exaltation; his disappearance from earth meant that he had been received into heaven; (c) to set out the new two-stage eschatology that Christians would adopt; they lived between the exaltation of Jesus and the final submission of all his enemies; (d) to show that the ascended Jesus was not only greater than David but was related to God, at whose right hand he sits.¹¹⁶ To the early church, Psalm 110 appears to be the key Old Testament quotation which expresses the lordship of Jesus.¹¹⁷ Given Luke’s perspectives, prophetic texts of Scripture have supported Peter’s conclusion: “Therefore, let the whole house of Israel know for certain that God has made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified” (Acts 2:36).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Here reference is made to a Jewish motif (on not ascending see Baruch 3:29 and 4 Ezra 4:8) which is used by Christians for apologetic purposes (e.g., Romans 10:6-7). See Conzelmann, *Commentary*, 21.

¹¹⁵ Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 97. One may discern in Luke’s argument certain of the interpretive rules (*middoth*) that were codified among scribal interpreters already in the first century. Here, as in Acts 13, Luke seems to be employing *gezerah shavah*. For the seven rules of Hillel, see Judah Goldin, trans., *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan: The Fathers according to Rabbi Nathan*, Yale Judaica Series, vol. 10 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), 37. Rules such as *gezerah shavah* (induction or inference from texts with features in common), however, were intended mainly to control *halachic* midrash. In the case of *haggadic* interpretation – the kind Luke is doing – practice is more freewheeling. See Rimón Kasher, “The Interpretation of Scripture in Rabbinic Literature,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1988), 547-74.

¹¹⁶ See Wright, *Resurrection*, 334-6, 395, 397, 460-1, 575, 732; Barrett, *Acts*, 1:150-1; Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 135-50; Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand*, 34-51; 163-6. In addition to the explicit citations in Matthew 22:44, Mark 12:36, and Luke 20:42, see Acts 2:34; 1 Corinthians 15:25; Hebrews 1:3 and 13, as well as allusions in Matthew 26:64; Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69; Romans 8:34; Ephesians 1:20; Colossians 3:1; Hebrews 8:1; 10:12.

¹¹⁷ Marshall, *Acts*, 79. The title κύριος as given to Jesus depends for its fullest significance on the resurrection (cf. Romans 10:9; 14:9; Philippians 2:9). The messiahship of Jesus was made public, in a sense, at his baptism (cf. Acts 10:38), but confirmed by the resurrection. Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 127. See Appendices 2, 3, and 11.

¹¹⁸ Luke derives the combination of two titles from the scriptural proof: he obtains the Χριστός title

The οὖν of Acts 2:36 begins a summary and states the theological conclusion of the speech so far. Jesus' life (as marked by miracles), his resurrection, and his exaltation, means that Israel may know for certain that God has made Jesus both Lord and Christ.¹¹⁹ "The first Christian sermon culminates in the first Christian creed" (cf. Romans 10:9; 1 Corinthians 12:3; Philippians 2:11; Luke 2:11; *Psalms of Solomon* 17:36).¹²⁰

The argument runs that texts of the Psalms that refer to an anointed one manifestly did not find a realization in the historical figure of David and must therefore point forward to the Messiah. That the title Χριστός implies Davidic descent is seen as Paul quotes an early creed that refers to Jesus' Davidic ancestry (Romans 1:3-4) and is seen in the nativity stories of Matthew 1-2 and Luke 1-2.¹²¹ Specifically, the resurrection and enthronement of Jesus, which are demonstrated by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, fulfill God's promise that there would be an eternal Davidic dynasty. This line of thought may already be seen in *Testament of Judah* 24:1-6, which links the advent of the ideal king (Isaiah 11:2) with the outpouring of the Spirit, and to the coming of the messenger bringing good news to the oppressed (Isaiah 61:11), and to the eschatological effusion of all humanity (Joel 3:1).¹²² Luke's argument is carried by the premise that Jesus the Nazorean is now resurrected from the dead and living as powerful Lord, enthroned "at God's right hand" (Acts 2:34, ἐκ δεξιῶν μου).¹²³

Thus, the premise of Jesus' resurrection and enthronement organizes a set of textual details into a form of argument shaped by association. Scripture passages are connected based on the presence of word (and concept) associations so that a series of loose connections is constructed, whose substantive link is the original experiential premise. Therein, LXX Psalm 15 is treated as a Davidic oracle that is used as an historicized proof text and as a tool to link together other prophetic texts. Indeed, LXX Psalm 15:8-11 serves as the rhetorical and theological centerpiece of the Pentecost speech.

(verse 31) from Psalm 16 and the κύριος title from Psalm 110. Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, 65-6; Conzelmann, *Commentary*, 21. This Old Testament phrase, "all the house of Israel" (Leviticus 10:7; Numbers 20:29; 1 Samuel 7:2, 3; Jeremiah 9:25; Ezekiel 37:11), occurs only here in the New Testament. Accordance, s.v. "οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ."

¹¹⁹ It may be implied that there was a time when the crucified Jesus was not κύριος and Χριστός. For discussion, see Barrett, *Acts*, 1:151-2.

¹²⁰ Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 128.

¹²¹ Also see Matthew 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30-31 // Mark 10:47-8; Luke 18:38-9; Matthew 21:9, 15 // Mark 11:10; Matthew 22:42-5 // Mark 12:35-37; Luke 20:42-4; Acts 2:25-35; 13:33-7; 15:16; 2 Timothy 2:8; Revelation 3:7; 5:5; 22:16.

¹²² See Kee, "Testaments"; R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), 101-2. Cf. 1QS 9:10 and CD 20:31. The Shoot (=Branch) is the eschatological king (Isaiah 11:1; Jeremiah 23:5; 33:15; Zechariah 3:8; 6:12; CD 1:7). See Appendices 5, 8, and 13.

¹²³ See Moessner, "Two Lords," 229-31.

C. Psalm 16 in Acts 13:16-41

Following a direct address to his audience,¹²⁴ Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch opens with a rapid recital of biblical history up to David (Acts 13:16-22).¹²⁵ Paul runs through the judges and Saul (13:20-21) and says, καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα ᾧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας· εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου, "having removed him [Saul], he raised up for them David to be king. To him also he bore witness. He said, 'I have found David son of Jesse to be a man after my own heart, who will perform all my desires'" (13:22).¹²⁶ Here Luke has Paul weave together a mixed citation from LXX Psalm 88:21 (MT Psalm 89:20), εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, "I have found David my servant," and 1 Samuel 13:14, ζητήσκει κύριος ἑαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, "the Lord seeks a man after his own heart," with τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, "son of Jesse," added by Luke. In their Old Testament contexts, Samuel and the psalmist "Ethan the Ezrahite"¹²⁷ spoke words concerning David, but the author of Acts ascribes these words to God and says that God testified concerning David (1 Samuel 13:15; LXX Psalm 88:21).¹²⁸ The verb μαρτυρήσας carries the connotation that God spoke favorably about David. In εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας the aorist participle denotes time coincident with that of the finite verb;¹²⁹ it has the same punctiliar force as εἶπεν, and the sense shows that the two points of time were identical: it was when he spoke that he bore witness. The *testimonium* is not an exact quotation – it is a conflation of LXX Psalm 88:21 and 1 Samuel 13:14 (perhaps from memory).¹³⁰ The meaning is clear: David will do all the several things willed by God. C. K. Barrett suggests that this expression may reflect the form taken by 1 Samuel 13:14 in the Targum. If so, the form in Acts contains both the MT and LXX words "after my heart," and the Targum words "who shall do (my) will."¹³¹

¹²⁴ The audience is addressed as "men of Israel" and "sons of Abraham's family" (Acts 13:16, 26).

¹²⁵ For discussion of this speech's function in the overall narrative of Luke-Acts see Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 148-9; Schweizer, "Concerning," 210.

¹²⁶ This is the only passage in the New Testament where Saul and David are placed in relation to one another in this way. Lövestam, *Son and Savior*, 7.

¹²⁷ See the superscription to MT Psalm 89.

¹²⁸ See Appendices 5, 8, and 13.

¹²⁹ As opposed to its usual temporal reference to time antecedent to a finite verb. See BDF, 174-5.

¹³⁰ See Appendices 5, 8 and 13; Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 305.

¹³¹ Barrett, *Acts*, 1:636. See Simon J. Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles*, New Testament Commentary, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990), 474, note 46, who renders πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου, "all that I desire" (the plural noun being idiomatic) as a paraphrase of "after my own heart." Cf. F. F. Bruce, "Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Acts," in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for His 60th Birthday*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 72. Bruce and Barrett point out that Psalm 89:20 and 1 Samuel 13:14 are similarly combined in *1 Clement* 18:1. See Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 305-306. Marshall notes that the phrase "who will do all my will" is similar in wording to Isaiah 44:28 where the phrase is used of Cyrus. Note that in LXX Isaiah 44:28 the wording runs

This address begins with an outline of the acts of God in the history of Israel from the Exodus to the rise of David.¹³² The brief outline summarizes the Old Testament *kerygma*, Israel's salvation history as it was recited in national worship.¹³³ A good example of this is presented by Psalm 78, which surveys YHWH's dealings with the nation from the days of Egypt and the wilderness until "He chose David his servant ... to be the shepherd of Jacob his people, of Israel his inheritance."¹³⁴ But, whereas the psalmist sees the rise of David and his dynasty, with the establishment of the sanctuary of Zion, as the climax of salvation history,¹³⁵ Luke's Paul treats it as the final stage on the way to the real climax, for Paul moves directly from David to Jesus, the son of David: "From the seed (σπέρματος) of this man, according to promise (κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν), God brought to Israel Jesus as a savior" (Acts 13:23).¹³⁶ The allusion here is to the Nathan oracle in LXX 2 Samuel 7:12 (= LXX Psalm 131:11), like in Acts 2.¹³⁷

Paul then briefly recounts the Jesus story from John's baptismal ministry to the resurrection¹³⁸ (13:24-31), concluding with an assertion that connects the *kerygma* to the earlier biblical recital: "This promise (ἐπαγγελίαν) made to the fathers God has fulfilled for their children – us – by raising Jesus" (13:32-33).¹³⁹ After reference to those who were eyewitnesses of the risen Christ come the *testimonia*.¹⁴⁰ Three Scripture passages are then

πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου ποιήσει. Also see Appendix 13; Marshall, *Acts*, 224.

¹³² Robert L. Brawley notes that this speech is emphatically theocentric. God is named or implied in verbs and pronouns about 30 times in 25 verses. Brawley, *Text to Text*, 110, 167.

¹³³ For discussion see George Ernest Wright, *God Who Acts* (London: SCM, 1952), 70-81; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 148; Bock, *Proclamation*, 241; Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 153.

¹³⁴ Psalm 78:70-71.

¹³⁵ Psalm 78:67-72.

¹³⁶ Jesus was said to be ἤγαγεν by God in verse 23. Though ἤγειρεν, "raised up," is used in verse 22, ἤγαγεν, "brought," has substantial textual support. See Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 359; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 159.

¹³⁷ 4Q174 also contains the appropriation of 2 Samuel 7:11-14. For discussion see Lövestam, *Son and Savior*, 6-7; Yigael Yadin, "A Midrash on 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 1-2 (4QFlorilegium)." *Israel Exploration Journal* 9 (1959): 95-8; Dale Goldsmith, "Acts 13:33-37: A Peshet on 2 Samuel 7" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 87 (1968): 321-2; William R. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4QFlorilegium." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78 (1959): 343-6; Eduard Schweizer, "The Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and Its Old Testament Background," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 187.

¹³⁸ Cf. Acts 1:22; 10:37. The outline of New Testament *kerygma* found here is that as regularly found in the gospel traditions.

¹³⁹ For the author, ἐπαγγελίαν is a thematic word. With ἐπαγγελίαν, Luke relates the land (Acts 7:5, 17), the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:4; 2:33, 39; cf. Luke 24:49), Jesus (Acts 13:23), and the resurrection of the dead (Acts 26:6-8). Jesus' resurrection becomes the proof that God will save and judge the world through Jesus (Acts 17:30b-1). It becomes the foundation of the good news (Acts 17:18; 25:19), the basis for faith in Jesus (Acts 2:36-41; 3:1-10, 15-6; 4:8-22), and the believer's final guarantee of the future general resurrection of the dead (Acts 23:6; 24:10-21). O'Toole, "Christ's Resurrection in Acts 13:13-52." *Biblica* 60 (1979) 361-72; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 159-61.

¹⁴⁰ These *testimonia* form a cohesive unit such that its interpretation treats each quotation as being related and as being built upon each other. See Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 168.

cited in rapid sequence as being fulfilled by God (ἐκπεπλήρωκεν) in the resurrection of Jesus. They begin, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ· υἱὸς μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, “So also it stands written in the second Psalm, ‘You are my son, I have begotten you today.’”¹⁴¹ Here, LXX Psalm 2:7 is applied to the resurrection and enthronement of Jesus as God’s son. As with the *peshet*-style interpretation of LXX Psalm 2:1 in Acts 4:25-26, Psalm 2 is read with a messianic perspective shaped by the death and resurrection of Jesus. Thus, the anointed one (χριστός/מָשִׁיחַ) rejected by the rulers in Psalm 2:1-2 is also the “begotten son of God” (υἱὸς μου ... γεγέννηκά σε/תְּיָדֵי יְיָ ... יָדָּ) of Psalm 2:7, through the resurrection. As seen in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:22-6, Psalm 2:9 is known as being applied to the expected Davidic king.

The opening ὅτι introduces the content of the good news announced in verse 32. Whether the text should read τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἡμῖν, τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν, or τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῖν is unclear.¹⁴² Likewise, whether ἀναστήσας refers to God raising up Jesus from death or raising him on the stage of history is not completely clear.¹⁴³ In this context, Psalm 2:7 appears to refer to the way in which God legitimates the king as his son – the idea of begetting being metaphorical. The appearance of Jesus (however this is to be understood) is in accordance with Old Testament prophecy, claimed by the common word γέγραπται. Presumably, it is the raising of Jesus from the dead which is regarded as his being brought to new life by the power of God, and so it is possible to see the “begetting” in Psalm 2 as being fulfilled in Jesus’ resurrection.¹⁴⁴

The second and third Old Testament quotations are closely linked. Verse 34 quotes Isaiah 55:3 (a promise made to “all who are thirsty”) in conveying to God’s people the fulfillment of the promises of faithful love that God had made to David.¹⁴⁵ The argument runs that these promises would be fulfilled in salvation through the Messiah. Decisively, God raised Christ from the dead to extend holy and faithful promises to believers. The

¹⁴¹ The explicit statement of the exact place within a book from which the citation comes is unique in the New Testament. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 170. Some textual evidence exists for a reading of οὕτως γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται. See discussion on pages 120-2. Further, the Western text is extended to include Psalm 2:8. Also see Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 363-5; Auffret, *Literary Structure*, 21.

¹⁴² Early manuscripts have τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῖν; a primitive corruption of ἡμῖν to ἡμῶν is possible. Note that τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν is read in a majority of witnesses including p⁷⁴, Ⳉ, A, B, D, and others. For discussion see Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 362-5; Barrett, *Acts*, 1:645-6; Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 309-10; Lövestam, *Son and Savior*, 7. Cf. *Psalms of Solomon* 8:39.

¹⁴³ For the latter view see Kistemaker, *Exposition*, 483-4; Barrett, *Acts*, 1:645-5; Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 309; Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 164-5. For the resurrection from death view (which is more likely in immediate context) see Conzelmann, *Commentary*, 77; Marshall, *Acts*, 226-7.

¹⁴⁴ Marshall, *Acts*, 226.

¹⁴⁵ Note that the MT differs considerably from the “quotation” here and from the LXX of Isaiah 55:3. See below.

opening διότι of verse 35 may give evidence of the author’s use of the exegetical rule of analogy.¹⁴⁶ The author then quotes LXX Psalm 15:10 appearing to connect its thought with that of Isaiah 55:3 by their common word ὅσιος.¹⁴⁷ Taking Isaiah 55:3 and LXX Psalm 15:10 together, they convey the message that through ὅσιος, the “holy one,” who will never again experience death or corruption, God will make his holy and faithful promises available to his people. Jesus Christ is ὅσιος, the “holy one,” whom God raised from the dead. Therefore, Jesus is the Messiah (the one who is to be believed, 13:39).

The second passage cited by Paul, which forms in this argument what might be called a midrashic middle term,¹⁴⁸ is of great interest in this sequence. Immediately following the citation of LXX Psalm 2:7 (13:33) Paul says, “ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν, οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι δώσω, ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά,” “As to his raising him from the dead, no more to return to corruption, he has spoken in this way, ‘I will give to you (plural) the holy and faithful things said to David.’” With the exception of the verb δώσω (“I will give”), which is supplied by the author,¹⁴⁹ the rest of the citation derives from LXX Isaiah 55:3.

The LXX of Isaiah 55:3 translates the Hebrew in an unusual way. The MT reads:

וְאֶכְרַתָּה לָכֶם בְּרִית עוֹלָם חַסְדֵי
דָּוִד הַנְּאֻמִּים

“I will make with you (plural) an everlasting covenant, the mercies and faithful things assured to David.” The LXX of Isaiah 55:3 reads: “διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιον τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά,” “I will make with you (plural) an everlasting covenant, the holy and faithful things (assured) to David.”¹⁵⁰ The Greek adjective ὅσιος is the standard equivalent for חַסְדֵי (holy/pious one), whether singular or plural. Such is the translation of the MT in LXX Psalm 15:10 (which immediately follows this LXX Isaiah 55:3 citation). This translation of חַסְדֵי (lovingkindness) with ὅσιος is unique – the LXX usually equates חַסְדֵי with ἔλεος.¹⁵¹ The LXX enabled later readers to see τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά as divine oracles spoken to David, most notably the promises in 2 Samuel 7:12-16. Further,

¹⁴⁶ Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 81, 86.

¹⁴⁷ Bruce, *Acts: The Greek Text*, 310.

¹⁴⁸ See Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash*, 43.

¹⁴⁹ No New Testament textual witnesses cast doubt on the author of Acts being the source. For discussion, see Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 179.

¹⁵⁰ Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 165-73, provides a good summary of the major positions on the meaning of this last phrase: (a) the phrase refers to David’s holiness or piety; (b) it refers to the Messiah’s resurrection; (c) it refers to salvation blessings; (d) it refers to the covenant promises to David. Also see Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 177-82. Brawley, *Text to Text*, 116-8, (unconvincingly) makes the interpretation of this phrase in Acts 13 depend heavily on the context of Isaiah 55.

¹⁵¹ See Hatch and Redpath, *Concordance*, s.v. “חַסְדֵי” and “ὅσιος”; “חַסְדֵי” and “ἔλεος”; Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash*, 44.

Luke omits the LXX's διαθήσομαι ... διαθήκην αἰώνιον of LXX Isaiah 55:3 (MT: פְּתַח־לְךָ
עוֹלָם ...).¹⁵² By omitting this phrase in Acts, explicit reference to the eternal covenant is left out. Thereby, the focus shifts to the promise made to David, with emphasis on the person David. The promise which was made to David is emphasized, not the covenant which God has entered into with Israel. The concept of ἐπαγγελίαν ... ἐκπεπληρωκεν from verses 32-33 appears to be controlling Luke's appropriation of LXX Isaiah 55:3.¹⁵³

The quotation from Isaiah 55:3 contributes to the argument by providing authoritative scriptural evidence of the promise to David that the resurrection from death would take place and that God's ὄσιος would not "see corruption." It may have been used here to make clear that LXX Psalm 15:10 could not now have been referring to David. For some scholars, this usage is evidence of a pre-Lukan link between LXX Psalm 15:10 and Isaiah 55:3.¹⁵⁴ The choice of ὄσια in LXX 55:3 provides the possibility for a more complex word linkage, making an even closer connection to the Messiah. Once Jesus was acknowledged to be the son of David *par excellence*, the covenant mercies of Isaiah 55:3 were seen to be secured in him, the more so if the end-time David of that context, given as "a witness to the peoples" (Isaiah 55:4), was recognized as being the same person as the suffering and triumphant servant of Isaiah 42-53.

As mentioned, Paul cites LXX Psalm 88:21 in Acts 13:22. The context for εὗρον Δαυὶδ, "I have found David" in that Psalm is "Then you spoke in a vision to your holy ones (τοῖς ὁσίοις σου) and you said, 'I have given timely help to the mighty one. I have lifted up (ὑψωσα) an elect one (ἐκλεκτόν) from my people. I have found David my servant (τὸν δοῦλόν μου). With a holy oil (ἐλαίω ἀγίω) I have anointed him (ἔχρισα αὐτόν)'" (LXX Psalm 88:20-21). Thus, some form of ὄσιος links three of the four passages in Paul's speech.¹⁵⁵

The third passage cited by Paul in Acts 13:35 is LXX Psalm 15:10. Except for the stylistic difference between οὐδέ (LXX Psalm 15:10) and οὐ in Acts 13:35, there are no

¹⁵² Both the New Testament textual witnesses and LXX agree that the reconstructed modern readings are reliable. See Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 179.

¹⁵³ The narrative employs three synonymous fulfillment terms: ἐπλήρωσαν (verse 27), ἐτέλεσαν (verse 29), and ἐκπεπλήρωκεν (verse 33). See Peterson, "The Motif," especially 99; Brawley, *Text to Text*, 114; Lövestam, *Son and Savior*, 48.

¹⁵⁴ E.g., Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics*, 168-76; Bowker, "Speeches in Acts," 101-4; Holtz, *Untersuchen*, 140-5; Barclay M. Newman and Eugene A. Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on the Acts of the Apostles* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1972), 263.

¹⁵⁵ There has been speculation in the past that this trilogy of quotations may be due to some kind of composite *testimonium*. For instance, Rendel Harris asserts that this cluster might come from an existing collection of texts, concentrating on the promises to David. J. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies I-III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916-20): 2:82. See Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 48-9; 152-8; Newman and Nida, *Translator's Handbook*, 82.

differences between the two versions and both the reconstructed texts of the UBS and the LXX lack any significant alternative readings. Since the quotation has been removed from its original syntactical context, the οὐ is used because οὐδέ, in its new context, lacks the first half of a parallel argument.¹⁵⁶ Paul uses a shorter citation from LXX Psalm 15 than in Acts 2:25-28, but gives the verse used the same decisive application that Peter had earlier. Once more, a contrast is drawn between the mortality of David and the resurrection of Jesus. In this application (Acts 13:36-37), David's mortality is even further emphasized by Luke's use of four discrete statements: (a) he served (only) his generation; (b) he fell asleep; (c) he was gathered to his fathers; (d) he saw corruption.

From the second cited passage, Isaiah 55:3, we have noted the phrase τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά. With the last citation from LXX Psalm 15:10, "You will not let your holy one (τὸν ὅσιόν σου) to see corruption," Luke himself supplies a further link between the passages. By first introducing Isaiah 55:3 with the verb δώσω, which is added by the author, Luke matches the same verb used in the citation of LXX Psalm 15:10, δώσεις. With the connection between δώσω ... τὰ ὅσια (Isaiah 55:3) and δώσεις τὸν ὅσιον (LXX Psalm 15:10) Luke apparently intends for Isaiah 55:3 to be understood in light of LXX Psalm 15:10.¹⁵⁷ The fulfillment of the promises made to David is interpreted by the author as occurring in the events that had taken place around Jesus, especially with regard to his bodily resurrection.¹⁵⁸ This is another instance of the common exegetical schema of joining two texts based on a common term, *gezerah shavah*, the interpretive principle also seen at Qumran.¹⁵⁹

Only the relevant phrase from LXX Psalm 15 needed for the author's argumentation is quoted here. But it appears to be done *pars pro toto*, and the immediate context of the Psalm is also implied, not only from its Old Testament context, but here especially from its context in Acts 2, which includes Luke's interpretation of it at that point. The trilogy of quotations, Psalm 2:7, Isaiah 55:3, and LXX Psalm 15:10 is used as scriptural support for the fact that God has fulfilled his promises to David, with 2 Samuel 7:11-16 seemingly understood as the *locus classicus*.¹⁶⁰ In Acts 13:36, a citation of 2 Samuel 7:12¹⁶¹ quickly

¹⁵⁶ See Bock, *Proclamation*, 255.

¹⁵⁷ See Lövestam, *Son and Saviour*, 49-84.

¹⁵⁸ Bruce, "Davidic Messiah," 12.

¹⁵⁹ For discussion see pages 195, 203.

¹⁶⁰ With Dale Goldsmith: "Not a random selection, but one carefully conceived on linguistic and theological grounds to show the Jews how God fulfilled his promise to David in 2 Samuel 7 – namely by raising Jesus from the dead." Goldsmith, "Acts 13:33-37," 324. See Appendices 5, 6, and 8.

¹⁶¹ The citation is from 2 Samuel 7:12 rather than from 1 Kings 2:10, Judges 2:10 as referenced in the margin of UBS.

follows the quotations of Psalm 2:7 (verse 33), Isaiah 55:3 (verse 34), and LXX Psalm 15:10 (verse 35). Thus, the Davidic tradition may be seen playing a prominent role by linking all three quotations to one unit in Paul's argument.¹⁶²

The prominence of διαφθορά¹⁶³ in Acts 13:34-37 is quite evident. The word itself is found in the New Testament only in Acts (six times).¹⁶⁴ It is used two times in Acts 2 (both instances in Peter's speech as part of the quotation from LXX Psalm 15:10), and appears four times in Acts 13:34-37. One of these four usages is again part of the same quotation (verse 35), while the two occurrences directly following (verses 36-37) are also linked directly with the interpretation of the quotation. The only other occurrence of διαφθορά, in the preceding verse 34, also connects to this quotation. Thus, the idea of incorruptibility is the point, or function, of the LXX Psalm 15:10 quotation.¹⁶⁵ Clearly, in combination with the immediate preceding quotation from Isaiah 55:3, these two texts are interpreted by Luke in the sense that Jesus' resurrection and exaltation fulfills the promises made to David in 2 Samuel 7:11-16 and guarantees the perpetuity of his throne.¹⁶⁶

In conclusion, the author's argument takes place not only within a single speech but across several: in the case of David and Jesus, the basic argument may be traced from the birth narrative, to the sayings of Jesus in the Gospel, to Peter's Pentecost discourse, to the prayer of the community in persecution, to Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch. Luke's interpretation may be recognized as a kind of *haggadic* midrash that depends on word association as well as on elements in the context of citations that may be as influential as the parts made explicit.¹⁶⁷

Analysis demonstrates that Luke's LXX citations and allusions reveal an engagement with multiple intertextual connections. The author seems to expect his readers to have a reading competence sufficient to catch these allusions and echoes.¹⁶⁸ Through the set of speeches in Acts, a sort of midrashic argument is constructed. The argument is properly called messianic (or christological) as that term is understood to evolve from Jewish Scriptures and to include the messianic community of the church as well as Jesus the

¹⁶² A comparison and contrast between David and Jesus also is maintained. "God raised up (ἤγειρεν) David to be their King" (verse 22) contrasts with "but God raised (ἤγειρεν) him from the dead" (verse 30) and "but he whom God raised up (ἤγειρεν) saw no corruption" (verse 37). David saw corruption (verse 36) but Jesus did not (verse 37; cf. verses 34-5). O'Toole, "Christ's Resurrection," 367-8. See Appendices 5, 6, and 8.

¹⁶³ Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, s.v. "διαφθορά" (domain: "Physiological Processes and States," (248); subdomain: "Rot, Decay" (277)); and see BDAG, s.v. "διαφθορά."

¹⁶⁴ Accordance, s.v. "διαφθορά."

¹⁶⁵ Bock, *Proclamation*, 255.

¹⁶⁶ Bruce, "Paul's Use," 72.

¹⁶⁷ For example, with the citation of LXX Psalm 15:8-10 in Acts 2:25-28, LXX Psalm 15:11c seems to influence the argument as fully as the key verse quoted, LXX Psalm 15:10.

¹⁶⁸ Brawley, *Text to Text*, 125.

Messiah.¹⁶⁹ An essential element of the author's argument is hermeneutical. Scripture is to be read prophetically in order to be properly understood. As an interpreter of Scripture, Luke uses a variety of modes of interpretation. His methods, seen in characteristic interpretive instincts more than in technical rules of interpretation, resemble those found elsewhere within Palestinian Judaism: Targum, *peshet*, *haggadic* midrash.¹⁷⁰ In Stephen's speech Luke retells the biblical story, based on the LXX, similar to the retellings of *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*, but more closely follows the LXX diction in a sort of targumic style. In the prayer of the apostles, we find a reading of LXX Psalm 2 that is most like the *peshet* interpretation of Psalm 37 at Qumran. In the speeches of Peter and Paul, Luke shapes a midrashic argument that is *haggadic* in style. Therein, LXX Psalm 15 is treated as a Davidic oracle and as a messianic proof text.

Among its Jewish near-contemporaries, the closest parallels to Luke-Acts' appropriation of Scripture outside the early Christian community may be found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where we also find the retelling of biblical history, *peshet* interpretations of Psalms, and messianic midrashic commentaries on Psalms and 2 Samuel.¹⁷¹ And at Qumran as well, we find similar messianic midrashic texts oriented by an apocalyptic eschatological view that the community is experiencing the fulfillment of prophecy "in the latter days." Thus, the evidence now shows that an apocalyptic eschatological orientation and interpretive methods practiced in proto-rabbinic and other Jewish groups are shared by those first appropriating LXX Psalm 15 in early Christian tradition.

There is little indication in Luke-Acts that its author is intending sharp distinctions between "historico-grammatical" exegesis, illustration by way of analogy, midrashic exegesis, *peshet* interpretation, and interpretation based on a "corporate solidarity" understanding of people and events in redemptive history.¹⁷² In Luke-Acts, all these procedures are evident within a consciousness that is interpreting biblical texts essentially from a messianic (or christocentric) perspective along messianic (or christological) lines. The resurrection and exaltation of Jesus is the unique and critical claim of early Christianity.

¹⁶⁹ For definition of "messianism" see pages 5-6, footnote 18; and see Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash*, 47.

¹⁷⁰ Luke lacks any clear evidence of the allegorical interpretation favored by some Hellenistic Jewish interpreters like Philo, Aristobulus, or Aristeas, who likewise exclusively work with the LXX text. See e.g., Philo, *Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis II, III*, 140-474; R. J. H. Shutt, "Letter of Aristeas," 128-71, and Adela Y. Collins, "Aristobulus," fragments 2, 4, 5, both in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 7-34; 831-42.

¹⁷¹ Especially relevant are 4Q174 and 4Q177. See Chapter 4 and also see Nils Dahl, "Eschatology and History in Light of the Qumran Texts," in *Jesus the Christ: The Historical Origins of Christological Doctrine*, ed. Donald H. Juel (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 49-64.

¹⁷² See Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 186.

But apocalyptic eschatological convictions pervade everything: the prophetic dimensions of the biblical texts are central; the New Testament author is living in the latter days, a time of fulfilled promises (Luke 1-2; Acts 2; 1 Corinthians 10:11; Matthew 1-2, etc.). The appropriation of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts arises from the shared context of an apocalyptic eschatological worldview within a Judaism that understands itself to be experiencing אחרית הימים, “the latter days,” awaiting the Davidic Messiah.

CONCLUSION

This thesis seeks to address one question: What may be known about the early Jewish transmission of Psalm 16 and how may the early Jewish transmission of Psalm 16 help us understand its messianic usage in Acts 2:14-36 and 13:16-41?

Chapter 1 provides an overview of Psalm 16's journey from Hebrew poetry to messianic proof text. By examining the transmission of psalmody in Second Temple Judaism, the two-way relationship between prophecy and psalmody is seen as influencing the appropriation of Psalm 16. The Hebrew Bible shows the Psalms becoming part of the post-exilic practice of inner-biblical exegesis. Psalms are appropriated eschatologically within prophetic texts. In the extrabiblical literature of Second Temple Judaism, the Psalms are gradually seen to have a distinctive function as prophetic proof texts.

Chapter 2 finds that Psalm 16's significant literary features confirm its sharing in ancient Syro-Palestinian poetic traditions. The poet of Psalm 16 uses traditional material, literary motifs, and stylistic techniques common to other Northwest Semitic languages. Psalm 16 appears to employ a variegated, heterogenous language reflecting an early stage of Hebrew as evidenced by its relatively dense cluster of Israelite Hebrew features. The form of Psalm 16 is that of a *Vertrauenspsalm*, "psalm of confidence." The language of the psalmist intimately expresses confidence in YHWH's provision, even in the case of death.

Chapter 3 argues that Psalm 16's structure clearly supports its classification as a psalm of confidence and emphasizes its major theme of trust in YHWH. No textual, linguistic, formal, or structural evidence suggests a composite Psalm. A working translation of Psalm 16 suggests that, for its readers, Psalm 16 sets up a tension which awaits resolution. Sourced in the claim of a *Heilsorakel* (to which we have no further access), and confirmed in ongoing communion with YHWH, the psalmist may affirm something which partly fits received views on human destiny but also transcends them. This resolution is only barely sketched at the outer edge of the Hebrew Bible, in resurrection and post-mortem distinction between the righteous and the wicked. Yet, the resolution of this tension is clearly seen in the subsequent interpretation of Psalm 16 in extrabiblical Judaism, in the developing apocalyptic eschatological and messianic views found in other writings of extrabiblical Judaism, and in the applied messianism of early Christianity.

Chapter 4 argues that LXX Psalm 15 renders MT Psalm 16 with stereotypical equivalents and therefore, represents an appropriate translation of the figurative Semitic

phrases as they are understood in the context of the Jewish thought world of its time. The LXX version represents an apocalyptic eschatological reading of MT Psalm 16 which is at least more explicit, and perhaps a significant movement beyond, its meaning in the context of the formation of the MT-150 Psalter. Thus, apocalyptic eschatological readings of immortality and resurrection can be seen to emerge conceptually from within MT Psalm 16. 4Q177 appropriates Psalm 16:3a in an essentially apocalyptic eschatological series of messianic observations on אחרית הימים, “the latter days.” Like in the messianic arguments of 4Q174 and 11Q13, 4Q177 uses Psalms as the basis for claiming that the Qumran community inherits the promises of the Davidic tradition.

Chapter 5 concludes that in the speeches of Peter and Paul in Acts 2 and Acts 13, we find Luke’s argument to be *haggadic* midrashic in style. Therein, LXX Psalm 15 is treated as a Davidic oracle and is used as an historicized proof text and as a tool to link together other prophetic texts. Among its Jewish near-contemporaries, the closest parallels to Luke-Acts’ appropriation of Scripture outside the early Christian community may be found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where we also find the retelling of biblical history, the *peshet* interpretation of Psalms, and messianic midrashic commentaries on Psalms and 2 Samuel. The evidence now shows that an apocalyptic eschatological orientation and interpretive methods practiced in proto-rabbinic and other Jewish groups are shared by those first appropriating LXX Psalm 15 in early Christian tradition. The appropriation of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts arises from this context of an apocalyptic eschatological worldview within a Judaism that understands itself to be experiencing אחרית הימים, awaiting the Davidic Messiah.

In conclusion, the messianic appropriation of Psalm 16 in Luke-Acts exhibits a long exegetical history. Psalm 16’s transmission history demonstrates that its appropriation in Luke-Acts should be considered as early and that it is not the result of exclusively Christian inspiration. Psalm 16 did not become messianic in early Christian tradition – it entered early Christian tradition as a Davidic messianic oracle. Further, Psalm 16’s transmission history helps us to understand that only the appropriation of this oracle as a *testimonium* to the resurrection of Jesus the Nazarean was the result of early Christian inspiration.