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The identity of the individual in the

Book of Psalms

(2 volumes)

Volume II

by

Steven John Lindsey Croft

Ph.D.

University of Durham

Department of Theology

1984


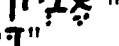

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CHAPTER FOUR: THE INDIVIDUAL AS A PRIVATE PERSON

1. INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter has identified and attempted to uncover the setting in life of forty-one of the ninety-three psalms containing some reference to an individual which, on my understanding, can be accounted royal: either written for the king's use in the cult or, in a few cases, describing the king himself in the second or third person. In the present chapter those of the remaining individual psalms which seem best assigned to the use of private persons within Israel will be similarly identified and explored. This group is by no means large, consisting of only eighteen psalms (contrasted with forty-one royal psalms and thirty-three assigned to the cultic personnel) and, generally speaking, the question of the setting in life of these psalms is not a matter of



dispute and so the discussion will not need to be as involved.

Before an exegesis of these private person psalms can be presented however, two assumptions relating to our analysis of this category of psalm need to be stated and defended so that the psalms themselves can be seen in their proper context.

i) The psalms in the Old Testament were composed and preserved against a background of private, communal and cultic prayer in the ancient Near East generally and in Israel in particular. The subject of prayer and of "private religion" generally within the Old Testament forms a lacuna within Old Testament studies, although this is not for lack of evidence or material relating to the subjects within the texts themselves. In part it arises from the fact that the psalter provides a good deal of the evidence for such an enquiry but the problems inherent in using such evidence are themselves exceedingly complex, as this thesis has attempted to demonstrate (1). However, despite the lack of specialist studies of the subject no-one would dispute the fact that there was a living tradition of prayer within the Old Testament and that Israel shared this tradition with her neighbours and cultural predecessors. For example, W.W. Hallo has charted an uninterrupted tradition of prayer made by ordinary individuals within the Sumerian tradition, from the Neo-Sumerian letter prayers which were written down and placed, physically, at the shrine of the god to the later Akkadian penitential psalms which were delivered verbally through the medium of a professional "galu-singer" (2). E.R. Dalglish, in his monograph on Psalm 51, provides a comprehensive review of the main

categories of Egyptian and Sumero-Akkadian psalm literature and, like Hallo, he believes that the Old Testament laments find their form in part from the public prayer of the Akkadians (3). Both writers testify to a lively tradition of lament prayers on the part of individuals suffering misfortune and to the preservation of these prayers not only for regular use in the cult but as edifying religious literature in their own right, an insight which will be taken up below. Finally, a study of the individual prayers contained in Pritchard's anthology confirms the opinion expressed by Hallo and Dalglish that private prayer in ancient Israel, as well as cultic ceremony, must be set against a general cultural background of prayer offered to various gods in a variety of ways.

A strong tradition of personal piety also, it seems, underlies the whole of the Old Testament, a tradition which breaks to the surface, as it were, at a number of different points. The giving of theophoric names, as Vorlander and Albertz have recently suggested (4) is sure evidence of personal piety and devotion to a particular God in Israel as elsewhere. The patriarchal narratives cannot be used uncritically as direct evidence for the religion of the patriarchs themselves, although Vorlander's isolation of the Jacob sagas as providing evidence for a personal god is illuminating (5), but they do, it is to be assumed, at the very least reflect a piety familiar to the original collectors of the stories in the period of the monarchy: a period in which two way communication between worshipper and deity, not necessarily within public worship, was considered not unusual. The later historical narratives focussing

on the judges also reflect this view of prayer and there is almost no distinction between Yahweh's relationship with the heroes of the judges period and his relationship with David. The prophets and priests for their part contribute to this tradition of a frequent and two way intercourse between God and man as being part of the worship of Yahweh, as Johnson, among others, has demonstrated and this carries into the post-exilic period to Nehemiah's prayer at the king's table (Neh. 2:4) and the great prayers of the book of Daniel (6). It is against such a backdrop of individuals given to prayer in many and various circumstances (7) that the prayers of the private person preserved in the psalter must be seen.

ii) No simple relationship exists between the extant psalms and this tradition of prayer. As with other areas of psalm studies the study of this relationship between the psalter and the prayer of individuals is full of tacit and simplistic assumptions, most often that the psalms bear direct witness to this tradition of prayer. The following considerations militate against this view most strongly:

a. There are preserved in the psalter one hundred and forty-eight psalms and prayers originally written, it is commonly assumed, for public worship in the temple. However, it has never been argued that these psalms were the only prayers written for public use in Israel; indeed, the remainder of the Old Testament has preserved other prayers which were not given a place in the psalter. The obvious conclusion is that the psalter contains a selection only of the prayers composed for temple worship.

b. In this respect the psalter differs from all of the finds of comparative material: the psalms and prayers from Egypt and Babylon which have come down to us owe their preservation, for the most part, to chance and to the discoveries of modern archaeology. The psalms of the Old Testament however were preserved by a community of faith and, it may be fairly assumed, the survival of these particular pieces is not due to chance but to a conscious selection of the material.

c. The question then arises, of course, as to what criteria were used by the post-exilic community and more particularly by the temple circles who preserved the psalms in the selection of individual psalms. What is immediately apparent is that the psalter cannot be regarded as the prayer book of the private person within Israel to any degree as is indicated by what is not present rather than by what is there. Israelite religion like that of any other society would doubtless have contained rites of passage: prayers to be said at the birth of a child or at the burial of the dead (8) yet, though these ceremonies are alluded to (9), no prayers of thanksgiving or lament to be delivered at such a time are preserved in the psalter. These ceremonies would be in ancient times, as now, an important feature of the religious life of the ordinary individual in Israel. Furthermore, several other events in the life of an individual for which prayer is to be made, according to Old Testament tradition, find no echo in the psalter. We must assume that the liturgies and prayers for such ceremonies were preserved in some form in the temple tradition but were not given a place among the psalms themselves. Whatever else it may

be said to be then, the psalter does not give, even in the texts for the use of individuals which it does preserve, a straightforward impression of the piety of the private person within Israel.

d.) As has been argued above, the psalter is predominantly a collection of prayers used in public rather than private worship and one of the two criteria of selection appears to have been to include pieces used in such public worship. Hence of the many psalms of the individual preserved a large number were intended for the use of the leader of worship in pre-exilic Israel, namely the king, and many more are best attributed to other public figures functioning in the temple. There remain however some eighteen psalms which cannot be assigned to either of these groups and which appear to have been composed as prayers to be offered by the ordinary worshipper, perhaps in the context of one of the great festivals. The second criterion of selection and preservation comes into play here (which is also evident in the two groups of psalms mentioned above) in that these prayers of the private person were preserved in the psalter as much as for their excellence as pieces of religious literature as for their use in post-exilic cultic worship (10). Only so can the extremely high literary and spiritual standards of the psalter be accounted for.

The eighteen psalms of the private person preserved in the psalter must therefore be seen against a much wider background of general personal piety and, most probably, as a selection made on the grounds of excellence from a wider corpus of prayers written for

the use of private individuals at the great temple festivals. This criterion of excellence would account for the relative scarcity of these pieces within the psalter since we can reasonably expect that the best efforts of the poets would be concentrated upon the psalms for public use at the great festivals either said communally or by the king. The psalms of the private person which have survived can be grouped as follows: three short and general petitions have been preserved (Pss. 6, 13 and 54) and these will be dealt with first; three psalms relating to sickness have survived (Pss. 41, 88, 30) and discussion of these pieces will be followed by exegesis of six prayers of persecuted individuals (Pss. 70, 142, 35, 109, 64, 86). Finally the individual pieces from the Psalms of Ascents will be identified and explored (Pss. 120, 121, 122, 123, 130 and 131). The discussion begins however with the general psalms.

2. EXEGESIS OF PSALMS

a) General petitions (Pss. 54, 13, 6)

It was argued above (pp. 80f) in the context of the discussion of the "ד'ג'ח" psalms that Psalms 6, 13 and 54 form a small group within the psalter in that each is a short lamentation of the individual followed by a thanksgiving, presumably after an assurance of Yahweh's aid mediated through a cultic prophet. The three psalms share a vagueness on the circumstances confronting the suppliant which leads one to suppose that these pieces were reserved in the cult for any worshipper who wished to bring his need before Yahweh.

Both Eaton and Johnson argue that Psalm 54 is in fact a royal psalm. However, the arguments in both writers, but particularly in Johnson's work (11), depend heavily on analogy from other psalms of this type: the enemies elsewhere are mainly foreigners, therefore the enemies in this psalm are also likely to be such. Eaton claims to trace a royal style in the opening lines of the prayer though the form of address shown to be royal above is itself lacking. Even Eaton has to admit that the psalm is "somewhat lean in data" (12). As Anderson points out, even if the alternative reading of " זָרִים " is preferred at v. 5, the word can still be used of those in Israel who stand outside the common relationship to Yahweh. As I argued in Chapter One, the two metaphors of the battlefield ("הוֹשֵׁי יָמֵי") and the lawcourt ("תִּדְיִנְנִי") are normally kept apart. Their juxtaposition in the opening verse of the psalm only adds to the impression that the psalm was intended for general use and may also be of a late date. In form the psalm divides into three sections: a carefully balanced prayer for aid begins the piece. The repetition of "אֶלֹהֵי יְהוָה" at the beginning of vv. 3 and 4 gives emphasis and urgency to the prayer and each time the word is followed by exactly balancing prayers in synonymous parallelism (13). The prayer is expanded by the insertion of a "נִי" clause followed by a threefold description of the suppliant's opponents. The progressive lengthening of these clauses gives a cumulative effect to the description whilst the omission of a conjunction before "לֵא" lends abruptness to this final clause, giving a sense of shock and righteous indignation. The attitude

of the antagonists to God contrasts strongly with the psalmist's own which has been emphasised by the twofold repetition in vv. 3 and 4.

The second section of the psalm takes the form of a brief song of assurance - delivered presumably after a favourable oracle has been received through a cultic prophet - again in carefully balanced clauses. As Johnson notes, the reference to the אֱלֹהֵי of God implies some sort of covenant relationship with the worshipper which may lend support to Vörländer's theory that the song was for one who had claimed Yahweh as his personal God. Finally, the psalmist offers a sacrifice to Yahweh in thanksgiving for an answered prayer, as was prescribed (cf. Ps. 116:7, Job 33:26f). The praise of Yahweh's name links the end of the psalm with its opening line, demonstrating that although the piece is built up from independent verse units which could be fitted into or drawn from other psalms, it still has an independent unity of its own. The final line of the prayer could refer to a military victory, as Eaton thinks, but there simply are not enough positive indications in this psalm for it to be accounted royal. It seems better seen therefore as a possibly late prayer provided in the cult for use by anyone in need.

Despite its brevity, Psalm 13 is unique in the psalter, in beginning with an extremely forceful plea to Yahweh to intervene in the life of the suppliant, the phrase " עֲזַרְנוּ " being repeated no less than four times at the beginning of the psalm. The

psalmist's plea is made to rest in these lines upon Yahweh's forgetting the suppliant, upon the suppliant's pain and sorrow and upon the triumph of his enemies. Surprisingly Johnson does not discuss the psalm in any detail in CPIP but he demonstrates there that the cry, "How long....", more usually in the form "יָדָה-טַי" is one of the clearest indications that the suppliant is asking for a direct response through a prophet. This initial and vibrant appeal is followed by another two verses of direct supplication which could themselves begin a complaint psalm. Again the twofold threat seems to be of physical danger "Lest I sleep the sleep of death...." and of oppression by the suppliant's אֹיְבֵי. As with Psalm 54, it is impossible to tell what situation underlies the psalm. Since the realms of sickness and oppression by personal enemies so clearly overlapped in ancient Israel's thought it is here clearly impossible to argue that the psalm was primarily intended for use in sickness or in times of persecution (though in other psalms one or other of these elements does come to the fore). Hence it seems wiser to accept the piece as a general formula for asking for Yahweh's aid provided for any suppliant in various circumstances of need.

Like the other two laments in this group, Psalm 13 concludes with a short three line song of thanksgiving - the liturgical response provided in the cult for delivery once a favourable oracle has been received. As with the other elements in this psalm, the final verse could stand on its own and presumably be used in combination with other verse units to make up other prayers of lament.

Psalm 6 seems to be more directly concerned with the suppliant's illness yet it contains sufficient references to other forms of danger, and particularly enemies, for the piece to have been used in various circumstances of need. As with the other two short laments preserved in the psalter, the quality of the piece probably ensured its preservation. Two negative prayers in exact parallelism form the first verse and two positive prayers, also in exact parallelism and each with a "כִּי" clause follow this. The first half of v. 4 echoes v. 3 giving a link backwards whilst v. 4b sums up the fourfold petition in the liturgical cry to be heard: " יִצְחָק יְהוָה עַד-קִרְיָי ". The second lament section (like Psalm 13, Psalm 6 contains two sections of lament and one of praise) begins with a brief appeal made on the grounds of Yahweh's חַסְדּוֹ (cf. 13:6, 54:7 ✓ אֲמֵן) followed by a long description of the suppliant's distress couched in an extended "כִּי" clause designed to evoke Yahweh's mercy. Up until v. 7 physical suffering is in evidence but at v. 8 the psalmist reveals that צוֹרְרָי are involved also - and it is the theme of enemies which governs the victorious shout preserved in vv. 9 and 10. Yahweh has answered the prayer, as we are told three times, therefore the enemies will be put to shame.

Johnson (CPIP pp. 237ff) uses the psalm to illustrate the significance of "עַד-קִרְיָי" in appealing for an answer to prayer but is rather literalistic in his interpretation of the psalm as a royal prayer. He argues that the king's sickness will have given his enemies time to plot and hence the connection between the two forms of danger points to Psalm 6 being a royal psalm. However,

given the easy connection made in the psalter between sickness and enemies it does not seem that this is sufficient evidence for arguing that the psalm is royal. Rather, this psalm, like the two discussed above, has been composed as a general formula to be sung on behalf of suppliants in a wide variety of circumstances in need of a favourable answer from Yahweh.

One striking feature which emerges from a close examination of these three psalms is the fact that each can be broken down into three or more units of several verses each, which are complete in themselves as units of either lament or thanksgiving. The units themselves would be almost interchangeable between the three psalms and it may well be that we have here an insight into the working methods of the psalmists. Although I would not go as far as Culley and Ljung (14) in arguing that an oral tradition underlies the composition of many of the psalms, it is apparent from such simple prayers as Psalms 6, 13 and 54 that a number of different prayers may have been built up from the same literary units in the tradition. However, the skill of the psalmist is such that each time these units are used they are forged into a new whole so that, in the case of most of the psalms preserved, this debt to a tradition is not always apparent.

Psalms 6, 13 and 54 then, it is argued, form the prayers of the private person as they have survived in their most simple form. The other, more elaborate, psalms of the private person will now be explored from this basis: psalms in which the two dangers

represented in the more simple psalms, from physical illness and from persecution by enemies, the two great perils facing the private person in Israel, can be more clearly distinguished.

b) Psalms of sickness (Pss. 41, 88, 30)

It is a measure of the complexity of the problems in the psalter that each of the psalms in this category is distinct from the others. A full discussion of the opening verse of Psalm 41 was undertaken above (pp. 115f.) in which it was argued that the sayings about the man who is kind to the poor are best understood as a preface to the lament at the centre of the psalm: the psalmist quotes his text and then applies it, so to speak. The psalm is clearly a prayer designed to be made in time of sickness as both this introduction and the prayer itself demonstrate (vv. 4, 5, 9, 11). In form the psalm emerges as an elaboration of the simple lament structure examined above. To the basic lament and concluding song of assurance (vv. 12, 13) two elaborations in style are added, giving more reasons why Yahweh should answer this prayer. The first is the wisdom style introduction to the psalm, unique in the psalter, which has already been explored. The second feature is the pseudo-autobiographical account of the attitude of the psalmist's companions which is another example of persuasion by hyperbole. The discussion of the term " וְיָ " above has demonstrated that the suppliant will go to almost any lengths to win Yahweh's favour, representing himself as in an utterly wretched condition. In this case, he argues, not only have his enemies forsaken him but his closest friend has turned

traitor. Eaton argues that the prayer is in fact a royal psalm and this is not impossible, but there are so few positive indications of this. The opening verses could be applied to any fairly wealthy Israelite in a position to bestow charity; other psalms of the private person indicate that the machinations of enemies during sickness were not restricted to the king and nor was the desire for vengeance. The desire to remain in Yahweh's presence for ever may be an indication of a royal ascription but need not be. Again the suppliant may be using hyperbole to make his point.

The psalm gives insight into the complex relationship between sickness and personal enemies in Israel. There are no overt indications here that the enemies and the sickness are causally related - no mention of a curse, for example. The reason for sickness is ascribed to sin (v. 5). But the sickness is described as the will of the suppliant's enemies and the latter are also depicted as taking advantage of the suppliant's misfortune to slander his good name - doubtless also attributing this sickness to some sin he has committed. In this case therefore the enemies need be no more than local rivals of the suppliant and his "triumph" the satisfaction of seeing Yahweh as the champion of his own cause rather than theirs (15).

The division between a psalm written for use by a private person in the cult and a psalm which is actually the composition of some person in distress can be seen to be a fine but

necessary distinction when the two psalms of sickness unrelieved by any testimony to Yahweh's goodness are examined. Psalm 39 departs in several places from the accepted standard of piety in the psalms; the scale of suffering found in this lament outweighs that found elsewhere in the psalter and so does the degree of blame attached to Yahweh. For this and other reasons, in particular the shared world view with the writers of Koheleth, this particular piece is best seen as a wisdom prayer and will be explored more fully in the following chapter. Psalm 88, by contrast, despite its similarly monochrome outlook, is much closer in style and content to the other prayers of sickness discussed in this section. That sickness is the background to the prayer cannot be disputed and there are no indications that the piece could be royal therefore it can safely be assigned to this group. As in other prayers of this type the suppliant's aim is to set his case before Yahweh, persuading God to have mercy upon him. An unusual number of arguments are marshalled including the persistent prayer of the psalmist (vv. 2, 9), the degree of his suffering and its extent in time (v. 15); the loneliness of the suppliant (vv. 9, 19) and the fact that praise will not be offered to Yahweh from the realms of the dead (v. 11f). All these motifs taken together add up not only to a picture of desolation but to a powerful argument for persuading God to intervene. As has been mentioned, it seems a mistake to read such verses as 9, 15 and 18, references to the suppliant's youth or to his companions, as autobiographical data on the psalm writer himself. Rather they are included in this prayer, as often elsewhere, simply to emphasise the extent to which the suppliant himself throws

himself on Yahweh's mercy. The overriding focus of the psalm is upon the death or the threat of death and the evil which has befallen the psalmist is here attributed not to the enemies but to Yahweh himself. These two features combine with the fact that the element of assurance at the end of the prayer has either not been preserved or never existed to make the psalm somewhat unusual among the laments in time of sickness but nevertheless recognisable as such. It seems safe to say that the psalm was probably preserved partly by reason of these unusual characteristics.

Finally, Psalm 30, like Psalm 116, is a song of thanksgiving to be sung after deliverance from illness (v. 2 "תִּרְפְּאֵי" can be interpreted in no other way). Unlike Psalm 116 however, there are no indications that the piece is royal and so the psalm is best assigned to this group. The relationship between sickness and enemies is the same as that discovered in Psalm 41: namely, the enemies rejoice at the suppliant's downfall but do not themselves cause it. A very different picture of the enemies is presented in the group of psalms discussed below. The psalm confirms that praise delivered after recovery from illness was to be public (v. 4) and, like other psalms of thanksgiving, contains a small testimony section (vv. 6-10) which also probably had a didactic function: "the correct thing to do when ill is to pray to Yahweh". The argument for being heard presented in Psalm 88 - of Yahweh not being praised among the dead - is quoted here as an example of prayers to be said in time of sickness. Indeed the

psalm presents such a picture of joy that it would form a fitting counterweight to Psalm 88 itself.

The corpus of psalms for sickness which have survived in the psalter is not large therefore, according to my analysis, consisting of four laments (Psalms 41, 88, 28 and 38, the last two being royal psalms) and two songs of thanksgiving (30 and 116, of which the latter is also probably royal). Each of these psalms is in some way distinctive and this would indicate that only a selection of the laments in sickness available to the Israelites have survived. The general petitions discussed above may of course have been used in this way and other prayers do reflect a background of physical illness: Psalm 39 may well be the autobiographical testimony of a wisdom poet and the great national psalms of lamentation take up the metaphor of the sick and lonely man in a moving way, also drawing, probably, upon the traditional songs of sickness for their imagery. Finally, of course, the book of Job has preserved a whole tradition of individual complaint and prayer in time of illness which the pieces preserved in the psalter both reflect and amplify.

c) Prayers in time of persecution (Pss. 70, 35, 109, 64, 142, 86)

There have been scholars, among them Schmidt and Delekat (16), who have argued that a great many of the individual laments in the psalter find their setting in the judicial processes taking place within the sanctuary. Such theories have been largely discredited however as lacking the necessary external and internal

evidence to substantiate the case (17). Yet there remains a small group of prayers in the psalter, all individual laments, which show very little sign of being royal and which seem to reflect not so much general need or sickness but persecution by enemies. It is not entirely clear what the suppliant is being persecuted for, although some hints do emerge. The book of Proverbs describes the correct attitude to take towards personal enemies at several points (18) revealing that these "enemies" were a feature of life in ancient Israel. The persecution may have been legal, and certainly the legal metaphor is strongly in evidence in Psalm 35. Although, as Eaton remarks, there is little evidence for the temple and psalms actually being involved in a formal trial, prayers may have been provided for those facing trial for help in the coming ordeal. Again, according to the witness of Proverbs, false witnesses (and therefore trial situations) were a regular feature of life in ancient Israel (19). Alternatively, and more probably, the persecution and oppression may well have been economic in nature even if carried out through the processes of law. Oppression of the poor is castigated in the prophets, particularly in Amos and Isaiah. It does not seem at all unlikely that, given Yahweh's stated love for the poor, the cult should have provided various prayers to be made should this form of economic oppression arise. The long curse formula in Psalm 109 may well be the suppliant wishing on his enemies what has actually happened to him and, if this is the case, the psalm would provide further evidence of this economic oppression.

As with the other categories of psalms of the private person the likelihood is that the psalter has preserved only a small selection of the prayers once available and has preserved these by reason of their outstanding merit rather than for reasons of cultic usage alone. Of the six texts discussed here Psalm 70 emerges as the simplest prayer from persecution preserved and forms a good background to the study of the more complex pieces, Psalms 35 and 109. Psalm 64 varies the pattern somewhat, as does Psalm 142, which seems at first reading to reflect a background of imprisonment rather than persecution. A discussion of Psalm 88 concludes the section. From a study of these seven psalms four elements emerge as marking this genre.

1. The fervent cry for help (a motif shared with the two categories outlined above).
2. The description of being persecuted or threatened by others.
3. The cursing of the enemies and
4. The praise of God before the congregation, a feature not found in the psalms of sickness explored above. It may be noted that one of the functions of these prayers was to enable the suppliant to declare publicly that he was being unfairly persecuted - hence his promise to give public thanksgiving.

As has been argued above (p. 127), although Psalm 70 is a doublet of Psalm 40:13-17 it should be regarded as a lament

in its own right and as the prayer of an individual rather than of the king. The psalm contains the fervent prayer for help (v. 1); a description of being persecuted or tortured by enemies (vv. 2b, 3b, 4b) and of general distress (v. 5a); the cursing of the psalmist's enemies is found in vv. 2-4. Although the psalm contains no response of praise or thanksgiving after the lament is delivered it is apparent from v. 4 that the prayer was to be delivered in public in the midst of the congregation. The only evidence that the psalm may be royal is contained in the epithets in the final verse (" עֲזָרָי " and " מִן פְּלִטָּי ") which alone are not strong evidence for a royal ascription. The psalm has a definite literary unity, beginning and ending as it does with appeals to God to make haste and balancing the description of the suppliant's enemies with a description of the people of God (vv. 2-5). In this way the suppliant implies, quite subtly, that his personal enemies are also those who do not love Yahweh. The actual threat to the psalmist is couched in the most general terms in the description of his antagonists as "those who seek my hurt" and "those who say "Aha, Aha"".

Psalms 35 and 109 may be regarded as more complex expressions of this same basic form. Psalm 35 has been discussed at length above (pp. 83f) where it was argued that the judicial language in the psalm must take precedence over the military language (20) and that, once this has been agreed, there is insufficient evidence for understanding the psalm as royal: the

piece stands as an unusually elaborate example of a prayer for a persecuted individual. The psalm proceeds in two movements, the first using military metaphor and the second returning to the judicial language which reflects the situation facing the suppliant. Each of the two movements contains each of the four elements outlined above. The first (vv. 1-10) begins with the urgent appeal to Yahweh the warrior to arise and fight for his dependant (vv. 1-3), addressed to God in a compelling series of imperatives. The tone of the psalm throughout is altogether more bold than, for example, the tone of the psalms of sickness. Psalms 70 and 109 share this belligerent stance in which the appeal is less to Yahweh's mercy than to his justice and sense of fair play. The curse formula which follows this appeal utilises some of the same phrases as are used in the curse formula in Psalm 70 (21). The description of the psalmist's danger is again contained in the curse formulae and in the "כִּי" clause which supports them (v. 7). Again the description of distress is couched in the vaguest of terms. This first movement of the psalm ends with a vow of praise promised to God should the deliverance come about (vv. 9-10) and as in Psalms 70 and 109, the suppliant is described as "עָדָה וְאֶבְיֹוֹן" (cf. above p. 127).

The second movement of the psalm (vv. 11-28) begins not with fervent appeal but with the element which has received least attention so far, the description of the psalmist's distress. The suppliant contrasts his own righteousness with the conduct of his adversaries and the motif now familiar from the prayers of sickness of the treacherous friend reappears in a slightly

different context. Again this is cited not as autobiographical detail but as evidence of the suppliant's need of help and additionally here of his right dealings when contrasted with his enemies' unfairness. The malicious witnesses, together with the appeals for vindication later in the psalm, suggest that some form of persecution in the courts is envisaged. To strengthen the case for seeing the military language at the beginning of the psalm as metaphor it should be mentioned that the martial images appear only in the opening appeal and are then not heard again in any part of the psalm, including this description of distress. The appeal is taken up again in v. 17f. together with another promise of praise and then the curse motif predominates until v. 25. Two sections of cursing (vv. 19-21, 35-6) surround a three verse appeal to Yahweh's righteousness. The description of the persecutors expands that given in Psalm 70 but some of the same phraseology is again used (22). In the psalms in this group there is clearly a causal link between the psalmist's enemies and the danger he finds himself in which is not the case in the psalms of sickness: there the mockery of the enemies merely exacerbates the psalmist's suffering.

Finally, and again as in Psalm 70, the psalm ends not so much with praise as with a vow or a promise made to praise God should the asked for deliverance be granted, and once again this praise involves not only the psalmist himself but the congregation, contrasted again with the antagonists of the suppliant (23).

It remains safely established therefore that Psalm 35 is an elaboration of the type of psalm found in Psalm 70, namely

a prayer provided by the cult for use by a private person undergoing persecution.

Psalm 109 has also been discussed at some length above (pp. 64f) where it was argued that the psalm is not royal but falls into this category of prayers written for individuals in persecution. The act of comparing this psalm with the two such prayers discussed above confirms this identification since Psalm 109 shares the same four characteristic elements as Psalms 35 and 70. The psalm begins with an opening line of petition and continues with a statement of the suppliant's dire need. The motif of kindness returned with malice found in Psalm 35 and other pieces recurs here also. The long passage in vv. 6-19 is most usually understood as a curse formula pronounced by the suppliant against his enemies, although there has been much debate about this. The suggestion made by Creager and others (24) that the suppliant is repeating the curse made by the enemies against himself is unsatisfactory however. The shift made from plural to singular enemies, the main evidence for this view, is not so very hard to understand: in Psalm 41:6, to give an analogous example, the wicked behaviour of the enemies is summarised, as it were, in the reference to one friend's treachery (25). E.J. Kissane suggests that v. 6 is difficult on the grounds that one would expect the psalmist to pray for his enemies to be judged by Yahweh. He therefore emends the verse to read: " וְעַל כָּל רָשָׁע " - "make the wicked stand before thee" - and goes on to translate the remainder of vv. 6-19 as a simple future rather than as a

subjunctive leaving at the centre of the psalm not a curse but a description of the fate of the wicked similar to those found in Job 27:13, 15:20ff., 18:5ff. and 20:4ff. This suggestion is interesting but unsound and very much weakens the overall effect of the psalm. The difficulty which gives rise to the emendation, and that which gave rise to Creager's suggestion, can both be overcome if, as was suggested above, the suppliant is praying that his enemy will suffer in the same way as he himself has suffered. The suppliant has been tried before a **רָשָׁע** - let his accuser himself now so be tried on the principle of "an eye for an eye". The discussion of other psalms in this genre also makes it plain that a curse was a normal part of such a psalm, even if this particular curse is rather extended in form. As was mentioned above, if the curse does reflect back onto his accusers the suppliant's own plight then this gives us several clues into the nature of distress suffered during persecution (cf. above p.65).

The remainder of the psalm is taken up with a further description of distress (vv. 22f.) and of fervent prayer (v. 26f.), concluding with a song of praise which is, once again, to be sung in the midst of the congregation.

Psalm 64 falls basically into the category of the prayer of an individual in time of threat or persecution but the prayer is rather more meditative in tone and not nearly so urgent in its pleading. After the prayer for aid which begins the psalm (vv. 1-2) the psalmist gives a strong picture of his own plight by focussing on the machinations of his enemies (vv. 3-6). What has

been implied in other psalms about the psalmist being **אֵלֵי** and his enemies **אֹיְבָבָי** is here stated explicitly. In place of the curse motif found in the three psalms discussed above we find an assurance that God will strike down these men perhaps suggesting that the psalm is a later composition. As Weiser notes, this portion of the psalm is artfully constructed and there are a number of links forged between the activity of the enemies and God's punishment of them. The psalm concludes, like the others in this section, with a song of praise which, rather like the rest of the psalm, draws out the lesson of God's dealing with men from the experience of the suppliant as well as praising Yahweh directly. Eaton does suggest in his commentary that the suppliant is praying on behalf of the congregation but does not follow this suggestion up in "Kingship and the Psalms". There seems to be no evidence for this other than one based on a "pattern" understanding of the terms used for antagonist.

Psalm 142, in my view, also falls into this category, but Eaton has claimed that the psalm is the prayer of a king (26). He mentions as evidence the psalm's position among other royal psalms and the general similarities between psalms 140-143 (which I would argue against in any case; Dahood helpfully points out that this is the only prayer in this part of the psalter to have **מִן־דֵּי־יָ** in the heading); and the two features of enemies laying traps and the suppliant having no helpers, which are also found in royal psalms (to which one can object that these features are found also in demonstrably non royal psalms). The "bond with the god" which

appears in v. 6 seems to be something a commoner could share.

Most other commentators see the psalm as the lament of a private person, differing only in the nature of the distress envisaged. If the term "prison" is interpreted literally, of course, it must be assumed that the suppliant has been imprisoned and prays for release. However, this seems to run counter to his prayer to Yahweh for sanctuary and safe refuge and would also be an unusually specific reference for such a psalm of lament. Therefore it seems best to understand the prayer:

וְיִצְאֵנִי מִסְּבִיבֵי יְדֵי

as a metaphorical plea for the suppliant to be released from his distress. The psalm contains three of the four elements of which the other psalms from persecution are built up: urgent petition (vv. 1, 3, 5-7a), description of distress (3b-4) and a promise of public praise and thanksgiving (7b). There is, however, no curse motif in this psalm.

Finally, Psalm 86 is attached to these songs from persecution because of the final third of the psalm (vv. 14-17) which does seem to envisage such a situation of danger. Eaton argues (27) that the psalm is probably royal, but I cannot subscribe to this view. The only evidence he can adduce is the title (cf. above p. 148), the self-designation "servant" and a possible allusion to royal passion rites in v. 13 (cf. above p. 163f and passim). Alternatively, the psalm has been seen as built up either from quotations and allusions to other psalms or originally to have been three separate prayers. There is probably some truth in both of

these suggestions. The psalmist has made an unusually full use of the tradition against which he writes in both the introductory invocation and the song of praise. However, this does not mean that he himself was either lacking in artistry or short of original material since there are clear themes, of the psalmist's humility and of God's mercy, which run right through the psalm. It is also possible that the composer has used originally separate longer units of tradition in building up his prayer (28). As it stands however the psalm is best seen as a whole as a late, probably post-exilic, prayer written for individuals undergoing persecution and as such is a development of the earlier form explored above. It is not so much the psalm's indebtedness to tradition which gives this impression of lateness but the theological ideas which the psalm contains. Hazardous though it is to date any part of the Old Testament on these grounds, the strong emphasis here on the mercies of God, twice given in a Deuteronomistic type formula (vv. 5, 15) in the two halves of the psalm and in the central praise section on the nations going up to Jerusalem to worship Yahweh seem to indicate a post-exilic date of composition. The latter idea is found elsewhere in the Old Testament only in exilic or post-exilic texts (29). The elaboration of form in the psalm from the earlier pieces in this genre seems to be found in a lengthening of the introductory invocation, the omission of the curse formulae and the bringing of praise and thanksgiving into the body of the psalm itself. Instead of praises the psalm now concludes with the description of distress and the request for an **אֲנִי בְּצָרָה** ; as was suggested above, this latter section of the psalm may have

existed independently as a general formula for asking for a sign of Yahweh's favour through the medium of a cultic prophet.

- d) Individual psalms among the Psalms of Ascents (Pss. 120, 121, 122, 123, 130, 131)

Six of the individual psalms in the psalter are found in the collection known as the Psalms of Ascents (Psalms 120-134) and, although none of these are prayers of the private person in distress in the sense described above, these psalms will be discussed at this point for the sake of completeness and clarity. There seems no need to discuss here the rival theories relating to the origins of the Psalms of Ascents (31). The thesis proposed here is that these psalms are best seen, with the exception of Psalm 132, which is different in tone and style from the other pieces, as a post-exilic collection. Evidence for this view is found in the differences in style, form and subject matter which mark these prayers off from all the others in the psalter; the presence of the late Hebrew particle "י" (32); and at least one concrete allusion to the exile and return (Psalm 126: 1ff.). The focus upon Jerusalem and the assumption that the well being of Jerusalem and of Israel are parallel and closely related also provides evidence of a post-exilic origin. The psalms show evidence of a peculiar literary style whereby the last word of a line becomes the first word of the next line (33). Other features which bind these psalms together are the common themes of concern with Zion, with peace and well being with unity and with contemplative trust in Yahweh. There is also, of course a strong concern

with the festival and with pilgrimage which would account for the inclusion of Psalm 132 in the collection. There seems no reason to doubt the widely held theory that the "Sitz im Leben" of these psalms was as songs sung by pilgrims either at or on their way to the great festivals and that this is the origin of the unusual heading.

As far as the study of the individual in the psalms is concerned however, the Psalms of Ascent present pieces which are hard to fit into the recognised formal types. Although several of the prayers have been written, at least in part, in the style of the individual laments (cf. 130:1, 129:1, 127:1) they are in fact quite different. The first three of the prayers discussed below seem, in their different ways, to reflect the individual taking part in his pilgrimage to the holy city; by contrast in Psalms 123, 130 and 131 the focus is much more on the individual as a part of the community which, when assembled together, prays to Yahweh to have mercy on his people.

i) Psalms of pilgrimage (Pss. 120, 121, 122)

Psalm 120, though a relatively short psalm, is one of the most enigmatic in the psalter. There is debate initially, over the translation of v. 1. The M.T. has the verbs in the past tense giving a song of thanksgiving whereas most English versions emend so that the psalm reads as a lamentation throughout. The place names mentioned in v. 4 are, of course, very far apart (so Anderson ad loc.); rather than emend the verse it seems wisest to assume that some

metaphorical sense is implied. This being the case it seems very unlikely either that the psalm is pre-exilic or that the psalmist is the king, as Eaton suggests (34). Why should the reigning monarch sojourn abroad among a warlike people in any case - still less have a psalm written to celebrate his home-coming couched in such general terms that it could be used on subsequent occasions! The piece seems far better suited to an era when many Jews did live far from Jerusalem and there would be travel back and forth from the diaspora to Zion itself, particularly at times of festival. The song is thus intended to depict the miseries of the "civilised man" living abroad amongst men who cannot be trusted, who continually seek wars or quarrels. When sung at the feast, either in performance by a temple poet or communally by the people the song would evoke great joy at being "home" for the festival itself.

Psalm 121 is similarly bristling with difficulties. Eaton sees the piece as the prayer of a king followed by a blessing pronounced over him as he goes out to war. In the first line the suppliant looks to the hills not as a source of danger but as the source of Yahweh's help in the festal epiphany (35). Such an interpretation is unlikely however: there is no explicit reference in the psalm either to a festal epiphany or to a military battle. The phrase "וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה" occurs elsewhere in the Psalms of Ascents (124:8, 134:2) and in general tone and style the psalm is very similar to the other pieces in this part of the psalter.

Therefore it seems best to associate the piece, with the majority of commentators, with the blessing pronounced over pilgrims at the annual festival, probably in post-exilic times. The blessing would be sought, perhaps, by one of the temple singers acting as a representative of the departing congregation. It seems most likely, as Anderson suggests, that the hills were a source of danger to the travelling pilgrims. A notable stylistic feature of the psalm is the step motif noted above together with the alliteration and assonance achieved by the repetition of " פֶּזַר " - which also brings out the main message of the psalm.

Psalm 122 contains a similar play on sound repeated with its frequent mention of both " שָׁלוֹם " and " יְרוּשָׁלַיִם ". The psalm is evidently a pilgrim song. The individual appears here only in the first verse - a stylistic feature of other ascent psalms (cf. 121, 123) - as one of a group of pilgrims who are to go up (עָלוּ) to Jerusalem for, presumably, the festival. As Anderson remarks, the mention of the thrones of the House of David does not preclude us from seeing the psalm as a post-exilic piece. The significance of the House of David did not end with the exile.

ii) Prayers on behalf of Israel (Pss. 123, 130, 131)

The final three prayers to be discussed in this chapter all contain a movement from the individual to the corporate in one sense or another. Psalm 123 is in fact a communal prayer for Yahweh to have mercy upon Israel, but the prayer is couched as a

request from one man in the community, lifting his eyes to God in expectant appeal. The circumlocutions for God in the opening verse together with the particle "י" suggest a late date for the prayer. Its content then aptly describes the condition of the Jews living around Jerusalem after the exile as is reflected in the Book of Nehemiah. Psalm 130 comes closer than any other Psalm of Ascent to the form of an individual lament with its fervent appeal for God to listen at the outset of the prayer. The message which comes at the end of the psalm - that God will redeem Israel from all his iniquities - is directed at the nation however, leading one to believe that the entire prayer was spoken for the nation rather as is the case in Psalm 129. Finally, Psalm 131, surely one of the most beautiful prayers in the psalter, calls up, like other Psalms of Ascents, an unusual yet domestic image to portray the suppliant's humble relationship with God (36). The song of assurance given at the end of the psalm and at the end of Psalm 130 call to mind the message of the prophets and much of the Old Testament that Yahweh will not turn away any individual or people who truly humble themselves before him.

3. CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified and examined the eighteen psalms in the psalter which, according to my own analysis, fall into the category of psalms written for the use of private persons within Israel. Two things have been demonstrated. Firstly it has been shown that such psalms were written in Israel and did exist: not all

psalmody was royal psalmody. However, as the introduction to the chapter argued these psalms can only be understood against the general background of private prayer in the Old Testament and in the ancient Near East and the psalms which were written for private use in the temple cannot be used simplistically as a guide to the piety of ordinary individuals in ancient Israel.

Secondly, some division is possible between different groups of these psalms of the private person, as set out above. Even within this division however the picture given by the psalter is once again complex and no two psalms are alike, although different psalms in the same group can often shed light on one another. The psalms we have preserved appear to have survived more for their distinctiveness than for their conformity to a particular form or style. Hence the general argument maintained throughout this thesis that there are no simple solutions to the complex problems of the psalter is validated once again.

Finally, there are only twelve psalms of the individual proper (discounting those in the Psalms of Ascents) in the psalter compared to some forty-eight royal psalms. This means that Eaton's contention is again, to a great extent, confirmed here and the psalter is substantially a royal book, as indeed are many of the other books of the Old Testament. One of the reasons for this must be that the psalms used in public, at the great festivals, would doubtless have attracted the attention of the psalm composers more than the provision of songs for the use of ordinary worshippers and also their preservation would have been encouraged by their repeated use in the cult.

However, some thirty-three psalms which contain a reference to an individual remain to be examined, about a quarter of the total number of such psalms. The final chapter will discuss these pieces in the context of their being prayers produced by various cult officials - prophets, wisdom writers and those shadowy figures, the temple poets themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE INDIVIDUAL AS A MINISTER OF THE CULT

1. INTRODUCTION

Of the ninety-three psalms containing some reference to an individual some forty-one have been shown to have been composed as prayers for the use of the king and another eighteen to have been written for the use of the private person within Israel. Some thirty-three psalms now remain to be examined and these psalms, it seems to me, reflect the concerns of the ministers of Israel's cult: either the cultic prophets or the wisdom teachers (1) or the temple musicians and psalm singers themselves. The focus therefore turns away from examining the identity of the person for whom the psalm was composed at this point. In the case of the psalms examined here, there ceases to be a distinction between the composer of the psalm and the person who delivered the piece in the cult. The aim

of this chapter is to attempt to identify the psalms of the individual which are best assigned to each of these groups of cultic ministers and also to reach some tentative conclusions on the authorship of the remaining psalms in the psalter.

The investigation will begin therefore with an examination of the nine psalms of the individual in which the "I" appears to be a cultic prophet and will go on to discuss the influence of the wisdom teachers upon the psalter and in particular upon eleven psalms in which the "I" seems to be a wisdom teacher. Finally, attention will focus upon the temple poets themselves and their testimony as revealed in three of the individual psalms (2).

2. THE "I" IN THE PSALMS AS A CULTIC PROPHET (Pss. 78, 77, 81, 75, 74, 83, 85, 52, 36, 20, 110)

A.R. Johnson's early work on the cultic prophets (3) established the existence of a group of professional prophets attached to the major shrines in pre-exilic Israel who had, it is clear, a two-fold function: the giving of oracles of Yahweh to the nation and to individuals in occasions of national and personal crisis and, secondly, making intercession to Yahweh in times of either national or personal difficulty and danger. The evidence would seem to indicate that these cultic prophets "died out" as a group in the generations after the return from exile. The Chronicler sees the guilds of temple singers as having filled the role occupied by these cultic prophets and this, together with the close connection between the pre-exilic cultic prophets and music led Johnson to formulate his theory that the cultic prophets as it were

degenerated into mere musicians on a par with the other Levitical orders in the post-exilic period.

In his more recent work Johnson has attempted to trace the activity of the cultic prophets of pre-exilic Israel through the extant psalmody of the Old Testament. In "The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody" he identifies no less than forty psalms as reflecting the activities of these prophets (4) and several features of a cult-prophetic style are delineated (5). Once again the activity of the cult prophets is traced through the communicating of Yahweh's will to Israel through oracles and through teaching and the offering of intercessory prayer on behalf of the nation, the king and the ordinary individual.

Although Johnson has succeeded, to a large extent, in demonstrating the considerable part played by cultic prophets in Israel's worship, and particularly in psalmody, I would have to disagree with his conclusions on several major and subsidiary points (6). In particular, it seems to me, his arguments that vicarious intercession was practised by the cultic prophets, whereby a prophet would actually pray in the person of a king or of a sick individual does not seem to be particularly well supported by evidence. Such an understanding, it seems to me, leads the way to seeing almost all of the prayers in the psalter as having been composed and delivered by the cult prophets. This view would have the effect, if accepted, of restricting our view of the piety of the ordinary person in Israel (when it has been argued above that each person could approach God in his own right) and of the role of the

temple musicians and psalm writers. Johnson's arguments generally tend towards the view that the cult prophets were the psalm writers in pre-exilic Israel. It seems to me that sufficient evidence can be produced outside the psalter to demonstrate the existence of pre-exilic musicians who were not cultic prophets (see below section 3) and that there is evidence for the work of this group within the psalter also. We should therefore see two groups (of cult prophets and musicians) at work on the composition of the psalter before the exile, one of which disappeared shortly after the return. There would, of course, be many areas of overlap between the two groups in style and subject matter and it is not always possible to make a rigid distinction between the work of one group and the work of another.

An additional argument which adds weight to this position is actually made much of by Johnson and is supported by the exegesis of the cult-prophetic psalms in which the "I" occurs, namely that there can be identified within certain psalms an actual cult-prophetic style. If this is the case then it follows that the cult prophets can only have been responsible for the composition of a section, if an important section, of the psalms in pre-exilic Israel and that the remainder were the work of the temple musicians.

Very much in line with this consideration, although this is not noted by Johnson or other more modern commentators, it does seem as if we have within the psalter itself a sub-collection of cult-prophetic works, namely the psalms headed "יָזָכְרֶנּוּ", within which six of the eleven psalms discussed in this section are found.

A.F. Kirkpatrick notes no fewer than six features of prophetic style which bind the Asaph psalms together (with the exception of Psalm 73) (7):

1. Many of these psalms, as was noted above (8), represent God as judge in the manner of the canonical prophets (Pss. 50, 75, 81, 82).
2. God himself is frequently introduced as speaker (Pss. 50, 75, 81, 82).
3. There is evidence of the didactic use of history and teaching from tradition so important in the cult. In Pss. 74:12ff., 77:10ff., 80:8ff., 81:5ff., 83:9ff. the past history of the nation is appealed to for encouragement or in words of warning.
4. There is frequent use in these psalms of the image, employed by several of the canonical prophets, of God's relationship to Israel being that of a shepherd to his flock as in Pss. 74:1, 77:20, 78:52, 79:13, 81:1 (9).
5. There is unusual use made of the combination Jacob and Joseph (80:1) and Joseph and Israel (81:4f.) which Kirkpatrick thinks stems from a refusal to accept the division of the nation as permanent, again in agreement with the canonical prophets.
However, in several of these Asaphite psalms there is also a prominent concern with the election of Judah (cf. 76:1, 78:67-72).
6. Finally, the Asaphite psalms are almost entirely national psalms of intercession, thanksgiving, warning or teaching. Even where the "I" occurs he is clearly speaking on behalf of the nation.
One might also add to Kirkpatrick's observations that the

collection is rather unusual in that it does not contain even one royal psalm which might have substantiated Johnson's case for vicarious intercession (10).

Of the six psalms of Asaph which contain some reference to an individual three are concerned with the prophet teaching from Israel's history; two contain only incidental references to an "I" and the remaining psalm contains the prophet's response to an oracle of Yahweh. On the theme of teaching in the cult, it is generally true that, while there has been intense study of the forms and structures of Israel's religion in recent years, very little attention has been paid to the way in which Israel's religion related to her social and political life (11). As was remarked above, the cult and the annual or thrice yearly assembly of many in the nation at the national temple or, before centralisation, at the major shrines, provided almost the only medium of mass communication available (12). We have already observed how control of this medium was put to good use by the kings of Judah, following the practice of other ancient near Eastern monarchs, in that the central act of the main annual festival was a representation in music, drama and song of Yahweh's choice of the Davidic dynasty. The cult is being used here as an effective means of social and political control and to this extent has a role in educating the people. There is also evidence however that the cult was the place for more direct forms of teaching about Israel's faith and history and that this was just as much its function as prayer and sacrifice (13). This is an aspect of the work of the cultic prophets which is taken up forcefully by Johnson (14) and

which finds its expression, in part, in the three historical cult-prophetic psalms discussed here.

This educational role and in particular teaching from the historical tradition is especially evident in Psalm 78, the second longest psalm in the psalter, where the instruction is at two levels: the prophet acknowledges the claim of Jerusalem to hegemony over Israel yet maintains most strongly that the grace of God is closely connected with his judgement if the correct response to that grace is not forthcoming. As Kraus remarks, the opening invocation which prefaces the historical summary is cast in the styles of a wisdom teacher (vv. 1-2) and of hymnody (v. 4). There can be little doubt however, given the overall tenor and concerns of the piece, that the psalmist is a cultic prophet (15). There is less agreement about the date of the psalm and the view taken on this depends as much upon opinions held about the relative dating of other institutions in Israel such as the covenant and the prevalence of Deuteronomistic language in the earlier part of the monarchic period. Johnson and Weiser, who support an early date for the covenant concept and for many of the psalms place Psalm 78 in the early years after the building of the Temple. A more probable date however, in line with the consensus of scholarly opinion on these other issues, would seem to be the immediate pre-exilic period. As A.A. Anderson suggests, the general outlook of the psalm suggests that the northern kingdom has come to an end and the psalm reflects something of the Deuteronomic attitude to Zion and the high places. The opening invocation with its mixture of styles would also support

this later date. The cultic setting in which the psalm or sermon-prayer, was delivered would doubtless have been the Autumn Festival with its celebration of the election and renewal of the Davidic dynasty. The focus on the saga of the ark (v. 61) would also lend support to this view. Security and victory in battle can only be attained by faithfulness on the part of all the people to the demands of Yahweh's law.

If the didactic purpose of Psalm 78 is to give a warning to the people, together with an affirmation of God's grace through the election, then the didactic purpose of Psalm 77 must be to sound a note of hope for Yahweh's deliverance. I find myself in disagreement with Eaton's interpretation of the psalm on two main counts. In the first place he describes the piece as a great intercession for the nation. This seems unlikely as there is no fervent appeal for God to have mercy in this psalm: the only note of petition is sounded in the context of a report of the psalmist's meditations. The first half of the psalm is much better seen as a testimony, in this case to the psalmist's "wrestling with God" in the face of some great tragedy facing the nation. This being the case it seems much more likely that the individual in the psalm is a cultic prophet rather than a king as Eaton argues. In assigning this piece to his more doubtful group of royal prayers Eaton admits both that "there is no obvious royal colouring" and that "the psalmist is "not far removed from the prophet-leader of Habakkuk 3" (16). It seems likely therefore that this piece is the work of a cult prophet (17). Even the "faint clue" towards royal ascription which Eaton finds in the closing verse of the

psalm - the mention of Moses and Aaron - points just as much to prophetic authorship and use, if the psalmist is thought to have signed off with an allusion to himself, as it does to the psalm having been used by the king (cf. Deut. 34:10). The context of the psalm is clearly some great national disaster (18) and there are several indications that this was the exile: the psalm's position in the Asaphite psalter would support the view, alongside other psalms which reflect this period (19). Secondly, in its oracle of salvation the psalm shares several affinities with the prophecies of Second Isaiah, particularly in the linking together of the two themes of creation and redemption (cf. Is. 51:9-11) and the use of the name Jacob to describe the whole nation of Israel.

In context therefore the psalm is to be seen as the didactic testimony of a cultic prophet in the period of the exile. The distress of the prophet at the fate of the nation is described in the form of an individual lament. The prophet has asked of the Lord "How Long?" and has wrestled with Yahweh for an answer to his questions. Like Second Isaiah he finds his answer in the past traditions of Israel recording the mighty acts of Yahweh which he then relates as a ground for hope for the people facing exile. It is no coincidence that the psalm ends with Yahweh leading forth his people by the hand of Moses and Aaron, prophet and priest.

The use made of history is different again in Psalm 81 although the point made in the teaching given in the oracle is similar to that made in Psalm 78. Here also it seems that the psalm

is the work of a cultic prophet (cf. Johnson, CPIP, pp. 6ff.).

The psalm begins with a full call to praise which strengthens the cult prophet's association both with the music in the temple worship and with the regular ordained festivals. It seems likely that this particular psalm would have been used in the Autumn Festival calling the people to prayer and worship. There seems no reason whatsoever to regard v. 5c (which actually contains the only reference to an individual) as a gloss (so NEB). These prophetic interlocutions before oracles are relatively common in the psalter (cf. above p. 47). The oracle focusses, like the historical summaries in Psalms 77 and 78 on the formative elements in Israel's history: the deliverance from Egypt and the giving of the law together with a promise of subjection if the people follow their own hearts or of rich blessing if they subject themselves to Yahweh. Johnson attempts to date this psalm, with many others, to the period of the judges. Although this dating cannot be disproved there is no particular evidence which merits departing in this case from the general assumption that most of the psalms in the psalter were composed and preserved for regular worship in the Jerusalem temple.

The structure of Psalm 75 has been discussed briefly above: an oracle of judgement is sandwiched between a brief hymnic introduction and a song of individual thanksgiving or, if Johnson's reading of the text is followed, a summation by the prophet of what has gone before:

"For my part then ('יָקִי) here is my enduring message,
 The note which I must sound for Jacob's God -
 So I will cut off the horns of the wicked
 While the horns of the righteous shall be lifted up!" (20)

The psalm, like others discussed in this section, is almost certainly to be set in the context of Israel's autumn festival and is to be seen as both warning and instruction to the faithful in Israel. This seems a much neater way of interpreting the psalm than is involved in seeing some verses from the oracle as spoken by the king (so Eaton, KP, pp. 55f.). The position of the piece within the Asaph psalms would also strengthen this attribution.

The two other Asaphite psalms which mention an individual do so in a very minor way and so only need to be noted briefly here. Psalm 74 is a prophetic song, it would seem, which laments the destruction of Jerusalem. The prophet intercedes with Yahweh (called "my king" in v. 12) to arise and rescue the nation from the grip of the enemy. Psalm 83 which again seems to be a psalm which refers to a particular event rather than a psalm for general use, by reason of the large number of proper names, seems also to be the intercession of a cult prophet, who addresses Yahweh as "my God" in v. 9.

Psalms from the circle of the cultic prophets are of course found outside the circle of the Asaph psalms but only three such pieces have survived which contain reference to an individual, one of which is an intercession for the nation, whilst

the other two both contain injunctions against the אָשָׁפֵט .

Psalm 85, which belongs to the Korah collection rather than that of Asaph, contains an intercession for the land once again, which is probably best dated to the period after the return whilst the nation was still beset with troubles, and an oracle of salvation preceded by an interlocution by the prophet:

"Let me hear what God, the Lord, will speak....."

The purpose here, as in Psalm 77, is to rekindle hope in the people.

The prophetic influence in Psalm 52 is recognised by the form of the injunction against the אָשָׁפֵט : a direct challenge issued against the mighty man in the name of Yahweh which is also found in the prophets (cf. Is. 22) (21). Eaton seems to give a correct interpretation of the piece in his commentary on the psalms when he writes that the psalm "comes from the circle of the cult prophets and the figure addressed is of a general type". However he departs from this interpretation in "Kingship and the Psalms" (p. 73) and argues that the piece is royal ('though in the less probable group). The evidence adduced for this is slight: the theme of witness can be shared by a prophet; the comparison to a tree can be made of an ordinary Israelite, not only the king (cf. Psalm 1, Jer. 17:7-8) and dwelling in the house of the Lord can also refer to the prophet's witness as well as to that of the king. The "I" in the psalm is best seen as a cult prophet therefore and, given that the injunction is general in reference, the psalm must also be seen as didactic in character, teaching the familiar

dictum to the assembled congregation that the wicked man will be cast down from his eminence and the righteous man exalted. The concluding verses have borrowed the form of an individual cultic thanksgiving from the prayers of persecution discussed above (pp. 21-31*) and this may be an indication that the psalm is of a later date. Again however a date of just before the exile would seem to fit the piece well.

A similar description of the activities of the wicked in the same position of the psalm is to be found in Psalm 36 (22). Similarities in the description of the wicked in the two psalms include the mention of arrogance, mischievous words and continual plotting. Similarly the doom of the wicked is pronounced in both pieces, although in rather different ways. The mighty man of Psalm 52 is challenged directly at the beginning of the piece. The doom of the עוֹל in Psalm 36 is not pronounced until the very end of the psalm in reference to some sign or act in the cult (so Eaton, Weiser et al.) and so it is principally this verse which marks the psalm out as a prophetic piece. The description of the wicked in the first half of the psalm and the pronouncement of doom at the close is balanced with a hymn of praise to Yahweh, focussing in particular on his טֹן , in the central verses giving the psalm as a whole a chiastic structure thus:

Description of the wicked

Description of Yahweh and those who love him

Prayer for protection of those who love Yahweh

Doom of the wicked.

The magnificent if brief description of the nature of God sets in proportion the fear created by the focus on the wicked in the earlier half of the psalm. The dramatic action or sign referred to in the final verse, together with the description of the rich praises of God and the banquet in v. 8f. lead one to the conclusion that the psalm had its context, like most of the prophetic psalms, in the festal worship, perhaps being delivered after the king had been crowned in triumph and admitted to the throne of judgement for another year. Despite the fact that the psalm is not discussed by Johnson in CPIP the "I" in the piece is very probably a cult prophet, speaking as a representative of the upright in the land. Like the other prophetic psalms discussed here, this piece has a didactic purpose within the cult, teaching on the fate of the wicked, the nature of Yahweh and the joy which awaits those who love him.

Finally, to complete this review of psalms in which the individual is a cultic prophet, brief mention must be made to the royal Psalms 20 and 110 in which the person of the prophet emerges as he prays for the monarch. As Johnson demonstrates (CPIP pp. 177ff. and 80ff.), the prophet acts here in his role as intercessor on the king's behalf.

Although the cultic prophets played a major role in the composition and delivery of many of the psalms in the Old Testament, then, (23), the number of instances in which the "I" in the psalms is to be seen as a cultic prophet is relatively small.

All of the psalms in which the "I" does appear as a prophet, with the exception of Psalms 20 and 110, can be regarded as in some way didactic: either teaching the correct response to Yahweh from historical traditions or by means of oracles of warning about his actions in the present. In this respect of concern for teaching Yahweh's way the "I" in the psalms as a cultic prophet shares many affinities with the "I" in the psalms as a wisdom teacher although the form and the material used for instruction are very different.

3. THE "I" IN THE PSALMS AS A WISDOM TEACHER

The nature and extent of the involvement of the wise in Israel with the production and transmission of the psalter has been, like the question discussed above, an area of comparatively intense research over the preceding decades. (24). Three areas of broad agreement have emerged as a result of this debate: firstly, the psalter does contain pieces which can fairly be described as wisdom psalms, that is as products of the scribal schools attached to the temple. Every list of such wisdom psalms varies somewhat although something of a consensus has emerged (25). This identification of wisdom psalms has been made on the grounds of forms used, vocabulary and thematic content (26). Secondly, it has been generally agreed that there is a certain amount of wisdom influence outside of these wisdom psalms themselves: in other words, some of the wisdom forms, vocabulary and themes are also found in the remainder of the psalms. This should occasion no great surprise. The different groups in ancient Israel did not operate each in its

own cultural vacuum. Furthermore a similar borrowing of wisdom vocabulary and style had already been noted in the prophetic books. This general wisdom influence upon the psalter is thought to have extended in the post-exilic period to the actual arrangement of the present psalm collection. A particularly strong indication of this is the fact that the whole collection is prefaced by the wisdom psalm presenting the two ways, which we know as Psalm 1. The third and final point of consensus, which has already been touched upon, is that most, if not all, of the wisdom psalms are assumed to be post-exilic in origin. This hypothesis best accords with the general view taken of the development of psalmody in ancient Israel and the picture of the gradual pattern of Israel's assimilation of the wisdom traditions of the ancient Near East into her own religious life. In this latter development a line can be drawn from the earliest sentence literature preserved in the collections in Proverbs 10-31 to Ben Sira's wisdom in the early second century B.C. In the former the material has more obviously been influenced by the wisdom traditions of nations outside Israel (27). In the latter there is the complete assimilation of wisdom into the religion of Israel to the extent that Wisdom herself can be identified with Torah and to be "serving" in the temple itself (28). The other wisdom collections in the Old Testament, Proverbs 1-9, Job and Koheleth, mark out points along the way and, it must be agreed, the wisdom psalms come from a fairly advanced stage of this development. Although there is evidence for conflict between the scribal wisdom of the courts and prophetic teaching

in the pre-exilic period (29) this is not in evidence either in these post-exilic wisdom psalms. Nor is there any evidence of the struggle between Yahwistic and non-Yahwistic wisdom found in proverbs. The assimilation of wisdom to the service of the cult is almost complete.

This being the case, it seems to me that Perdue's distinction, which builds in part upon Mowinckel's dismissal of the wisdom psalms as non-cultic (30), between psalms written for the cult and psalms written as aids to teaching in the wisdom schools is unnecessary (31). It is to be remembered that the cult, particularly in the post-exilic period, was a multi-functional organism and one of its chief functions was the education of the people in the way of Yahweh (32). Hence there would be a continuing need for didactic psalmody and it appears that the wisdom writers in the post-exilic period were able to supplement the teaching psalms which had been handed on by the cult prophets with their own material. This argument will be taken up below in the context of the exegesis of the wisdom psalms.

However it is the task of this chapter not to discuss in depth the contribution of the wisdom schools generally to the psalter but to discuss in detail those individual psalms in which the "I" is best seen as a wisdom teacher. It appears that ten such psalms have survived of which the largest group of six consists of psalms with a didactic purpose in mind and consisting of a mixture of instruction and testimony. Secondly, the individual appears in three poems in the form of hymns or prayers and finally the psalter contains one example of Protest Poetry in Psalm 39. These psalms will now be discussed in order.

a) Didactic psalms containing instruction and/or testimony

(Pss. 37, 49, 32, 34, 73, 11, 4)

Generally speaking in this group of psalms the individual teacher appears in testimony rather than instruction passages. Thus in Psalm 37, the wisdom psalm which most resembles the wisdom literature in Proverbs, two pieces of testimony are adduced to back up the general point being made throughout the instruction:

"I have been young and now I am old
Yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken or his
children begging bread" (v. 25)

and:

"I have seen a wicked man overbearing,
and towering like a cedar of Lebanon.
Again I passed by and lo, he was no more:
Though I sought him he could not be found" (v. 35) (33)

As Perdue remarks (34), it is not difficult to show that the psalm is a wisdom composition since it betrays the features of the wisdom writings in form, style and content. What is less clear however is whether the piece was intended for use in the cult or in the schools. Perdue argues (p. 286) that the latter is more likely to be true: there is no cultic language in the piece and it is unlike any of the more usual genres of psalm. However, to be weighed against this is the fact that the whole tenor of the instruction given, which turns, as Perdue rightly observes, around the proverb in v. 22 (35), is directed at the community of the faithful and at individuals within that community. Furthermore the instruction given, without exception, is directed towards this and the related themes of righteousness and possession of the land. Had the psalm not been intended for cultic use we could have expected more diversity of theme as is

found in the sentence literature and even in the longer collections in Proverbs and Koheleth.

The psalm is best seen therefore as a piece of instruction assembled in the early post-exilic period. As such the psalm contains a powerful restatement of Deuteronomic theology concerned to delineate to the post-exilic community, with their fragile grip on both the land and the tenets of Yahwism, that the way to maintain their foothold in Jerusalem was to trust in Yahweh and not to desert his way.

Although the theme of Psalm 49 may well be expressed in the emended heading to the psalm (36) as a meditation on death, in many ways this wisdom song deals with the same issues confronted by Psalm 37, namely the fear of, and envy of those who appear to prosper, only the solution offered is vastly different, illustrating the enormous diversity within the wisdom tradition alone in Israel. There seems little doubt that Psalm 49 is to be regarded as a wisdom poem by reason of its introduction which is described by Weiser, somewhat unfairly, as "characterised by verbosity and pretentiousness"; it would also seem to be a late example of the genre by reason of the ideas and vocabulary it contains (37). Anderson suggests that the psalm may well be one of the latest pieces in the psalter and most commentators would agree with this. Although the text of the psalm is less well preserved than most, it is just about possible to agree on the meaning of the piece. Whereas Psalm 37 confronts the problem of the prosperity of the

wicked by assuming that this prosperity is only temporary Psalm 49 has pushed the balancing of accounts further into the future. In tones resounding with echoes of Koheleth the wisdom writer proclaims that all men, both rich and poor, must die and like fat cattle prepared for a rich man's table the wealthy themselves are being fattened up for Sheol and for death their grisly shepherd (38). Unlike Koheleth however Psalm 49 does not see this as grounds for deep gloom but the writer declares that he himself will not suffer the same fate (v. 16):

אַךְ אֶלֶּהֶם יִפְדֶּה נַפְשִׁי מִיָּד - שְׂאֵל כִּי יִקְחֶנִי

Perdue sees this as an affirmation that the psalmist alone will be saved, but the force of his instruction to "all men" would seem to imply that anyone who fears Yahweh and does not trust in his own wealth will enjoy the same deliverance. As Anderson sensibly remarks we should see the writer as reaching towards a doctrine of the afterlife rather than stating a polished belief at this point. The "afterlife" itself is described in the only terms available in the tradition of the Old Testament: avoidance of Sheol and God taking a man up (the same word is used of the translation of Enoch and of Elijah).

Whether or not this psalm is seen as being composed for the cult depends in part upon just how wide a definition of cult one is prepared to allow. Plainly Psalm 49 is a sermon not a prayer - addressed to man, and to all men, rather than to God. But plainly also, and this is where the psalm differs from the wisdom of Koheleth, it is a song to be sung to the accompaniment of the lyre and,

although it is a late piece, it does take up the time honoured theme of the psalter namely the fear and envy of the wealthy and the wicked. It seems to me therefore that an appropriate place for its recitation would be in the cult at the festivals and that this was how the psalm came to be preserved among the other psalms of the temple.

Several of the other wisdom psalms of testimony and instruction were discussed in some detail in Chapter One and so can be dealt with more briefly at this point. Psalm 32 (discussed above pp. 39f) is declared to be a wisdom psalm by the forms used and its standard wisdom vocabulary (39). As was argued above, vv. 8f should not be seen as an oracle of Yahweh embedded in the psalm but as the wisdom writer's invocation to his audience to "come and learn". There seems no good reason to follow Perdue's interpretation of the psalm as a specimen thanksgiving written for use in the schools. Once it has been accepted that the cult was a place of teaching as well as of worship then psalms like this fit more appropriately into the festal setting.

Psalm 34 is seen to be a wisdom psalm by its acrostic structure and the instruction which is appended to the rather stylised song of thanksgiving which forms the first half of the piece. The instruction comes complete with the wisdom teacher's invocation to his audience to hear him and his promise to teach "the fear of the Lord". As was remarked above (p. 129) the psalm is one of the few in the psalter in which the term "יָרֵא" is equated

with "פ' ד' צ". Again I would agree with Perdue (p.276f.) that the thought of the piece is structured around the proverb found in the final verse of the psalm and that the psalm was used as instruction and even in instruction in thanksgiving and the proper attitude to take towards Yahweh. However I am unable to see why he removes these psalms from the context of the instruction of Israel and sets them in the wisdom schools for the instruction of schoolboys. The psalm form used at the beginning of the piece betrays its cultic origins. The wisdom teacher begins his instruction with a testimony to Yahweh's goodness couched in the traditional language of a thanksgiving song. He then changes (v. 8) from testimony to instruction, inviting his hearers to follow Yahweh and learn from him the psalmist himself. At the end of the piece the wisdom teacher returns to his original theme - Yahweh's protection of the פ' ד' צ and rejection of the ר' ש' ע. As was mentioned in Chapter One, both Psalms 32 and 34 share the outlook of Psalm 37 in regard to the respective fates of the righteous and the wicked.

As was remarked above in the discussion of Psalm 73, the author here, as does the wisdom teacher in Psalm 49, strains to depart from the traditional theology on the issue of the wicked who prosper. Eaton would see this psalm as a testimony of a king to Yahweh's faithfulness (40) and argues that if the piece is to be seen as the private meditation of a wisdom teacher then it is the "cuckoo in the nest" among the Asaph psalms. This may be the case but then the remark would be equally true of a royal psalm in view of the interpretation given of the other Asaph psalms in the preceding section of this chapter. It is not difficult to under-

stand however how the collectors of the Asaph psalms, themselves probably wisdom teachers, were able to place this piece at the head of the collection and how the psalm thus came to have a national as well as an individual significance with the emending of "לְיִשְׂרָאֵל" to "לְיִשְׂרָאֵל" in v. 1. Particularly after the exile there seems to be an even more fluid interplay between the sufferings of individuals and of the nation as can be seen in Lamentations, Isaiah 40-55 and Job; any psalm of lament or meditation on suffering no doubt came to have a communal as well as an individual point of reference. In its original form however the piece was probably the testimony of a wisdom writer, though this time there is no formal instruction included and the testimony is left to speak for itself. As with the other psalms in this section we have here what is essentially a sermon song rather than a prayer and one which would have been delivered in the context of the community's worship in the post-exilic period for the education of the people in the way of Yahweh, a responsibility shared by the wise in this era. The final verse:

"I have made the Lord God my refuge
That I may tell of all thy words".

would seem to belie Perdue's suggestion that the psalm was for use in the wisdom schools only. Neither is the psalm unorthodox in its theology but it uses the device of actually voicing doubts in the minds of the audience in order, within the sanctuary (v. 10) to expose and put an end to those doubts and to reaffirm faith in Yahweh.

Psalm 11 was also discussed above in some detail (pp. 44f) where it was argued that the instruction in the psalm (vv. 4ff) takes precedence over the testimony and that the psalm is best seen therefore as a didactic wisdom piece.

Psalm 4 is the final psalm to be discussed in this group of sermon-psalms containing testimony and instruction and is the only psalm included here which is not generally acknowledged as a wisdom psalm. The piece is notoriously difficult to interpret (cf. A.A. Anderson ad. loc.) with almost as many different suggestions as there are commentators. Eaton's arguments in favour of a royal interpretation are insubstantial (41): he draws attention to the parallels between Psalm 3 and Psalm 4 (42). However there are also great differences between the two psalms - not least the clear fact that Psalm 3 is set against a background of military combat. The second piece of evidence is the alleged identification of the **712** of Yahweh with that of the king in v. 3 (on this see below). The psalm, Eaton argues, is set against a background of famine which is causing his people both to forsake Yahweh and to criticise the king - hence this injunction. But there are serious difficulties in this interpretation: for what does the king pray exactly, since his prayer is clearly addressed to Yahweh in v. 1, and why does the psalm end on such a lame note of testimony and of personal faith if the piece is meant to be a warning to the people?

The "private individual" interpretation also founders on this difficulty. According to the M.T. the psalm is in part an expression of thanksgiving and confidence and in part a lament,

although no request is actually made. It seems that some emendation to the text must be made to make sense of the psalm and it seems most sensible, in the first instance to emend v. 2, with Weiser and Jacquet, to follow in part (43) the LXX text of the psalm. The Hebrew text would then read:

בְּקָרָא, עֲנֵנִי אֱלֹהֵי צְדָקָי
 עָאֵר הִרְחִיבֵנִי לִי
 חֲנִנִי וְשָׁמַע אֶפְלָתִי

giving the English:

"When I cried the God of my salvation answered me,
 He gave me room when I was in distress
 He was gracious to me and heard my prayer!"

It should be noted that this emendation involves ^{only a small} change in the consonantal text. However, even when the psalm is thus emended to give a psalm of thanksgiving throughout the following verse still reads very awkwardly indeed. It seems better therefore to follow the LXX again which has:

ἦνοι ἀνθρώπων ἕως τῆς βαρυκαρδίας
 ἵνα τι ἀγαπάτε ματαίωσται καὶ ἤντητε ψεύδος;

which would give the Hebrew:

בְּנֵי אָדָם עַד קֶה כְּבִדֵי-לֵב
 לְמַה תִּיאָהְבוּ רִים וְתִבְרַן שׁוֹ כְּזָב

This emendation involves only the change of "כ" to "ב", the dropping of "ך" after "תִּיאָהְבוּ" and the insertion of "ו" before "תִּבְרַן שׁוֹ", none of which is very difficult to imagine taking place in reverse. Both Kraus and Jacquet refer to this reading but dismiss it, rather hastily in my opinion, on the rather shaky and subjective

grounds of metre. The emended reading seems to me to give better parallelism in the verse and to make sense of the whole psalm for what we see now is a testimony to Yahweh's grace (v. 2) in answering prayer followed by an invocation to those listening to "come and learn" uttered by a wisdom teacher (cf. 49:1f, 34:11f, 32:8f) with the characteristic wisdom questions and vocabulary ("ר'י", "קוֹב") followed by five verses of wisdom instruction and testimony similar to that found in Psalms 32, 34 and 37. In the face of distress or of poverty the correct response is to trust Yahweh alone (v. 5). Hence the psalm is most aptly described as a wisdom sermon containing both testimony and instruction as do the other psalms in this group.

b) Psalms of praise (Pss. 111, 19, 119)

The preceding section has dealt, by and large, with those wisdom psalms which are addressed to man rather than to God. This section deals with the psalms which, although didactic in purpose, are expressed in the form of hymns of thanksgiving. Psalm 111 is one such psalm. Its wisdom origin is marked by the acrostic structure of the piece taken together with the climax of the psalm, the final verse, which puts forward the motto of Yahwistic wisdom:

ר' א' ש' ת' ק' ח' ז' ט' י' י"א י"ב י"ג י"ד י"ה י"ו י"ז י"ח י"ט

The lack of continuity of thought, which is not necessarily the mark of an acrostic poem (44) would seem to mark the psalm out as being of a late date (contra Weiser who, because of the abundant mention of בְּרִית wishes to set the piece in his pre-exilic covenant festival). The individual wisdom teacher "surfaces" in the opening

verse of the psalm in announcing his intention to sing the praises of Yahweh. The purpose of the psalm is as much didactic however, giving teaching about the nature of Yahweh to the worshipper, as it is praise. An additional mark of the psalm's lateness is the praise of the precepts (חֻקֵּי) of Yahweh, a theme which is, of course, central to Psalms 19 and 119 discussed below.

The first half of Psalm 19, with its mythological themes, is commonly agreed to have been originally separate from the second half of the psalm (45). It is probably much older and may be of Canaanite origin. The second half of the poem, which consists largely of the praise of Torah, may have been written onto this hymn fragment or have been originally a separate composition. My own view is that the former option is the more likely. There is evidence for this process taking place elsewhere in the psalter (46) and the theory better explains why the two halves were joined together in the first place. Moreover, despite the difference in style, content and metre between the two sections the themes fit together very well. The association of ideas between Wisdom/Torah and creation was a very strong one. Not only was Torah seen as something which was as permanent as creation but in some traditions the law or wisdom can be seen as the agent of that creation itself (47). Hence the praise of the law of God can follow on naturally from the praise of Yahweh expressed by the creation itself.

There can be little doubt, whatever the origin of the first half of the psalm, that Psalm 19:7-14 is the composition of a wisdom writer from the post-exilic period, taking up the theme of the praise of Torah to be developed still more in Psalm 119. It is Torah now which makes wise the simple, which is more to be desired than silver and gold (cf. Proverbs 8:10, 19). The essence of the psalm is as didactic as the others in this wisdom group and its spirit throughout is that of the pious wise man. The natural place for the teaching to be given would therefore be in the temple rather than in the schools. The psalm concludes with what amounts to a model prayer in the first person. Man's response to the silent witness of creation and the verbal witness of Torah is a prayer to be found worthy before the God who has ordained these things.

In the third of the wisdom psalms which are composed in the form of prayers rather than directed to an audience the identification between wisdom and Torah reaches its apotheosis (48). In twenty-two stanzas of eight lines each the wisdom poet of Psalm 119 declares his dedication to, dependance upon and praise of Torah. The poem is cast, basically, in the form of an individual lament although almost every other form found in the psalms and elsewhere is employed and allusions to other parts of the Old Testament, particularly to other psalms, are both many and various. However I would disagree with both Weiser, who sees the persecution referred to here as genuine and personal to the poet, and Perdue

who for once, I think wrongly, considers this wisdom psalm to have been used in the cult. The piece is far too long for any such recitation. Moreover there are no allusions, other than the general form of the psalm, to cultic worship or to being among other worshippers. There is however evidence in this case to point to the fact that this psalm was composed for the use of young men being instructed in the pious wisdom and devotion to the law of the late post-exilic period. The acrostic structure and the repetition of the eight terms for law are an aid to memory in this respect. The person meant to recite the psalm is a young man (לְעַלְמֵי v. 9, cf. v. 99); he is much concerned with the very meditation on the law which this psalm would provide (vv. 15, 23, 48, 97 et passim). His most frequently repeated prayer is for Yahweh to teach him, to give him understanding (vv. 29, 32, 33, 34, 102, 171 etc.). At the same time his devotion to Yahweh implies a daily discipline of worship in the temple (vv. 164, 172, 173). The obvious conclusion is that the psalm was composed for learning by heart and recitation by the devotees of Yahweh who learned Torah in the schools attached to the temple in the late post-exilic to early rabbinic period. As such, references in the psalm to persecution and to sickness do not reflect the personal experience of the poet so much as the condition which the devotee of Yahweh was likely to experience to an increasing degree throughout this period. The "I" in the psalm is not so much a wisdom teacher therefore as a wisdom pupil in the schools; and although the psalm is didactic it does not teach, as do the other psalms discussed

here, by public proclamation, but by being food for individual meditation and recitation (49).

c) A protest psalm (Ps. 39)

The wisdom literature in the Old Testament falls into two categories: orthodox wisdom and protest literature which had an accepted place amongst the canon of Israel's sacred writings (50). The wisdom pieces in the psalter discussed above are undoubtedly examples of orthodox wisdom in its various forms, as one would expect from poetry transmitted through the official cult. However, the psalter has preserved in Psalm 39 a protest poem outside of the complaints in Job and Koheleth. The desolation depicted by the sage poet in the power of his language reaches across two millenia and more to make this in many ways the most moving prayer in the psalter. Of the writers quoted above only Crenshaw sees this psalm as the product of the wise (51). Evidence for seeing this psalm as an example of this genre comes partly from the fact that it fits uneasily into any other category, both because of the forms used and particularly because of the unorthodox content of the psalmist's questions: only in protest poetry could Yahweh be likened to a consuming moth (v. 11) or could the psalmist cry:

"Look away from me that I may know gladness,
before I depart and am no more!"

Not even Koheleth is so vindictive towards God among the sages of Israel. Only the laments in Job plumb such depths and these stand within the context of the book as a whole which has a mitigating

effect. The affinities with known examples of wisdom literature provide the further plank of evidence needed for wisdom attribution; in particular the vigorous questioning of God and the deliberation with self (vv. 1-2). The psalm also uses, with emphasis, the term "וַיִּבֶל", in vain, beloved by Ecclesiastes, and deals with a question so familiar from the wisdom writings, the question of the righteous sufferer. The psalmist could almost be taken as a reply to the, comparatively, rather bland instruction given in Psalm 37.

The introduction to the psalm (vv. 1-3) should be taken as being given instead of the normal invocation from a wisdom teacher to his hearers and takes the form of a testimony to the sage's internal struggle. Because of this build up the questions and complaints in vv. 4-6 have the effect of bursting upon the hearer of the psalm after the suspense of the first four lines. Emphasis is pursued throughout by the use of "הִנֵּה" (v. 6) and the impressive threefold "אֵי" (vv. 6f). The second half of the psalm, which is petition rather than complaint, continues the note of anger against God with a stately series of accusations and images. The form of the whole of the psalm from v. 4 is that of individual lament but the content removes the piece from the normal cult worship of the community. We must conclude that here at least the psalter has preserved a genuine piece of private psalm poetry venting a wisdom writer's dissent and anger against God. The psalm is therefore most probably a late post-exilic composition, like the similar laments in Job and Ecclesiastes, and may have been informed,

like these writings, by the suffering of the community as well as that of the sage himself.

In conclusion it may be said that the individual in the psalms can be identified as a wisdom teacher in some eleven psalms, all of which date almost certainly from the post-exilic period. The majority of these pieces have a didactic purpose but nevertheless have their context in the worship of the temple, being sung or recited at the major festivals as the wise took their part in instructing the people in the way of Yahweh. In the later psalms the emphasis upon Torah in the wisdom writings culminates in Psalm 119, composed for the use of young adherents of the scribal schools. Finally among the wisdom writers of Israel are numbered the most orthodox and the most independent of Israel's thinkers. The latter tradition has found expression in at least one piece in the psalter: the protest poem, Psalm 39.

4. THE "I" IN THE PSALMS AS A TEMPLE SINGER

The preceding sections have discussed two of the groups responsible for the composition of many of the extant psalms: the cultic prophets, working mainly in the pre-exilic period, and the wisdom writers of Israel working mainly, if not exclusively, after the exile. The fact that both of these groups have a distinctive style and reveal their own concerns in their desire to teach the people implies of itself that the origin of the remainder of the psalms in the psalter is not to be sought with these groups alone. For this we must look with Mowinckel (52) to the temple singers themselves.

Unlike the cultic prophets and the wise men, the temple singers of the pre-exilic period have not been the subject of any extensive study (53) partly because the data available is so scattered. The evidence does indicate however that, as was the case with the prayer of the temple, the music of the temple must be set against a general background of music and its function in ancient Near Eastern culture (54). Against this background, the fact that the cult supported the only professional singers and musicians in Israel outside the royal court would mean that the temple music would rise to a relatively high standard. We know, for example, that male and female singers were part of the tribute paid by Hezekiah to Sennacherib of Assyria after the siege of Jerusalem in 701 BC. In part because of the frequency and the way in which the psalms speak of the temple and its precincts it is extremely likely that most of the extant pieces, as Mowinkel suggests, were originally composed by these professional musicians and handed down from generation to generation within the different families and guilds (55).

Some difficulty arises in trying to discover whether or not the "I" in any given psalm is a temple singer, largely because there is no distinctive style outside the psalter as there is for cultic prophets and wisdom writers with which a given psalm can be compared. Concern for the temple alone is not enough to identify an individual as a temple singer as these poets' love for the sanctuary surfaces in many of the psalms written for king and commoner. In fact it seems that only three psalms in which the individual is "in focus" to a large degree in the psalm reflect

directly this group of psalm singers. In a further seven pieces the voice of the poet appears, as it were, incidentally, to introduce or conclude the piece. The latter group will be dealt with first.

a) Incidental appearances by the temple singers (Pss. 8, 145, 146, 104, 103, 106, 135, 45)

The majority of psalms in which the "I" occurs incidentally are songs of praise. There is no way of telling for certain whether the psalmist is a temple singer as opposed to a cultic prophet or wisdom writer but one can only say that this attribution seems more likely than the other two, largely because the emphasis here is less upon teaching and more upon declarative or descriptive praise. Even so, the seven hymns included in this section can be divided into songs which focus upon creation and so take up many of the wisdom themes, and songs focussing upon history taking up the themes of the cultic prophets.

Psalm 8 is a song of meditative praise. As in the creation song embedded in Psalm 19, the silent witness of the heavens evokes wonder for the creation in the psalmist. He is driven by this contemplation to question the enigma of man's existence posing the question taken up by Koheleth:

"Also he has put **וְיָדָע** into man's mind yet so that he cannot find out what God has done from beginning to end" (Ecc. 3:11)

Here the psalmist's focus on man's existence concentrates on his exaltation by God, the first horn of Koheleth's dilemma, rather than his frailty. As Anderson and Eaton suggest, the psalm was probably written for the autumn festival with v. 2 providing a covert reference to the election of Zion. Eaton (56) makes the interesting suggestion that the psalm was for recitation by the king, but it seems more straightforward to see the piece as the composition of and for recitation by the temple singers.

Psalm 145 similarly reflects many of the themes of the great annual festival and may have the post-exilic version of this feast as its context in the cult. The acrostic structure, the language of the psalm and allusions to other pieces are all evidence of a late date however. The psalm singer himself comes to the fore at the beginning and at the conclusion of this complete hymn of praise. The evidence of the Q'umran text of the psalm suggests that this piece, like Psalm 136, may originally have been provided with a refrain (57).

The two remaining hymns which deal with creation are even more strongly influenced by the wisdom style than Psalms 8 and 145. Psalm 146 is numbered among the wisdom psalms by Crenshaw and contains instruction (vv. 3f), an אֱלֹהִים saying and a fourfold description of the actions of Yahweh. However, as the psalm is

cast as praise rather than instruction it is grouped here with the other pieces in which the "I" is a leader of worship rather than a teacher. Finally, Psalm 104, the lengthy hymn celebrating the creation and the works of God also contains evidence of wisdom influence, particularly in v. 24:

"O Lord, how manifold are thy works,
In wisdom (בְּחָכְמָה) thou hast made them all"

However, this psalm also is primarily a song of praise and in fact contains a vow by the psalmist to "sing to the Lord" as long as he lives, perhaps indicating an origin among the temple singers.

Two of the three psalms which use the themes of the cultic prophets rather than the wisdom writers are similarly grouped here as hymns and are part of what may once have been a short separate collection of Psalms 103-6. It is also probable that these two pieces are also post-exilic in origin. Psalm 103 begins with an invocation to נְפִשִׁי to praise Yahweh and runs over a series of blessings enjoyed rather than an autobiographical testimony (hence the psalm cannot be seen as a song of individual thanksgiving contra Anderson ad. loc.). The central section of the psalm reveals Yahweh's nature in his dealings with the nation (as opposed to the individual). The permanence and steadfastness of Yahweh is contrasted with the impermanence of man in verses reminiscent of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy. The conclusion of the psalm returns to a note of praise, summoning all the servants of Yahweh to bless the Lord and concluding with the phrase which began the psalm:

נְגִינָתִי נְפִשִׁי - יְהוָה

Verses 26 and 27 of Psalm 106 presuppose the exile. The psalm singer appears in the psalm after the introductory invocation, as a member of the chosen people whose fate is tied up with theirs. Anderson's suggestion that the prayer was a kind of Levitical sermon recited annually to draw repentance from the people is attractive yet the post-exilic origin of the psalm indicates that we should see its author as one of the guild of temple singers rather than a cult prophet.

Psalm 135 brings together all these themes of creation and redemption in what is probably, by reason of the critique of idols in vv. 15ff., a post-exilic hymn of praise. After the introductory invocation there is reference to creation (vv. 5ff.) and to the Exodus and conquest (vv. 8ff.). Praise of Yahweh's name is followed by scorn of the gods of other nations. In its bringing together of these three themes the psalm may well have been influenced by the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah. The psalm singer himself appears in v. 8 where, on behalf of the congregation, he proclaims his faith in Yahweh's might.

Finally, for the sake of completeness, mention should be made here of Psalm 45 (discussed above p. 251) which demonstrates the degree of overlap between prophet, wisdom writer and psalm singer. In the manner of the cultic prophets the psalmist gives pronouncements of victory and prosperity to the king and his bride; in the manner of the wisdom writers he begins the song by saying:

"My tongue is the pen of a ready scribe";

yet the subject matter of the psalm indicates that the song would be composed by professional musicians of the temple for the royal wedding. This psalm, like the others discussed in this section, sounds a note of caution to any who try and distinguish too finely between the activities of the cult prophet, wise man and psalm singer. Although separate styles and functions can be distinguished to some degree we must allow for a fair measure of overlap in both of these respects.

b) Three testimonies of the temple poets (Pss. 84, 42-3, 137)

Although the dating of psalms is always hazardous, the three full testimonies of the temple poets which have survived fall into a fairly obvious and straightforward chronological order and this will be the order of the discussion here. Psalm 84 is clearly a pre-exilic psalm intended for use in some capacity at the festal worship. The prayer for the king makes this clear (v. 8) as does the delight in the temple itself. There is also reference to the kingship of Yahweh (v. 3) and, as Johnson points out (58), to the autumn rains which would follow the festival. The description of Yahweh as "יְיָ דִּיּוֹן", the only such in the Old Testament, is also indicative of an early date for the psalm. Once this has been agreed, scholarly opinion is fairly unanimous in seeing Psalm 84 as a song of pilgrimage, likening the piece to the songs of Ascents (59). However, it seems to me that this interpretation is somewhat awkward, as this would be the only pre-exilic "pilgrimage song" preserved in the psalter, and that the psalm is better seen as a

song of joy which does describe the feelings and impressions of the people who have come to the temple but which also expresses the joy of the singers themselves. This is particularly apparent in the opening verse where the psalmist declares:

לְבַי וּבְשִׁירֵי יְרֵנָנוּ אֶל־אֱלֹהֵי

a phrase particularly appropriate for the psalm singers themselves.

The psalmist then goes on to bless three categories of men associated with temple worship and it is significant for the interpretation of the psalm that those who are first mentioned are "those who dwell in thy house ever singing thy praise". The composer of the psalm is surely one of this group rather than a member of the next, the pilgrims who come up to Zion. The third blessing, in the form of a prayer, is asked for the king himself. Again, the psalmist expresses his desire to dwell in Yahweh's house and the psalm concludes with a reminder that Yahweh's blessing is given only to those who walk uprightly, in preparation for the festival which follows. Psalm 84 then comes directly from and expresses the piety of, the temple singers of the pre-exilic period.

Several commentators have drawn attention to the similarity in tone between Psalm 84 and the next psalm in this series, Psalm 42-3, which also has the heading "לְבַגְי קִנְיָה". The similarity in style and piety would support the view that the psalmist here is once again the temple singer. Eaton places the lament prayer in his less likely group of royal psalms (60). Although there is evidence for this in some of the language used

all the other arguments Eaton adduces, such as the psalmist leading worship and the danger faced being a corporate danger could equally well indicate that the "I" in the piece is a temple singer. In addition v. 5b is particularly awkward in Eaton's interpretation. He has to resort to the suggestion that the king may be on a field campaign in northern Israel (but it is unlikely that this would produce such desolation and longing for the temple) or to the notion that the psalmist is speaking figuratively of the entrance to the underworld (61). If this is the case, why does he evoke the beauty of the scene with obvious longing and use proper names? Added to these arguments, the meditative nature of the psalm is unlike that of the rest of the royal psalms, which tend to be direct and urgent prayers, but is very similar to the communing with the soul found in other psalms from the temple singers.

Weiser, Jacquet and others see the psalmist as a Levite in exile in Northern Israel. This is nearer the mark but is somewhat pedantic. The consideration that the distress is something more than personal and the repeated taunts of the adversaries (vv. 3b, 10, 43:2) would tell against this also. The most natural interpretation of the psalm would seem to be to see the prayers as one composed by the temple singers from the situation of exile (62). The joy of dwelling in the temple expressed in Psalm 84 here becomes a deep longing for the living God in the place of exile. In his meditation the psalmist remembers the great festival in Jerusalem in which he took a leading role and also, in

vv. 5-7, the beauty of his native land; yet even in exile the psalmist has his song and prayer (v. 8b). In the second half of the song the mood changes to one of direct intercession and pleading with Yahweh in phrases borrowed from the festal cult. Significant however is the fact that when the psalmist is again led back to Jerusalem his first action will be that of a temple singer:

"Then I will go to the altar of my God
To God my exceeding joy
And I will praise him with the lyre,
O God my God"

The **כנר** is the instrument of the psalmist which is the symbol of his art (cf. Ps. 137:2). Again the hope of the psalmist, expressed throughout in the refrain, is not to govern or to live or to fight but simply again to praise Yahweh. Psalm 42-3 therefore is best seen as the composition of a temple singer from the exile in which he gives expression to his private grief which mingles with the grief of the nation, just as a private joy mingles with the joy of the nation in Psalm 84.

Psalm 137, the third and final psalm in the group, clearly reflects the experiences of the temple singers and equally clearly can be dated to the early years after the return from exile (63). The excellence which led Hezekiah to send Hebrew singers to Sennacherib as part of his tribute in 701 no doubt pertained during the years of the exile. Certainly singers are mentioned in the lists in Ezra as having returned from Babylon (Ezra 2:41).

The same love of Jerusalem is present in this piece as is present in Psalm 42-3. The self cursing which the psalmist includes would affect the two means by which he plyed his art - his lyre playing and singing. There is of course great artistry and imagery in the psalm - again placing this piece in the same bracket as Psalms 84 and 42-3: in particular there is the recurring theme of remembering and forgetting. The picture of the harp on the willows can be likened to the nature images of Ps. 84:3 and 42:1. Again as in the other two psalms the emotion of the people is taken up and poignantly summarises in the emotion of the temple poet. In this sense, and in the sense that all three were probably used in public worship, Psalms 84, 142-3 and 137 are not mere private poetry or meditation; they are songs written for public use; yet they reflect more than most of the psalms of the individual preserved in the psalter the true emotions and piety of the men who composed them.

5. CONCLUSION

Although the majority of individual psalms in the psalter were composed for the use of either the king or the ordinary worshipper in the cult some nineteen of these psalms will not fit easily into either of these categories. In these psalms the voices of the ministers of Israel's cult are heard directly. In the majority of the cases the motive which directs the psalm is not one of prayer or praise but of teaching the assembled congregation. This appears to have been the task of the cultic prophets, by and

large teaching from Israel's historical traditions in the pre-exilic period and of the pious wise men in the post-exilic era. Although these two groups between them were responsible for the composition of a large number of psalms a third group of temple singers can be identified as taking a large share in this work of composition both before and after the exile. Their voice is heard in the introduction and/or conclusion to several hymns of praise and also in three psalms which bear direct witness to the piety and emotion of these poets but which were composed, nonetheless for use in public worship. In fact, this chapter has argued for a place in public worship for all of the psalms of the individual with the exception of the two late pieces, Psalms 39 and 119.

CONCLUSION

This enquiry has attempted to answer the question of the identity of the individual in the psalms. In the opening two chapters of the thesis the two questions in psalm studies most relevant to the question of the identity of the "I" in the psalms were examined in some detail. Chapter One investigated the problem of the antagonists in the psalms and concluded that the antagonists of the individual are not described according to a standard pattern, as Birkeland had maintained, but that the words used to describe such antagonists appear to have been chosen with some care. In particular the chapter was able to support in the exegesis of some seventy psalms the hypothesis put forward in S.N. Rosenbaum's semantic field study, that the two terms "ג'פ'צ'ס" and "א'ג'ס" generally refer to different groups of antagonists.

However Rosenbaum's own conclusions as to the meaning of these two terms were also found to be too rigid. My own conclusion here was that "רְשָׁפִים" is used of those who have turned away from Yahweh and would be convicted if judged by him. As such the term is mainly used of those within Israel who have deserted Yahweh's way but can also be used of such persons outside the nation. The "רְשָׁעִים" are not necessarily hostile to the "I" in the psalm. The "אֲדִיבִים" however are defined by this hostility. The term can refer either to foreign military antagonists faced by the nation or to personal enemies of a private person within Israel. Because of the nature of many of the psalms preserved in the psalter the former meaning is more prominent. In a small number of psalms the terms "רְשָׁעִים" and "אֲדִיבִים" both occur and seem to refer to the same group. In several of these psalms external military enemies only are envisaged and the term "רְשָׁעִים" is used in a nationalistic sense as meaning "those who are not Israelites". In others the terms seem to refer both to miscreant Israelites and to foreign belligerent enemies. These psalms are all royal pieces and seem to have had their setting in the festal cult, where the king opposes all his antagonists: in his role as warrior he opposes the enemies of the nation; in his role as judge he fights against the רְשָׁעִים.

Chapter One therefore concluded that the terms for antagonist are used of a number of different groups but that these groups can, with care, be identified. This conclusion opens the

way to a complex solution to the problem of the individual such as that presented in Part II of the thesis. The chapter also concluded that we cannot assume that a term such as "רְשָׁעִים" or "דְּבָרָא" will refer to the same group of people throughout the psalms, an insight which was particularly important in the discussion undertaken in Chapter Two.

In the second chapter of the thesis the investigation turned to the meaning of the different terms for "poor" in the psalms. The conclusion of Schultz, that the terms "עָנִי" and "עָנָו" can be separated was accepted and those psalms which contain a reference to the poor were investigated in some detail. The solution to this problem was again found to be somewhat complex as can be seen from the chart on p.139. In most of the psalms the terms for poor are used literally of the impoverished individual. However they can be used as metaphors for the distress of the king or of the community. By designating himself as "poor" the suppliant both humbles himself before Yahweh and places himself under Yahweh's protection, according to the common thought pattern of the ancient Near East which is summarised in Appendix I.

The two chapters which form Part I of the thesis thus lay the foundation for the examination and classification of the ninety-three psalms which mention an individual, either in whole or in part. As was mentioned in the conclusion to Chapter One,

the main results of this research must be seen to be the new understanding given of the text of the particular psalms and a summary of the results is presented in Appendix IV. Chapter Three contains an investigation of the number and setting of the royal psalms in the psalter. An attempt has been made here to establish clear criteria whereby a psalm can be identified as royal which builds on, but modifies, the work of Eaton. The royal psalms are divided for the purposes of this discussion into those which seem to have had their context in an annually repeated ritual and those which were used only as the historical need arose. In the context of the discussion of the former group a challenge to the theory of Johnson and Eaton on the nature of the royal humiliation rites has been put forward and a new reconstruction of the royal rites was developed. The chapter concluded that some forty-one psalms which mention an "I" are royal and an additional seven psalms address the king in the second or third person substantiating the hypothesis put forward by Mowinckel, Birkeland, Eaton and Johnson that a large number of the individual psalms were composed for the king's use. Appendix II, which should be read in conjunction with this chapter, presents a discussion of the ideal of kingship in the ancient Near East and in Israel based on the two functions of the king as mighty warrior and righteous judge.

Chapter Four presented an investigation and exegesis of the comparatively small number of eighteen psalms composed for use by private persons in Israel, setting these against the general

background of prayer in the ancient Near East and in the Old Testament. Appendix III below presents a discussion of the extent to which the individual psalms can be used as evidence of private devotion in Israel. Finally, Chapter Five dealt with the remaining thirty-one psalms mentioning an "I" which are best assigned to the ministers of the cult, namely the cult prophets, wisdom teachers and the temple poets. The role of these three groups in the composition of the psalms was also discussed briefly. A particular emphasis was placed on the role of the cultic prophet and the wisdom teacher in instructing the congregation, before and after the exile respectively. In particular, it was argued that the wisdom psalms, which were thought by Mowinckel and others to have been composed for use in the schools, i.e. outside the cult, are better seen as psalms composed for the instruction of the congregation.

The whole thesis, therefore, has attempted to present an answer to the question: "Who is the "I" in the psalms?". As was mentioned in the introduction, the answer put forward is a good deal more complex than that given in other attempts to answer the question but only by this complexity is the exegesis presented here able to account for the varied nature of the evidence. To my knowledge this thesis represents the first attempt to investigate the complex problem of the individual in the psalms in this comprehensive way. Even if the basic exegesis of the particular psalms should be challenged, or psalms moved from one category to

another, it seems to me that the basic method and the categories employed here are sound and could endure this type of criticism. Both in respect of the categories employed and in respect of the exegesis of the psalms given here, it is hoped that the thesis has presented a satisfactory solution to the problem of the identity of the individual in the psalms.

APPENDIX I: THE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY OF THE POOR

The following study of the poor as depicted in sources from the ancient Near East outside Israel and in the Old Testament outside the psalms is provided as background to the study of the poor in the psalms conducted in Chapter Two above and substantiates and supports the conclusions drawn there on the meaning of the different terms for poor in the psalms.

1. The ancient Near Eastern background

The background to the study of the poor in the ancient Near East has been ably supplied by the work of F.C. Fensham (1). He argues that a neglect of the material he presents on the part of many who have written on the subject of the poor in Israel (with the notable exception of J. Van der Ploeg (2)) has led to a serious misunderstanding of the position of the poor in the Old Testament itself. Evidence is adduced from the Mesopotamian, the

Egyptian and the Ugaritic traditions which all point to the same conclusions that the protection of the weak, symbolised most often by the classes of widow and orphan, was the special activity of the god (Shamash in Mesopotamia and Amon-Re in Egypt) and because of this was also the duty of the king. This notion was broadened in the legal texts and wisdom literature as a way of life for ordinary people. The teaching of the wisdom literature is backed up in this by the prohibitions and penalties of the legal codes - the weaker groups must be protected in order to preserve the balance of society.

In sum, as Fensham argues:

"The protection of widow, orphan and the poor was the common policy of the ancient Near East. It was not started by the spirit of Israelite propheticism or by the spirit of propheticism as such" (3)

This means, of course, if true, that any concern for the poor in the psalms or the wisdom literature cannot be attributed simply to the influence of the prophets. Indeed, the prophets themselves cannot be seen as innovators in this respect but as men who recalled Israel to the older traditions of Yahwism at a time of general moral and social decay. Several quotations may serve to substantiate this view.

a) Mesopotamian material

The prologue and epilogue to the law-code of Hammurabi both demonstrate the king's concern for the poor:

"Anum and Enlil named me
To promote the welfare of the people
Me, Hammurabi, the devout, god-fearing prince
To cause justice to prevail in the land
To destroy the wicked and evil
That the strong may not oppress the weak", (4)

Towards the end of the poem the poor man appeals to Shamash
himself for aid:

"May the god who has thrown me off give me help,
May the goddess who has (abandoned me) show mercy,
For the shepherd Shamash guides the peoples like a God".
(9)

The Babylonian proverbs collected by Lambert give instructions similar to those found in the Old Testament book of Proverbs on the importance of kindness to the poor. As in many of the Old Testament proverbs the reason for the kindness is connected with theodicy: Shamash is watching and will avenge any maltreatment of the poor.

".... the feeble, show him kindness;
Do not insult the downtrodden and (..)
Do not sneer at them autocratically.
With this a man's god is angry.
It is not pleasing to Shamash, who will repay him
with evil
Give food to eat, beer to drink
Grant what is asked for, provide for and honour
In this a man's god takes pleasure
It is pleasing to Shamash, who will repay him with
favour
Do charitable deeds, render service all your days!" (10)

The bilingual hymn to Ninurta, probably from the Middle Assyrian period, gives a catalogue of offences which could be lifted straight out of the prophets or psalms of the Old Testament:

"He who has intercourse with another man's wife,
his guilt is grievous,
One who utters slanders, who is guilty of backbiting,
Who spreads vile rumours about his equal,
Who lays malign charges against his brother,
Who oppresses the poor,
Who gives the weak into the power of the strong...."
(11)

Finally the hymn to Shamash, dated by Lambert to the middle Babylonian era, again mentions the poor in the context of the judicial processes and as under the protection of Shamash:

"You give the unscrupulous judge experience
of fetters,
Him who accepts a present and lets justice
miscarry you make bear his
punishment.
As for him who declines a present but nevertheless
takes the part of the weak
It is pleasing to Shamash and he will prolong
his life" (12)

"You observe, Shamash, prayers, supplication and
benediction,
Obeisance, kneeling, ritual murmurs and prostration.
The feeble man calls you from the hollow of
his mouth,
The humble, the weak, the afflicted and the poor!"(13)

b) Egypt

Material on the topic of the poor is more restricted
in the Egyptian literature owing to, as Fensham remarks, the absence
of any published legal texts. In the didactic discourses of the
Eloquent Peasant the peasant comes at length in his quest for justice
to Rani the Chief Steward, addressing him (among other titles) as
follows:

"Because thou art the father of the orphan, the
husband of the widow, the brother of the divorcee,
the apron of him that is motherless..... who destroys
falsehood and brings justice into being and who
comes at the cry of him who gives voice!" (14)

In the instruction of Meri-ka-Re dating from the end of the twenty-
second century B.C. (15) the ageing king advises his successor:

"Do justice while thou endurest upon the earth.
Quiet the weeper, do not oppress the widow,
supplant no man in the property of his father!" (16)

Pharoah Amen-em-Het boasts in his instruction:

"I gave to the destitute and brought up the orphan
I caused him who was nothing to reach (his goal)
like him who was (somebody)!" (17)

A similar attitude to the poor is reflected in the later teaching of Amen-em-opet (dated c. 1,000 B.C.), a discourse whose similarity to the collection in Proverbs 22:17-24:22 has been pointed out many times:

"Be not greedy for the property of a poor man
Nor hunger for his bread!"

"If thou findest a large debt against a poor man
Make it into three parts
Forgive two and let one stand!"

"God desires respect for the poor
More than honouring for the exalted!" (18)

Fensham points out that particularly in the later texts the care of the poor which is the task of the king and the nobility is derived directly from Amon-Re (19). He also indicates that it is in the periods of relative instability in Egyptian history that we have very few maxims concerned with the welfare of the poor. Evidently in more prosperous and stable times the poor were much better protected.

c) Ugarit

The only text cited by Fensham from the Ugaritic literature is that which pictures the hero Dan'el the king busy in judgement, revealing that among the Western Semites also the notion of the king as a special protector of the poor was not unfamiliar:

"Straightway Dan'el the Raphaman
Forthwith Ghazir the Harnamiyy-man
Is upright, sitting before the gate
Beneath a mighty tree on the threshing floor
Judging the cause of the widow,
Adjudicating the cause of the fatherless!" (20)

d) Conclusion

In my view the above texts establish beyond any doubt that the concern for the poor found in the Old Testament does not represent that book's peculiar concern but that the prophets, legal codes, psalms and wisdom writings are reflecting a concern for the poorest classes found throughout the ancient Near East. These poorer groups are regarded as the special care of the god and seen to be the special responsibility of the king and thence of the judges who share his authority. There is no reason to suppose that maxims enjoined on the rulers were not enjoined also on the rest of the population, as they were in Israel, though there is less direct indication of this. There is no evidence in the literature of the surrounding cultures however for the words for poor functioning in any but their most literal sense. Such developments, if they can be demonstrated, must be regarded as unique to Israel's literature insofar as our evidence demonstrates. It is against such a background that the references to the poor in the Old Testament must be examined.

2. The poor in the Old Testament outside the psalms

As further background to the study of the poor in the psalms in Chapter Two the three most common words for poor found in the psalter, namely "עָנִי", "אֲבִיּוֹן" and "אֲדָמָה" as they are used in the remainder of the Old Testament will be examined here. It will be discovered that, although the basic meaning of the terms can be established without difficulty, the picture is by no means uniform even outside the psalter.

a) " עָנִי "

Discounting variant readings, " עָנִי " occurs seventy-one times in the Bible, twenty-eight times in the psalms. In the discussion of Schultz' work above (p. 102f) it was argued that the notion "affliction" is the root meaning of the term but that, in common Israelite usage " עָנִי " also became a commonly recognised word for the destitute, the poorest of the poor. The following examination of the use of the term outside the psalter will attempt to substantiate this view and to draw attention to several instances in which " עָנִי " is used collectively of the nation outside the psalms.

In the Pentateuch the עָנִי appears with the sojourner as one dependant upon gleanings (Lev. 19:10, 23:22) and, with the אֲבוֹן as one dependant upon the charity of the better off in the land. Twice the Israelites are instructed that the blanket or cloak of the עָנִי should be returned before nightfall if it has been taken in pledge (Ex. 22:24, Deut. 24:12). He may fall into the class of day labourer, in which case he must be given his wage on the day he earns it "for he is עָנִי and sets his heart upon it" (Deut. 24:14f.). He is thus portrayed as a man without property, working from day to day to earn his living and dependant upon the charity of his neighbour. This picture of the עָנִי is confirmed in the wisdom literature where Yahweh's role as protector of the poor classes, present to a certain degree by implication in the legal codes and in Deuteronomy, is made more explicit, most noticeably in the Elihu speeches in Job with their pronounced conventional theodicy (Job 34:28, 36:8, 15). By extension the עָנִי is also under the care of the king and of the patriarch such as Job himself. A man's righteousness before God

is determined to a large extent by his treatment of the עֲנִי (Job 29:12, Prov. 14:21, 31:4-8, 22:22). The עֲנִי like the other poor classes is thought to need legal protection in disputes as well as physical protection from those who would oppress him, taking his infants in pledge (Job 24:9) and seeking to kill the poor or deprive him of his livelihood. (Job 24:14, Prov. 30:14). Although "עֲנִי" is not the favourite word for poor in the wisdom literature (which normally uses עָלַל or רָשָׁע) the עֲנִי can still be observed to be the most wretched of his class, as is confirmed by the normal LXX translation, "πτωχός", beggar or destitute. As was said above, although in several cases a translation of "afflicted" is to be preferred to that of "poor", in the majority of instances "עֲנִי" designates a clearly identifiable social grouping within the nation rather than general affliction.

This basic meaning of the term is taken up in the prophets although, primarily in the Isaiah tradition, the word receives interesting extensions of meaning. In the period of the prophets the עֲנִי is subject to oppression. Treatment of the עֲנִי is a measure of a nation's righteousness or of that of an individual (Ez. 16:49, of Sodom, Ez. 18: 12, 17, of the hypothetical sinner). In the case of the king his treatment of the עֲנִי is a factor relating to the prosperity and security of the nation, as is shown by Jeremiah's rebuke to Shallum son of Josiah (Jer. 22:16). In all of these cases Schultz is correct in saying that the עֲנִי are the poor within the nation, and the poorest of the poor at that.

However, particular attention must be paid to the varied uses of עֲנִי in the Isaiah tradition. In most of the

oracles of Isaiah of Jerusalem, and in the collection in Is. 56:66 the **עֲנִי** remains the destitute in the nation (Is. 3:14, 10:2, 58:7). In the last of these oracles the **עֲנִי** is clearly described as homeless. In the first there is an interesting parallel between "**עֲנִי**" and "**עֵם**":

"The spoil of the **עֲנִי** is in your houses
What do you mean by crushing **עֵם**?"

Here there is no doubt that the poor are the poor within the nation. Yet Yahweh's identification with this section of the population has been developed to such an extent that he can actually call the poor "my people", over against those who oppress them. The point of the oracle is, of course, that of shock - to convince the prophet's hearers that it is the poor who are truly the people of Yahweh. There is also, in all probability, a play on words, beloved by the prophets, between "**עֲנִי**" and "**עֵם**" in v. 14 (21).

In Isaiah of Jerusalem therefore the **עֲנִי** is a destitute individual within the nation. In Deutero-Isaiah however the play on words in 3:14 is turned around and instead of the poor within the nation being identified as Yahweh's people the afflicted and destitute nation is itself called "**עֲנִי**" consistently in his oracles. This collective use of the term outside the psalter occurs no less than four times, with "**אֲבִיוֹן**" in parallel once:

"When the **עֲנִיִּים** and **אֲבִיוֹנִים** seek water and there
is none,
And their tongue is parched with thirst,
I the Lord will answer them." (Is. 41:17)

"Sing for joy O heaven, and exalt O earth,
For the Lord has comforted his people
And will have compassion on his **עֲנִי**." (49:13)

"Therefore hear this you who are עִנְיָהוּ
 You who are drunk but not with wine
 Thus says the Lord, the Lord your God,
 Who defends the cause of his people....." (51:21)

"O עִנְיָהוּ, storm tossed and not comforted....."
 (54:11)

There can be little doubt that in these passages (contra Schultz) "עִנְיָהוּ" is used, if not of the nation, at least of that section of the nation which is in exile. It is clear from these verses that outside the psalms (significantly in the prophet most influenced by psalmody) the word is used of the nation (in the plural form) or of Zion (in the feminine singular). There should not, therefore, be any obstacle a priori to seeing a collective interpretation in several psalms on the grounds that the word is not used in such a way outside the psalter. It should be observed however that this use of "עִנְיָהוּ" here is no empty metaphor but is used of a nation which is homeless, disgraced, defeated and in exile and thus can aptly be described as destitute in a real sense. In one other passage outside the psalms, Habbakuk 3:14, "עִנְיָהוּ" is used of the nation. Again it is highly significant that this usage should be found in what is in every respect a piece of psalmody. As in the verses from Isaiah, "עִנְיָהוּ" is no empty metaphor here either

Finally, thus far we have observed no hint of any "spiritual" meaning in the term "עִנְיָהוּ" in any of the literature discussed. The condition of the עִנְיָהוּ has been universally deplored. Two passages from the later prophets and one from Zephaniah do however seem to demand such an interpretation. Isaiah 66:2 reads:

"But this is the man to whom I will look,
 He that is עִנְיָהוּ and contrite in spirit
 And trembles at my word"

Zechariah 9:9 describes the coming king as follows:

"Behold your king comes to you,
'עָנִי and riding on an ass"

Some clue to this meaning is found in the earlier passage,

Zepheniah 3:12:

"For I will leave in the midst of you
A people 'עָנִי and עָלֵי
They shall seek refuge in the Lord"

Dependence upon Yahweh is a quality highly prized in the religious tradition of Israel. The 'עָנִי, as the common usage of the term suggests, is one who is forced to depend on Yahweh because he has no other helper. Therefore 'עָנִי comes to signify this kind of dependence and so can be used of a religious quality in an individual or the nation. This too is a meaning which is found in the psalter.

The term "'עָנִי" therefore is used in four different ways in the Old Testament outside the psalms:

- i) As a term for affliction or misery of any kind.
- ii) As (most often) a designation for the poorest of the poor, the destitute in the nation.
- iii) In Deutero-Isaiah and Habbakuk 3 (prophets both influenced by psalmody) as a designation for the afflicted nation.
- iv) In two post-exilic prophetic passages and in Zepheniah 3 as a designation of an attitude of spirit rather than a statement of material need - the attitude of one who depends on Yahweh.

b) "אֲבִיּוֹן"

As is apparent from the many parallels between the words "עָנִי" and "אֲבִיּוֹן", even when the above cautions concerning the use of parallelism in semantic description are taken into account, there is a close relationship between the two terms. Whenever the words are used together or in parallel (thirteen times in the psalms and seven times in the remainder of the Old Testament out of a total of sixty-one occurrences of "אֲבִיּוֹן" in the Old Testament) "עָנִי" is always placed first giving rise to the conclusion that the phrase "עָנִי, אֲבִיּוֹן" is a stock phrase within the Old Testament used to denote the very lowest classes among the people. Like the עָנִי, the אֲבִיּוֹן has the right to the gleanings of the vineyard under Israelite law (Ex. 23:11) and can be a hired servant. The אֲבִיּוֹן is singled out for protection in the judicial process in Exodus 23:6, a verse which perhaps reflects the practise of false charges and corruption against the poorest of the people which was singled out for attack by the prophets. The basic meanings of the two terms can however be distinguished by appeal to the root verbs from which they derive. As the root meaning of "עָנִי" comes to be "afflicted" from the root "עָנָה", to be bowed down or afflicted, so "אֲבִיּוֹן" has the root meaning "needy" from the root "אָבַח" to be in want or need (22). There is perhaps some evidence for saying that the אֲבִיּוֹן is slightly better off on the poverty scale than the עָנִי. There are, for example, no prohibitions about not keeping the coat of an אֲבִיּוֹן overnight in surety (cf. Deut. 24:12) but any such distinction cannot be maintained

with any certainty. Like the **עָנִי**, the **אֲבִיּוֹן** is to be an object of mercy and of charity (Deut. 4:7, 11, Esther 9:22, Job 30:25, 31:19, Prov. 14:31, 31:20) on the part of the righteous but he is too often oppressed both directly and in the courts by the wicked in the land (Job 5:15, 24:14, Prov. 14:31, 30:14). The great prophets, particularly Amos, castigate the nation for its maltreatment of the poor (Amos 2:6, 4:1, 5:2, 8:4, Is. 32:7, Jer. 2:34, 5:28). As with the other poor groups the **אֲבִיּוֹן** is under the special protection of Yahweh (Job 5:15) to whom poor men cry out for salvation. As with the **עָנִי** again, because the **אֲבִיּוֹן** is the special care of Yahweh he becomes the special care of those who love Yahweh, particularly the king (Job 24:14, 26:4, 30:25, Prov. 31:9, Jer. 22:10) and in the prophets any injustice shown to the **אֲבִיּוֹן** is seen as a cause for Yahweh's wrath against the entire nation (Jer. 22:16, Amos passim.).

For the most part therefore, outside the psalms the word "**אֲבִיּוֹן**" is used quite literally of the poor man within the nation, under the special protection of Yahweh. The **אֲבִיּוֹנִים** are not a party; they are not particularly pious but, by virtue of their poverty, they enjoy the special favour of Yahweh. Poverty itself remains an evil in Israel. It is an entirely undesirable state from which one can gain no value at all.

There are several passages in which "**אֲבִיּוֹן**" appears to be used in a non-literal sense outside the psalter.

- i) Like "**עָנִי**" in the Isaianic tradition the whole nation can be described as "**אֲבִיּוֹן**" in 41:17 (discussed above)



and, apparently in the later oracles in Isaiah 25:4 and (perhaps) 29:9 (23). Like the passages in Deutero-Isaiah these verses also may have been influenced by the metaphorical use of "יָגֵן" in psalmody.

- ii) In Jer. 20:13, also a passage with a psalm like structure of lament and thanksgiving, "יָגֵן" is used in a different metaphor - this time it describes Jeremiah himself and is a symbol for a person in great need or danger desperately crying to Yahweh as a poor man might:

"Sing to the Lord, sing praise to the Lord
For he has delivered the life of the יָגֵן
From the hand of evildoers!"

Used in this metaphorical way the term does not necessarily imply economic need (Jeremiah was a man of means as far as we can tell) but becomes a symbol for any kind of need in which Yahweh's help is required. As is shown above in the psalms it is common for the psalmist to describe himself as "יָגֵן וְאֶגֶן" - thus placing himself under the protection of Yahweh and acknowledging his dependence upon God for sustenance and help.

- iii) Finally, in two passages in Amos the יָגֵן is described as "צִדִּיק":

"Because they sell the צִדִּיק for silver
And the יָגֵן for a pair of shoes" (Amos 2:6)

"You who afflict the צִדִּיק, who take a bribe
Who turn aside the יָגֵן in the gate" (Amos 5:12)

In the saying in 2:6, which is probably a development from that in 8:6, the "צִדִּיק" has been substituted for "יָגֵן"

to give a surprise effect such as Amos normally employs (compare the "surprise oracle" against Israel in 2:6ff. and Amos' own repudiation of the designation **אֲבִיבִים** in 7:1ff.) The meaning here is similar to the parallel between "**עָנִי**" and "**עָם**" in Isaiah 3:4. The poor are described not only as righteous in law but, by being righteous in law, are also Yahweh's own people within the nation. That this phrase is put into the mouths of the oppressors makes their statement doubly reprehensible. Knowingly they persecute the **אֲבִיבִים**! The second verse in question (5:12) seems merely to be asserting that the **אֲבִיבִים** is in fact righteous in the law but is unjustly convicted or has had his case turned down.

Hence it can be observed that, while the **אֲבִיבִים** is plainly normally the ordinary poor man, this idea is already linked with that of the righteous in law in Amos and, under the influence of the psalms, the word carries two different metaphorical meanings: in Jeremiah's lament it becomes a symbol for anyone who is needy in any sense and who requires God's help; in the later Isaiah tradition, including Second Isaiah, the word is used of the needy nation of Israel. In Second Isaiah the term still has real content. In the texts in the Isaiah apocalypse however, it appears that this real content has disappeared leaving **אֲבִיבִים** as an empty code word for the nation of Israel or the community of the redeemed, a meaning which the term came to have in the Q'umran literature (24).

c) "ל"י

Although the two terms "עָנִי" and "אֲדָמִי" may be almost indistinguishable as denoting the very lowest stratum of the population there are grounds for assuming that the meaning of "ל"י can be defined a little more precisely and that the phrase was used with more precision than the two discussed above. The "ל"י appears in the relevant literature not so much as the term of extremity but as a term of contrast. The root meaning of the word "ללל", "to be low, languish", (so BDB ad. loc.) is carried over into the content of the term "ל"י which can mean weak or thin in a general sense. It is so used of the cattle in Pharoah's dream (Gen. 41:9), of Amnon in love with Tamar (2 Sam. 3:1) and as a general description of Gideon (Jd. 6:15). In the social and sacrificial laws of Israel the ל"י is not penniless however. He is able to pay the half shekel on the day of atonement (Exodus 30:15) and provide a lamb for the guilt offering (Lev. 14:21). The term is repeatedly used as a term of comparison with riches or wealth. Partiality in judgement is to be shown to neither rich nor poor (Ex. 23:3, Lev. 19:15, Job 34:19). From such references it appears that "ל"י describes not the very destitute but those who are merely poor, who have no land (Jer. 39:10) but who earn their living as hired labour. Unlike the אֲדָמִי and עָנִי the ל"י has no rights of gleaning although, as a poor man he still remains the special care of the wealthy landowner, the king and, of course, Yahweh (Job 34:19, 34:28, 31:16). In Jer. 5:4 it is clear that, once

again, no special religious excellence is ascribed to poverty, at any rate within the prophet's circles:

"Then I said, these are only the **עֲלֵי**
They have no sense, for they do not know the
way of the Lord, the law of their God!"

However, the sympathy of the other prophets, particularly Amos and Isaiah, is clearly with the **עֲלֵי** whom they see as oppressed and needing Yahweh's aid (Amos 5:11, 2:7, 4:1, 8:6, Is. 10:2).

Something must be said of the uses of the term **עֲלֵי** in Proverbs, where it has fourteen of its forty-four occurrences. A significant (but not absolute) distinction can be observed in Proverbs between the use made of **עֲלֵי** and of the other common word for poverty in the book **עֲנֵי** (25). The sentences containing a reference to poverty in Proverbs can be divided into three groups according to form and purpose. The first type can be classified as instruction to rulers (not kings only, but those in a position to hear cases). To this group the sentences and instruction in 31:4-8, 28:15, 29:7, 14, can be assigned. The group is really too small to make any comment concerning vocabulary, though may be significant that **עֲנֵי** is not found here. The second group consists of those proverbs which stem from what McKane calls the Old Wisdom tradition and are meant to give incentive to the hearer to work hard and study well in order not to be poor:

"A slack hand causes **עֲנֵי**
But the hand of the diligent makes him rich!" (10:4)

"The ransom of a man's life is his wealth
But the **עֲנֵי** has no means of redemption!" (13:8)

"All the brothers of a **עֲנֵי** leave him,
His friends go far from him!" (19:7)

Within this group poverty is seen by and largely from the point of view of those who are already rich, the point of view, that is, of those being educated within the wisdom schools: "It's your fault if you become poor":

"A little sleep, a little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to rest,
And **רָאשׁוּהָ** will come upon you like a vagabond
And **מִן־סִיָּה** like an armed man!" (6:10f.)

The Old Wisdom writers prefer the word "**רֵיָּשׁ**" for this kind of poverty. All the sentences which contain this incentive are assigned by McKane to his "Type A" group (26) of sentences reflecting the vocabulary and thought of "Old Wisdom". In only two of the sentences (10:15, 19:4) is "**עָל**" used in such a way (27).

The third group of sayings all come from McKane's Types B and C and are phrased in the vocabulary of what he calls Yahwistic wisdom (28) and are concerned, more or less, with what may loosely be called theodicy. The sayings are concerned to build up a right attitude of charity and mercy towards the poor and the incentive for this is that Yahweh watches over the poor and will avenge any maltreatment upon the perpetrators:

"Do not rob the **עָל** because he is **עָל**
Or crush the **עָל** in the gate
For the Lord will plead their cause
And despoil the life of those that despoil them".
(22:22)

"He who is kind to the **עָל** lends to the Lord
He will repay him for his deed". (19:17)

The word preferred by the wisdom writers in this group of sentences is predominantly "**עָל**". In only two sentences (17:5 and 28:7) is "**רֵיָּשׁ**" used in this way (29).

Hence the term **דל** is used in the Old Testament mainly to denote the poor within Israel, though not the poorest of the poor; **דל** can, but need not, denote an oppressed group. However, as with the other terms discussed above, there are a number of instances in which **דל** is used as a metaphor or symbol for the nation or the righteous remnant. Most of these passages have been dealt with in the preceding sections (Zeph. 3:12 - with **צני** -, Is. 25:4, 14:30, 26:6 - with **אביון**). Most are from the Isaiah tradition and all are generally thought, on other grounds, to be post-exilic except the first mentioned. In Is. 11:4, the oracle of the ideal ruler to come, one of the signs of his righteousness is that:

"With righteousness he shall judge the **דל**
And decide with equity for the **עני-איון**"

It is possible that this was originally **עני'ו** and that the verse has been emended to take account of the spiritualising of poverty which we know took place in the intertestamental period. If this is not the case then there is evidence here that the roots for the development are deeper than is commonly thought. On the balance of the evidence, as is argued above, the former view seems the more likely.

d) Conclusions

This examination of the terms for poor in the Old Testament reveals that there is a certain distinction between the main terms, but that this cannot be pressed too far. It has also revealed that, in the overwhelming majority of cases the words

for poor refer to the economically impoverished groups and individuals within pre- and post-exilic Israel. That there were such social groupings and hence some form of social division cannot reasonably be doubted in view of the united testimony of law, prophets, wisdom writings and comparative material. There can also be no doubt that these impoverished groups suffered severe economic and judicial abuse on the part of the more wealthy members of the society of both Israel and Judah. In the context of such abuse Yahweh proved to be the final court of appeal for the poor man. This, however, sketchily revealed, is the domestic social and economic background against which the psalms were composed.

There is also sufficient evidence from the non-psalmic material to conclude that in the late exilic and the post-exilic periods the notion of "the poor" began to be used by the prophets for Israel herself, being, as she was at that stage, a poor and needy nation and much as in the time before the exile they had consistently used the image of an adulterous woman. One verse only, Habakkuk 3:14, provides evidence for the use of the term in this way in the pre-exilic age. Another verse, Jer. 20:13, supplies evidence for the use of "יִצְחָק" in prayer to denote a needy suppliant rather than one who was economically destitute. Hence, although a basic meaning for the terms under discussion has clearly emerged, a complex use of metaphor is indicated in the material outside the psalter. Hence the picture given here confirms and supports the conclusions reached in Chapter Two above.

APPENDIX II: AN IDEOLOGY OF KINGSHIP

1. Introductory remarks

The notion of "king" can mean many different things in many different cultures from titular head of state in the modern democracies to all powerful despot in the ancient Mesopotamian empires. Hence there is a need to explore what any given civilisation means by the term "king" and, in the context of this study, this means entering into what kingship was understood to be and how it functioned in ancient Israel.

This area has been one of intense activity throughout the whole period of modern Old Testament scholarship, not only because of the centrality of the kings in the Old Testament literature and history but also for the background which the notions of kingship give to the concept of the Messiah in Judaism

and Christianity. However, Whybray, in a stimulating if somewhat provocative article, has noted an important dichotomy in these studies of kingship between those which have concentrated on royal ideology, drawing their material largely from the psalms, and those which are historical in focus, which take the prophets and the historical books as primary sources (1). He argues that:

"In general, the achievements of historians in laying bare the political, military and human motives and economic and political circumstances which conditioned the history and development of the Israelite state have not been sufficiently utilised in studies concerned with the religious significance of kingship in Israel!" (2)

The main focus of the debate on the ideology side of the discussion has been on the issue of the king's relationship to God and on how his sonship is to be interpreted particularly in relationship to the royal ideologies of Israel's cultural neighbours. While the focus has remained on this question it is hard to find common ground between a view of kingship drawn from the psalms and that drawn from the prophets and historical books: there appears to be an enormous gulf between the ideal and the real and we find it difficult then to answer what should be the controlling question: what did the Israelites mean when they spoke of a "king"?

An attempt is made here to work out something of a new approach to this problem. We can begin to see some connection between the ideals of kingship portrayed in the psalms and the accounts of the kings in history if we focus not on this question of the king's relationship to Yahweh but upon the notion of the

function of the king; not on what a king is in relation to the people or Yahweh (3) but upon what a king does.

As will be argued at length below, in view of recent research on kingship in Israel and the ancient Near East, there can be no reasonable doubt that the two principle functions of a king, the two foundation stones of his office, as it were, were as a mighty warrior and a righteous judge. These two functions, taken together, form the key to understanding kingship in ancient Israel both in its historical and its ideological manifestations. To complete the picture given in the psalms attention will be given to the king's function in the cult, primarily as a witness to Yahweh, and also to the concept of the king's relationship to Yahweh which arose as a support to this primarily functional understanding (4).

2. The Warrior and the Judge: the two functions of the king in the ancient Near East and in the Old Testament

K.W. Whitelam in his recent study of kingship (5) has drawn attention to the twofold functional concept of kingship which enables a bridge to be built and a contrast to be drawn between the ideal and the real. In his opening chapter he draws attention to various ancient statements of the royal ideal, including the following made by Lipit Ishtar (6):

"When Anu (and) Enlil had called Lipit-Ishtar... to the princship of the land in order to establish justice in the land, to banish complaints, to turn back enmity and rebellion by the force of arms and to bring well being to the Sumerians and Akkadians!"

and Whitelam himself comments:

"Clearly the function of a king was twofold: to ensure the safety of his people by force of arms against the internal threat of rebellion or the external threat of invasion and to ensure the "well being" of the nation through the establishment of justice. This dual function of the king as both warrior and judge is evident throughout the ancient Near East". (7)

Whitelam's own arguments in the context of his overall thesis serve only to draw out the ideal of the king as judge. These will be supplemented below to build up a full picture of the king in both his functional aspects.

- a) The King as Warrior
- i) In the ancient Near East

The extent to which the life of the ancient Near East was dominated by war and conquest is not, perhaps, realised often enough in studies of the Old Testament. Little work has been done on the social structures of ancient society but it is safe to say that, as far as power was concerned, military conquest was all important. The chief goal of any and every ruler seems to have been to preserve or better still extend his empire by military means and the testimonies left behind by the ancient kings bear witness to this (8). In all of these testimonies it is noteworthy that victory in battle is ascribed not to any general or army but to the king himself portrayed as a mighty warrior crushing his enemies before him:

"(I am) Shalmaneser, the legitimate king, the king of the world, king without rival... overlord of all the princes, who has smashed all his enemies as if (they be) earthenware, the strong man, upspring, who shows no mercy in battle...." (9)

"Summary of the deeds of valour which this good god (Pharaoh) performed being every effective deed of heroism, beginning from the first generation; that which the Lord of the Gods, the Lord of Hermanthis, did for him: the magnification of his victories, to cause that his deeds of valour be related for millions of years to come, apart from the deeds of heroism which his majesty did at all times...." (10)

"Then (Pharaoh) turned about to watch his rear and he saw a few Asiatics coming furtively, adorned with weapons to attack the king's army. His majesty burst after them like the flight of the divine falcon. The confidence of their hearts was slackened.... Not a single one was with his majesty, except for himself with his valiant arm. His majesty killed them by shooting!" (11)

Victory comes however, without exception, by the hand of the god:

"The terror and glamour of Ashur my Lord overwhelmed them and they dispersed" (12)

"Tiglath-Pileser, the legitimate king.... the courageous hero who lives (guided) by the oracles given (to him) by Ashur and Ninurta the great gods and his lords and who thus overthrew his enemies!" (13)

The divine aid is not given arbitrarily or unconditionally however, but is based upon the king's conduct as judge: military and economic disaster will follow any departure from the divine law:

"If a king does not heed justice, his people will be thrown into chaos and his land will be devastated!" (14)

"Mighty Era who goes before his army will shatter his front line and go at his enemies' side!" (15)

This notion of justice at home being a necessary condition for military success abroad not only reflects the ancient Near East's deep seated concern for ma'at or social order but also, in practice, would enforce a check upon the power of the king at home. His commands and decisions could not be arbitrary but must rest upon the laws and decrees given by the gods. For the immediate purpose however, it is sufficient to note that throughout the ancient Near East despite differences in the relationship between a ruler and the gods the king or Pharaoh is seen and portrayed as a mighty warrior extending his empire and defending his people (16).

ii) In Israel

The history of the development of kingship in Israel itself reveals how the two functions of judge and warrior were fused from an early stage and also how a king came to inherit this dual role. There can be little doubt that, as Mowinckel argues, Israelite kingship is a fusion of the royal ideology of the Canaanites and the Old Israelite notions of a tribal chieftain (17). The immediate precursors of the first kings on the latter side were of course the judges, שופטים, who themselves appear to have combined this role of warrior and judge (18). Their right to exercise jurisdiction over the whole, or, more probably, parts, of Israel appears to have developed from their ability to rally the nation in time of need and to vanquish the foe (19). Thereafter, the reputation thus secured enabled them to "judge Israel" for so many years. The book of Judges focusses more on the military achievements of these figures however than it does on their administration of justice. At the

end of the judges period the dual function of the king is once again demonstrated in the events leading up to the foundation of the monarchy. The book of Judges itself, in setting the scene for this, gives a convincing picture of military and political confusion arising from a lack of stable government whilst the appendix (chapters 17-21) chronicles the sin and injustice thought to be prevalent in Israel before the monarchy:

"In those days there was no king in Israel;
every man did what was right in his own eyes!"
(Judges 21:25 cf. 17:6, 18:1, 19:1)

and in I Sam. 8 it is against a background of rising social injustice, in the last days of Samuel, that the Israelite elders ask for a king and again his dual function is in evidence:

"Yet Samuel's sons did not walk in his ways,
but turned aside after gain; they took bribes
and perverted justice.
Then all the elders of Israel gathered together
and came to Samuel at Ramah and said to him
"Behold, you are old and your sons do not walk
in your ways; now appoint for us a king to
govern (·וְנִשְׁמָרְנוּ) us like all the nations!" (8:4f.)

and again when Samuel objects:

"No! But we will have a king over us that we
also may be like all the nations, and that our
king may govern us and go out before us and
fight our battles". (v. 20)

Turning more specifically to the role of the king as a mighty warrior, this is seen nowhere more clearly than in the accounts of Saul and David who, like the judges before them, establish their prestige on the basis of military victories. Particularly significant is the way in which David is introduced in the sources as the mighty champion in battle, the slayer of Goliath of Gath (20).

Understanding the king's function as chiefly that of military champion illuminates the reason for Saul's wrath at the song of the women celebrating David's homecoming:

"Saul has slain his thousands and David his ten thousands" And Saul was very angry and this saying displeased him; he said: "They have ascribed to David ten thousands and to me they have ascribed thousands; and what more can he have but the kingdom?" "

The inference is clearly that a claim to military might greater than that of the king is a challenge to his warrior status and hence to his throne (21). This is supported by the second quotation of the victory song in I Sam. 21:9-11 where David is actually called "לְדָוִד אֶלְפֵי" by reason of his military triumph:

"And the servants of Achish said to him: "Is not this David the king of the land? Did they not sing to one another of him in dances: "Saul has slain his thousands but David his ten thousands?" "

Much of the remainder of the account of David's reign seeks to establish his prowess as a warrior and general and commander in the field (22).

Largely because of David's military successes Solomon was less called upon than his father to demonstrate his valour and prowess as a warrior although there was evidently some conflict during his reign (I Kings 11:23-5). Solomon's consolidation of the kingdom brought the royal function of judge more to the fore (see below) together with that of temple builder (23).

Among the tasks of the post-Solomonic kings in both Israel and Judah that of warrior or general remained paramount until the eventual destruction of both kingdoms as the analysis

presented above has shown (pp. 208f). The Deuteronomic history records the fortunes in war of the nation during this period and for the most part adopts the official court style of the ancient Near East describing the activities of the nation as those of the king (24). Although the throne in Judah was secured by dynastic rite, that of Israel could still be gained by martial prowess in bloody revolt as happened with Baasha, Omri, Jehu, Shallum, Manahem, Pekah and Hoshea.

As many, including Mowinckel(25), have recognised the oracles in the prophets referring to a Davidic king who is to come reflect the royal ideal directly and many support the notion of the king enjoying the dual function of warrior and judge. Isaiah 9:2-7 describes the coming of a prince who, by his might, will bring peace:

"Upon the throne of David and over his kingdom
to establish it and uphold it
with justice and with righteousness"

This oracle, together with that in Is. 11:1-9 and Micah 5:1-3 express the longing for peace and security on the one hand and justice within the land on the other, which only a strong king was able to bring.

It can be established with confidence therefore that the role of "warrior" was fundamental to Israel's conception of kingship and this concept can be traced through many of the psalms, as has been shown in Chapter III above. This aspect of the king's function is apparent, for example in Psalms 18:31-42, 89:19ff., 72:8-11 and 45:3-5. As was mentioned above also, Halpern argues

that the king's warrior status derives from his relationship with the Divine Warrior, Yahweh, and this position is generally supported here.

b) The King as Judge

In discussing the king's role as warrior in the preceding section it was noted that many different traditions within the Old Testament bear witness to this and the same can be said of his function as judge (26). Again this function of the king derives not from Israel's own tradition but from the general notion of who a king was and what he did held throughout the ancient Near East, as Whitelam has shown (27). From Babylon Hammurabi describes his royal position thus:

"To cause justice to prevail in the land,
to destroy the wicked and evil,
that the strong might not oppress the weak!" (28)

From Ugarit the description of the hero Dan'l's concern for the poor most probably embodies the "ideal" view of kingship in Canaan during the heroic age (29):

"He rises to sit at the entrance of the gate,
In the place of the nobles who are in the public
place;
He decides the case of the widow,
He judges the seat of the orphan". (30)

The testimony of Egypt is rather different in that few law codes are preserved but it is undeniable that the person of the Pharaoh, the image and representative of Re, was conceived as Lord of Ma'at, the concept denoting justice, order and truth for the whole of Egyptian society (31).

Three basic points emerge from Whitelam's survey of this ancient Near Eastern royal ideology (p. 29):

- i.) the king's true administration of justice was essential for cosmic harmony.
- ii.) the corollary of this was that the fertility and prosperity of the nation was thus ensured.
- iii.) the ideal of the king's judicial authority was often expressed in his concern for the underprivileged.

These themes have already been discussed above, as regards the psalms in the context of the ideal king's determination to pursue and to punish the **דֹּשְׁפֵי** (Chapter One) and in his concern for the poor and oppressed (Chapter Two and Appendix I above). However, Whitelam has shown that the remainder of the Old Testament also reveals this ideal of the just king. The prophetic passages, some of which were quoted above, have often been used in referring to the ideal king who is to come in studies of royal ideology. Whitelam's own work has served to point up the significance of the prominence of the notion of justice and judgement in these oracles. More original however is his analysis of the court annals from the reigns of David and Solomon which strive at various points to portray the actions of both kings as both just and right before God and the people (32). Solomon in particular, no doubt partly because he lacked the opportunity for the martial prowess shown by David, founds his claim to the throne almost exclusively on his ability to judge rightly and several passages are included in the narratives which either give this wisdom a divine origin (as in the dream at Gibeon in II Kings 3) or give an exemplary case of Solomon's judgement

in action (as in the case of the two harlots which follows the dream passage).

Whitelam is less concerned with royal ideology than with an historian's attempt to uncover the actual judicial processes operating within Israel. However, just as the king's role as a warrior can be linked to the Divine Warrior, Yahweh, so his activity as a just ruler would seem, similarly, to be linked with Yahweh's own just rule. It was argued in the preceding chapter that the king's concern for the poor, an archetypal symbol of his justice, was a shared concern with Yahweh himself and this is reflected in such passages as Psalm 82: Yahweh here addresses the lesser gods much as his earthly counterpart, the king, would address the nobles and lesser rulers in the land. Within the festal myths, at any rate in Mesopotamia, the judging or the decreeing of fates took place at the end of the ritual when the god had entered his temple in triumph and it is argued above that this was the case in Israel: having overcome his foes outside the nation, the **ד'ל'x**, in the symbolic battle, once enthroned Yahweh turned his attention to the **ה'י'ש'ר**, within the nation both directly and through his mundane counterpart, the king. Such a cultic setting would be an appropriate one for the five psalms of judgement isolated in Chapter One (33). It is also suggested above (pp. 170f) that the two royal functions of warrior and judge are celebrated together within the enthronement festival: not only does the king take part in a symbolic battle which affirms his warrior status but the ritual as a whole affirms him in his right to be judge or governor of the land.

Finally, an important connection between the two notions of warrior and judge which was touched on briefly above needs to be expanded. Psalms such as 72 and 45 as well as passages from the prophets (eg. Jer. 22:15-7; 21:12; 22:1-5) clearly link the king's conduct in administering justice with the prosperity of the nation and her success in war. The passages already quoted above from Mesopotamian documents demonstrate that the demand for justice from the kings was no invention of the Israelite prophets but only something which they reaffirm and take up in a new way. Similarly the Deuteronomic history is not distinctive in its association of the fate of the entire people with the sin of the king. Its distinctive contribution is in linking cultic sin with the nation's downfall. The notion of the prosperity of the nation being guaranteed by the righteousness of the king is also reflected in the psalms and in other passages of the Old Testament in a negative way in that disaster falling on the entire nation can be attributed to the king's sin. The plague following David's census in II Samuel is seen as due to David's sin. The same passage implies (v. 13) that either famine or military disaster could equally well be attributed to the monarch's transgression and this is borne out in such pieces as Psalms 18 and 89 where the connection is more fully revealed.

It would seem to be established therefore that the two ideals of mighty warrior and righteous judge formed the two principle elements in ancient Israel's conception of kingship. The two ideas are held in common by all ancient Near Eastern

societies, so far as we can tell, as is, perhaps, to be expected. They are attested by every tradition in the Old Testament and the two ideas are particularly helpful in understanding the royal psalms themselves and the royal ritual. Both these aspects of the king's role are founded in his heavenly counterpart, the Divine Warrior and Righteous Judge, Yahweh himself. The two ideas are linked in that success in battle for the king is linked, as in the Mesopotamian states, to his obedience to the God in other areas of national life and particularly in his judicial function.

This discussion began by drawing attention to Whybray's accusation against kingship studies on the grounds that they were working with too great a disjunction between the ideal and reality. It is hoped that the foundation for a royal ideology delineated above has at least done something to bridge the gap between the two. However, it is my belief that the placing of these two functions of warrior and judge at the centre of studies of kingship does more than this and allows us to see the tension from which many of the prayers in the psalms are made. Many writers have been at pains to point out in their studies of kingship the disjunction between the ideal and the real. The king should be able to protect his people in battle: in practice Israel and Judah were often defeated, humiliated and made subject. The king is supposed, by virtue of his office, to be the righteous judge and governor; in practice, as we know from the writings of the classical prophets, corruption and oppression flourished under the kings as it had

when "every man did what was right in his own eyes". Mowinckel's thesis in "He that Cometh" was that in the post-exilic period the content of the royal ideology was transferred to a future eschatological figure. This thesis still stands, of course, but it must not draw attention away from the men in pre-exilic Israel who were praying out of the disjunction of real and ideal for a tangible improvement in their condition in the present (34). The prayer which opens Psalm 72, from the midst of a people who knew the reality of oppression and injustice, can be no mere lip service to royal ideal but a fervent cry from the heart:

"Give the king thy justice O God,
 And thy righteousness to the royal son!
 May he judge thy people with righteousness
 and thy poor with justice!
 Let the mountains bear prosperity for the people
 Give deliverance to the needy
 And crush the oppressor!"

3. The King as witness

An important aspect of the king's function in the cult which is particularly important for an understanding of the royal psalms is that of the king's role as witness to Yahweh. In one sense, had he not had this role, the royal psalms would never have been composed and transmitted in the cult. Eaton has worked out his role as witness in some detail (35) and his arguments are summarised here.

The king's witness is to all mankind, not only to Israel to admonish (36) as well as simply to testify to Yahweh's salvation (37). The theme of the king's witness is used as a plea

in his prayers (38) and in his remarking on the incongruity of his witness to a god who had failed to answer prayer (39). The subject of the king's witness is as varied as that of the subject of the psalms: it may be military deliverance, deliverance from sickness or, as Eaton thinks, some form of ritual salvation which is being celebrated. In its application the witness is twofold (p.190): to affirm the king's own status before Yahweh and to ensure, therefore, obedience and loyalty (Yahweh has done this for me) (40) and as a more general example to all of correct conduct before God and to the blessings which will follow (41). Often the theme of testimony is on such a large scale that the salvation of the king is bound up with themes from the creation myths (42).

Characteristic elements in the testimony include exhortations to trust in Yahweh (43); to worship him alone (44); pleas from human frailty (45); Yahweh's incomparability (46); and his mighty acts (47). A further grace available to the king in a special way is the grace of answered prayer, promised to him in various passages (48).

The dominant weakness in Eaton's position, as has been mentioned above, is not in his analysis of the royal texts but in his tendency to attract all cultic functions to the king himself leaving, as it were, nothing of worth to the faith and spirituality of the other Israelites. If it is allowed that one of the king's functions was to be a teacher and an example, through the royal psalmody, to the assembled people then we must allow that their relationship with that of Yahweh could at least approach that

ideally possessed by the king. The prevalence of this view in Eaton's work could fairly be said to be a direct consequence of his examining one aspect of Israel's religion in isolation from the others.

4. The sacral nature of Israel's kingship

The above discussion has attempted to draw the focus of kingship studies away from the struggle to define the king's precise relationship to the god towards his function in life and in the cult and a twofold idea of the king as judge and warrior, with the addition of a third important feature of his role of witness in the cult, has been sketched out. However, something must be said of the king's relationship to Yahweh himself and how this was seen to stand.

There is no real reason why we should expect unity among the Old Testament sources on the issue of the sacral nature of kingship. Some strata plainly recognised the kingship throughout as a bad thing and contrary to the spirit of Yahwism (cf. I Sam. 8: 10-18). Others, including many of the prophets, were content to work with the kings and held a high ideal of what the kingship should be, particularly in its judicial aspects and in respect of cultic purity, but could plainly stand over against the king himself, in the spirit of Yahweh, and rebuke their all too human monarch in his name. All piety, in the eyes of these circles, plainly did not reside in the king's office nor did Yahweh speak only through his anointed king. For one thing, as Whitelam points out, in Israel, as in Mesopotamia, the king could not himself

create laws (as could Pharaoh in Egypt for example). All laws in Israel originated through Yahweh's command mediated through the temple priests.

These variant traditions, particularly the latter, must be given their due in any discussion of the psalms, even though the psalter is much more of a royal book than any other in the Old Testament. It is in the psalms that the most exalted view of kingship is found and, as the view which was, presumably, promoted in the temple cult, it must have been extremely influential among the ordinary Israelites. According to this view, whilst the king remained a man and very much subject to human frailty and weakness nevertheless he stood in a special relationship to Yahweh and to the nation. He can be described as God's son, servant and covenant partner (49) (although the latter two descriptions can also be applied to others within the nation); he identifies with Yahweh to the extent that the latter's enemies are his own (50) and he receives particular graces to aid him in his office (51). The prosperity of the nation is closely bound up with his own right conduct and the nation itself is liable to be punished for his misdemeanours.

At a slightly deeper level, the above arguments have drawn attention to Halpern's theory that in Israel as in Mesopotamia the king was conceived of as the early counterpart of the god reigning in heaven and this would seem to be the case, particularly in those circles of Israelite life concerned with promoting a strong royal ideal: the circles of the court itself

(although too strong a statement of these views would no doubt have provoked a reaction from the prophetic circles).

Finally, it may well be worth drawing attention to the political and social importance of the royal ideal in ancient life. It is plain from Jeroboam's foundation of the new cult for the northern kingdom (I Kings 12: 25-33) that the unity of the nation and its political loyalties were to a large degree determined by the national cult. The cult itself thus became an invaluable bolster to the claims of the reigning king in Israel or Judah - itself an argument in favour of some kind of royal rite having been celebrated annually. It should be remembered that the cult itself would be almost the only successful medium of mass communication in Israelite society. It is interesting to speculate that the failure of successive dynasties to maintain their hold upon the northern kingdom, when contrasted with the continued rule of David's line in the south, was due in no small part to the lack of a consistent religious policy and royal ideology which had been built up so successfully in Jerusalem.

APPENDIX III THE PSALMS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AS EVIDENCE OF
SPIRITUALITY AND PRIVATE DEVOTION IN ISRAEL

One of the central questions related to the problem of the identity of the individual in the psalms is that of the degree to which these psalms containing some reference to an "I" can be used, directly or indirectly, as evidence of private devotion or personal religion in ancient Israel (1). However, as the answer to this particular question is dependant upon, rather than contributes to, the answer to the main question under examination in the thesis as a whole, discussion of the topic has been confined to this appendix.

As was mentioned in Chapter Four above, we do not have a great deal of evidence, outside the psalms, as to the nature of the faith of the ordinary person in Israel. Clearly therefore, if the psalms can be used as evidence of this then their testimony

would be of great value. The consensus of opinion on this as on other questions relating to the individual in the psalms has moved through a variety of stages. Whilst it was assumed that the composer of many of the psalms was David himself, the "sweet psalmist" of Israel, there was, of course, no difficulty in seeing the psalms of the individual as expressions of his personal piety and faith in Yahweh. Psalms which are not specifically attributed in the headings in the psalter to David were ascribed, in the main, to his contemporaries and seen to reflect a similarly personal piety and experience of God.

However, whilst we do have evidence that David himself was a talented musician and composed psalms and other songs (2) we clearly have no evidence to demonstrate that he was the composer of any of the psalms in the present psalter. Clearly the heading cannot be used as an indication of this and nor can the depth of personal piety seen in certain psalms (3). The first generations of post-critical commentators of the psalms acknowledge this conclusion but continue to see the psalms of the individual as accounts of personal experiences of Yahweh recorded by anonymous private persons in Israel and preserved in the psalter. Such an attitude to the psalms of the individual has not yet died away (despite over fifty years of post-Mowinckel psalms scholarship) and surfaces in modern form, almost covertly, in the commentaries of Weiser and Jacquet.

The great contribution of Mowinckel was, of course, to acknowledge the numerous references in the psalms of the individual to public worship and ritual and also the sociological

importance of the cult and public worship in ancient society. His view of the psalms of the individual, which has been taken up and confirmed in the work of many other scholars and is supported here, is that they are pieces composed for the cult and therefore reflect not the personal experiences of the composer but typical experiences faced by the type of suppliant for whom they were composed.

This view of the psalms of the individual clearly calls for a rather different assessment of the origins of the spirituality in the psalms and their value as evidence in examining the private religion of the ordinary person in Israel. Such an assessment will be provided below. However, although Mowinckel's view of the individual psalms has come to command wide acceptance, there has been some reaction against the implications of his thesis when it comes to the study of individual piety. This has taken three forms: several commentators, including Weiser and Jacquet, acknowledge the force of Mowinckel's thesis yet continue to analyse certain of the individual psalms as autobiographical accounts of spiritual experiences. A different group of scholars have attempted to identify certain psalms as being personal in content and therefore as giving direct evidence of personal religion in the psalms as a whole (4); however, as was argued above, the criteria used for such an identification appear to be entirely arbitrary and the possibility that these psalms were written for the cult is excluded either a priori or on the grounds of the depth of piety revealed in the psalm. Finally, G.W. Anderson has recently

attempted to identify certain phrases in the psalms, as opposed to whole psalms, as being evidence of private devotion in Israel (5). However, this view also fails to take seriously the possibility that these "personal phrases" may be set into cultic psalms intended for public worship.

Whilst these reactions to Mowinckel's hypothesis that the psalms were written for recital in the cult in typical situations of need or thanksgiving are basically unsound in the arguments employed (or lack of them) each of them does grapple with the tension engendered by Mowinckel's view of the individual psalms, namely that these poems, ostensibly written for public use in the cult, contain extremely personal statements of love for Yahweh and his way which would be better suited, on our modern understanding of liturgy, to private devotion rather than to public worship. That this tension is felt at all however may well be the result of this modern understanding of the relationship between public and private religion which tends towards a rigid distinction between personal piety and devotion and the public worship and faith of the community.

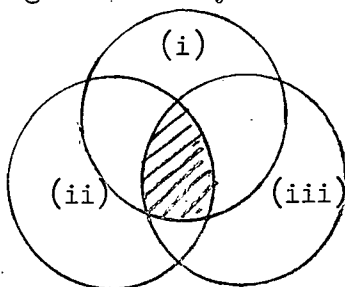
It is clear however that, whatever understanding of the spirituality in the psalms we adopt, must take account of both the "public" and the "private" elements within these prayers and thanksgivings. This problem should be resolved not by dividing the psalms into two categories of private psalm poetry and psalms written for public worship, as many scholars have attempted to do (which is a distinction which is foreign to ancient thought patterns)

but by seeing different spiritualities operating within each of these psalms. In other words, it seems to me that, when attempting to answer the question "Whose spirituality is represented in the psalms?" we should not answer simply "That of the king" or "That of the cultic prophet" but should once again seek a more complex solution. On a cultic understanding of the psalms of the individual such as that put forward above we should see no less than three spiritualities operating whenever one of the psalms of the individual discussed in Chapters Three and Four was recited (6) namely:

- i) the spirituality of the person or group who composed the psalm, that is, for the most part, of the temple poets or of the cultic prophets (in the pre-exilic period) or of the pious wise men (in the period after the exile).
- ii) the spirituality of the person who delivered the psalm in the cult - either a king or a private person. In the case of psalms written for the king the special relationship between God and the monarch would feed into the psalm as it was being composed and surfaces as the royal style identified in Chapter Three. The suppliant, as he prays through the psalm and delivers the piece in public worship "makes it his own" and his own spirituality and faith is informed, and to a certain extent formed by, the prayer he prays, just as the spirituality of a modern Christian or Moslem is formed by the hymns, prayers and liturgy which he regularly uses.
- iii) the spirituality, in the case of most of the psalms, which were delivered in public, of the assembled congregation,

that is, of the community as a whole; this common tradition would inform and itself form the faith of those who composed psalms for public worship but would also, conversely, be to some extent reshaped by the prayers used in public worship in the temple. The congregation of Israel would, in other words, be taught how to pray by the prayers which they heard sung in the great festivals and in public worship.

The relationship between the spirituality of these three groups can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

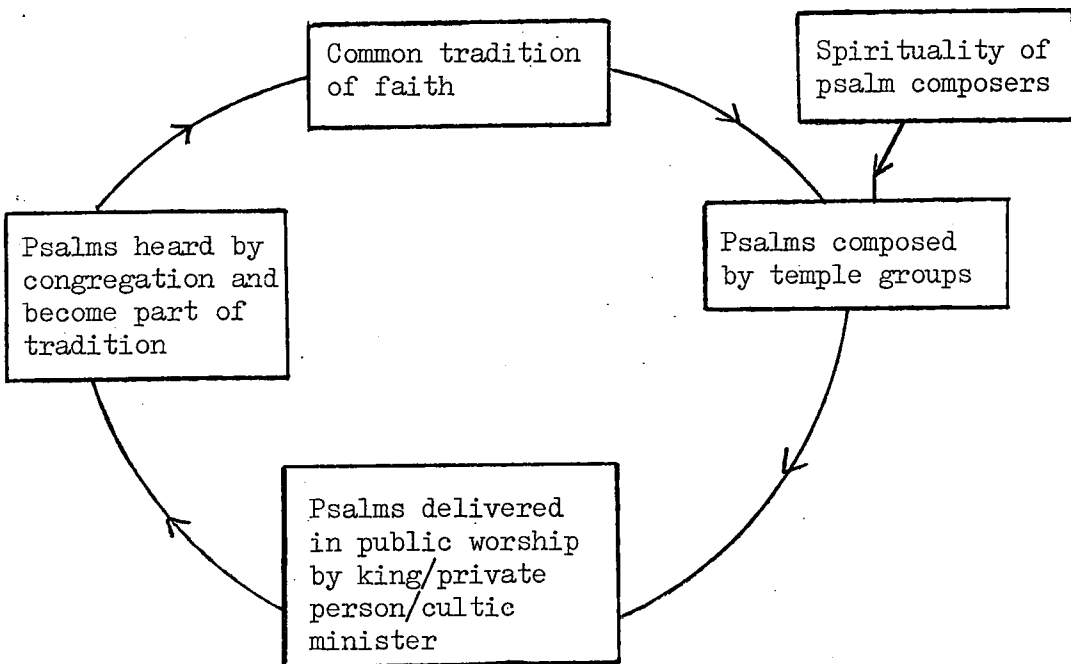


and the psalms of the individual should be seen as reflecting the spirituality of each of these three groups.

The most sensible understanding of the relationship between the public cult and private devotion is to see the cult itself, therefore, as the medium for the transmission of the spiritual traditions of the people. This tradition, or common ground of belief formed the basis upon which the psalm composers worked. These groups, who were particularly well instructed in the traditions of prayer, would reshape that tradition into prayers to be delivered in the cult by king or commoner or into psalms of instruction to be delivered by the cultic ministers themselves. In the course of this work the spirituality of these groups of

composers would inform their reshaping of the tradition.

These prayers would then be delivered in the cult by the king or private persons and so teach the congregation, indirectly, how to pray, thus feeding the new insights of the psalm composers back into the traditions of the congregation. This process of transmission could be shown as follows:



As can be seen from the diagram the creative contribution to the whole process is the spirituality of the temple-based groups of psalm composers.

On such an understanding therefore the psalms of the individual can be used as evidence for the general tradition of spirituality in Israel and more particularly as evidence for the devotional life of the groups who were responsible for the

composition of these psalms. Less directly, they can be seen as examples of the type of spirituality which was transmitted in the cult and to which the devotee of Yahweh in ancient Israel should aspire, but we have no direct knowledge, of course, as to what proportion of the total population actively participated in the religion of Yahweh to this extent. What the psalms do not provide however is first hand accounts of existential experiences of God or direct evidence of private devotion. We can only assume, from the evidence transmitted in the psalter that such "private devotion" was a part of the religious experience of at least a section of ancient Israel's community of faith.

APPENDIX IV: SUMMARY OF RESULTS

<u>Psalm</u>		<u>Description</u>
2 (P)	RP	Ritual (confirmation of kingship)
3	RP	GH Prayer for aid in battle
4	CM	Wisdom teacher (didactic psalm)
5	RP	Ritual (preparation)
6	PP	General petition
7	RP	Ritual (preparation)
8 (P)	CM	Temple singer (incidental app.)
9-10	RP	Ritual (own category)
11	CM	Wisdom teacher (didactic psalm)
13	PP	General petition
16	RP	Psalm of assurance
17	RP	Ritual (preparation)

18		RP	GH (thanksgiving after battle)
19		CM	Wisdom teacher (hymn)
20	(a)	RP	2nd person (prayer for aid in battle)
	(b)	CM	Cultic prophet (oracle)
21		RP	2nd/3rd person. Ritual (confirmation of kingship)
22		RP	GH (prayer of siege)
23		RP	Psalm of assurance
25		"other"	Post-exilic prayer by non-royal spokesman
26		RP	Ritual (preparation)
27		RP	Ritual (preparation)
28		RP	GH (sickness)
30		PP	Thanksgiving after illness
31		RP	GH (prayer for siege)
32		CM	Wisdom teacher (didactic psalm)
34		CM	Wisdom teacher (didactic psalm)
35		PP	Prayer in persecution
36	(P)	CM	Cult prophet
37		CM	Wisdom teacher (didactic psalm)
38		RP	GH (sickness)
39		CM (?)	Wisdom teacher (protest poem)*
40		RP	Ritual (confirmation of kingship)
41		PP	Prayer in sickness
42-43		CM	Temple singer (testimony)
44	(P)	RP	GH (prayer for aid in battle)
45	(P)	(a) RP	Royal wedding song (2nd person)
		(b) CM	Temple singer (incidental reference)

49	CM	Wisdom teacher (didactic)
51	"other"	Exilic prayer by non-royal spokesman
52	CM	Cultic prophet
54	PP	General petition
55	RP	GH (prayer against treachery)
56	RP	GH (prayer for aid in battle)
57	RP	GH (prayer for aid in battle)
59	RP	GH (prayer for siege)
60	RP	GH (prayer for aid in battle)
61	RP	Ritual (confirmation)
62	RP	GH (prayer against treachery)
63	RP	Psalm of assurance
64	PP	Prayer for persecution
66 (P)	RP	GH (prayer of thanksgiving after battle)
69	RP	GH (prayer for aid in battle)
70	PP	Prayer in persecution
71	RP	GH (prayer against treachery)
72	RP	2nd/3rd person. Ritual (confirmation of kingship)
73	CM	Wisdom teacher (didactic psalm)
74 (P)	CM	Cultic prophet
75 (P)	CM	Cultic prophet
77	CM	Cultic prophet
78	CM	Cultic prophet
81	CM	Cultic prophet
83	CM	Cultic prophet
84	CM	Temple singer (testimony)
85 (P)	CM	Cultic prophet

86		PP	Prayer in persecution
88		PP	Prayer in sickness
89		RP	GH (prayer for aid in battle)
92		RP	Ritual (confirmation of kingship)
94		RP	Ritual (preparation)
101		RP	Ritual (preparation)
102		"other"	Exilic prayer for non-royal spokesman
103	(P)	CM	Temple singer (incidental reference)
104	(P)	CM	Temple singer (incidental reference)
106	(P)	CM	Temple singer (incidental reference)
108		RP	GH (prayer for aid in battle)
109		PP	Prayer in persecution
110	(a)	RP	2nd/3rd person. Ritual (confirmation of kingship)
	(b)	CM	Cultic prophet
111		CM	Wisdom teacher (hymn)
116		RP	GH (thanksgiving after illness)
118		RP	Ritual (procession and battle)
119	(P)	CM (?)	Wisdom teacher (meditation)*
120		PP	Psalm of Ascents
121	(P)	PP	Psalm of Ascents
122		PP	Psalm of Ascents
123		PP	Psalm of Ascents
130		PP	Psalm of Ascents
131		PP	Psalm of Ascents
132		RP	2nd/3rd person. Ritual (preparation)

135	CM	Temple singer (incidental reference)
137	CM	Temple singer (testimony)
138	RP	Psalm of assurance
139	RP	Ritual (preparation)
140	RP	GH (prayer for help in battle?)
141	RP	Ritual (preparation)
142	PP	Prayer in persecution
143	RP	GH (prayer for help in battle?)
144	RP	Ritual (confirmation of kingship)
145	CM	Temple singer (incidental reference)
146 (P)	CM	Temple singer (incidental reference)

Ninety-eight psalms are included in the list, of which three do not mention an individual but refer to the king in the 2nd/3rd person.

Totals:

Royal psalms:	Forty-seven (of which six refer to the king in 2nd/3rd person; three of these psalms are also listed as "CM" psalms)
Private person:	Eighteen
Cultic ministers:	Thirty-three
"Other" psalms:	Three

Abbreviations used here

RP Royal psalm

PP Private person psalm

CM Cultic minister

GH General historical

* indicates that the psalm does not appear to have been composed for public worship in the temple.

P the "I" occurs in part of the psalm only.

N.B. A list of the different individual psalms in their separate groups can be found in the table of contents for Chapters Three, Four and Five.

NOTESINTRODUCTION

1. So J.H. Hayes, An Introduction to Old Testament Study (1979), p. 293 and J.H. Eaton, The Psalms and Israelite Worship in Tradition and Interpretation, ed. G.W. Anderson, p. 255. The other key issue is, of course, that of the relationship between the psalms and the annual festal ritual.
2. It is not my purpose here to re-iterate the detailed history of the debate. Such a summary can be found in most of the major commentaries, in the two articles mentioned above and in Eaton's major work, Kingship and the Psalms (KP) (1976).
3. H. Birkeland, Die Feinde des Individuums in der Israelitischen Psalmenliteratur (1933) and The Evildoers in the Book of Psalms (1955).
4. H. Birkeland, 'Ani und 'Anaw in den Psalmen (1933). Although this work is earlier than "Die Feinde" and presents different conclusions, following the theories of Birkeland's teacher Mowinckel that the "I" in the psalms is predominantly a private person, the two books

taken together do illustrate the importance of these two related questions for the study of the identity of the individual in the psalms.

5. C. Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw in the Psalms (1973).
6. Particularly in A.R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel (SKAI) (1952; 2nd edition 1969) and Eaton, KP.
7. So H. Schmidt, Das Gebet der Angeklagten (1926) and L. Delekat, Asylie und Schutzorakel (1967).
8. So, for example, R. Smend, Über das Ich den Psalmen in ZAW 8 (1888), pp. 49-147.
9. So Birkeland, Evildoers and Eaton, KP.
10. A full list of these psalms is given in the summary of results in Appendix IV. Psalms 9-10 and 42-3 are each reckoned throughout as one psalm.
11. S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship (PIW) (1962), vol. I, pp. 1-23.
12. This consideration plainly affects the degree to which the psalms of the individual can be used as direct evidence for personal piety in ancient Israel, an issue which is taken up in Appendix III. The observation also dismisses a "new approach" to the psalms of lament developed by Brueggemann and Goldingay which depends on understanding the individual psalms as accounts of existential experiences in the life of faith: W. Brueggemann, The Psalms and the Life of Faith, JSOT 17 (1980), pp. 3-32 and J. Goldingay, The Dynamic Cycle of Praise and Prayer in the Psalms JSOT 18 (1981), pp. 85-90.
13. A.A. Anderson, Psalms (1972). The large number of instances where no clear cut conclusion on the form of a psalm can be reached is itself an indication that this method of interpretation, though a useful foundation, can become a cul-de-sac.
14. This is, of course, the methodology adopted by Johnson, Eaton and several other modern scholars.

CHAPTER ONE: THE ANTAGONISTS IN THE PSALMS

1. Such an account can be found in G.W. Anderson, Enemies and Evildoers in the Book of Psalms, BJRL 48, (1965-6), pp. 18-29.
2. S. Mowinckel, Psalmstudien I: Awen und die individuellen Klagepsalmen (1921) cf. G.W. Anderson, Enemies, p. 24.
3. Mowinckel's comment on Birkeland's work quoted from G.W. Anderson, Enemies, p. 27.
4. Birkeland would here use the word "enemies"; however, following Rosenbaum, I have substituted the neutral word antagonist for reasons of clarity in the arguments which follow; S.N. Rosenbaum, The concept "antagonist" in Hebrew psalm poetry: a semantic field study (1974), *passim*.
5. Mowinckel, PIW, Chapter VII et *passim*.
6. Mowinckel, PIW I, p. 227 n. 4; see also PIW I, p. 197, 207f. 245.
7. Eaton, KP.
8. Mowinckel, PIW I, p. 227 n. 4.
9. Mowinckel, PIW I, p. 197.
10. Mowinckel, PIW II, Additional Note XXXII, pp. 256f.
11. Mowinckel, PIW II, p. 8.
12. Mowinckel, PIW II, p. 8.
13. Eaton, The Psalms and Israelite Worship, p. 259.
14. Eaton, KP, p. 15.
15. A. Weiser, The Psalms, 5th revised edition (1962), p. 79.
16. G.W. Anderson, Enemies, pp. 28f.
17. The nearest thing to a discussion of the problem is his (all too brief) discussion of the term at its first occurrence throughout the commentary; A.A. Anderson, Psalms vol. I, p. 59.

18. Birkeland, Evildoers, pp. 57-69
19. A.R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in ancient Israel, (CPAI), (1944; 2nd edition 1952) and The Cultic Prophet in Israel's Psalmody. (CPIP) (1979); J.H. Eaton, Vision in Worship (1981).
20. Rosenbaum, Antagonists.
21. All of these psalms are discussed in section 4 below where the evidence for this view is examined.
22. This definition of semantic field used by Rosenbaum and also by Sawyer is that given by S. Ullmann:
 "A semantic field is a closely knit and articulated lexical sphere where the significance of each unit is determined by its neighbours with their semantic areas reciprocally limiting each other and dividing up and covering the whole sphere between them".
- It seems that this definition of a semantic field actually excludes any possibility of overlap or synonyms a priori and is thus a bad definition to use. This leads to Rosenbaum falling into a similar trap to Birkeland in that he attempts to impose rigid rules of meaning onto words in a living tradition; J.F. Sawyer, Semantics in Biblical Research (1972); S. Ullmann, The principles of Semantics (2nd edition 1957).
23. Particularly that of Sawyer, Semantics and also T. Donald, The Semantic field rich and poor in Hebrew and Accadian literature, Oriens Antiquus 3, (1964), pp. 27-41.
24. Sawyer, Semantics, p. 75. The technique is used "ad absurdum" in I.R.M. Parsons, Evil speaking in the Psalms of Lament (1971) where a mere demonstration of parallels between the various terms is taken to imply synonymity.
25. Cited in J.H. Patten, Canaanite parallels in the Book of Psalms (1944), p. 29.
26. Rosenbaum, Antagonists, p. 58.

27. Rosenbaum, Antagonists, p. 64. The term "parallel" as used in these tables may signify a term not in the same or adjacent verses. A parallel of sense is indicated.
28. Indications that the piece is a wisdom psalm include the opening beatitude, the dichotomy between the righteous and the wicked and the fine phrasing and polished style, an example of which is the fact that the first begins with "X" and the last word with "N" - perhaps signifying completeness within the psalm itself. The issue of the wisdom influence on the psalms is discussed in Chapter Five below.
29. J.H.Eaton, Psalms; Torch Bible Commentary (TBC) (1967), ad. loc.
30. The different concepts of judgement operating in the psalms are discussed in detail by R.L. Hubbard, Legal and Dynamistic language in the Book of Psalms (1980). He discusses the distinction between legal and dynamistic language: in the former justice is attained by appeal to Yahweh and by his direct intervention; in the latter there is built into the universe a dynamic whereby the effects of sin will rebound onto the perpetrator. He argues sensibly that these two views are not opposed in the psalms or in the rest of the Old Testament but are two sides of the same coin. Yahweh occasionally intervenes to set right injustices which the dynamic has not corrected but for the most part his justice works through that dynamic. Hence both legal and dynamistic language are found in most of the psalms, as here.
31. This, of course, is an example of Weiser's failure to distinguish between the experience of the writer of the psalm and the purpose in the cult for which the piece was written.
32. A.A. Anderson, Psalms ad. loc.; Eaton, TBC, ad. loc.; Johnson, CPIP, pp. 296-302.
33. Invocations to learn are of course a distinct wisdom form in themselves and make up much of the collection in Proverbs 1-9; cf. R.N. Whybray, Wisdom in Proverbs (1965).
34. This conclusion is reached after a thorough investigation of this crux interpretum by B. Renaud, Le Psaume 73: meditation individuelle ou priere collective, Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses vol. 59 (1979), pp. 541-550.
35. Surprisingly, Birkeland does not discuss Psalm 50 at all in Die Feinde but he deals with the psalm at length

in Evildoers. He regards the piece as the one genuine prophetic oracle which has slipped into the social religion so prominent, he thinks, in the psalms. The effect of this oracle has been tempered by the insertion of these words by a later hand (p. 64).

36. Johnson, CPIP, pp. 22f.; Eaton, TBC, ad. loc.
37. The role of the cultic prophet in teaching the people is taken up below in Chapter Five.
38. Weiser, Psalms, pp. 42ff.
39. So Johnson, CPIP, p. 317. Eaton's argument that the speaker in this psalm is the king is not convincing. How could the king be said to steady the earth? (Eaton, KP, pp. 55f.).
40. Birkeland's interpretation of the "עֲדֵי" of Psalm 82 is extremely forced at this point (Evildoers, p. 97). He says of the oppressed groups:
 "A discussion of who the latter are is superfluous: they are social classes in the great society ruled by the 'elim and from now on ruled by Yahweh. In fact they represent Israel under foreign rule".
41. This concept will be of particular importance in examining the king's function as a judge and the way this is expressed in the Autumn Festival.
42. A full discussion of royal style, together with a context in the ritual for Psalm 94, is given in Chapter Three below.
43. This psalm, like Psalm 94, is given a setting in the royal ritual in Chapter Three.
44. See the discussion of royal style below pp. 154.
45. Eaton, KP, p. 5; Mowinckel, PIW, I, p. 217
46. It would be valuable to note here the various hints in the psalms so far discussed which suggest how the people conceived of their relationship to Yahweh and in particular what the relationship of sin was to the nation's plight and deliverance. Psalm 74 presents an attitude of incomprehension in what amounts to a confession of innocence:
 "Why dost thou cast us off for ever?" (v. 1)
 and attempts to invoke the covenant with Yahweh (v. 20). Psalm 80 appears to betray a slightly higher consciousness of sin in the nation:

"Then we will never turn back from thee,
Give us life and we will call on thy name" (v. 18)

- a verse which implies continued worship in exchange for military aid. Psalm 44 has a tone similar to that of 74:

"All this has come upon us though we have not forgotten thee or been false to thy covenant Our heart has not looked back, nor have our steps departed from thy way." (vv. 17f.)

This time the confession of innocence is made explicit and again the question "Why?" is on the lips of the psalmists. The inference is that had the people forgotten Yahweh, been false to the covenant or spread forth their hands to a strange god then their plight would have been deserved or expected. The sin here is that of the nation. Psalm 66, which reflects the rather different situation of thanksgiving for answered prayer, turns on the same theology:

"If I had cherished iniquity in my heart,
the Lord would not have listened,
But truly God has listened, he has given
heed to the voice of my prayer!" (vv. 18f.)

However, it is important to note here that the entity whose sin, or lack of it, is the criterion for deliverance is not the community but the king. The salvation of the nation has depended upon the purity of the king himself. Conversely, the nation's deliverance is interpreted by the psalmist as evidence of the king's innocence. This connection will be pursued below.

47. The rather complex uses of the terms for poor in this psalm are discussed below pp. 123f.
48. Of necessity many of the arguments presented here anticipate conclusions reached in Chapter Three.
49. Testimony to these personal enemies is also found in the Book of Proverbs - cf. below p. 22*.
50. Eaton, TBC, ad. loc.
51. So Eaton, TBC, ad. loc.
52. A fuller exegesis of this psalm is also given in Chapter Three.
53. Eaton, KP, p. 54.
54. Rosenbaum, Antagonists, Chapter VI.

55. Rosenbaum seeks gallantly to avoid this interpretation but his arguments lack strength. His basis for a distinction between the two terms is the different punishments promised to each. In the code of Hammurabi, the two offences of knocking out a tooth and striking the cheek are distinguished and different punishments ascribed to each offence (Pritchard, ANET, p. 175). If Yahweh's punishment of the וְשֵׁנִי is more serious than that of the גִּבֹּרִים then the two groups must be different.
56. Psalms 9-10 are the psalms on which Birkeland and others who have followed his theory have largely based their case for in this psalm, if the MT reading is correct, the equation $\text{גִּבֹּרִים} = \text{וְשֵׁנִי} = \text{גִּבֹּרִים}$ appears to hold true. There have been several attempts, notably by Ginsberg and by Rosenbaum himself to emend the text to read " גִּבֹּרִים ", "arrogant ones" for " וְשֵׁנִי " but these attempts are awkward and are based more upon a desire for consistent theories than a respect for the text itself. The suggested emendation has no support at all in the mss. and versions. Furthermore, the text does make sound sense as it stands: the natural conclusion to draw from v. 6 alone is that the וְשֵׁנִי are the nations. However, as has been shown in the preceding inquiry, Birkeland's own theory that the psalm reflects a pattern, a stereotyped and formal way of referring to foreign antagonists, is equally dissatisfying. In fact, as will be argued below, Pss. 9-10 appeal for Yahweh's aid both against the nations and against the wicked in the land.
- H.L. Ginsberg, Some emendations in Psalms, HUCA XXIII (1950-51), pp. 74-101; S.N. Rosenbaum, New evidence for reading Ge'im for Go'im in Pss. 9-10, HUCA XLV (1974), pp. 65-72.

CHAPTER TWO: THE POOR IN THE PSALMS

1. See for example, Pss. 25:4, 40:18, 69:30, 70:6, 86:1, 88:16, 109:22.
2. C. Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw in the Psalms (1973).
3. Schultz in fact separates the two questions of individual/community and economic/social/religious poverty. It seems to me that the two questions are so inter-related that they are best considered together.
4. Comprehensive accounts of the history of this question are found in Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw, pp. 1-21; in A.R. Johnson's valuable essay on psalm criticism in H.H. Rowley (ed.), The Old Testament and Modern Study (OTMS) (1951), pp. 198-204; and in the work of J. Van der Ploeg, Les Pauvres d'Israel et leur piété, Oudetestamentische Studien VII (1950), pp. 236-242.

5. A. Rahlfs, 'עַי und וַיַּי in den Psalmen (1892).
6. Birkeland's original position was based on that of Mowinckel in Psalmenstudien I and followed from the view of the enemies as sorcerors (פְּעִי עַי) - hence the poor were seen as pious individuals appealing to Yahweh for aid. His later work again follows the view developed of the antagonists in the psalms, this time of the enemies as the nations. It is hoped that the preceding chapter has established a great flexibility in viewing the enemies as foreign nations and has thus opened the way for the supporters of the Birkeland position to a new examination of the problem of the poor.
7. Mowinckel himself follows Birkeland's interpretation of 'עַי and וַיַּי quite closely in PIW (Additional Note XXVIII, vol. II p. 251), certainly in his identification of "עַי" and "וַיַּי", although he would not press the consistency of interpretation as far as Birkeland.
8. Johnson, OTMS, p. 204 and A.A. Anderson, Psalms I, p. 269. Johnson also follows Birkeland in respect of the identification of the terms "עַי" and "וַיַּי": cf. CPIP p. 228.
9. Anderson, Psalms I, p. 269 on Ps. 34:2.
10. Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw, pp. 225f.; see also pp. 133-138.
11. Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw, p. 118.
12. Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw, p. 138.
13. Is. 32:7, Amos 8:4, Ps. 9:9, Job 24:4 (though the textual tradition varies in the latter case).
14. Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw, pp. 53-4.
15. Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw, p. 97.
16. Discussed in Appendix I below pp. 96 ff.*
17. E.A. Speiser, People and Nation in Israel, JBL vol. 79 (1960), pp. 157-163.
18. Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw, p. 36.
19. O. Keel, The language and imagery of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms (1978).
20. G.B. Caird, The language and imagery of the Bible (1981), pp. 151, 157.

21. R.C. Culley, Oral Formulaic Language and the Biblical Psalms (1967) and I. Ljung, Tradition and Interpretation: a study of the use of oral formulaic language in the so called 'Ebed Yahweh Psalms (1978).
22. Caird, Language and imagery, pp. 148f.; cf. above p. 29f where the argument is against seeing any language as code - this is even more the case for comparative language.
23. Caird, Language and imagery, pp. 148f.
24. Caird, Language and imagery, pp. 150f.
25. Compare the use of the term "bread" in the Christian tradition which can call on a great number and history of different interpretations depending on the context in which it is used.
26. Caird, Language and imagery, pp. 151f.
27. "To refer to the two constituent elements of the metaphor, Ogden and Richards invented the useful terms vehicle and tenor: vehicle being the thing to which the word normally and naturally applies and tenor the thing to which it is transferred"; Caird, Language and imagery, p. 152.
28. See Appendix I below pp. 88-109*.
29. Eaton, TBC, ad. loc. and also in his Some questions of philology and exegesis in the psalms, JTS ns. 19 (1968), pp. 603-609.
30. The psalm is discussed briefly above p. 43.
31. Cf. below pp. 57ff*.
32. This suggestion is also upheld by R.G. Murphy, A Study of Psalm 72, (1948).
33. So A.A. Anderson, Weiser, Eaton, Mowinckel etc.
34. Eaton, KP, p. 54; Mowinckel, PIW I, p. 3; PIW II, p. 212.
35. Schultz, 'Ani and 'Anaw, pp. 74-76.
36. Schultz realises that the identity of the poor in Pss. 9-10 turns on the identity of the רְשָׁעִים " who hotly pursue the 'עָנִי " (pp. 46-50). Anxious to preserve his conclusion that " 'עָנִי " never refers to the nation he takes refuge in the textual emendation suggested by Ginsberg

and supported by Rosenbaum of emending " **גוֹזִים**" to " **ג'א'ג**" throughout the psalm. The merits of this view are discussed above (p.149^{n.} 56). The term " **עֲנִיִּים**" occurs four times in the psalm although in only one place (10:17) is the reading unchallenged by a Kethib/Q'ere variant. Here the use of the term is consistent with that found above: " **עֲנִיִּים**" refers to the faithful in the congregation at prayer (cf. 22:27, 69:32). In 9:18 (MT 19) it seems that Q'ere of " **עֲנִי**" is to be preferred giving the more usual parallel with " **אֲבִיּוֹן**". In the two remaining instances (9:12 (MT 13) and 10:12) where " **עֲנִיִּים**" is the Q'ere reading it seems best to leave the text as it stands: the meaning in context here is more "afflicted" than "humble" or "meek".

CHAPTER THREE: THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE PSALMS AS THE KING

1. I.e. Psalms 20, 21, 45, 72, 91, 110 and 132.
2. Accounts of this are found in Eaton, KP, pp. 1-20 and in Tradition and Interpretation ed. G.W. Anderson pp. 250-5.
3. Originally Pss. 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 101, 110, 132; Pss. 89 and 144 were added later.
4. Eaton, KP, pp. 5-11.
5. Eaton, KP, pp. 24f.
6. T.N.D. Mettinger, King and Messiah (1976), p. 306, gives a useful list of connections between king and sanctuary.
7. Less sure however is Eaton's argument from homogeneity and continuity. He argues (pp. 22f.) that:

".. there is a prevailing similarity which is in accord with an origin within a restricted range of royal and national cultus.... It is difficult to accept that among similar psalms some, by hair-splitting arguments, can be said to belong to the specialised situation of the ordeal trials and the others elsewhere".

As was mentioned above, this argument is a nonsense unless Eaton is prepared to argue that all the psalms are royal. The following two chapters attempt to show that clear differences do emerge between royal psalms, psalms of the private person and psalms composed for ministers in the cult and that these distinctions are based upon rather more than "hair splitting arguments".

8. Naturally, great care must be taken to identify the situation envisaged in a psalm but to abandon this task altogether, as is often done with Psalm 22, for example is to abandon the task of interpretation itself.
9. Eaton, KP, pp. 23f. and Chapter IV passim.
10. Psalms 2, 18, 89, 118, 144 (from Gunkel's original group); 91, 28, 63 (which also mention the king - for exegesis see below); 3, 9-10, 22, 27, 44, 56, 57, 59, 66, 69, 108 (set against a background of battle) and 94 (the liturgy for the renewal of the king's vocation).
11. The ark procession is acknowledged and affirmed by, among others, Mowinckel, PIW I p. 172-4; Weiser, Psalms pp. 40f.; H.J.Kraus, Worship in Israel (1966), pp. 184f.; and H. Ringgren, Israelite Religion (1966), p.60. The cultic use of the ark has been examined in detail and confirmed in a doctoral study by T.E. Fretheim: The cultic use of the ark in the monarchial period (1968).
12. This understanding, which best accounts for the "lament tone" of Ps. 132, allows for the translation of "שׁוּבוּ יְיָ" as "Arise on behalf of .." rather than "Arise, go to .." which most translations have adopted. This translation will be discussed in detail below.
13. So, among others, J.R. Porter, The interpretation of II Samuel 6 and Psalm 132, JTS, vol. 5 (1954) pp. 163-173.
14. The enemies who are defeated here are the kings of the earth, Israel's military foes, not the forces of chaos opposed to the god in other ancient Near Eastern festivals. In accordance with the general tendency in Israel the myth of the surrounding culture has been historicised. However, vestiges of the mythical viewpoint remain in the psalms which has led some scholars to the view that the whole ceremony was one in which Yahweh regained his kingship each year rather than it being re-affirmed. In the course of this process the forces of chaos were defeated annually and the order and prosperity of society were maintained for a further cycle of the seasons. This view has been propounded by the "Myth and Ritual" group of English scholars, led by S.H. Hooke and by a number of Scandinavian writers including Engnell and, to a lesser extent, Mowinckel, but has not come to command general acceptance. The basic approach of the Old Testament was to historicise the myths of the surrounding nations. Kraus and others have argued persuasively that the autumn festival celebrates the once and for all victory of Yahweh in creation, communicating this afresh to each generation. His arguments are supported in the work of

Halpern who draws attention to a distinction in the psalms between descriptions of Yahweh's victory over chaos where the scene is mainly static, i.e. no actual battle is described as such (eg. Pss. 29, 93, 97) and descriptions of his victory over the nations which is actively described in several psalms.

15. A.R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel (SKAI) (2nd edition 1967), pp. 85ff. The existence of the ritual battle is also supported by Mowinckel (PIW I, p. 182ff.) and others.
16. Following Johnson's discussion of יָצָא in SKAI, p.88.
17. The debate on the antiquity of the covenant concept in Israel clearly lies outside the scope of this thesis. Whatever terminology was used however, it is clear that Israel perceived herself as being in some form of judicial relationship to Yahweh from the earliest period and therefore that this was re-affirmed annually in some way in the context of the festival.
18. A.R. Johnson, The role of the king in the Jerusalem cultus in The Labrynth (1935), ed. S.H. Hooke, pp. 77-113.
19. J.H. Eaton, Festal Drama in Deutero-Isaiah (1979), p.9 cf. KP, p. 130f. The reader will observe that of the definite group Psalms 75 and 92 have vanished without trace, as have Psalms 52, 57, 61, 86, 116, 120, 138 and 139, all the "possible" group" in the earlier book.
20. Mowinckel makes his position clear thus:
 "As long as the "suffering" of the king in a majority of the psalms must be referred to actual historical disaster or real prosaic illness, strong positive arguments are needed in order to prove that the suffering in other psalms, which is referred to in a perfectly analogous way, have to be referred to ritual sham sufferings" PIW II, Note XXXI, p. 253f. - whilst Mettinger, although he finds some support for a ritual of humiliation in the lament metre of Psalm 101, writes that:
 "The evidence remains inconclusive. A cultic suffering on the part of the king would perhaps not constitute a wholly inconceivable element in Israelite kingship. However, as far as I can see, there is a lack of positive evidence for such a practise in ancient Israel", King and Messiah, p. 307.
21. J.B. Pritchard (ed.), ANET, p. 334a.
22. Eaton, KP, p. 130.

23. Precisely what is meant by this rather ambiguous phrase is unclear.
24. Eaton, KP, p. 132.
25. See below n. 27.
26. Even more dubious is Eaton's view that the king was also involved in rites of atonement (KP, pp. 181ff. and Festal Drama, pp. 33f.) which may or may not have been linked with the royal humiliation described above. The evidence for the priestly acts on the day of atonement being taken over by the High Priest from the king himself which he attempts to bring forward is not wholly convincing in itself. In particular Ezekiel 47:17, it seems to me, does not envisage an atoning role for the prince, as Eaton makes out, but merely states that the prince shall furnish the offerings for the temple on behalf of the people. Even if this could be shown to be the case however, we would have nothing other than Eaton's own interpretation of Psalms 51 and 102 to indicate that the king took upon himself the sin of the community and suffered on their behalf. Such an understanding again seems to derive more from a desire to seek the roots of the cross in the Old Testament kingship rites rather than from the evidence itself.
27. In his recently published study on Israelite kingship Baruch Halpern has established two points which support this contention. In the first place, he argues convincingly that there is a common ancient Near Eastern myth which can be recovered from the *Enuma Elis*, the Sumerian *Lugal*, the Ugaritic myths of Baal-Yam and the Old Testament sources which describes the victory of the (storm) god over the god of the sea. A common structure emerges from each of these myths: danger threatens the cosmos; a hero is designated to meet this danger and do battle with the forces of chaos; he defeats these forces and returns to be enthroned and acclaimed as king and to pronounce judgement over the earth. In the Old Testament the myth of the Divine Warrior is changed in most sources so that the enemies defeated by Yahweh are not the mythological forces of chaos but Israel's historical foes (however there are vestigial traces of the original myth in several of the psalms eg. 89, 74); this defeat of the foes is still associated however with Yahweh's being proclaimed king and winning for himself a sanctuary (cf. Song of Deborah, Deuteronomy 33:2-5; Ps. 44:1-5; Exodus 15:1-18 and Halpern, Constitution, pp. 61-85). This observation therefore validates the threefold structure of the festival given above.

Secondly, Halpern clearly establishes a connection between the myth of the Divine Warrior and the establishment and renewal of the human monarchy. This was clearly the case in Babylon: the three themes of the establishing of the human monarchy, of the temple at Egigi and of Marduk's kingship over the cosmos are linked together in the Babylonian akitu festival at which the Enuma Elis was recited before the god. Halpern also brings forward other evidence to support this connection. It is thus all the more reasonable to suppose a common ground between the affirmation of Yahweh's kingship and that of the Davidic ruler and his interpretation is borne out in the exegesis of the psalms which follows. It also represents a further demonstration that there was in fact a fair degree of common ground between the Babylonian akitu celebration and that practised in Israel. B. Halpern, Constitution, Chapters 3 and 4, pp. 51-125.

28. See Appendix II for a defence of these two functions as the basis of royal ideology.
29. Although Eaton does not include Psalm 26 in his group of royal psalms in KP he does favour the possibility that the suppliant here is the king in his earlier Torch commentary.
30. A.A. Anderson offers Deuteronomy 17:8-13 as providing a context in life for a psalm such as this but this seems unlikely to me. In Deuteronomy it is the Levitical priests who must judge the case and to whom appeal must be made, rather than to Yahweh himself.
31. J. Gray, I and II Kings (1977), p. 125.
32. Johnson connects the psalm with a king's prayer from a ritual of incubation but, like Eaton, does not connect the psalm with the kingship ritual.
33. cf. K.W. Whitelam, The Just King (1979) and Appendix II below.
34. See below pp. 209f.
35. So I Kings 13:1-10 (the unnamed prophet to Jereboam at the festival); 14:10-16 (Abijah to Jereboam); 17:1 (Elijah against Ahab) and I Kings 22, the story of Micaiah, bearing witness to the fact that prophetic opinion was not uniform but some would be for a given king and some against: v. 20 "He never prophesies good concerning me".

This list could be greatly extended. There is less direct evidence for the process of accusation against the kings in Judah but there seems no good reason to assume that independent criticism of the king by the prophetic movement was confined to the Northern Kingdom.

36. RSV "groanings" seems rather strong here as a translation of "גִּוְגִוּ" in view of the context; NEB has "inmost thoughts" here.
37. Halpern, Constitution, pp. 1-13.
38. Judges 11:1-12:7; Halpern, Constitution, p. 115.
39. Judges 6:11-8:35; Halpern, Constitution, pp. 116f.
40. Eg. that of Joash which contains the elements of designation by anointing, cultic and political purge and then (only) the king "took his seat on the throne of the kings" (II Kings 11:19, Halpern, Constitution, pp. 140ff.). According to Halpern also (p. 146) the investiture of Joshua the High Priest in Zechariah 3 may also shed light on the designation part of the kingship rites: the removing of dirty garments and the putting on of clean ones is here given the symbolic significance of the removal of sin which would seem to support my own contention that the Israelite rites, like the Babylonian, involved some form of confession by the king.
41. Eaton, KP, p. 60. Despite noting this Eaton does not use the psalm in his reconstruction of the royal ritual. Halpern similarly alludes to the psalm as being associated with the festival but does not explore its significance further: Constitution, pp. 95-7).
42. So among the judges Gideon degrades himself (Judges 6:15) at his call (as indeed does Moses in Exodus 3:11); Saul's words on being anointed echo Gideon's (I Samuel 9:21) whilst the narrator himself imparts a similar sentiment to the story of David's first anointing (I Samuel 16:6-13); David also, according to the narratives, humbles himself before the Lord on several occasions in this fashion (eg. II Samuel 8:18ff.).
43. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p. 307.
44. cf. Eaton, KP, pp. 39f., Johnson, CPIP, pp. 340-352.

45. D.R. Hillers, Ritual Procession of the ark and Psalm 132, CBQ, XXX (1968), pp. 48-55.
46. So Johnson, CPIP, p. 70 n.7. In particular he argues that we would have expected "מ" here if the meaning "from" had been intended.
47. So BDB, p. 515 col. b.
48. Halpern records that being granted a temple is closely connected with a god being recognised as king throughout the ancient Near East. In Enuma Elish Marduk's reward is the construction of a palace (Ee 6:39-66; ANET p. 68b-69a); Baal receives the grant of a temple from El after defeating Yamm in the Ugaritic texts (Halpern, Constitution, p. 21) and Yahweh's shrine is itself associated with his kingship and with victory in war (Exodus 15:17, Pss. 46, 48 etc.).
- Again Halpern has argued, convincingly, that the temple is the bond between the king and the god. The Babylonian king is always a temple builder and the Israelite kings seem to have regarded the founding of a sanctuary of the utmost importance in securing the permanence of the dynasty. Excuses have to be made for David's not having built a temple; Solomon is the temple builder. par excellence, etc.
49. So Pss. 46, 48 etc.
50. It should be noted that psalms which may be assigned to the festival at this or any other point (such as Psalms 24 and 68) but which are neither psalms of the individual nor directly concern the king's involvement in the ritual have not been discussed here.
51. It is worth noting generally the frequency of direct oracles from the cultic prophets in these ritual psalms here and in Pss. 2, 132 etc. which supports the general case for reading Psalm 94:16 as a word directly from Yahweh.
52. Anderson and Jacquet, ad loc., both give excellent reviews of the evidence in favour of the unity of the psalms and Jacquet provides a list of link phrases.
53. "מִן" is one of the synonyms for the Ark identified by Fretheim (cf. I Sam. 5:3-4) op. cit. above.

54. This song of thanksgiving answers the king's cry for judgement given in Pss. 7, 17 and 27 above.
55. This judgement is itself portrayed in Pss. 58, 75, 82 and 97.
56. The notion of Yahweh dwelling in Zion, another safe stronghold, is of course a dominant festal theme cf. Pss. 46, 48.
57. So BH, ad loc.
58. So BDB, ad loc.
59. As regards those royal psalms which are not assigned here to the ritual a useful distinction can be made between "general historical" and "particular historical" pieces. The term "particular historical" is used of those few psalms which appear to have been composed in response to some particular historical event. Examples of this category include the Song of Deborah in Judges 5 and Psalms 74 and 37, psalms referring to the destruction of Jerusalem and to the exile respectively. The majority of non-ritual royal psalms however are general in reference in that they appear to have been composed not in response to a particular historical event but to be delivered in a general type of crisis such as defeat in battle or sickness befalling the king. It appears that the psalter would hold in its repertoire songs relating to a limited range of such crises to be used as and when the need arose.

The distinction between psalms used in the annual ritual and psalms used only when the need arose, although a useful one and made by a number of scholars (including Eaton, KP, p. 131) clearly cannot be pressed too far. There would clearly be nothing to prevent prayers for Yahweh to arise in the ritual being used in response to historical disasters and vice versa. The principle followed here however has been to assign to the royal rites only those psalms which contain positive evidence in favour of such an association and to leave all others in the general historical group.

60. These terminated the reigns of Elah, Jehoram, Zechariah, Shallum, Pekahiah and Pekah.
61. That between Zimri, Omri and Tibni recorded in I Kings 16:5-20.

62. Morton Smith has made an attempt, in the main convincing, to trace the development of a "Yahweh alone" party which gradually gained influence throughout the pre-exilic period in both the northern and the southern kingdoms and which culminated in the work of the Deuteronomic school which shaped the religion of Israel after the exile. Smith does not attempt to show the relationship between such a party and the temple cult however where the issue of which god was supreme was, of course, raised more strongly (M. Smith, Palestinian Parties and Politics that shaped the Old Testament (1971), pp. 15-54.
63. cf. Pritchard, ANET, p. 280.
64. The motif in prayer of asking Yahweh for help in time of war is continued throughout the Old Testament period and into the intertestamental era up until the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (cf. N.B. Johnson, Prayer in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (1948).
65. So Eaton, KP, p. 27f. and TBC, ad loc.; A.A. Anderson, ad loc.; Weiser, ad loc. Mowinckel sets the psalm in his group of national psalms of lament in the I-form (PIW I, p. 220) in which the speaker is most likely to be the king.
66. I do not find attractive the suggestion that Psalms 3 and 4 are a pair: a morning and an evening psalm respectively, for reasons which will be explained in Chapter Five in the exegesis of Psalm 4.
67. The question of the unusual terminology used for the enemies in this psalm is discussed above p. 93.
68. The point has been well made by R.J. Clifford, A lament over the Davidic ruler's continued failure, HTR 73 (1980), pp. 35-47.
69. A useful review of solutions is provided by Jacquet ad loc.
70. Mowinckel, PIW I, p. 49.
71. Eaton, KP, p. 75.
72. Johnson, CPIP, p. 331f.
73. Birkeland, Die Feinde, pp. 92f.; cf. Eaton, KP, p. 52; Pritchard, ANET, p. 418b.

74. So for example in Is. 8:8, Psalm 18:5, 66:12, 124:4.
75. cf. Psalm 44, where the same accusation is levelled against God in a military situation:
 "For thy sake we are slain all the day long
 and accounted as sheep for the slaughter"
76. The only possible objection to this view, turning on the translation of "שָׁגַח" (v. 5) by "steal" is effectively countered by Eaton in his translation of the word by "taken by plunder" - a translation supported by LXX which has ἀετοῦ rather than κλέπτω at this point.
77. See above p. 165.
78. J.M. Ward, The Literary form and Liturgical background of Psalm 89, VT XI (1961), pp. 321-341; p. 335.
79. Ward, op. cit., p. 338; in fact he sees the psalm as having a liturgical setting but in the context of a day of fasting over Israel's historical defeats.
80. Johnson, SKAI, p. 112. Ringgren also presents a false dilemma here. He writes:
 The really vital question is this:
 does Psalm 89 really contain a ritual
 of a regularly recurring observance or
 was it written for a specific historical
 situation? It is admittedly difficult
 to think of a historical situation that
 fits the content of this psalm"
 Suffice it to say that Ringgren neglects the third
 alternative, that the psalm could be a general
 historical piece; Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 231.
81. Eaton, KP, pp. 121f.
82. None of the other arguments put forward by Eaton will bear much weight. He refers to the parallels with the Tammuz traditions adduced by Ahlström and Widengren but these are confined to the first section of the psalm, acknowledged by all to have been influenced by the festal traditions. The same applies to the universal note of domination in the dynastic promises to which Eaton draws attention. The frailty of human life is mentioned but does not indicate a ritual interpretation any more than a general historical one it seems to me. Similarly, the theme of witness seems as appropriate in an historical as a ritual setting.

83. R.J.Clifford suggests the translation:
 "The people acknowledging Yahweh marched,
 In the effulgence of your face they walked"
 which, he feels, further stresses the processional nature of the festival described. This reading substitutes " לָּכְדוּ" (they marched) for " לָּכְדוּ" in the MT and gives better parallelism, though whether this gives us sufficient grounds for emendation must be questioned. The emendation also involves moving " לָּכְדוּ" (shout) to the end of v. 17. Clifford's article is useful in drawing together the essential unity in the psalm and the correspondence between the past tradition appealed to and the present dilemma but he never addresses the central question of whether the psalm is a ritual or a general historical piece.
 R.J.Clifford, A lament over the Davidic ruler's continued failure, HTR 73, (1980), pp. 35-47.
84. Johnson, The role of the king in the Jerusalem Cultus in The Labyrinth ed. S.H.Hooke, p. 101.
85. Johnson, SAI, p. 116f.
86. Eaton, KP, p. 115.
87. v. 9a as it is commonly read (" לָּכְדוּ" for " לָּכְדוּ") makes equal sense on any interpretation, but it may be better still to read " לָּכְדוּ" - "The Lord will redeem him" for the words of mockery here. " לָּכְדוּ" here reads rather awkwardly in that it lacks an object and is in any case an uncommon form of the verb - this would be its only occurrence in the Old Testament.
88. Johnson, CPIP, p. 377 n. 5.
89. Eaton's arguments are: the description "servant" which is suggestive of a royal relationship; the claim the psalmist makes to a covenant bond (vv. 1, 8, 11, 12), God's promise to conduct the psalmist by his angelic spirit and his desire to do God's will as well as the affirmation "Thou art my God" (but on this see above p. 155f.).
90. Johnson, CPIP, pp. 266ff.
91. Eaton, KP, p. 80.
92. Pritchard, ANET, p. 390.
93. So, for example, A.A. Anderson ad loc.

94. A.R. Johnson, The vitality of the individual in Ancient Israel (1961); H.W. Wolff, Anthropology of the Old Testament (1973).
95. D. Jones, The cessation of sacrifice after the destruction of the temple in 586 BC., JTS ns. 14, (1963), pp. 12-31.
96. Eaton, KP, pp. 71f.
97. See n. 26 above.
98. The arguments in favour of a royal attribution are set out above p. 79f; cf. Mowinckel, PIW I, p. 219.
99. cf. Eaton, KP, p. 49f.
100. So Engnell and, to a lesser extent, Eaton, KP, p. 131.
101. So also Johnson, CPIP, pp. 216-226 who considers that the whole psalm originates from the circles of the cultic prophets.

CHAPTER FOUR : THE INDIVIDUAL AS A PRIVATE PERSON

1. A number of writers on the topic of prayer and the psalms have shown great carelessness in dealing with the evidence from the psalter in particular J.L. Haddix, Lamentation as a personal experience in selected Psalms (1980), who insists on seeing the psalms as the individual creations of pietists describing their own spiritual experiences and so invalidates his argument; V.J. Bredenkamp, The concept of communion with God in the Old Testament (1975) who, again, selects his psalms for discussion on the grounds of their "personal content" irrespective of whether or not the pieces were actually composed for use by a private person; and thirdly H. Vörländer in Mein Gott - Die Vorstellung vom personliche Gott im Alten Orient und im A.T. (1975), selects a group of "personal psalms" for evidence in his enquiry almost arbitrarily and with no consideration of the possibility of their being royal - although he does discuss the question of the enemies at length (pp. 248-58) concluding, wrongly, that the enemies are real demons.
2. W.W. Hallo, Individual prayer in Sumerian, JAOS, vol. (1968), pp. 71-89.

3. E.R. Dalglish, Psalm 51 (1962), pp. 8-56.
4. Vorländer, Mein Gott, pp. 49ff., 228f. etc.;
R. Albertz, Personliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion, pp. 49-74.
5. Vorländer, Mein Gott, pp. 188-198.
6. A full summary of the backcloth of prayer in the Old Testament is given by C.W.F. Smith in IDB in his article on Prayer.
7. The circumstances in which an individual prays when in need include the prayer of Abraham's servant for the fulfilment of his mission (Gen. 24:12ff.); prayer for protection when setting out on a journey (Gen. 28:20ff.); prayer for fertility in bearing children (I Sam. 1:11) in this case at a public shrine; Job's friends recommend prayer in time of sickness (Job 5:8) whilst Solomon's prayer in I Kings 8 recommends that individuals offer prayer in the temple in many and various circumstances. The temple is to be used as a place for the taking of oaths of innocence (8:41f.) and for "whatever prayer, whatever supplication is made by anyone or by all my people Israel, each knowing the affliction of his own heart and stretching out his hands towards ~~this~~ house".
8. According to DeVaux marriage was not celebrated by any religious act in either Israel or Mesopotamia; however, there was undoubtedly rejoicing at the wedding. The psalter preserves only one such wedding song and this, significantly, is for the wedding of a king (Psalm 45). R. DeVaux, Ancient Israel (1965), p. 33.
9. At childbirth the ceremony of circumcision took place outside the sanctuary and so perhaps we should not expect songs to be preserved in the psalter. The ceremony of purification took place at the central shrine however (Lev. 12:6ff.) but no prayer is provided for this or for a ceremony of dedication such as that performed by Hannah (I Samuel 1:23ff.). There are many references in the Old Testament to funeral rites and lamentations (see DeVaux, AI, pp. 56-61) and several of the particularly fine laments have been preserved (eg. David's laments over Jonathan (II Samuel 1:19-27) and for Abner (II Samuel 3:33-4)) but again these do not form any part of the extant psalms in the psalter.

10. This of course applies to most of the royal psalms as well in that in the period in which the final collection of the psalms was made the royal rites themselves as reconstructed in Chapter Three would be long obsolete.
11. Johnson, CPIP, p. 359f.
12. Eaton, KP, p. 73.
13. That is each half of the verse not only means the same but contains the same parts of speech in the same order:
- אֲלֹהִים בְּטֶמְהָה הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי
וּבְגִבּוֹרֵתְהָ תִדְרֵנִי
- and
- אֲלֹהִים שָׁמַע תְּפִלָּתִי
וְאַזְיָנָה לְאַקְרִי - פִּי
14. R.C. Culley, Oral formulaic language in the Biblical Psalms (1967) and I. Ljung, Tradition and interpretation (1978).
15. As has already been noted, the opening verses of the psalm indicate that the suppliant is envisaged as a man of some substance who has the means to be generous to the poor. Hence it is not unlikely that such a man would have enemies who would want to cast him down from this position.
16. H. Schmidt, Das Gebet der Angeklagten (1928) and L. Delekat, Asylie und Schutzorakel (1967).
17. Eaton discusses and dismisses these theories in the course of his setting out the case for a substantially royal interpretation of the psalms (Eaton, KP, Chapter One).
18. Eg. Proverbs 16:7, 24:17f., 27:16.
19. Eg. Proverbs 6:16, 14:5, 25, 19:5, 28, 21:28, 24:28.
20. Contra Eaton who assumes such a distinction to be arbitrary (KP, pp. 6f.).
21. Cf. Ps. 35:4 with Ps. 70:3. Evidence such as this supports the theory mentioned above that the psalmists drew on a common pool of, say, curse phrases or beseeching phrases in their method of composition.

22. Particularly in v. 21; cf. Ps. 70:4.
23. Verbal comparison with Psalm 70 is again instructive. Cf. 35:27 with 70:5.
24. H.L. Creager, A note on Psalm 109, JNES vol. 6 (1947), pp. 121-3.
25. The arguments for and against this position are aptly summarised by E.J. Kissane, The interpretation of Psalm 109, Irish Theological Quarterly vol. XVIII (1951), pp. 1-8 especially p. 3f.
26. Eaton, KP, p. 85.
27. Eaton, KP, pp. 79f.
28. This is clearly the case in Psalm 40 since part of the psalm is actually preserved elsewhere as Psalm 70 and may also be true of Psalm 31:1-8, 9-24; 35:1-10 etc. all of which could stand as complete, if brief, psalms of petition.
29. Ie. Isaiah 2:3f. par. Micah 4:1f., Zech. 14:16f. etc.
30. Cf. Johnson, CPIP, pp. 228ff. who makes much of this phrase.
31. A satisfactory summary is provided by C.C. Keet, A study of the Psalms of Ascent (1969), Chapter 1, pp. 1-17.
32. In Psalms 122:4, 123:2, 124:6, 129:6, 133:2, BDB (p. 979 col. a) describes the particle as "in usage limited to late Hebrew passages and passages with a N.Palestinian colouring" - the latter remark evidently does not apply to the Psalms of Ascents with their frequent references to Zion.
33. Keet, following Gesenius, (who saw in this feature and explanation for the superscription) cites as examples Pss. 121:1-2, 122:2ff., 123:2ff., 124:1-5; 125:2f., 126:2f., 129:1f. (Keet, op. cit. p. 7).
34. Eaton, KP, p. 82f.
35. Eaton, KP, p. 83.

36. The domestic and agricultural images used in the Psalms of Ascent are that of the "glowing coals of the broom tree as a punishment for a lying tongue (Ps. 120:4); the eyes of a maidservant (Ps. 123:2), for Israel's relationship to God; the metaphor of rejoicing at harvest for a change in Israel's fortunes (Ps. 123:2); a quiver of arrows for sons (Ps. 127:5); vine and olive shoots for wife and children (128:3); the plough's furrow for national suffering (129:3); the watchman as an image of salvation (130:6); the weaned child for peace and contentment with God (131:2) and anointing oil and dew as symbols of unity (133:2). These images are not found elsewhere in the psalter and to a large degree contribute to the charm as well as the distinctiveness of the Psalms of Ascents.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE INDIVIDUAL AS A MINISTER OF THE CULT

1. The precise nature of the wisdom teacher's involvement with the cult will be explored below in more detail. It seems unlikely that the cult "employed" such teachers in any professional capacity in the temple as it employed both cultic prophets and musicians but conversely the presence of wisdom psalms in the psalter indicates that there was a degree of formal involvement by the wise in the religion of Israel.
2. Also discussed in this section, although briefly, are psalms in which the singer appears, as it were, incidentally as an "I" in the psalm ie. Pss. 8, 45, 103, 104, 106, 145, 146. Psalms 20 and 110 are mentioned briefly for the same reason in the section on cult-prophetic psalms.
3. A.R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel (CPAI) (2nd edition 1962).
4. The following psalms are included and discussed in detail:
 - a) as illustrating "the responsibility of the cultic prophet for the life of society as recognisable in regular worship":
Pss. 81, 95, 50, Song of Miriam, 78, 132, 89, 110, 24 and 15.
 - b) illustrating "the responsibility of the cultic prophet for the life of society as recognisable in times of national crisis":
Pss. 74, 80, the Song of Deborah, the Song of Moses, 60, 20, 91, 90 and 85.

- c) illustrating the "responsibility of the cultic prophet for the life of the individual as recognisable in times of personal crisis":
Pss. 28, 86, 6, 17, 5, 143, 63, 30, 32, 130, 75, the Song of Hannah, 56, 27, 61, 54, 116, 22, 60 49 and 51.

Royal psalms are included in all three groups and include most of the individual psalms discussed. There is no indication in Johnson's work as to whether this list is meant to be exhaustive of the psalms which reflect the cultic prophets' influence.

5. These include particularly the use of the emphatic particle **x:in**; the concern with the **דיש** of the individual and of society and the oracle form which appears in several psalms.
6. In particular I would disagree with his early dating of many of the psalms which seems, in the first place, in many cases to be based on a "There is no reason why not....." argument rather than positive demonstration and, secondly, to cut against many of the accepted conclusions of Old Testament scholarship without any attempt to justify this (cf. A. Phillips' criticism of the book in JTS vol. 31 (1980), p. 127). I would also disagree with Johnson on the designation of certain psalms as royal, as has been explained above, and also on the proposed Sitz im Leben of many of the royal psalms. The work suffers from a tendency to see this question of the cultic prophets in isolation from other questions in psalm studies and also from a desire to link up psalms, wherever possible, to particular events in Israel's history, a process which reaches its climax in the assignation of Psalm 51 to David himself and its sitz im leben to David's sojourn at Manahaim while he awaited the outcome of Absalom's revolt. As Phillips remarks: "We seem at this point a long way from Gunkel".
7. A.F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms (1902), p. 428f.
8. Cf. above pp. 46-56.
9. The image is used frequently by, for example, Micah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.
10. A similar homogeneity has been noted by M.J. Buss among the psalms headed "**לְבַנֵי קִנְחָה**" (Pss. 42-9, 84, 85, 87). Buss thinks that these psalms also were written by the ministers of the cult for recitation by that group in the temple services and he may well be right. He notes that "the strong personal element

in these psalms points to a connection with the cult organisations" and suggests that the whole group of Asaph and Korah psalms should be seen as "clergy psalms" rather than lay psalms, a point which is substantiated in this chapter. In particular, two of the three psalms identified in this chapter as the direct testimonies of the temple poets (Pss. 42-43 and 84) are Korah psalms. It may well be that as the Asaph psalms reflect the work of the cult prophets, the Korah psalms reflect the concerns of the temple musicians. M.J. Buss, Psalms of Asaph and Korah, JBL vol. 82 (1963), pp. 382-392.

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11. For example, neither DeVaux nor Ringgren⁶ who have both written standard works on the subject, pay any significant attention to the role of the cult in either education or social control.
12. The only alternative would be proclamation which was doubtless used on various occasions as in Hezekiah's unsuccessful attempt to invite the northern tribes to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover recorded in II Chronicles 30:1-12.
13. According to the Deuteronomistic History, for example, many solemn warnings are delivered to Israel by her leaders at times of national festival (eg. Joshua 24; I Samuel 12; I Kings 8); although the composition of these speeches is Deuteronomistic the tradition of historical review seems to be an ancient one. The ancient Deuteronomistic writers take up a concept made explicit in Deuteronomy itself that teaching is central to the faith (Deuteronomy 33:10, 31:10f.). From a different strand of Israel's tradition the classical prophets delivered their oracles of warning and judgement at the great national festivals (Amos 7:10, Jer. 7:1, 26:2, 36:4ff.). Also in the prophets the guardians of Israel's religious traditions, both priest and cultic prophet, are severely censured because they have ceased to teach the people (Hos. 4:6f.; Jer 7:8; Malachi 2:6f.). Finally, teaching, and particularly the teaching of Torah, assumes an even greater importance in the period of the exile and afterwards, as several oracles of salvation reveal:

"Come let us go up to the house of the Lord,
That he may teach us his ways
And that we may walk in his paths,
For out of Zion shall go forth the אִלֹּהִים."
(Is. 2:3 parallel Micah 4:2 following Kaiser's dating of the text to the post-exilic period).

14. Cf. Johnson, CPIP, p. 29 et passim.
15. Partly because of the use of the word "Torah" in the opening line of the psalm, Weiser is led to think of the psalmist as a priest, but he is in a minority here among the commentators.
16. Eaton, KP, p. 79.
17. Somewhat surprisingly, the psalm is not discussed at all by Johnson in CPIP.
18. In view of the particular testimony style here and the probability that the psalm originated in the exile, like others in the Asaph psalter, it seems to me that the piece should be seen as a particular historical psalm rather than one written for general use.
19. Notably Pss. 74, 79, 80; cf. Kirkpatrick, Psalms, p. 430.
20. Johnson, CPIP, p. 321.
21. Again somewhat surprisingly Johnson does not deal with this psalm in a significant way in CPIP.
22. Eaton argues (KP, p. 69) that Psalm 36 is a royal psalm although placed in his "less sure" group. However there is no evidence for this view which cannot be taken also, in this case, as evidence for the psalm being delivered by a cultic prophet: both king and prophet are witnesses to Yahweh and can identify their own fate with that of the nation. Also, positive indications that the psalm is royal, such as evidence of royal style, are lacking here. Accordingly, Psalm 36 is grouped with the non-royal psalms here although the case cannot be proved with any degree of certainty.
23. A full assessment of Johnson's work and of the contribution of the cultic prophets to psalmody as a whole must be regarded as outside the scope of this thesis in so far as the main focus here is not so much on psalm composition as on the identity of the person who would have delivered the psalm in the cult.
24. A clear discussion and summary of the debate on the wisdom psalms is provided by Leo G. Perdue in his stimulating examination of the whole relationship between the wisdom schools and the religion of Israel: Wisdom and Cult (1977).

25. To summarise Perdue's overview the following scholars identify the following pieces as wisdom psalms:
 Gunkel: 1, 37, 49, 73, 112, 127, 128, 133.
 Mowinckel: 1, 34, 37, 49, 78, 105, 106, 111, 112, 127.
 Johnson: 1, 37, 49, 73, 91, 112, 127, 128.
 von Rad: 1, 34, 37, 49, 73, 111, 112, 119, 127, 128, 139.
 R.E. Murphy: 1, 32, 34, 37, 49, 112, 138.
 J.L. Crenshaw: 1, 19, 33, 39, 49, 104.
 K. Kuntz: 1, 32, 34, 37, 49, 112, 127, 133.
 Perdue himself included the following psalms as wisdom pieces: 1, 19A, 19B, 32, 34, 37, 49, 73, 112, 119 and 127.
26. A useful list of elements in these three areas is provided by P. Rowantree, Wisdom in the Psalms: an examination and assessment of the evidence of wisdom material in the psalter, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales (Cardiff), 1969.
27. As in the often quoted parallels between Proverbs 22:17-24:22 and the Egyptian "Instruction of Amen-em-ôpet".
28. Ben Sira 24; cf. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, p. 189f.
29. So W. McKane, Prophets and Wise Men (1965).
30. Mowinckel, PIW II, p. 111f. The only wisdom psalms which seem to have been non-cultic are the two late poems Pss. 119 and 39. For all his merits Mowinckel sometimes seems unwilling to attribute any worth to anything after the exile.
31. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, pp. 266ff.
32. Particularly strong evidence for this development is found in the importance given by the Chronicler and Ezra-Nehemiah to teaching in the cult.
33. The idea of personal testimony is, of course, extremely prominent in the teaching style of the wisdom schools whose whole philosophy was built upon experience.
34. Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, p. 280.
35. "For those blessed by Yahweh shall inherit the land,
 But those cursed by him shall be cut off".
 A similar view is repeated in vv. 3b, 9b, 11a, 27b, 28b, 29, 34b.
36. Transposing "אִיֹּשֵׁב" from the end of Psalm 48 to the beginning of this psalm following Perdue, p. 340, who follows Gunkel, Enleitung, p. 348.

37. **רָפָּ** v. 13 is listed by BDB (p. 430) as a late Hebrew word common in Zechariah 9-14 and Esther but not elsewhere.
38. Following Perdue's translation and, in part, his exegesis (p. 313f.) although I would not limit the psalm to a discussion of two riddles only.
39. The forms include instruction (vv. 8-10), two sayings and an example testimony (v. 36).
40. Eaton, KP, pp. 77ff. He assigns this psalm to his "less sure" group. The main arguments against Eaton's position are assembled above (p.142f).
41. Eaton, KP, p. 29f. Psalm 4 is one of the few psalms in Eaton's "definitely royal" group whose attribution I would dispute.
42. In particular "what is said about prayer, earlier experiences of grace, sleep, the "many who say", glory and derision".
43. Weiser's commentary states that the LXX has all the verbs in v. 2 in the third person perfect. In fact this is not the case: **οἰκτιροῦσθε** and **ἐσοικαοῦσθε** preserve the imperative now found in the MT. However, the fact that the LXX translator has preserved the imperative in v. 2b can only be an indication of his faithfulness in the transmission of the text and caution in harmonisation. The other indications that v. 2 should be in the past tense throughout are so strong however that we can only conclude that the text was partially corrupted when it came into the translator's hands.
44. Cf. Pss. 9-10 above pp.
45. So Weiser, Anderson, Mowinckel (PIW II, p. 267), Perdue, (p. 216, 319) etc.
46. Cf. Psalm 89 discussed above pp.220 ff.
47. On wisdom in creation see Proverbs 8:22-31, Job 28:23-27; Wisdom 7:22f; on wisdom/torah see Sirach 24.
48. For a list of wisdom features in Psalm 119 see Perdue, Wisdom and Cult, p. 312.
49. The attitude to the **רָשָׁע** in the psalm is discussed above p. 92.
50. There are, of course, examples of protest literature in the wisdom writings of other nations; cf. the Akkadian

"Dialogue of Passivism" and the Sumerian Job story.

51. J.L.Crenshaw, Old Testament Wisdom (1982), p. 82.
52. Mowinckel, PIW II, pp. 85-95.
53. The fascinating topic of the arrangement of the Levitical guilds in the post-exilic age, for which we have the information given in Chronicles - Ezra - Nehemiah has been discussed in some detail by H.G.M. Williamson, I and II Chronicles (1982), pp. 119ff. He concludes that the lists in Chronicles do not shed very much light on pre-exilic practices.
54. So A. Sendrey, Music in the Social and Religious life of Antiquity (1974) and Music in Ancient Israel (1969). Sendrey writes from the perspective of the musicologist and many of his insights are helpful. However, although he has a basic awareness of Old Testament scholarship he makes uncritical use of many of the sources. Further insight into the importance of music in ancient Near Eastern culture is provided by Curt Sachs, Sendrey's mentor in The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, East and West (1943) (although Sachs' assumptions about the origins of music are viewed with some scepticism by contemporary musicologists) and F.W. Galpin's study, The music of the Sumerians (1937). Some useful illustrations are given in O. Keel's study of iconography, p. 335ff.
- Three insights emerge from Sendrey's work which are helpful in understanding the psalms namely:
- i) It appears, from various references, that singing was primary in the temple worship; instrumental music was an accompaniment to the singing.
 - ii) The music itself may well have been in the "makamat" style in the manner practised in many near Eastern countries today whereby the performer plays variations on a simple melody rather than following a set score. This being the case, the musical accompaniment to the psalms may well have set the mood (of either lament or rejoicing) and the pace, but not dictated the "melody" (as we know it today) leaving the singers free to develop a theme under inspiration.
 - iii) Finally, Sendrey argues, the collective nature of the enterprise means that, of necessity, a school of musicians and singers would need to have been established in the temple, probably from Solomon's time to pass on the necessary skill and expertise from one generation to another.

55. Additional evidence for this view is provided by the notes in the psalm headings, the most reasonable explanation for which seems to be that they indicate musical accompaniment in some way.
56. Eaton, TBC ad loc.
57. So Eaton, TBC ad loc.
58. Johnson, SKAI, p. 94.
59. So Anderson, Kraus, Weiser, Jacquet.
60. Eaton, KP, p. 69f. Mowinckel (PIW I, p. 219) supports the view that this is a national lament in the "I" form.
61. The most reasonable explanation of these verses seems to be that provided by Weiser: "the thunder of the torrents (of the Jordan) becomes to the psalmist a symbol of his own adversity, a symbol in which he cannot help seeing a punishment which the hand of God has inflicted upon him" (Psalms, p. 350).
Thus the psalmist evokes both the beauty of the land he loves and the symbolism of the waters as signifying deep distress in the space of two verses.
62. This suggestion is supported by a number of older commentators including T.H. Robinson (in The Psalmists ed. D. Simpson, p. 42) and by the heading in the Good News Bible.
63. So Anderson, Weiser et. al.

APPENDIX I

1. F.C. Fensham, Widow, orphan and poor in the Ancient Near Eastern legal and wisdom literature, JNES vol. 21 (1962), pp. 129-139.
2. J. Van der Ploeg, Les Pauvres d'Israel et leur pieté, Oudtestamentische Studien VII (1950), pp. 236-242.
3. Fensham, Widow, orphan and poor, p. 129.
4. Lawcode of Hammurabi ll. 29-39, ANET, p. 164.
5. Ibid. epilogue l.82, ANET, p. 178.
6. Fensham, Widow, orphan and poor, p. 231.
7. The Babylonian Theodicy ll. 265-275: from W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (BWL), p. 87.
8. Ibid. ll. 276-286, Lambert, BWL, p. 89.
9. Ibid. ll. 295-297, Lambert, BWL, p. 89.
10. Precepts and Admonitions ll. 56-65, Lambert, BWL, pp. 101-3.
11. Bilingual Hymn to Ninurta, Obverse ll. 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 Lambert, BWL, p. 119.
12. Hymn to Shamash, ll. 97-100, Lambert, BWL, p. 133.
13. Ibid. ll. 130-134, Lambert, BWL, p. 135.
14. Translated by R.A. Wilson, ANET p. 408.
15. Wilson, ANET, p. 414.
16. Instruction of ~~Mexi-kare~~ 45, Wilson, ANET, p. 415.
17. Instruction of Amen-em-het, Wilson, ANET, p. 418.
18. Instruction of Amen-em-opet ll:5, 13:5-8, 28:5-6 Wilson, ANET, p. 423ff.
19. Fensham, Widow, orphan and poor, p. 133.
20. H.L. Ginsburg, ANET, p. 151.
21. For a similar word play in Isaiah cf. 5:5-7 for the similarity in sound between " צְדָקָה " and " צָעֲקָה " A not dissimilar phenomenon of assonance is found in the cry of the psalmists: " עָנִי אֲנִי ".

22. G. Botterweck, TDOT vol. 1 pp. 27-41: article on "אֲרִי" (Arī).
23. So O. Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39 (1974) ad loc.
24. So, for example in the War Rule XIV and Hymns 3, 8 and 9; G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (1979), pp. 142, 156, 165 and 166.
25. "רִי" is not discussed separately in this section since it only occurs once in the psalms.
26. W. McKane, Proverbs, A New Approach (1970), ad loc.
27. The complete group is as follows: 6:10, 10:4, 13:7, 8:18, 14:20, 18:23, 19:7, 20:13, 22:7, 23:21 (all "רִי"); 10:15, 19:4 ("דל"); 15:15, 21:7 (other words).
28. In the light of the above discussion on the ANE. background to the care of the poor McKane's restriction of this theodicy motif to Israelite wisdom must be questioned. Perhaps a more general distinction should be made between religious and non-religious wisdom in general in the ancient Near East.
29. The complete group of sayings is: 17:5, 28:7 ("רִי"); 19:17, 27:16, 28:8, 11, 15, 29:7, 22:22, 14:31, 21:13, 22:9, ("דל"); 11:24, 14:21 (others).
- 30.

APPENDIX - II

1. R.N. Whybray, Some historical limitations of Hebrew kingship, CQR, vol. 163 (1962), pp. 136-150.
2. Whybray, Hebrew kingship, p. 36.
3. Although this remains important it is a subject upon which there may be even less agreement among the Old Testament sources than among modern scholars!
4. It is hoped that the restructuring of the royal ideal along functional lines does not invalidate but rather is seen to be dependant upon the individual insights into kingship produced in either the historical or the theological dimension. Eaton's own contribution, the most recent attempt to draw out the royal ideal from the psalms is clear and helpful in many respects. In particular I am indebted to Eaton for an assessment of the king's role as witness in the cult (KP, pp. 181-198). However, I would express the following reservations in

respect of his statement of the royal ideal:

- (i) Although some attempts are made to link in the royal attributes described in the psalms to the rest of the Old Testament, the study lacks the perspective which a wider consideration of Old Testament material would have given.
- (ii) A pervasive feature of Eaton's work, which is in my view a fault, is his tendency to attribute all piety and all cultic acts to the king wherever possible (pp. 171-7) to the detriment of our understanding of the piety of other Israelites.
- (iii) In my view also, Eaton's arguments for the king's atoning work are inadequate and are discussed in more detail above (KP, pp. 177-181, Festal Drama, pp. 33f.).

- 5. K.W. Whitelam, The Just King (1979).
- 6. Whitelam, The Just King, p. 17, ANET, p. 159.
- 7. Whitelam, The Just King, p. 17.
- 8. See, for example, the testimony of Shalmaneser, ANET, p. 276f.
- 9. ANET, p. 276.
- 10. From The Asiatic Campaigns of Thut-Mose III (c.1490-1436 BC), ANET, p. 234. The text goes on to describe Pharaoh's victories.
- 11. From The Asiatic Campaigns of Amen-Hotep II (c. 1447-1471 BC), ANET, p. 244.
- 12. From List of date formulae of the reign of Hammurabi, ANET, p. 269.
- 13. ANET, p. 277.
- 14. ANET, p. 274f.
- 15. Lambert, BWL, p. 114f.
- 16. The quotations given above represent an almost random sample taken from Pritchard. Almost the whole of the section "Historical Texts" (pp. 227-321) reflects documents written in a similar style.

17. S.Mowinckel, He that Cometh, (1956), pp. 57f.
18. See below n. 26 for a discussion of the meaning of "ד'עֲדִי־ו".
19. Halpern brings this notion of the judges securing power by military victories out clearly in his analysis of the Jephthah and Gideon narratives (Constitution, pp. 111-125).
20. The problem of the separation of sources in I Samuel is, of course, not straightforward. The recent attempt by Halpern to revive a two source theory for these sections of the book is attractive and is loosely followed here, although it seems it would make little difference to the general point at issue. On this theory in the "A" source David is actually introduced at this point and gains prestige through killing Goliath, having come to the battle as an errand boy (17:12-30, (31), 41, 48b, 50, 55-58); in the "B" source David has already been anointed by Samuel and has been introduced to the court as a lyre player to Saul and as "a man of valour, a man of war" (16:18). The Goliath incident marks his coming to prominence as a warrior in Saul's army (Halpern, Constitution, pp. 171f.). The problem of the relationship between David and Elhanan of course remains - cf. II Samuel 21:19.
21. Saul's reaction to the song is similar to Solomon's response to Adonijah's request for the king's concubine, another badge of the royal office:
 "And why do you ask Abishag the Shunammite for Adonijah? Ask for him the kingdom also for he is my elder brother....." (I Kings 2:22)
 The story of Abishag itself illustrates the degree to which the virility of the king, another aspect of his warrior nature perhaps, is an important element in his kingship. It seems significant that the story of the succession to David should begin with this otherwise incongruous tale of Abishag and that it was when the king "knew her not" that Adonijah declared "I will be king". In this connection J. Gray, I and II Kings, p. 77 draws attention to field anthropological studies which indicate that the authority, even the life, of the king depends on his virility. He also points to the Krt text from Ras Shamra where the sickness of the king is assumed to disqualify him from reigning.

22. An interesting passage to note in this context is that found in 2 Samuel 19:9f. where the people of Israel clearly regard Absalom's anointing to have been invalidated by his defeat in battle whilst David's kingship has been affirmed many times in wars against the Philistines:
- "The king delivered us from the hands of our enemies and saved us from the hands of the Philistines; and now he has fled out of the land from Absalom. But Absalom, whom we anointed over us, is dead in battle. Now therefore why do you say nothing about bringing the king back?"
23. Halpern again has clearly demonstrated the importance of the founding of sanctuaries in the ideology of ancient kings. He draws attention to the story of David and the entry of the ark to Jerusalem; to II Samuel 7 and the word play on בית as meaning both "temple" and "dynasty"; to Solomon building the great temple in Jerusalem and to Jereboam's founding of the shrines at Bethel and Dan; to the rebuilding and strengthening or purging of the temple performed by Jehu, Hezekiah and Josiah and finally to the promises of Yahweh to Zerubbabel in which the completion of the temple and his ascension of the throne are closely bound together. He is able to support this evidence with other examples from the ancient Near East and to show that there is a close relationship between the victory of the god and his founding a home for himself on the one hand and the triumph of the king on his accession and his building a sanctuary for the god on the other (Halpern, Constitution, pp. 19-31).
24. So, for example, I Kings 14:30, 15:7, 16, 22:1-4 etc.
25. Mowinckel, He that Cometh, p. 102.
26. The question of the meaning of שֹׁפֵט in the Old Testament is, of course, a live issue and has been the subject of a number of discussions. Whitelam reviews the arguments and decides in favour of שֹׁפֵט having, as its root meaning, "to govern" rather than "to judge". However, although the term is sometimes used in a general sense, parallel to מִשְׁפָּט or שֹׁפֵט in Hosea 7:7, Psalm 2:10, Exodus 2:14, Amos 2:3, Micah 1:3, Zephaniah 3:2, Proverbs 8:16 etc. it does also have this special meaning of to administer justice, which included hearing cases (Whitelam, The Just King, pp. 58-61). Furthermore, although the focus in the book of judges is on the military feats of these heroes or heroines by which they came to power, the function of "judging Israel" continued for a number of years: some notion of government seems to be implied therefore.

27. Whitelam, The Just King, pp. 19-29
28. Whitelam, The Just King, p. 17 from ANET, p. 164.
29. So Whitelam, The Just King, p. 24.
30. Cf. ANET, p. 151.
31. Whitelam, The Just King, p. 26.
32. This analysis forms the core of the book in Chapters 5 to 8, pp. 91-165.
33. Psalms 50, 58, 75, 82, 97 discussed above pp. 46ff.
34. Jurgen Moltmann takes this disjunction between the ideal and the real or, in his words, between promise and fulfilment, as the ground from which hope and action spring (Theology of Hope (1967), pp. 5-19 and Chapter II pp. 95-139 in particular). What he does not see however, in connection with the psalms themselves, which are not central to his understanding of the Old Testament, is that the disjunction between the ideal and real is also the mainspring of prayer and lament for the Hebrews. Their response, incredibly, in the face of repeated contradictions of the ideal, was repentance and renewed faith to turn to Yahweh and pray for his intervention.
35. Eaton, KP, pp. 181-197.
36. Pss. 2:10f., I Sam. 2:3f., Pss. 62:4, 9.
The references given in notes 51-63 below are taken from Eaton. The latter does give some references to psalms which I do not consider to be royal and these are not quoted. However the removal of these verses does not affect the overall picture of the king's witness except in so far as is stated in the main text.
37. Pss. 18:50, 57:8-11, 61:9, 63:4-6, 118:9, 144:9, 9:2f., 89:2, 138:1.
38. Pss. 144:9, 40:4, 66:13-15.
39. Pss. 40:10f., etc.
40. So in Pss. 2, 18, 62.
41. Eg. Pss. 18:21-6, 40:5, 66:18ff.
42. Eg. Pss. 89, 9-10, 92, 40.

43. Eg. Pss. 118:8, 20:8, 44:7, 108:13.
44. Pss. 40:5, 62:9-13.
45. Pss. 144:3f.
46. Pss. 18:32f., 89:7.
47. Pss. 40:6, 77:14.
48. Pss. 2, I Kings 3:5, Pss. 89:27, 91:15 cf. 20:1-2, 21:3-5.
49. Eaton, KP, pp. 46-50.
50. Eaton, KP, pp. 137-141.
51. Eaton, KP, pp. 152f.

APPENDIX III

1. That is as evidence of any acts of piety or devotion or any religious experience outside of the main shrines and public acts of worship.
2. Evidence of this is found in I Sam. 16:14-23, 18:10f.; II Sam. 1:19-27, 3:33f. and 23:1-7.
3. The "מִזְבֵּחַ" heading of course, in the first place, may not have been intended to imply authorship and in the second is placed over several psalms which, by reason of their mention of the temple or other such details are clearly later than David's time. An attempt to assign Psalm 51 to David on the grounds of the depth of personal piety revealed there has recently been made by A.R. Johnson (CPIP, pp. 419f.), as was mentioned above. The attempt is not convincing.
4. This group includes Vorlander, Haddix, Bredekamp et. al., op. cit. above.
5. G.W. Anderson, Evidence in the psalter of private devotion in ancient Israel, VT 30 (1980), pp. 387-397. Anderson draws a distinction between psalms in which God is desired for his own sake (as in Psalm 42:1) on the one hand and on the other hand psalms in which God is desired for what he can give the suppliant (eg. salvation from enemies or a return to health). This distinction is useful but he fails to demonstrate that

such a desire for God alone could not be found in a psalm written for the cult.

6. In the case of the psalms discussed in Chapter 5 the identity between the group who composed the piece and who delivered the psalm in the cult means that only two spiritualities are in operation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AI	Ancient Israel (R. DeVaux)
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament (ed. J.B. Pritchard).
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon.
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BH	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (ed. Elliger and Rudolph)
BWL	Babylonian Wisdom Literature (ed. W.G. Lambert)
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CPAI	The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel (A.R. Johnson)
CPIP	The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody (A.R. Johnson)
CQR	Church Quarterly Review
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IDB	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G. Buttrick et. al. New York: Abingdon Press, 1962.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KP	Kingship and the Psalms (J.H. Eaton)
OTMS	The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H.H. Rowley. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951.
PTW	The Psalms in Israel's Worship (S. Mowinckel)
SKAI	Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel (A.R. Johnson)
TBC	Psalms (Torch Bible Commentary) (J.H. Eaton)
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament ed. G. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Grand Rapids, Michigan: W. Eerdmans, 1978 onwards.
VT	Vetus Testamentum
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

ADDENDA

pp. 71, 251

Psalm 45

The RSV translation has been quoted here since this seems to give the most satisfactory rendering of what is a notoriously difficult text with problems in every verse. In v. 5 (MT 4) the RSV gives a near literal translation of the Hebrew in the first half of the verse where BH sees a corrupt text on account of the dittograph "וּנְדָרָה". If an emendation is to be made, the most sensible suggestion seems to be to follow the LXX which reads:

ΚΑΙ ἔντεινον καὶ κατεύουδου καὶ βασιλευς

which would give the Hebrew "וּנְדָרָה" at the beginning of the verse. Later in the same verse the Hebrew would be translated literally as:

"Ride forth for the cause of truth and humility, right" (so Anderson ad loc.). The RSV here sensibly follows the BH suggestion reading "וַיַּעַן וַיִּצְדַּק" - "for the sake of" or "to defend" the right. In v. 5 (MT 6) the RSV again follows the suggestion of BH in transposing "עַסִּים תַּחֲתֶיהָ יִפְלוּ" to the end of the verse.

V.6 (MT 7) is a notorious crux interpretum. Later Christian tradition (cf. Hebrews 1:8) and the LXX, possibly influenced by that tradition, suggest reading "אַלְהִים" as a vocative giving the translation: "Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever". This, however, would be a statement of the royal ideal, seeing the king as divine, which goes way beyond the normal understanding of the king's nature found in the Old Testament. It seems better therefore, with the RSV, to see "אַלְהִים" used as an adjective here referring not to the king but to his throne (and therefore to his office) which was instituted by and under the protection of Yahweh and therefore ordained "עוֹלָם". Such an understanding of "אַלְהִים כִּסֵּאָה" also gives a better parallel with "יִשְׁבֵּט מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל" in the second half of the verse.

p. 134

W.F. Albright, Psalm 68. HUCA XXIII, 1950-51, pp. 1-39.

p. 188

Psalm 141:5

The Hebrew literally translated here would read:

"Let the oil of the head never anoint my head". The RSV sensibly follows the LXX and other ancient versions in reading "רָשַׁע" for "רָאֵה", giving the contrast with "צִדִּיק" and "חֶסֶד" in the first half of the verse.

p. 190f.

Psalm 27:2

The RSV translates, in rather a tame fashion, the Hebrew "לִאֲכַל אֶת-בְּשָׂרִי" as "uttering slanders against me" and confines the vivid metaphor of "eating up my flesh" to the margin. The metaphor of wild beasts approaching the suppliant here, as elsewhere in the psalter, would seem to denote a military aggressor (whether historical or ritual) rather than simply slander (cf. Pss. 22, 59, discussed above pp. 229-238).

Psalm 27:6

The phrase "זִבְחֵי תְרוּעָה" provides further supporting evidence that Psalm 27 was used in the ritual.

"תְרוּעָה" seems to have been a technical term for "victory shout" as used in several different texts. I Samuel 4 is particularly interesting as the "תְרוּעָה" is given in response to the arrival of the Ark:

"When the Ark of the covenant of the Lord came into the camp all Israel gave a mighty תְרוּעָה and the earth shook".

"תְרוּעָה" is also used of the shout given when the Ark was brought into the temple (I Sam 6:15 par. I Chronicles 15:28) and according to the Chronicler, at the rededication of the temple in the time of Asa (II Chronicles 15:14). In the Psalms the word is used, significantly, in Psalm 47, the Psalm which would seem to have been sung as Yahweh, his presence symbolised by the Ark, went up to the sanctuary after the ritual battle:

עָלָה אֱלֹהִים בְּתְרוּעָה
יְהוָה בְּקוֹל שׁוֹפָר (Ps. 47: 5, MT6)

"תְרוּעָה" is also used in Psalm 89:16 - in the first half of the psalm which would seem to have been taken from the festival rites (cf. below pp. 220-224). All these considerations taken together have the effect of strengthening the association of Psalm 27 with the festival and with the rising up of Yahweh to fight on behalf of Israel and the king.

Psalm 27:8

Two texts which support the case for linking the phrase "בְּקִשׁוֹי פְנֵי" with the Ark are II Samuel 6:4-5, where David and all Israel are said to be making merry

"לפְנֵי-יְהוָה" and the context clearly indicates that this means before the Ark, and Psalm 24:6:

זֶה הַדֹּר הַדְּרָשׁוּ מִבְּקִשֵׁי פְנֵי אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב

(following, with RSV, the LXX text in omitting the suffix from "פְנֵי" and inserting "אֱלֹהֵי").

Psalm 24 is the psalm most often associated with the ascent of the Ark into the temple. These two texts,

with other less convincing evidence, are quoted by T.E. Fretheim in support of his case that " אֲרֹכָה" can be a synonym for the Ark: The cultic use of the Ark in the monarchic period, Chapter One.

Psalm 27:13

The RSV translation omits the conditional particle " אִם " which begins v. 13 in the Hebrew. The alternative is to assume with A.A. Anderson (ad loc.) that the apodasis of the conditional sentence has been suppressed. The abbreviated sentence which remains, Anderson suggests, amounts to the emphatic statement: "I have believed....."

p. 196

Psalm 92:10-11 (11-12 MT)

The RSV translation is given here except that I have retained (with NEB) "I am anointed", the literal rendering of the Hebrew " מִשְׁחָאֲנִי " rather than the RSV's translation: "Thou hast poured on me" since the former seems to make better sense in view of the interpretation of the psalm put forward above. The RSV, with several other translations, sensibly supplies the word "downfall" in v. 11 (MT 12) (so New International Version, Good News Bible).

pp. 201ff.

Psalms 9-10

The RSV translation is given in the main in the discussion of Pss. 9-10 and the following points would seem to require clarification:

9:4 (MT 5). This verse would be more literally rendered by "Yahweh take your throne, a judge of righteousness" - i.e. a righteous judge and hence to give righteous judgements.

9:6 (MT 7). A case can be made, as is noted by Anderson (ad loc.) for re-ordering the phrases in this verse so that the phrase "everlasting ruins" is applied to the fate of the cities rather than the enemies. The verse would then read:

"The enemy has vanished,
The very memory of them has perished
Their cities thou hast rooted out,
They are ruins for evermore".

Again, Anderson notes the suggestion that the Hebrew word " בָּהֶן " at the end of this verse (which the RSV takes as emphasising the pronoun "them") may be equivalent to the Ugaritic "Hm" meaning "behold" and may therefore belong to the next verse.

9:9 (MT 10). The Hebrew here reads " יְהוָה יִהְיֶה " - literally translated "Let Yahweh be....". It seems sensible to follow the RSV emendation to " יְהוָה ":

"Yahweh is....." (so Anderson ad loc., Good News Bible, New International Version).

9:12 (MT 13); 9:18 (MT 19); 10:12. For a discussion of the K'thib and Q're variants in these verses see Chapter 2 n. 35 pp. 151f.* In 10:12 RSV retains " אֵל ", probably correctly, in spite of the BH suggestion that the word should perhaps be dropped on the evidence of the Targum.

9:13 (MT 14). Weiser's omission of " קִטְבֵי אֵי " on the grounds of metre, following the suggestion in BH, seems less wise.

p. 228

Psalm 66:16

The RSV, along with most other translations of this verse implies that " וְיִרְוֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ " is to be read as the first word in the second half of the verse.

