

THE EVIDENCE FOR A LOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE PSALTER

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Just who put the Psalter together in its present form is impossible to say. 1 Maccabees 7:17 quotes Psalm 79:2-3 as scripture, and the prologue to Ben Sira, written about 117 BC, presupposes the existence of the Writings (the recognised third division of the Hebrew Bible) of which the Psalms form the chief part.¹ The most likely period was probably during the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. It is said of Nehemiah (465-445 BC as Governor of Judah²), “that he founded a library, and collected the books about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David” (2 Macc 2:13). Patrick Skehan used the fact that Psalm 106:1, 47-48 is quoted in 1 Chronicles 16:35-36 to prove that Books 1-4 were fixed by the fourth century BC.³ At the latest the Psalter in its final form was probably fixed by the mid-second century BC when it was translated into Greek.

The Psalter in its present form must be later than the latest of its poems, and these are held, by some, to be the post-Exilic Psalms 122, 126, 134

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¹ Abraham ibn Ezra (c. 1157) held that the Men of the Great Assembly wrote them down in the order they found them, without any fixed editorial principle to guide them; see Uriel Simon, *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms: From Saadia Gaon to Abraham Ibn Ezra* (SUNY Series in Judaica: Hermeneutics, Mysticism, and Religion; transl. by Lenn J. Schramm; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 288 n. 161.

² Leslie McFall, “Was Nehemiah Contemporary with Ezra in 458 BC?” *WTJ* 53 (1991) 263-293.

³ Patrick Skehan, “Qumran and Old Testament Criticism,” in *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor (BETL 46; Paris: Duculot/Leuven: University Press, 1978), 163-82, esp. 167-68. See Gerald H. Wilson’s objections in *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBL Dissertation Series, No. 76; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1985), 77, 81.

and 137.⁴ But others would date Psalms 44, 74, 79, and 83 in the Maccabean period.⁵ The wide spectrum of views over the authorship, *Sitz im Leben* and date of each psalm is a guarantee of perpetual division among scholars.⁶ Some are reluctant to attribute a single psalm to David⁷ while others are confident that the entire collection comes from his hand.⁸ For some they are all pre-Exilic,⁹ for others they are all Maccabean.¹⁰ What is fact to one is fiction to the other.¹¹

⁴ Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), 448, 451f. For early Jewish views on psalms (Pss 119, 137) and authors (Asaph, Heman and Ethan) dating to the Exile see Adolf Neubauer, "The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms according to early Jewish authorities," *Studia Biblica* 2 (1890) 1-57, esp. 26.

⁵ Peter Ackroyd, *The Problem of the Maccabean Psalms* (Diss., Cambridge, 1945); *ibid.*, "Criteria for the Maccabean Dating of OT Literature," *VT* 3 (1953) 113-32; C. H. Cornill, "The Literature of the Old Testament arranged chronologically, according to the generally accepted views of advanced scholars," *Old and New Testament Student* 13 (1891) 300-304.

⁶ Psalmody was kept alive up until the Exile by guilds of singers; cf. 1 Chr 25:1 (David); 2 Chr 8:13-14 (Solomon); 2 Chr 23:18 (Jehoiada); 2 Chr 29:25-30; 30:26 (Hezekiah); 2 Chr 35:1, 15 (Josiah). After the Return it rallied for a while (Ezra 3:10-12; Neh 7:44; 12:24, 36, 45-46) but then collapsed completely in the time of Nehemiah (13:10).

⁷ A. Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel*. English translation by A. Heath May (3 vols; London: Williams & Norgate, 1874-75), I, 322; W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (2nd ed. rev.; London-Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1892), 188-225, esp. 222; T. K. Cheyne, *The Origin and religious contents of the Psalter in the light of Old Testament criticism and the history of Religions*. Bampton Lectures (London: Kegan Paul, 1891). See J. Robertson, *The Early Religion of Israel* (London/Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1892), 474, for a criticism of this view.

⁸ Abraham ibn Ezra (c. 1157), David Kimhi (c. 1160-1230) and others held that the Psalms which have no author's name may still be by David because Psalm 105, an orphan Psalm, is attributed to David in 1 Chr 16:7; cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 26-28. The early Church Fathers of the oriental churches believed that David wrote all of the psalms, cf. R. D. Wilson, "The Headings of the Psalms," *PTR* 24 (1926), 393 n. 56.

⁹ Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I* (Anchor Bible; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), xxx.

¹⁰ See Marco Treves, *The Dates of the Psalms* (Pisa: Giardini, 1988) argues that every Psalm (except 45) belongs to the period 170-103 BC. Cf. John F. A. Sawyer, "An Analysis of the Context and Meaning of the Psalm-Headings," *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society* 22 (1967/68) 26-38, esp. 13, that *ʾdavid* before the thirteen historical psalms can only mean that David was the author of these psalms; a view endorsed by Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 451.

¹¹ It was popular at the turn of the century to date the Psalms by the theological concepts they contained—a very precarious undertaking since it denied any factual information in the headings in order to make headway. To some extent the legacy of this approach still hangs over any discussion of the historical value of the headings. This approach was opposed by Robert Dick Wilson, "The Names of God in the Psalms," *PTR* 25 (1927) 1-39; *ibid.*, "The Headings of the Psalms," *PTR* 24 (1926), 1-37, 353-95; *ibid.*, "The Names of God in the Old Testament," *PTR* 18 (1920) 460-92; *ibid.*, "Use of the words for God in the Apocryphal and

Some scholars have concluded from fragmentary portions of thirty-six separate scrolls of the Psalms found at Qumran that the Psalter was not in its final order as late as 30-50 AD, at least Books 4 and 5 were still fluid while Books 1-3 were probably fixed. This view has been vigorously debated.¹² The Septuagint, which supports the printed Hebrew arrangement, pre-dates the finds at Qumran and this seems to have been overlooked in the debate. It shows that well before the extant Qumran scrolls were written the order of the Psalms, as reflected in the Hebrew text behind the Septuagint, was already fixed. Whatever the Qumran sect did with its store of Psalms is a matter that is probably confined to them and should not be allowed to dominate what had already become a fixed collection when the Septuagint came into existence. In one manuscript (4QPs^a) Psalm 38 is followed by 71.¹³ If this was the original order, it would be the only Elohim Psalm in an otherwise 100 per cent Yahwistic Psalter. One scroll from Masada (MasPs^b) unambiguously follows the Hebrew order.¹⁴ Patrick Skehan stated that no fewer than

Pseudepigraphical Literature of the Jews,” *PTR* 18 (1920) 102-122; *ibid.*, “The Use of ‘God’ and ‘Lord’ in the Koran,” *PTR* 17 (1919) 644-650. In this latter article Wilson’s tables show that out of a total of 114 suras, or chapters, in the Koran (whose unity of authorship is not disputed) 11 suras have Allah alone; 19 have Rab alone; 6 have both names in equal numbers; 10 have neither name; 68 have both names in unequal proportions. Of these 68 Allah predominates in 40 suras and Rab predominates in the other 28. It would be interesting to discover (where one name predominates at the expense of the other) if there is any logical or theological/devotional reason for the switch in names. It is sometimes claimed that the switch in names in the duplicate psalms, 14 and 53, reflects a contrast between a local view of God (Yahweh) and one that embraces the whole world (Elohim); cf. J. A. Hutton, “From Jahweh to Elohim: From the Particular to the Universal,” *The Expositor* 13 (1917) 454-60.

¹² See Peter W. Flint, “The Psalms Scroll from the Judaean Desert: Relationships and the Textual affinities,” in George J. Brooke with Florentino García Martínez (eds.), *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (STDJ 15; Leiden/New York: Brill, 1994), 31-52, esp. 46. Cf. also G. H. Wilson, “The Qumran Psalms Scroll Reconsidered: Analysis of the Debate,” *CBQ* 47 (1985) 624-42.

¹³ Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 131.

¹⁴ Cf. P. W. Flint, “The Psalms Scroll,” 41.

seventeen manuscripts from Qumran support the present Hebrew arrangement.¹⁵

The earliest rabbinic note on the authorship of the Psalms is the Babylonian Talmud reference which says that David wrote the Psalms with the help of ten others (Elders), among whom is Heman (but not Ethan who was identified with Abraham). Heman is kept distinct from the three sons of Korah and considered to be identical with Moses in some traditions.¹⁶ Another tradition (Midrash on Canticles iv. 4) includes Ezra among the ten, but this could be a misunderstanding of the term Ezraite given to Heman and Ethan.¹⁷

By the time the Septuagint was produced there had been a process of attributing more and more untitled Psalms to David, presumably in the belief that David wrote the whole Psalter.¹⁸ This was certainly the belief of the rabbis and the Qumran community.¹⁹

¹⁵ P. Skehan, "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism," 167.

¹⁶ Neubauer, "The Authorship," 6-8, 25.

¹⁷ Ibid., "The Authorship," 17, 25.

¹⁸ John F. A. Sawyer, "An Analysis," 26-38, noted that in the light of Ugaritic evidence it is conceivable that *š dāwīdāt* one time meant "about David"; in the Chronicler's day, however, it can scarcely be doubted that the meaning was "by David." Could Psalmists not compose a single work made up of two or more psalms? Psalms 9 and 10 are one composition united by an alphabetical acrostic; Psalms 42 and 43 make up one composition because of the refrain in 42:6, 12; 43:5; Psalm 119 is made up of 22 separate psalms, so why not 32-33, 65-66, 70-71, etc? Psalms 95 and 96 are ophan Psalms in the Hebrew Massoretic Text but they are credited to David in 1 Chr 16 and Heb. 4:7. To assist continuity of thought to flow from one Psalm to another superscriptions may have been removed or never created. James W. Thirtle (*Old Testament Problems: Critical Studies in the Psalms & Isaiah* [London: H. Frowde, 1907], 80) regarded as single works, Psalms 92-97; 98-99, and 103-104. Conversely, "Songs of Ascents" (note the plural 'songs'), a title that belongs to a whole collection, is placed before each separate Psalm where the plural form is inappropriate (see W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* [2nd ed.; London/Edinburgh: A. & C. Clark, 1892], 203). Smith also refers to a Jewish rule that all anonymous pieces are by the same hand with the nearest preceding Psalm whose author is named (W. Robertson Smith, "Psalms," in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, ed. by T. S. Baynes and W. R. Smith (9th edition, 24 vols & index; Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1875-89. XX, 29-34), 29. This rule was used by Ibn Ezra and others, see Uriel Simon, *Four*

The number of orphan Psalms (i.e. without a named author) seems to have varied. According to A. Pietersma some manuscript support can be found in the Old Greek text of the Septuagint to attribute between thirteen and twenty-three orphan Psalms to David, namely, Psalms (1), (2), 33*, (42), 43*, (66), (67), 71*, 91*, (92), 93*-99*, (100), 104*, (132), (134), (136), 137* (Hebrew numbering²⁰). Some Septuagint manuscripts attribute a further three Psalms by other authors to David, namely, (72), (79), (85). A. Pietersma concluded that at least five of the above, namely, 91, 92, 93, 95, and 136, ought to be subtracted from this list as clearly secondary to those Psalms attributed to David in the original Old Greek text of the Septuagint.²¹

The New Testament attributes two orphan Psalms, 2 and 95, to David (cf. Acts 4:25 and Heb 4:7). Qumran²² attributes three orphan Psalms to David (104, 123²³)(33²⁴) and subtracts one (144²⁵) already attributed to him.²⁶

Approaches to the Book of Psalms, 200.

¹⁹ See Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 70.

²⁰ A. Pietersma, "David in the Greek Psalms," *VT* 30 (1980) 213-226. Those with an asterisk (i.e. 13 Psalms) are attributed to David in Rahlfs's text. Those in brackets have only minority Septuagint support.

²¹ The Septuagint divides two psalms—which are treated as units in the Hebrew Massoretic Text—into halves, and conversely in two cases treats as one what are regarded as two psalms in the Hebrew MT. Thus Psalm 9 and 10 are one Psalm in the Septuagint as are 114 and 115. The Hebrew Psalm 116 is divided into two psalms in the Septuagint as is Psalm 147.

²² By 'Qumran' here is meant only one manuscript supports each of the points being made. Wilson (*Editing*, 121) noted that, "In most instances where evidence is available, the Qumran texts support the MT 150 data regarding superscriptions, postscripts, doxologies and hllwyh's." If one compares Wilson's Psalm titles on page 124 with pages 231-35 some inconsistencies appear. First, on page 124 for Psalm 118 he notes there is no postscript *Hallelujah*, but this is not recorded on page 233. Secondly, on page 124 for Psalm 148 he notes that there is no superscription, but on page 235 he omits this fact; the Hebrew has *Hallelujah* as a superscription. Thirdly, on page 125 for Psalm 136 he notes that there is no postscript, but on page 234 he omits this because the Hebrew does not have one. The false impression given on page 125 is that the printed Hebrew text has a postscript which 11QPs^a has omitted. The same misleading impression appears again in Psalms 137, 138, 141, 133, 144, 142, 143, 140, 134 on page 125 when compared with page 235. There is also confusion in the use of round and square brackets.

²³ Both in 11QPs^a. See Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 70, 123, 130, 232-33; and Pietersma, "David," 225.

Because of the fluid attribution of authorship the consensus among critical scholars is that the superscriptions are secondary, that is, they were not part of the original compositions to which they now stand attached.²⁷ However, the little evidence that we do have suggests that a superscription was put on a composition as soon as it was made; compare Hezekiah's Psalm in Isaiah 38 and Habakkuk's in chapter 3. In the Book of Proverbs colophon material appears on six occasions in superscription position (1:1; 10:1; 24:23; 25:1; 30:1; 31:1).

It would appear that the superscriptions were ancient by the time the Septuagint came into being because the translators did not understand many aspects of the superscriptions. Instead of translating they transliterated or else made a guess as to their meaning.²⁸ Franz Delitzsch concluded that "the key to the understanding of them must have been lost very early."²⁹

²⁴ In 4QPs^a. See Pietersma, "David," 224, and Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 122.

²⁵ In 11QPs^a. Cf. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 123.

²⁶ Theodore of Mopsuestia (AD 350-428) is credited with the composition of the titles in the Peshiṭta which bear no relation to the Hebrew MT or the Septuagint headings. Neubauer ("The Authorship," 9) dismisses them as valueless and arbitrary. The classification of the Psalms in Theodore's commentary are: 4 Messianic psalms, 17 didactic poems, 19 psalms treating of David and his time, 1 concerning Jeremiah, 25 about the Assyrians (and Hezekiah), 67 concerning the Babylonian exile and 17 concerning the Maccabees. See Friedrich Baethgen, "Siebenzehn makkabäische Psalmen nach Theodor von Mopsuestia," *ZAW* 6 (1886), 261-88; and Willem Bloemendaal, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960). I am grateful to Dr. Robert Gordon (Cambridge University) for the translation of the Syriac titles in Bloemendaal's work. Theodore had the idea that all the Psalms were written by David who, as a prophet, foretold the future of his people. In this he was not alone because the Midrashim, the early Church Fathers, and virtually all the medieval rabbinic commentators held this view (cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 9, 28). David Kimhi (fl. 1160-1230) held that David spoke of events after his time, including the Exile and Return, and into the times of the Messiah. David composed with the help of the Holy Spirit which is to be distinguished from prophecy.

²⁷ Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 451; Brevard S. Childs, "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16 (1971) 137-50; Pius Drijvers, *The Psalms: Their Structure and Meaning* (London: Burns & Oates, 1964), 19; and Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 139, "of obvious secondary origin."

²⁸ See James W. Thirtle, *The Titles of the Psalms: Their Nature and Meaning Explained* (London: Henry Frowde, 1905), 15-17, 76, 157; and William Henry Green, "The Titles of the

THE NUMERICAL DOMINANCE OF DIVINE NAMES

Gerald Henry Wilson in his published thesis on the arrangement of the Psalter appears to have overlooked the most important evidence for the present arrangement of the 150 canonical Psalms, namely, the numerical strength of the divine names *in each psalm*.³⁰

Wilson noted (as many did before him) that with the exception of Book 2 (42-72) and the first part of Book 3 (Pss 73-83) the predominant name of the deity in the Hebrew Psalter is Yahweh. In Psalms 42-83 the predominant name is Elohim. In comparing statistics at the Book level scholars failed to note what was happening at the *individual* psalm level.

Wilson's oversight of the divine names as a possible explanation for the present arrangement of the Psalter is understandable when one considers that within each of the five Books the names "Yahweh" and "Elohim" seem to be used interchangeably and indiscriminately. Also, within Book 1 (Yahwistic) the first divine name one encounters in two Psalms is "Elohim" (4, 14) and three begin with "El" (16, 19, 22). Within Book 2 (the Elohist

Psalms," *Old and New Testament Student* 11 (1890) 153-167, esp. 157. The Septuagint translates "to the Choirmaster" (לְמַנְצֵחַ) by "unto the end" possibly taking the meaning from Psalm 68:17 where the word לְנֶצַח is translated "for ever".

²⁹ C. F. Keil and Franz Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes. Volume V. Psalms* by F. Delitzsch, trans. by James Martin (Grand Rapids, MI; W. B. Eerdmans, n.d. [1949]), 23; cf. also Neubauer, "The Authorship," 6; and Wilson, "The Headings of the Psalms," 359, 362, 369-70, who noted that if the Septuagint translation of the Psalms was made in the second half of the second century BC (according to H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* [Cambridge: University Press, 1914] 25) then how do we account for the ignorance over the meaning of the titles in the Maccabean psalms, which must have been added by their contemporaries (363)? For a judicious collection of the blunders the Septuagint translators made through misunderstanding the Hebrew see John Edwards, *A Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (3 vols; London, 1693-95), III, 477-531.

Psalter) two Psalms begin with “Yahweh” (48, 71) and two with “El” (50, 52). In Book 3A (Elohistic) Psalm 78 begins with “Yahweh”. In Books 4 and 5 (Yahwistic collections) three Psalms begin with “Elohim” (108, 109, 145), two with “Adonai” (90, 114), one begins with “El” (94) and one with “Elyon” (91).

These statistics would seem to suggest that there is no order in the distribution of the divine names and this is apparently confirmed when one charts the distribution of the divine names across the five Books. Indeed, some have held there is no order among the Psalms themselves. Bernardus Dirks Eerdmans spoke for many when he wrote: “Various types of songs are heaped up higgledy-piggledy, like manuscripts in the corner of a Genizah.”³¹ In what follows we shall show that the Psalter has been arranged on a logical overall plan and that the superscriptions, far from being later, and therefore secondary, editorial additions, played an important part in the early development of the present arrangement.

FIRST STAGE SORT: BOOKS SORTED ACCORDING TO DIVINE NAMES

The use of the opening reference to the deity as a criterion for grouping cultic compositions is not found in the Hebrew Psalter as it is in Mesopotamian

³⁰ Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*.

³¹ Bernardus Dirks Eerdmans, *The Hebrew Book of Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 1947), 17, 23. C. Th. Niemeyer (*Het probleem van de rangschikking der Psalmen* [Leiden: Luctor et Emergo, 1950], whose work was reviewed by B. Gemser in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 9 [1952] 139-43) made a survey of the subject beginning with Rabbinic sources and then from 1800 onwards. He put the subject under three headings: (1) Those who hold to a definite order in the arrangement. (2) Those who hold to an incomplete order. (3) Those who hold there is no discernible order. Umberto Cassuto noted that unrelated sections in the Pentateuch, Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets are joined not only by association of ideas, but also, and primarily, association of words and expressions (in “The Sequence and Arrangement of the Biblical Sections,” in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Umberto Cassuto [Jerusalem: Magnes

culture.³² What is distinctive about the Hebrew method of arrangement is that the first three Books are arranged on the simple criterion of the *predominant* name (not the first occurrence of a name) used for the deity *in each psalm*. The compiler carefully counted the number of times Yahweh, Elohim and Adonai occurred *in each psalm* and whichever name outnumbered the others that determined its first stage grouping. In the case of David, he is credited with fifty-six psalms; thirty-seven are dominated by the name “Yahweh”, eighteen by “Elohim”, and one by “Adonai.” In the case of Solomon he has his name over a “Yahweh” and an “Elohim” psalm. Korah and Asaph have eight and twelve “Elohim” psalms respectively, and Korah has four “Yahweh” psalms.

The sorting according to the predominant divine name in each Psalm explains at once why the compiler has split the compositions of David and Korah into two separated groups.³³ Failure to observe this simple criterion meant that Wilson was never able to explain this facet of the Psalter in a satisfactory manner. See the chart at the end of this article showing the distribution of the divine names throughout the Psalter.

The totals of all the names³⁴ in each of the five books that constitute the Psalter are as follows (the superscript numerals indicate the number of times the name is not used of Israel’s God):

Press, 1973], 1-6).

³² Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 63.

³³ If Solomon wrote the two psalms with his name in the superscription then these are separated on the same criterion. But it is more likely that they were written *for* him.

³⁴ No two scholars, it seems, are agreed on the number of times “Yahweh” and “Elohim” occur in the Psalms (some exclude construct forms), so that it was necessary to hand-count each name (see comment on using electronic text in the Appendix under “col. 1”). The same was done for all the divine names in the table below which makes no distinction between absolute and

	Yahweh	Yah	Elohim	El	Adonai	Elyon	Others ³⁵	Totals
Book 1 (1-41)	278	-	49 ¹	18 ¹	16 ¹	4	1	=366
Book 2 (42-72)	32	2	198 ¹	16 ¹	18 ¹	4	3	=273
Book 3 (73-89)	44	2	63 ²	24 ³	15	9	3	=160
Book 3A (73-83)	13	1	47 ²	18 ²	6	7	2	(=94)
Book 3B (84-89)	31	1	16	6 ¹	9	2	1	(=66)
Book 4 (90-106)	105	7	24 ⁵	9	4 ¹	4	2	=155
Book 5 (107-150)	236	32	31 ³	10	14 ³	1	4	=328
Totals	695	43	365 ¹²	77 ⁵	67 ⁶	22	13	1282

Book 3 divides into two distinct sections, an Elohist collection (A) comprising Psalms 73-83, and a Yahwist collection (B) comprising Psalms 84-89. The separate figures for each part are given in the above table.

The psalm between Book 3A and 3B is Psalm 84 which is unique in that the names Yahweh and Elohim occur in equal numbers (seven each). The present position of Psalm 84 reflects the balance of the divine names it contains: it is neither a Yahwist nor an Elohist Psalm. However, the fact that Korah's Yahwist collection begins with Psalm 84 suggests that the compiler regarded it as falling into Korah's Yahwist collection.

The distribution of the divine names divides the Psalter into three distinct collections: 1-41; 42-83 and 84-150.³⁶ If there had been an earlier three-fold division of the Psalter then the statistics would have been as follows:

construct forms. G. H. Wilson's totals on page 197 are inaccurate as are Eissfeldt's on page 449 (*Introduction*).

³⁵ Note that under "Others" is not included the totals for A=Armies/Hosts (as in 'Yahweh of Hosts') even though they are noted in Column 7 of the chart. See the key to the chart under Column 7.

³⁶ It is usually assumed that Part III is made up of post-Exilic psalms, but phrases from Psalms 106, 107 and 136 are quoted by Jeremiah (33:11) according to Green, "The Titles of the Psalms," 161, who also assumes that Hezekiah put the Psalter together as we have it. Jonah's Psalm (ch. 2) is said to contain quotations from Psalms 3, 31, 42, 69, 142, etc.

	Yahweh	Yah	Elohim	El	Adonai	Elyon	Others	Totals
Part I (1-41)	278	-	49 ¹	18 ¹	16 ¹	4	1	=366
Part II (42-83)	45	3	245 ³	34 ³	24 ¹	11	5	=367
Part III (84-150)	372	40	71 ⁸	25 ¹	27 ⁴	7	7	=549

This could be the oldest division of the Psalter but there are indications that the present Psalter was put together over a long period of time following a definite overall plan based on the predominance of the divine names.³⁷

The predominant use of Elohim in Part II was usually dismissed as the intentional alteration of more ancient texts.³⁸ Various attempts were made to use the preponderance of Yahweh/Elohim or the combination of divine names (Adonai-Yahweh, etc.) to date Psalms to pre- or post-Exilic periods. Samuel Rolles Driver hazarded the guess that at the time when the compiler lived there was a current preference for the name “Elohim”.³⁹ Robert Dick Wilson showed in a study of the distribution of divine names in forty-three Jewish compositions written between 500 BC and AD 135 that this could not be the case.⁴⁰ His own conclusion was that the preference for one divine

³⁷ Hermann Gunkel was sceptical 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* [Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933], 436, 447). That has been the scholarly view since his day. Wilson noted that most commentaries give very little space to a discussion of the final arrangement of the Psalter (3), citing M. Dahood (*Psalms I*, xxx-xxxi) as an example.

³⁸ So Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 449; Pius Drijvers, *The Psalms*, 17, who thinks this is clear from the expression “God, my God” which originally appeared as “Yahweh, my God” in 43:4; 45:7; 50:7. That later writers could adapt, and so alter, earlier sacred writings is not in dispute here. Compare the use the Chronicler has made of his sources and the parallel passages in Samuel and Kings. Some would hold that the use of Elohim instead of Yahweh in Psalm 50:7 and 68:2, 8-9 is, as a comparison with Ex 20:2, Num 10:35, and Jud 5:4ff. proves, an intentional alteration of more ancient texts.

³⁹ Samuel Rolles Driver, *The Literature of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907), 371-72.

⁴⁰ R. D. Wilson, “Use of the Words for God in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Literature of the Jews,” *PTR* 18 (1920) 103-122; *ibid.*, “The Names of God in the Psalms,” *PTR*

name or the other was the result of individual choice and not a current trend at any stage in Judah's history (biblical or inter-testamental): "*Individual* preferences there were, but *current* preferences not."⁴¹

It is proof of the compiler's hand in the arrangement of the Psalter that there is not a *single exception* in Part II where the name Yahweh outnumbers the name Elohim in any Psalm in this collection (see the charts at the end of this article). This can hardly be a coincidence. Similarly, there is not a *single exception* in Part I where Elohim outnumbers Yahweh in any Psalm. The same applies to Part III except that here there is one clear exception, Psalm 108, where the name Elohim outnumbers Yahweh. Apart from noting that Psalm 108 is made up of 57:8-12 and 60:7-14 both of which are Elohistic Psalms, and whose divine names have already been counted under Part II, I have no explanation for this exception.⁴² There are two other Psalms in Part III where the divine names are balanced (90, 136).

There is an apparent exception in Part II where Psalm 86 has the name Elohim five times and Yahweh only four times. However, the name Adonai outnumbers both because it occurs seven times; it is therefore an "Adonai" Psalm and belongs to neither category. The compiler was compelled to place it

25 (1927) 1-39, esp. 7-10; *ibid.*, "The Headings of the Psalms," *PTR* 24 (1926), 1-37, 353-95, esp. 17.

⁴¹ Wilson, "The Names of God in the Psalms," 9.

⁴² The vocabulary link between 107 and 108 is the reference to a city of God which appears to be a spiritual city, rather than Jerusalem (see 107:4, 7; 108:11). Both psalms express thanks for Yahweh's *hesed* (107:1; 108:11). I. Yevin ("The Division into Sections in the Book of Psalms," *Textus* 7 (1969) 76-102) has noted that the word "וַיִּחַלֵּק" has been placed against this Psalm in a pre-900 AD list of Open and Closed sections in the Psalms. He remarks that the word is unintelligible to him. It would appear to mean, "and we divided . . ." or: "and it was divided." Whatever the cryptic word means it at least indicates that there was something notable about this Psalm.

outside the exclusively Yahwist and Elohist Psalters which explains its presence in Part III.⁴³ Psalm 114 is another Adonai Psalm.

The compiler split up each author's collection (David, Korah and Solomon [?]) into a Yahwistic and an Elohist collection and he brought their respective Elohist portions together—plus Asaph's⁴⁴—in a distinct collection (Psalms 42-83).⁴⁵ This at once explains why Korah is credited with Psalms 42-49 (which are all Elohist) and why these are separated from Psalms 84-89 (which are all Yahwistic). Psalm 84 is also his, but, as we noted above, it is an evenly balanced Psalm and so the compiler has, very aptly, placed it between the two collections.

Why was the Elohist Psalter compiled? Is there a prophetic hand behind its arrangement? Asaph was a seer (2 Chr 29:30) and Heman and Jeduthun prophesied in music (1 Chr 25:2). Was the Elohist Psalter put together with the foreknowledge that the nation was going into Exile? In 1 Chronicles 16:47 David⁴⁶ requests Yahweh to: "Save us . . . and gather us from among the nations," which is repeated in Psalm 106:47. The exiles reject as inappropriate the idea of singing the "song of Yahweh" [שִׁיר יְהוָה] in a land that

⁴³ When the divine name Yahweh came to be read as "Adonai" then this Psalm would have eleven Adonais and would be classed as a "Yahweh" Psalm. Is this a clue to the time when the compiler did his work?

⁴⁴ It is unlikely that Asaph wrote only "Elohim" psalms. I suspect that Psalms 104-106 with the doxology constitutes Asaph's Yahwist collection. 1 Chr 16:7 may indicate that the Psalm there belongs to Asaph ('by the hand of') the last part of which (vv. 35-36) is repeated in Psalm 106:47-48.

⁴⁵ Wilson's view is that, "While authorship does play a part in the Psalms-headings, it is by no means the *major* concern, as authorship groups are nowhere consistently brought together" (*Editing*, 140, cf. 155). He nowhere states what is the major concern. Yepheth ben Ali (late tenth century)(cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 44.) explained the division: The collector has separated them from the other, because they are connected together. But he does not say in what way they are connected.

⁴⁶ It is possible that this Psalm belongs to Asaph, and not to David. "By the hand of Asaph and his brethren" could be interpreted to mean that David used Asaph and his brethren to give

was not under Yahweh's rule (i.e. a strange land)(Psalm 137:4). What did they sing, then, during their seventy years of captivity? C. H. Waller suggested that the origin of the two Psalters goes back to the creation of two choirs before the Temple was built, one in Zion (where Yahweh had just recently put His name, hence the predominant use of "Yahweh" in the Zion Psalter, or Book 1) and the other in Gibeon where the altar and tabernacle resided and where God did not put His name, hence the use of "God" as the predominant name in the Gibeonite Psalter, or Book 2 (cf. 1 Chr 16:37-45).⁴⁷ It is probably no coincidence that the term "song of Elohim" [שיר אלהים] is used to describe the Gibeonite psalmody (1 Chr 16:42) whereas the term "song of Yahweh" [שיר יהוה] describes the psalmody of Zion (1 Chr 25:7; 2 Chr 7:6; 29:27).

SECOND STAGE SORT: GROUPS SORTED ACCORDING TO GENRE

The compiler's hand can be seen in a second stage sort which implies that he had the present superscriptions before him.⁴⁸ If the Psalter was put together by one compiler at one sitting (which is not very likely for reasons which will become apparent), then having divided the 150 Psalms into an Elohistic and a Yahwistic collection, he took the Elohistic collection and grouped the Psalms into blocks according to the genre term used in the

thanks to Yahweh.

⁴⁷ C. H. Waller, "The Prayers of David the Son of Jesse," *The Thinker* 5 (Jan/June 1894) 12-19.

⁴⁸ Wilson (*Editing*, 136) never got beyond (1) Psalm-types, and (2) functional concerns in his attempt to reconstruct the criteria used by the editor(s) to create the present Psalter. He noted that neither Psalm-types nor authorship were used consistently (143, 157, 161) because he was unaware of the divine name factor preventing a logical arrangement.

superscriptions to these Psalms.⁴⁹ Thus all the *maskil* and *mizmor* Psalms of Korah are brought together into distinct blocks. The same can be seen in the case of David's Psalms (see the charts below). The compiler did not apply this method to Parts I and III because there were not sufficient of each genre to justify such an arrangement (except that in Book 5 there are two small groups of David's Psalms and the fifteen Songs of Ascents). It would appear that this second stage sorting according to genre was applied only to those Psalms that constitute Book 2 of the present Psalter.⁵⁰

The doxology at the end of David's Elohist collection (72:19) is followed by a statement that this is the end of his prayers. Gerald D. Wilson is no doubt correct in suggesting that Psalm 72 is a Psalm of David composed *for Solomon*, and not that Solomon composed it himself.⁵¹ That David is the author is clear from verse 1 (and verse 20, if the doxology⁵² and postscript belongs to this Psalm). He is the king praying that God's righteousness will be given to his son, Solomon. It is called a prayer of David in verse 20. It may well have been David's death-bed composition and in that sense the postscript

⁴⁹ It puzzled Niemeyer (*Het probleem*, 152) why David's *miktam* Psalm 16 was isolated from the rest of David's *miktam* psalms in 56-60. Wilson (*Editing*, 161), unaware of the first stage process, sought a solution in "material assonance", i.e. the main idea of Psalm 16, the blissfulness of being near to God (cf. vss. 1f., 5-8, 9b, 11b) corresponds to the question of Ps 15:1: "O Lord, who may abide in your tent?" and also the ideas of Psalm 17:8 and 15. While this is a plausible explanation for its inclusion in Book 1 (and for its positioning within that Book) it does not explain why it could not be part of Book 2, along with Psalms 56-60. It puzzled Eissfeldt why all the *maskil* psalms were not brought together from which he drew the conclusion that Psalms 42-49 and 51-72 form two separate and once independent collections (*The Old Testament*, 450).

⁵⁰ It is interesting that in the time of Hezekiah (729-686 [sole reign 715-] BC) we are told: "And Hezekiah the king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praises to the Lord with the words of David and Asaph the seer . . ." (2 Chr 29:30). Asaph and David appear alongside one another in Bk 2, but Korah is outside this group. Is this a hint of how the author groups evolved gradually?

⁵¹ This was the view of Saadia Gaon (*d.* 940) and Abraham ibn Ezra (*c.* 1157); cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 11, 25-26; and Wilson, "The Headings of the Psalms," 392.

is historically accurate: it was the last of David's prayers. The postscript could also be a literary note that Psalm 72 was the last of David's *Elohistic* prayers, because, while seventeen *Yahwistic* Psalms and one Adonai Psalm of David follow this notice, there are no more Elohistic Psalms.⁵³

The Talmud quotes Rabbi Meir (second century AD) as saying: "All songs and praises found in the book of Tilm were sung by David, as it is written, 'Then ended the prayers of David.' Do not read קָלוּ 'ended,' but קָלוּ-אֵלֵינוּ⁵⁴ 'all these' are the prayers of David."⁵⁵

It has been common to interpret the postscript in 72:20 as a left-over in the gradual growth of the Psalter and this seems very likely in view of the evidence that the Book of Psalms has been put together in at least two stages.

Wilson is also correct in suggesting that the doxologies were not specially created by an editor and placed in their present positions to mark off distinct "Books".⁵⁶ The editor found them already at the close of the Psalm to which they currently belong and he deliberately moved the entire Psalm to its present position. Whether the editor intended by this move to create a five-fold division is open to doubt, because there is no doxology at the end of the Elohistic Part II (i.e. at the end of Psalm 83). Also the doxology at the end of Psalm 72 marks the close of David's Elohistic collection. That was its original

⁵² Doxologies belong to the Psalm to which they are attached and not to the Book, so Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1962), II, 193, 197.

⁵³ 2 Sam 23:1 records the last prophetic words of David; here we have his last prayer. The last, it would appear from a Qumran document, of 4,050 psalms credited to David (Wilson, *Editing*, 78).

⁵⁴ Neubauer ("The Authorship," 7 n. 4) suggests קָלוּ-אֵלֵינוּ was meant with אֵלֵינוּ disappearing in the pronunciation.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, "The Authorship," 7.

⁵⁶ Cf. also Sigmund Mowinckel, *Psalms in Israel's Worship*, I, 193, 197 n. 3; M. Dahood, *Psalms I*, xxx, and N. H. Tur-Sinai, "The Literary Character of the Book of Psalms,"

function. Finally, the doxology at the end of Psalm 106:48 does not break the strong continuity with Psalm 107 which follows (as Wilson acknowledged). Wilson's argument that Psalms 118 and 136 mark new sections is weakened by the non-appearance of doxologies at these points. The impression one gets on reading through the Psalms is that while the doxologies do tend to introduce a climax, a convenient stopping-point, there is considerable continuity across these seams.⁵⁷ The scribal tradition of placing three blank lines following each of the four doxologies created three clear spacial divisions within the continuous text (the fourth doxology came at the conclusion of the Psalter), and thereby created a five Book appearance to the whole work. It is difficult to be certain that these doxologies were deliberately intended by the compiler to mark off five distinct collections, but that has been the effect of the scribal tradition.

We noted that Book 2 had been sorted according to the Psalms' own genre classification (*mizmor*, *maskil*, *miktam*). What exactly these terms meant is still a mystery, but they were meaningful enough to the compiler to justify using them to create his first subdivision. A poem is not less a psalm (*mizmor*) because it is described as a song (*shir*); nor is it any less a prayer (*tefillah*) because it has no heading at all. Psalms 5 and 39 are headed *mizmor*, but they came about through meditation (*hagig*, cf. 5:2; 39:4). Again and again invocation is followed by thanksgiving, and meditation by rebuke. Any one of these aspects, it seems, may have been promoted or highlighted in the

Oüdtestamentische Studien 8 (1950) 264-65.

⁵⁷ See Wilson (*Editing*, 81-82) for the issues involved. Doxologies appear in the body of some New Testament writings but they do not divide these works into distinct mini "epistles" within the larger epistle, cf. Gal 1:5; Eph 3:21; Phil 4:20; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:16; 2 Tim 4:18; Heb

heading. What difference is there between a Psalm-Song (*mizmor shir*) and a Song-Psalm (*shir mizmor*)?

Though called a *miktam*, a poem may still be a *mizmor*. The genus includes the species, the general the particular. Can we regard such terms as expressive of refined poetical distinctions or do they in some way indicate the dominant note or mood, or intention of the psalm? The duplicate Psalms do not help us solve this problem. Psalm 14 is entitled “To David.” When it appears again, as Psalm 53, it is styled “*maskil* of David.” There may be other *maskil* Psalms without that term standing over them. Again, the early part of Psalm 108:1-5 reappears in Psalm 57:7-11. In the former it is described as a *shir mizmor*; in the latter, as a *miktam* of David. Also the latter part of Psalm 108:6-13 is repeated in Psalm 60:5-12; which is described as a *miktam*. So two *miktam* Psalms, 57 and 60, are joined together to make a “*shir mizmor* to David.” The term *tefilloth*, “prayers”, in the postscript to Psalm 72 must include all of David’s previous compositions as there is only one *tefillah* (Psalm 17) prior to this notice.

James William Thirtle asserted that there is no neat poetical theory that would distinguish words such as *maskil* and *miktam*, for in some cases the compositions which are so described actually embody portions of ordinary psalm-songs. He draws a parallel with modern hymnals which include psalms, songs, solos, choruses, canticles, melodies, chants and anthems. In these terms the musical features are emphasized in a way that affords but slight indication of the character of the words—whether the note be prayer or praise, exhortation or appeal, designed to stir up emotion or to provoke

13:21; and 1 Pet 4:11.

enthusiasm.⁵⁸ And yet one cannot accept that the terms are interchangeable or that they did not signify something to those who first heard them even if that meaning is now lost to us.

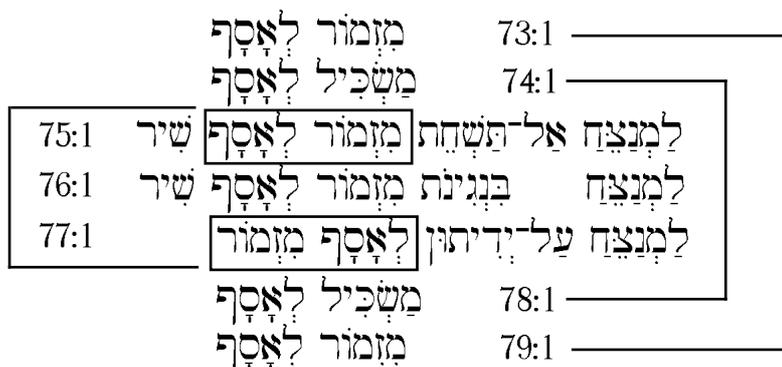
We can detect a small editorial device the compiler used when making up his subdivision groups. When he has brought together a number of Psalms into a small group he utilises a Psalm in which the heading has reversed the author/genre terms in the superscriptions and he appears to use this Psalm to mark the close of the group, or to remind himself that this group is now closed, and it will become a block-group which will be moved around as a unit when he comes to the final juxtaposition of all the Psalms. The following are examples of this device. Psalms 19-23 have *mizmor l'dawid* and the terms are reversed in 24:1 *l'dawid mizmor* as this Psalm marks off this block of Psalms. Another example is the block 38-40 where *l'dawid mizmor* marks the close of this block of Psalms. It is interesting that these three Psalms are bound together by the following link words. The word *iniquity* (עוֹן) and *from me* (מִמֶּנִּי) both occur thirty times in the Psalter but the word only occurs in these three consecutive Psalms. The verb *to hear* (שָׁמַע) occurs 76 times in the Psalter but only in Book 1 does it occur in these three consecutive Psalms. The words *rebuke* (תּוֹשָׁחַת) and *plague* (נִגַּע) occur only three and four times respectively in the Psalter but both words occur in Psalms 38 and 39.

Other blocks of Psalms which have been closed by reversing terms are 75-77 and 56-60. The words *l'dawid miktam* in 56-59 are reversed in 60 to

⁵⁸ James William Thirtle, *The Titles of the Psalms: Their Nature and Meaning Explained* (London: Henry Frowde, 1905), 134.

miktam l'dawid. Note that the compiler has placed Psalms with three identical superscriptions in the center of this group.

A more complex grouping occurs with Psalms 73-79. On either side of Psalms 75-77 is a mirror-chiastic-pair of Psalms, 73-74 and 78-79:



Another possible case where the compiler has coupled Psalms by this method is Psalms 108-109.

However, it is very likely that the compiler did not take it upon himself to reverse the opening terms of the superscriptions but found them as we have them.⁵⁹ This can be seen in the case of the first example cited above.

לְדָוִד מְזֹמֹר לַיהוָה הָאָרֶץ וּמְלוֹאֲהָ תִבֵּל וַיֵּשְׁבִי בָהּ: 24:1

מְזֹמֹר לְדָוִד לַיהוָה הָאָרֶץ וּמְלוֹאֲהָ תִבֵּל וַיֵּשְׁבִי בָהּ: (=Original?)

If we switch 24:1 back to what might have been its original word order (marked ‘Original?’ above) we produce a joint authorship! To avoid this unlikely event the terms were reversed probably from the moment of its composition and this would explain why 24:1 differs from its group, in which case the compiler’s hand is seen in the positioning of it where it is. There are

⁵⁹ Wilson (*Editing*, 144) found certain indications that the superscriptions had become fixed

other instances where Psalms with reversed terms do not have this closing function (these are indicated by italics and underlining in the charts below, see Psalms 41, 47, 49, 87, 139). The compiler did not try to impose uniformity on these reversed headings but left them as he found them. In support of this is the fact that there are forty-nine different kinds of headings.⁶⁰ Also, whereas the terms *maskil* and *mizmor* normally precede David's name, they mostly follow in the case of Korah's Psalms.

Thus it would appear that in three aspects of the arrangement of the canonical Psalter, namely, the origin of the doxologies, the reversal of opening terms in the superscriptions, and the forty-nine varieties of headings, the compiler is arranging rather than editing the material that has come down to him. But it is possible that in one important aspect he has imposed a uniformity on the final arrangement, namely, the positioning of all postscript material at the head of the Psalm (involving the elements in columns 8 to 10 on the main chart below, collectively called Part 1). Part 1, therefore, may have originally constituted the postscript material because, first, in the Habakkuk Psalm (3:1-19) we have the following form:

- A. Superscription: A Prayer by Habakkuk the prophet according to *Shigionoth*.
- B. This was followed by the main text of the Prayer itself.
- C. Postscript: To the choirmaster: with stringed instruments (NRSV).

The information in Habakkuk's superscription is typical of the Psalms. The postscript is interesting because what is always put at the head of each Psalm is here found in postscript position: "For the director of music. On my stringed instruments" (NIV). If we move the postscript to the superscription position

parts of their compositions and this prevented the editor(s) from tampering with them.

we have the situation that prevails in the Psalms. Secondly, in every instance the colophon information in Part 1 of the Psalms can quite easily be moved to postscript position without in any way disturbing the superscription. The only exception to this observation is the unusual positioning of the tune title (if it is such) *after* the author's name in Psalm 46. In all other cases this information is placed *before* the author's name.

Secondly, it is highly unlikely that the Habbakuk Psalm is an exception and there must have been *some* Psalms which had a postscript similar to Habakkuk 3. If so, the compiler may have imposed uniformity by merging the postscript and the superscription in the superscript position as this is the area where the only other Psalm which lies outside the Psalter has colophon material, namely Hezekiah's Psalm. The superscription reads: "A writing of Hezekiah king of Judah, after he had been sick and had recovered from his sickness" (Isa 38:9, NRSV). Unlike Habakkuk 3 it has no postscript.

In the chart below we have divided the information in the superscription area into two parts. If we assume that most Psalms had a postscript similar to that of Habakkuk then everything in part one of the present superscriptions to the Psalms will have originally been contained in a postscript.⁶¹ Part one of the superscription can be removed quite easily to postscript position leaving part two with a direct parallel in Habakkuk 3 and Isaiah 38 (cf. 2 Sam 1:18).⁶² What makes the idea of postscripts being moved

⁶⁰ Wilson, "The Headings of the Psalms," 34-37.

⁶¹ This was also suggested by H. M. I. Gevaryahu, "Biblical Colophons: A Source for the 'Biography' of Authors, Texts and Books," *VTSup* 28 (1975) 42-59, esp. 52.

⁶² If each Psalm had the information in Part 1 as a postscript then those untitled psalms which are considered part of the preceding Psalm, such as 9/10, 32/33 and 70/71, will have had the postscript at the end of Psalms 10, 33, and 71 respectively. Gevaryahu has argued that most

to the beginning of the Psalm plausible is that part two (cols. 11-18) of the superscription is normally separated by a Closed Section (occasionally by an Open Section) space from the main text of the Psalm which follows (occasionally there is no break which is more common in the Leningrad manuscript). There is a similar distinct break between part one and part two.⁶³ This could be a remnant of the time when the postscript was moved to the head of the Psalm. The evidence from scribal practices in Qumran (which has been conveniently collected by G. D. Wilson [93-115]) suggests that they did not use a different set of rules governing the spacing between Psalms. Indeed, the format of the text is virtually unchanged over the centuries. What superscriptions are extant in the Qumran manuscripts show that virtually nothing has changed in transmission.⁶⁴

An instructive case of the reversal of terms is the anomalous double superscription at the beginning of Psalm 88.

לְבַנֵי־קִרְחַ	מְזֻמָּר שִׁיר	87:1 = s/s
שִׁיר מְזֻמָּר	לְבַנֵי קִרְחַ	88:1A = p/s to Ps 87
לְמִנְצַח עַל־מַחְלַת לְעֲנֹת מִשְׁכִּיל לְהִימָן הָאֲזָרְחִי:		
		88:1B = s/s

What is unusual about the superscription to Psalm 88 is that it appears to be two superscriptions which have been merged in English translations

of the items in biblical superscriptions were originally written at the end of the text and in a later period transferred to the beginning. This is based on the assumption that Israelite scribes followed Assyrian, Babylonian and Greek practices. See Gevaryahu, "Biblical Colophons," 42.

⁶³ Israel Yeivin, "The Division into Sections in the Book of Psalms," *Textus* 7 (1969) 76-102, esp. 79.

⁶⁴ See Wilson, *Editing*, 230-35. The evidence from the Psalms manuscripts from Qumran show that they have undergone an updating in spelling. The MT retains an older orthography.

(but not in Hebrew manuscripts). What makes this likely is that the term *לְמִנְצָח* is not in its normal initial position. *This is unique in the Psalter.* We have already seen that the compiler used the reversed terms in the superscription when he wanted to signal the close of a group of Psalms. Psalm 87 is the last of Korah's Psalms and we may conjecture that it once had a postscript (=88:1A) marking the conclusion of the Korah Collection. This postscript originally stood between Psalms 87 and 88 and by mistake, when it came to be translated, it was fused or associated with the original superscription to Psalm 88 (=88:1B).⁶⁵ But the Hebrew does not make this mistake. But more on this below.

The probability that there is a postscript following the last of Korah's collection suggests that what follows is not part of his work. We may, therefore, take it that the next two Psalms, 88 and 89, are the compositions of two otherwise unknown composers, Heman and Ethan, both called "Ezrahites" (הַאֲזָרְחִי). The unquestioned assumption to date is that this Heman is the same as the Levitical official whom David set "over the parts of the song of the house of Yahweh" (1 Chr 6:31).⁶⁶ There Heman is identified as מְבִנֵי הַקֹּהֲלֵי "of the sons of Kohath" rather than מְבִנֵי קֹרַח "of the sons of Korah" as we might have expected. There is no mention of any ancestor of Kohath called Ezrah. If the psalmist is Heman then he was a Korahite/Kohathite (1 Chr 6: 33-38 [Heb. 18-23]) and of the tribe of Levi.

⁶⁵ A similar confusion occurs in the present Septuagint text where in the Hebrew the last word of Psalms 104, 106, 113, 115, 116 and 117 is "Hallelujah;" this word, however, is placed in the Greek at the beginning of the following Psalm.

⁶⁶ Roger T. Beckwith, "The Early History of the Psalter," *TynBul* 46.1 (1995) 1-28. The assumption is understandable but not well-founded since there is no Levitical person called Ezrah from whom the influential Levitical personages could have been descended.

There is, however, a reference to “Ethan the Ezrahite and Heman” (יְהִימֵן הָאֶזְרָחִי) in 1 Kings 4:31 (Heb. 5:11).⁶⁷ They are two of four wise men in Israel’s tradition of whom Solomon is said to have been wiser. If these two men are the composers of Psalm 87 and 88 then they were, like David, of the tribe of Judah, being direct descendants of Zerah (1 Chr 2:6).⁶⁸

If we assume that the Heman and Ethan mentioned in the superscriptions are not the famous Levitical personnel but men who were contemporaries of either David (because of 89:20, 35, 50), or Solomon,⁶⁹ then Psalm 87 would mark the close of Korah’s collection of Psalms. The postscript to Psalm 87 would then mark the end of Korah’s collection. The fact that the terms in the postscript are identical to the superscription of Psalm 87 but reversed might tend to support this theory.

Also in favour is the fact that the proposed postscript is preceded and followed by an Open Section break. It is highly unusual to divide a superscription with an Open Section break. In the facsimile of the Leningrad B 19^A manuscript (on which the most recent edition of the Hebrew Bible is

⁶⁷ The Targum on Psalm 88 describes Heman as “the native” rather than a son of Korah. Solomon of Troyes (=Rashi, *d.* 1105) describes Heman as one of the sons of Zerah, who are called sons of מְזֻזֵל because they composed Psalms. And Ibn Ezra says that Heman was a grandson of Samuel, who is called אֶזְרָחִי because he was familiar with the singers, most of whom spring from his family. He notes, however, that others regard the brothers Heman and Ethan as sons of Ezra; cf. Neubauer, “The Authorship,” 55.

⁶⁸ A comparison of 1 Kgs 5:31 (Heb. 4:11) with 1 Chr 2:6 shows that Zerah and Ezrahite refer to the same person. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the psalmists, Heman and Ethan, were not Levites, and consequently Psalms 88-89 should not be included among the Korah collection which consists of ten, not twelve, psalms. The Septuagint reads “Israelite” instead of Ezrahite in both superscriptions. Victorinus Bythner (*The Lyre of David; or, Analysis of the Psalms*. Transl. by N. L. Benmohel [London: Whittaker & Co., 1847; orig. pub. in 1650] see under Psalm 88) places Heman prior to Moses’ time during the bondage in Egypt, but 89:20, 35, 49 mentions David by name and looks back to 2 Sam 7:14-16. Ethan could be the same person as Jeduthun (cf. 1 Chr 16:41; 25:1).

⁶⁹ This was also the view of Thirtle, *The Titles of the Psalms*, 3.

based⁷⁰) there is only one other occasion where this occurs, namely, Psalm 34. In this Psalm the historical/biographical notice attached to David's name is separated from his name by an Open Section break. Yeivin's three other witnesses do not have an Open Section here.

The Open Section break before and after the proposed postscript places 88:1A in no-man's land between the two Psalms. Because of the rarity of postscripts in the Psalms (the only other one being Psalm 72:20) it was not surprising that the postscript marking the termination of Korah's collection should be mistaken for a superscription to the following Psalm (88). Unfortunately the Qumran material is too fragmentary to throw any light on the problem. However, the fact that four prime witnesses⁷¹ agree in placing the proposed postscript in no-man's land suggests that there was a settled tradition not to run it into the following superscription to Psalm 88.

If we assume that the first part of the superscription to Psalm 88 is the postscript to Psalm 87⁷² this will have important implications for the arrangement of the Psalter. First, it may indicate that the compiler has imposed a uniformity of form on each Psalm, whereby all information

⁷⁰From early in the sixteenth century until 1937, the standard printed Hebrew text of the Old Testament was that of the Second Rabbinic Bible, edited by Jacob ben Chayyim and published in Venice by Daniel Bomberg in 1524-25. Since 1937, with the publication of the third edition of Rudolf Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, the Aaron ben Moses ben Asher text, dated AD 1008, has been used. Paul Kahle had discovered the older text in the Russian Public Library in Leningrad in 1926 and later persuaded Kittel, who had used the Ben Chayyim [Bomberg's] text in the first two editions of *Biblica Hebraica*, of the superiority of the older Ben Asher Codex. Since 1937, Kahle's Leningrad Ben Asher Codex (B19^A or L) has been the basic standard OT text. It antedates the Ben Chayyim text by about 500 years. The Ben Asher text is a complete Bible. It was brought to Leningrad in the late nineteenth century by Abraham Firkowitch from the Old Cairo Ezra Synagogue Geniza. The Aleppo (Syria) Ben Asher Codex dates from the first half of the tenth century AD; it contains all but ten (Psalms 15:1—25:2) of the biblical Psalms.

⁷¹ For the manuscripts see Israel Yeivin, "The Division into Sections in the Book of Psalms," *Textus* 7 (1969) 76-102, esp. 77 n. 2.

regarding authorship, genre, instrument, tune, etc. is gathered at the head of each piece, but data marking the termination of an author's works appears in postscript position.⁷³

In one sense it is immaterial whether Heman and Ethan are of the tribe of Levi or Judah, because whoever they were the postscript separates them from the compositions made by the "Sons of Korah" which immediately precede them.

William Henry Green accounted for the double superscription to Psalm 88 by assuming that 88:1B was the original superscription. He conjectured that this Psalm belonged to an old collection pre-dating the present Psalter which had its own title, "Psalms of the sons of Korah" (=88:1A). Accordingly, when the Psalm was inserted into our present Psalter, the words, "A song, a psalm of the sons of Korah," were prefixed to its former title, to indicate the source from which it was taken.⁷⁴

Apart from the two canonical postscripts (72:20 and 88:1A)⁷⁵ 11QPs^a has a third at 145:21 which is fragmentary and reads, ". . . this is for a memorial" ⁷⁶ It is peculiar for three reasons. First, the Psalm is out of canonical order. The order of the Psalms in 11QPs^a is: Psalms 101-103, 109, 118, 104, 147, 105, 146, 148, 121-132, 119, 135-136, 118(?) [so Sanders,⁷⁷ but Wilson has 'Catena'

⁷² This was also suggested by Gevaryahu, "Biblical Colophons," 57.

⁷³ Postscripts are used to mark the end of Jeremiah's prophecies in 48:46; 51:64.

⁷⁴ Green, "The Titles of the Psalms," 159.

⁷⁵ Bathja Bayer points to two remnants of postscripts in Psalm 16:11b ("Pleasures are in your right hand for ever"), and 48:15 where the last word is עַל־מוֹת (cf. עַל־מוֹת in 46:1), "Unto death"; in "The Titles of the Psalms—A Renewed Investigation of an Old Problem," *Yuval* 4 (1982) 29-123, esp. 31.

⁷⁶ See Wilson, *Editing*, 137.

⁷⁷ James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), Plate XI, 5.

instead] 145, 154, Plea for Deliverance, 139, 137-138, Sirach 51, Apostrophe to Zion, 93, 141, 133, 144, 155, 142-143, 149-150, Hymn to the Creator, 2 Samuel 23, David's Compositions, 140, 134, 151A, 151B. Secondly, there is a considerable amount of non-canonical material interspersed with canonical material so that this dilutes the value of the postscript at 145:21 as being an original part of the canonical psalm. Third, after every verse in 145 there is a non-Hebrew refrain, "Blessed be the Lord and blessed be his name for ever and ever." Also the *nûn*-verse of the acrostical sequence, missing in the Hebrew text, is present.

THIRD STAGE SORT: INDIVIDUAL PSALMS

James Thirtle threatened to throw the significance of the titles of the Psalms into perpetual uncertainty with his theory that all superscriptions were once postscripts to the preceding Psalm.⁷⁸ Or, to be more precise, the term "To the Choirmaster" and the term for the tune/instrument which immediately follows it ought to be transferred to the last line of the preceding Psalm.⁷⁹ He claimed to find a logical connection between the tune

⁷⁸ Thirtle, *The Titles of the Psalms*. Thirtle's theory was espoused by *The Companion Bible* (London: S. Bagster, n.d. [Orig. pub. in Oxford (6 vols.) 1910-(21)]). Ethelbert William Bullinger is generally credited with the authorship of this work.

⁷⁹ This theory is supported by Bruce K. Waltke, "Superscripts, Postscripts, or both," *JBL* 110 (1991) 583-596. Both Thirtle and Waltke depend on carelessness in transmission to substantiate their theory. No Qumran scroll supports their theory. In any case Psalm 22 is a difficulty because here the Septuagint translators took their translation of the superscription term אֵלֶּיךָ from אֵלֶּיךָ in 22:19 [Heb. 20] (see Thirtle, *Titles*, 17). Thirtle's theory has been modified by Bayer, "The Titles of the Psalms," 33. He gives other examples to show that the superscription is connected with the following text, particularly Psalms 17, 22, 32, (p. 32). He is aware that such connections might have been the reason for juxtaposing these Psalms which weakens, in particular, Thirtle's flagship examples in Psalms 55 and 56 (cf. p. 32, but see page 108!). However, he notes sixteen instances (Psalms 3, 5, 7, 30, 34, 36, 37,

and the preceding Psalm. He assigned many of the Psalms to the time of Hezekiah and sought to find the occasion for each Psalm in the cultic calendar. He adopted a cavalier attitude toward the thirteen historical Psalms of David. For instance Psalm 52 was composed after Doeg informed on David to Saul, but Thirtle rejects this with the comment: “Maybe it simply indicates the scene in which the poem was written; the real subject remains—Goliath of Gath.”⁸⁰

We noted above that the first stage sort was to divide all Psalms according to the predominant divine name in each of them. The result of this was to divide each author’s compositions into two distinct blocks. This observation, however, does not explain why Asaph’s Elohist collection has not been kept together. Psalm 50⁸¹ is oddly placed before David’s Elohist collection. The explanation offered here introduces us to a third level of sorting, namely, grouping Psalms according to continuity of thought, or similar topic or theme, or even just word links.

Psalm 51 is David’s confession for his sin of adultery with Bathsheba. In his confession he realizes that animal sacrifices *per se* are not sufficient to obtain forgiveness. This same idea is expressed in Asaph’s Psalm (50:7-13)

51, 56, 69, 76, 77, 80, 81, 88, 97) where part or all of a superscription might have been a postscript to the previous Psalm. He uses circular reasoning: he puts dates on terms used in the superscription and if these terms are used in the “wrong” period he re-labels them as a postscript and backshifts them to the previous Psalm (see pages 79, 82-85). He also thinks that the titles of the thirteen historical psalms go better as postscripts to the preceding psalms (page 107). Again the argument is circular: Alphabetic psalms are “late”: Psalm 34 (an historical Psalm) is an alphabetical Psalm, therefore it is “late”.

⁸⁰ Thirtle, *The Titles of the Psalms*, 79.

⁸¹ Asaph’s Psalm has the unique distinction of having three names for God: Ps 50:1, “El, Elohim Yahweh,” meaning the God of gods, even Yahweh. This singular address occurs only here and in Josh 22:22 (twice). The same three divine names occur in one verse in Psalm 95:3, but not as a single address.

where the speaker is Yahweh. Only in these two Psalms is this idea clearly expressed.⁸²

Another link between these two Psalms is Yahweh's condemnation of his people for keeping company with adulterers (50:18). The Hebrew (פֶּגַע) indicates "a breaker of the seventh commandment," and the root occurs only here in the Psalter. This is the only place in the Psalter where the sin of adultery is mentioned and condemned. It was therefore fitting for the compiler to override the stage of sorting by author and to place it before David's confession of that sin.

This is just one instance where the compiler appears to have scrutinised each Psalm carefully with a view to its eventual juxtaposition in a way which would blend each Psalm with the one before and the one after it.⁸³

Wilson suggested that the term *mizmor* was used to link Psalms 46-51. This does not explain why the compiler put an Asaph Psalm between David and Korah. The only place Psalm 51 could go, if the compiler insisted on juxtaposing it with Psalm 50, was either at the beginning of the Davidic collection (i.e. where it is) or by removing 50 and 51 to the end either following 72 or preceding it, but neither of these last positions would fit without intruding Asaph's Psalm into David's Elohist Psalter.⁸⁴

⁸² The thought that all the requirements of the Law can be met in the fundamental command to love God with all one's heart, and not in sacrifices *per se*, is also found in Hos 6:6; Mic 6:6-8; and Isa 1:11-15.

⁸³ Creach's attempt to track the editor(s) hand in the arrangement of the Psalter through the theme of 'refuge' shows how difficult and subjective this kind of approach can be, as he admits (12 n. 5). (Jerome F. D. Creach, *Yahweh as Refuge and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* [JSOTSS 217; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996]). His approach comes into its own only in the last stage of the arrangement. "Refuge" cannot be the organising feature of the *whole* Psalter as he has argued (cf. 17, 19, 48, 92, 104, 120, 124).

⁸⁴ Wilson, "The Shape of the Book of Psalms," *Interpretation* 46 (1992) 129-142, esp. 131.

THE GRADUAL GROWTH OF THE PSALTER

With the advantage of hindsight we can add a fourth criterion to the above three, and which preceded the other three, namely, the sorting of Psalms according to authors. I suspect this was done prior to the first-stage sort, but it is very difficult to be sure. Whether the compiler of Books 1-2 received the Psalms already sorted according to author or whether he did this classification himself is not clear. But there is a natural progression in the hierarchical order to sort by: (1) author; then by (2) divine names; then by (3) genre terms in the superscriptions (Elohistic Psalter); and lastly by (4) topical or word-links. However, it would appear to me that the compiler of Books 1-2 was more interested in the divine names than in the authors' names as a means of arranging these Psalms.

Two facts go a little way to help us plot the relative stages through which the Psalter went. First, the postscript at 72:20 is a clear indication that the Psalter was not put together by one man at one specific point in time. No one who compiled the Psalter from a mass of unsorted Psalms (like manuscripts heaped up higgledy-piggledly in the corner of a Genizah) would have left 72:20 standing in his text if he knew that he had a further eighteen Psalms of David to add in following this notice. The postscript presupposes that the second compiler received David's Psalms in Books 1 and 2 already sorted.

Secondly, the fact that a post-Exilic Psalm like Psalm 137 is in the collection suggests that in its final form the Psalter was put together after the

Exile. These two observations suggest two compilers (minimum) were at work in the shaping of the Psalter.

The retention of the postscript at 72:20 suggests a reverential attitude by a second compiler toward David's two collections. He was not prepared to alter what had been handed down to him and so he let the postscript remain where it was. Would this same attitude prevent him from altering the *form* in which David's collection(s) came down to him? In other words is the final form, as we have it in Books 1-2 (represented by Stages 1 and 2 on the chart), the work of the first collector(s) of David's Psalms or of the second collector(s)?

The answer to that question is, that whoever added Asaph's Psalms to David's Elohist Psalter (Stage 3) may have also been responsible for Stage 2 because Asaph's Psalm 50 has been deliberately placed next to David's Psalm 51 (as noted above). There is a hint, however, that Stage 2 may not have been the work of whoever was responsible for Stage 3 because Psalm 51 is a *mizmor* Psalm and this has been separated from the rest of David's *mizmor* Psalms in 62-64. A totally free compiler would have placed Psalms 62-64 immediately after Psalm 51 and so kept all the *mizmor* Psalms together. The fact that he did not do this suggests that he was not responsible for Stage 2. He received the present form from the first compiler and the only modification he made to it was to reposition Psalm 51, which was originally part of the *mizmor* group in 62-64, by placing it at the beginning of David's Elohist collection in order to introduce it with Asaph's Psalm 50. Otherwise how do we explain the fact that Psalm 51 is the *only* Psalm in David's Elohist

collection which is not grouped according to its genre term? Asaph's Psalms are not grouped according to their genre terms, but Korah's are.

It is odd that there is no Yahweh collection belonging to Asaph. However, on the basis of shared rare words I would suggest that Pss 104-106 are probably his and that Ps 106 is his doxology, closing Book IV.

The compiler has placed Korah's *mizmor* Psalms last (47-49) so that they are continued by two more *mizmor* Psalms belonging to Asaph and David respectively. This positioning of Korah's *mizmor* Psalms suggests that the Korah Elohist collection was added *after* Asaph's Psalm 50 was prefaced to the Davidic Elohist collection, hence it belongs to Stage 4. The first of the two non-Korah Psalms (i.e. the Ezraite Psalms 88-89) is connected to the last of Korah's Psalms by a shared "Shir" in their superscriptions. The fact that a doxology concludes Psalm 89 meant that this Psalm *had* to come last (on Wilson's supposition that the doxologies were an original part of the Psalms to which they currently belong), which meant that Psalm 88 *had* to precede it. The fact that Psalm 88 is preceded by a Korah Psalm having a shared term (*shir*) with it cannot be an accident. Consequently the Ezraite Psalms were juxtaposed with Korah's Yahwist collection by the same compiler.

Sitting in the middle of Korah's Yahwist collection is the lone Adonai Psalm of David (Psalm 86). Given that Psalm 87 (with its postscript marking the close of Korah's collection) *had* to come before Psalm 88, the only other place to insert David's Psalm was before or after Psalm 85 because Psalm 84, with its 7-7 draw in divine names *had* to come immediately after Psalm 83 to complete the Elohist collections.

If our understanding of who Heman and Etham are is correct then, with these two Psalms coming before Moses' Psalm, we have the oldest authors of Psalms in Israel being brought together in consecutive Psalms (88-90).

With Book 4 and even more so with Book 5 we enter a brighter world, and richer in the vocabulary of praise and thanks and blessing. All God's people are encouraged to worship Him with joyful hearts until the Psalter ends with an ever widening appeal to the whole world to praise Yah.

The diagram below sets out in summary form how the Psalter grew to its present canonical arrangement.⁸⁵

[Insert here chart entitled 'The Gradual Expansion of the Book of Psalms']

It is beyond the limits of this paper to show here the change in vocabulary between Books 1-3 and 4-5, but it is worth noting that the compiler appears to bring together rare words in consecutive Psalms. We give here examples where the same word occurs in two or more consecutive Psalms. Total occurrences of a word found in the Psalter are given in square brackets.

⁸⁵ For a critical alternative see W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 201, a summary of which is: (1) The formation of the first Davidic collection (Bk 1) with a closing doxology (3-41). (2) A second Davidic collection (Bk 2) with a doxology and subscription (51-72). (3) A twofold Levitical collection (42-49; 50; 73-83). (4) An Elohist redaction (in which the editor altered "Yahweh" to "Elohim") and combination of (2) and (3). (5) The addition of a non-Elohist supplement to (4) with a doxology (84-89). (6) A collection later than (4) consisting of Bks 4 and 5 (90—149). (7) And finally the anonymous Pss 1-2, which as anonymous were hardly an original part of book 1, may have been prefixed after the whole psalter was completed. For a modern explanation see Klaus Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms* (trans. G. Dunphy; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1990), 25-28.

Words found only in two consecutive psalms

מאן/to refuse [2] 77:3; 78:10.

איליל/idols [2] 96:5; 97:7.

קנין/riches [2] 104:24; 105:21.

בעבור/in order that [2] 105:45; 106:32

זקק/to raise [2] 145:14; 146:8 (only 2x in OT).

מלאך יהוה/angel of Yahweh [3] 34:8; 35:5, 6

Words found only in three consecutive psalms

לחץ/oppression [3] 42:10; 43:2; 44:25.

Words found only in three psalms two of which are consecutive

דכך/crushed [3] 9:10; 10:18 (74:21)

תוכחה/rebuke [3] 38:15; 39:12 (73:14)

יענה/dove [3] 55:7; 56:1 (68:14)

שאף/to swallow [4] 56:2, 3; 57:4 (119:31)

מצולה/depth [4] 68:23; 69:3, 16 (107:24)

כפר/to cover [3] 78:38; 79:9 (65:4)

חדש/new [3] 103:5; 104:30 (51:12)

שרת/to serve [3] 103:21; 104:4 (101:6).

בחיר/chosen [5] 105:6, 43; 106:5, 23 (89:4)

כנע/to kneel [3] 106:42; 107:12 (81:15)

כפף/to bend [3] 145:14; 146:8 (57:7)

שלג/snow [3] 147:16; 148:8 (51:9)

מחול/whirl [3] 149:3; 150:4 (30:12)

It has still to be investigated to what extent these pairings of Psalms, on the basis of shared rare vocabulary, are coincidental given the fact that within the Psalter there are 322 words occurring only two times; 196 words occur only three times; 146 occur four times, 80 occur five times, and 54 occur only six times.

CONCLUSION

The discovery that there is a hierarchical order of sorting according to (1) author; (2) divine names; (3) genre terms; and (4) thematic or word-links, has opened up a new perspective on how the Psalter came to take its present shape. In particular, the discovery that the divine names, Yahweh and Elohim, dominate the present Hebrew arrangement is crucial to any new theory. This criterion explains why the Psalms of David and Korah are not found as single collections under their own names. A second criterion was the compiler's grouping of Psalms which share the same genre terms in their superscriptions (*maskil*, *miktam*, *mizmor shir*). This at once explains the compiler's reluctance to combine Psalm 16 with Psalms 52-55 (all Davidic *maskil* Psalms) and Psalm 32 with Psalms 56-60 (all Davidic *miktam* Psalms) because this would violate his criterion of sorting by divine names. A third and final criterion was to juxtapose individual Psalms within these sub-groups by continuity of content and/or word-links. This criterion can also explain why he displaced Asaph's Psalm 50. Psalm 50 and 51 *alone in the Psalter* condemn adultery and perfunctory sacrifices.

We conclude, therefore, that there were four levels of sorting which resulted in the present formation of Books 1-3.

Books 4 and 5 appear to be looser collections consisting of Psalms dating from the time of David (1010-971 BC) to some time after the Return from Exile in 536 BC. There is no attempt to group all of David's Psalms together (as in Books 1 and 3), even though most of what is attributed to him is grouped under his name. Also grouping by genre is not a dominant criterion. We are left with the criterion of grouping according to similar topic (or word-links) and Wilson' work is very useful in this connection.

[INSERT HERE CHART "THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PSALTER"]

APPENDIX : Key to chart "The Arrangement of the Psalter"

Col. 1 The following notes are made from experience using the electronic text of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*.

Class (A). Differently installed examples of יְהִיָּה to be read as אֶדְנִי. Note that *waw* does not normally have the *holem* vowel over it in BHS. Misplaced *qamets* as in יְהִיָּה. The position of the *qamets* does not agree with the printed version of BHS or Van der Hooght. The addition of a *holem* vowel over the *waw* is exceptional. The computer search facility will not pick up the following six examples: Pss 15:1 (יְהִיָּה); 40:5 (יְהִיָּה); 47:6 (יְהִיָּה); 100:5 (יְהִיָּה); 116:5 (יְהִיָּה); and 116:6 (יְהִיָּה).

Class (B). The normal pointing of יְהִיָּה, when it is to be read as אֶדְנִים, is יְהִיָּה without a *holem* over the *waw*. The exceptions to this are: Psalm 73:28 (בְּאֶדְנִי יְהִיָּה)(Van der Hooght reads יְהִיָּה), and 140:8 (יְהִיָּה אֶדְנִי). The *hiriq* is displaced to the left and there is a *holem* vowel over the *waw*. Besides these two examples there are six additional examples where יְהִיָּה is to be read as

אלהים. They are: Pss 68:21 (וְלַיהוָה אֲדֹנָי); 69:7 (אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה); 71:5 (אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה); 71:16 (יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי); 109:21 (יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי); and 141:8 (יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי). The Massoretic marginal note at 68:21 and 140:8 notes that there are five examples of יהוה אדני (to be read as: “Elohim-Adonai”) in the Psalms. The note at 69:7 appears to give a total of eight examples of the double name יהוה אדני four times with יהוה in first position.

The data is as follows: יהוה אדני 73:28 69:7 71:5 71:16; and: יהוה אדני 140:8 68:21 109:21 141:8.

Textual variants.

(1) Psalm 30:9 reads יְהוָה in Van der Hooght’s text (=VH); BHS reads: אֲדֹנָי. (2) Psalm 68:27 reads אֲדֹנָי in VH; BHS reads: יְהוָה. (3) Psalm 90:17 has אֲדֹנָי in BHS, but VH has יְהוָה which is pointed as Adonai. (4) Psalm 106:1 has הַלְלִינֵהּ but VH reads הַלְלִי יְהוָה. (5) Psalm 144:15 has שִׁיְהוָה; VH reads שִׁיְהוָה.

Col. 1 Included under Adonai are Adon (4x; 12:5; 105:21; 114:7; 97:5); Adoni (1x; 110:1 [=David]) and Adonim (1x; 136:3). Only 114:7 refers to Israel’s God. The superscript numeral indicates the number of instances where the term does not refer to Israel’s God.

Col. 4 At 5:11 BHS has: אֱלֹהִים; Van der Hooght reads אֱלֹהִים.

Cols. 4-5 The superscript numeral indicates the number of instances where Elohim/El does not refer to Israel’s God but to angelic beings, human judges, or foreign gods.

Col. 7 Under “Others” is included, S=Shaddai (2x; 68:15; 91:1); E=Eloah (4x; 18:32; 50:22; 114:7; 139:19); M=Mighty One of Jacob (2x; 132:2, 5); H=Holy One of Israel (3x; 71:22; 78:41; 89:19); Q=Holy One of Yahweh (106:16); R=Shepherd of Israel (1x; 80:2). Do not count A=Armies/Hosts צְבָאוֹת (15x) in the totals under

“Others” as this term never stands alone but follows either יהוה (7x; 24:10; 46:8, 12; 48:9; 84:2, 4, 13) or אלהים (80:8, 15) or combinations in the form of יהוה-אלהים (4x; 59:6; 80:5, 20; 84:9) and אדני יהוה (69:7) and יהוה אלהי (89:9).

The superscript numeral placed to the right of the capital letter in the table indicates the number of times this name occurs.

The divine element in the following epithetical combinations (compound names, in construct relationship, or in apposition) are not included under “Others” as they have already been included under their constituent divine names in the other columns: YHWH of Hosts (7x; 24:10; 46:8, 12; 48:9; 84:2, 4, 13); Elohim of Hosts (2x; 80:8, 15); YHWH-Elohim of Hosts (5x; 59:6; 80:5, 20; 84:9; 89:9); Adonay-YHWH of Hosts (69:7); YHWH-Elyon (3x; 7:18; 47:3; 97:9); Elohim-Elyon (2x; 57:3; 78:56); YHWH-Elohim (2x; 72:18; 84:12); Elohim-YHWH (50:1); Elohe-Jacob (9x; 20:2; 46:8, 12; 75:10; 76:7; 81:2, 5; 84:9; 94:7)(cf. Eloah-Jacob, 114:7); Elohe-Israel (6x; 41:14; 59:6; 68:9; 69:7; 72:18; 106:48 [only in the case of 69:7 is ‘God of Israel’ not immediately preceded by another divine name]); Elohe-Abraham (47:10); El-Jacob (146:5); El-Israel (68:36); El-YHWH (85:9); El-Elyon (78:35); Adonay-YHWH (3x; 71:5, 16; 73:28); YAH-Elohim (68:19). (Holy One of YHWH [106:16] is a reference to Aaron; cf. Holy One of Israel, 77:41; 89:19); El-Elohim-YHWH (50:1); Elohe-Ha-Elohim (136:2); Adone-Ha-Adonim (136:2); YHWH-El-n^eqamot (94:1); Elohim-Elohe-t^esu^t’atu (51:16; 88:2).⁸⁶

⁸⁶ It was once common to date the composition of the Psalms according to the presence of certain divine names within them (cf. T. K. Cheyne and S. R. Driver). The presence of Elohim, Elyon, Eloah, Yah, Shaddai and Adonai were judged to be proof of a late date. Cf. Wilson, “The Names of God in the Psalms,” *PT* 25 (1927) 1-39, who remarked: “Thus we have the vicious argument in a circle: The passages are late because this word is late and the word is late because the passages are late” (29).

Also omitted are all personal suffixes such as YHWH Elohay (11x; 7:2, 4; 13:4; 18:29; 30:3, 13; 35:24; 38:22; 40:6; 104:1; 109:26), YHWH Eloheykā (81:11), YHWH Elohâw (146:5), YHWH Elohêynû (13x; 20:8; 90:17 [disputed]; 94:23; 99:5, 8, 9, 10; 105:7; 106:47; 113:5; 122:9; 123:2), YHWH Elohêkem (77:12), YHWH Adonêynû (2x; 8:2, 10), YHWH Adonây (4x; 68:21; 109:21; 140:8; 141:8); Elohîm Eloheykā (45:8; 50:7); Elohîm Elohay (43:4); Elohîm Elohêynû (48:15; 57:7); Adonây-Elohay (38:16; 86:12); Adonây-Elohêynû (90:17).

All construct forms such as “God of my salvation” (51:16) are included under “Elohim”.

Disputed names occur in 30:9 (BHS=אֲדֹנָי), 58:27 (BHS=יְהוָה), and 90:17 (BHS=אֲדֹנָי). YHWH is pointed as Elohîm eight times: 68:21; 69:7; 71:5, 16; 73:28; 109:21; 140:8; 141:8.

Col. 9 Saadia Gaon understood הגתית to be a reference to Levites descended from Obed Edom. He said the word גנית means one melody and גניות many melodies. שיר המעלות means sung with a loud voice and עלמות with a deep and sweet melody, requiring a skilful singer. An elegant style of recitation is intended by על השמינית and in those Psalms recited by the family of Obed Edom (identified by the term הגתית).⁸⁷

Col. 10 L=Lammenşşeah.⁸⁸ According to the Mishnah when the word נצח and נון occur, the Psalm refers to the future.⁸⁹ But Saadia Gaon (d. 940) interpreted למנצח to mean a permanent charge which David put on the Levites

⁸⁷ Adolf Neubauer, “The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms according to early Jewish authorities,” *Studia Biblica* 2 (1890) 1-57, esp. 13.

⁸⁸ Saadia Gaon (d. 940) is aware of the meaning “to the chief over the singers.” He prefers the meaning “sing constantly,” according to the use of the word in 1 Chr 23:4. This would explain the Septuagint translation: “To the end.”

⁸⁹ Neubauer, “The Authorship,” 8.

to complete the building of the Temple with his son Solomon (cf. 1 Chr 23:4). And it was at that time that a divine voice revealed the whole Book of Psalms to him. This explains why so many Psalms are clustered around the time when he became king. Saadia (and Abraham ibn Ezra) reconciles the authorship of other Psalms (Moses, Korah, Asaph, Solomon) by denying them. “To Moses” means that the singing was entrusted to the descendants of Moses. “To Solomon” means that events which happened under Solomon were revealed to David, and so on with all the other Psalms.⁹⁰

Col. 11 H=Historical psalms made clear in the title itself.⁹¹ (H)=Psalms which utilise historical events in Israel’s history in the body of the text itself.

Part 2 of the superscription consists of the following elements.⁹²

Col. 12 S=Shir.⁹³ The format of this letter denotes that in relation to the author’s name (Col. 14) it always *follows* it. The “normal” position relative to

⁹⁰ Ibid., “The Authorship,” 11, 25.

⁹¹ Childs broke the historical connection between the title and what follows with his claim that these 13 titles reflect post-Exilic study of Scripture which goes beyond a simple reading of the text, even though he acknowledged that these titles have their origin in obvious allusions between the Psalm and some incident in David’s life (cf. Childs, “Psalm Titles,” 137-150). This is circular reasoning. If the Psalm and the title are genuinely the work of David then there is no problem trying to find the event behind the Psalm: the work is done for us. Some scholars throw out the titles as secondary—as the spurious creation of later editors, and then set about showing how the Psalm does reflect the situation stated in the heading! Childs notes that there is no anachronistic reference to David being king found in any Psalm which refers to his flight from Saul, and claims that this seems to have been a fact observed by the redactor of the the titles (147). This observation can only support the genuineness of the title not its alleged spurious or secondary character. Drijvers held that David was the collector not the author of all the לַדָּוִד psalms. Claims of authorship are not inspired. The titles are not part of the original Psalm and thus need not be regarded as binding on us. Psalm 51 is not a Davidic Psalm, he claims (Pius Drijvers, *The Psalms*, 19).

⁹² For the difficulty in understanding the technical terms in Part 2 see Wilson, “The Headings of the Psalms,” 353-95, and John F. A. Sawyer, “An Analysis,” 26-38. He took the view that the terms in Part 2 preceded by מַלְאָכִים or מְשִׁיבִים did not refer to tunes but to elements in or areas of cultic procedure under the direction of the Choirmaster along the lines of: “to be recited by the official who is in charge of the ritual of *hasseminit*.” He thinks there is a parallel in the Akkadian “the rite of the mouth-washing of the bronze kettle-drum” and, “for the case of the temple wall’s falling into ruin.” So a variety of rites may have had its own cultic procedure and incantation. Sawyer is a useful starting point for the meaning of the terms in the superscriptions.

the author's name (indicated by plain text format) was judged to be what the majority position happens to be in the canonical collection. Any deviation from that majority position is put in italics and underlined.

S = This italic and underlined letter is used to indicate that its position in relation to the author's name has been changed and *precedes* the author's name.

(S) = The term Shir/Shirah does not occur in the title but in the text the composition is called a Shir/Shirah.

Col. 13 T = Miktam.⁹⁴ This letter denotes that in relation to the author's name (Col. 14) it always *follows* it.

T = This italic and underlined letter is used to indicate that its position in relation to the author's name has been changed and *precedes* the author's name.

Col. 14 The meaning of the letter code in the authors column is as follows:

A = Asaph (12x); D = David (73x);⁹⁵ (D) attributed to David in 1 Chr 16:7-36 (Psalm 96:1-13a = 1 Chr 16:23-33; Psalm 105:1-15 = 1 Chr 16:8-22; Psalm 106:1, 47-48 = 1 Chr 16:34-36); [D] = Pss 2 and 95 attributed to David in Acts 4:25 and Heb 4:7⁹⁶; E = Ethan (1x); H = Heman (1x); K = Korah (10x); M = Moses (1x); and

⁹³ Yepheth ben Eli (Ali) (late tenth century) acknowledges that opinions differ about its significance. Some say that it denotes a song of salvation (except 72), others that these psalms were used for the daily and additional sacrifices. His own opinion is that רש refers to some wonderful event; cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 23.

⁹⁴ Yepheth ben Eli (Ali) (late tenth century) said the term means a stain, caused by a child, a king, or a fact; cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 23.

⁹⁵ Abraham ibn Ezra (c. 1157) said that רש meant that the Psalm is either by David or a prophecy concerning him just as Ps 72 is a prophecy concerning Solomon or his son, the Messiah; cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 26.

⁹⁶ Psalms 1 and 2 were reckoned as one Psalm in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds and in the Western text of Acts 13:33 (see Bruce M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New*

(S) = Solomon (2x). It is probable that both Psalms were written *for* Solomon, rather than by him.

D*=An epithet is given to David: “To David, Servant of Yahweh” (Pss 18, 36).

M*=An epithet is given to Moses: “To Moses, the man of God” (Psalm 90).

“—” = Orphan or unknown author in the Hebrew (50x). Note that all Psalms attributed to David in the Hebrew are also attributed to him in the Septuagint.

—d=Orphan psalms attributed by the Septuagint to David in Rahlfs’ septuagint text, namely, Pss 33, 43, 71, 91, 93-99, 104, 137 (13x).

—(d)=Septuagint psalms attributed to David by some manuscripts. Psalms 1, 2, 42, 66, 67, 92, 100, 132, 134, 136 (10x). Some Septuagint manuscripts attribute a further three Psalms by other, named authors to David, namely, 72, 79, 85.⁹⁷

—Q=Qumran attributes three orphan Psalms to David, Pss. 33 (4QPs^d), 104, and 123 (both in 11QPs^a).

Col. 15 M=Mizmor. This letter denotes that in relation to the author’s name (Col. 14) it always *precedes* it.

M= This italic and underlined letter is used to indicate that the position of the word *mizmor* in relation to the author’s name has been changed and *follows* the author’s name.⁹⁸

Testament [London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 412-14).

⁹⁷ See A. Pietersma, “David in the Greek Psalms,” *VT* 30 (1980) 213-226, for the details.

⁹⁸ In the case of Psalm 24 the terms were probably reversed to avoid the sequence ליהוה ליהוה where ל¹ occurs at the commencement of two consecutive words.

Bythner suggested that the difference between a *mizmor shir* and a *shir mizmor*, was that the former was an air/tune first played and then sung, whereas the latter was first sung and then played.⁹⁹

According to the Mishnah לדוד מזמור means that the Holy Spirit was resting upon David when he uttered the Psalm; but מזמור לדוד means that David first said the Psalm and then the Holy Spirit rested upon him.¹⁰⁰

Col. 16 K=Maskil. This letter denotes that in relation to the author's name (Col. 14) it always *precedes* it.

K= This italic and underlined letter is used to indicate that the position of the word *maskil* in relation to the author's name has been changed and *follows* the author's name.

According to the Talmud משכיל means recited by an interpreter.¹⁰¹

Col. 17 F=Tefillah.¹⁰² This letter denotes that in relation to the author's name (Col. 14) it always *precedes* it.

F=This italic and underlined letter is used to indicate that the position of the word *tefillah* in relation to the author's name has been changed and *follows* the author's name.

Col. 18 Under "Others" are included, S=Shiggaion¹⁰³ (Psalm 7); the term precedes the author's name. Z=Hazkir (Pss 38, 70); the term follows the

⁹⁹Victorinus Bythner, *The Lyre of David; or, Analysis of the Psalms*. Transl. by N. L. Benmohel (London: Whittaker & Co., 1847; orig. pub. in 1650).

¹⁰⁰Neubauer, "The Authorship," 8. The Gospels state that Psalm 110 was said by David in the Holy Spirit (Mk 12:36; Lk 20:42; cf. Acts 2:34).

¹⁰¹Neubauer, "The Authorship," 8. Yapet ben Ali (late tenth century) said the term means either direction or leading; cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 11.

¹⁰²Yapet ben Ali (late tenth century) said it means prayer in all respects; cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 23.

¹⁰³Yapet ben Ali (late tenth century) said it means a release from Cush the Benjamite; cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 23.

author's name. T=Todah (Psalm 100): an orphan Psalm; the term follows the word *mizmor*. H=Tehillah (Psalm 145); the term precedes the author's name.¹⁰⁴ A=Songs of Ascents (Pss 120-134); A*=The title reads *lamma'aloth* instead of *hamma'aloth*. The term precedes the author's name.

All of these titles could be put under column 11 or 9, because there is some doubt among scholars over the interpretation of the terms.

Early Jewish sources divide all the Psalms into ten classes: נְצוּחַ, נִיגוֹן, מְשֻׁכָּל, מְזוּמָר, שִׁיר, אֲשֵׁרֵי, תְּנַלְתָּה, תְּהַלְלָה, הַוְדָאָה, and הַלְלוּיָהּ. Neubauer investigated everything in the two Talmuds and the Midrashim concerning the Psalms and concluded: "Let us state at once that no real help is to be derived in the interpretations of the titles of the Psalms from Talmudic and Midrashic sources; these contain nothing but . . . legendary explanations They torture a scripture text for casuistical deductions" ¹⁰⁵

Col. 19 This column draws attention to notable terms used in the Psalms.

S=Selah.¹⁰⁶ The numeral indicates the number of instances it occurs in each Psalm. The word *Selah* is used 71 times in the Psalms and three times in Habakkuk 3. It is used in 39 Psalms out of 150.¹⁰⁷ Of these 39 it occurs in 27 Psalms that are addressed "to the Chief Musician." It occurs four times in the

¹⁰⁴ Yapet ben Ali (late tenth century) said it means praise to God for all his bounties; cf. Neubauer, "The Authorship," 23.

¹⁰⁵ Neubauer, "The Authorship," 8.

¹⁰⁶ For studies on this word see Winsome Tuke and Paul Eisenklam, "A Structure Analysis of the Psalms I" (Contribution to Conference on Computers in Literary and Linguistic Research, April, 1974, Cardiff, UK). Bythner, *The Lyre of David*, under Ps 3:3, 9 and 4:3, 5. *Selah* occurs in other non-canonical literature, see Thirtle, *Titles*, 147, and B. Bayer, "The Titles of the Psalms," 42.

¹⁰⁷ Green ("The Titles of the Psalms," *Old and New Testament Student*, 11 (1890) 153-167, esp. 158) claimed that all the Psalms with *Selah* and *Haggaion* are limited exclusively to pre-

middle of verses (55:19 [Heb. 20]; 57:3 [Heb. 4]; Hab. 3:3, 9) and in four cases two Psalms are connected by it (Psalm 3-4; 9-10; 24-25; 46-47).¹⁰⁸

G=Haggaion. Psalms 9, 19 and 92.

K="Yahweh rules!" The opening words of Pss 93, 97 and 99.

H=Hallelujah.¹⁰⁹

aH=Hallelujah is the first word of the Psalm.

HZ=Hallelujah is the last word of the Psalm.

aHZ=Hallelujah is the first and last word of the Psalm.

aP=The word 'Praise' occurs in the first verse of Psalm 138.

Pz=The word 'Praise' occurs in the last verse of Psalm 140.

(P)=The word 'Praise' occurs as the exact middle word of Psalm 139 (not including the superscription).

Col. 20 The symbols used in the modern Form/Genre list are as follows:¹¹⁰

HYMNS

H = Hymns proper: 8, 19, 29, 33, 100, 103-104, 111, 113-114, 117, 135-136, 145-150.

YK = The Psalms of Yahweh's Kingship: 47, 93, 96-99.

SZ = The Songs of Zion: 46, 48, 76, 84, 87, 122.

Exilic Psalms. They do not occur in any Psalm which is demonstrably post-Exilic.

¹⁰⁸ Thirtle (*The Titles of the Psalms*, 144-47) interprets *Selah* as always introducing a new section never as marking the conclusion of a section. The four instances where it comes in the middle of a verse are dismissed as transcriptional errors. See Neubauer, "The Authorship," 4, where he notes: "When they came to the end of the song (Psalm) the priests blew the trumpet, and the people fell upon their faces. This was done for each pause during the service of the daily sacrifice" (Mishnah, *Thamid* vii. 3). Note that with the *pause* there is a *blast* of sound. Both meanings have been given to the word *Selah*.

¹⁰⁹ The first instance of the use of Hallelujah in the OT is in 104:35. The Talmud and Midrash call attention to the fact that it is connected with the overthrow of the wicked. The first Hallelujah in the NT is also connected with the overthrow of the wicked (Rev 19:1-2).

¹¹⁰ Adapted from Leopold Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning* (New York: Alba House, 1970), 443-45.

INDIVIDUAL SPEAKING (or collective singular)

IL = Laments of the individual: 5-7, 13, 17, 22, 25-26, 28, 31, 35-36, 38-39, 42/43, 51, 54-57, 59, 61, 63-64, 69-71, 86, 88, 102, 109, 120, 130, 140-43.

IC = Psalms of confidence of the individual: 3-4, 11, 16, 23, 27, 62, 121, 131.

IT = Thanksgiving of the individual: 9/10, 30, 32, 34, 40:2-12, 41, 92, 107, 116, 138.

COMMUNITY SPEAKING (or representative plural)

CL = Laments of the community: 12, 44, 58, 60, 74, 77, 79, 80, 82-83, 85, 90, 94, 106, 108, 123, 126, 137.

CC = Psalms of confidence of the community: 115, 125, 129.

CT = Thanksgiving of the community: 65-68, 118, 124.

ROYAL PSALMS

R = Royal psalms: 2, 18, 20-21, 45, 72, 89, 101, 110, 132, 144.

DIDACTIC PSALMS

W = Wisdom: 1, 37, 49, 73, 91, 112, 119, 127-128, 133, 139.

HE = Historical events: 78, 105.

PE = Prophetic exhortations: 14, 50, 52, 53, 75, 81, 95.

Lt = Liturgies: 15, 24, 134.

BK	HYMNS			INDIVIDUAL			COMMUNITY			R	W	DIDACTIC		
	H	YK	SZ	IL	IC	IT	CL	CC	CT			HE	PE	Lt
I.	4	-	-	14	6	7	1	-	-	4	2	-	1	2
II.	-	1	2	14	1	-	3	-	4	2	1	-	3	-
III.	-	-	3	2	-	-	7	-	-	1	1	1	2	-
IV.	3	5	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
V.	12	-	1	7	2	3	4	3	2	3	6	-	-	1
	19	6	6	38	9	11	18	3	6	11	11	2	7	3
	31 PSALMS			58 PSALMS			27 PSALMS			11 PS	23 PSALMS			

Col. 21 A=Acrostic Psalms (9x: 9-10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145).¹¹¹
 R=Refrain.¹¹² Psalms with refrains are 42, 43, 46, 57, 67, 80, 107, 136 (8x).
 D=Doublets. Psalm 14=53; 19:8-10=119 (has 5 of the 8 key words); 31:2-4^a=71:1-3;
 40:14-18=70; 57:8-12=108:2-6; 60:8-11=108:7-14.¹¹³ Psalm 18 = 2 Sam 22.

¹¹¹Marco Treves (“Two Acrostic Psalms,” *VT* 15 [1965] 81-90) argued that Psalms 2 (103 BC) and 110 are Maccabean psalms and that there is a sentence-acrostic in Ps 2 which reads: “Sing to Jannaeus the First and his wife” (לִינִי אֱשִׁירָה וְאִשְׁתּוֹ עִנּוּ). The sentence-acrostic for Ps 110 reads: “Simon is terrible” (שִׁמְעוֹן אִיִּם). B. Lindars (“Is Psalm II an Acrostic Poem?” *VT* 17 (1967) 60-67) replied with the observation that there are no sentence-acrostics anywhere in the OT.

¹¹²Otto Eissfeldt in *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (Trans. by Peter R. Ackroyd [Oxford: Blackwell, 1974], 446) argued that Psalms 42-43 were one Psalm originally because of the refrain in 42:6, 12; 43:5. A longer list is given by N. H. Ridderbos, “The Psalms: Style-figures and Structure,” *OudTest* 13 (1963) 43-76, esp. 46 where he gives 8:2, 10; 24:7, 9; 39:6, 12; 42:6, 12 and 43:5; 46:8, 12; 62:2f, 6f.; 68:4, 6; 80:4, 8, 20; 99:5, 9; 107:8, 15, 21, 31.

¹¹³See Bathja Bayer, “The Titles of the Psalms—A Renewed Investigation of an Old Problem,” *Yuval* 4 (1982) 29-123, esp. 57f. for a discussion of these doublets.