

# THE ROYAL PSALMS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

David Joseph Larsen

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at the  
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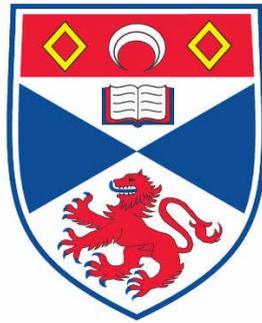
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David Joseph Larsen



This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews

August 7, 2013

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I, David Joseph Larsen, received assistance in the writing of this thesis in respect of grammar and syntax, which was provided by Deborah Recksiek and Colby Townsend.

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## The Royal Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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### Abstract

This thesis examines the use and function of a specific group of Psalms, the so-called “Royal Psalms,” among the texts of the Qumran library. From the time of their integration into the worship practices of the Israelite people in the obscure past to the Second Temple period and beyond, these Psalms continued to be a source of inspiration to the Jewish people. Though there have been many studies that have analyzed their *Sitz im Leben*, use, interpretation, and application for many different periods, no study has attempted a thorough analysis of their use among the Qumran documents. Analyses of the use in the Qumran texts of certain individual Royal Psalms exist, but these do not attempt to cover the Royal Psalms as a corpus. The present thesis will analyze the appearance in the Qumran library of the eleven generally-accepted Royal Psalms: Pss 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 89, 101, 110, 132, and 144.

This study explores whether or not these Psalms are to be found in the known Qumran Psalms scrolls, variations or differences as compared to the Masoretic Text, how they were interpreted in exegetical and other texts, quotations of and allusions to them, and how themes from the Royal Psalms contribute to the structure and theology of non-canonical royal psalms found at Qumran. An understanding of the use of the biblical Royal Psalms in these texts is of value for our comprehension of what happened to the pre-exilic royal traditions as these hymns continued to be used in a post-monarchic society. This dissertation makes an original contribution toward these goals, establishing that there was an interest on the part of the authors of many of the Qumran texts in royal themes although they lived long after the monarchy had ended.

## The Royal Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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### Chapter 1: The Royal Psalms and the History of Their Interpretation

#### *1. Introduction*

The discovery of a large number of Psalms scrolls, or scrolls containing Psalms, at Qumran<sup>1</sup> has generated considerable interest among scholars. This has led to numerous studies regarding the contents of these scrolls, with much attention focused on comparisons with the structure and contents of the “canonical” Psalter of the Hebrew Bible and the interpretation of the Psalms<sup>2</sup> in the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Studies that fall into the former category often focus on the entire corpus of Pss found at Qumran whereas the research into the latter tends to be conducted as part of larger works on biblical quotations, allusions, or interpretation in the Scrolls. The purpose of this study is to focus on a specific group of Pss, the so-called “Royal Psalms,”<sup>3</sup> in order to elucidate their use and function among the texts of the Qumran library. The frequent quotations of or allusions to the RPss (especially Pss 2 and 110) as messianic proof-texts in the New Testament are well known. Likewise, scholars, especially in the early twentieth century, have studied the role of these Pss in ancient Israel, later prophecy, and Second Temple Judaism.

The impetus for this doctoral thesis stems from the fact that although many studies have been conducted into the use of the larger corpus of canonical Pss in the Qumran library, there is no comprehensive treatment of the use of the RPss in particular. Analyses of certain individual RPss exist, but they do not attempt to cover the RPss as a corpus. Whereas these studies are limited in scope, the present thesis will analyze the appearance in the Qumran library of the eleven generally-accepted RPss: Pss 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 89, 101, 110, 132, and 144. We will explore topics such as whether or not these Pss are to be found in the known Pss scrolls, variations or differences as compared to the Masoretic Text, how they are were interpreted in exegetical and other texts, quotations of and allusions to them, and how themes from the RPss contribute to the structure and theology of other Qumran texts.

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<sup>1</sup> There are at least thirty-six scrolls or manuscripts discovered at Qumran that contain Psalms. See Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, Ps (singular) and Pss (plural).

<sup>3</sup> Henceforth, RPs (singular) and RPss (plural).

## ***1.1 Background: Scholarship on the RPss, Their Use and Interpretation***

### ***1.1.1 Gunkel and the RPss as a Form-Critical Category***

When Hermann Gunkel developed his “form-critical” method and applied it to the Hebrew Bible’s Psalter, he identified shared “forms” that he used to classify the various Pss into genres. One of his categories, which he termed “Royal Psalms,”<sup>4</sup> included Pss 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 101, 110, 132, and 144:1-11, with 89:47-52 as more distantly related. Gunkel’s RPss, however, were not grouped together due to their shared form, but were rather associated by their shared content matter and supposed “life setting.” The Pss that Gunkel designated as royal thus have no characteristic structure, although various of the other forms may be found in them (lament, Ps 89; individual thanksgiving, Ps 18, etc.).

In his book *Einleitung in die Psalmen (Introduction to the Psalms)*, Gunkel laid down his criteria for what classifies a psalm as royal. His major points may be summarized as follows:

1. They are concerned entirely with kings.<sup>5</sup>
2. While the king is often referred to in the third person, some Pss also portray the king, himself, as speaking (Pss 2; 18; 101; 132:1-10; 144:1-11; cf. also 89:47-52).<sup>6</sup>
3. These Pss conceptualize reigning native kings (date is pre-exilic).
4. They had their “life setting” in royal celebrations. Gunkel associated the situations apparent in these Pss with the many celebrations and festivals depicted in the biblical texts, as described in Esther 1:4 and in various passages in the books of Kings and Samuel, as having been organized by or for the Israelite kings.
5. They describe settings similar to celebrations that took place in the Ancient Near East: e.g., Assyria and Egypt.<sup>7</sup>
6. The general situation of the songs is that they were performed in the presence of the king and his dignitaries in the palace or in the sanctuary.<sup>8</sup>
7. A characteristic “indefinite type of speech” stands out. With the exception of David and Melchizedek, no kings are mentioned by name. Likewise, there are no references to real situations or historical events. Songs can plausibly be transferred from one ruler to another.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The term “Royal Psalms” was used in the early nineteenth century by Wilhelm de Wette to refer to those Psalms which had been considered messianic, which he understood to refer to reigning kings of Israel/Judah and which celebrated the “office” of kingship. See W. M. L. de Wette, *Commentar über die Psalmen* (Heidelberg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1811), 4.

<sup>5</sup> Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel*, Mercer Library of Biblical Studies (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 99.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 100-01.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

More recently, Scott Starbuck provided a concise definition in his 1996 monograph on *Court Oracles in the Psalms*: “‘Royal Psalm’ is a scholarly typology, a classification label applied by commentators to Psalms which laud historical human kingship or feature the reigning monarch as the protagonist.”<sup>10</sup>

Gunkel’s delineation of these RPss established a standard that became, and has been, accepted by most Pss scholars and built upon by subsequent thinkers. Although many of these succeeding thinkers would expand the number of Pss they identified as royal, their enumerations vary significantly. Many of these theories, especially those envisioning dozens of pre-exilic RPss, have not been widely accepted. However, most scholars are willing to accept at least Gunkel’s minimum of ten RPss<sup>11</sup> with the eleven that he was willing to enumerate, including Ps 89, as noted above, generally accepted by modern scholars as RPss.<sup>12</sup>

### ***1.1.2 Views on the Life Setting of the RPss in Ancient Israel***

#### ***1.1.2.1 Psalm 2***

Gunkel saw Ps 2 as part of an enthronement festival of the Davidic king. He notes that there is an “entire drama” depicted, in which the subjugated peoples try to rebel against the king, but he keeps them in bonds.<sup>13</sup> There are in this psalm the frequently repeated themes of conflict with foreign rulers and miraculous salvation by Yahweh, set in the context of the enthronement of Yahweh’s king, and the promise to him of power and victory. Peter Craigie sees a coronation which would have involved “the setting of a crown upon the new king’s head, the formal presentation of a document to the new king, and his proclamation and anointing (cf. 2 Kgs 11:12).”<sup>14</sup> John Eaton describes the major items of this enthronement ceremony as: anointing (cf. v. 2); installation (v. 6); legitimation (v. 7); and empowerment (v.

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<sup>10</sup> Scott R. A. Starbuck, *Court Oracles in the Psalms: The So-Called Royal Psalms in their Ancient Near Eastern Context* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 1-2. See also Mark David Futato and David M. Howard, *Interpreting the Psalms: An Exegetical Handbook* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2007), 181.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Klaus Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990); John Day, *Psalms*, T & T Clark Study Guides (London; New York: T & T Clark International, 2003); Leopold Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning* (Staten Island, N.Y.: Alba House, 1974); W. H. Bellinger, *Psalms: Reading and Studying the Book of Praises* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1990); S. E. Gillingham, *Psalms through the Centuries*, Blackwell Bible Commentaries (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Pub., 2007).

<sup>12</sup> See Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 102. See also Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I: 1-50*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), 7. For additional studies on Ps 2, see P.L. Kunz, “Der 2. Psalm in neuer Sicht,” *BZ* 20 (1976), 238-42; G. Wilhelmi, “Der Hirt mit dem eisernen Szepter. Überlegungen zu Psalm II 9,” *VT* 27 (1977), 196-204; J. T. Willis, “A Cry of Defiance—Psalm 2,” *JSOT* 47 (1990), 33-50.

<sup>14</sup> Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, Word Biblical Commentary 19 (Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1983), 64.

9, scepter, etc.).<sup>15</sup> Similarities can be seen in the biblical accounts of the enthronement of Davidic kings, such as those described in 1 and 2 Kings, at the coronations of Solomon (1 Kgs 1:32-48; cf. 1 Chr 29) and Joash (2 Kgs 11). In these accounts, the kings are both anointed by the priest and/or prophet (1 Kgs 1:34, 39; 1 Chr 29:22; 2 Kgs 11:12) and also crowned and/or enthroned (1 Chr 29:23; 1 Kgs 1:46; 2 Kgs 11:12). Haney notes that this psalm is highly ideological “because *nowhere* in the history of Yahweh’s people do we see that the king on Zion was/is represented as the great king of the earth.”<sup>16</sup>

### 1.1.2.2 Psalm 18

For Gunkel, this psalm celebrates the day that the king returned from battle, crowned with victory, and safe from all danger.<sup>17</sup> It is a majestic thanksgiving song spoken by the king himself. Gunkel also notes that a portion of this song appears in Ps 118:10-12, which appears to be a “thanksgiving liturgy.”<sup>18</sup> He sees it as borrowing from the genre he calls “individual thanksgiving Psalms.”<sup>19</sup> A parallel text to Ps 18 can be found in 2 Samuel 22.<sup>20</sup>

The psalm praises Yahweh for coming to the king’s aid in the conflict against his enemies. In this conflict, the king is almost overcome by death, perdition, Sheol, and the chaotic waters. He cries to Yahweh for deliverance and Yahweh hears him from his holy temple. There is a highly dramatic description of the salvation of Yahweh. He reaches down and lifts the king up from the many waters (which are equated with the king’s enemies) and sets him “upon his heights” (v. 33).<sup>21</sup> The king is endowed with great power and is given victory over his foes in idealistic language (which reflects the language of Yahweh’s victory). He is exalted above his adversaries and set as head of the nations. Likewise, the retribution warned of in Ps 2 against the rebellious foreign kings seems to see its fulfillment here. There is a pattern in these psalms of suffering or defeat, deliverance by Yahweh, conquering of enemies, and exaltation or enthronement.

Klaus Seybold sees Psalm 18 as part of a “Theophany of God” ritual sequence: a pre-exilic liturgical tradition which re-enacted the advent/appearance of God “by the recitation of the festival pericope, or by dramatic cultic symbols” such as the cloud of smoke, blast of

<sup>15</sup> J. H. Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, Studies in Biblical Theology, 32 (London: S. C. M. Press, 1976), 112.

<sup>16</sup> Randy G. Haney, *Text and Concept Analysis in Royal Psalms* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 112. Emphasis in original.

<sup>17</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 100. See also F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, “A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18,” *JBL* 72, no. 1 (Mar., 1953), 15-34; S. Shnider, “Psalm XVIII: Theophany, Epiphany Empowerment,” *VT* 56, fasc. 3 (Jul., 2006), 386-398.

<sup>18</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 102.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 103. See also Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 171.

<sup>20</sup> Craigie argues that 2 Sam 22 is the older text. He states, however, that there is “some degree of unanimity among scholars that Ps 18 is ancient, to be dated in the eleventh or tenth century B.C.” Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 172.

<sup>21</sup> Dahood’s translation. Dahood, *Psalms I*, 103.

trumpets, and festive cry. In essence, the Sinai theophany was reproduced in the temple of Jerusalem (see also Pss 50:2; 68; 17:15; 97).<sup>22</sup>

### 1.1.2.3 *Psalm 20*

Gunkel sees Ps 20 as an intercession for the king during a celebration on the day that the king went to war (cf. Pss 68; 144:1-10; 1 Sam 13:9ff; 2 Chr 14:10; 20:4ff); and also when he returned in victory (Ps 20:6).<sup>23</sup> Gunkel sees the central event of the ceremony as a divine oracle proclaiming victory for the king, and sees Isa 45:1-7, the promise of victory to Cyrus at time of war, as imitating this type of royal oracle.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, Craigie labels the psalm a “royal liturgy” that may have formed part of a ritual performed before the king went to war, as was common in the ancient Near East.<sup>25</sup>

The presence of a hypothetical oracle after verse 5 helps establish the ritual character of the setting of this psalm. Verses 6-8 seem to be spoken by one with priestly and prophetic authority who is under oracular inspiration.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, in this setting, the king has also offered sacrifices and prayers (vv. 3-4).

### 1.1.2.4 *Psalm 21*

Gunkel categorizes this psalm as likely pertaining to a festival of a special nature, such as the birthday of the ruler or the anniversary of his enthronement (see also Hos 7:6; Ps 72).<sup>27</sup> He notes, “On the *anniversary* of the ruler's taking of power, the poet sings about the ruler's majesty and righteousness, his victories over his enemies, and about his reign over the whole world (Pss 21; 72).”<sup>28</sup> Dahood sees it as “a psalm of thanksgiving for the royal victory prayed for in the preceding psalm.”<sup>29</sup> According to Eaton, it is generally agreed that this psalm should be connected to the enthronement rites of the Davidic king.<sup>30</sup> Although Mowinckel notes that it is similar to the genre of the “thanksgiving Psalms” and highlights the fact that it is an intercessory prayer on behalf of the king, he concludes that it “belongs rather to the festivities at the annual celebration of the day of anointing and enthronement.”<sup>31</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms*, 133-34.

<sup>23</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 100, 02. See also Dahood, *Psalms I*, 127.

<sup>24</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 102.

<sup>25</sup> Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 185. See also Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, trans. D.R. Ap-Thomas, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), 225; Z. Zevit, “The Common Origin of the Aramaicized Prayer to Horus and of Psalm 20,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110, no. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1990), 213-228.

<sup>26</sup> Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 116.

<sup>27</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 100. See also F. C. Fensham, “Ps 21—A Covenant Song?” *ZAW* 77 (1965), 195-202.

<sup>28</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, 102. Emphasis in original.

<sup>29</sup> Dahood, *Psalms I*, 131.

<sup>30</sup> Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 117.

<sup>31</sup> Mowinckel, *Psalms, vol. 1*, 224.

Craigie asserts that this royal liturgy involved various participants whose voices are heard in different parts of the psalm, including the king, one or more priests and/or prophets, and a congregation.<sup>32</sup>

#### 1.1.2.5 Psalm 45

Ps 45 describes a royal marriage in elaborate and colorful imagery. Gunkel considers it a “celebration of the marriage of the prince” from the northern kingdom of Israel.<sup>33</sup> Craigie notes that it is designated as a “love song” and that it should be seen specifically as a “wedding song,” a type of song which has no parallel elsewhere in the psalter.<sup>34</sup> According to Craigie, the psalm implies that there is a procession (vv. 15b-16) and reference to the covenant concerning the continuity of the royal dynasty (vv. 17-18).<sup>35</sup>

The *maskil* or “sage” addresses the king directly and exalts him with high praise, surpassing that of most any other description. “You are the fairest of the sons of men; grace is poured upon your lips; therefore God has blessed you forever. Gird your sword upon your thigh, O mighty one, in your glory and majesty!” (Ps 45:2-3). His prowess and strength in battle are acclaimed.

Perhaps the most striking line in this list of praises for the king is in v. 7, where the *maskil* addresses him, saying, “Your throne, O God, endures forever and ever.” Although Dahood renders this in English as “The eternal and everlasting God has enthroned you,”<sup>36</sup> the RSV has “Your divine throne endures for ever and ever,”<sup>37</sup> and other such variations emphasize the idea that the throne is from God, John Day asserts that the most natural rendering of the Hebrew is the vocative, “O God.”<sup>38</sup> Mowinckel argued that Ps 45 is similar to other ancient Near Eastern kingship ideological writings in which the king is “more or less clearly described and praised as a god,” one who “upholds the world order, creates and secures life and fertility, defends his people against all his enemies, ‘rises’ (as the sun) over the earth, etc.”<sup>39</sup> We should also note, however, that the psalm makes it clear who the source of the king’s exalted status is, as verse 7 declares, “Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows.”

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<sup>32</sup> Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 189.

<sup>33</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 100. Eaton finds no reason to associate this psalm with the Northern Kingdom as opposed to Judah. Eaton notes, “The allusions to ivory and to Tyre are as appropriate to the Solomonic kingdom as to Samaria.” Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 118.

<sup>34</sup> Craigie, *Psalms I*, 337.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>36</sup> Dahood, *Psalm I*, 269.

<sup>37</sup> See Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 339. Craigie asserts that “the king’s throne is the earthly counterpart of God’s throne.”

<sup>38</sup> John Day, *Psalms*, 103-104. For more on this issue, see B. Couroyer, “Dieu ou roi? Le vocatif dans le Psaume XLV (vv 1-9),” *RB* 78 (1971), 233-41; J. A. Emerton, “The Syntactical Problem of Ps 45:7,” *JSS* 13 (1968), 58-63; J. R. Porter, “Psalm XLV.7,” *JTS* 12 (1961), 51-53.

<sup>39</sup> Mowinckel, *Psalms, vol. 1*, 74-75.

### 1.1.2.6 Psalm 72

Gunkel infers that this psalm, like Ps 21, could have been part of one of a number of "special festivals, like the birthday of the ruler or the anniversary of his taking power..." when "the poet sings about the ruler's majesty and righteousness, his victories over his enemies, and about his reign over the whole world."<sup>40</sup> Marvin Tate suggests that Ps 72 "is probably also an accession or coronation psalm, a prayer for the king at the beginning of his reign."<sup>41</sup> The idea that the king is to be a righteous judge is emphasized.

Holladay notes that Ps 72 is similar to Ps 2 "because both Psalms call down Yahweh's blessing on the king," which leads him to believe that Ps 72 was also composed for the king's enthronement. Similar to Ps 2's assertion that Yahweh's king is invincible, Ps 72 desires that the king live as long as the sun and moon (v. 5) and that he rule from "sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth!" (v. 8).<sup>42</sup> The psalmist refers to the king and the king's son, traditionally identified as David and Solomon. The psalm ends with the words, "the prayers of David, the son of Jesse are ended," which serve to conclude the second of the five books of the Hebrew Bible's Psalter.

### 1.1.2.7 Psalm 89

Although he saw royal elements in Ps 89, Gunkel refrained from classifying this psalm as fully royal. However, subsequent scholars have usually added it to the list of RPss.<sup>43</sup> The psalm is complex, moving from praising Yahweh's love, mercy, and faithfulness, to discussion of his everlasting covenant with the house of David, to more praise for Yahweh's victory over the sea/Rahab, the creation of the cosmos, and so forth. A vision from Yahweh is recited in the first person, declaring what Yahweh had promised as part of his covenant. He would make the Davidic king his first-born, the highest of the kings of the earth (v. 27). If he is righteous, the king will always be protected and will always be victorious over his

<sup>40</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 100, 02. Emphasis in original. See also S. M. Paul, "Psalm 72:5—A Traditional Blessing for the Long Life of the King," *JNES* 31 (1972), 351-54; P. Veugelers, "Le Psaume LXXII, poeme messianique?" *ETL* 41 (1965), 317-43.

<sup>41</sup> Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, Word Biblical Commentary 20 (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 222.

<sup>42</sup> William Lee Holladay, *The Psalms through Three Thousand Years: Prayerbook of a Cloud of Witnesses* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 38. See also Dahood, *Psalms II: 51-100*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), 179; Amos Hakham, *The Bible Psalms with the Jerusalem Commentary: Volume Two, Psalms 58-100* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 2003), 127.

<sup>43</sup> See, e.g., Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 2; A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967), 22-23; G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89. Eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Königs* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1959), 26; Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 121-22; J.-B. Dumortier, "Un rituel d'intronisation: le Ps. LXXXIX 2-38," *VT* 22 (1972), 176-96; Dahood, *Psalms II: 51-100*, 311; Aage Bentzen, *King and Messiah* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955), 29. A recent review of the debates over the genre of Ps 89 can be found in Matthew W. Mitchell, "Genre Disputes and Communal Accusatory Laments: Reflections on the Genre of Psalm LXXXIX," *VT* 55, fasc. 4 (Oct., 2005), 511-527.

enemies. Paradoxically, there is a break and the rest of the psalm consists of a lamentation by the king in which he complains to Yahweh that he has rejected the king and renounced his covenant. His throne and kingdom are lost and he has been brought to shame. The king bears the insults of the peoples and Yahweh's anointed is taunted and mocked by his enemies.

Gunkel saw here the fall of the Davidic dynasty in the fifth-century, lamented by a descendent of David who no longer has a throne to inherit. Mowinckel placed the setting in the pre-exilic monarchy, where he sees the Davidic king lamenting about the defeat he has suffered at the hands of his enemies, "who have pulled down his castles and wasted his land."<sup>44</sup>

Due to the complexity of the psalm, many scholars, including Gunkel, have concluded that it must be, as Tate puts it, "a collection of disparate parts, probably reflecting a history of composition."<sup>45</sup> Lipiński, for example, uses the Qumran text 4QPs89 as the basis for arguing that verses 2-5 and 20-38 of Ps 89 were part of an original royal psalm, and that the other sections were added in later.<sup>46</sup> Eaton, however, argues for the unity of the entire composition due to the fact that in the last part of the psalm "the singer emerges as himself the humiliated anointed (vv. 48-52)."<sup>47</sup> Fishbane, following Sarna,<sup>48</sup> argued that Ps 89 is an exegetical adaptation of the narrative in 2 Sam 7,<sup>49</sup> whereas Tate asserts that it is "likely to be a reinterpretation of an earlier text or a recension of the same tradition" as that found in 2 Sam 7.<sup>50</sup>

Broyles argues that in conjunction with the celebration of Yahweh's glory and kingship as described in this psalm, we should likely imagine a procession of the Ark of the Covenant: we read of the "festal shout" and the procession in the light of Yahweh's countenance (v. 15), and starting in verse 19 we hear the speech of Yahweh, rehearsing his covenant to David, as if He were present.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Mowinckel, *Psalms*, vol. 1, 48.

<sup>45</sup> Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 413. See, e.g., C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, vol. 2 (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906), 250; Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929), 386-94; E. Lipiński, *Le poème royal du Psaume LXXXIX 1-5, 20-38* (Paris: Bagalla, 1967).

<sup>46</sup> Lipiński, *Le poème royal*, 20-38.

<sup>47</sup> Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 121.

<sup>48</sup> Nahum M. Sarna, "Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," in *Studies in Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2000), 319. Sarna sees Ps 89 as a midrash on Nathan's oracle. For an opposing view, see Hans-Ulrich Steymans, "'Deinen Thron habe ich unter den großen Himmeln festgemacht': die formgeschichtliche Nähe von Ps 89,4-5. 20-38 zu Texten vom neuassyrischen Hof," in Otto and Zenger (eds.), *"Mein Sohn bist du" (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königspsalmen* (SBS 192; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2001), 184-251, at 212-16, 245 n. 140. Steymans argues that there is no direct dependence of Ps 89 on 2 Sam 7, although they share a common background.

<sup>49</sup> M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 466-67.

<sup>50</sup> Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 416.

<sup>51</sup> Craig C. Broyles, "The Psalms and Cult Symbolism: The Case of the Cherubim-Ark," in *Interpreting the Psalms: Issues and Approaches*, ed. David Firth and Philip S. Johnston (Downers Grove, Ill.:

### 1.1.2.8 Psalm 101

Psalm 101, in Gunkel's view, was part of the enthronement festival, where "the poet proclaims the honorable foundation of the king's government in his name."<sup>52</sup> It is interesting that although Gunkel does not hesitate to declare this psalm royal, it doesn't explicitly mention the king. Allen argues that the claim to judicial authority over "Yahweh's city" in verse 8 implies that the psalm was composed by or for a king in the pre-exilic period.<sup>53</sup> Dahood calls this psalm a lament of a king who proclaims his innocence and wonders when Yahweh will respond and come to him.<sup>54</sup> Holladay sees the king as the speaker and speculates that the psalm may have originally been the king's vow of moral purity, possibly on his coronation day.<sup>55</sup> Hakham sees the psalm as possibly having been recited by the king every morning as part of his "Morning Service," or, alternatively, on the day of his ascent to the throne, "when he would commit himself in the presence of all Israel to rule his kingdom with lovingkindness and justice."<sup>56</sup>

### 1.1.2.9 Psalm 110

Gunkel saw the setting as similar to that of Ps 2, that it was part of the enthronement festival, "when the poet proclaims the divine selection of the ruler and the ruler's priesthood."<sup>57</sup> Allen suggests that the psalm "may have been composed to celebrate David's earlier conquest of Jerusalem and succession to Jebusite kingship (cf. 2 Sam 8:30)."<sup>58</sup>

Yahweh tells the king to sit at his right hand and that his enemies will be his footstool (see Ps 132:7). The king is to rule with a rod/scepter over his enemies (compare Ps 2:9). The king is born "from the womb of the morning" and has the "dew" of youth. He is promised that he will be a priest after the order of Melchizedek forever. The Lord gives him victory

InterVarsity Press, 2005), 151. See also G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89*; Dumortier, "Un rituel," 176-96; J. M. Ward, "The Literary Form and Liturgical Background of Psalm LXXXIX," *VT* 11 (1961), 321-39.

<sup>52</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 102. See also K. Galling, "Der Beichtspiegel. Eine gattungsgeschichtliche Studie," *ZAW* 6 (1929), 125-30; O. Kaiser, "Erwägungen zu Psalm 101," *ZAW* 74 (1962), 195-205; H. A. Kenik, "Code of Conduct for a King: Psalm 101," *JBL* 95 (1976), 391-403.

<sup>53</sup> Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 21 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983), 3.

<sup>54</sup> Dahood, *Psalms III: 101-150*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 2.

<sup>55</sup> Holladay, *The Psalms through Three Thousand Years*, 38. See also Hakham, *The Bible Psalms with the Jerusalem Commentary: Volume Three, Psalms 101-150* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 2003), 6. Hakham asserts: "It seems likely that this psalm was originally intended to be recited by the king."

<sup>56</sup> Hakham, *Psalms 101-150*, 6.

<sup>57</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 102. See also Dahood, *Psalms III*, 112. Dahood sees it as having been composed for a military victory. Additionally, see K. H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im Alten Testament : unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Geschichte der Psalmenexegese dargestellt und kritisch gewürdigt*, *VTSup* 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1961); S. Schreiner, "Psalm 110 und die Investitur des Hohenpriesters," *VT* 27 (1977), 216-22.

<sup>58</sup> Allen, *Psalm 101-150*, 85.

over his enemies. David Mitchell asserts, “the words as they stand suggest that the king is being offered a place in Yhwh’s heavenly throne room or divine council.”<sup>59</sup>

It should be seen as significant that the king is declared to be a priest, and not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchizedek. There is much debate over what was meant by this. The biblical record does not give us much context in which to place such a notion of priesthood. The only other mention of Melchizedek in the Hebrew Bible is in Gen. 14, where Abram pays tithes to and receives a blessing from Melchizedek, who is king of Salem and priest of God Most High. Presumably, the Davidic king is made king and priest after the manner of this Melchizedek, a previous ruler of Jerusalem. James R. Davila argues that the reason the short account of Melchizedek is even preserved in Gen. 14 is because he was such an important figure for the Davidic royal cult. He explains: “I see no reason for the post-exilic priesthood to hold up a non-Israelite priest-king as an example unless he had already been firmly established in the traditions of the First Temple period.”<sup>60</sup> Hakhham suggests that this promise mentioning Melchizedek should be understood as related to the blessings that Melchizedek himself pronounces on Abraham in Gen. 14, including rulership over his kingdom and the blessing of victory over enemies (Gen 14:20; Ps 110:5-7).<sup>61</sup>

#### 1.1.2.10 Psalm 132

In this psalm, Gunkel saw a festival that was “dedicated to the *founding of the royal house and its sanctuary*...On the day of the *founding of the sanctuary*, a liturgy was performed which dramatically portrayed how the ancestor David brought the ark of YHWH to Zion. In this liturgy, the poet provided an oracle in which God promises to bless David and David’s house.”<sup>62</sup> Dahood saw it as “part of the liturgy for the feast when the ark was carried in procession to Jerusalem.”<sup>63</sup> The heading indicates that it is a “Song of Ascents.” Hakhham sees the psalm as “originally intended to be recited by a congregation of pilgrims coming to bow down before the ark in Zion.”<sup>64</sup> The Davidic king plays an important role in a festal

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<sup>59</sup> David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Books of Psalms*, JSOTSup (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 259.

<sup>60</sup> James R. Davila, “Melchizedek: King, Priest, and God,” in *The Seductiveness of Jewish Myth: Challenge or Response* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997), 218.

<sup>61</sup> Hakhham, *Psalms 101-150*, 139.

<sup>62</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 100, 02. Emphasis in original. See also T. E. Fretheim, “Psalm 132: A Form-critical Study,” *JBL* 86 (1967), 289-300; D. R. Hillers, “Ritual Procession of the Ark and Psalm 132,” *CBQ* 30 (1968), 48-55.

<sup>63</sup> Dahood, *Psalms III*, 241.

<sup>64</sup> Hakhham, *Psalms 101-150*, 355. Hakhham adds: “They themselves are carrying the ark in order to set it down in the place set aside for it.” He also points out that several phrases from this psalm are used in the liturgies for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, including the *Seliḥot* service. Key phrases, including “arise, O Lord, to Your resting place,” are cited when the Torah scroll is either removed or returned to the holy ark (see p. 358, notes 32 b.-d.).

procession that celebrates both the kingship of Yahweh and the covenant that he has made with the house of David.<sup>65</sup>

What is depicted appears to be similar to the processions apparent in Pss 24 and 68, and reflects the events of 2 Sam 6-7. The Ark of the Covenant is specifically mentioned (v. 8), and it is clear that this is Yahweh's "footstool" (1 Chr 28:2; 2 Chr 6:41) and should not be equated with Yahweh himself.<sup>66</sup> In the biblical accounts of the processions of the Ark, it is often depicted as being taken up – an ascent towards the sanctuary (1 Sam 6:20; 2 Sam 6:2, 12, 15; 1 Kgs 8:1, 4; Pss 68:18; 47:5, 9).

Hakham asserts that the covenantal formula rehearsed in this psalm is reminiscent of Ps 89. He adds that "a main theme in this psalm is the reciprocal relationship between God and David. David vowed to find a place for God, and fulfilled his promise, and so, too, God vowed to David to establish his royal throne and fulfilled His promise."<sup>67</sup>

#### **1.1.2.11 Psalm 144**

Gunkel only counted verses 1-11 as royal, and described them as stemming from "the celebration on the day *when the king went to war* (Pss 20; 144:1-10; cf. 1 Sam 13:9ff; 2 Chr 14:10; 20:4ff)." "The king himself prays and calls to his God for help against his enemies."<sup>68</sup> Mowinckel sees the king "surrounded by foreign invaders and liars and threatened by 'the sword of evil.'"<sup>69</sup> Eaton notes that Schmidt and Weiser considered the whole psalm as part of the liturgy of the royal rites, and that Kraus saw the king's enemies here not as specific dangers, but as the chaos motif of the mock battle that we see in Ps 2 of the enthronement ritual.<sup>70</sup> Eaton comments further that Ps 144 should also be seen as related to the context of Ps 18. He explains:

The similarity to Psalm 18 is particularly valuable. If Psalm 144 shows the king praying before his ritual deliverance, it is all the more likely that Psalm 18 is the thanksgiving which follows that deliverance...the king's ordeal and restoration mean

<sup>65</sup> See, e.g., Mowinckel, *Psalms*, vol. 1, 128-29.

<sup>66</sup> Broyles, "The Psalms and Cult Symbolism," 145. Broyles argues that "the cherubim-ark was used regularly in festival processions at the temple in the pre-exilic period. By this sacred symbol Yahweh's kingship was presented to the worshipping congregation not only as an imaginative metaphor but as a visual symbol. And this king was portrayed not by a static image, as one sitting enthroned, but by a dynamic ritual, as a victorious warrior-king ascending to his palace in triumphal procession" (p. 141). See also M. Haran, "The Ark and the Cherubim: their Symbolic Significance in Biblical Ritual," *IEJ* 9 (1959), 30-38, 89-94; G. Henton Davies, "The Ark in the Psalms," in *Promise and Fulfillment*, ed. F. F. Bruce (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), 51-61.

<sup>67</sup> Hakham, *Psalms 101-150*, 357.

<sup>68</sup> Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 100, 02. Hakham speculates that the psalm "was originally intended to be recited by a king of Israel when making war against enemy nations..." Hakham, *Psalms 101-150*, 447.

<sup>69</sup> Mowinckel, *Psalms*, vol. 1, 225.

<sup>70</sup> Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 128-29.

a renewal of his office and so of God's blessings of health for society given in connection with that office.<sup>71</sup>

On this note, Hakhham states:

Psalm 144 contains many expressions that are found in other psalms, especially in Psalm 18. These expressions are well integrated into our psalm. The psalmist followed the conventions of the ancient poets, who made use of existing phrases and joined them together into a new and independent work.<sup>72</sup>

In Ps 144 we seem to have an example of what will be analyzed in detail later on in this thesis: a psalm that integrates words, phrases and/or themes from earlier psalms.

### ***1.1.2.12 Further Theories on the Cultic Sitz im Leben***

Gunkel's proposal that the Pss be read as having been a part of the national royal cult instead of strictly personal compositions led subsequent scholars to speculate further on this proposed cultic life setting. While Gunkel saw connections to various and numerous unassociated celebrations, others would group them around grand kingship or enthronement festivals that they proposed could be reconstructed from both the biblical text and by comparison to similar cultic festivals from throughout the ancient Near East. Mowinckel envisioned a festival that took place in the autumnal New Year, in which Yahweh's primeval victory over the waters of chaos (or the dragon) was celebrated and ritually reenacted, along with his subsequent creation of the earth, followed by his enthronement as king in his temple. Although the main focus of the festival, according to Mowinckel, was the enthronement of Yahweh, the Israelite king was heavily involved in the proceedings, acting as leader of the festal cult.<sup>73</sup> Besides his leadership in the victorious procession of Yahweh's ark to the temple (Ps 132), Mowinckel also believed that the king's anointing and (re)enthronement would have been celebrated in this context as well.<sup>74</sup>

Whereas Mowinckel did not see a place for all of the RPss in the New Year festival, a number of subsequent scholars would place all of them in this setting, greatly expanding the role of the king and the "royal rites" in the festival. These scholars speculated, with varying details, that besides leading the procession of the Ark of the Covenant to the temple, the king was also involved in a cultic drama. The ritual would have included a mock battle against the forces of evil represented by hostile foreign kings. The king would have been humiliated, defeated, and (nearly) killed, and then rescued miraculously by Yahweh and (re)enthroned in

<sup>71</sup> Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 128-29.

<sup>72</sup> Hakhham, *Psalms 101-150*, 449. The NIB commentary suggests that Ps 144 is a "rereading" of Ps 18 that "reflects the realities of the exile and its aftermath." See "Psalm 144:1-15, Happy Are the People Whose God Is the Lord," *The New Interpreter's Bible*, vol. IV, Leander E. Keck, et al., eds. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 1254.

<sup>73</sup> Mowinckel, *Psalms*, vol. 1, 61.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

glory. Some, such as S.H. Hooke and the so-called “Myth and Ritual School,” based their arguments on a perceived ritual pattern common to Ancient Near Eastern cultures, which they claimed supported the idea that the Davidic king should be seen as portraying Yahweh (or a lesser fertility god) in the cultic drama. Furthermore, a dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god was performed, followed by an enactment (or recitation) of the myth of creation, the ritual combat, the sacred marriage, and the victorious procession of the god to his temple. While these theories are highly speculative and have, especially in their more extreme forms, been rejected by most scholars, they do provide an interesting perspective that could be useful in understanding many of the later prophetic writings, such as those concerning the “Suffering Servant” of Deutero-Isaiah. Some scholars, such as Mowinckel,<sup>75</sup> connected the New Year Festival and the related imagery in the Psalms to the “Day of Yahweh” described in later prophetic literature, in which Yahweh would come in judgment on his festal day (Joel 1:14-15; Amos 5:20-21; Hos 9:5; Zeph 3:17-18; Zech 14:16, 19) to bring destruction upon the wicked (Joel 1:15; 3; Isa 13:9; Ezek 30:3-4; Zeph 1:14-18; Zech 14:1-15) and deliverance and blessings for the righteous (Joel 3; Zeph 3:11-20; Zech 14:8-11).

A. R. Johnson argued that Yahweh’s actions that were acted out on the terrestrial plane during the festival were understood to represent, or correspond to, a heavenly counterpart. His victory over the earthly nations and their kings paralleled his victory over the rebellious gods in heaven. He judges the earthly kings after the same manner that he judged the lesser gods of the divine assembly who have ruled improperly (Ps 82). Following this view, Johnson declares that after his subjection of the cosmic sea, Yahweh is then enthroned in the divine assembly, where the other gods acclaim him as king.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Mowinckel, *Psalms, vol. 1*, 116; *idem, He That Cometh* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1959), 144-45. See also Shimon Bakon, “The Day of the Lord,” *JBQ* 38, no. 3 (2010), 149-156; Reinhard Müller, “Der finstere Tag Jahwes. Zum kultischen Hintergrund von Am 5,18–20,” *ZAW* 122, no. 4 (Jan. 2011), 576–592.

<sup>76</sup> Johnson, *Sacral Kingship*, 96-102. See also J. H. Eaton, *Festal Drama in Deutero-Isaiah* (London: SPCK, 1979), 16. Eaton asserts that Yahweh’s grand procession should be seen as taking place both on the earthly and the heavenly planes. The ascent up the temple mount was seen as an ascent to heaven, where Yahweh passed through the heavenly gates and was enthroned above the heavenly ocean. The Temple Mount was taken to represent the divine mountain that was the abode of God. See also Margaret Barker, *The Older Testament: The Survival of Themes from the Ancient Royal Cult in Sectarian Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1987), 113, 249; Geo Widengren, “Early Hebrew Myths and Their Interpretation,” in *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, ed. S. H. Hooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 199. Mowinckel, *Psalms, vol. 1*, 172. W. O. E. Oesterley, “Early Hebrew Festival Rituals,” in *Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke (London: Humphrey Milford, 1933), 132-33. Ben C. Ollenburger, *Zion, City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult*, JSOTSup (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 32.

### 1.1.2.13 More Speculative Theories

Beyond theories for the use of the RPss in a New Year Festival in Ancient Israel, there are some even more speculative proposals that are relevant to the topic at hand. Mowinckel had argued that in the festival setting, the ascension of Yahweh to his heavenly throne was portrayed dramatically, with the mortal worshippers playing an active role in the cultic drama. As Yahweh ascended, he was accompanied by the rejoicing Israelites, who were playing the part of his heavenly hosts, with his "thousands upon thousands of chariots" (Ps 68:18).<sup>77</sup> Likewise, Eaton envisioned the participants of the procession as representing "the company of heaven" that sat at the feet of Yahweh as he was seated on his heavenly throne (Ps 29:1, etc.).<sup>78</sup> Frederick Borsch echoes the opinion of a number of scholars in suggesting that as part of the rituals of the enthronement festival, the Davidic king was imagined to ascend to heaven after the manner of Yahweh's ascent. Just as Yahweh was understood to victoriously "arise" and "go up" his holy mountain to be enthroned in the highest heaven (see, e.g., Pss 3:7; 7:6; 47:5; 68:1; 82:8; 102:13; 132:8), the texts suggest that the king also was "raised up" or "lifted up" on high (e.g., 2 Sam 23:1; Pss 18:48; 30:1; 89:19), which likely refers to his climbing of the holy mountain preceding his enthronement as king. In "heaven," the king is enthroned on either God's own throne (1 Chr 29:23; Ps 45:6) or on a throne at God's right hand (Pss 89:36-37; 110:1; 2:6; Jer 17:12). He is initiated into the heavenly secrets and is given wisdom.<sup>79</sup> Widengren argued that the ruler served in the temple, which was understood to be Eden, the garden of God, on the holy mountain (cf. Ezek

<sup>77</sup> Mowinckel, *Psalms*, vol. 1, 172.

<sup>78</sup> Eaton, *Festal Drama*, 16. For the idea that there was a priest playing the role of Yahweh, see Trygve N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings*, Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series (Lund: LiberLäromedel/Gleerup, 1976), 283. For treatments of the theme of humans playing the role of angels in later periods/literature, see Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: Brill, 2002); *idem*, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity Texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 7, no. 3 (2000); James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 100-02; Davila, "Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Timothy H. Lim and John Joseph Collins, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 440-43.

<sup>79</sup> Frederick Houk Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, New Testament Library (London: SCM, 1967), 95-96, 120. Other discussions of this theme include Barker, *The Older Testament*, 95, 120, 35, 280. Barker argues that the king "achieved his place in the heavenly council by an ascent" (*ibid.*, 280). On the notion that the king's ascent experience included the reception of heavenly secrets and wisdom, Barker comments: "Wisdom was the secrets of creation, learned in heaven and brought to earth, the recurring theme of the apocalypses. There must have been some way in which the king ... 'went' to heaven like the prophets in order to learn these secrets by listening in the council of God (Job 15:8; Prov. 30:1-4);..." (*ibid.*, 95). See also *idem*, *Temple Themes in Christian Worship* (London: New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 111-12; *idem*, *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2008), 74; Bentzen, *King and Messiah*, 25. Mettinger, *King and Messiah*, 263; Oesterley, "Early Hebrew Festival Rituals," 132-33. Oesterley argued that in the festival procession, the king, representing Yahweh, sat enthroned in a great chariot that was the counterpart of the heavenly chariot, and was imagined as riding in the heavens (see Ps 68).

28:12-14). This ancient royal ideology understood the king as serving as the “guardian of the Garden of God and God’s anointed.” This paradisiacal environment was reflected in the architecture of the temple, including, according to Widengren, the temple basin as the “Water of Life” and the sacred grove as the “Tree of Life.”<sup>80</sup>

#### ***1.1.2.14 The Identity of the Anonymous “I” and “We” in the RPss***

As a final note here regarding the use of the Pss in ancient Israel, it is important to discuss the significance of theories surrounding the identity of the “I” and “we” persona found in the RPss. In certain of the RPss, as in many other Pss, there are abrupt changes in person, including shifts between singular and plural first-person speakers. For example, Ps 132:4-7 reads:

4 *I* will not give sleep to *my* eyes or slumber to *my* eyelids, 5 until *I* find a place for the LORD, a dwelling place for the Mighty One of Jacob. 6 Lo, *we* heard of it in Ephrathah, *we* found it in the fields of Jaar. 7 *Let us* go to his dwelling place; *let us* worship at his footstool!

Mowinckel and subsequent scholars such as Harris Birkeland argued that the anonymous “I” of these Pss was to be identified as the Davidic monarch himself.<sup>81</sup> If the psalmist’s persecutors, so often mentioned in the RPss, are understood to be national enemies, then the only logical identification to be made, in their view, is with that of the king. Furthermore, the king could be considered both the representative of God to the people and also the representative of the people (the “we” persona) before God. As Starbuck stated this view: “The human king, and only the human king, could intelligibly speak in terms of his own self (‘I’) with regard to national enemies and at the same time represent the community as ‘We.’”<sup>82</sup> In making this assertion, these scholars were arguing against previously held views that understood the “I” in these Pss as representing the congregation.<sup>83</sup> Although the individual speaker (the king) is clearly speaking on behalf of the congregation in some Pss (e.g. Ps 144), in others (e.g. Ps 132) this is not so evident. As another example, in Ps 89 the initial speaker is singular: “I will sing of the mercies of the LORD forever” (Ps 89:1). In verse

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<sup>80</sup> Widengren, “Early Hebrew Myths and Their Interpretation,” 164-68. See also idem, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion: King and Saviour IV*, Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1951), 36. For a highly detailed analysis of these themes, see Barker, *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem*, 57-103. See also idem, *The Hidden Tradition of the Kingdom of God* (London: SPCK, 2007), 19; Borsch, *The Son of Man*, 98.

<sup>81</sup> Mowinckel, *Psalms*, vol. 1, 42-80; H. Birkeland, *The Evildoers in the Book of Psalms* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1955), 11. See also John Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 23-24.

<sup>82</sup> Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 56.

<sup>83</sup> See Mowinckel, *The Psalms*, vol. 1, 46. See also Steven J. L. Croft, *The Identity of the Individual in the Psalms*, JSOTSup 44 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987).

15, the speaker refers to “the people that know the joyful sound” and verses 17-18 present a sudden shift from speaking of them in the third person to first person:

17 For you are the glory of *their* strength; by your favor *our* horn is exalted. 18 For *our* shield belongs to the LORD, *our* king to the Holy One of Israel.

Examples like these would seem to indicate that there is a congregation of some kind participating in at least some of the RPss. As will be discussed below, Marko Marttila, in his monograph entitled *Collective Reinterpretation in the Psalms*, argues that some of these plural or “collective” references were likely added in the exilic or post-exilic periods as the promises of Yahweh made to the Davidic kings began to be understood as applying to the covenant people in general.<sup>84</sup>

### ***1.1.3 The RPss in Post-Exilic Judaism***

Notwithstanding the Babylonian conquest and demise of the Davidic royal dynasty, the RPss remained influential in post-exilic Judaism and should be seen as having earned a place of prominence in what became the standard, canonical collection of Pss, the Psalter of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>85</sup> Gerald Wilson’s pioneering work on “The Use of the Royal Psalms at the ‘Seams’ of the Hebrew Psalter”<sup>86</sup> highlighted the fact that some of the major editorial divisions, identified as “books,” of the MT Psalter are marked with RPss. They are found at the beginning and then at the intersections, or “seams” between books, from Books I-III. Ps 2 was placed at the beginning of Book I; at the end of Book I and beginning of Book II, we find Ps 41;<sup>87</sup> at the end of Book II and beginning of Book III we have Ps 72; and then Ps 89 is located at the end of Book III.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> See Marko Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation in the Psalms: A Study of the Redaction History of the Psalter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

<sup>85</sup> Although Haney asserts: “The RPss were utilized in Jewish intertestamental writings though they did not play as significant of a role as one would expect.” Haney, *Text and Concept*, 10.

<sup>86</sup> Gerald H. Wilson, “The Use of Royal Psalms at the ‘Seams’ of the Hebrew Psalter,” *JSOT* 11, no. 35 (1986).

<sup>87</sup> Although Pss 2, 72, and 89 are among the RPss, Ps 41, as Wilson points out, is not usually given this designation. While noting the Davidic superscript and traditional association of this psalm with events of David’s life, Wilson argues that it is ultimately unnecessary to view this psalm as having been seen as royal, and that:

Perhaps a better explanation for the absence of a royal psalm at the end of Book One is to recognize that the redactional movement to combine Books One and Two into a single Davidic collection (a movement marked by the postscript in Ps. 72.20, ‘The prayers of David son of Jesse are ended’) had already taken place when these Royal Psalms were set in their present positions. As a result, we are left with two major blocks of material (Pss 2-72; 73-89) which are marked at their ‘seams’ by Royal Psalms.

See Wilson, “The Use of Royal Psalms,” 87-88. Although this may be an adequate and ultimately correct explanation, the possibility that Psalm 41 would have been seen as a RPs should not be overlooked. It was interpreted as a Davidic Psalm, being seen as relating to Ahitophel’s betrayal of David. Its placement at the close of Book I indicates perhaps that although the Ps is not recognized by modern scholars as such, ancient redactors may have seen it as “royal” due to its Davidic superscript

Starbuck concurs with Wilson regarding the significance of the placement of the RPss in the Psalter when it was put together and emphasizes that their importance was not due to their role in the pre-exilic royal cult but interest in the “institution of kingship itself.” He cites Mettinger’s argument that “the material has been sifted through the hands of traditionists of the priestly theocracy of postexilic times, and the fact that the monarchy was then long ago at an end, must have had its effects in this connection.”<sup>89</sup> Starbuck argues that because the RPss have gone through so many hands, they have lost their association with ancient Israel’s royal figures and cultic rituals. He argues that the absence of their specific royal referents is evidence that these Pss were not preserved as royal propaganda or mere historical artifacts of Israel’s past, but seems to have served to open them up for reinterpretation and reappropriation.<sup>90</sup> The RPss thus gained longevity of use not found for the compositions of royal propaganda of other Near Eastern cultures. He comments:

Moreover, the Royal Psalms evidence a transmission history that is unique compared to other royal hymns and prayers of the ancient Near East. Their commonality in royal language, but singularity in terms of reappropriation, signals a brilliant and vital interpretive move within the biblical tradition can no longer be overlooked.<sup>91</sup>

Although God had made an unconditional covenant with the royal “dynasty,” or the “office” of king, he argues, particular individuals were only conditionally approved, leaving open the option for the promises of God to be fulfilled on behalf of His people, with or without a king.<sup>92</sup> Starbuck even speculates that the royal oracles and hymns were divested of their historical specificity during the exilic period, perhaps “by the disciples of Isaiah who authored and compiled Second Isaiah,” so that they could be “reused in terms of the ‘office’

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and relation to the life of the monarch. It should be noted that both Eaton and Dahood consider Ps 41 to be a Royal Psalm. See Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 45; Dahood, *Psalms I*, 248-254.

<sup>88</sup> On this topic, see also Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 60-61. The RPss that appear in Books IV-V (Pss 101, 110, 132, 144), are, in Wilson’s perspective, deliberately not placed at the seams of these final books in order, following the redactor’s theological agenda, to emphasize that the Davidic monarchy had proven to be a failure (as demonstrated at the end of Book III in Psalm 89) and that the nation’s aspirations would now rely solely on Yahweh, as he rules directly over his people. Wilson, “The Use of Royal Psalms,” 92. David Mitchell and Jinkyu Kim call attention to the deficiencies in Wilson’s theory and demonstrate the important role and position of the RPss in Books IV-V. D. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter*, 78; Jinkyu Kim, “The Strategic Arrangement of Royal Psalms in Books IV-V,” *The Westminster Theological Journal* 70, no. 1 (2008).

<sup>89</sup> T. Mettinger, *King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings*, ConBOT 8 (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1976), 101.

<sup>90</sup> Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 98-99, 211. As opposed, he argues, to the “Last Words of David” (2 Sam 23:1b-7), which retains its historical specificity, naming King David particularly. Starbuck notes that this royal poem is excluded in the Hebrew Psalter, but included in the Qumran Psalter (11QPs<sup>a</sup> col. XXVII). See *ibid.*, 178.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 212. See also Jamie A. Grant, *The King as Exemplar: The Function of Deuteronomy’s Kingship Law in the Shaping of the Book of Psalms* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 281-82.

of kingship itself.”<sup>93</sup> In support of this conclusion, Starbuck analyzes the “purposeful silence” regarding the historical referent of the royal oracle in Isa 9:6. In response to the question, at whose coronation service might these words have originally been pronounced, he argues:

If Isa 8:23b-9:6 was originally part of Hezekiah’s coronation, then the text’s triumphal hyperbolic language would reflect a renewed hope midst Judah that the threat posed by Assyria would soon be curbed ... With Assyria preoccupied with Babylon, little Judah could hold renewed aspirations for secure life under its new king. And yet, later in Hezekiah’s reign, these hopes were dashed to pieces when he attempted a revolt against Assyria ... Despite intense preparations for battle, Hezekiah turned out to be no “Divine Warrior.”<sup>94</sup>

Starbuck goes on to postulate that if Isa 1-32 was subsequently redacted during the reign of Josiah, as some scholars have argued, “then one might plausibly surmise that Josiah’s name was reappropriated in the *traditio* of Isa 9:6.” He then concludes:

However, whether or not the text was reused for Josiah, at some point a redactor or editor saw fit to keep the royal promise, but to free the text from historical specificity. In the end, Josiah was no more successful in restoring the glories of the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy and the *Pax Israëli* than was Hezekiah. And yet the hope that such restoration was possible was tenaciously held by those who came out of the exile.<sup>95</sup>

No matter for whom the oracle was originally composed or if it was later reappropriated for the use of specific subsequent rulers, Starbuck’s argument is persuasive. Even if it, and the RPss likewise, were originally composed with no specific referent, which Starbuck demonstrates would be in opposition to common ANE tradition, and were intended for reuse by succeeding rulers, the argument remains that the lack of any name given in the text guaranteed that it could be reapplied individually or even collectively. Theories that have been suggested regarding the reappropriation of royal oracles in Second Temple times include the notion of democratization and the development of eschatological and messianic interpretations.

### ***1.1.3.1 Democratization***

Jamie Grant, in *The King as Exemplar*, agrees with Starbuck that the “generic nature” of the Pss seems to suggest that they have been democratized – that although they were likely written by or for specific individuals for certain occasions, they have since been made to fit a

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<sup>93</sup> Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 212.

<sup>94</sup> Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 177-78.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

general audience.<sup>96</sup> Starbuck suggests that “one can discern the movement toward the democratization of royal ideology even prior to the exilic period,” citing passages such as Hannah’s prayer (1 Sam 2:1-10) in which a non-royal individual uses a royal hymn, and also the Deuteronomistic notion of the king as ideal keeper of the Torah.<sup>97</sup> He comments on this movement towards democratization:

But even more, the evidence suggests that it was during the exile that the most comprehensive shift occurred. Not only was the Davidic monarchy null and void, at least for the foreseeable future, but the temple was destroyed and the people of Yahweh were scattered ... In Isa 55:3-5, ... the oracular divine-grants once associated with David and his heirs are reapplied to the whole people of Israel. The one time *representative* for all of Israel is now *represented* through all Israel. It is not so much that the people collectively become ‘king’,<sup>98</sup> but rather, that the oracular promises pledged of old are now reinterpreted as promises to the entire community.<sup>99</sup>

Patrick Miller had argued that the Deuteronomistic view of kingship was that the monarch was given only one responsibility: to have “a copy of [God’s] law” (Deut 17:18) with him at all times, to read it and live by it all the days of his life. “The ideal ruler,” he argues, “is thus the model Israelite.”<sup>100</sup> Miller explains that the editorial placement of the royal Ps 2 together with Ps 1 at the opening of the Hebrew Psalter should be understood in light of this “Deuteronomic law of the king” and that the purpose of the alignment of these Pss was to identify the “man” ( *’iš*) of Ps 1:1, the lover of the Torah, with the royal figure of Ps 2, and vice versa. An extensive quote from his argument is appropriate here:

The *dual* introduction [Pss 1 and 2] creates a certain ambiguity for the reading of the Psalms. The subject introduced to us is clearly the king against the enemies. But it is also the *’iš* against the wicked, that is, *anyone* who lives by the Torah of the Lord and thus belongs to the righteous innocent who cry out in these Psalms. So one may not read these Psalms as exclusively concerning rulers.

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<sup>96</sup> Grant, *King as Exemplar*, 281. See also Howard N. Wallace, “King and Community: Joining with David in Prayer,” in Bob Becking and Eric Peels (eds.), *Psalms and Prayers* (OTS 55; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 269. Wallace comments: “There is within the Psalter a shift in emphasis from a focus on the individual to communal concerns ... Some Psalms have been reworked to include collective features.”

<sup>97</sup> Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 211.

<sup>98</sup> Becker suggested that the Davidic promise “was idealized and transferred to the nation as a whole,” as demonstrated in Isa 55:3-5, and was thereafter interpreted collectively. The people, in essence, inherited the role formerly fulfilled by the king. In place of the king, Israel is now the servant of Yahweh (he interprets Isaiah’s “servant songs” collectively). Becker, *Messianic Expectation in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 68-78.

<sup>99</sup> Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 211-12.

<sup>100</sup> Patrick D. Miller, Jr., “The Beginning of the Psalter,” in J. Clinton McCann (ed.), *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, JSOTSup 159 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 91. See also Grant, *King as Exemplar*, 293-294.

In other words, Ps 2 need not be strictly interpreted as referring to a Davidic king. He continues:

... [T]he king, indeed David, is a representative figure, and never more so than as the one who lives by the Lord's Torah. At that point, the ruler is the *'š* of Psalm 1, but to no greater extent than any member of the community who delights in the law of the Lord and walks in the way of the righteous. Psalm 1 placed before Psalm 2, therefore, joins Deuteronomy in a kind of democratizing move that stands in tension with the royal one arising out of the placing of Psalm 2 as the lead into Pss 3ff. While Psalm 2 invites the reader to hear the voice of the Lord's anointed in the following Psalms, Psalm 1 says that what we hear is the voice of *anyone* who lives by the Torah, which may and should include the king. But as such, the anointed one is simply a true Israelite even as he is a true king ... The *'š* of Psalm 1 is as much a ruler as the ruler of Psalm 2 is an *'š*.<sup>101</sup>

Marko Marttila argues that individual Pss as well as the entire Psalter were edited to exhibit a collective dimension. Although the strength of his arguments vary, his perspective is relevant to this dissertation. As mentioned above, he argues that in the exilic and post-exilic periods, in light of the national tragedy and fall of the Davidic dynasty, there is a perceptible movement in the texts towards the perspective that “instead of the Davidic monarchy it was the people of Israel that was regarded as the heir of the divine promises.”<sup>102</sup> He argues that in Lam 3:1, for example, the suffering individual incorporates the whole people of Israel, as does the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. He explains some of the theological reasons for this transition:

In the transgressions of the kings a reason for the national catastrophe was found. In the altered situation there was no further need for an earthly monarchy. Instead the relationship between Yahweh and his people became a vital one ... With the aid of collective interpretation a comforting vision of the future was created: Though Yahweh had abandoned the king, he would never finally reject his own people.<sup>103</sup>

Regarding the RPss in particular, Marttila argues that in the post-exilic period, the “nationalization of the Davidic monarchy” would have led to a collective reading of Ps 2. “Depending on the reader's background,” he asserts, “the anointed’ may have meant either a messianic figure or the people of Israel.”<sup>104</sup> He argues that both Pss 2 and 89 were likely redacted similarly in order to form a framework around a collection of messianic Pss (Pss 2-

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<sup>101</sup> Miller, “The Beginning of the Psalter,” 91-92. Emphasis in original. See also Wallace, “King and Community,” 272; Will Soll, *Psalm 119: Matrix, Form and Setting* (CBQMS 23; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1991), 138-39.

<sup>102</sup> Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 64.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>104</sup> Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 183.

89).<sup>105</sup> Ps 89, he claims, exhibits several collective features. To cite some of his examples, I note that he asserts that the “people” mentioned in verse 16 should be seen to represent Israel. He argues that in verse 20a, the Lord’s “righteous ones” (חסידים) are the recipients of the divine oracle. He further notes that the word בחר in 89:4 is rendered in the plural in both the LXX and Targum translations. He argues that the terms משיח in verses 39 and 52 and בכור in verse 28 would have been interpreted collectively for all of Israel in the period in which the psalm was redacted.<sup>106</sup> Finally, he claims that Ps 132 should be read in a similar manner. Beyond the more obvious collective features (e.g. vv. 6-7, 12, 16), Marttila argues, following Becker and Veijola, that the term משיח in 132:10b should refer to the people of Israel, as indicated by the term חסידים in the previous verse. He comments:

In my opinion, Ps 132 clearly shows that David became a symbol, a national symbol that incorporated both the historical person of David, his offspring and above all the people of Israel ... Earlier promises to David and his dynasty were transferred to Israel and therefore it is also possible that David was a kind of pseudonym for Israel.<sup>107</sup>

### ***1.1.3.2 Eschatological Interpretation***

Another important development regarding the re-interpretation of the RPss in the postexilic period is the reading of these Pss from an eschatological perspective. Randy Haney claims that in the intertestamental writings the exegesis of the RPss was generally limited to messianic and eschatological interpretations. He briefly notes the eschatological application of the RPss in the *Parables of Enoch*, “specifically the second parable in 45-57.”<sup>108</sup>

Joachim Schaper, in his monograph entitled *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, investigated the ways in which individual Pss took on an eschatological meaning in the LXX translation and noted that many renderings contain “midrash-type” exegesis and/or actualizations that have been implemented.<sup>109</sup> His findings for the RPss specifically will be detailed in the next section.

Discussing the placement of Ps 2 as the introduction to the postexilic compilation of Pss, M. A. Vincent commented:

Victory for God and his son/king is promised and asserted, *at a time when there was no king*, and when the nation had little political significance. To this king God promises the nations and the uttermost part of the world as his inheritance. ...

Reading the Psalter from the perspective of its final form and taking into account the

<sup>105</sup> Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 183.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 142-44.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 176-77.

<sup>108</sup> Haney, *Text and Concept*, 10.

<sup>109</sup> Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1995), 24-25.

editorial decision made in placing this psalm in this position we are forced into understanding it eschatologically, whatever its origins may have been.<sup>110</sup>

Grant discusses how “in the consideration of editorial significance of the kingship Psalms, it appears that royal (and other) Psalms were being reread in an eschatological light.”<sup>111</sup> He refers to a “*consistent application* of an eschatological rereading throughout the whole of the Psalter’s five books.”<sup>112</sup> RPss from books IV-V are generally admitted to have been interpreted eschatologically, according to Grant, but not those from I-III, which are taken to have been understood historically as the rise and fall of the monarchy. This may have been the case, Grant states:

“at one stage in the development of the Psalter, but this is not the final editorial word concerning king and monarchy. There *is* a tone of eschatological hope in the coming kingdom of Yahweh in Books IV and V, and it appears that this hope should be read back into the interpretation of Books I-III also. ... This eschatological hope is designed to provide a grid for the reinterpretation of *all* of the royal and Zion Psalms, and other Psalms as well.”<sup>113</sup>

David C. Mitchell argues that the tendency to read the Pss eschatologically is demonstrable in the available ancient translations, including the Septuagint (LXX), the Targums and the Peshitta. He explains:

The ancient translations also bear evidence that their translators regarded the Psalms as future-predictive. LXX has rightly been called the “the first monument of Jewish exegesis,” for, although it contains no commentary as such, it exhibits interpretation predating the earliest commentaries. Its tendency to eschatological interpretation is widely recognized ... Thus LXX, when faced with a choice between cultic or eschatological interpretation, adopts the latter, suggesting its translators interpreted Psalms eschatologically.<sup>114</sup>

Likewise the Targum interprets the Psalms as future-predictive. It generally does this by inserting interpretive comments in the headings, rather than by using terms with eschatological overtones, as does LXX. It regards David as a prophet ... Likewise the Peshitta interprets Psalms eschatologically, particularly in its renderings of the headings [Pss 22, 45, 72, 110].<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> M. A. Vincent, “The Shape of the Psalter: An Eschatological Dimension?” in P.J. Harland and C. T. R. Hayward, eds., *New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and the Millenium, Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston* (VTSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 66. Emphasis in original.

<sup>111</sup> Grant, *King as Exemplar*, 33. See also Haney, *Text and Concept*, 10.

<sup>112</sup> Grant, *King as Exemplar*, 33. Emphasis in original.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.* Emphasis in original.

<sup>114</sup> Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 18-19.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

The purpose of Mitchell's monograph, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms*, is to argue for an underlying, cohesive eschatological vision that motivated and guided the organization of the Psalter. He argues that the Psalter was deliberately shaped to tell the story of the redemption of Israel by the Messiah, and that it follows and expands on the eschatological program delineated in the latter part of the book of Zechariah (chs. 9-14), with the RPss, and other major subgroups of Pss, representing the major markers that move the story along.

#### **1.1.3.4 Messianic Interpretation**

Often associated with the eschatological understanding of the RPss was a messianic interpretation. Schaper asserts that "eschatology and messianism ... co-existed alongside each other ... They were by no means mutually exclusive and in fact complemented each other."<sup>116</sup> After discussing the final collection and editing of the Psalter in the postexilic period when Judah was not ruled by a Davidic monarch, Craig C. Broyles attempts to answer the question of why these RPss were retained. He reasons:

It is doubtful the editors kept them simply as historical artifacts in a collection of liturgical and meditative songs and prayers. The most likely explanation is that they retained value because even before the Common Era they bore the hope of a new David. This transfer of referent – from the past Davidic kings to a future Davidic "Messiah" – was probably engendered by the Hebrew prophets. Prophecies contained in Isaiah (9:6-7; 11:1-5), Micah (5:2-5a), Jeremiah (23:5-6), Ezekiel (34:23-24; 37:24-28), and Zechariah (9:9-10) took up the language of the Royal Psalms and of the Davidic court and promised a new David, in view of the repeated failures of David's sons.<sup>117</sup>

Brevard Childs held a similar view regarding the reappropriation of the RPss in the postexilic period:

...[A]lthough the Royal Psalms arose originally in a peculiar historical setting of ancient Israel which had received its form from a common mythopoetic milieu, they were treasured in the Psalter for a different reason, namely as a witness to the messianic hope which looked for the consummation of God's kingship through his Anointed One.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Schaper, *Eschatology*, 29.

<sup>117</sup> Craig C. Broyles, "The Redeeming King: Psalm 72's Contribution to the Messianic Ideal" in Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint (eds.), *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997), 24.

<sup>118</sup> Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 517. See also Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 60-61.

Although Susan Gillingham disagrees with the idea of messianic expectations having an influence on the collecting and editing of the Pss, she does recognize the development of a “Messianic eisegesis” of certain Pss, including RPss, among Second Temple Jews before the Common Era. Similar to Mitchell, Gillingham argues for a move toward a Messianic understanding of many of these Pss in the LXX.<sup>119</sup>

Gillingham and Schaper, among others, argue that the LXX translation of Ps 110 (LXX Ps 109) implies an understanding of a preexistent Messiah. Gillingham notes that the famously difficult Hebrew in Ps 110:3c (מִרְחֹם מִשְׁחַר לֶךְ טַל יִלְחִיךְ) is rendered as ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε, which she translates as: “From the womb I have begotten you before the morning star.”<sup>120</sup> Schaper argues that LXX Ps 109 may reveal a belief not only in a preexistent Messiah, but also in his heavenly provenance and the idea that he will come in judgment.<sup>121</sup>

Schaper and Craig Evans argue that Ps 2 was being interpreted messianically in this period, based on evidence from the LXX and Targum translations, 4 Ezra 7:28-29, and *Psalms of Solomon* 17:23-24 and 18:4, 7.<sup>122</sup> Schaper further outlines evidence for a messianic reading of Ps 45 in the LXX based on, among other elements, the prepositional phrase “for/concerning the beloved/only son” in place of the MT’s “a song of loves” in the superscription and the straightforward rendering ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ θεός (“Your throne, O God”) for the ambiguous כִּסֵּאךָ אֱלֹהִים, referencing the (messianic) king.<sup>123</sup> Mitchell claims that Pss 18, 21, 45, 72, and 89 are read messianically in the Targum as well.<sup>124</sup>

One of the best known sources of messianic thought in this period is the pseudepigraphic collection known as the *Psalms of Solomon*. The seventeenth and eighteenth psalms of this collection, mentioned above, make reference to a messianic figure, the Son of David (17:21), who is the Lord Messiah (17:32). Charlesworth argues that the seventeenth psalm is deeply influenced by, among other sources, the RPss, especially, in his view, Pss 2 and 72. He explains that “in the 17<sup>th</sup> Psalm of Solomon, in verses 21-33, we find a description of the Messiah who will be a descendent of David and who will purge Jerusalem of her enemies not by means of a sword or through military conquest but ‘with the word of his

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<sup>119</sup> S. E. Gillingham, “The Messiah in the Psalms: A Question of Reception History and the Psalter,” in John Day (ed.), *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 230-31. See also Aquila H. I. Lee, *From Messiah to Preexistent Son* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 107-10; Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology*, 93.

<sup>120</sup> Gillingham, “The Messiah in the Psalms,” 232.

<sup>121</sup> Schaper, *Eschatology*, 101-07. See also Lee, *From Messiah*, 111-14.

<sup>122</sup> Schaper, *Eschatology*, 72-76. Craig Evans, “Are the ‘Son’ Texts at Qumran Messianic? Reflections on 4Q369 and Related Scrolls,” in James H. Charlesworth, et al., *Qumran-Messianism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 140.

<sup>123</sup> Schaper, *Eschatology*, 78-83.

<sup>124</sup> Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 20-21.

mouth.”<sup>125</sup> Broyles argues that this pseudepigraphal psalm (17:21-22) is “the sole messianic text containing an intercession for the Messiah, which is precisely the genre of Psalm 72.”<sup>126</sup> Kenneth Pomykala notes how 17:24-25 modifies the idea in Ps 2:9 of the gentile nations being dashed by the ruler’s iron rod to signify that it is Jewish “sinners” that will be broken.<sup>127</sup>

#### ***1.1.4 Interpretation in Qumran Texts***

Although there has not been any effort to provide a comprehensive study of the RPss among the Qumran texts, a number of scholars have analyzed both the structure and organization of the Pss scrolls and also the use of individual Pss as part of studies on broader topics.

John J. Collins, commenting on the general view of the Pss demonstrated in the Qumran texts, suggests: “The Psalms . . . were regarded as a store house of prophetic utterances by the Dead Sea sect.”<sup>128</sup> In his seminal study on Pss scrolls found at Qumran, Peter Flint argues that the Great Psalms Scroll (11QPs<sup>a</sup>) was organized in a way that makes it highly Davidic in character.<sup>129</sup>

##### ***1.1.4.1 Eschatological Interpretations***

Ben Zion Wacholder argues that the “David” of the additional pieces in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, such as “David’s Compositions,” is understood to be the eschatological descendent of David expected at the End of Days.<sup>130</sup> Mitchell similarly contends that compilers of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> seem to have meant for the Pss in their collection to be read eschatologically:

The authors of the Qumran literature seem to have regarded the Psalms as future-predictive. The prose insert in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> (“David’s Compositions”) describes all David’s Psalms, presumably including the immediately preceding psalm from 2 Sam 23.1-7 (David’s Last Words), as composed by means of a divine prophetic endowment . . .”

He goes on to explain:

The Qumran scribes juxtapose biblical Psalms with eschatological texts. The ‘Apostrophe to Zion’, in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and 4QPs<sup>f</sup>, claims itself to be prophetic (v. 17),

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<sup>125</sup> James H. Charlesworth, “Messianology in the Biblical Pseudepigrapha,” in Charlesworth, et al., *Qumran-Messianism*, 29-30.

<sup>126</sup> Broyles, “Redeeming King,” 34.

<sup>127</sup> Kenneth E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 163.

<sup>128</sup> John J. Collins, “Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Qumran-Messianism*, 111.

<sup>129</sup> Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 193.

<sup>130</sup> Ben Zion Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter: 11Q Psalms<sup>a</sup>,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 59 (1988), 23-72.

refers to the eschatological glory of Zion, and foretells the coming of its longed-for deliverance (v.2). 4QPs<sup>f</sup> contains biblical Psalms juxtaposed with the lyrics ‘Eschatological Hymn’ and ‘Apostrophe to Judah’, the former speaking of Yhwh’s coming in judgment, the destruction of the wicked and the end-time fertility of the earth, and the latter of the rejoicing of Judah after the eschatological destruction of her enemies. Other texts interpret biblical Psalms eschatologically. 11QMelch. refers Psalm 82 to the superhero Melchizedek and the battle with Belial and his hosts. 4Q174.1 (*Florilegium*) interprets Psalm 2 as applying to the kings of the nations who shall rage against Israel in the last days. 4Q171 interprets Psalms 37 and 45 eschatologically, as does 4Q173 for Psalm 128.<sup>131</sup>

#### 1.1.4.2 Messianic Interpretations

Martin Abegg and Craig Evans mention 4Q174 (4QFlor) as one of several passages that are inspired by the “tradition of the divine sonship of Israel’s monarch” found in Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14. “Son” epithets born of this tradition, according to Abegg and Evans, can be found in 4Q246 1:9 (“[son of] the [gr]eat [God]”), 4Q246 2:1 (“the Son of God,” “son of (the) Most High”), 4Q254 4:2 (“two sons of oil”), 4Q369 1ii:6 (“first-bo[rn] son”), and 4Q458 15:1 (“My first-born”). “Only the reference in 4Q174,” they argue, “is indisputably messianic.”<sup>132</sup> John Collins comments on the author of 4Q174’s interpretation of Ps 2:

Both 2 Sam 7:14 and Psalm 2:7 are cited in an eschatological midrash, 4Q174 (*Florilegium*). The “anointed” of Psalm 2 is read as a plural and interpreted with reference to God’s elect people. The interpretation of 2 Sam 7:14, however, is explicitly messianic: “[I will be] his father and he shall be my son. He is the Branch of David who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law [to rule] in Zion [at the end] of days.”<sup>133</sup>

Pomykala suggests that the depiction of the “Branch of David” figure in 4QFlor is “sparse and colorless” and that his status is relativized by the fact that he is to take office alongside the priestly Interpreter of the Law.<sup>134</sup> Charlesworth, however, interprets the text to mean the

<sup>131</sup> Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 25-26. For a summary of End Times expectations in the DSS, see Collins, “The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 74-90.

<sup>132</sup> Martin G. Abegg and Craig A. Evans, “Messianic Passages,” in *Qumran-Messianism*, 199-201. On the “Son of God” in 4Q246 as being inspired by Ps 2, see also Gerbern S. Oegema, *The Anointed and his People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, Ltd., 1998), 122.

<sup>133</sup> Collins, “Jesus,” 111. See also Abegg and Evans, “Messianic Passages,” 202. Oegema, *Anointed*, 121.

<sup>134</sup> Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty*, 197.

opposite: that what we are seeing is an example of a “king [who] is not subordinated to the priest. According to 4Q Florilegium,” he asserts, “there are not two messiahs.”<sup>135</sup>

Regarding the messianic hopes shared in the DSS, Broyles comments:

The messianism that is attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls did not arise in isolation from the Scriptures of Israel or from the larger context of Judaism in late antiquity. As John Collins has recently emphasized, the messianism witnessed by the sectarian Scrolls is largely consistent with what is found in other Jewish sources from this same period of time.<sup>136</sup>

A number of scholars have commented on allusions to Ps 89 in the Qumran texts. Abegg and Evans see 4Q458 2ii:6 (“one anointed with the oil of the kingdom”) as alluding to Ps 89:21 (Ev. 89:20).<sup>137</sup> Evans argues that 4Q369 1ii:6-10 (“Prayer of Enosh”) should be understood in terms of its parallels to Ps 89:21, 27-28 (Ev. 20, 26-27), and comments: “From these parallels we may cautiously conclude that the ‘first-born’ of 4Q369 is either the historical David or a Davidic descendant.”<sup>138</sup>

#### 1.1.4.3 *The Use of the Psalms in the Hodayot*

John Elwolde, building on the work of scholars such as Jean Carmignac<sup>139</sup> and Preben Wernberg-Møller,<sup>140</sup> over a series of four articles,<sup>141</sup> analyzes the use of the Pss in the *Hodayot* (“Thanksgiving Hymns”), including RPss 18 and 89. He argues for an allusion to Ps 18:5 in 1QH 3:28-29, claiming, following Julie Hughes, that the phrases *וזהבלי מות אפפו* and *נחלי בליעל* in the Qumran text are “unmistakable markers” to Ps 18:5. The use of the phrase

<sup>135</sup> Charlesworth, “From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects,” in *The Messiah* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 26.

<sup>136</sup> Broyles, “Redeeming King,” 23.

<sup>137</sup> This example is from a list of passages that use the word “anointed” (משיח); others on this list may be drawing on Ps 89 as well. Abegg and Evans, “Messianic Passages,” 194.

<sup>138</sup> Evans, “Are the ‘Son’ Texts at Qumran Messianic?” in *Qumran-Messianism*, 150-151.

<sup>139</sup> Jean Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancien Testament, et spécialement des Poèmes du Serviteur dans les hymnes de Qumrân,” *RevQ* 2/7 (1960), 357-94.

<sup>140</sup> Preben Wernberg-Møller, “The Contribution of the *Hodayot* to Biblical Textual Criticism,” *Textus* 4 (1964), 133-75.

<sup>141</sup> As Elwolde’s fourth article only covers up to the end of Book 4 of the Psalter, there should be a fifth article. Through a personal communication (9 March 2013), Dr. Elwolde informed me that he is currently working on the fifth article, which he expects will be published in 2014. The four published articles are: John Elwolde, “The *Hodayot*’s Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions (Book 1),” in Bob Becking and Eric Peels (eds.), *Psalms and Prayers: Papers Read at the [Thirteenth] Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België, Apeldoorn August 2006* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 79-108; idem., “The *Hodayot*’s Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions (Book 2: Pss 42-72),” in Armin Lange et al. (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 79-99; idem., “The *Hodayot*’s Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions (Book 3: Pss 73-89),” *DSD* 17 (2010), 159-79; idem., “The *Hodayot*’s Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions (Book 4: Pss 90-106),” in George J. Brooke et al. (eds.), *The Scrolls and Biblical Traditions: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IOQS in Helsinki* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 65-87.

נהלי בליעל, unique in the Bible to Ps 18:5, demonstrates, he argues, “a rather direct relationship between the Hodayot and the biblical texts.”<sup>142</sup> Elwolde also comments on the use of the phrase סוד-קדשים in 1QH 12:25-26, stating that the only place in the biblical record where we find this phrase is in Ps 89:8 (Evv. 89:7). He acknowledges the fact that its use in this and other Qumran texts<sup>143</sup> may simply indicate the appropriation of a biblical concept and not a direct dependence on a specific biblical passage, however there are some parallels in the immediate context of the Hodayot text that may support the idea that there was either intentional or unintentional dependence.<sup>144</sup> For Ps 89:10, he speculates that 1QH 10:29-30 may represent a variant Hebrew version of the psalm which supports the LXX version over the MT.<sup>145</sup>

## ***1.2 Scope/Plan of the Present Study***

### ***1.2.1 Chapter 2: The RPss as Found in the Dead Sea Pss Scrolls***

Chapter 2 will look at the RPss as they are found in the Qumran texts. The chapter will begin with a brief analysis of the contents of the thirty-six Pss scrolls found at Qumran (and also at Masada and Nahal Hever/Wadi Seiyal) and how they correspond to the MT Psalter. I will then identify which of the RPss are present in these scrolls and where they are found, including a brief discussion of possible reasons for the absence of those RPss which are not found. This is followed by an analysis and commentary on variations in the order of Pss found in the various scrolls, how this affects the placement of the RPss and what this means for how they were being used by the editors of these Pss collections as compared to the editors of the MT Psalter. The final section of this chapter will contain an analysis of the textual variations exhibited in these instances of RPss, as compared to the MT. A comparison to the Septuagint version of these passages will also be included.

These textual analyses are the first obvious step in uncovering how the RPss were being used in the texts of the Qumran library. According to Peter Flint, “[o]f the 150 Psalms found in the Received Text, 126 are at least partially extant in the thirty-nine Psalms scrolls and seven related manuscripts. All or most of the twenty-four ‘missing’ Psalms were most likely included, but these are now lost due to the fragmentary state of most of the scrolls.”<sup>146</sup> In other words, it is ultimately impossible for us to know if a missing RP is absent due to the fact that the editors of the Pss scrolls did not care to include it, or if it is simply no longer

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<sup>142</sup> Elwolde, “Hodayot’s Use of the Psalter (Book 1),” 91; Julie Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 184.

<sup>143</sup> He also makes reference to 4QH<sup>b</sup> 19:7; 1QDM 1iv:1; 4QRitMar 19:1. Elwolde, “Hodayot’s Use of the Psalter (Book 3: Pss 73-89),” 175.

<sup>144</sup> Elwolde, “Hodayot’s Use of the Psalter (Book 3: Pss 73-89),” 175.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 175-77, 179.

<sup>146</sup> Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 48.

present in the extant fragmentary manuscripts that we possess. For those that are accounted, however, we may gain some insight into how they were being read and interpreted by how they are placed in the collections in which they are found and by the textual variations present. Variations from the MT Psalter on these points may indicate a difference in understanding or interpretation on the part of the Qumran redactors.

### ***1.2.2 Chapter 3: Explicit Exegesis of the RPss in Qumran Texts***

Chapter 3 examines occurrences of exegesis of the RPss found at Qumran. This chapter is the next obvious step for the understanding of what the RPss meant to the authors of these Qumran texts. The chapter begins with a brief introduction into the general methods of exegesis employed by the authors of the scrolls of the Qumran library, including midrash, peshet, and the tendency towards “actualizing” exegesis. After this broad discussion of Qumran interpretation, I then outline which scrolls can be seen to contain interpretations of the Pss specifically and the RPss in particular. The clear instances of RPss that are the subject of exegesis are limited to two: Ps 2 in 4QFlorilegium and Ps 45 in 4QpPs<sup>a</sup>. After a brief description of the relevant Qumran manuscript, the manner in which the Qumran authors interpret the RPss in these texts will be analyzed in depth. The final section of the chapter will contain a brief overview of my findings regarding how Pss 7, 68, 82, and 118 were being interpreted in Qumran texts, in order to contribute a somewhat larger perspective on how the Pss were being understood and applied to the authors’ community.

Although there are only two clear examples of the exegesis of RPss analyzed here, this chapter provides considerable insight into how the Qumran authors were reading these Pss. Many of the issues discussed in sections 1.1.3 and 1.1.4, above, regarding how the RPss were being interpreted in the Second Temple period and in the texts of the Qumran library in particular, are brought up in this chapter, including: eschatological and messianic expectations, actualization of scripture, the distinction between the “I” and “we” persona, democratization and collective reinterpretation of the RPss. As the analyses progress, it becomes clear that the authors of these exegetical texts are interested in actualizing these Pss for their own times, informing their audience regarding how they apply to their community in the Last Days.

### ***1.2.3 Chapter 4: Quotes of and Allusions to the RPss in the Dead Sea Scrolls***

Chapter 4 analyzes the many quotations of and allusions to individual RPss contained in the texts. A wide variety of Qumran texts are identified, including the Hodayot manuscripts, 1QSa, 1QSB, 4Q381, 1QMilhamah, and others, that utilize the following RPss: Pss 2, 18, 20, 21, 89, and 110. For each instance, the words, phrases, or verses quoted, paraphrased, or alluded to in the Qumran text are identified. An analysis of how the Qumran

author is utilizing the material from the RPss is offered, including in what context the author places the reference, how it is applied to the author's present situation, with what additional scriptural passages is it being combined, and so on.

The discoveries detailed in this chapter elucidate the fact that beyond the direct examples of exegesis on the RPss that we have looked at, the quotations and other clear uses of the RPss analyzed here contribute greatly to our understanding of how the authors of these Qumran texts were interpreting and using the RPss. As with the chapter 3, many of the issues raised in this introduction are discussed in chapter 4, and in greater detail than in chapter 3, due to the larger number of texts analyzed. The interest in eschatological interpretation is confirmed, and the dependence of a variety of Qumran texts on the RPss is revealed.

#### ***1.2.4 Chapter 5: Non-Canonical Royal Psalms in the Qumran Library***

Chapter 5 looks at the influence of the RPss on some of the non-canonical Pss found at Qumran, particularly those found in the collections known as 4Q381, 4Q448, 11Q11, and Pss 151A+B and 154 from 11Q5. 4Q381/4Q*Non-Canonical Pss B* has been called by a number of scholars, including Michael Wise, et al., Eileen Schuller, and Esther Chazon, “a collection of Royal Psalms.”<sup>147</sup> In this chapter, I will analyze what I see as the most relevant sections, or fragments, of 4Q381, along with the other selections mentioned, with the goal of determining what, if any, dependence they have on the RPss. Besides the fact that a number of the compositions are explicitly attributed to royal figures in their headings, this chapter will demonstrate that another key characteristic of these Qumran psalms is their dependence on the RPss.

For each text analyzed, the fragment of text containing the psalm will be provided, followed by an in-depth analysis of the text, including possible uses of the RPss. As in previous chapters, many topics raised in earlier scholarship regarding the nature and use of the RPss will be addressed here, including: the exaltation of the royal figure to heaven,<sup>148</sup> deliverance from Sheol, the revelation of “hidden” knowledge, depictions of eschatological scenarios, the reworking of Scripture, collective reinterpretation, opinions regarding kingship and the Davidic dynasty, and many other topics. The opinions of the Qumran authors, as manifested in these non-canonical Pss, regarding these issues and others will be elucidated.

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<sup>147</sup> Michael Owen Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 1st ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 342. Eileen M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection*, Harvard Semitic Studies 28 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 28. Esther Chazon, “The Use of the Bible as Key to Meaning in Psalms from Qumran,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, Emanuel Tov, Shalom M. Paul and Eva Ben-David, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 85-96, at 89.

<sup>148</sup> See section 1.1.2.13 for these topics.

### ***1.2.5 Contribution***

From the time of their integration into the worship practices of the Israelite people in the obscure past to their abundant application by the emerging Christian sect to the person of Jesus of Nazareth, the RPss continued to be a source of inspiration to the Jewish people. Though there have been many studies that have analyzed their *Sitz im Leben*, use, interpretation, and application for many different periods, no study has attempted a thorough analysis of their use among the Qumran documents. An understanding of their use in the texts of the Qumran library is of high value for our comprehension of what happened to the pre-exilic royal traditions as these hymns continued to be used in a post-monarchic society. Furthermore, the way that these Pss, which are often understood to have referred to historical settings or events involving royal figures, were used in light of the apocalyptic and eschatological interests evidenced in many Qumran texts, is deserving of illumination. This dissertation makes an original contribution towards these goals, establishing that there was an interest, on the part of the authors of many of the Qumran texts, in royal themes albeit in a time when the Davidic monarchy was a distant memory.

## Chapter 2: The Royal Psalms As Found in the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls

### *2.1 Introduction*

Despite all of the work that has been done regarding the Pss in the Qumran library, including analyses involving the use of individual RPss among the scrolls, no study has attempted an analysis of the entire corpus of RPss specifically. This chapter will look at how the eleven generally-accepted canonical RPss are represented in the Qumran texts. The locations in the Pss scrolls where these RPss are to be found will be identified and reasons for the absence of those which are not found will be briefly discussed. Subsequently, I will discuss the state of those RPss present in the scrolls, giving particular attention to the variations in the text, as compared to the MT renditions. Also, I will analyze the placement of the RPss on the Pss scrolls as compared to the MT Psalter.

These analyses will constitute the first basic step in discovering how the RPss were being used in the texts of the Qumran library. The greatest discoveries for our understanding of how the editors/redactors were using the RPss will come in the analyses of the textual variations, and for Pss 89 and 132 in particular. The argument will be put forward that the most significant variations give the impression that the redactors are deliberately modifying these Pss in order to give them an eschatological sense. In these analyses, evidence for an added emphasis on the Davidic royal figure when compared to the MT and the construction of eschatological scenarios begin to emerge. Although the evidence is not extensive, it serves as a primary building block upon which subsequent chapters will build as our understanding of the use of the RPss among the Qumran texts becomes more apparent.

### *2.2 Psalms Collections in the Qumran Library*

No other book is as well represented among the Dead Sea Scrolls as is the Psalter.<sup>1</sup> Thirty-six scrolls or manuscripts containing Pss have been found at Qumran, with additional examples found at Masada and Naḥal Hever.<sup>2</sup>

While most of the canonical (MT) Pss are present in these manuscripts, there are also a number of non-canonical Pss inserted along with them in some scrolls, especially into what would be Books IV and V of the MT Psalter. It is important to note that no full psalter, equivalent to the MT Psalter's 1-150 collection, was found extant at Qumran. As Flint explains:

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<sup>1</sup> Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 2.

<sup>2</sup> A listing of the Pss manuscripts (with their contents) that have been published can be found in Peter W. Flint, "The Contribution of the Cave 4 Psalms Scrolls to the Psalms Debate," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5, no. 3 (1998). Also, a more recent update in Emanuel Tov, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, DJD XXXIX (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

It must be emphasized that virtually all the Pss scrolls are badly damaged and consist of remnants. Several were undoubtedly larger when originally copied: 4QPs<sup>a</sup>, 4QPs<sup>c</sup>, 4QPs<sup>e</sup>, and 5/6Hev-Se4 Ps.<sup>132</sup> But it also seems likely that some Pss manuscripts originally contained only a few compositions or part of a Psalter.<sup>3</sup>

According to Flint, the collection of Pss 1-89 is stable in Qumran texts in both order and content.<sup>4</sup> Although nineteen Pss from this section (from Books I-III of the MT Psalter) are not found at Qumran,<sup>5</sup> this is thought to be due to the fact that "the beginnings of scrolls are usually on the outside and are thus more prone to deterioration."<sup>6</sup> The significance of this assertion will be noted when we attempt to establish whether or not all of the "RPss" are to be found in the Qumran Pss collections.

For the sections that correspond to the MT Psalter Books IV and V (Ps 90 and beyond), there are many disagreements between the Qumran Pss collections and the MT in terms of order and content (e.g., the presence of additional compositions), if one takes collections such as 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to have been recognized as representing true psalters. While "additional" or "extra-canonical" pieces are not added to Pss 1-89, they are linked eleven times to biblical Pss in Pss 90-150. While Flint argues that this indicates that Books IV and V were still fluid during this period, others prefer to believe that the variations found are simply due to the fact that the so-called psalters that we find at Qumran are secondary collections and not meant to represent the full Psalter. From the biblical sections comprising Pss 90-150, only Pss 90, 108, 110, 111, and 117 are not represented. According to Flint's analysis and reconstructions, it is likely that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> originally included both Pss 110 and 117.<sup>7</sup>

The closest we have to a full Psalter at Qumran is 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, which, at approximately five meters long, is one of the longest manuscripts preserved from the Qumran library. Notwithstanding this fact, there are only 49 compositions extant on the scroll, with likely no more than 56 altogether in its original extent, according to reconstructions.<sup>8</sup> This scroll can be seen as roughly corresponding to Books IV-V of the MT Psalter, and contains none of the contents of Books I-III.

While it is almost always impossible to judge the original extent of the fragmentary scrolls that are available, we generally seem to have in the Qumran Pss scrolls a number of smaller collections of Pss, most of which have the same order,<sup>9</sup> but many also which

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<sup>3</sup> Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 47-48.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 141ff.

<sup>5</sup> The missing Pss from Books I-III, according to Flint, are 3-4, 20-21, 32, 41, 46, 55, 58, 61, 64-65, 70, 72-75, 80, 87. *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 192.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>9</sup> There are a number which do preserve the order and content, at least to a certain extent and over a limited sequence, which we are familiar with in the Hebrew Bible's Psalter.

demonstrate a different order than the MT Psalter and may, at times, have been grouped together for specific (e.g., liturgical) reasons. For example, 1QPs<sup>a</sup> preserves parts of only Pss 86, 92, 94-96, and 119. There are three scrolls that apparently only contained Ps 119 (4QPs<sup>g</sup>, 4QPs<sup>h</sup>, and 5QPs). 1QPs<sup>b</sup> may have contained only the Pss of Ascent (120-134).<sup>10</sup> To cite one further example, 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> includes three apocryphal songs relating to exorcism, plus the biblical Ps 91.

Scrolls that vary from the MT-type order include:

- 4Q83/4QPs<sup>a</sup>
- 4Q84/4QPs<sup>b</sup>
- 4Q86/4QPs<sup>d</sup>
- 4Q87/4QPs<sup>e</sup>
- 4Q92/4QPs<sup>k</sup>
- 4Q95/4QPs<sup>n</sup>
- 4Q98/4QPs<sup>q</sup>
- 11Q5/11QPs<sup>a</sup>
- 11Q6/11QPs<sup>b</sup>

The only scrolls which have variations that affect the RPss are briefly analyzed below. A full list of variations can be found in Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*.

### 2.2.1 4Q87/4QPs<sup>e</sup>

Ranges from Ps 76 to 130, but is very fragmentary. Contains parts of Ps 89, which appears to follow Ps 88, but the next extant psalm is 103.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.2.2 11Q5/11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Ranges from Ps 101 to 151A/B, but the original contents are not fully preserved. Ps 101 seems to begin the scroll as we now have it. Although Ps 110 is missing from the scroll in its extant state, Flint adds it to his reconstruction, in the sequence of Pss 103, 109, 110, 113-118.<sup>12</sup> Ps 132 comes at the end of the Songs of Ascents (Pss 120-132), but instead of being followed by Pss 133 and 134 (also Songs of Ascents), as in MT, it is directly followed by Ps 119. Ps 138 comes in the sequence of Pss 139, 137, 138, and then Sirach 51, the

<sup>10</sup> Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 31.

<sup>11</sup> Fragments 6-8 contain Ps 89:44-48, 50-53; fragment 9 is very small and appears to contain parts of Ps 103 and 109. Flint argues that this scroll contained the same sequence as 11QPs<sup>a</sup> (Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 35, footnote 39), so we should expect that at least Pss 101-102, but perhaps others, followed Ps 89.

<sup>12</sup> See Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 191. It is likely that Psalm 110 would have been similarly placed in 4QPs<sup>e</sup>.

Apostrophe to Zion, and Ps 93. Ps 144 also comes in a sequence that differs from the MT order: that of Pss 141, 133, 144, 155, 142, 143.

Conclusive reasons for why this Pss collection is so divergent from our canonical Psalter remain elusive.<sup>13</sup> Due to the fragmentary state of the scrolls, it is difficult to determine what role, if any, the RPss played in the Qumran Psalters that could be compared to theories such as Gerald Wilson's work on the RPss at the "seams" of the MT Psalter.<sup>14</sup> Given the alternate order of Pss in the Qumran texts, it seems necessary to conclude that the RPss were not being positioned by the Qumran redactors with the same purposes in mind. More work on this important issue is merited.

### ***2.3 Canonical RPss Occurring in Qumran and Related Texts***

The following table lists the RPss and illustrates where, if at all, they are to be found in the extant Pss scrolls. The relevant manuscripts found at Masada and Naḥal Ḥever have also been considered here.

<b><u>Psalm</u></b>	<b><u>Scroll</u></b>
<b>2:1-8</b>	11QPs <sup>c</sup> /11Q7
<b>2:6-7</b>	3QPs/3Q2
<b>18:1-12, 15-17</b>	11QPs <sup>c</sup> /11Q7
<b>18:1-14, 16-18, 32-36, 39-41</b>	4QPs <sup>c</sup> /4Q85
<b>18:6-13</b>	8QPs/8Q2
<b>18:6-13, 17-36, 38-43</b>	5/6ḤevPs
<b>18:26-29, 39-42</b>	11QPs <sup>d</sup> /11Q8
<b>18:26-29</b>	MasPs <sup>a</sup>
<b>20</b>	Not found
<b>21</b>	Not found
<b>45:6-8</b>	11QPs <sup>d</sup> /11Q8
<b>45:8-11</b>	4QPs <sup>c</sup> /4Q85
<b>72</b>	Not found
<b>89:20-22, 26, 23, 27-28, 31</b>	4QPs <sup>x</sup> /4QPs89
<b>89:44-48, 50-53</b>	4QPs <sup>c</sup> /4Q87
<b>101:1-8</b>	11QPs <sup>a</sup> /11Q5
<b>110</b>	Not found
<b>132:8-18</b>	11QPs <sup>a</sup> /11Q5
<b>144:1-2</b>	11QPs <sup>b</sup> /11Q6
<b>144:1-7, 15</b>	11QPs <sup>a</sup> /11Q5

All of the RPss, with the exception of Pss 20, 21, 72, and 110, are to be found among the extant manuscripts. As noted above, the absence of many Pss from Books I-III is to be expected due to the damaged state of most scrolls. According to Flint, "all or most of the twenty-four 'missing' Pss were most likely included, but these are now lost due to the

<sup>13</sup> See Flint's analysis of some of the various theories in *ibid.*, 172ff.

<sup>14</sup> See explanation of Wilson's theory in section 1.1.3.

fragmentary state of most of the scrolls.”<sup>15</sup> Also, the fact that the collection of Pss 1-89 appears to be stable among Qumran texts, as discussed previously, lends support to the idea that the missing RPss from this collection would originally have been extant.<sup>16</sup>

As for the RPss of Books IV-V of the MT Psalter, only Ps 110 is missing. Ben Zion Wacholder reasons that Ps 110, along with other surrounding Pss, may have been excluded due to its perceived association with the “inappropriate” content of Ps 106.<sup>17</sup> However, Flint argues that it is very likely that it would have been originally present in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> by virtue of its Davidic superscript. The only other Psalm from this section with a Davidic title that is missing from this scroll is Psalm 108. According to computerized reconstructions, a sequence for 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, on the basis of spacing, of Pss 109-110, followed by 113-118, is plausible.<sup>18</sup>

## 2.4 Analysis of Textual Variations

The fact that the Qumran biblical texts present us with many textual variations from the MT renditions is well known. Textual variations are often the result of errors introduced into the text by copyists and editors, but they may also be deliberate. This section will feature a delineation of the textual variants found in the RPss rendered in the Qumran Pss scrolls, followed by an analysis of those variations and what they may mean in terms of how the authors/editors were understanding or interpreting the text. Only the more significant variations are noted. Additions of letters such as *matres lectionis* and most obvious scribal errors will generally not be included. A full listing of the variations can be found in Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 86-115.

### 2.4.1 Psalm 2

#### 11Q7/11QPs<sup>c</sup>

<u>Chapter:Verse</u>	<u>11Q7/11QPs<sup>c</sup></u>	<u>MT</u>	<u>LXX</u>
2:3	מוסדרות[ימור]	מוסרושימו	τὸν ζῦγον ἀντῶν

<sup>15</sup> Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 48.

<sup>16</sup> See *ibid.*, 141-49. Flint argues that “during the entire Qumran period Psalms 1-89 were virtually finalized as a collection, while Psalms 90 and beyond remained much more fluid” (p. 148).

<sup>17</sup> Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter,” 45. Wacholder argues that Ps 106, which deals with Israel’s “ingratitude and rebelliousness” may have been deemed inappropriate and, therefore, was excluded. The inappropriateness of 106 may have led to the exclusion of the subsequent Pss, up to 110. Wacholder notes that we do find Ps 109 on fragment D, which is appropriate due to its attribution to David. Ps 110, however, was not included, in his opinion, because it “portrays Melchizedek as a priest-king, yet nowhere in this scroll do we find any references to David as a priest.”

<sup>18</sup> Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 191. Flint argues that the space between columns d and e must have contained material that is now missing, which he fills in with Psalm 110, due to its Davidic superscript, and Pss 113-117, arguing, with Skehan, that the scroll would have contained the full Egyptian/Passover Hallel (Pss 113-118). Although Ps 118 is not included in our analysis of the RPss, based on the evidence available from the extant scrolls, the Qumran library demonstrates a particular interest in this psalm, at least parts of which appear no less than five times in the various Pss scrolls.

The exact meaning of מוסדרותימו is unknown, but it may be related to סדר (arrangement, order, rows), or may be a scribal error. The LXX agrees with the MT against 11QPs<sup>c</sup>.

#### 2.4.2 Psalm 18

##### 11Q7/11QPs<sup>c</sup>

Chapter:Verse	11Q7/11QPs <sup>c</sup>	MT	LXX
18:2	רחמ תיכה	ארחמך	ἀγαπήσω σε
18:12	ח שכות	חשכת	σκοτεινὸν
18:16	י מוסד	מוסדות	τὰ θεμέλια
18:16	ישל ח	מגערתך	ἀπὸ ἐπιτιμῆσεώς σου

None of the above variants are of particular significance for our understanding of how this psalm was being read. The last example, the appearance of ישלח in the place of מגערתך is possibly a scribal error, a transposition of stichs 16cd and 17ab. The nature of the variant remains unclear.<sup>19</sup>

We should emphasize here that Ps 18 appears more than any other RPs, occurring in six different manuscripts. Outside of 11QPs<sup>c</sup>, none of the other examples of this psalm have any notable variations from the MT. In MasPs<sup>a</sup>, we possibly see the only departure from the MT position for this psalm, where it appears (vv. 26-29) together with Pss 81-85.

#### 2.4.3 Psalm 45

##### 11Q8/11QPs<sup>d</sup>

- 45:6-7 – the word אלה present after המלך is unattested elsewhere. It may be a scribal note or some other aberration. It does not seem to be significant.

#### 2.4.4 Psalm 89

##### 4Q87/4QPs<sup>e</sup>

Chapter:Verse	4Q87/4QPs <sup>e</sup>	MT	LXX
89:44	למלחמה	במלחמה	ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ

##### 4Q98g/4QPs<sup>x</sup>/4QPs89<sup>20</sup>

- written in prose format

<sup>19</sup> See Florentino García Martínez, et al., *Qumran Cave 11*, DJD XXIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 59. Also, Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 87.

<sup>20</sup> Earlier designated as 4Q236.

- variant arrangement: (Heb) verses 20-22, 26, 23, 27-28, 31<sup>21</sup>
- one of two oldest Pss scrolls, with 4QPs<sup>a22</sup> – some argue that this is an older version of Ps 89 than the MT rendition<sup>23</sup>

The significant variations between 4QPs89 and the Masoretic Text of Ps 89 merit an in-depth analysis. The following is a comparison between the English renderings of 4QPs89 and the MT of Ps 89.<sup>24</sup>

4QPs89

<sup>(1)</sup>[In a vision to] your chosen ones<sup>25</sup> you will say.<sup>26</sup>

“I have laid<sup>27</sup> a hel[per<sup>28</sup> upon (one who is)] mi[ghty,]

<sup>(2)</sup>[I have exalted one cho]sen from (the) people.

I have found <sup>(3)</sup>[my servant David;]

From my holy oil<sup>29</sup> <sup>(4)</sup>[I have anointed him.]

MT of Psalm 89 (rearranged)

<sup>(20)</sup>Then you spoke in a vision to your faithful ones, and said:

“I have laid help upon (one who is) mighty,

I have exalted one chosen from the people.

<sup>(21)</sup>I have found my servant David;

with my holy oil I have anointed him;

<sup>21</sup> This manuscript consists of only a small fragment. The verses mentioned are the only ones extant.

<sup>22</sup> See Eugene Charles Ulrich, et al., *Qumran Cave 4: XI, Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD XVI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 163. The DJD analysis of 4Q98<sup>g</sup> supports Milik’s second century BCE dating over van der Ploeg’s first century date. See J. T. Milik, “Fragment d’une source du Psautier (4QPs89) et fragments des Jubilés, du Document de Damas, d’un phylactère dans la Grotte 4 de Qumran”, *RB* 73 (1966), 95, 102; J. P. M. van der Ploeg, “Le sens et un problème textuel du Ps LXXXIX”, in A. Caquot and M. Delcor (eds.), *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l’honneur de M. Henri Cazelles* (AOAT 212; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 475.

<sup>23</sup> In DJD XVI, Flint agrees with Milik, against Skehan, that this manuscript represents “part of an ancient source for the Psalter” and argues that it “preserves one of the sources of Psalm 89 or is possibly a very early form of this Psalm.” DJD XVI, 164. See Milik, “Fragment”; P. W. Skehan, “Gleanings from Psalm Texts from Qumrân”, in Caquot and M. Delcor (eds.), *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l’honneur de M. Henri Cazelles* (AOAT 212; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 439; also P. W. Flint, “A Form of Psalm 89 (4Q236 = 4QPs89)”, in J. H. Charlesworth and H. W. L. Rietz (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 4A; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1998), 40-41.

<sup>24</sup> Based on Flint’s outline and translations in Flint, “A Form of Psalm 89,” 45. As in his version, the superscripted numbers in parentheses indicate line numbers for 4QPs89 and verse numbers (Hebrew versification) for the MT version. Variations noted in the Qumran manuscript will be commented on in the footnotes. I do not comment on some very minor textual variants that I deem insignificant to this study. A list of all textual variants can be found in Flint.

<sup>25</sup> 4QPs89 has לבהריך (“to your chosen ones”), whereas the MT (similarly LXX) reads להסידך (“to your faithful/holy ones”); compare MT Psalm 89:4. Note that the MT (Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia) reads להסידך; however, the notes indicate that multiple manuscripts have the singular, להסידך.

<sup>26</sup> 4QPs89 has תאמר, which is most naturally translated as “you will say,” whereas the MT (similarly LXX) reads ותאמר (“and you said”).

<sup>27</sup> 4QPs89 has שת here, whereas the MT has שויתי. The difference in the scroll may be an error, or an orthographic variation due to Aramaic influence (see Flint, “A Form of Psalm 89,” 42). Flint, following Milik, argues that this should be a first person verb, that the text “demands” it. Milik suggests that the originally intended spelling in the scroll should be שתי.

<sup>28</sup> 4QPs89 has the participle עיןזר (“helper”) where the MT (similarly LXX, βοηθῆσαι) has the noun עזר (“help”).

Whose/His hand<sup>30</sup> shall establish you;<sup>31</sup>

<sup>(5)</sup>[And will strengthen you.]<sup>32</sup>

[And] I will set (his) hand on the sea,

[(his) right hand] on the rivers.

<sup>(6)</sup>[No longer shall] (the) enemy and the wicked  
(son of wickedness) oppress him.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>(7)</sup>[He shall cry to me,] ‘You are my [Fa]ther.’

<sup>34</sup>

I will make him the firstborn,

<sup>(8)</sup>[the highest of the kings of] (the) earth.

If they forsake [...’]

<sup>(22)</sup>my hand shall remain with him;

my arm also shall strengthen him.

<sup>(26)</sup>And I will set his hand on the sea,

and his right hand on the rivers.

<sup>(23)</sup>(The) enemy shall not deceive him,  
and the wicked shall not oppress him.

<sup>(27)</sup>He shall cry to me, “You are my  
Father,

my God, and the Rock of my salvation!”

<sup>(28)</sup>Also I will make him the firstborn,  
the highest of the kings of (the) earth.

<sup>(31)</sup>If his children forsake my law ... .”

This version of Ps 89, as found in the manuscript 4Q98g/4QPs<sup>x</sup> (4QPs89), is intriguing both because of its textual variations and also because of its verse order. Previous studies of the text have disagreed on the reasons for these variations and the precise relationship of this text to the biblical Ps 89. The position taken by Peter Flint and the editors of DJD XVI agrees with Jozef Milik’s view: that this fragment “preserves one of the sources of Psalm 89 or is possibly a very early form of this Psalm.”<sup>35</sup> They argue for an early date for the fragment, following Milik’s suggested date sometime in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE. This argument must naturally assume a fairly late date for the form of Ps 89 that appears in the MT.

<sup>29</sup> 4QPs89 has מן (“from”) where the MT has ב (“with”). Flint comments: “The partitive use of מן with שמן to denote anointing with oil is possible but is not common usage” (Flint, “A Form of Psalm 89,” 43).

<sup>30</sup> 4QPs89 appears (the final letter is difficult to distinguish) to read ידו (“his hand”) where the MT has ידי (“my hand”). Although Milik (Milik, “Fragment,” 98) prefers to read the latter on the fragment, Skehan and Flint (Skehan, “Gleanings,” 442; Flint, “A Form of Psalm 89,” 42) argue for “his hand.” Flint notes: “The order of verses in this MS (22, 26, 23, 27-28) indicates that the reference is to the hand of David, not God’s hand as in MT.”

<sup>31</sup> 4QPs89 has תכננם (Hip’il of כון; “shall establish you”), whereas the MT has תכון עמו (“shall remain with him”). Flint notes that the differences in this verse indicate that in 4QPs89, the meaning is that David’s hand will establish (or “make firm”; “make ready”) the chosen ones, instead of God’s hand remaining with David (Flint, “A Form of Psalm 89,” 43).

<sup>32</sup> This line is entirely reconstructed, but because there is not space to add a second subject to this line as found in the MT and LXX (“my arm”), the subject of the previous line (“his hand”) must be serving for the verbs in both lines (see Flint, “A Form of Psalm 89,” 44-45; DJD XVI, 166). Thus, David’s hand is both establishing the chosen ones and also strengthening “you.”

<sup>33</sup> This reconstruction by Flint (following Skehan, against Milik and Gleßmer), if correct, makes this reading closer to the LXX (“the son of wickedness shall no longer oppress him”) and to 2 Sam 7:10 (“No longer shall wicked men oppress them”).

<sup>34</sup> The additional words found in the MT version of this verse are not included here.

<sup>35</sup> DJD XVI, 164.

This view rejects the hypotheses of scholars such as Patrick Skehan and Johannes van der Ploeg who saw 4QPs89 as secondary to the canonical psalm, using the latter as a source in some way. Both Skehan and van der Ploeg argued that the version of Ps 89 found on the fragment was noticeably “inferior” to the canonical psalm. Van der Ploeg rejected the notion that what we find at Qumran exhibits the canonical Psalter “in the making.” He argued that the biblical Ps 89 does not show signs of expansion, is superior and more original, and that the 4QPs89 composition shows signs of being a “shortened” version. He advanced the hypothesis that the latter was possibly part of a “libretto” of messianic testimonia, meant to be carried by the faithful who looked forward to the coming of a future king.

I will argue against the first hypothesis, put forward by Milik and accepted by the editors of DJD XVI, that 4QPs89 is the source, or an early version, of Ps 89. More in line with Skehan and van der Ploeg, I will argue that the text on this fragment represents a secondary version of the canonical psalm – which is the base text. When compared to that of the MT version, the wording and order of verses seem to emphasize the Davidic/royal figure, the power that he will have, and his role in establishing the elect people. The text should probably be understood as an example of reworked scripture; more specifically, an interpretation of the biblical Ps 89 that reorders verses and changes words in order to present a composition that speaks to the eschatological expectations of the community, actualizing the historical aspects of the psalm.

An initial point to note is that the events described in the Qumran psalm seem to be set in the future. Beginning in line 1, we find the imperfect verb תאמר (“you will say”) instead of the canonical psalm’s waw-consecutive imperfect: ותאמר (“and you said”). Although the imperfect can be used to express other aspects besides future, especially in poetic literature, the apparent omission of the MT phrase אז זכרת, which clearly indicates the past, gives further weight to the argument for a future expectation.

In Loren Stuckenbruck’s analysis of similar temporal shifts between perfect and imperfect verbs from the biblical texts to interpretation in the *Habakkuk Peshar* (1QpHab), he concludes that “the use of the verb forms appears to have resulted from a deliberate choice by the pesharist.” He argues that we cannot automatically assign the use of imperfect and perfect to either future or past with certitude, but, he notes, we should understand that the text’s interpreter is generally concerned to interpret the biblical text for his own community and feels free to change verb tenses to fit his interpretive needs. In the case of the *Habakkuk Peshar*, Stuckenbruck explains:

The use of the tenses throughout the *peshet*, then, is closely related to the author's perception of how the "prophecies" of Habakkuk are being fulfilled in human history and beyond.<sup>36</sup>

Line 1 of 4QPs89 can be seen as indicating that the author desires to depict this vision that God is giving to his "chosen ones" as something that will happen in a future time, and he does so by changing the verb found in his base text to an imperfect. Although the canonical Ps 89 reads and is interpreted today as if it were referring to the historical King David and his royal line, this Qumran version of the text is best understood as envisioning an eschatological David who is yet to be revealed to the elect community. This is the understanding that Matthew Mitchell expresses in his article on the genre of Ps 89. Noting the variations in the Qumran psalm and the fact that no mention of the "eternal covenant" appears, Matthew W. Mitchell argues:

...given the change in person and the tone of this section of the psalm, perhaps the Qumran community was developing a messianic reading of this passage that looked forward to a "he" but did not greatly mind the present humiliation of David's throne and thus preferred to remove the reference to an "eternal" covenant.<sup>37</sup>

The MT verses (29-30) which comment on God's faithfulness to the eternal covenant with the line of David and David's enduring throne, are not found in the 4QPs89 version.

We may draw here a comparison to 4QFlorilegium and its omission of the verses that refer to Solomon, leaving the way open for the author to provide an interpretation that includes an eschatological successor to the Davidic throne. The text quotes most of 2 Sam 11-14, but those parts which relate the raising up of Solomon to succeed David and build the temple, are not included in this text. George Brooke argues that the interpretation of 2 Sam 7 in this text is designed to emphasize the idea that the son of David is the eschatological Messiah by omitting "all those phrases which might imply that the text of Samuel was only referring to the actual physical son of David, namely Solomon."<sup>38</sup> In short, we see the author of this exegetical text take the biblical texts and manipulate and interpret them in a way that is useful in producing the eschatological scene that he envisions.

Similarly, the arrangement and wording of 4QPs89 presents a greater emphasis on the role of this Davidic figure than does the MT version. In lines 4-5, instead of God's hand

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<sup>36</sup> Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Temporal Shifts from Text to Interpretation: Concerning the Use of the Perfect and Imperfect in the *Habakkuk Peshet* (1QpHab)," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, Michael T. Davis and Brent A. Strawn, eds. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 148.

<sup>37</sup> Mitchell, "Genre Disputes," 521.

<sup>38</sup> George J. Brooke, "Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May 1996*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), 40.

establishing David (MT v. 22), here we have David's hand establishing and strengthening the chosen community. Yahweh's actions found in MT verses 24-25 are not mentioned in the 4QPs89 version, which continues on in line 5 to tell how David will be given power over the waters comparable to Yahweh's power as described in MT verses 10-11. Without mention of God's intervention (as in MT vv. 24-25), we read in line 6 that the Davidic figure will "no longer" be oppressed by the enemy and the son of wickedness. In lines 7-8, he calls God "Father" and is called by God "the firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth."

If the text is meant to look forward to the coming of a future David, a second David, it would fit nicely into the genre of eschatological/messianic references to a future David such as Ezek 34:23-24 and 37:24-25. This is undoubtedly a common expectation found in the Qumran library.

Another difference that may be significant in line 1 is the use of the participle עוזר ("helper") where both the MT and the Greek have the noun "help."<sup>39</sup> Although this may seem to be a fairly minor variation, it may reflect deference to a recurring theme among the Qumran manuscripts. The fact that the "mighty one" here is given a "helper" instead of receiving God's help (as in MT v. 20) should likely be understood as a reference to an angelic/intermediary being that is sent to assist him. In the received text of the Hebrew Bible, references to a "helper" most often imply that Yahweh is that helper,<sup>40</sup> but sometimes it appears to be the king.<sup>41</sup> In the New Testament, the helper is generally either Jesus<sup>42</sup> or the Holy Spirit,<sup>43</sup> although some terms for "helper" (e.g. συνεργός, προστάτης) can also refer to fellow human laborers.<sup>44</sup> Among the manuscripts of the Qumran library, we find this type of angelic helper figure as well. Especially notable is the War Rule (1QM), which refers to the Angel Michael as having been sent to help the Sons of Light. In column XIII:10, we read that "of old You appointed a prince of light to help us." Later, in column XVII:6, the text refers to an angel, likely Michael (who is mentioned by name in the next line), that God would send: "He shall send eternal help to the lot of His [red]emption by the might of an angel." In 1QS III:24-25, there is a statement with a similar inference: "Yet the God of Israel and the Angel of His Truth help all the Sons of Light." The following table charts the references to a helper (or someone sent to help) in the DSS.

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<sup>39</sup> See footnote 28.

<sup>40</sup> See Pss 30:11; 107:12; Isa 50:9; Hos 13:9. In Ps 54:4, the helper is אלהים.

<sup>41</sup> See Ps 72:12. In 2 Kgs 14:26, there appears to be no helper and then the king is sent to help. Other possible "helpers" include the Maccabees (?) in Dan 11:34; the Egyptians (false helpers) in Isa 31:3; Eve (Gen 2:18); Job (Job 29:12; cf. Job 30:13). See also the shepherds of Israel in Ezek 34 as false/failed helpers. The figure in Isaiah 63 looks for a helper but finds none and ends up redeeming himself through his own might.

<sup>42</sup> See Matt 15:25; Heb 13:6 (the Lord); 1 John 2:1.

<sup>43</sup> See John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. Rom 16:2-3, 9, 21; 2 Cor 1:24.

1QM I:6	There will be <b>no helper</b> for Asshur	ורגל אשור ואין עוזר לו
1QM XII:7	The <b>company of Your holy ones</b> is in our midst for an eternal help	ועדת קדושיכה בתוכנו לעזר עולמי[ם]
1QM XIII:10	You appointed the <b>Prince of Light</b> from of old to help us	וישר מאור מאז פקדתה לעוזרנו
1QM XVII:6	He will send eternal help to the company of his redeemed by the power of the <b>majestic angel</b> of the authority of <b>Michael</b>	וישלח עזר עולמים לגורל [פ]דותו בגבורת מלאך האדיר למשרת מיכאל
1QS III:24-25	The <b>God of Israel</b> and the <b>Angel of his Truth</b> help all the Sons of Light	ואל ישראל ומלאכ אמתו אזר לכול בני אור
4Q303 10	He [God] made for him [Adam] a helper [ <b>Eve</b> ] suitable for him	ו[עשה לו עזר כ]נגדו
4Q417 2i:7	Do not count a <b>man of iniquity</b> as a helper	ואיש עול אל תחשוב עזר
11Q13 II:14	And all the <b>gods of justice</b> are to his [Melchizedek's] help	ובאזרו כול אלי [הצדק]

It follows from these examples, notwithstanding there are a few exceptions (i.e., Eve and two negative uses), the “helper” role in the Dead Sea Scrolls is generally filled by one or more heavenly intermediary figures. The 1QS example takes the biblical idea of Yahweh as helper and adds also an angelic being. The other passages generally refer to angelic messengers who are sent to help the elect community. The 11QMelch example is interesting, in that Melchizedek seems to be a divine messianic/mediator figure that will come to help the righteous, while further hosts of divine beings will be sent to assist him in his work of judgment. In 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> (Frgs. 8-10 3:22-28), a pesher on the book of Isaiah, the author interprets Isa 11 as referring to the Branch of David who will come in the Last Days to save Israel. The text states that God will sustain him “with a mighty spirit.” This imagery is strikingly similar to what 4QPs89 is portraying – an eschatological messianic figure who is given divine power and sent a divine helper.

We read in a fragmentary line (1ii:9) of 4QPrayer of Enosh (4Q369) something that seems to be relevant here. The text indicates that God’s exalted prince and firstborn son would be given “the angel of your peace in his congregation.” The fragmentary nature of the manuscript makes interpretation difficult, and commentators have come to a variety of

conclusions regarding the subject of the references to the “firstborn son” and like appellations, including that he is a Davidic messianic figure,<sup>45</sup> that it is corporate Israel,<sup>46</sup> a biblical patriarch or royal figure,<sup>47</sup> Enoch,<sup>48</sup> or a high priestly figure.<sup>49</sup>

The strongest arguments for the identity of the firstborn figure are the Davidic messianic figure and corporate Israel. Although the first column of fragment 1 may be seen as a “prayer of Enosh” and there is a reference to Enoch in the last line of the genealogical listing, these figures don’t seem to be necessarily related to the rest of the text.<sup>50</sup> However, the fact that a genealogy of Enoch is given, combined with Enoch arguably being portrayed as a messianic figure in the *Similitudes of Enoch*, make the possibility that the text may be referring to Enoch or at least to a vision/prophesy of Enoch a plausible one.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, the manuscript may represent a vision of the Final Judgment at the End Times revealed to Enoch, as in *Jub. 4:19*.<sup>52</sup> The language of fragment 1, column ii, along with fragment 2, make good sense when taken to refer to a Messianic figure chosen by God to lead his people in the eschatological era. Wise, Abegg, and Cook even call the scroll “The Inheritance of the Firstborn, the Messiah of David.” They, along with Craig Evans and Andrew Chester, see strong affinities between this text and Ps 89.<sup>53</sup> Wise, Abegg, and Cook note that passages in Ps 89, such as verse 27 [Heb v. 28], would have been seen by Second Temple exegetes as referring to not “David himself, but ... a figure yet to come, a new David, a son of David.”<sup>54</sup> They give the example of Hebrews 1:6, where the author clearly takes the “firstborn” in Ps 89:27 [28] to refer to the Messiah, Jesus. Chester sees parallels between the scroll and Ps 89:27 [28], and also Pss 2:7-8, 72:8-9, and 110:3. Evans<sup>55</sup> points out three striking parallels between 4Q369 and Ps 89:

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<sup>45</sup> J. Strugnell and H. Attridge, “4Q369. 4QPrayer of Enosh,” in James C. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, DJD XIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 358; Craig A. Evans, “A Note on the ‘First-Born Son’ of 4Q369,” *DSD* 2, no. 2 (1995). Andrew Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation: Jewish Messianic and Visionary Traditions and New Testament Christology*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 237-38; Wise, Abegg, Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 328ff.

<sup>46</sup> James Kugel, “4Q369 ‘Prayer of Enosh’ and Ancient Biblical Interpretation,” *DSD* 5, no. 2 (1998). See also Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998).

<sup>47</sup> Strugnell and Attridge, DJD XIII, 358.

<sup>48</sup> Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 142. See also Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation*, 238.

<sup>49</sup> Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 197-99.

<sup>50</sup> See Kugel, “4Q369 ‘Prayer of Enosh,’” 119.

<sup>51</sup> See arguments in Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 197-98. Chester mentions the fact that Enoch is not known as the “first-born” in any texts that we have. Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation*, 238.

<sup>52</sup> This possibility is raised in Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 329.

<sup>53</sup> They compare 4Q369 with the Masoretic version of Ps 89. None mention 4QPs89. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 328. Evans, “‘First-Born Son’ of 4Q369,” 198; Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation*, 237.

<sup>54</sup> Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 328.

<sup>55</sup> Evans, “‘First-Born Son’ of 4Q369,” 198.

- 1) In Ps 89:26 [27], David refers to God as his Father, which parallels 4Q369 1ii:10, “as a father to his son.”
- 2) Ps 89:27 [28] calls David “firstborn”, and 4Q369 1ii:6 refers to a “him” that has been made a “first-born son.”
- 3) Also in verse 27 [28], David is made “the highest of the kings of the earth,” which is similar to the scroll’s “like him for a prince and ruler in all your earthly land” in line 7.

4Q369, when interpreted in light of Ps 89, with its references to David as an individual, can be understood to refer to a future messianic figure typified by the historical monarch.

James Kugel, however, has put forth some strong arguments against this interpretation, claiming that the “him” in the text should be understood as a collective reference to the people of Israel.

Let me be clear on this: there is not a single statement about the recurrent, unidentified "him" in column 2 which does not relate to something said about *Israel* in the Bible. Moreover, there is not a single statement about this unidentified "him" which is not paralleled by something said, in very similar terms, about Israel in the book of Jubilees, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Ben Sira, and so forth. Thus, I think that there is little chance that the phrase "to him" in line 5 does not also refer to Israel.<sup>56</sup>

Kugel argues that fragment 1, column ii is all about the land and people of Israel, and that mention of a firstborn son does not exclude the collective interpretation, as Israel is called God’s firstborn son in Exod 4:22 and elsewhere, including in other Qumran texts.<sup>57</sup> In support of this perspective we can look at the interpretation given for Ps 2:1-2, where the kings/nations of the earth rebel against the Lord and his anointed, in 4QFlorilegium. In the interpretation given in this text, the author equates the Lord’s “anointed” with “the elect ones of Israel in the last days.” Despite the possibility of reading this as a democratization of the Davidic covenant, Collins and Collins argue that there remain clear references to an individual messianic “shoot of David.”<sup>58</sup>

However, if we look at other Qumran texts, such as the War Scroll, there does seem to be an emphasis on the collective “Sons of Light” going into battle where the RPss mention

<sup>56</sup> Kugel, "4Q369 'Prayer of Enosh'," 142.

<sup>57</sup> *Jub* 2:20; 4Q504 1-2iii:6.

<sup>58</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins and John Joseph Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God: Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 64.

the king doing so. It is the elect group that suffers at the hands of the enemy and then is delivered by the hand of God and given victory. The narrative seems to transfer the situation described for the king in Pss 2, 89, and other RPs to the chosen people as a whole. As mentioned above, both in 1QM as well as 1QS, the Angel Michael is appointed to be a helper for the chosen people as a group, and not simply to a single Davidic figure, as the text of 4QPs89 seems to indicate.

Furthermore, there is evidence that Ps 89 itself was subject to “collective reinterpretation.” As discussed in section 1.1.3.1, Marko Marttila argued that in the period in which Ps 89 was redacted into the form that we know, many terms throughout the psalm would have been understood collectively. He argues that in verse 20a, the Lord’s “righteous ones” (חסידים) are the recipients of the divine oracle. Note that the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* reads להסידך, however, multiple manuscripts have the singular, להסידך, which led to most modern translations rendering the phrase as “to your holy one,” which would seem appropriate in light of 1 Sam 16:1. However, the 4QPs89 version, along with the translations, including the Septuagint, Targum, Vulgate, and Syriac versions, prefers the plural. Marttila further notes that the word בהיר in 89:4 (Evv. 89:3) is rendered in the plural in both the LXX and Targum translations and that the terms משיחך in verses 39 and 52 and בכור in verse 28 would have been understood collectively.<sup>59</sup>

Is Kugel right about this collective view of 4Q369 and should this affect the way we read 4QPs89? Should the “David” in 4QPs89 be understood to represent the chosen people, as “Israel” does elsewhere? As cited in section 1.1.3.1, Marttila, commenting on Ps 132, argued:

In my opinion, Ps 132 clearly shows that David became a symbol, a national symbol that incorporated both the historical person of David, his offspring and above all the people of Israel ... Earlier promises to David and his dynasty were transferred to Israel and therefore it is also possible that David was a kind of pseudonym for Israel.<sup>60</sup>

Kugel’s arguments are largely convincing, and he may be correct concerning this collective view of 4Q369, but for the larger picture demonstrated by the corpus of Qumran texts, and for our interpretation of 4QPs89, although many aspects of Ps 89 and the other texts we have identified may have been understood collectively, there are also many references to an individual messianic figure who is leading the “elect ones.” For instance, in the War Scroll, although the overwhelming bulk of the text emphasizes the role of the collective “Sons of

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<sup>59</sup> Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 142-44. For the collective interpretation of Ps 2’s “messiah” in 4QFlor, see section 3.2.1.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 176-77.

Light,<sup>61</sup> there appears to be an individual leader that is at their head. The High Priest is mentioned a number of times in the text and is depicted as actively leading the people, strengthening them with “the power of God” (1QM XVI:14). Furthermore, there is one mention, in column V, of a “Prince of the whole congregation,” although we are told almost nothing about him. The “prince” figure in 4Q369 is mentioned as having a congregation (1ii:9), but Kugel’s perspective implies that this is merely a reference to the assembly of Israel.<sup>62</sup> However, while 1QM contains only this scant mention of a leader that is a prince of the congregation, other similar texts, such as 4Q285 (*4QSefer ha-Milhamah*; cf. 11Q14),<sup>63</sup> go into greater detail about this figure. This very fragmentary manuscript refers to the “Prince of the Congregation” who will lead “all Israel” into battle. Isaiah 10 is directly cited, and the Prince of the Congregation is equated with the “branch of David” and the “shoot from the stump of Jesse.” This is significant for our understanding of 4QPs89, adding to the idea there was a tradition among the texts of Qumran that an eschatological Davidic leader was expected.<sup>64</sup> 4Q285 also depicts God blessing and sending angels to the Community as a whole, so we have here evidence that although the Davidic promises and situations depicted in the Pss seem to be applied to the whole congregation in many instances, this does not exclude the possibility of an individual Davidic messianic leader.<sup>65</sup>

In conclusion, 4QPs89 depicts a markedly different vision than the biblical Ps 89 of the royal Davidic figure common to both versions. My findings indicate that we should not view it as an early version of the Ps 89 found in the MT. The features of this composition that I have elucidated here point to a careful effort on the part of the author to transform the original biblical psalm into a work that represented his eschatological expectations, in much the same way that we see done with other biblical psalms in Qumran scrolls such as 4Q381 and exegetical texts like 4QFlorilegium and others. In the canonical Ps 89, the historical David was chosen from the people, was helped, supported, and delivered by God, received

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<sup>61</sup> Note that 1QM XI:6-7 apparently interprets Num 24:17-19 (the “star of Jacob”) as referring to the collective people.

<sup>62</sup> Kugel, “4Q369 ‘Prayer of Enosh,’” 123.

<sup>63</sup> Chester notes that 4Q285 may be a later development of the 1QM tradition. Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation*, 235-236.

<sup>64</sup> 4QFlor (4Q174) interprets 2 Sam 7:13-14 as referring to the Shoot of David, a redeemer figure that will be raised up by God in the “latter-days” (cf. Amos 9:11).

<sup>65</sup> Other possible references to this Davidic messiah can arguably be found in 4Q174 III:11-13; 1QSa II:11-12; 4Q246; 4Q287; 4Q376; 4Q381; 4Q458; 4Q504; 4Q521; 4Q534; 4Q558, and others. See listing in Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation*, 265. On the topic of an individual vs. collective view of messianic language, Gärtner offers the following: “A frequent phenomenon in the Qumran texts is that the content of the Messianic symbols oscillates between collective and individual. The founder of the community may stand as the representative of the whole community (particularly in 1QH); or he may be spoken of as the elect of God, an individual instrument for the raising up of the community. It is not always easy to tell which of the two is meant on any given occasion.” Bertil E. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament*, Monograph Series: Society for New Testament Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

the promise that he would be protected from his enemies, and was given an eternal covenant that his line and his throne would be upheld by God. The 4QPs89 version gives us a different picture, one which expects that the Davidic figure will be revealed by God in the future, that he will be sent a helper from God, that his hand will establish and strengthen the “chosen ones,” and that he will overcome those who have oppressed him, with no mention of the eternal covenant with the Davidic line. There is a notably increased emphasis on the Davidic figure in the Qumran version when compared to the MT version, and the setting seems to be in the eschatological future. The “vision” of God’s role for David seems to be directed specifically towards the elect community, and they will be blessed by his actions. Reading 4QPs89 from this perspective allows it to find its proper place among the vast body of exegetical and actualizing texts found at Qumran, including the many documents which rework scripture in order to make it more applicable to the author’s own community.

#### 2.4.5 Psalm 101

11Q5/11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Chapter:Verse	11Q5/11QPs <sup>a</sup>	MT	LXX
101:2	לִי	אֵלַי	πρός με

The difference between the 11QPs<sup>a</sup> version and the MT is likely not significant and is probably due to haplography or the confusion of synonyms in the mind of a scribe.

#### 2.4.6 Psalm 132

11Q5/11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Chapter:Verse	11Q5/11QPs <sup>a</sup>	MT	LXX [131]
132:11	כִּי מִפְּרִי	מִפְּרִי	ἐκ καρποῦ
132:12	יַעֲלוּ	יֵשְׁבוּ	καθιοῦνται
132:16	יִרְנְנוּ	רִנְן יִרְנְנוּ	ἀγαλλιάσει ἀγαλλιάσονται

Most of the variations for this Psalm are minor and likely of little significance for our understanding of how the authors of the Qumran texts were reading it. One variation in verse 12, however, is potentially very significant. Where we read “their sons also forever shall sit (יֵשְׁבוּ) upon your throne,” in the Masoretic text, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has “their sons also forever shall ascend (יַעֲלוּ) to your throne.” Although the latter is a common expression in English, references to sitting (יֵשְׁב) on the throne, as opposed to ascending to it, are, by far, the more common expression in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>66</sup> In fact, there is only one passage in the MT that

<sup>66</sup> See, e.g., 1 Kgs 1:13, 17, 24, 27, 30, 35, 48; 3:6; 8:20, 25; 2 Kgs 10:30; 15:12; 1 Chr 28:5; 2 Chr 6:10, 16; Isa 16:5; 47:1; Jer 13:13; 17:25; 22:4; 33:17; 36:30; Zech 6:13.

approximates this usage found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> – Isa 14:13, which declares, in a negative but not dissimilar context: “You said in your heart, ‘I will ascend (אעלה) to heaven; I will raise my throne above the stars of God; I will sit on the mount of assembly on the heights of Zaphon.’”<sup>67</sup>

The rarity of this verbal usage, coupled with the reference to the heavenly throne, suggests important significance to the placement of Ps 132, in this scroll, as the last of a sequence of “songs of ascents.” This variant may have used this verb to indicate a belief that those faithful to the covenant and testimonies would, in the absence of an earthly throne of David, be able to ascend to the heavenly throne.<sup>68</sup> The idea of ascending to the divine throne is present elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, the fact that, in this collection, Ps 132 is positioned as the last of the Songs of Ascents may be taken to imply that the focus, or purpose, of the Songs of Ascents, as employed in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, was to portray, among other things, the final exaltation of the elect ones to the heavenly throne.

#### 2.4.7 Psalm 144

##### 11Q5/11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Chapter:Verse	11Q5/11QPs <sup>a</sup>	MT	LXX [143]
144:1	no superscript	לדוד	τῷ Δαυιδ πρὸς τὸν Γολιαδ
144:2	ומפלט לי	ומפלט לי	ῥύστης μου
144:2	עמים	עמי	τὸν λαόν μου
144:3, 5	אלוהים	יהוה	κύριε
144:5	ורד (impv.)	ותרד (impf.)	καὶ κατάβηθι (impv.)

The lack of a Davidic superscript for Ps 144, which we find in the MT version, is the most significant variation. This difference is difficult to interpret considering the tendency in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to “Davidicize” passages. We should note, however, that the previous psalm (in both 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and 11QPs<sup>b</sup>), Ps 133, does have a Davidic superscript.

<sup>67</sup> 1 Kgs 1:35 is also close, but does not directly state that Solomon would *ascend* to the throne. The reference is to Solomon *sitting* on the throne, and Zadok, Nathan, and others accompanying him up the hill to the temple and/or palace where he would be enthroned.

<sup>68</sup> A much later Jewish interpretation of Dan 7:9 indicates a belief that David possessed a throne in heaven: “But how explain, *Till thrones were placed?* [Dan 7:9]—One [throne] was for himself and one for David. Even as it has been taught: One was for himself and one for David: this is R. Akiba’s view” (*b. Sanh.* 38b). As quoted in Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 259. See also P. G. Mosca, “Once Again the Heavenly Witness of Psalm 89:38,” *JBL* 105 (1986), 27-37, at 35.

<sup>69</sup> Examples include the Enochic literature, Self-Glorification Hymn, 11QMelch, and arguably the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. See James R. Davila, “Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 438-443.

## **2.5 Evidence to this Point**

The evidence to this point can provide us with some insights into how the RPss were being used in the texts of the Qumran library, although a full picture is still elusive. For now, I present here some preliminary observations based on the data collected.

### **2.5.1 Pss 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72**

Although there is no textual evidence for Pss 20, 21, or 72, likely due to the fragmentary nature of the various scrolls, there is a consistency to the other Pss that are found: 2, 18, 45. These particular psalms tend to demonstrate a fairly small number of variations from MT, and those that do exist are generally insignificant. Their positioning in the Pss scrolls in which they are found largely follows the same order as the MT Psalter. As Flint argues, this section of the Psalter (MT Books I-III, and especially I-II) was most likely largely fixed at this period in history, as opposed to the later sections of the Psalter.<sup>70</sup> The apparent interest in Ps 18 is notable -- it occurs more frequently than any other psalm -- which is somewhat unexpected if following Flint's reasoning related to the paucity of other numerically early psalms. Textually speaking, there is nothing in the Pss scrolls that would give us any indication as to what kind of interest there may have been in this psalm.

### **2.5.2 Ps 89**

Ps 89 appears only twice, and the verses that are extant in each case are different from the other. Thus, there is not a very clear picture of how this psalm would have appeared in its full extent at Qumran. In the relatively small number of verses (vv. 44-48, 50-53) found in 4QPs<sup>e</sup>, the order and content is almost identical to the MT version.

The version found in 4QPs<sup>x</sup>/4QPs89, however, is significantly different. In this version, there is an eschatological orientation with an increased interest in the Davidic figure. Also there is mention of a helper sent to assist him, which is most likely an allusion to a heavenly messenger. Present also is an added emphasis on the anointed figure's role in establishing the chosen people which does not appear in the MT version. These evidences would perhaps be stronger if we had more material to work with, but our initial conclusions are consistent with the theology and eschatological hope presented in a number of Qumran documents. Following this line of reasoning, it is plausible that this psalm was either modified from the version found in the MT Psalter, or it was chosen for its qualities as fitting for the community's theology. As far as the placement of this psalm in relation to others, 4QPs89 stands alone as the only (partial) psalm extant on this small fragment, while the

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<sup>70</sup> See Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 146.

example from 4QPs<sup>c</sup> is found in the same position as it does in the MT Psalter, following Ps 88.

### **2.5.3 Pss 101 and 110**

As with many of the previous RPss, Ps 101 likely had the same content and fell in roughly the same place that it does in the MT. The only extant example that we have of it is in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Ps 110 is not found in any of the Pss Scrolls as they have come down to us. As noted above, it may have been originally included in at least 4QPs<sup>c</sup>, 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, and 11QPs<sup>b</sup>, in the order: Pss 109, 110, 113-118. Obviously, any variations it might have contained would be of great interest. Ps 101 was arguably the first psalm of the 11QPs<sup>a</sup> collection, and Pss 101 and 110 may have been the beginning and end of a subgroup of Davidic Pss in that collection.

### **2.5.4 Psalm 132**

This psalm, found only in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, comes at the end of the series of Pss known as the Songs of Ascents, whereas in the MT Psalter, it is the antepenultimate, followed by 133 and 134. As the last of the Songs of Ascents on this scroll, it is significant that we find a variation from the MT in an important line of the psalm, verse 12, which refers to the continuance of the Davidic line on the throne. Although the MT version contains a promise that David's descendants, if faithful, would *sit* on his throne, the 11QPs<sup>a</sup> version states that they will *ascend* to the throne. Comparing this statement to the only other that approximates it in the Hebrew Bible, Isa 14:13, and considering the wider context of theologies expressed in other Qumran documents, it is plausible that we have here a reference to a belief in ascension to a heavenly throne. An emphasis on the promise of a celestial throne for David's descendants would make sense in a time when the descendants of David no longer sat on the earthly throne. As Ps 132 is recognized as being related to the sanctuary, it seems appropriate to recognize an image of ascending to the heavenly sanctuary in this, the last of the ascent songs. The psalm that directly follows, in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, is Ps 119, which is the great acrostic wisdom psalm that focuses on an individual's commitment to Torah piety.

### **2.5.5 Psalm 144**

Ps 144 is found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and in the similar collection, 11QPs<sup>b</sup>, and in both is positioned directly after Ps 133, which is one of the Songs of Ascents displaced from the series as known in the MT Psalter. In 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Ps 144 is followed by the non-canonical Ps 155. In this Qumran version of the psalm there is not a Davidic superscript as found in the MT and LXX versions. According to Flint, it should be understood that the compiler of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> did not feel free to add or remove superscripts. His strategy for "Davidicizing" subgroups is the insertion of Davidic Pss into subgroups beside Pss that had no Davidic

superscript. Thus, the Davidic superscripts that appear on Pss 104 and 123 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> (where they are absent in MT) must have been present in the base text that the compiler possessed. Ps 144's lack of superscript must also be due to its lack in the base text as well.<sup>71</sup> The presence of Ps 133 directly preceding 144 is due to this transposing of Davidic Pss. Ps 133 has a Davidic superscript, as does Ps 141, which precedes 133. This is evidenced also by Pss 142 and 143, which follow Ps 155. Flint reasons that this must have been a deliberate arrangement meant to Davidicize the two Pss that have no Davidic superscript, namely Pss 144 and 155, by surrounding them with sets of Pss that do.<sup>72</sup> Although Ps 144, for whatever reason, is not directly attributed to David here, the compilers arguably meant it to be considered as Davidic.

## ***2.6 Preliminary Conclusions***

The data gathered in this chapter confirms that the RPss were being used in the Qumran texts and, in a few cases, there is textual evidence that there were different readings than those found our canonical Psalter. We know that the RPss that belong to Books I-III of the MT Psalter generally appear in their expected order. However, there are numerous and significant differences in order for those Pss that are traditionally found in Books IV-V. It is essential to recognize that the variations in the ordering of the Psalters indicate a difference in how the Psalter as a whole, the relationship between Pss and groups of Pss, and individual Pss, should be evaluated and understood. The placement of RPss 101 and 110, apparently opening and closing an initial Davidic subgroup; the setting of Ps 132 at the end of the Pss of Ascent – these factors have significance in terms of how these texts were being interpreted. However, musings on these matters must be relegated to the realm of speculation for now; the main focus must be on that data that lends itself to more concrete conclusions.

The analysis of the textual variations manifested in the diverse scrolls suggests that the most significant findings are for Pss 89 and 132. If they were deliberate changes, the textual differences found in these RPss would seem to indicate that they were of special importance to the editor or community that made them. 4QPs89, especially, can be arguably seen as having been altered from the traditional text in order to portray a depiction of an eschatological messianic figure that would be revealed to the elect community at a future time. Ps 132 can be understood to have been modified slightly to reflect a theology that has developed in the absence of a Davidic monarchy.

The number of significant variants, however, is small. It is therefore difficult to draw broad conclusions based on this data. Nevertheless, the RPss were there and the redactors/copyists of these texts were apparently trying to draw special meaning or use from

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<sup>71</sup> Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 195.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

at least some of them. Beyond this, it is difficult to attempt to generalize regarding the entire “corpus” of RPss. It may be justifiable to assert that there was an interest in certain of them and that their reading of these RPss generally involved actualizing, understanding them for their own time and beliefs.

### **Chapter 3: Explicit Exegesis of the RPss in Qumran Texts**

#### ***3.1. Introduction***

Now that the RPss have been identified and analyzed as they exist among the Pss collections found at Qumran, the next step is to identify and evaluate what evidence exists as to how the RPss were being interpreted among the texts of the Qumran library.

By examining the methods of Jewish exegesis employed by the authors of the relevant Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts, it is possible to begin to understand the reasons for and the aims of any interpretation. As George Brooke rightly noted in his analysis of exegesis in the Qumran texts, “Though we may be unable to discover in every case what technique was used, nevertheless we can better gauge the acceptability and the possible impact of any interpretation if we appreciate how an interpreter has reached his conclusions.”

<sup>1</sup> Importantly, this investigation will reveal that there are several interpretive methodologies at play. The identification of some of these interpretive strategies is vital before textual analysis of the psalms can proceed.

#### ***3.1.1 General Notes on the Interpretation of Scripture in Qumran Texts***

The documents recovered from the extant Qumran library demonstrate a special interest in those texts that were then commonly recognized as authoritative, or biblical. The authors of these scrolls use these older, recognized texts in order to benefit the individual or group in the author’s present. Ida Frölich delineates some of the many ways in which the biblical texts are utilized at Qumran. She includes: “Explicit citation, peshar-form (i.e., explicit citation and its interpretation), non-explicit citation, paraphrase of biblical verses, and modeling texts after biblical verses...”<sup>2</sup> Data relating to explicit and non-explicit citations of the RPss, as well as texts that appear to be modeled on these Pss, will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The present analysis must narrow the focus to those documents that are explicitly exegetical in order to identify evidence as to how the RPss were being interpreted.

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<sup>1</sup> George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context*, JSOTSup (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ida Frölich, "Narrative Exegesis' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May 1996*, eds. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

In her analysis, “The Approaches to Biblical Exegesis in Qumran Literature,” Bilhah Nitzan proposes the following categories of exegetical texts:<sup>3</sup>

1. Reworked Running Biblical Text – reworking of a continuous biblical text by means of the integration of exegetical elements (including additions, omissions, paraphrases, etc.) and rearrangement of its order
  - a. Parabiblical Texts as Specific Versions of the Bible – Biblical texts that are expanded, rephrased, and reedited for exegetical purposes (e.g., 4Q364-367, 4Q158)
  - b. Apocryphal Editions of the Biblical Text – similar to the above category, but consisting of continuous biblical texts modified to achieve a specific halakhic purpose –the new text “‘modernizes’ the biblical text in light of new historical and political situations” similar to the exegetical reworking of Israelite history found in the biblical book of Chronicles (e.g., *The Temple Scroll*)
2. Free Exegetical Compositions – exegetical paraphrasing of biblical pericopes to take into account the author’s present reality (e.g., *Commentary of Genesis and Malachi/4Q252-254; Admonition Based on the Flood/4Q370*)
3. Biblical Exegesis in Distinct Homiletic Forms – relating biblical texts and ideas to the author’s present situation through the use of distinct homiletic forms (technical terms, pesharim, homilies) – (e.g., *The Damascus Documents*)

The documents in which we find explicit interpretations of the Pss can mostly be classified within this last category, generally being labeled as “midrashic” or as “pesharim.” Pesharim, as noted above, consist of a continuous commentary on or interpretation of an authoritative text, which is often (but not always) introduced by a variation on the word *pēšer*, which is generally taken to mean “interpretation.”<sup>4</sup> Pesharim on the prophetic books of Habakkuk, Micah, Zephaniah, Isaiah, Hosea, and Nahum have been found, and at least three that specifically look at the Pss: 1QpPs/1Q16, 4QpPs<sup>a</sup>/4Q171, 4QpPs<sup>b</sup>/4Q173.

There are a number of other documents that interpret the Pss, however scholars dispute as to whether they should be labeled as pesharim or not. The debate over this issue has still not reached a point of consensus. Whether a document is labeled pesharim or midrash or “*midrash peshar*” or some other designation is not as important for this study as is the

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<sup>3</sup> See Bilhah Nitzan, “Approaches to Biblical Exegesis in Qumran Literature,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, et al., VTSup (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> See Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 1.

content of the interpretation. However, for the sake of not failing to include a long-running debate related to this topic, the following is a brief discussion of the arguments.<sup>5</sup>

Early on, after the discovery of what was labeled the “Habakkuk Peshar” and other pesharim among the Dead Sea Scrolls, scholars attempted to categorize these texts in light of known genres of Jewish literature. William Brownlee, editor of the original publication of the *Habakkuk Peshar*, saw them as a previously unknown type of midrash, which he labeled “midrash peshar” as opposed to the halakic or haggadic categories of midrashim.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, scholars such as L. H. Silberman noted the similarities in structure between the Qumran pesharim and some later Rabbinic midrashim, both being a series of commentaries on blocks of scripture. According to Silberman, there was nothing in the structure of the pesharim that would distinguish them from Rabbinic midrash, and noted that even some of the latter are referred to by the term *Petirah*, the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *peshar*.<sup>7</sup> Menahem Kister asserts that “the pesharim demonstrate the antiquity of ‘actualizing’ midrash,” which, he says, “has some parallels in classical rabbinic midrash and in early Christian writings.”<sup>8</sup> However, some have argued that the Qumran pesharim should be distinguished from the type of midrash known from Rabbinic literature, and the general eschatological flavor of the pesharim is one of the principal differentiating factors cited.<sup>9</sup> But, as Brooke points out, this classification by eschatological content does not seem to be a suitable criterion as there are exegetical texts from Qumran which speak of “the End of Days,” but that are not explicitly pesharim, i.e., they don’t contain the word “peshar” (e.g., 4QFlor 1:2, 12; CD 6:11; 1QSa 1:1).<sup>10</sup> In Silberman’s opinion, however, a peshar does not need to feature the word “peshar”

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<sup>5</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the related scholarship, see Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002). Also, Bilhah Nitzan, review of Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim*, Review of Biblical Literature [http://www.bookreviews.org] (2004).

<sup>6</sup> William H. Brownlee, “Biblical Interpretation Among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *BA* 14 (1951), 54-76, as cited in Horgan, *Pesharim*, 250.

<sup>7</sup> L. H. Silberman, “Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Peshar,” *RQ* 3 (1961-62), 328. Other scholars who view the pesharim as a type of midrash include J.T. Milik, “Fragments d’un midrash de Michée dans les manuscrits de Qumrân,” *RB* 59 (1952), 413, and J. van der Ploeg, *Bijbelverklaring te Qumrân*, Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 23, no. 8 (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1960), 209.

<sup>8</sup> Menahem Kister, “A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and Its Implications,” in Stone and Chazon, *Biblical Perspectives*, 103.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., C. Roth, “The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis,” *VT* 10 (1960), 53; W. R. Lane, “A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium,” *JBL* 78 (1959), 346; Kister, “A Common Heritage,” 103n. Kister notes that Rabbinic midrashim are “far less engaged in eschatology,” but that this may be due merely to the fact that they were written in different time periods under different circumstances and not because the exegetical techniques are significantly different. See Brooke’s review of the early scholarship in his “Qumran Peshar: Towards a Redefinition of a Genre,” *RevQ* 10 (1979-80), 483-503.

<sup>10</sup> Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 151.

as this word is sometimes replaced with a personal or demonstrative pronoun that serves the same introductory purpose.<sup>11</sup>

Further complicating matters, 4Q Florilegium contains a phrase (col. iii, 1:14) that states that it is a “midrash” of a line from Ps 1, then goes on to give a “pesher” of the verse. As Timothy H. Lim states the problem: “Ostensibly, the difficulty of the verse lies in the apparently redundant occurrence of two interpretive prescriptions, a heading with the term ‘midrash’ and the characteristic pesher-formula following the biblical quotation.”<sup>12</sup> In light of the above unresolved discussion of the relationship between midrash and pesher, scholars continue to be divided as to how to categorize this text. Annette Steudel labels 4QFlor as a “Midrasch zur Eschatologie”<sup>13</sup> and Jacob Milgrom, in the Charlesworth DSS series, entitles it “A Midrash on 2 Samuel and Pss 1-2”<sup>14</sup> and the volume classifies it under “Other Commentaries” (along with 4Q252-254 and 11QMelch) instead of with the “Pesharim.” Against those who like Brownlee would put the text within a new genre of biblical exegesis (“midrash pesher” in Brownlee’s case), Lim concludes that the use of the word “midrash” here should be taken as a simple reference to the fact that “a study of” the text is being undertaken, with the interpretation then being introduced with a formula using the word “pesher” (the “interpretation” of...). Lim argues that this is no separate genre, but merely another example of a common Qumran mode of interpreting scripture.<sup>15</sup>

A fair categorization of the various pesher-form texts is that of Horgan, who, following Jean Carmignac, sees two general types, the “continuous pesher,” which interprets a single biblical book section by section, and the “thematic pesher,” in which citations to be interpreted are taken from various biblical books and grouped around a central idea (e.g., 4QFlor and 11QMelch).<sup>16</sup> Also, as Nitzan puts it, 4QFlor, a thematic pesher, could be seen as a specific type of pesher that belongs to a particular apocalyptic genre within the midrashic school of biblical hermeneutics.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Silberman, “Unriddling the Riddle,” 328n. See also Timothy H. Lim, “Midrash Pesher in the Pauline Letters,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, eds. Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter, JSPSup (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 290-91.

<sup>12</sup> Lim, “Midrash Pesher,” 283.

<sup>13</sup> Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat<sup>a,b</sup>): materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (“Florilegium”) und 4Q177 (“Catena A”) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> Jacob Milgrom, “Florilegium: A Midrash on 2 Samuel and Psalms 1-2,” in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, vol. 6B, James H. Charlesworth, ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 248.

<sup>15</sup> Lim, “Midrash Pesher,” 290-91.

<sup>16</sup> Horgan, *Pesharim*, 2-3. Philip Alexander refers to 11QMelch as a pesher in Philip S. Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls (London: T & T Clark International, 2006), 70.

<sup>17</sup> Bilhah Nitzan, review of Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim*.

### 3.1.2 The Nature of the Pesharim

More important than the correct classification of the relevant exegetical texts for this study is a correct understanding of their nature, namely, what the authors believed they were achieving with this particular hermeneutical method. As mentioned above, the pesharim can be seen as a type of “actualizing” exegesis in which the reader/interpreter of the text sees the text as “immediately relevant” to his own situation.<sup>18</sup> Nitzan sees the types of exegesis in the Qumran texts as divisible into two main categories, with the pesharim falling into the second:

“...we may distinguish between an approach that tends to elucidate the biblical text according to its context and history, and one which attempts to explain the coherence and relevance of the Bible in terms of the situation of later generations.”<sup>19</sup>

The authors of the pesharim apparently believed that the fulfillment of the “mysteries” contained in the writings of the prophets of old had been revealed by God to them, usually through a mediator such as the Teacher of Righteousness, and that, generally speaking, the events that the prophets foretold had been, or would be, realized in the authors’ own time. As Horgan notes, the root *pšr* and the word *rāz* (“mystery”) are used in similar contexts in both the Qumran pesharim and the biblical book of Daniel. She cites the example of the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar’s dreams in Dan 2, 4, and 5, and demonstrates how the interpretation follows a similar pattern to that of the pesharim, illuminating the *rāz* of God’s prophetic message, applying it to historical events. She explains:

Just as the content of the interpretations in the pesharim refers to the clarification of past history, the present and future circumstances of the community and the world, or eschatological events, so too the interpretations in Daniel refer to history.<sup>20</sup>

Marti Nissinen understands the nature of the pesharim in the context of a shift in the Second Temple period from a tradition of oral prophecy to one of scribal prophecy. The interpreter of the biblical prophets sees himself as their successor, interpreting through revelation their received written words. In Nissinen’s words: “The fulfillment of the mysteries once revealed to the prophet are now disclosed to him, whereby the prophetic

<sup>18</sup> See Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 3.

<sup>19</sup> Nitzan, “Approaches,” 349.

<sup>20</sup> Horgan, *Pesharim*, 254ff. For a helpful discussion on what the mysteries were understood to be at Qumran, see Leo G. Perdue, “Mantic Sages in the Ancient Near East, Israel, Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Prophecy after the Prophets?: The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy*, eds. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange, *Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 176ff. Perdue explains: “The expression, ‘mystery (רז, *raz*),’ refers to events and matters that not only reside in the future, but also, as Collins and Goff have argued, the origin of the human and cosmic dimensions and the current state of affairs in the world. Thus, these mysteries take place within the entirety of the temporal order, i.e., past, present, and future. Thus, the mystery involves creation, ethical behavior in the present, and eschatology.” See also, Samuel I. Thomas, *The “Mysteries” of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *Early Judaism and Its Literature* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009).

process of communications reaches a new, advanced level of interpretation which is possible only through a new act of revelation.”<sup>21</sup> Although identifiable exegetical techniques are apparent in the written interpretations, the results of their exegesis were attributed not to the skills of the interpreter, but were understood as “a divinatory act inspired by God.”<sup>22</sup>

As Perdue notes, this revealed knowledge of the mysteries was seen as essential to pious, or “wise,” living and was not revealed to everyone – only the elect. This path “may be properly lived,” Perdue asserts, “only by those who are the מְבִיִּין, i.e., the initiated ones who understand the larger structure of the mystery of creation and history revealed to them by God through the proper instruction by the teacher or sage who has been inducted into this learning.”<sup>23</sup> The possession of the correct interpretation was of great importance and provided a correct understanding of scripture and clear vision of history and of the final judgment and other eschatological events for which the community would need to be ready.

### 3.1.3 *The Pesharim and the Psalms*

Just as the many pesharim that interpret the biblical writings of the prophets apply the mysteries therein to the authors’ contemporary situations, the same is the case for the pesharim on the various Pss. This phenomenon would seem to suggest that the authors of these compositions viewed the Pss as likewise containing prophetic material. Just as there was an increasing tendency in the Second Temple period to attribute the bulk of the collected Pss to David, as can be seen in the increased number of Davidic superscriptions in the LXX and 11QPs<sup>a</sup>,<sup>24</sup> there was also an increasing tendency to see David as a prophet, or as having prophetic qualities, and the Pss as prophecy.<sup>25</sup> Peter Flint argues that based on a line in David’s Compositions (in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>) regarding David having composed the Pss through prophecy and the fact that the pesharim treat the Pss as they do the prophetic books, we should understand that the authors of the pesharim likely saw David as having been a prophet and considered the Pss to be his prophetic writings.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.2 *The RPss in the Qumran Exegetical Texts*

The documents at Qumran that explicitly contain exegesis of the Pss include:

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<sup>21</sup> Martti Nissinen, "Pesharim as Divination: Qumran Exegesis, Omen Interpretation and Literary Prophecy," in De Troyer and Lange, *Prophecy after the Prophets?*, 58-59.

<sup>22</sup> Nissinen, "Pesharim as Divination," 59.

<sup>23</sup> Perdue, "Mantic Sages," 176-77.

<sup>24</sup> Lim, "All These He Composed through Prophecy," in De Troyer and Lange, *Prophecy after the Prophets*, 63.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. Lim ultimately argues against David having been explicitly seen as a prophet at Qumran, but Flint argues the opposite in Peter W. Flint, "The Prophet David at Qumran," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006).

<sup>26</sup> Flint, "The Prophet David," 164ff.

- 1Q16/1QpPs
- 4Q171/4QpPs<sup>a</sup>
- 4Q173/4QpPs<sup>b</sup>
- 4Q173a/4QFragment Mentioning House of Stumbling
- 4Q174/4QFlor
- 11Q13/11QMelch

RPss, specifically, are found in the following documents:

Psalm 2      4Q174/4QFlor

Psalm 45     4Q171/4QpPs<sup>a</sup>

### **3.2.1 Psalm 2 in 4Q174/4QFlorilegium**

#### **3.2.1.1 Brief Description of the Text:**

The text of 4QFlor commences in Fragments 1-2 and 21, column 1, with a quotation of 2 Sam 7:10b-11a,<sup>27</sup> followed by an interpretation of the scripture. Exodus 15:17b-18 is then quoted, apparently as a proof-text to support the interpretation, and then the interpretation continues. 2 Samuel 7:11b-14a is quoted with interpretation, however 12a, 12c-13a are omitted. Amos 9:11a is then cited, and the interpretation continues.

After a *vacat*, the text reads “Midrash of” and then quotes Ps 1:1, followed by “the interpretation of the passage (פֶּשֶׁר הַדָּבָר),” and then the meaning is given. Isaiah 8:11 and Ezekiel 37:23a are quoted in support of the interpretation, followed by additional exegetical comments. Directly following, starting on line 18, the text quotes Ps 2:1-2, followed by פֶּשֶׁר הַדָּבָר, and then the interpretation: “[...nati]ons and the [...] the chosen ones of Israel in the latter days.” The interpretation continues on Fragments 1 and 3, column 2, declaring: “This (is) the time of refining com[ing on the house of J]udah to perfect/complete [...] Belial and a remnant of [the peo]ple of [Isra]el will remain and the will observe the entire Torah [...] Moses.” The text then goes on to quote “Daniel the prophet,” from Dan 11:32b (with 12:10). Subsequently, a couple of heavily damaged lines of interpretation follow which seem to refer to either God or a trial coming down and (in Fragment 4) the time of refinement when Belial would pour out persecution on the house of Judah and attempt to scatter them. Some smaller fragments that were later associated with this manuscript cite Deut 33 and Isa 65.

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<sup>27</sup> The subject and verb in this rendition are singular, as they are in Ps 89:23. According to Brooke, the version of 2 Sam 7:10 that we see in this Qumran text may be more in line with MT Ps 89:23 than with its counterpart in MT 2 Sam. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 99.

### 3.2.1.2 Analysis:

Without repeating the debate noted previously over the classification of 4QFlor, it is sufficient for the purposes here at hand to consider it, as do Lim and others,<sup>28</sup> as a pesher, and more specifically as a thematic pesher: it does not comment on a single book of scripture, but gathers and interprets diverse passages on a central theme.

The text cites the first verses of Ps 2 just after quoting from Ps 1, and also in conjunction with 2 Sam 7 and Dan 11. These passages from the biblical texts are selected for their pertinence to an overall theme: the eschatological events relating to the rebuilding of the Temple, the salvation of the chosen people, and the final conflict between Good and Evil.

The fact that Pss 1 and 2 are quoted together is not surprising, as it seems that the two Pss were increasingly considered as one in this period, as evidenced by their appearance as one psalm in the LXX, and in later Rabbinic and Christian sources.

More consequential is the fact that Ps 2 is also grouped with 2 Sam 7, a pairing that can be found in the New Testament in references that attempt to establish Jesus as the Son of God. As Eric Mason notes, Heb 1:5 cites Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14 together; also Acts 13:33-37 quotes Ps 2:7 and, although not cited formally, contains a number of words and phrases from 2 Sam 7:11-16 LXX. Mason sees in these passages the possibility of “a tradition of interpreting those passages in tandem.”<sup>29</sup> Although 4QFlor quotes only the initial verses of both Pss 1 and 2, Brooke sees this as an exegetical technique in which the opening lines serve as “incipit phrases” which imply the rest of the Psalm.<sup>30</sup> Brooke argues:

Thus 4Q174 seems to offer citations and interpretations of 2 Sam 7 and Ps 2 which show that the two scriptural passages are mutually interdependent, are held together through mutual intertextuality.<sup>31</sup>

In Brooke’s view, if we look at the citations in this light, we can better see the relationship between the verses cited and the overall direction of the argument the author is making.

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<sup>28</sup> Lim, *Pesharim*, 48-51. Lim, "Midrash Pesher"; Eric Farrel Mason, "Interpretation of Psalm 2 in 4Q Florilegium and in the New Testament," in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 74.

<sup>29</sup> Mason, "Psalm 2 in 4Q Florilegium," 71-72. See also John J. Collins, "The Interpretation of Psalm 2," in García Martínez, *Echoes from the Caves*, 50-51. Also, Annette Steudel, "Psalm 2 im antiken Judentum," in *Gottessohn und Menschensohn: Exegetische Studien zu zwei Paradigmen biblischer Intertextualität*, eds. Dieter Sänger and Knut Backhaus, Biblisch-Theologische Studien (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2004), 189-97. Steudel argues that the two passages should not be seen as closely related and that their appearance in 4QFlor together is merely coincidental. She argues that the messianic interpretation given to the combined citation of these passages in the New Testament is poorly attested elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism. I would argue, with Brooke, that the shared content of the interpretations is a strong argument in favor of their intertextual relationship.

<sup>30</sup> Brooke, "Shared Intertextual Interpretations," 40-41.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 41. See also John Joseph Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, 2nd ed., The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1995; 2010), 69. Collins asserts that, along with the use of Ps 2: “The exegesis of 2 Sam 7:14 identifies the Branch of David as the son of God.”

The citation of Dan 11:32/12:10 fits the scenario of Ps 2 in which the evil nations are attacking and goes on to describe how the righteous are refined before God gives them victory over the wicked.

In order to see the interpretation of Ps 2 in its proper context, it is necessary to begin with some brief comments on the text's interpretation of 2 Sam 7. After the citation of 2 Sam 7:10b-11a, the interpretation given is: "This is the house which [he will build] for [him] in the latter days, as it is written in the book of [Moses]," and then Exod 15:17b-18 is cited for support. Judging by the interpretation given, we must assume that the first part of 2 Sam 7:10 had also been cited in the original extent of the scroll, as the interpretation refers to a house, the Temple of Yahweh as suggested in the Exod 15 citation, which must be a reference to the "place" (מקום) mentioned in verse 10a<sup>32</sup> that will be assigned for the people of Israel. The interpreter envisions the rebuilding of the House of the Lord in the latter days; one that will have the presence of the Holy Ones and the Glory of God, that will not be corrupted by foreigners or unclean individuals, and that will never again be destroyed by foreigners as was the First Temple.

In line 6, we have a phrase that casts into doubt the idea that a physical temple is expected, which reads: "And he has commanded that a sanctuary of human(s) (מקדש אדם) be built for him, so that they may offer incense in it to him, before him, work of Torah." Although this issue has been debated by scholars, it is not absolutely essential to our understanding of the interpretation of Ps 2 if a physical temple was expected or not. Some suggest that line 6 infers that the community would serve as a spiritual "human temple" in the meantime while waiting for the Lord himself to build the eschatological physical temple (as inferred by Exodus 15),<sup>33</sup> however the focus on the community in this last line is important to the rest of the scenario depicted in this manuscript.

The next scriptural quotation, 2 Sam 7:11b, is followed by an explanation that God would give his people rest from the Sons of Belial and their evil plans which they have devised against the Sons of Light. Subsequently, the next section of 2 Sam 7:11 is quoted, which refers to Yahweh building a house for David, raising up his offspring, and establishing his throne forever. "I will be a father to him," says the Lord, "and he shall be a son to me." Here we return the "house" imagery, but this time in reference to the royal house of David. The interpreter unequivocally sees this passage as referring to the "Branch of David who will

<sup>32</sup> See argument in Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 134. In the wider context of 2 Sam 7, David is seeking to build a physical house for the Lord. Cf. 1QS viii and ix.

<sup>33</sup> See Milgrom, "Florilegium," 248; D. Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple," in *Hellenica et Judaica* (Homage à V. Nikiprowetzky), ed. A. Caquot, et al. (Leuven, 1986), 165-89; also Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 116-17. Collins argues that the sanctuary of the Lord mentioned in line 3 is likely not the same as the sanctuary of men mentioned in line 6. For Collins, the sanctuary of men is not the eschatological temple that will be built in the End of Days, to which the community was still looking forward.

arise with the Interpreter of the Law” in Zion in the last days. Amos 9:11 is brought in, and the “booth of David that is fallen” is taken to be “the booth of David that is falle[n w]ho will arise to save Israel.” Most scholars understand this material to refer to the belief expressed in other Qumran documents that in the last days a Messiah, or two Messiahs (one royal and one priestly), would come to save the chosen people. Brooke points out that the quotation and interpretation of 2 Sam 7 in this text is designed to emphasize the idea that the son of David is the eschatological Messiah by omitting “all those phrases which might imply that the text of Samuel was only referring to the actual physical son of David, namely Solomon.”<sup>34</sup> Gärtner, however, sees the reference to the house of David as not suggesting a Messiah, but as yet another description of the community, which would arise with the Interpreter of the Law.<sup>35</sup> This issue will be raised again as we look at the interpretation of Ps 2.

The pesher for Ps 1, given with reference to Isa 8:11 and Ezek 37:23 for support, demonstrates that the pesher’s author understands these passages as referring to his own community, whose members he calls the Sons of Zadok, and suggests that these texts refer to their avoidance of evil.

Finally, the pesher given for Ps 2:1-2 also focuses on the community. Based on the reference to “the chosen ones of Israel” in the interpretation, it appears that the author understood the (reconstructed) word משיחו to be in the plural, and sees it as a description of the chosen people in the last days. In the continued interpretation found in column 2, the author suggests that the raging of the nations against the chosen ones refers to the “time of refining” that is expected to come before the time of the End, as described in Dan 11:32 and 12:10. Again, this interpretation centers on the community and the eschatological events that it will experience.

The biggest question which has arisen over this interpretation, one that has caused much debate among scholars, regards the issue of what the author may or may not have wanted to communicate about an eschatological messianic leader. Although it seems reasonably clear that the author is promoting a collective interpretation of the Lord’s “anointed” from Ps 2:2, how does this relate to the interpretation of 2 Sam 7 in the previous lines?

The most straightforward answer to this question would be to follow Gärtner and see the interpretation of 2 Sam 7 as likewise collective; thus there would be no reference to a Davidic messianic figure, but only a metaphorical house and branch of David which, in Gärtner’s view, refers to the community that arose together with the Interpreter of the Law (cf. CD 1:2). This solution would seem to be the most consistent with the themes running through the whole scroll, which focus on the community. It is also in line with Patrick

<sup>34</sup> Brooke, “Shared Intertextual Interpretations,” 40.

<sup>35</sup> Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community*, 35ff.

Miller's evaluation, discussed in section 1.1.3.1 of this thesis, of the movement to democratize Ps 2 by interpreting it together with Ps 1 and Marko Marttila's argument for a collective reinterpretation of the Psalter in this period.<sup>36</sup> As previously stated, Marttila claims that in the Second Temple period the "nationalization of the Davidic monarchy" would have contributed to a collective interpretation of the royal elements in Ps 2. "Depending on the reader's background," Marttila argues, "'the anointed' may have meant either a messianic figure or the people of Israel."<sup>37</sup> However, a collective interpretation of the branch and booth of David is not the most obvious one, especially in light of some arguably more clear references in other scrolls to the Branch of David as the expected Messiah and references to two messianic leaders.

For example, as Collins notes, in 4Q285 we find another mention of the Branch of David, and in this case the title seems to be used synonymously with the term "Prince of the Congregation."<sup>38</sup> Although the text is famously difficult to translate, the two titles seem to be used to refer to an individual who will lead the community at the time of the eschatological conflict. A peshar on the book of Isaiah (4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> 7-10), in an interpretation of Isa 11, can be reconstructed as saying that "the Branch of David will take his stand in the latter days" and that he will destroy Israel's enemies and be crowned and seated on a throne of glory. In 4Q252, there is an interpretation of Gen 49:10 in which the Branch of David is referred to as "the righteous messiah." It is important also that in this text, although the Branch/Messiah is an individual, he is closely associated with the elect community.

It is generally accepted that some Qumran documents express a belief in two eschatological leaders, a priestly Messiah and a royal/Davidic Messiah, a Messiah of Aaron and a Messiah of Israel, or the Interpreter of the Law and the Prince of the Congregation. However, despite well-known passages such as 1QS 9:11 ("the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel"), Collins argues that more recent analyses based on previously unpublished documents have demonstrated that the concept of two eschatological messianic leaders is by no means a consensus view among the Qumran texts.<sup>39</sup> The two messiahs view is probably based on biblical passages such as Zech 4, which refers to two anointed leaders, and may have been emphasized during the Hasmonean period, as Collins argues, as a critique against their practice of combining the offices of priest and king.<sup>40</sup> Regardless of how widespread this dual messiah idea was, the close association of both messiahs to the community is readily

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<sup>36</sup> See section 1.1.3.1. Miller, "The Beginning of the Psalter," 91-92; Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 64-66, 183.

<sup>37</sup> Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 183.

<sup>38</sup> See discussion in Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 61ff. Collins argues that the references to the Branch of David draw on Isa 11 and that the Prince of the Congregation title borrows from Ezekiel's term ("prince") for the future Davidic ruler.

<sup>39</sup> Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 79ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-09.

apparent. One example is that of the “Messianic Rule” (1QSa), which describes both the priestly leader of the community and the “messiah of Israel” sitting down with “the congregation of the community” at the grand feast of the messianic age.

In light of the evidence found at Qumran in support of the belief in one or more expected messianic leaders, we can see the plausibility in moving beyond Gärtner’s approach to one which involves an individual messianic ruler, at least in the interpretation of 2 Sam 7. Eric Mason follows the “collective” understanding of the peshar to Ps 2 while still seeing the interpretation of 2 Sam 7 as referring to an individual Davidic messiah. Mason argues:

Rather, the interpreter clearly is interpreting the favored offspring of 2 Sam 7 in light of Davidic messianic expectations evidenced elsewhere in the Qumran literature in 4Q161, 4Q252, and 4Q285.<sup>41</sup>

If the text of 4QFlor can promote a messianic interpretation of one passage, why does it not do so in the other, Ps 2, which would seem to be just as, or even more, easily interpreted as referring to an individual messianic ruler? As Mason notes, Brooke, in *Exegesis at Qumran*, argues that there must be an implicit reference to the Davidic messiah in the interpretation of Ps 2:2. Brooke argues that there is a “thematic link” between 2 Sam 7 and Ps 2 that involves viewing the messianic figure in both as the son of God. For Brooke, this connection between the two passages represents a long-standing Jewish tradition which was originally due to these texts being used together in a liturgical setting. This also manifests itself in the New Testament, as discussed above. The text of 4QFlor, as we now have it, should be seen as the result of subsequent homilies on a more ancient liturgical text.<sup>42</sup> The liturgical setting that Brooke envisions is that of a Qumran celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, in which these two passages would have represented the enthronement themes of that festival.<sup>43</sup>

If the traditional rationale behind the pairing of these texts is the joint theme of announcement of the anointed one as the son of God in an enthronement setting, why does 4QFlor not cite the more pertinent verses 6-7 (“You are my son; today I have begotten you”) of Ps 2? As mentioned above, Brooke sees the quoted initial verses from Pss 1-2 as merely “incipit phrases” that imply a citation of the whole Psalm; thus, the presence of Ps 2 on the scroll, in Brooke’s hypothesis, although an explicit citation or interpretation of verse 7 is not present, indicates that there was an understood reference there to the Messiah as God’s son. Annette Steudel rejects this line of reasoning, as does Eric Mason. Mason explains:

<sup>41</sup> Mason, “Psalm 2 in 4Q Florilegium,” 75.

<sup>42</sup> Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 164.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 172-74. With respect to the Feast of Tabernacles, enthronement themes, and Ps 2, see sections 1.1.2.1 and 1.1.2.12 of the introductory chapter of this thesis.

Ultimately Brooke is concerned to explain why 2 Sam 7 and Ps 2 are discussed together in multiple contexts, but this can be affirmed without demanding that “his anointed” in *4QFlorilegium* must have a messianic interpretation because of the traditional connection of the cited texts, even when the immediate context rules out such a meaning. It is preferable instead to assert that the traditional connection between 2 Sam 7 and Ps 2 almost certainly contributes to the citation of both in *4QFlorilegium* and is extremely fitting in the context of talk of the “shoot of David,” yet on this occasion the author of the pesher has not followed the expected interpretation of the key phrase in Ps 2:2.<sup>44</sup>

However, John Collins agrees with Brooke that the citing of 2 Sam 7 together with Ps 2 is not coincidental, but, like Mason, Collins does not view this claim as necessarily inferring that Ps 2 is somehow being interpreted individualistically. Collins argues that there are a number of texts at Qumran (e.g., 4Q246) and in Second Temple Jewish literature (Daniel, *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra*) which quote or allude to Ps 2 as a reference to the messiah as son of God, which Collins sees as evidence for a “widespread messianic interpretation of Ps 2” in this period.<sup>45</sup> For Collins, 4QFlor is an “unusual” interpretation of Ps 2 and most likely does not explicitly make the messianic connection because its primary focus is on the community.

This debate over what is found in 4QFlor, in the sense of individual versus collective, is very similar to the issues discussed in the previous chapter regarding the same type of difficulty in understanding 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh) and how this should influence the understanding of 4QPs89. In that discussion, James Kugel’s argument in favor of a collective interpretation was found to be generally convincing. However, there is an identifiable emphasis in the text on the elect community, and the preponderance of the evidence in that case is in favor of the text of 4QPs89 demonstrating an interest in an individual Davidic messiah.

Gärtner has highlighted one of the main culprits behind the ambiguity in these texts: A frequent phenomenon in the Qumran texts is that the content of the Messianic symbols oscillates between collective and individual. ... [He] may stand as the representative of the whole community ... or he may be spoken of as the elect of God, an individual instrument for the raising up of the community. It is not always easy to tell which of the two is meant on any given occasion.<sup>46</sup>

As Gärtner notes, a “similar oscillation” can be found in the Hebrew Bible and other Jewish literature. As earlier pointed out, this issue is especially noticeable in the Pss. The dilemma

<sup>44</sup> Mason, “Psalm 2 in 4Q Florilegium,” 79-80. Steudel, “Psalm 2 im antiken Judentum,” 189-97.

<sup>45</sup> Collins, “The Interpretation of Psalm 2.”

<sup>46</sup> Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community*, 36.

of distinguishing the “I” and the “we” in many of the Pss is well known.<sup>47</sup> Mowinckel argued that the idea of community superseded the notion of the individual in ancient Israelite culture and that, especially in the cult, the individual participating in religious rites often represented the community or congregation as a whole. He says:

Likewise, the priest or the king contains the whole and all its members, when he appears as the leader of the cult. He really represents—in the old meaning of the word—the whole people. When he says “I” it is the whole Israel, who speaks through him and who appears in his person “in the presence of Yahweh.”<sup>48</sup>

A reference to the individual, following this line of reasoning, can easily be understood as referring to the community as a whole, especially when the reference is made in a liturgical setting. This idea carries even more weight if we consider Brooke’s hypothesis that the scriptures quoted in 4QFlor were part of a common liturgical background. Another place where we can observe this same ambiguity between the “I” and “we,” or the individual and the collective, is in the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah, which, according to Eaton and others, find their roots in the same liturgical setting as the RPss.<sup>49</sup> In Deutero- and also Trito-Isaiah, there are a number of references to “my servants” in the plural, but also to “servant” in the singular, and these sometimes seem to be functionally interchangeable. In Isaiah 42, for example, the grammatically singular “servant,” appears to refer to the chosen people of Israel, the same people that were called blind and deaf by the Lord in Isa 6.<sup>50</sup> In Isaiah 49:3, the servant is expressly called Israel, which functions likewise as an appellation of this collective group. Then a few verses later (v. 6) we read of a servant who will gather Jacob and restore Israel. Now the functional text reference of “servant” would seem to feature a specific individual. In chapter 52 this single servant is metaphorically referred to as a plant/root and is depicted as suffering vicariously for the purification of the people. These dynamics between the individual and collective servants continue throughout the Servant Songs and can be found elsewhere in the book of Isaiah and in other texts of the Hebrew Bible. It should come as no surprise then, that we find a similar phenomenon in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

### **3.2.1.3 Conclusion:**

As John Collins also asserts, that there are enough references at Qumran and in Second Temple literature to a Davidic messiah who will come at the Eschaton to save the chosen people that we should seriously consider that the author of 4QFlorilegium had in mind

<sup>47</sup> Observe, for example, the oscillation, without explanation, between the single and plural speakers in Ps 20.

<sup>48</sup> Mowinckel, *Psalms, vol. 1*, 44. See also Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 23.

<sup>49</sup> Eaton, *Festal Drama*. See also Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 138ff; Ivan Engnell, “The Ebed Yahweh Songs and the Suffering Messiah in ‘Deutero-Isaiah,’” *BJRL* 31 (1948), 56ff.

<sup>50</sup> Compare Isa 42:16-20 with Isa 6:9-10, 13.

a Davidic messiah. Although the interpretation of Ps 2 does not emphasize this figure, but focuses on the collective—on attacks of the evil “nations” on the community – the preponderance of evidence points towards a belief in a single eschatological leader as well. The understanding of a single servant coming to the aid of the plural servants, the “holy seed” of the house of Israel in Isa 49 is a vital interpretive principle.

The main premise of the interpretations presented in 4QFlorilegium is that they describe, as does 4QPs89, the War Scroll and many other Qumran documents, the situation of the elect community as the eschatological battle approaches. They expect a temple to be built,<sup>51</sup> a messianic leader of the house of David to be sent, and for a time of refining to come for the elect community. Ps 2 forms a part of this eschatological vision, with the evil nations rising up against the Lord’s collective “anointed” in the last days. If the full pesher were preserved, perhaps there would be more textual insight into the role of the Davidic messiah(s). If, however, the author never had an individual messianic figure in mind, 4QFlorilegium still stands as an example of how the royal themes from Ps 2 were democratized and applied to the author’s eschatological vision for his community.<sup>52</sup>

### 3.2.2 *Psalm 45 in 4Q171/4QpPs<sup>a</sup>*

#### 3.2.2.1 *Brief Description of the Text:*

This manuscript represents a standard continuous (not thematic as was 4Q174) pesher text, with one or two lines of scriptural text followed by commentary introduced by the technical term “pesher.” The principal focus of the very fragmentary extant text is Ps 37, but the RPs 45 is also briefly analyzed, as is Ps 60.

Column 1 is poorly preserved, so that the first legible quotation of scripture (line 25) is from Ps 37:7, which is followed by an interpretation of that verse. Subsequently, all of the succeeding verses of Ps 37 are quoted and receive pesher commentary. We can assume that the entire psalm was initially quoted and interpreted on this scroll.

After a *vacat*, Ps 45:1, the superscription to the psalm, is quoted, followed by an interpretation. Then Ps 45:2a is quoted and a very poorly preserved interpretation is given. 45:2b follows, with a subsequent line of exegesis.

The rest of the text is very fragmentary. On fragment 13, we find a quotation of Ps 60:8-9 with a partially preserved interpretation.

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<sup>51</sup> Even if that temple was only a spiritual one composed of the members of the community.

<sup>52</sup> See section 1.1.3.1 on democratization and collective interpretation of the Pss in the Second Temple period.

### 3.2.2.2 Analysis:

Ps 37 is an acrostic Wisdom Psalm that presents the view that the wicked will be punished and the righteous rewarded. The interpretation of the psalm is eschatologically oriented, with the End Times conflict and destruction of the wicked as the main themes.<sup>53</sup>

In the scroll's interpretation of Ps 37:7, the pesher exegesis gives the interpretation of the verse an eschatological flavor, by clearly defining the future state of the wicked and the righteous. The psalm's "man who makes evil plans" is given the name "the Man of the Lie." This figure leads people away from the words of the "Interpreter of Knowledge." Both individuals were apparently roughly contemporary with the author of the text.<sup>54</sup> The interpretation predicts that those who listened to the Man of the Lie will die by sword, famine, and plague. Later on, the text interprets 37:9b as referring to "the congregation of his chosen ones." The interpretation on 37:10b says that after 40 years, all the wicked would be destroyed until there was not a wicked man left on earth. Verse 11 is taken to refer to the "congregation of the Poor Ones" who would pass through a time of affliction before being delivered from all the "traps of Belial." After the defeat of the wicked, the righteous would enjoy a time of great blessing and abundance. The author further envisions enemies among the Jews who would "seek to lay their hands on the priest and on the men of his counsel" during the period of refining that would come, but God would ransom them and turn the wicked Jews over to the Gentiles. Those who obey the Torah and return to the wilderness will "live for a thousand generations in safety" and receive all the inheritance of Adam. The text goes on in this manner, expounding on the blessings promised to the righteous and the punishments that await the wicked. The end of the interpretation of Ps 37 highlights the role of "the Priest, the Righteous Teacher," who would be established by God to build up a congregation for him.<sup>55</sup>

The eschatological vision portrayed in this pesher of Ps 37 is not unlike that of 4QFlor, as discussed above and likewise clearly establishes the idea that the author saw the fulfillment of the prophetic words in the psalm as directly pertinent to his own situation. Importantly, the author does not rely solely on a few proof-texts, but is able to interpret the entire psalm as relevant to his time.

Unfortunately, the extant text provides us with only the first two verses of Ps 45, with their interpretation. This is very regrettable as a full interpretation of this RPs, if indeed the

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<sup>53</sup> For a recent analysis of the exegetical methods employed in 4Q171, see David Katzin, "'The Time of Testing': The Use of Hebrew Scriptures in 4Q171's Pesher of Psalm 37," *Hebrew Studies* 45 (2004), 121-162.

<sup>54</sup> For other references to these figures and setting, see 1QpHab 2:1-2, 5:11; 1QH 2:13.

<sup>55</sup> See Michael A. Knibb, "Teacher of Righteousness," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2, Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds. (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 918-21; John J. Collins, "Teacher, Priest, and Prophet," in *The Scepter and the Star*, 102-35; Philip R. Davies, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the 'End of Days,'" *RQ* 13 (1988), 313-17.

author was interested in giving one, would have been very important for our understanding of how its strong royal themes would have been understood in this period. How would they have taken, for example, the imagery in verses 6-8, which describe the enthronement, anointing, and investiture of the king, as well as the possible reference to him, in verse 6, as a god? For the one reference to the king that is quoted, from verse 2, the interpretation is too fragmentary for us to gain any understanding of how the royal figure is treated. It is possible that there was no comment made in reference to the king or if the royal reference was interpreted or ignored. Perhaps, due to the controversial nature of these and other lines, the author never meant to attempt an interpretation of them. There will likely never be an answer to these questions.

However, the author of the interpretations of these two verses from Ps 45 does provide eschatological insights. An initial observation on the interpretation of verse 1 is that, as mentioned above, the author apparently understood the psalm's superscription to be an integral part of the psalm itself and worthy of an interpretation. The author interprets the Levitical group "the sons of Korah" as a reference to the "seven divisions of the penitents/returnees of Israel." Whether the correct translation is "penitents," or "returnees," the individuals mentioned seem to have reference to the author's community (or a group of which the author's community is a part), namely those who have turned away from the wilderness of sin by following the Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>56</sup> This may be a reference to the idea that the community was in exile in the wilderness but would someday return. Stephen Hultgren suggests that the "seven divisions" may draw from the biblical reference to the orders of temple gatekeepers who were numbered after the seven sons of Meshelemiah the Korahite (1 Chr 26:1-3).<sup>57</sup> For the interpretation of Ps 45:2b, the author takes the "skilled scribe" of the biblical text as another reference to the Teacher of Righteousness. The broken line of interpretation seems to indicate that the Teacher of Righteousness would stand before God "with purposeful speech."

### 3.2.2.3 Conclusion:

The quotation and interpretation of Ps 45 in 4Q171 is regrettably too small and fragmentary for us to draw many conclusions. Along with the better preserved peshar on Ps 37, this psalm is interpreted eschatologically<sup>58</sup> with figures mentioned in the psalm being

<sup>56</sup> See CD A 4:2, 6:5, 8:16; CD B 19:29; 4Q166 1:16-17. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 213, 25; H. Stegemann, "Der Pešer Psalm 37 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (4QpPs 37)," *RQ* 4 (1963-64), 235-70.

<sup>57</sup> Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 146n.

<sup>58</sup> It should be noted that the "eschatological" age and the interpreter's present are likely the same. Moshe Bernstein suggests: "Probable references to near and distant future (including the eschaton) are intermingled, and the same term in the biblical text does not always generate the same reference in the

equated with persons contemporary to the author.<sup>59</sup> Every aspect of the Pss interpreted in this text are utilized to help form the author's vision for what had and would happen to his community. Those wicked individuals who were deceived by the Man of the Lie and who did not follow the Teacher of Righteousness, or the Interpreter of Knowledge, would be destroyed in the Last Days. We should probably understand, from the interpretation of these first lines of Ps 45, that both the community and its leader were understood to have priestly roles. Unfortunately, the brevity of the preserved text for the interpretation of Ps 45 precludes us from gaining any insights into how the author may have understood the royal imagery of that psalm.

### ***3.3 Other Pss Interpreted in Qumran Texts***

Beyond the RPss, there are a number of other Pss found in the Qumran library that also receive interpretation. Besides those already mentioned, these include Pss 7, 68, 82, 118, 127, and 129. These “non-royal” compositions are included in this discussion for the purpose of demonstrating that there is one overriding hermeneutical principle that can be observed to be at work in all of the available pesharim and other exegetical texts on the Pss—that is, the eschatological application.

4Q173 places Pss 127 and 129 in an eschatological setting with references to the Teacher of Righteousness, the “priest at the end of time,” with an associated “congregation.” Although very fragmentary and difficult to reconstruct, 4Q173a may have included a similarly eschatological interpretation of Ps 118. The interpretations of Ps 68 in 1Q16/1QpPs and Pss 7 and 82 in 11Q13/11QMelch also deserve mention here. The exegesis of the Pss also demonstrates an interest in an eschatological reading. The very fragmentary text of Ps 68 in 1QpPs apparently depicts the rulers of the nations coming to give gifts to Yahweh at his temple and seems to equate the “beasts of the reed thicket” (Ps 68:31) with the Kittim. 11QMelch, another peshar text, takes Pss 82:1-2 and 7:8-9 to refer to the participation of the heavenly Melchizedek in the eschatological judgment upon Belial and his followers. These interpretations fit in well with the eschatological imagery depicted in the texts already discussed.

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*peshar*. One of the ways in which the psalm is linked to the contemporary context of the author of the peshar is by the identification of the groups mentioned in the psalm with individuals or groups in his own day. . . . [Eschatology] may refer to the near or distant future. In these passages we get the sense that the Qumran group believed that the eschaton was not far off.” Bernstein, “Peshar Psalms,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2, 655.

<sup>59</sup> It is significant that the Peshitta interprets Ps 45 eschatologically as well and that the Targums read it messianically. See Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 20-21. Schaper argues that Ps 45 is interpreted messianically in the LXX as well. See Schaper, *Eschatology*, 78-83.

### **3.4 Conclusions:**

An initial important observation that affects any conclusions reached here is the recognition that the understanding of the nature of the interpretation of the Pss in the Qumran texts is necessarily skewed by the fact that the manuscripts are so poorly preserved. Many important details have been, without a doubt, lost due to the fragmentary state of the scrolls. Despite this unfortunate factor, however, it is possible to conclude that, from what we have to work with, the authors of these exegetical texts saw the Royal (and other) Pss as applying to their own community and time and as prophesying of the events that would transpire in the Last Days.

Another point that should be highlighted from these few fragmentary texts is the fact that there is little evidence of the Qumran authors turning to the RPss for information on the Davidic Messiah. Again, this appearance may be purely due to the poorly-preserved nature of the texts. However, in the texts where there is more material to work with, as in 4QFlor, there is a scriptural reference to the Lord's anointed (Ps 2:2), but in the interpretation, there is no reference to the Messiah. The alleged reference to the Messiah comes in the interpretation to 2 Sam 7. 11QMelch quotes Pss 7 and 82 in support of its description of Melchizedek as a messianic/mediator figure. However, under Nitzan's "Reworked Running Biblical Text" category, 4QPs89<sup>60</sup> ought to be considered an exegetical text and included in this discussion. Therefore, there are renderings of RPss which arguably provide an eschatological setting and features the Davidic Messiah as its central theme.

The authors of these exegetical texts do seem to have, with some variation, an eschatological scenario in mind, and they use a number of RPss to help illustrate that vision. Although they are not the exclusive source of this imagery—a number of other Pss are considered just as effective for this purpose—the RPss emphasize a number of particular themes that are useful to clearly illuminate that vision. These include the attack on the righteous by the wicked (nations) or time of "refining," the coming of the Lord to save his chosen servants, the subsequent blessings that are poured upon the righteous, the eschatological temple, and so on.

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<sup>60</sup> Discussed in detail in the previous chapter, section 2.4.4.

## Chapter 4: Quotes of and Allusions to the RPss in the Qumran Texts

### 4.1 Introduction

Beyond the few appearances of the RPss in expressly exegetical texts, the many quotations of and allusions to them throughout the texts of the Qumran library give us further insight into how they were being understood and used by the Qumran authors. In chapter 2, it became apparent that the patrons of the Qumran library had an interest in Ps 18, due to the number of copies extant, but we gained no insight into how they were reading the Psalm. Also, Ps 89 was determined to have been interpreted, at least in the 4QPs89 fragment, eschatologically with an emphasis on the role of the Davidic figure. Chapter 3 provided further evidence that the Qumran exegetes were interested in viewing the RPss as contributing to their vision of the scenario that would unfold in the Last Days. I determined that both Pss 2 and 45 were interpreted eschatologically.

Due to the larger number of texts available for analysis, the examples studied in this chapter give us a much broader picture and confirm to a greater extent the results uncovered in previous chapters. Almost twenty examples of the use of RPss are identified and analyzed in this chapter. The following list outlines the RPss found quoted, paraphrased, or alluded to and in what text they are located.

Ps 2:7	1Q28a/1QSa 2:11-12
Ps 18:3	XHev/Se 6 (eschatological hymn)
Ps 18:3, 5-6	1QH <sup>a</sup> XVII:4, 28-29
Ps 18:3, 7-9, 19 and 4 or 18	4Q381 24a+b <sup>61</sup>
Ps 18	4Q381 28 and 29
Ps 18:5	1QH <sup>a</sup> XI:29-30, 33
Ps 18:5	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIII:41
Ps 18:5-6	1QH <sup>a</sup> XI:10-11
Ps 18:35	1Q33/1QM XIV:6
Ps 18:35	4Q372 2:4
Ps 18:43	1Q28b/1Qsb V:27
Ps 20:9	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII:22, 36
Ps 21:10	4Q381 17:3
Ps 21:14	1Q33/1QM XIV:16
Ps 89:4-8	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII:25-26
Ps 89:7	1QH <sup>a</sup> XXIII:23
Ps 89:7, 10-12, 14, 18	4Q381 15:4-7
Ps 89:8	1QH <sup>a</sup> XXV:26-27 (frg 63)
Ps 89:15	11Q5/11QPs <sup>a</sup> Hymn to the Creator

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<sup>61</sup> Quotations/allusions to the RPss found in 4Q381 will be analyzed only briefly in this chapter, as chapter 5 analyzes these texts in detail.

This list is not meant to be fully comprehensive, but efforts have been made to include as many examples as possible and which are deemed to have sufficient evidence in their favor. Most of the quotations and allusions analyzed in this chapter were identified by Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold in their groundbreaking compilation of the quotations of and allusions to biblical passages in Second Temple Jewish literature.<sup>62</sup>

Some texts were excluded based on lack of sufficient evidence. For example, a possible allusion to Ps 110:4 in 4Q545/4Q*Visions of 'Amram*<sup>c</sup> ar 4:19 was ultimately not included in this chapter. The Qumran text refers to Aaron and his ordination to the priesthood and declares that he “will be chosen as a priest forever.” Although this is reminiscent of the promise to the Davidic king in Ps 110:4, a similar notion is communicated in passages such as 1 Sam 2:35; Exod 29:9; 40:15, and others,<sup>63</sup> which more plausibly fit the context of Aaron’s anointing in 4Q545.<sup>64</sup>

Although many of the texts analyzed here demonstrate an eschatological interpretation, there are several others that seem to emphasize other principles, including the suffering of the speaker, ascension to the divine council, and the learning of heavenly mysteries. The majority, however, confirm the tendency towards an eschatological reading of the RPss in Qumran texts. Furthermore, the examples identified and analyzed here serve as additional evidence that the authors of these Qumran texts had an interest in a number of the Pss that we call royal and saw them as important pieces of the puzzle of their End Times expectations.

## 4.1 Psalm 2

### 4.1.1 1Q28a/1QSa 2:11-12

1Q28a/1QSa, a text that has been called “The Rule of the Congregation,” or the “Messianic Rule,” contains a line (lines 11-12) that arguably reads: “when God begets (י[ל]י) the messiah among them” – an apparent allusion to Ps 2:7, which has Yahweh declaring to the Davidic king: “You are my son, today I have begotten you (יִלְדָהֲךָ).”

The reading that uses ילִיד, however, has been the source of endless debate, as the last letters of the word are unclear in the manuscript. Patrick Skehan claimed that the early

<sup>62</sup> Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

<sup>63</sup> See also 1 Mac 14:41.

<sup>64</sup> See É. Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4, XXII: Textes Araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*, DJD XXXI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 344. There is only a small possible connection to Melchizedek in the 4Q*Visions of 'Amram* ar manuscripts. J. Milik reconstructed the text in 4Q544 2 III:13 and 3 IV:2-3 to present three names for the Angel of Darkness, including the name Melchiresha, and three names for the Angel of Light, including the name Melchizedek. See J. T. Milik, “4Q*Visions de 'Amram* et une citation d’Origène,” *RB* 79 (1972), 77-99, esp. 85-86. If this reconstruction is correct, the mention of Melchizedek may indicate that the authors of these texts may have been using Ps 110 as one of their source texts.

investigators of the scroll, including himself, Allegro, Cross, Strugnell, and others, all agreed that the reading should be יוליד. However, Cross later followed Milik in concluding that the text should read יוליד ("causes to come").<sup>65</sup> Other reconstructions have subsequently been suggested,<sup>66</sup> but Geza Vermes asserts that the original יוליד reading "seems to be confirmed by computer image enhancement."<sup>67</sup> Although a conclusive answer regarding the question of the original content will likely continue to elude us, I am inclined to side with Skehan and accept the יוליד reading, as it was that which the early witnesses accepted upon investigating the scroll, at a time when it was more legible than it later became.

Assuming that "God begets the messiah among them" is correct, the clearest source would be Ps 2:7. Collins and Collins observe that if "the reading is correct, it is simply picking up and endorsing the language of the Psalms."<sup>68</sup> They note that J.W. van Henten "declares unequivocally: 'This passage alludes to Ps 2.'"<sup>69</sup> Robert Rowe argues:

If that [the reading that uses *yolid*] is correct, then it is probable that Psalm 2:7 contributed to the thought behind the use of the phrase, especially as 4QFlorilegium (=4Q174) quotes Psalm 2 (but only verses 1-2), shortly after a quotation of Nathan's promise to David concerning his 'seed' in 2 Samuel 7:11-14, which is applied to the Davidic Messiah (4QFlor. 1:10-12, 18-19).<sup>70</sup>

If the reading that uses *yolid* is accepted, this allusion to Ps 2:7 provides unambiguous evidence that some in this period were interpreting Ps 2 both eschatologically and messianically. As opposed to the case of the exegesis of Ps 2 in 4QFlor, as discussed in section 3.2.1, 1QSa 2:11-12 provides a clear example of the expectation of an individual messianic figure that would be sent by God to assist the community. It should be taken into consideration, however, that the present text is interpreting Ps 2:7 and not Ps 2:1-2 as is the case in 4QFlor.

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<sup>65</sup> Patrick W. Skehan, "Two Books on Qumran Studies," *CBQ* 21 (1959), 74. Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 76, n. 3. See discussion in Collins and Collins, *King and Messiah*, 65.

<sup>66</sup> L. Schiffman reads: "when the messiah shall assemble (ייעד) with them," following Gaster and Licht. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation*, Monograph Series / Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 54. É. Puech has: "when the messiah shall be revealed (יתגלה)." Émile Puech, "Préséance sacerdotale et messie-roi dans la Règle de la Congrégation," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 479-505. See discussion in Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 81.

<sup>67</sup> Géza Vermès, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 2004), 161. See also Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 144.

<sup>68</sup> Collins and Collins, *King and Messiah*, 65.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* Quoting J. W. van Henten, "The Hasmonean Period," in M. Bockmuehl and J. Carlton Paget, eds., *Redemption and Resistance* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 22.

<sup>70</sup> Robert D. Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son: The Background in Mark's Christology from Concepts of Kingship in the Psalms*, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 173-74.

## 4.2 Psalm 18

### 4.2.1 4Q381/4QNon-Canonical Psalms B: Fragments 24 a+b

The non-canonical psalm recorded in 4Q381 fragment 24a+b, in lines 7-11, quotes from Ps 18:3, 7-9 and also alludes to 18:19 and 18:4 or 18:18. The text can be translated as follows:<sup>71</sup>

7. your name (is) my salvation. *My rock, my fortress, and [my] deliverer*<sup>72</sup>[  
] *On the day of [my] dis[tress]*<sup>73</sup>
8. *I will call to YHWH,*<sup>74</sup> *and my God will answer me.*<sup>75</sup> *My help*<sup>76</sup>[  
] *those who hate me.*<sup>77</sup> And he will say [ ]
9. that[ ] *h.ʿ. [ ] l'm* And I š[ *my cry be]fore him comes to his ears.*<sup>78</sup>
10. *And [my] voi[ce from his temple he will hear.*<sup>79</sup> *And] the earth reeled [and rocked  
.t for he was angry.*<sup>80</sup> There went up
11. *in [his] nostrils [smoke ]*<sup>81</sup> [ ]...*kl [ ]m* he taught and instruction

Eileen Schuller, commenting on the author's use of Ps 18, observes that this fragment "draws extensively on [this] single biblical psalm, at times apparently quoting or paraphrasing a number of consecutive cola."<sup>82</sup>

This text is an example of rewritten scripture, very similar to what we find in 4QPs89, as discussed in section 2.4.4. Esther Chazon has called the psalm "a prayer that is a reworked version of Psalm 18."<sup>83</sup> Just as 4QPs89 reorders and modifies verses from Ps 89 to emphasize the Davidic figure and his role in aiding the chosen community, this psalm also reorders verses from Ps 18 and leaves out verses that are not useful for the author's purposes.<sup>84</sup>

The following is a comparative look at 4Q381 24a+b, lines 7-11 and the relevant verses from Ps 18, reordered to follow the arrangement of 4Q381:

<sup>71</sup> Translation based on that of DJD XI. Italics here indicate parallels between 4Q381 24a+b and Ps 18.

<sup>72</sup> Compare Ps 18:3.

<sup>73</sup> Either Ps 18:7 or 18:19.

<sup>74</sup> Ps 18:7.

<sup>75</sup> Compare Ps 18:7 and 18:42b.

<sup>76</sup> Ps 18:7.

<sup>77</sup> Possible allusion to the "enemies" in Ps 18:4 or 18:18. See Chazon, "The Use of the Bible," 88.

<sup>78</sup> Ps 18:7.

<sup>79</sup> Ps 18:7.

<sup>80</sup> Ps 18:8.

<sup>81</sup> Ps 18:9.

<sup>82</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 121.

<sup>83</sup> Chazon, "The Use of the Bible," 89.

<sup>84</sup> Compare also to how 4QFlor excludes lines from 2 Sam 7 which make reference to David's literal son, Solomon, as discussed in the previous chapter.

**4Q381 24a+b 7-11**

7. your name (is) my salvation. *My rock, my fortress, and [my] deliverer [ ] On the day of [my] dis[tress]*

8. *I will call to YHWH, and my God will answer me. My help [ ] those who hate me. And he will say [ ]*

9. that[ ]h.<sup>s</sup>. [ ]l'm And I š[ my cry be]before him comes to his ears.

10. *And [my] voi[ce from his temple he will hear. And] the earth reeled [and rocked ]t for he was angry. There went up*

11. *in [his] nostrils [smoke ]. [ ]...kl [ ]m he taught and instruction*

**Ps 18**

3a. YHWH is *my rock, my fortress, and my deliverer...*

(19a. They came upon me *in the day of my distress...*)

7a. *In my distress I called upon YHWH, And cried unto my God for help...*<sup>85</sup>

18. He delivered me ... from *those who hated me.*

7b. *He heard my voice from his temple, and my cry before him came to his ears.*

8. *Then the earth reeled and rocked ... because he was angry.*

9. *There went up a smoke from his nostrils ...*

These fragments of 4Q381 will be analyzed in greater depth in chapter 5, section 5.2.3.

**4.2.2 Fragments 28 and 29**

Fragments 28 and 29 of 4Q381 also contain references to Ps 18. Fragment 28 appears to draw on Ps 18:13-15, and fragment 29 quotes from 18:16 and likely alludes to 18:17.

Translation:

Fragment 28

1. ]before him. And [with] *coals of fire*<sup>86</sup> he will scatter<sup>87</sup>[
2. ]. to them. And he will *rout them*<sup>88</sup> and he.<sup>89</sup>[
3. ]hope for your enemies. They will be cut off<sup>90</sup>[

Fragment 29

<sup>85</sup> The reference to God answering the speaker in the 4Q381 rendering does not have a direct parallel in this verse. In verse 42 of the biblical psalm, we see the psalmist's enemies crying out to YHWH but not receiving an answer.

<sup>86</sup> Coals of fire (גחלי אש) are mentioned in both Ps 18:13 and 14. I have added italics to the text here to indicate parallels between the 4Q381 text and the biblical Ps 18.

<sup>87</sup> Ps 18:15 mentions God shooting arrows and scattering them, although the verb used (ויפיצם) in the biblical psalm is not the same (יפזר) in the Qumran text.

<sup>88</sup> Ps 18:15b ends with the phrase "routed (or will route) them" (ויהמם).

<sup>89</sup> The dots in this line are present in the translation in DJD XI, 114. According to DJD XXXIX, 20, the dots, represented in the Hebrew text as "mid-line circlets," indicate a "remnant of an undetermined letter."

<sup>90</sup> Cf. 1 Sam 20:15; 2 Sam 7:9; 1 Chr 17:8; Ps 143:12; Mic 5:9.

2. ]and he will send his angels<sup>91</sup> and he..[
3. *at the bl*]ast of the breath of your nostrils<sup>92</sup> all fle[sh] will perish[
4. ]my God, you send your hand<sup>93</sup> [

The content of these two fragments – the fact that they draw from verses of Ps 18 that are in close proximity to those quoted in fragment 24 – makes associating them with that fragment a reasonable conclusion, but something that cannot ultimately be verified for sure.<sup>94</sup>

As with fragment 24, these fragments draw upon, reorder, and condense verses from Ps 18. They likewise appear to add freely composed lines in order to allow the new composition to flow smoothly from one scriptural allusion to the next. For example, phrases such as “(no) hope for your enemies” (frg. 28:3), “he will send his angels” (29:2), or “you send your hand” (29:4) are not to be found in Ps 18, but may borrow from parallel traditions.<sup>95</sup>

This text will be analyzed in greater depth in chapter 5, section 5.2.4.

### 4.2.3 1Q28b/1QSb

1Q28b/1QSb, known as the “Rule of the Blessing” and termed “Priestly Blessings for the Last Days” by Wise, *et al*, contains a quotation from Ps 18:43b in column V:27. In a section that pronounces a blessing upon the “Prince of the Congregation” which draws heavily on the messianic language of Isa 11, the *maskil*<sup>96</sup> asks that the leader be blessed with victory over his enemies: “[... May you trample the nati]ons like mud in the streets.”<sup>97</sup>

It is appropriate that Ps 18, with its emphasis on the Lord granting the Davidic king victory over his enemies, should be quoted in this passage. The quote from Ps 18 comes in the middle of a long and dense string of quotations from biblical passages, many of which

<sup>91</sup> See Mat 13:41; 24:31; Mk 13:27; cf. Jud 1:14; Deut 33:2, 26-29; Judg 5:4-5, 19-23; Dan 12:1; Joel 2:1-11; Zech 14:5; Pss 68:18; 78:49; see also Dan 7:10; Ps 91:11.

<sup>92</sup> Ps 18:16.

<sup>93</sup> Schuller suggests that if this line is still following Ps 18, it may be borrowing the verb *לש* from Ps 18:17. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 127.

<sup>94</sup> The editors of DJD XI indicate that there is an unscripted space at the bottom of frg. 24b that may indicate a break between Pss, or, alternatively, it may be the bottom margin. See DJD XI, 110.

<sup>95</sup> For more on the idea of God sending his “hand,” see Ps 144:7.

<sup>96</sup> Shane Berg argues that in 1QS and 1QSb, “the term ‘Maskil’ refers to a formal office, and is not simply a reference to a ‘sage’ or ‘wise’ man...” He notes that the *maskil* “occupies a prominent role in the public ceremonies,” is “an important teacher,” and is “responsible for instructing the members of the [elite] group” in the group’s worldview. He further argues that the office of *maskil* is an important one, and that there is only one occupant of this office at any given time “within the communal hierarchy.” Shane A. Berg, “An Elite Group within the Yaḥad,” in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, eds. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 174-76.

<sup>97</sup> Ps 18:43; 2 Sam 22:43; cf. Mic 7:10; Zech 9:3.

were considered to be part of messianic and eschatological expectations in Jewish and Christian circles, including Isa 11:2, 4-5 and Num 24:17. Robert Rowe notes: “The Damascus Document interprets Numbers 24:17 by reference to two figures: ‘the “star” is the Interpreter of the Law ...’ and ‘the “sceptre” is the Prince of the whole congregation ...’ (CD 7:18-21).”<sup>98</sup> Among other reasons, the fact that texts such as 4Q285 and 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> seem to associate him with the “Branch of David” and with the final battle at the Eschaton (1QSb 5:21), most scholars take the Prince of the Congregation figure to be an eschatological Davidic messiah that the community expected to come to give them military victory over their oppressors.<sup>99</sup> According to this text, the Prince of the Congregation will take part in a renewal of the covenant (see Jer 31:31), establish the kingdom of God’s people (Ps 89:5; cf. 4QPs89), judge in righteousness (Isa 11:4), be lifted to an eternal height (Ps 18:17, 20), destroy the wicked by his breath and the rod of his mouth (Isa 11:4; cf. Ps 2:9), be given strength and the spirit of counsel and might (Isa 11:2; Mic 4:13), trample the nations (Ps 18:43), be established as “the scepter” over the rulers of the nations (Num 24:17), and be made mighty by God’s holy name in order to destroy his enemies.

The blessing in line 23, “May the Lord li[ft] you up to an eternal height (לְרוֹם),” employs language found repeatedly in a number of scrolls. For example, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:19-21, we read:

I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have redeemed my soul from the pit. From Sheol and Abaddon *You have raised me up to an eternal height* (לְרוֹם), so that I might walk about on a limitless plain, and know that there is hope for him whom You created from the dust for the eternal council (emphasis added).

A similar text, 4QH<sup>a</sup> 7ii:8-9, reads:

... (God) lifts up the poor from the dust to [the eternal height] ([לְרוֹם]), and to the clouds he magnifies him in stature, and (he is) with the heavenly beings in the assembly of the community...<sup>100</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 168.

<sup>99</sup> See Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 149; Philip R. Davies, George J. Brooke, and Phillip R. Callaway, *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, N.Y.: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 90; James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 265-67; Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 6; Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation*, 235; Kenneth Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*, Early Judaism and Its Literature (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1995), 201ff; Gerbern S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba*, JSPSup (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 92-93; Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 68-69; Collins and Collins, *King and Messiah*, 63-64; Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 168, 75ff; Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 75.

<sup>100</sup> For the rationale behind the reconstruction לְרוֹם עוֹלָם, see Nitzan, et al., *Qumran Cave 4, XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, DJD XXIX (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 106, 207. The

The use of the term מרום in these texts refers to a high place, apparently the place of the divine council.<sup>101</sup> This imagery was possibly understood by the authors of the relevant Qumran texts to refer to the figure in question being exalted, or lifted up, to the heavens where he could participate in the divine council.<sup>102</sup>

This composition in 1QSb utilizes Ps 18, along with other biblical passages that were interpreted as messianic and eschatological, creates a depiction of the expected Prince of the Congregation, who was apparently expected to be a Davidic messiah or “messiah of Israel.” It was also anticipated that he would be lifted up to heaven after the manner of the royal/messianic figure of the RPss and that the Lord would use him for the redemption of the righteous remnant of Israel in the last days.

#### 4.2.4 1QMilhamah

In 1Q33/1QM XIV:6 (par. 4Q491/4QM<sup>a</sup> 8-10 i-4), we find an allusion to a line from Ps 18:35 (Evv. 18:34): “to teach feeble [hands] warfare.” The context in Ps 18 for the line alluded to is a song of thanksgiving in which the royal speaker praises God for having strengthened him and prepared him to defeat his enemies. This praise is followed by a detailed description of how the speaker overcame his foes with God’s help.

The allusion in 1QM XIV:6 comes during a hymn of praise to God that is to be sung by the army of the Sons of Light in the morning before they again go into battle in the final eschatological war against evil. Having had, with God’s help, significant success the previous day, they thank God for his covenant faithfulness and for how he has strengthened them for this battle. That this scroll would draw on Ps 18 at this point is appropriate, as this hymn of praise and thanksgiving is very similar in content and purpose to Ps 18.

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reconstruction (of this and the parallel text in 4QH<sup>e</sup> 2:8) is based on comparison with parallel phrases in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:21-22 and 1QSb V:23.

<sup>101</sup> See also Prov 25:3; Dan 4:11, 20. A similar term, מרום, is used in numerous texts to refer to heaven, where the divine beings, including God, dwell. In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, this term is used with high frequency, often to refer to the heavens (see, e.g., 4Q403 1i 30-46:33-34). מרום is also used frequently in the biblical texts to refer to the place where God dwells, both the heavens (e.g. Isa 33:5; Pss 92:9; 148:1) and the sanctuary in Jerusalem (e.g. Jer 17:12; Ps 78:69). In the RPss, similar imagery is applied to the royal figure, although the word מרום itself is not often used (see Ps 2:6; 110:1; 18:17, 34).

<sup>102</sup> As discussed below in sections 4.2.8, 4.5.1, 4.5.3, this is the conceptual background behind texts like 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21, 11:19-23, 12:24-25, 14:13-14, 16:4-26, 19:10-14, and others. For more on the topic of ascent to heaven in the Qumran texts, see Davila, “Exploring the Mystical Background”; *idem*, “Heavenly Ascents in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Morton Smith, “Ascent to the Heavens and Deification in 4QM<sup>a</sup>,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990).

#### 4.2.5 *4QNarrative and Poetic Composition<sup>b</sup>*

In 4Q372/4QNarrative and Poetic Composition<sup>b</sup> 2:4,<sup>103</sup> Ps 18:35 is used as a resource again, in the context of what seems to be part of a recounting of a great battle that God helped Israel to win. As in the above example from 1QM, the author gives a rendering of this scriptural phrase, “He trains my hands for warfare,” in the third person instead of in the first person as it is in the MT Psalter.<sup>104</sup>

Although the scroll is highly fragmentary, it appears to retell the victory of the Israelites over the Canaanites when the former first came into the land.<sup>105</sup> The mention of Mount Bashan (line 9) and “all the cities of ...” is reminiscent of the conquest narratives that describe the Israelite victory over King Og and his cities. Indeed, if the text is referring to this episode in Israelite history, we can see connections between this fragment and Fragments 1 and 3 of this scroll. Fragment 1 tells the story of Joseph being delivered into the hands of foreigners, referring not to the individual from Gen 37-45, but to the Northern Tribes. Fragment 2 seems to be providing an introduction and explanation of how, at this early stage, God had given Mount Bashan and its cities into his people’s hand (lines 8-9). According to the biblical history, Manasseh, the firstborn of Joseph, had been given the land of Og in Bashan after it was conquered (see, e.g., Deut 3; Josh 17:1; 22:7; Num 32:33). In Fragment 3, the story of the defeat of the kings of Midian is used to reassure that God has the power to protect Israel from the hand of the nations.

Taken together, these three fragments bear a certain resemblance to Ps 68, and also Pss 18 and 22. Ps 68 tells of the great victories, led by Yahweh, of the Israelite conquest of the land of Canaan. It specifically mentions Mount Bashan and the scattering of the kings.

Although it is difficult to discern whether this scroll refers to a historical or eschatological battle, the fact that it contains a reference to Ps 18:35 in the context of warfare is not unexpected.

#### 4.2.6 *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> Column XI:6-19<sup>106</sup>*

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<sup>103</sup> This text is published in D. Gropp, E. Schuller, and M. Bernstein, *Miscellanea, Part 2*, DJD XXVIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 165-97.

<sup>104</sup> The Qumran text has “the one who trains his hand for warfare” instead of “He trains my hands for warfare.”

<sup>105</sup> See discussion in DJD XXVIII, 180. Wise, *et al*, interpret the passage as referring to David’s victory over Goliath, based primarily on line 13, which contains the phrase: “[h]is head with a stone of in[jury],” perhaps referring to the defeat of Goliath by way of David’s sling. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 332-33.

<sup>106</sup> I am using DJD XL as my base text for numbering and English translations. H. Stegemann with E. Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>: with Incorporation of 1QHodayot<sup>b</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>a,f</sup>*, DJD XL (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009). I note here that Elwolde and Hughes, as discussed in section 1.1.4.3 above, both see an allusion to Ps 18:5 in 1QH 3:28-29. Their analyses are thorough and convincing. I agree with their conclusions and in lieu of restating their arguments here, I refer the reader to the work of the

The scroll known as 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>, or *The Thanksgiving Psalms/Hymns*, contains a myriad of quotations from and allusions to passages from the Hebrew Bible, including the RPss. The first of several uses of Ps 18 can be found in column XI. Ps 18:5-6 (Evv. 18:4-5) is alluded to in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:10-11, in an eschatological poem (XI:6-19) that Julie Hughes entitles “Three Images of Distress.”<sup>107</sup> The three central images that appear in this *hodayah* are mothers in childbirth, a city, and a ship – all of which are described as undergoing suffering or distress. The poem is dense and the imagery complex. Holm-Nielsen declares that this hymn is “based more than any other of the Hodayot on expressions and phrases taken from the O.T.”<sup>108</sup> Although there are many allusions to other scriptural passages, Hughes argues that there is “an overall structural allusion to David’s psalm of thanksgiving for deliverance, found in 2 Sam 22:2-20 (Ps 18:2-20).”<sup>109</sup>

The hymn, as far as it has been preserved, begins with the speaker thanking the Lord for having delivered him from his enemies and having saved his life (XI:6-7a). He describes his persecution as being like a ship in the depths of the sea, a city under attack from enemies, and like a woman giving birth for the first time. The section which alludes to Ps 18:5-6 expounds on the childbirth image and uses an intricate pattern of wordplay with the terms חבל and משבר.<sup>110</sup> Ps 18:5-6 (2 Sam 22:5-6) reads:

The waves of death (משברי מות)<sup>111</sup> encompassed me; the torrents of Belial assailed me; the cords of Sheol (חבלי שאול) entangled me; the snares of death confronted me.

The Qumran text reads as follows:

8b. I was in distress like a woman giving birth to her firstborn, when pangs  
9. and *painful labor* (חבל) have come upon her *womb opening of death* (משבריה מות), causing spasms in the crucible of the pregnant woman. For children come through the *womb opening/waves of death* (משברי מות),

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aforementioned scholars. Elwolde, “Hodayot’s Use of the Psalter (Book 1),” 91; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 220.

<sup>107</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 184. An additional in-depth analysis of this poem, with special attention to the childbirth metaphor, is found in Claudia D. Bergmann, *Childbirth as a Metaphor for Crisis: Evidence from the Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, and 1QH XI, 1-18*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 2008), 164-217. Bergmann sees 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI as utilizing a well-known birth metaphor that is used to describe times of personal and national crisis throughout the Hebrew Bible and ANE literature. In using this metaphor, the *hodayah* draws on, or can be compared to, a large variety of biblical passages, including Isa 42; 66; Job 38:8; Jon 2; Pss 18; 22; 88; and many others.

<sup>108</sup> Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, Acta Theologica Danica (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 61.

<sup>109</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 200.

<sup>110</sup> Harkins notes that this section “is remarkable among all of the hodayot for its many and striking literary devices” and that “[n]o other *hodayah* comes close to this text’s use of wordplays and images.” Angela Kim Harkins, *Reading with an “I” to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 158.

<sup>111</sup> The word “waves” (משברים), which matches the 1QH<sup>a</sup> rendering, is found in the 2 Sam 22 version. Ps 18 has “bonds/cords” (חבליים).

10. and she who is pregnant with a manchild is convulsed by her *labor pains* (הבליה). For through the *womb opening/waves of death* (משברי מות) she delivers a male, through the *pains/cords of Sheol* (הבלי שאול) there bursts forth

11. from the crucible of the pregnant woman a wonderful counselor (פלא יועץ) with his power, and the manchild is delivered from the *waves* (משברים) ... (1QH-a XI:8b-11; emphasis added for comparison).

In the biblical psalm, the royal figure's suffering is depicted as the experience of drowning in the depths of the sea, with the waves and torrents washing over him; he is caught and drawn down by the cords of Sheol and the snares of Death. His demise in the deadly waters seems imminent until he calls upon Yahweh for help.

In a surprising twist on the original text and recontextualization of the words *הבל* and *משבר*, the author of the *hodayah* reverses direction so that instead of the suffering one passing down through the deathly waters towards Sheol, the suffering mother feels the pains of Sheol and the "waves of death" as her manchild comes out through the waters of childbirth. The author most likely borrows the idea of the time of distress being compared to the pains of childbirth from Isa 37:3, which seems to be the source of the author's words in line 7b.<sup>112</sup> The image of the ship being swallowed up in the sea is merged with the image of the mother giving birth. The suffering involved in drowning and being pulled down to Sheol is parallel to the suffering the mother in labor feels; but in this poem, the mother's suffering brings about a positive outcome: the birth of a male child (זכר), her firstborn (בכריה), a "wonderful counselor" (פלא יועץ).

Holm-Nielsen argues that the author's combination of Isa 37:3 and Ps 18:5 (2 Sam 22:5) was meant to emphasize the idea that the moment of death and the agony of birth were essentially identical, an idea known in Gnostic circles, that "man's birth is like an entry into death."<sup>113</sup> By alluding to these two scriptural passages together, the author seems to suggest that the suffering that the speaker is experiencing will result in, or give way to, the birth of something positive, presumably the man called the wonderful counselor. The term "wonderful counselor" is an allusion to Isa 9:6 in which the promised heir of the Davidic line receives this title (פלא יועץ).

In line 9, the poem also cites Isa 66:7: "before her pain came upon her she delivered a son." The context of this passage is God's restoration of the Israelite nation with Jerusalem being compared to a mother giving birth to numerous children. Although the context of Isa 66:7 depicts a painless childbirth – the Israelite nation will be miraculously reborn after the pain of the Exile has passed – the poem in 1QH<sup>a</sup> seems to imagine further pain for the mother,

<sup>112</sup> See arguments in Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 54-55; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 202-03. Cf. Jer 13:21. Bergmann, *Childbirth as a Metaphor*, 179-80.

<sup>113</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 54.

perhaps a symbol for the community, that lasts until the birth of the child finally relieves the suffering.

Another scriptural phrase, the last two words of Micah 2:10, הבל נמרץ, which can be translated as something like “utter destruction” or, alternatively, “shooting pain,” appears in lines 8, 11, and 12 of our hymn. Micah 2:10 is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where these two words appear together, which suggests that the author of the *hodayah* is purposefully alluding to the context of Micah. In Micah 2-4, the innocent people of Israel, including women and children, suffer at the hands of corrupt leaders and false prophets. The Lord himself then leads these purveyors of wickedness out of the city, and destroys them. In chapter 4, what follows is the establishment of the righteous reign of Yahweh in Zion, the restoration of the temple, and an era of peace for the righteous inhabitants of Jerusalem who have been gathered back to the city. Similar to the poem in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, Mic 4-5 then summarizes the story of the Lord’s deliverance of Israel again, focusing on the imagery of the woman in labor and the walled city. Micah 4:9-10 reads:

<sup>9</sup> Now why do you cry aloud? Is there **no king** in you? Has your **counselor** perished, that **pangs have seized you like a woman in labor**? <sup>10</sup> Writhe and groan, O daughter Zion, like a **woman in labor**; for now you shall go forth from the city and camp in the open country; you shall go to Babylon. There you shall be rescued, there the LORD will redeem you from the hands of your enemies (emphasis added).

From this passage we see that the “labor pains” are induced by the fact that Jerusalem has no king, no counselor. She is not being led by righteous leaders. As a result, she necessarily must suffer, which suffering will include being exiled in Babylon, from which she will be saved by the Lord. The author of this *hodayah* picks up on this imagery and contemporizes it – he looks forward to the day when the Lord will relieve him, or again, perhaps his community, from suffering, which deliverance he depicts as the birth of the “counselor” that the Lord says is missing from Zion in Mic 4:9.<sup>114</sup> Continuing in Micah 5, the prophet uses the walled-city-under-siege imagery<sup>115</sup> adopted in the *hodayah* and declares that although “Israel’s ruler” has been “struck on the cheek with a rod,” a king of David’s line will yet come forth to rule over Israel. The prophet then returns to the imagery of the mother giving birth:

Therefore he shall give them up until the time *when she who is in labor has brought forth*; then the rest of his kindred shall return to the people of Israel. And he shall stand and feed his flock *in the strength of the LORD*, in the majesty of the name of

<sup>114</sup> Regarding the hope raised in this period for a new king or new David, see section 1.1.3.4 of the introduction to this thesis. See, e.g., Broyles, “The Redeeming King,” 24; Childs, *Introduction*, 517; Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 60-61.

<sup>115</sup> The walled city imagery may also be drawing on Ps 31:22.

the LORD his God. And they shall live secure, for now he shall be great to the ends of the earth; and he shall be the one of peace (Micah 5:3-5, emphasis added).

Although it is not clear in the Micah passage if the woman in labor gives birth to the new Davidic king<sup>116</sup> or to the restored people of Israel,<sup>117</sup> the author of this poem seems to anticipate the royal birth depicted in Isa 9:6 when he states that the woman will give birth to a male child, the wonderful counselor. Line 8 of the poem does refer to children, plural, being born, but this seems to be a general reference comparing the pains of labor to the “crashing waves of death.”

The principal question that arises in the scholarly debates over these lines in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI is that of the identity of the “wonderful counselor” who is apparently the male child being born. Does this figure represent a royal/messianic figure, or did the author have his whole community or people in mind? The fact that the title is borrowed from Isa 9:6 seems to suggest that a single messianic figure, the heir to the Davidic throne, is in view.<sup>118</sup> Some have argued, however, that a Jewish reading of Isa 9:6 during this period would have seen the “wonderful counselor” as God and not the messiah.<sup>119</sup> Another theory is that the child that emerges is the community’s own “Teacher of Righteousness.”<sup>120</sup> In the contexts of Isaiah 37:3 and 66:7, the child-birth motif refers to the restoration of Jerusalem and the people of

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<sup>116</sup> See Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 173. Also Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (New York: Scribner, 1961), 149-50. Black notes the parallel between this passage and 1QSa 2:11-12, which arguably tells of God “begetting” the Messiah.

<sup>117</sup> See Becker, *Messianic Expectation*, 73. See also the discussion on the collective reinterpretation of the RPss in section 1.1.3.1 of this thesis. Marttila asserts: “Depending on the reader’s background, ‘the anointed’ may have meant either a messianic figure or the people of Israel.” Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 64.

<sup>118</sup> For scholars who argue for a messianic interpretation of the “wonderful counselor” figure, see, e.g. A. Dupont-Summer, “La mère du Messie et la mère de l’Aspic dans un hymne de Qoumrân,” *RHR* 147 (1955), 174-188; J. V. Chamberlain, “Further Elucidation of a Messianic Thanksgiving Psalm from Qumran,” *JNES* 14 (1955), 181-182; W. H. Brownlee, “Messianic Motifs of Qumran,” *NTS* 3 (1956-57), 12-30, 195-210; Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation*, 263-64; Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 173. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 149-50; Günter Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumran; Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodajoth*, Theologische Arbeiten (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961); M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumrân (Hodayot): Texte hébreu, introduction, traduction, commentaire*, Autour de la Bible (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962); Craig A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 99-100; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 421-26; Bergmann, *Childbirth as a Metaphor*, 215.

<sup>119</sup> See Christopher G. Frechette, “Chiasm, Reversal and Biblical Reference in 1QH 11:3-18 (= Sukenik Column 3): A Structural Proposal,” *JSP* 21 (2000):71-102. Also, Chamberlain, “Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm,” *JNES* 14 (1955), 32-41; *idem*, “Further Elucidation,” 181. Chamberlain argued in favor of translating line 10 as “a Wonderful Counsellor in his might delivers a man from the birth canal of his pregnant one,” however, in a later study he revised his view to see the newborn child as a messianic figure. See summary of arguments on this topic in Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 56-57; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 202ff.; Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation*, 264. Chester argues that some Jews did understand Isa 9:5 messianically, citing the LXX of this verse as an example.

<sup>120</sup> See arguments in Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 61-62.

Israel, providing for a possible collective identity for the “son” that is born.<sup>121</sup> Micah 2 concerns Jerusalem and its inhabitants, but chapter 4 laments the loss of the city’s king and counselor (4:9) using the child-birth imagery, and chapter 5 suggests that the woman would give birth to the new Davidic king and that he would usher in the return of the “survivors” of Israel (5:1-3). As Julie Hughes reminds us, in allusion “a sufficiently clear marker to the alluded text is all that is required to bring to mind the whole passage and its context.”<sup>122</sup>

Hughes argues for seeing the newborn child as both individual and collective. She notes that the mention of the “wonderful counselor” is parallel to the usage of “male child” (“boy,” and “son”) in the adjacent lines, which suggests an equivalence of the wonderful counselor figure with the male child who is born. She argues that the allusions to Isa 9:6 and 66:7 together “look forward to the restoration of Jerusalem, its king and its people” after the period of pain and distress. The speaker’s suffering and hope for deliverance is compared to the distress and eschatological hopes for the salvation of Jerusalem and the associated messianic expectations.<sup>123</sup>

There is not necessarily a dichotomy in this text between the birth of an individual on the one hand and the birth of the collective on the other. There are many examples in the Hebrew Bible where the language generally reserved for the individual (e.g. the royal figure) is applied to the collective. In the latter chapters of Isaiah, for example, references to God’s “servant,” so often applied to the king in the historical narratives and the RPss, are used to refer to Israel or Jacob collectively (e.g. Isa 41:8). However, among these passages, the identity of the servant becomes ambiguous and in some cases it is clear that the servant being referred to is not the people of Israel. For example, in Isa 49:5, the servant is an individual who is chosen to help gather Israel. In Ps 89:28 (Evv. 89:27), the Lord promises David that he will be “the firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth:” however, in Exod 4:22 and Deut 28:1, these same blessings are promised to the house of Israel (cf. Jer 31:9). Just as the king is designated the son of God (Ps 2:7; 2 Sam 7:14), so also is Israel (Deut 14:1; Exod 4:22). Similarly, 2 Samuel 7 (cf. Ps 89:4; Evv. 89:3) relates that God made a covenant with David, and in Isa 55:3, that covenant is extended to all the people of Israel. Levinson saw this parallelism between the promises to the royal figure and those to the people as the result of “the nationalization of the royal ideology.”<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> O. Betz argues that the “wonderful counselor” should be seen as collective and that the poem describes the Teacher of Righteousness giving birth to the community. Betz, “Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer,” *NTS* 5 (1958/59), 67-75. See also Becker, *Messianic Expectation*, 73.

<sup>122</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 202.

<sup>123</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 203-04. See also Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation*, 264. For more on the possible eschatological nature of this poem, see Bergmann, *Childbirth as a Metaphor*, 214-15.

<sup>124</sup> Bernard M. Levinson, “The Reconceptualization of Kingship in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History’s Transformation of Torah,” *VT* 51, no. 4 (2001): 531. See also Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 64, as discussed in section 1.1.3.1 in the introduction to this thesis.

#### 4.2.7 Column XI:20-37

Ps 18:5 is also alluded to in the next poem on the 1QH<sup>a</sup> scroll (XI:20-37) on lines 29 and 30, and then again on line 33.<sup>125</sup> This composition is the second of Hughes' "Two Eschatological Poems," this one entitled by her: "From the Depths to the Heights."

The lines of column XI that are of interest here read as follows<sup>126</sup>:

28. when all the arrows of the pit fly without cease and are shot, leaving no hope;  
when the line is cast for judgment, and the lot of anger
29. is upon the forsaken, and the outpouring of fury upon the hypocrites, and the time  
of wrath (comes upon) all devilishness, and *the cords* (חבל) *of death encompass*,  
leaving no escape –
30. then *the torrents of Belial* pour over all the steep banks in a devouring fire on all  
their vegetation, destroying every tree, green
31. and dry, from their channels. And it sweeps on with flaming fire until there is  
nothing left that drinks from them. It eats away at the foundations of clay
32. and at the expanse of the dry land; the bases of the mountains become an inferno,  
and the flinty roots become torrents of pitch. It consumes as far as the great deep.
33. And *the torrents of Belial* break through to Abaddon, and the structures of the  
deep roar at the noise of those who cast up mire (emphasis added).

The allusions to Ps 18 are the phrases "the cords of death encompass" (compare with Ps 18:5) in line 29, "the torrents of Belial" (Ps 18:5) in line 30, and another occurrence of this phrase in line 33. These are the same phrases that were drawn on in the previously discussed poem, but here they are used in a different context. Whereas in the first composition they were associated with the suffering of the speaker, in this poem these phrases are used as part of the imagery of the eschatological destruction of the wicked.

This section describes in dramatic detail the destruction that will result from the outpouring of God's wrath in conjunction with the judgment and final battle. This fiery destruction appears to build on the imagery from Ps 18:9 of the "devouring fire" that comes from God's mouth to destroy his enemies. In the *hodayah*, this devouring fire takes the form of a terrible river of flames referred to as the "torrents of Belial"; however, this burning river seems to be the instrument of God's wrath. The description of the fiery river bears a strong resemblance to the river that flows forth from under the temple in Ezek 47:

<sup>125</sup> See also parallel texts 4QH-b/4Q428 5:3; 4Q432/4QpapH-f 6:4.

<sup>126</sup> This translation is based on the translation in DJD XL, 155-56.

- line 28 – measuring line – Ezek 47:3
- line 30 – torrents – Ezek 47:5, 9, 12
- line 30 – banks – Ezek 47:6, 7, 12
- lines 30-31 – trees – Ezek 47:7, 12
- line 31 – “all that drink” = living creatures, fish, etc. – Ezek 47:9-12
- line 32 – “down to the great deep” = the sea (47:8)<sup>127</sup>

The author of the poem takes the imagery of the river that flows from God’s temple in Ezek 47, but instead of describing the river giving life and healing, the author converts it into a river that brings death and destruction to all in its path. The author seems to be working with the common notion that, especially at the time of judgment, God’s presence in the world can be at the same time both a blessing to the righteous and disastrous to the wicked. The language in these lines from the poem are opposite to the language of blessing found in Ezek 47 and describe the destructive nature of the river. These words are drawn from biblical passages that portray the fiery wrath of God when he comes in judgment, including Ps 18:8-17, Exod 24:17, Isa 30:27 and 34:9, Ezek 20:47, Deut 32:22, and Amos 7:4. The fiery river motif became common in apocalyptic accounts, including Dan 7:10, where a river of fire flows out from before the throne of God, and *1 Enoch* 17:5, where Enoch is shown the river of fire that flows like water into the great sea.<sup>128</sup> In Isaiah 30:33, the breath of God is as a “torrent of brimstone,” issuing out of His mouth.

These other scriptural passages contribute to the imagery constructed by the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:20-37. However, the principal source seems to be the description in Ps 18 of the theophany of Yahweh when he comes to save his king from the great deep and bring judgment upon the enemies: the devouring fire from his mouth (18:9), the channels of water appearing and the foundations of the world being laid bare (18:16), and the blast of the breath of God’s nostrils (18:16). At the end of the *hodayah*, in lines 35-37, we are reminded that all of this destruction is part of God’s judgment of the wicked, part of his “thunder[ing] with the roar of his strength” from his holy abode (line 35), as depicted in Ps 18. In the poem, the speaker has become part of the heavenly army that issues forth to consummate the divine judgment, which parallels the idea in Ps 18 that the psalmist, the royal figure, is drawn up out of the waters to become God’s agent in the battle against the wicked (18:35-50).

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<sup>127</sup> Although the “great deep” (*tehom*) is not exactly synonymous with the sea (*yam*; here likely referring to the Dead Sea), the two bodies of water are being used in a parallel fashion in both compositions.

<sup>128</sup> Nickelsburg associates the river of fire in *1 Enoch* with the river in our poem and equates it with Pyriphlegethon, the fiery river of the Underworld in Greek Mythology. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 2 vols., Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 283-84.

#### 4.2.8 *Psalm 18 as the Basis for Both Poems*

Julie Hughes, in her analysis of these two eschatological poems from 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI, makes an important observation regarding the recurring use of Ps 18 in the scrolls as a sort of “‘template’ for the composition of new prayers and poems.”<sup>129</sup> She mentions, as an example, the use of Ps 18 in 4Q381 and cites Eileen Schuller, who posits that 4Q381 “draws extensively upon a single biblical psalm,” seeing it as a reworking of Ps 18.<sup>130</sup> In addition, Hughes comments that she believes it to be “more than coincidence” that the two poems of 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI are placed together on the scroll, considering them both eschatological and both based upon a “structural allusion” to Ps 18/2 Sam 22.<sup>131</sup>

Although the two poems are very different from each other in terms of style, structure, and focus, it is not difficult to see how they both depend on Ps 18. Beyond the few direct quotations/allusions to phrases from the biblical psalm, the overall thrust of each *hodayah* follows the narrative of sections of the psalm.

In the first poem (XI:6-19), the speaker thanks the Lord for his deliverance, which is parallel to the initial verses of Ps 18. The speaker then recounts his distress, including water imagery, and directly alludes to verses 5-6 of the psalm, where the psalmist describes his suffering in the waters. The poem goes on to allude to numerous other biblical passages to describe the woman suffering in child-birth and related images. The birth of the man motif is fundamentally based on, or related to, the sequence in Ps 18:17-18 where Yahweh reaches down and pulls the king out of the “mighty waters” of Sheol, delivering him from his enemies.

These passages can be compared with the parallel imagery found in 4 Ezra 13, where the messianic figure arises from the sea. Dan Merkur suggests that this man should be seen as having been *reborn*, rising out of the sea as the prophet Jonah came forth from the belly of the fish. Merkur sees the man as having undergone a transformative experience, a “death-and-revival” much like Ezra himself underwent in the fourth vision of 4 Ezra.<sup>132</sup> To understand the *hodayah* version of this motif, it is essential to recognize that the image of the birth of the male child represents a rebirth of the Davidic line and/or a rebirth of the people of Israel. The version of the motif found in Isa 9:6 can also be interpreted in this way – that although the

<sup>129</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 230.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 229-30. Schuller quote is from Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 121.

<sup>131</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 229.

<sup>132</sup> Dan Merkur, "Cultivating Visions through Exegetical Meditations," in *With Letters of Light: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Jewish Apocalypticism, Magic and Mysticism in Honor of Rachel Elijor*, eds. Andrei A. Orlov and Daphna Arbel, Ekstasis, Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 81-82. See also the idea that in the proposed New Year Festival, a dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the deity may have been performed, as discussed in section 1.1.2.12 of the introduction to this thesis.

imagery of the birth of an actual child is clear, the prophet also seems to have had in mind the rebirth of the Davidic line and a hope for the return to the golden age of the monarchy.

Returning to the comparison of the poems with Ps 18, we find that the imagery mentioned above of the speaker of the second poem being lifted out of Sheol also draws on Ps 18:17. The relevant lines from 1QH<sup>a</sup> read:

20. I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have redeemed my soul from the pit. From Sheol and Abaddon

21. You have raised me up to an eternal height, so that I walk about on a limitless plain, and I know that there is hope for him whom

22. You created from the dust for the eternal council.

The parallel section from Ps 18:17 says: “He sent from on high, He took me; He drew me out of many waters.”<sup>133</sup> The poem expands this imagery, describing the speaker as having been raised from Sheol and Abaddon (the place of the dead) to “an eternal height.” As discussed in section 4.2.3, the “eternal height” is likely a reference to heaven or to the temple, from whence God came to save the sufferer.<sup>134</sup> Later in Ps 18, verse 34, the psalmist says that Yahweh “set me secure on the heights.”<sup>135</sup> Ps 18:37 states: “You gave me a wide place for my steps under me, and my feet did not slip,” which is similar to the poem’s “that I might walk about on a limitless plain.”<sup>136</sup> This act of raising from a place of (or state of) death to the heavenly heights is a recurring theme in the *Hodayot*.<sup>137</sup> Another clear example, as noted by Hughes, can be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX:13-17:

For Your glory’s sake You have cleansed a man from sin, so that he may sanctify himself for You from all filthy abominations and the guilt of unfaithfulness, so as to be joined with the children of Your truth; in the lot with Your holy ones; so that bodies, covered with worms of the dead, might be raised up from the dust to an et[ernal] council: from a perverse spirit to the understanding which comes from You; so that he might take his place before You with the eternal host and spirits [of truth], to be renewed with all that i[s] and shall be and to rejoice together with those who know in a common rejoicing.

Hughes comments that despite their differences, the two poems of 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI both use Ps 18 as inspiration for their compositions, which indicates how important this psalm was to the author(s) and their community. She states, regarding the two juxtaposed poems:

<sup>133</sup> See also Pss 144:7; 32:6; 77:20.

<sup>134</sup> See Ps 18:7, which indicates that God descended from his temple; also Pss 7:7; 148:1.

<sup>135</sup> See also Pss 27:5; 40:3; 41:13; 16:9-10.

<sup>136</sup> See also Pss 31:9; 118:5.

<sup>137</sup> See discussion in Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 226.

What they show is the importance of Ps 18:2-19 (= 2 Sam 22:1-20) in the community which produced this poetry. They also indicate that the biblical psalm was interpreted by them in an eschatological context.<sup>138</sup>

#### 4.2.9 Column XIII:41

As in the poems discussed above, the poem in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII:22 – XV:8 cites Ps 18:5 in its description of the speaker's suffering. The sufferer cries out that "[the torrents] of Belial encompassed my soul" (XIII:41). Ps 18:5 (Evv. 18:4) reads:

The cords of death encompassed me, and the torrents of Belial assailed me.

The passage in column XIII:38-41 paraphrases the biblical passage while expanding on the imagery of his imprisonment within "the deep (תהום)."

For I was bound with *cords* which could not be pulled loose, and with chains which could not be broken. A strong wall was [around me], and iron bars and [bronze] gate[s which could not][be opened.] My prison could be regarded as the deep without [...] [and *the torrents of*] *Belial encompassed* my soul without [es]ca[pe ]

The author of this text uses the biblical psalm to springboard into a more intense description of the manner of his imprisonment in what seems to be a description of Sheol with its walls, bars and gates (see, e.g. Job 17:16; 38:17; Isa 38:10; Prov 7:27). As discussed for the previous Hodayot compositions, here again is the idea that the speaker is suffering in Sheol, or in a state of death. As this hymn continues into column XIV, the text reveals the speaker expecting redemption from this state, being brought by God "into the council of holiness" (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV:8). This passage, although it borrows from other sources, likewise takes its imagery from Ps 18.

#### 4.2.10 Column XVII:5-36

1QH<sup>a</sup> XVII:28-29 paraphrases Ps 18:3 (Evv. 18:2) and Ps 18:5-6 (Evv. 18:4-5) is alluded to earlier on in the same column, on line 4. There is significant correlation between Ps 18:5-6:

The cords/waves<sup>139</sup> of death encompassed me; the torrents of Belial assailed me; the cords of Sheol entangled me; the snares of death confronted me.

and column XVII:4 which reads:

[...] the *waves of death*, and *Sheol* is upon my couch.

The text is damaged in the line preceding line 4, so it is difficult to determine the context in which this imagery is being used, although the subsequent lines continue to describe the suffering of the speaker. The first half of the line draws on the first clause in Ps 18:5 (2 Sam

<sup>138</sup> Hughes, *Scripture Allusions*, 229.

<sup>139</sup> As mentioned previously, the version of this psalm found in 2 Sam 22 has "waves" instead of "cords" in the initial phrase of verse 5.

22:5), while the second half utilizes imagery relating to Sheol not found in Ps 18. At this point the author, similar to what is found for column XIII, creates an expanded description of the suffering described in Ps 18:5-6 which includes more “Sheol” language than is found in the original description. Although there is not an exact parallel in the biblical texts, the author may be drawing on imagery like that found in Ps 139:8 (cf. Isa 14:11; Job 17:13). The only combined reference to “waves of death” and “Sheol” in the Hebrew Bible are in Ps 18/2 Sam 22.

Later, in lines 28b-29a, there is a rendering of Ps 18:3/2 Sam 22:3. The MT version reads:

The LORD is my rock, my fortress, and my deliverer, my God, my rock in whom I take refuge, my shield, and the horn of my salvation, my stronghold and my place of refuge.<sup>140</sup>

Column XVII:28-29 has:

[You are] *my place of refuge, my stronghold, the rock of my strength and my fortress. In You I take refuge...*

This text, paraphrasing Ps 18:3, uses five of the same terms: place of refuge (מנוס), stronghold (משגב), fortress (מצודה), take refuge (חסה), and rock (סלע), although the *hodayah* has the construct “the rock of my strength,”<sup>141</sup> whereas Ps 18:3 has “my rock.” The Qumran text does not, in these lines, include the following five terms: deliverer (מפלט), God (אל), rock (צור), shield (מגן), and horn of my salvation (קרן־ישעי). “My God” appears in line 23 of the text, as part of a longer monologue addressed to the Deity. “Deliverance” is mentioned later in line 29. Although the biblical psalm is written, except for the first verse, with references to Yahweh in the third person, this poem is written more in the manner of a prayer to God, addressing the Deity in the second person. This alternative orientation could plausibly serve to make the hymn more effective for liturgical purposes. Although the text of the *hodayah* chooses to transpose several of the elements found in Ps 18:3/2 Sam 22:3 and does not include others, the quantity of corresponding terms found in a similar configuration indicates that the author was following the text of the biblical Ps 18 or a similar version of the psalm.<sup>142</sup>

Column XVI:5 properly begins the *hodayah* and the text continues to XVII:36. The section of the hymn in which the use of Ps 18:5-6 is found begins in XVI:28 and records a lamentation of the speaker/teacher<sup>143</sup> – he is afflicted, forsaken, and near to death. There are

<sup>140</sup> The last expression, “my place of refuge” (מנוסי), appears in the 2 Sam 22 version and not in Ps 18:3.

<sup>141</sup> This may be borrowed from an unknown version of Ps 18. Compare with the parallel of “strong” and “rock” in LXX of 2 Sam 22:32a (τίς ισχυρὸς πλὴν κυρίου) and MT of Ps 18:32b/2 Sam 22:32b (מי צור מבלעדי אלהינו). Alternatively, the construct may be borrowed from Ps 62:8 (Evv. 62:7).

<sup>142</sup> Many of the Qumran texts that use Ps 18 show a preference for the version found in 2 Sam 22.

<sup>143</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 159ff.

many parallels here to the lamentations common in the Pss,<sup>144</sup> including the RPss. The speaker is described in light of Isa 50:4 and 53:3 as a teacher who suffers because he has preached God's word.

Line 6 of column XVII begins a song of confidence in God, describing the vindication of the speaker using legal imagery and that of God as a nurturing parent. In his suffering, the speaker recalls God's mercy and compassion; he defends himself from false accusations; he is comforted and strengthened by God; the Lord pleads his cause; his weakness becomes strength, his punishment becomes reward, and his abasement becomes exaltation ("a crown of glory"). In column XVII:26-27, the speaker, describing his deliverance, declares that by God's glory "was revealed my light; For light from darkness you have caused to shine for [me]." This imagery clearly borrows from Isa 60:1-2, and, as Hughes points out, this is theophanic language, drawing on scriptural passages such as Pss 80:1 and 94:1, in which God is called upon to shine forth in order to vindicate the psalmist.<sup>145</sup> It is at this point that the paraphrase of Ps 18:3, where God is praised as the speaker's refuge, stronghold, fortress, and so on, can be identified. The speaker has been lifted from the pits of Sheol into the embrace of his heavenly Father.

With quotes from and allusions to Pss 18, 22, and others, and to Isaiah's Servant Songs (Isa 50:4; 53:3) and other similarly themed scriptural passages as explained above, the author of this "Thanksgiving Psalm" (1QHa XVI:5 – XVII:36) seeks to place himself or the speaker<sup>146</sup> in the role of the "suffering servant" of Isaiah and the royal servant figure of the RPss. This conclusion has been previously suggested by scholars such as Michael Wise and John J. Collins.<sup>147</sup> The servant is brought low and caused to suffer by his enemies but is subsequently delivered and exalted by God. This *hodayah* (as do many others) places the speaker in the position of the royal figure of Ps 18, so that the speaker, who is suffering in much the same way, is delivered by God and strengthened/exalted like the royal figure. Some of the specific parallels between the Hodayot's speaker/teacher figure and the "suffering servant" figure of Isaiah, including those outlined by Wise and affirmed by Collins, are as follows:

Column XVI:5-9 – speaker (+ community) as a shoot in a dry land	Isa 53:2 – servant grows up like a shoot whose roots are in dry ground (cf. Isa. 11:1)
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<sup>144</sup> See, e.g., Pss 42, 77 and 88.

<sup>145</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 165-66.

<sup>146</sup> Collins suggests that the speaker should be identified with the Teacher of Righteousness. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 146.

<sup>147</sup> Michael O. Wise, *The First Messiah: Investigating the Savior before Jesus*, 1st ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 290. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 146.

XVI:11-12 – that/he which causes the shoot to grow is hidden, without esteem (בלוא נחשב) (cf. XII:9, 24)	Isa 53:3 – servant/shoot is not esteemed (ולא חשבנהו), people hide their faces from him
XVI:28-29 – he is like a man who suffers sickness (חוליים), afflictions (נגיעים), and is forsaken (נעזב)	Isa 53:3-4 – he is acquainted with sickness (חלי), afflicted (נגוע), and forsaken (חדל)
XII:28 – “through me you have illumined the faces of many”	Isa 53:11 – “my servant will justify many”
XII:24 – “as long as you show your strength through me and appear to me in your strength as early light”	Isa 53:11 – “after his suffering he will see light <sup>148</sup> and be satisfied”
XV:9-10 – “you have upheld me by your strength and ... spread your holy spirit upon me ...”	Isa 42:1 – “Here is my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen one ... I have put my spirit on him” (cf. Isa. 61:1)
XXIII:11-16 – “you open [a foun]tain in the mouth of your servant ... in order to [rai]se up the herald of good news ... to the poor (עניים)”	Isa 61:1 – “the Lord has anointed me; he has sent me to announce good news to the poor (עניים) ...”

Collins observes:

Like the Servant, the Teacher claims to be endowed with the spirit, and to have “a disciple’s tongue” (or be a teacher), but is rejected and not esteemed, and afflicted with sickness. Nonetheless, his career benefits “the many.” Since the same words are used in some of these cases, at least, it is reasonable to conclude that the Teacher drew on Isaiah’s depiction of the Servant to describe his own situation.<sup>149</sup>

Recognition of this pattern of imitation is helpful for understanding what scriptural traditions the author is working with and in what light he saw his mission and purpose.

#### 4.2.11 *XHev/Se 6 / XHev/SeEschatological Hymn*<sup>150</sup>

Ps 18:3 (Evv. 18:2) is drawn on, or alluded to, in XHev/Se 6/XHev/SeEschatological Hymn 1:3-4. Moshe Morgenstern, in DJD 38, has labeled this composition as an

<sup>148</sup> According to the Great Isaiah Scroll and LXX. The MT omits the word “light” (אור).

<sup>149</sup> Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 147.

<sup>150</sup> Although this text is not from the “Qumran library,” I have included an analysis of it here in order to maintain conformity with the list of texts given in section 2.3 of this thesis, which utilizes the examples given in Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*.

eschatological hymn, and indicated that it could also be called “Petition for Reconstruction of the Temple.”<sup>151</sup> Although the text is fragmentary and without clear parallels, it appears to be a hymn of praise to God for the generous deeds he has done in the past for Israel and a petition for Him to help his people now to rebuild the Temple.<sup>152</sup> The composition draws on a number of biblical passages, including Pss. Morgenstern outlines the principal elements of the hymn as follows:

1. Opening formula – 1 Chr 29:13 (David’s blessing).
2. Divine attributes – 2 Sam 22:2 [Ps 18].
3. Unique relationship of Israel to God – Deut 33:29.
4. The founding of the covenant with the forefathers – Lev 26:46.
5. The keeping of a remnant – Lev 26:22.
6. The selection of Aaron – Ps 105:26.
7. The rebuilding of Jerusalem (the Temple?) – Ps 51:20.
8. The promise of kingship?
9. The teaching of the Torah at Sinai.
10. The rebuilding of the Temple.<sup>153</sup>

Lines 3-4 of fragment 1 are very broken but have been reconstructed to say:

3. [ ] o[ur] stronghold [ (מסגבינין)]<sup>154</sup>
4. [ ] we shall seek refuge in [you (נחסה בך)]

Ps 18:3 reads:

The LORD is my rock, my fortress, and my deliverer, my God, my rock in whom I *take refuge* (אחסה-בּו), my shield, and the horn of my salvation, my *stronghold* (משגבי).

If the reconstruction is correct, lines 3-4 of Fragment 1 draw on expressions used in Ps 18:3, but clearly offer a free rendering of the text, moving from the first-person singular speaker of the biblical psalm to a first-person plural and from referring to the Lord in the third person to addressing him directly in the second person.<sup>155</sup> The alterations to this song attributed to David may signify an attempt on the part of the author of this composition to

<sup>151</sup> James H. Charlesworth, James C. VanderKam, and Monica Brady, *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, DJD XXXVIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 193, n. 1.

<sup>152</sup> It cannot be certain to what the exhortation to rebuild the Temple refers, as the provenance of this composition is uncertain. We do not know if it was written while the Second Temple was still standing and was thus condemning the current temple and calling for a new one to be built, or if it was calling for the destroyed temple to be rebuilt. Also we do not know if this text represents the perspective of the Qumran community or if it was used by other Jewish groups, as we cannot be certain whence the document originated. See discussion in DJD XXXVIII, 193-95.

<sup>153</sup> Charlesworth, VanderKam, and Brady, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 194.

<sup>154</sup> = משגבינו. See DJD XXXVIII, 197. “The spelling of [מסגבינין] with a *samek* is not surprising in Qumran orthography.”

<sup>155</sup> It should be noted that the second-person form in line 4 is reconstructed on the basis of the second-person form in line 2.

identify himself and his congregation, apparently called the אהרנים, with the faithful inheritors of the Davidic covenant. This method is perceptible in a number of Qumran compositions.<sup>156</sup> In doing so, he compares God's covenant faithfulness to the "first generations" (הרישונים) with his salvific deeds on behalf of the "latter generations" (האהרנים) (lines 6-9).

The text of XHev/Se 6 takes passages from the biblical text and combines them, as demonstrated by Morgenstern's outline, into an eschatological scenario. This scenario begins by quoting from David's final speech, as recorded in 1 Chr 29, and then drawing on 2 Sam 22/Ps 18, the song that precedes David's "last words" in 2 Sam 23. In 1 Chronicles 29, David sings a song of praise to Yahweh that is, although much abbreviated not dissimilar to 2 Sam 22/Ps 18. Morgenstern observes that 2 Sam 22:3 (= Ps 18:3) is "regarded as being among the last words of David, culminating in the promise of eternal kingship to the house of David."<sup>157</sup>

Line 7 of Fragment 1 ("our triumphant sword") seems to allude to Deut 33:29 which comprises part of Moses' "final words." Second Temple Jews likely understood these words as referring to the end of days. There are a number of similarities between the beginning of Deut 33 and 2 Sam 22/Ps 18. As Morgenstern notes, *Sifre Deuteronomy* 356 on Deut 33:29 says that it is related to 2 Sam 22:3/Ps 18:3, in that the phrase "The God who is my rock, in Him I take refuge, my shield" from 2 Sam/Ps 18 is taken to be parallel to "the shield of thy help, the sword of thy triumph" in Deut 33.<sup>158</sup> Morgenstern comments: "The image of God's sword, which is to be let loose at the end of days, is common in apocalyptic literature."<sup>159</sup>

In Fragment 2,<sup>160</sup> the author proceeds to discuss God's relationship with Abraham (Abrahamic covenant) and the preservation of a remnant of Abraham's seed, drawing on Lev 26:42-46. Regarding this section of the text, Morgenstern comments: "The covenant with Abraham plays the central role in connecting the רישונים with the אהרנים."<sup>161</sup> Then there is mention of the selection of Aaron, concerning which he paraphrases Ps 105:26 (lines 3, 8). The allusion to the priesthood leads in to a discussion of the Temple in fragment 3, and we should probably understand an expectation of the rebuilding of the temple and a restoration of the temple service (lines 2, 8-9), the effectuation of which will bring "peace upon the land" (lines 2-5). Line 6 has a possible reference to a "King of the World"<sup>162</sup> and then what seems

<sup>156</sup> See, for example, 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:6-19 (as discussed in section 4.2.6), XII:24 (as discussed in section 4.5.1), 4QPs89 (as discussed in section 2.4.4), and 4Q174 (as discussed in section 3.2.1).

<sup>157</sup> DJD XXXVIII, 196-197.

<sup>158</sup> See Reuven Hammer, *Sifre: A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1986), 377.

<sup>159</sup> DJD XXXVIII, 197.

<sup>160</sup> The reconstruction of the order of the fragments of the scroll is quite certain. As the editors of DJD XXXVIII indicate, "the similarity between the three fragments in the dimensions of the written area and the patterns of damage imply that these are three columns of a small scroll." DJD XXXVIII, 193.

<sup>161</sup> DJD XXXVIII, 198.

<sup>162</sup> The word "king" is damaged on the manuscript. I am accepting here the reconstruction of the editors of DJD XXXVIII. Compare Zech 14:9. This line likely refers to the recognition, at the eschatological day, of Yahweh as King over all nations.

to be the author's community being taught the Torah as at Sinai.<sup>163</sup> There follows a reference to building the Abode, then "on its foundation" (על תקוניו).<sup>164</sup>

The picture that is evoked here by the author of XHev/Se 6 is reminiscent of the eschatological scenarios depicted in a number of the scrolls discussed in this thesis,<sup>165</sup> and also biblical passages such as Isa 60-65, Jer 33, Ezek 34-39, 40, 47, Zech 12-14, Mal 3-4, and others.

This demonstrates, following Morgenstern's outline, how the author of XHev/Se 6 has utilized biblical passages in order to construct an eschatological scenario that is parallel to the similar expectations found in the biblical prophecies concerning the restoration of Israel. The author of this text is interested in making a connection between God's promises to the forefathers (Abraham, David, Moses, Aaron) and the promises made to the "latter-day generation." The faithful community is the inheritor of the promises that God has made in the Abrahamic, Davidic, and priestly covenants. The realization of these covenants includes the preservation of a faithful remnant, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its Temple, and the renewal of the covenant/law as at Sinai. The author's purpose in utilizing 2 Sam 22/Ps 18 was likely to reiterate the expectation of the type of destruction that would occur at the Eschaton, provide a correlation to the covenant with the Davidic line and, by extension, the faithful remnant, and to introduce the song of thanksgiving which is a type of the song to be sung by the redeemed in the Last Days.

### 4.3 *Psalm 20*

#### 4.3.1 *1QH<sup>a</sup> XII-XIII*

In the poem that spans 1QH<sup>a</sup> columns XII:5 – XIII:4, we find Ps 20:9 paraphrased twice: once in XII:22 and again in XII:36. The phrase from Ps 20:9, "we shall rise and stand upright," is reversed and set in the first person in the poem, reading: "I stand upright and arise."

In the passage from Ps 20, there appears to be an individual and a congregation speaking in a liturgical situation about the king, the Lord's anointed. The context is similar to that of Ps 18, in which the psalmist speaks of the Lord answering the king in his time of distress, sending him help via his "right hand" from his temple in Zion, and strengthening the

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<sup>163</sup> See DJD XXXVIII, 200. Morgenstern posits here the possibility that "the writer is talking of an eschatological Torah, to be restored at the end of days."

<sup>164</sup> Morgenstern argues that תקן should not be taken to mean "repair" here as is the general meaning in Late Biblical Hebrew, but should be understood as being closer to the Aramaic usage, which parallels the Hebrew כון meaning "to found." He notes a "striking parallel" in the *Musaf 'Amida* service for the three pilgrim festivals in the Ashkenazi tradition: בנה ביתך כבתחלה וכונן מקדשך על מכוננו והראנו בבנינו ושמחנו בחקינו ("Rebuild your house as at the start and rebuild your temple upon its foundation and show us its rebuilding, and gladden us in its renovation"). DJD XXXVIII, 200.

<sup>165</sup> See, for example, the discussions of 4QFlorilegium, 4QP<sup>s</sup><sup>a</sup>, 4QP<sup>s</sup>89, 4Q173a, 4Q381 24a+b, 28 & 29, 46a+b, 48, 50, 69 in this thesis.

king against his enemies. The victory of the king is a victory for the congregation: “They totter and fall, but we rise up and stand firm” (Ps 20:9).

The *hodayah* in question here presents the speaker as a chosen vessel of the Lord in contrast to his enemies, who are false prophets, pretenders, and plotters of wickedness. Although he has been sent by God, the speaker is rejected by his people; they falsely accuse him and plot against him. He cries to the Lord to come to his defense and then alludes to Ps 20:9, saying:

[I] myself, when I hold fast to You, stand upright and arise against those who disdain me; my hands are against all who despise me. For they esteem [me] not [thou]gh You display Your might through me, and reveal Yourself to me in Your strength as perfect light (1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:22-23).

Similar to what I concluded of the speaker in column XVII (see section 4.2.10), the speaker of this *hodayah* seems to be casting himself in the place of both the king and the congregation of Ps 20, or at least alluding to these roles as somehow applicable to his position. He is the Lord’s chosen leader who calls to God, who receives the might of the Lord and displays it, overpowering his enemies. He is strengthened by the Lord’s hand (line 35). He is also, like the congregation, the one who stands and rises up when the enemies are fallen. Yet the poet also speaks of a group of which he is the leader.<sup>166</sup> There are persons who gather together (יחד) for the covenant, who are examined by the speaker, who listen to him and who are illumined and strengthened by God through him (lines 24-28). These become part of the “council of the holy ones” (line 26; see Ps 89:8; סוד־קדושים). They are instruments of God’s justice (lines 25-26).

#### 4.4 Psalm 21

##### 4.4.1 4Q381, Fragment 17

Ps 21:10 is paraphrased on a small fragment (frg. 17) of 4Q381. The fragment has only three lines with readable text, the third of which Schuller was able to reconstruct based on Ps 21:10b. The line reads:

] my [G]od in Your wrath You will swallow them, and [fire will de]vour [them  
Unlike the MT version of the text, this rendering apparently continues the second-person orientation of what would be the first half of the verse (based on the MT), an orientation that otherwise pervades the entire MT Ps 21. Also, while both the MT and LXX have יהוה, this text addresses the deity as אלהי.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>166</sup> The parallels observable between the singular and plural speakers in Ps 20 and the division of the Hodayot into “Teacher” and “Community” hymns should be noted.

<sup>167</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 107.

It is difficult to speculate regarding the context for line 3 as the previous two lines are so broken. Schuller discussed the idea that lines 1 and 2 may have drawn on Ps 21:4 and 21:6, respectively, but there was not enough extant, matching text to make a clear determination. If line 1 is dependent on Ps 21:4 (Ev. 21:3), then the line may have read תשי[ת עטרת לראשו], making reference to a crown being placed upon “my/his head.”<sup>168</sup> In the biblical psalm, “his head” refers to that of the Davidic king, but it is not clear who the referent is in this composition, and whether the reference is to a first or third person.

Line 2 is cast in the second person, with the figure “in splendor” looking upon Judah. Schuller raises the possibility that there may, on account of the links to Ps 21 in the other lines, be a connection between line 2 and Ps 21:6 (Ev. 21:5).<sup>169</sup> However, the only real parallel between line 2 and Ps 21:6 is the word “splendor” (הדר). In the biblical psalm, Yahweh bestows honor and splendor on the king, whereas line 2 of the Qumran text says that “you” will look upon Judah in splendor. By comparison with line 3, the assumption can be made that the second-person referent is God, but if there is a royal figure in the text who is crowned in line 1, perhaps the figure “in splendor” who looks upon Judah is also the royal figure. Whether this conclusion is appropriate or not, the second-person referent in the third line is clearly God.

Fragment 17 should likely be seen as touching on the themes of coronation and God’s victory over the king’s enemies that are featured in several of the RPss, including Pss 2, 21, 110, and others.

#### 4.4.2 1Q33/1QMilhamah

1QM XIV:16 calls upon the God of gods to “rise up, rise up ... and raise Yourself in power,” an allusion to Ps 21:14: “Rise up, Yahweh, in Your power!” This line comes ten down from that discussed above (section 4.2.4) which borrows from Ps 18:35. This section of the War Rule provides the song of praise to God that the Sons of Light sing to him after He has helped them to win a significant victory and as they ready themselves for the next battle.

The full text of 1QM XIV:16-17 reads:

Rise up! Rise up, O God of gods! Lift Yourself in powe[r,     ]  
a[ll] the Sons of Darkness [     ] the light of Your majesty [     ]<sup>170</sup>

Unfortunately, the text is damaged and incomplete. There is, however, a parallel text that is of help in reconstructing the original meaning. 4Q491 8-10i:13-14<sup>171</sup> reads:

<sup>168</sup> Based on Schuller’s reconstruction. *Ibid.*, 106. See also DJD XI, 106.

<sup>169</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 106; DJD XI, 106.

<sup>170</sup> Translation based on that of M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook with N. Gordon in *Texts Concerned with Religious Law, The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, Part 1, ed. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 235.

[those from the gods. Rise up, rise] up, O God of gods, and raise Yourself in power,  
 O King of K[ings ] You [have se]t on  
 [ ] let all the Sons of Darkness scatter [from] before You. [Let] the light of Your  
 majesty [shine forever upon god]s and men<sup>172</sup>

Beyond Ps 21, these texts also paraphrase Num 10:35 (cf. Ps 68:2):

Arise, O LORD, let your enemies be scattered, and your foes flee before you.

Numbers 10:35 describes what Moses would say “whenever the Ark set out” before the camp of Israel – which was whenever it went ahead to find a “resting place” (Num 10:33) and apparently on festival days and when Israel went into battle (Num 10:9-10; cf. Josh 3-8; 1 Sam 4).

We see in 1QM III:4-6 that the author has these passages of the ark procession in mind when describing the formation of the armies of the righteous for battle and the trumpets they were to use; he specifically draws on Num 10:2, 35 and Ps 68:2.<sup>173</sup> The further descriptions in 1QM of the formations of the priestly warriors draw on the biblical passages in which the camp of Israel with its priestly orders is gathered to travel or to go to war, often led by the Ark of the Covenant.<sup>174</sup>

In 2 Chronicles 6:41-42, Solomon, after he has installed the Ark at the newly built temple, uses a similar plea at the end of his dedicatory prayer:<sup>175</sup>

"Now rise up, O LORD God, and go to your resting place, you and the ark of your power. Let your priests, O LORD God, be clothed with salvation, and let your faithful rejoice in your goodness. O LORD God, do not reject your anointed one. Remember your steadfast love for your servant David."

After Solomon finishes his prayer, fire comes down from heaven and consumes the sacrifices on the altar and the glory of the Lord fills the temple (2 Chr. 7:1-2). This was the significance of carrying around the Ark – that the glory of the Lord was expected to accompany it. Although the War Scroll does not mention the Ark, the petition in XIV:16 for God to “rise up” in his “power” to scatter the Sons of Darkness must have been inspired by the biblical stories of the Ark being carried into battle. What the author of 1QM seems to

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<sup>171</sup> See *Qumran Grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520), Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. VII, ed. Maurice Baillet (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 12.

<sup>172</sup> Translation based on that of M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook with N. Gordon in *DSSR*, Part 1, 255.

<sup>173</sup> See Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 105. Yadin notes that the inscription prescribed for the trumpets for the campaigns (1QM III:5) is similar to Num 10:35.

<sup>174</sup> E.g. Num 3; Deut 31; Josh 3-8; Judg 5; 1 Chr 15-16; cf. 2 Chr 35.

<sup>175</sup> At this point in the 2 Chr version of the event, the author breaks away from the parallel/original passage in 1 Kgs 8 and quotes from Ps 132:8-10.

have imagined, however, is that the glory of God himself would be present, along with his angels, to help fight the battle (see, e.g. columns I:8-15; X:4-5; XIX:1).

#### 4.5 *Psalms 89*

##### 4.5.1 *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> Column XII*<sup>176</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:25b-26a reads:

Those who walk in the way of Your heart have listened to me; they are drawing themselves up before You *in the council of the holy ones*.

The phrase “in the council of the holy ones” (בסוד קדושים) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:26, is found in only one biblical passage: Ps 89:8 (Evv. 89:7). Although the concept of the council of the holy ones (or saints/angels/gods) is common in both the biblical and Second Temple literature, there is evidence that the author of this poem meant for this phrase to be an allusion to the context in Ps 89.

Ps 89:4-8 (Evv. 89:3-7) reads as follows:

You said, "I have made a covenant with my chosen one, I have sworn to my servant David: 'I will establish your descendants forever, and build your throne for all generations.'" Selah Let the heavens praise your wonders, O LORD, your faithfulness in the assembly of the holy ones (בקהל קדושים). For who in the skies can be compared to the LORD? Who among the heavenly beings (בני אלים) is like the LORD, a God feared *in the council of the holy ones* (בסוד קדושים), great and awesome above all that are around him? (emphasis added)

Similar to the psalmist in this passage, the speaker of the *hodayah* has a mission to proclaim God's wonders. Just as a covenant has been established with David and his descendants in the biblical psalm, the *hodayah* speaks of those followers of the speaker “who are meeting together (or: in the *Yahad*) in accordance with Your covenant” (XII:25). The speaker declares that those who are faithful to his teachings (and faithful to the covenant) are “drawing themselves up before You in the council of the holy ones” (XII:25-26). This line should probably be interpreted as a reference to the idea that the members of the community believed that they could ascend to the divine council in heaven, or otherwise consider themselves as part of the heavenly community. As part of the “council of the holy ones,” they could participate with the “heavens” in praising the Lord's wonders and faithfulness as described in Ps 89:6.

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<sup>176</sup> This *hodayah* was previously discussed in section 4.3.1. I note here that Abegg and Evans, as discussed in section 1.1.4.2, see an allusion to Ps 89 in 4Q458 2ii:6. See Abegg and Evans, “Messianic Passages,” 194. Also, Elwolde sees the use of the phrase סוד קדושים in 1QH 12:25-26 as an allusion to Ps 89:8. See Elwolde, “Hodayot's Use of the Psalter (Book 3: Pss 73-89),” 175.

#### 4.5.2 *Column XXIII (Fragment 2, Column i)*<sup>177</sup>

Column XXIII is fragmentary, with a large number of lacunae that make the poem it contains difficult to interpret. In XXIII:23 (frg. 2i:3),<sup>178</sup> there is a phrase that reads: “among the sons of God/s” (בבני אלים). This appears to be taken from Ps 89:7b (בבני אלים).<sup>179</sup> The line “among the sons of God/gods” does not recur in the *Hodayot*, but reference to the heavenly sons of God is certainly not out of place in this corpus or among the other texts of the Qumran library.<sup>180</sup>

Again, the *hodayah* is, at times, difficult to decipher. The content of the composition is quite similar to that of column XII, discussed above, and presents the speaker<sup>181</sup> as a servant (עבד)<sup>182</sup> similar to that of Isaiah’s Servant Songs and “my servant David” in Ps 89. The author draws on Isa 61 and 66 as well. We also find in this work the idea common in the biblical Pss of the sufferer being laid down in or becoming dust.

If the reconstruction of the text found in DJD XL is correct,<sup>183</sup> there is reference in XXIII:21 to individuals (plural) proclaiming; perhaps part of the message they proclaim comes in line 23, where God is said to be glorious “among the sons of God/s.” This act of praise would correspond with the declaration of God’s wonders in Ps 89:6-15 (Evv. 5-14) by the psalmist, who is possibly also joined in this praise by the “heavens” (89:6) and the “people” (89:16-17).

The poem in column XXIII employs similar motifs to other of the *Hodayot* where we see talk of the speaker and his companions united with the divine congregation, the sons of heaven.<sup>184</sup> We find in this poem the same emphasis on the speaker comparing himself to dust and clay, the idea of atonement or purification, the revelation of light and the bestowal of God’s holy spirit. Although the text is very broken, we see in line 10 a reference to uniting with the sons of heaven. This *hodayah* also bears a resemblance to a similar passage in 1QS 11:6-9, where the chosen people are given “an eternal possession” and made “heirs in the

<sup>177</sup> This *hodayah* was previously discussed in section 4.2.9.

<sup>178</sup> For the rationale behind associating frg 2i with col XXIII, see DJD XL, 32-33, 277.

<sup>179</sup> Although Ps 89:7 is the only text in which this phrase appears, it is of course possible that the author was simply using the same phrase without intending to cite the scripture. However, as explained in the previous section, Psalm 89 contains many of the same motifs as these *Hodayot*, so it is not unreasonable to conclude that the author indeed intended to cite the biblical psalm.

<sup>180</sup> For additional references to “sons of heaven” and “sons of God/s” see, e.g. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:22-23; 1Q20 II:5, 16; V:3; VI:9-11; 1Q22 IV:1; 1QS IV:22; 11:6-9; 4Q181 Iii:2; 4Q416 1:12; 4Q427 7ii:18; 4Q491 24:4; 11Q13 II:14; etc.

<sup>181</sup> Although the protagonist of this poem is most often referred to in the third person, the first person is occasionally used as well.

<sup>182</sup> The speaker is called עבד in lines 7, 11 and 17.

<sup>183</sup> See DJD XL, 280. The first lines of fragment 2i are damaged and difficult to read. Sukenik and others had significantly different readings.

<sup>184</sup> See, e.g. 1QH<sup>a</sup> VII:2-8; XI:21-23; XII:24-25; XIV:12-14; XIX:10-14. For an in-depth discussion of this topic, see Björn Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing: Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Studia Semitica Upsaliensia (Uppsala: S. Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1999).

legacy of the Holy Ones.” The text goes on to say: “with the sons of heaven has He united their assembly. They are an assembly built up for holiness, an eternal Planting for all ages to come.”

To further expound on the above pattern, I have observed that this motif of the assembly of the sons of heaven, and similar motifs inspired by Ps 89 play a recurring role throughout the Hodayot in which the speaker and, at times, the collective, refers to himself as having been appointed to teach or declare information regarding the Deity. Although there are more elements than I will discuss here, and many variations, the pattern generally plays out along the following lines, but not necessarily in this order. The following outline illustrates the identified motifs, the lines of text wherein they can be found in two examples from the Hodayot (cols. XII and XV), and verses of Ps 89 that contain parallel elements:

- |   |   |                    |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1) “Servant,” “chosen,”<br>“anointing,” and<br>“exalted” language<br>applied to the speaker;<br>references to covenant  | • 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII:5, 22, 24,<br>28<br>• XV:10, 16, 23-24 | • Ps 89:4-5, 20-21 |
| 2) Divine council, judgment<br>scene, or equivalent<br>setting; God’s supremacy<br>over other heavenly<br>beings and/or reference to<br>God’s primeval victory;<br>power over the<br>waters/enemies, and/or<br>Creation | • XII:15, 19, 21, 24-<br>25, 28-29<br>• XV:28, 31-32          | • 89:6-10, 11-15   |
| 3) The speaker ( <i>et al</i> ) is<br>taught by God (mysteries)   | • XII:6, 10, 23, 27-28<br>• XV:10, 13-15, 26-27               | • 89:16-17         |
| 4) He is appointed to declare<br>God’s word, teach others   | • XII:8, 23-24, 27-29<br>• XV:10, 20-21                       | • 89:16-17         |
| 5) The speaker suffers, is<br>persecuted and/or<br>punished, including<br>references to “dust,”<br>“death” and “Sheol”;<br>and/or the speaker is<br>purified/cleansed by God,   | • XII:8-10, 16-17, 25-<br>26<br>• XV:28-31                    | • 89:31-52         |

forgiven of sins

(atonement)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 6) The speaker is upheld,<br>strengthened, protected<br>by God and given power<br>over his enemies;<br>maintenance of covenant<br>people forever | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• XII:8, 12-13, 18-23,<br/>25-27</li> <li>• 89:5, 22-30, 34-38</li> </ul> |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• XV:12, 18-20, 22-23,<br/>30-31</li> </ul>                               |

I have researched this phenomenon and have identified the above elements to a greater or lesser extent in the following columns of 1QH<sup>a</sup>: VII; XII; XIV; XV; XVI; XVIII; XIX; XX; XXIII; and XXV. Indeed, the majority, if not all, of the Hodayot utilize at least some of these elements. The fact that so many of the Hodayot are clearly structured around or based on these motifs suggests that Ps 89 must have been one of the principal sources of inspiration for the authors of these hymns. Although this pattern is perhaps only more difficultly discerned in a reading of Ps 89 itself, the authors of the Hodayot, while following quite closely the outline and content of the biblical psalm, also elucidate more clearly the motif that we see in the prophetic writings (e.g. Isa 6) of the individual who is taken up into God's presence in the divine council, given a message (taught the mysteries) and then chosen to deliver that message to the people. The influence of the book of Isaiah and other prophetic texts, as well as diverse other biblical passages, is not contested. However, my research has demonstrated that the Hodayot use Ps 89 as a model for their composition. As discussed above, a number of the Hodayot also have a great affinity for Ps 18. Pss 18 and 89 contain many of the same motifs and were probably two of the major background sources for the Hodayot authors, who structured their hymns on these psalms, weaving in the various other scriptural sources.

#### 4.5.3 *Column XXV (Fragment 63)*

In a badly damaged fragment (63) that has been linked to 1QH<sup>a</sup> column XXV,<sup>185</sup> we find yet another paraphrase of Ps 89:8.<sup>186</sup> Lines 26-27 contain the following:

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<sup>185</sup> See DJD XL, 41, 291.

<sup>186</sup> Two further examples that I will not elaborate on here are 1Q22/1QDM IV:1 ("And in the congregation of the gods [and the assembly of the holy ones and in ]them, [for the children of Isra]el and for the la[nd]") and 4QpapRitMar 19:1 ("So let him dwell with him in the council of [the ]h[oly ones ]"). These examples generally repeat the same ideas expressed in the current examples from 1QH.

“In the congregation of the children of he]aven and *in the council of the hol[y ones]* ... [they] will be exalted [ ]” (emphasis added).<sup>187</sup>

The “congregation of the children of heaven” (עדת בני שמים) and “the council of the holy ones” (סוד קדושים) are presented as parallel concepts. Although the text is highly fragmentary in this section, it appears, as we have seen in previously analyzed texts that utilize Ps 89:8, the author uses the divine council motif to express the belief that the righteous will be exalted to participate in that heavenly congregation.

The broader context depicted in this column utilizes many of the elements of Ps 89, picking up on the themes of the greatness of God, his judgment, the punishment of the wicked, the imparting of God’s mysteries, the sharing of God’s great deeds, and the exaltation of God’s servants – all ideas that can be seen as having been derived from an interpretation of Ps 89.

#### 4.5.4 4Q381/4QNon-Canonical Psalms B, Fragment 1

Although this non-canonical psalm does not draw on any of the RPss directly, it does seem to allude to Ps 145:4-5 (frg. 1:1) and Ps 33:6 (1:3), and contains many affinities to Ps 89. The garden motifs found in this fragment may be profitably compared to 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI, which places the *hodayah*’s speaker in a garden setting, where he is responsible for laying out the garden and irrigating and caring for its plants.<sup>188</sup> The “life-giving” water he distributes is apparently his teachings. The garden imagery draws on the story of the Garden of Eden in Genesis 2-3 and James Davila sees the speaker, likely the community’s leader, as an Adam figure who is appointed to take care of the “eternal planting” – the faithful community.<sup>189</sup>

4Q381 fragment 1, from what we can tell from its broken text, does not make such an explicit connection between the psalmist and the Adam figure. However, the psalmist feels that he has been appointed to recount God’s wonders, which include his creation of the earth, including the Garden and its inhabitants. Although the text is broken here, on lines 6-7 he describes the creation of the first man and his wife. The text (line 3) likely alludes to Ps 33:6 when it declares: “He, by an oath, made heaven and earth, and by the word of his mouth [ ...,” but the rest of the text recalls Ps 89 in several ways. The following table illustrates some of the major verbal and thematic parallels.

<sup>187</sup> The editors of DJD XL comment on the reconstruction of בעדת בני שמים: “The phrase is restored according to col. XI 23 (III 22) and as parallel to קדושים.” For קדושים: “The letters קד of frg. 63 2 can be supplemented by וי from 4QH<sup>b</sup> 19 7; then, either ים, or perhaps יכה. The combination בסוד קדושים occurs in col. XII 26 (IV 25); Ps 89:8.” See DJD XL, 295.

<sup>188</sup> I discuss this poem in depth in section 4.2.10.

<sup>189</sup> James R. Davila, “The Hodayot Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise,” *RevQ* 17, no. 65-68 (1996), 465.

I proclaimed; and I tell of his marvels (line 1).	I will make known your faithfulness (89:2). <sup>190</sup>
my mouth (line 2)	by my mouth (89:2)
As for YHWH, how mighty... (line 2)	In the skies, who is there like YHWH ... (89:7-8)
wonders (נפלאות) (line 3)	wonder(s) (פלאַך) (89:6)
He, by an oath... (line 3)	I [YHWH] have made a covenant...I have sworn an oath (89:4)
made heaven and earth (line 3)	The heavens are yours, the earth yours also; you founded the world and all that is in it (89:12). <sup>191</sup>
[ ...and watercourses. He shut up its rivers, pools and every eddy... (line 4)	You rule the raging of the sea, calming the turmoil of its waves (89:10). I shall establish his [David's] rule over the sea, his dominion over the rivers (89:26).
And by his breath he made them (the first man and his wife) stand, to rule over all these on earth... (line 7) <sup>192</sup>	I have exalted one ... and anointed him <sup>193</sup> ... I shall make him the firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth (89:20-28).
... and all his hosts and [his] angels ... to serve <i>adam</i> and to minister to them... (lines 10-11) <sup>194</sup>	... let the assembly of the angels exalt your faithfulness (89:6)

Although some of these parallels are clearer than others, and there are admittedly more thematic parallels than direct verbal parallels, the number of similarities between this

<sup>190</sup> Although different verbs are used here (הגדתי vs. אודיע), the meaning is similar. Cf. Ps 89:6-11, where the heavens praise God for his wonders.

<sup>191</sup> The two compositions provide different details regarding the Creation, but this general theme is present in both.

<sup>192</sup> The text is broken in this line, but is apparently referring to the creation of Adam and Eve, the first man and "[his] wife" who God made "stand" by his "breath."

<sup>193</sup> For the relationship between God's breath/spirit (רוח) and the act of anointing, see e.g. 1 Sam 16:13.

<sup>194</sup> From DJD XI, 94. This and subsequent translations of the text of 4Q381 are based on those given in DJD XI.

relatively small fragment and Ps 89 deserves attention. In both, the psalmist tells of the wonders that God has performed, focusing on God's power and creative works. In the composition from 4Q381, God arguably makes an oath in connection with the creation of the cosmos, whereas in Ps 89 the oath and covenant are made with David, although the retelling of the Creation events follows closely afterwards. In both works, the power of Yahweh over the waters is emphasized, and in Ps 89 we see that power also delegated to the royal figure. The account of the creation of the first man and his wife as essentially the first royal couple on earth parallels God's selection of David to be his firstborn and to be exalted over all the kings of the earth. The reference to God making them "to stand" should be seen as related to the "lifting up" motif discussed in section 4.2.8, in which God raises up the royal figure from the dust to exalt him and place him as a ruler on a throne.<sup>195</sup> A number of scholars have theorized about a connection between the First Man and the Jerusalem kings, arguing that the latter saw themselves as successors to the former.<sup>196</sup> Likewise, many Qumran texts express the desire of the community to regain "all the glory of Adam" that he enjoyed in his prelapsarian state.<sup>197</sup> The theme of God's power and kingship being delegated to a terrestrial representative is paramount in both compositions.

#### 4.5.5 4Q381, Fragment 15

Fragment 15 of 4Q381 makes extensive use of Ps 89. Lines 4-7 of the text are comparable to verses 7, 10-12b, 14, and 18a (Evv. 6, 9-11b, 13, and 17a) of the MT version of Ps 89. The following chart compares the relevant verses.

4Q381 15	MT Psalm 89
4. [ You rule the raging of the sea, and you still its waves. You	10. You rule the raging of the sea; when its waves rise, you still them.
5. [crushed Rahab like a carcass. You scattered your enemies with your strong arm.	11. You crushed Rahab like a carcass. You scattered your enemies with your strong arm.

<sup>195</sup> See Gen 2:7; 1 Sam 2:6-8; 1 Kgs 16:2; Pss 18:43; 22:16; 89:40; 113:7; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXVI:27-30. See discussion in Brueggemann, "From Dust to Kingship." Also Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 104.

<sup>196</sup> See Ezek 28:12-19, where the king of Tyre is presented as an Adam figure in the Garden of Eden. Compare the imagery of Ezek 28 to Ps 2, where God sets his anointed king, his son, on his holy mountain. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 18. For the theory that the Israelite kings imitated, or saw themselves as the successors of the First Man, see Barker, *The Hidden Tradition of the Kingdom of God*, 24; Borsch, *The Son of Man*, 80ff; Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life*.

<sup>197</sup> 1QS 4:22-23; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:14-15; CD 3:20; 4QPp<sup>a</sup> 3:1-2. See Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 12, 95-97.

The world and] <sup>198</sup> its fullness you [fo]unded.	12b. The world and its fullness you founded.
You have an arm of	14a. You have an arm of
6. [strength. Strong is your hand, high is your	strength. 14b. strong is your hand, high is
right hand. Who in the heavens is like	your right hand.
you,] <sup>199</sup> my God (אלהי), and who among the	7. For who in the heavens is like the LORD?
heavenly beings (בני האילים) and in all	Who among the heavenly beings (בני אלים) is
	like the LORD
7.[ For you are ] <sup>200</sup> the glory of its	18a. For you are the glory of their strength;
splendour. And I, your anointed, understand	

Although by line 7 the author has begun to move away from the biblical text, lines 4-6 are clearly paraphrasing, and sometimes quoting exactly, verses 10, 11, 12b, 14, and 7, in that order, followed by what may be a paraphrase of verse 18a in line 7. The re-ordering of verses here compared to the MT version of the psalm is similar to how Ps 18 is used in 4Q381 fragments 24, 28 and 29, as discussed above, and also Ps 89 in 4QPs89.

This text will be analyzed in greater detail in chapter 5, section 5.2.1.

#### 4.5.6 11Q5/11QPs<sup>a</sup>: *Hymn to the Creator*

Ps 89:15 is paraphrased in one of the “apocryphal” psalms, the “Hymn to the Creator,” found on the great Psalms Scroll, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> column XXVI, lines 9-15. This hymn praises Yahweh and describes his actions during the Creation. The author weaves together biblical passages to create his primeval scenario, including Ps 89:15 (cf. Ps 97:2), Gen 1:4, Job 38:7, and Jer 10:12-13 (cf. Jer 51:15-16).

Ps 89:15 reads:

“Righteousness and justice are the foundation of Your throne; loving-kindness and truth go before Your face.”

The “Hymn to the Creator,” in lines 10-11 of column XXVI, has:

“*Loving-kindness and truth surround His face; truth, justice and righteousness are the foundation of His throne*” (emphasis added).

<sup>198</sup> Reconstruction according to DJD XI. The editors believe that lines 4-7 are a reworking of Ps 89. After paraphrasing Ps 89:10 so closely in line 4, the following *מה* leads the editors to believe that the author of the manuscript intended to continue with 89:11a. The editors decided to reconstruct the text as containing 11a+11b+12b, but suggest that it could also have read 11a+12a+12b. The extant part of line 5 cites Ps 89:12b verbatim. See DJD XI, 104.

<sup>199</sup> As line 5 ends by quoting Ps 89:14a, line 6 is reconstructed according to 89:14b. This is followed by 89:7a in the reconstruction as the extant text then has 7b. See DJD XI, 104.

<sup>200</sup> Line 7 is tentatively restored by the editors of DJD XI to follow Ps 89:18a based on the shared expression *תפארת*. See DJD XI, 104. Also Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 96ff.

These lines describe the majesty and attributes of God and come, in the case of Ps 89, directly after a description of his wonders (נִלְפָּ): supremacy in the divine assembly (vv. 7-9), his primeval victory over the Sea and Rahab (vv. 10-11), and his founding and creation of the world (12-13).

Although Ps 97:2 contains similar verbiage and imagery in the phrase “righteousness and justice are the foundation of his throne,” it is lacking the references to God’s face and its association with loving-kindness and truth. There is, no doubt, a common tradition regarding God’s throne being utilized in all three passages, but the non-canonical composition can be seen to draw specifically on Ps 89 here.

Although clearly drawing on other biblical passages as well, the Hymn to the Creator is quite similar to the first half of Ps 89.

#### **4.6 Conclusions:**

This chapter has provided evidence that a number of Qumran texts demonstrate an interest in certain of the RPss. We find quotations from, paraphrases of, or allusions to Pss 2, 18, 20, 21, and 89. It is, of course, very possible that other examples exist which have not been identified here, including uses of the RPss that are no longer extant in the texts that we possess. Furthermore, the majority of the examples analyzed here support the hypothesis that the RPss are being read eschatologically here, although in several other instances this is not necessarily the case.

The analyses conducted in this chapter have determined that, according to the examples we have, Pss 2, 18, 20 and 21 were interpreted eschatologically with some consistency. The use of Ps 18 in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII:41 and XVII:4, which employ the Psalm in their descriptions of the suffering of the speaker, are possible exceptions to this rule. These latter examples can plausibly be seen as seeking to place the speaker in the role of Isaiah’s “suffering servant” or the persecuted royal figure of Ps 18, but it is difficult to ascertain whether the setting is meant to be in the eschatological future or not. Similarly, the use of Ps 18 in 4Q372 2:4 is not straightforwardly eschatological.

Only Ps 89 was used consistently in a way that is not necessarily an eschatological interpretation. Ps 89 is used variously to refer to concepts of the ascension to the divine council, the teaching and learning of heavenly mysteries, and the roles that the speaker plays as servant, sufferer, learner, teacher, and leader. All of the elements are derived, at least partially, from the authors’ reading of Ps 89. It should be noted that none of these texts seems to be reading Ps 89 eschatologically in the way that we argued for 4QPs89. However, we should also note that unlike 4QPs89, all of these texts focus on the initial verses of Ps 89; 4QPs89 utilizes later verses, from v. 20-31 of the MT version. Perhaps this fact is responsible for the apparent variation in interpretation. Indeed, verse 20 of the MT Ps 89 marks an

apparent seam in the psalm in which the initial acclamation and liturgical sequence end and the visionary declaration to God's faithful commences. This vision is what 4QPs89 presents as foreseeing the eschatological events. We should also take into consideration, however, that if the speaker in the examples presented in this chapter saw himself as already living in the End Times, we may be justified in seeing all of these examples as eschatological, i.e., the suffering of the speaker, the ascension of the group to heaven, and so on, are all events that will be taking place in the Last Days, of which the authors feel they are a part.

## Chapter 5: Non-Canonical Royal Psalms from the Qumran Library

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter arrives at the heart of the question of how the RPss influenced the thinking and writing of the authors of the Qumran texts, although the material analyzed herein can perhaps be said to be the furthest removed from direct usage of the RPss. Whereas chapter 2 identified the appearances of the RPss in the DSS, chapter 3 analyzed explicit examples of their interpretation in exegetical texts, and chapter 4 looked at cases in which the RPss were quoted from and alluded to, chapter 5 will elucidate examples of texts which do not generally feature explicit use of or reference to the RPss but that appear to be inspired or influenced by them.

In particular, in this chapter I will analyze certain non-canonical psalms<sup>1</sup> found at Qumran which I will argue are dependent on the biblical RPss. The focus here will be on the collections known as 4Q381/4Q*Non-Canonical Psalms B* and 4Q448/4QPsAp/*Hymn to King Jonathan*, 11Q11/11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>, and Pss 151A+B and 154 from 11Q5/11QPs<sup>a</sup>. For 4Q381, I will evaluate eleven of the most relevant psalms, or fragments of psalms, from this scroll.

As I concluded in chapters 2 and 4, many of the Qumran texts analyzed in this thesis demonstrate an interest in Pss 18 and 89. This observation will continue to hold true for this chapter. I will show here that many of the non-canonical psalms analyzed are dependent on these two psalms, although they do not generally quote from them or allude to them as directly as do the texts in, for example, chapter 4. This being the case, a number of the compositions studied in this chapter, however, show dependence on other RPss, including Pss 20, 21, 132, and others. They also draw on other psalms that are not generally categorized as royal but are attributed to King David, including Pss 9, 69, and 86. Furthermore, I will demonstrate that many of the compositions in these collections appear to have been created to be RPss in imitation of the canonical precedents.

As I will be asserting in this chapter that many of the non-canonical psalms analyzed here were created to be RPss following the tradition of those we now consider canonical, it is helpful to restate here what I understand a “royal psalm” to be, and what it is not. Wilhelm de Wette, early on in the nineteenth century, applied the label “royal psalm” to those psalms he saw as celebrating the “office” of kingship.<sup>2</sup> Gunkel determined that the RPss were not a

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<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, a “non-canonical psalm” is a poetical composition – a psalm – that is not included in the corpus of today’s received “canonical” text of the Hebrew Bible. The term “non-canonical” is used broadly to describe the texts analyzed in this chapter, although Pss 151 and 154 are considered canonical in some traditions. That these works should be designated “psalms,” at least on a “generic and working” basis, is the opinion of Eileen Schuller, with whom I agree. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm M. L. de Wette, *Commentar über die Psalmen* (Heidelberg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1811), 4; as cited in Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 20-21.

*Gattung*, but a category consisting of psalms that shared similar content involving the king. Thus, for Gunkel, they did not share a characteristic form or structure, but contained a “royal” life setting and content.<sup>3</sup> Starbuck has commented that the RPss lack “definitive classification principles”<sup>4</sup> and has defined “Royal Psalm” as a “scholarly typology, a classification label applied by commentators to Psalms which laud historical human kingship or feature the reigning monarch as the protagonist.”<sup>5</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, then, a royal psalm is one that does not necessarily have a specific structure, but that has content that is “royal” and/or features a king as the protagonist.

Although I am not considering or proposing any determinations regarding their provenance or date of origin, we can probably assume that the psalms analyzed in this chapter were composed subsequent to the majority of the biblical RPss. We can only speculate on what the authors of these texts may have considered a “royal psalm” to entail, if such was even a category that they would have recognized. However, we know that they would have recognized many psalms as being attributed to King David and perhaps other monarchs such as Solomon, and I will argue that they were often attempting to imitate the Davidic tradition as found in the biblical RPss as well as in the historical narratives regarding Israel’s monarchs. Themes that are featured in the RPss are emphasized in many of these non-canonical psalms, including the exaltation of the chosen servant, the anointing of the king, lamentation over persecution by enemies, the prayers to and invocation of the Deity and deliverance through his power, delegation of God’s power to the protagonist, and other recurring motifs.

I consider Ps 144 to be a good case in point for what I see happening with the psalms analyzed in this chapter. Although Ps 144 is, of course, a canonical psalm, it clearly draws on other canonical psalms – in much the same way that I see happening with these extra-biblical compositions. Hakhham, in his commentary, observes:

Psalm 144 contains many expressions that are found in other psalms, especially in Psalm 18. These expressions are well integrated into our psalm. The psalmist followed the conventions of the ancient poets, who made use of existing phrases and joined them together into a new and independent work.<sup>6</sup>

Hakhham goes on to delineate which psalms Ps 144 borrows from, including Pss 8, 18, 33, and 102, as well as other biblical passages such as Isa 2, 2 Sam 4, and Deut 7. Allen asserts that verses 1-10 of Ps 144 are inspired by Ps 18 and notes:

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<sup>3</sup> See Gunkel and Begrich, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 99-112.

<sup>4</sup> Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Hakhham, *Psalms 101-150*, 449. See also Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 289.

E. Baumann (*ZAW* 62 [1949/50] 148-49) well described the relationship not as mechanical borrowing but a re-ordering, reshaping and amplifying of the material, changing the perspective from a royal thanksgiving to a royal complaint.<sup>7</sup>

The way in which Ps 144 is seen to be working with Ps 18 and other biblical texts is essentially the same approach as I see at work in the psalms that will be analyzed in this chapter. They take biblical texts that are associated with the Davidic monarchy, especially the RPss, and create new compositions that although they might depict a different context, emphasize similar content and/or feature a royal figure as the protagonist.

Finally, it will be argued that the authors of these non-canonical psalms are interpreting Pss 18, 89, and others in much the same way that we observed in chapter 4. We will see here the depiction of eschatological scenarios, suffering and deliverance, exaltation of the individual or group to heaven, the revelation of hidden knowledge, and other topics that have previously appeared. Other issues that arise in these texts include the concept of collective reinterpretation, implied opinions regarding kingship and the Davidic monarchy, liturgical elements, and many others.

## 5.2 4Q381/4QNon-Canonical Psalms B

4Q381 is a collection of non-canonical Pss which, as discussed in the previous chapter, has been referred to as a collection of (previously unknown) RPss.<sup>8</sup> We have noted that 4Q381 quotes or alludes to passages from RPss 18, 21, and 89. Schuller saw sections of the scroll drawing “extensively” on Ps 18,<sup>9</sup> and Esther Chazon went so far as to refer to the psalm of fragment 24 as “a prayer that is a reworked version of Psalm 18.”<sup>10</sup> In my study of the quotations from Ps 89 in fragment 15, I came to a similar conclusion regarding that section’s dependence on this RPs. Schuller observed that the non-canonical Pss in 4Q380/381 resemble biblical Pss in form, vocabulary, style, and theme,<sup>11</sup> and I will argue here that the biblical Pss they most closely resemble (in the case of 4Q381) are the RPss.

Although Wise, Abegg, and Cook refer to 4Q380/381 together as “A Collection of RPss,” I would suggest that 4Q381 alone should be seen as such, with 4Q380 as a separate and distinct collection of non-royal pseudepigraphic Pss that deal with Zion and the elect community. There are some shared themes between the collections, but I will focus here on

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<sup>7</sup> Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 289.

<sup>8</sup> See Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 342. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 28. Schuller, “Qumran Pseudepigraphic Psalms,” in *Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 2; Chazon, “The Use of the Bible,” 89.

<sup>9</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 121.

<sup>10</sup> Chazon, “The Use of the Bible,” 89.

<sup>11</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 1-3. Schuller, “Qumran Pseudepigraphic Psalms,” 1. Wise, et al., call the Pss on these scrolls “particularly pure examples of the songs of Israel” that “would not be out of place within the biblical Psalter itself.” Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 342.



6. [strength. Strong is your hand, high is your right hand. Who in the heavens is like you,] my God, and who among the heavenly beings and in all
7. [ For you are ]the glory of its splendour. And I, your anointed, understand
8. [ knowle]dge of you because you instructed me, and insight because you taught me
9. [ ]For we will call on your name, my God, and for your salvation
10. [ ]. and like a robe, they will put it on, and a covering
11. [ ]. I[

#### Analysis:

As discussed in the previous chapter, section 4.5.5, fragment 15 quotes extensively from Ps 89 and the text as a whole follows the major motifs of that RPs. Like fragment 1, comparisons can also be made between this text and the Hodayot, a fact that can be explained, as noted previously, by the Hodayot's similar dependence on Ps 89.<sup>17</sup>

This composition quotes from Ps 86, which was not one of the Pss that Gunkel labeled "royal," but John Eaton provided arguments for possibly considering it to be such based on its shared motifs with RPs.<sup>18</sup> Robert Rowe notes that "Ps 86 is headed 'A Prayer of David', which may be the main reason for the linkage with Ps 89, along with a similarity of themes."<sup>19</sup> There are enough parallels between Pss 86 and 89 that the pattern outlined in section 4.5.2 of themes common to both the Hodayot and Ps 89 will be used for comparison:

- 1) The psalmist calls himself "your servant" (Ps 86:2, 16) and "the son of your handmaid" (86:16) (compare Ps 89:4-5, 20-21)
- 2) There are no gods comparable to the Lord, all nations shall bow down before him (86:8-10) (compare 89:6-10)
- 3) "Teach me your way, O Yahweh" (86:11) (compare 89:15)
- 4) The psalmist will revere God's name and glorify it forever (86:11-12) (compare 89:16-17)
- 5) The psalmist cries out to God on the day of his distress (86:1-4, 6-7, 16-17); he was in the depths of Sheol (86:13); enemies rise up against him and seek his life (86:14); they hate him (86:17) (compare 89:31-52)

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., section 4.5.2.

<sup>18</sup> Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 79-80.

<sup>19</sup> Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 177.

- 6) His soul is delivered from the depths of Sheol (86:13); “Turn to me and be gracious to me; give your strength to your servant; save the son of your handmaid” (86:16) (compare 89:5, 22-30, 34-38)

The speaker of the psalm in fragment 15, who, if Schuller’s reconstruction is correct,<sup>20</sup> sees himself as the servant and son of the Lord’s handmaid from Ps 86, then sets himself in the place of the Lord’s “anointed” (line 7) from Ps 89:21. In lines 4-7, the author quotes from Ps 89 verses 10, 11, 12b, 14, and 7.<sup>21</sup> The re-ordering of verses here parallels what has already been observed in a number of texts which employ biblical passages, including 4Q381 fragments 24, 28 and 29, and also 4QPs89. This re-ordering of verses is a method which seems to have the effect of consolidating selected elements of the original psalm into a more concise and relevant message that fits the author’s purposes. Although in this case the reasons for the author’s reordering of the original text are not readily apparent, the end result is a concise message regarding the matchless power and glory of Yahweh (his strong arm) as demonstrated by his victories over his enemies and founding of the world.

The speaker, the Lord’s “anointed one,” then declares in lines 7-8 that he understands, that he has gained knowledge of the Lord and insight because the Lord has instructed him. As evidenced by the hymn’s construction, we may perceive that the knowledge that the speaker has been taught is likely what has been summarized in the preceding lines – the story of the primeval victory of Yahweh and his creation of the world. As discussed previously, the revelation of this “hidden” knowledge to the protagonist is a common aspect of many of the Qumran texts analyzed in this study, as it is in many Jewish apocalyptic and mystical texts.

Robert Rowe observes that in line 9 of the text the speaker becomes plural, which signifies that “the community (‘we’) is either sharing or taking over the words of the Davidic king from the Psalms.”<sup>22</sup> Line 9 further aligns with Ps 89 as it depicts plural speakers calling on God’s name and jointly petitioning for salvation. For comparison, Ps 89:17 says: “they [the people who know the festal shout] exult in your name all day long.”

In conclusion to this section, I assert that fragment 15, although it also utilizes Ps 86, appears to be patterned after Ps 89. The speaker of this hymn is the Lord’s “servant,” his “anointed,” and seeks God’s deliverance from his enemies. He praises God’s wonders and claims that God has given him knowledge and understanding through instruction. In the last

<sup>20</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 97. Schuller basis this reconstruction on the premise that the extant text of lines 2 and 3 appear to be quoting from Ps 86:16-17. She admits that the restoration is “only tentative and schematic.” I would note that the reconstruction of “your servant” is certainly plausible based on the existence of the parallel expression, “son of Your handmaid,” which is preserved in the text.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 96ff.

<sup>22</sup> Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 177.

lines the persona becomes plural and the group calls upon God's name for salvation. All of these elements can be found in Ps 89 although the author has embellished some motifs with additional priestly or royal elements that do not appear in the canonical psalm.

### 5.2.2 *Fragment 19, Column i*

1.       ]your sons in me from [
2.       ]your judgments [
3.       ] . my refuge, and in your heavens
4.       ] pure gold, and you will give me
5.       ]your kingdom to your servant
6.                 ]they spurned [         ]
7.                                 ] ./[     ]

#### Analysis:

Although this text is highly fragmentary and difficult to interpret, it makes use of expressions that are characteristic of the RPss. The following are a few of the strongest parallels.

- Line 5, although incomplete, reads: "...Your kingdom to Your servant..." In light of the language used in line 4 indicating that God would give something to the speaker, we may assume that line 5 implies that the kingdom is being given to the speaker,<sup>23</sup> who refers to himself as God's servant. The king, of course, is referred to as the Lord's servant in Pss 18, 89 and others of the RPss. The idea of God giving his anointed servant the kingdom may draw on the situation presented in Ps 2 and other RPss where God installs the Davidic king and promises him that he will rule over all nations (cf. e.g. 1 Sam 28:17; Dan 2:37; 7:18, 22, 27; Matt 5; Luke 12:32; Rev 11:15).
- The text in line 6 indicates that something was "spurned" by someone (נאצו). Perhaps the most frequent use of this verb in the biblical text is in reference to individuals or groups spurning, or rejecting, God (e.g. Num. 14:11; Deut. 31:20; Ps 10:13), His name (Ps 74:10, 18), or His counsel (Ps 107:11; Prov. 1:30; Isa. 5:24). At times, it is the Lord that spurns humans (e.g. Jer. 14:21; Deut. 32:19) and in Lam. 2:6, the Lord spurns the kings and priests of His people. However, in line 6, there reference is not to God, but to a group. In keeping with the royal imagery of this text, we could speculate that, as so often is the case in the RPss, the servant is being persecuted by his enemies (see Pss 2:1; 18:4-5, 17-18, 40, 43; 89:38, 41; 118:22). However, this is

<sup>23</sup> As does Rowe in *ibid.*, 100, 176.

necessarily speculation, and none of these passages from the RPs uses the specific term for “spurn” or “reject” (רָאָה) used here.

- The term רָאָה (pure gold) in line 4 shows up in Ps 21:4 where God sets a crown of “pure gold” on the king’s head. This is the only occurrence of this word in the MT Psalter. Due to the royal tone of this fragment, we can speculate that the author meant for this to be a reference to a crown of pure gold although the text is too fragmentary to arrive at any sure conclusion.

Despite the fragmentary nature of the text, I have identified terms and images that may have been borrowed from the royal tradition. There is no one RP that represents the primary inspiration for the text, but what we may be seeing is the author borrowing themes from a number of different sources in order to construct a picture of a royal figure that is possibly elevated by God, crowned, and given authority over God’s kingdom. However, these conclusions are necessarily speculative.

### 5.2.3 *Fragment 24a + b*

1. ..š ..[ ]ykm .[
2. And my tongue like a coal and no one can extinguish (it) until y[
3. completely. Selah vacat
4. A Tehillah of the Man of G[o]d. YHWH God[
5. He has redeemed Judah from all distress, and from Ephraim .[
6. generation. And his tested ones will<sup>24</sup> praise him and say, ‘*Rise up [my] G[od]*  
]’g[
7. *your name (is) my salvation. My rock, my fortress, and [my] deliverer* (Ps  
18:3)[  
] *On the day of [my] dis[tress]*
8. *I will call to YHWH, and my God will answer me* (Ps 18:7). My help[  
]those who hate me. And he will say [ ]
9. that[ ]h.š. [ ]l’m And I š[ *my cry be[fore*  
*him comes to his ears* (Ps 18:7).
10. *And [my] voi[ce from his temple he will hear* (Ps 18:7). *And] the earth reeled*  
*[and rocked ]t for he was angry* (Ps 18:8). *There went up*
11. *in [his] nostrils [smoke* (Ps 18:9)]. [ ]...kl [ ]m he taught and  
instruction
12. [ ] vacat

<sup>24</sup> The future tense of the verbs is used here, following Schuller’s reconstruction in *Non-Canonical Psalms* and in harmony with the translation of the verbs in the last half of the DJD translation.

### Analysis:

As discussed in section 4.2.1, the psalm contained on fragments 24a+b “draws extensively” on Ps 18.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, Esther Chazon considered it to be “a prayer that is a reworked version of Psalm 18.”<sup>26</sup> The text quotes, in lines 7-11, from Ps 18:3, 7-9 and also alludes to 18:19 and 18:4 (or 18:18). As discussed, Chazon saw the author of the text as having selected key phrases from the first part of Ps 18 and consolidated them into a single cry for deliverance followed by God’s powerful response. The plea of the Davidic king from Ps 18 is here placed in the mouth of the “tested ones” of Judah (lines 5-6). We should note, however, that this Qumran psalm appears to deliberately maintain a connection to the royal figure of Ps 18 through its title: “*Tehillah* of the Man of God.” The “man” referenced is most likely, according to Esther Chazon, King David,<sup>27</sup> who is called “man of God” in Neh. 12:24 and 2 Chr. 8:14, and was also likely recognized as the speaker in Ps 18, if the Qumran author was aware of the superscription that psalm now bears, or one similar to it.<sup>28</sup>

Like the psalmist in Ps 18:7, the “tested ones” of fragment 24 praise God after He has redeemed them from their time of distress (line 5-6). The initial petition for God to “rise up” is not taken from Ps 18, but is a common petition in parallel texts such as Pss 21:14, 68:1, 132:8 and others,<sup>29</sup> where the speaker calls on God to arise and come to deliver him from his enemies. Pss 68 and 132 especially depict a cultic setting for this petition, which would be appropriate if 4Q381, as suggested above, were meant to be performed in some type of cultic situation.

Line 7 of the text starts with the words “Your name is my salvation,” which also has no direct parallel in Ps 18. However, Schuller suggests that due to the extensive use of Ps 18 in subsequent lines, this phrase should probably be seen as reflecting the expression in Ps 18:3, “the horn of my salvation.”<sup>30</sup> Line 7 goes on to quote from Ps 18:3a, referring to the Lord as “my rock, my fortress, and my deliverer.” The text then continues with a freer

<sup>25</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 121.

<sup>26</sup> Chazon, “The Use of the Bible,” 89.

<sup>27</sup> See DJD XI, 91; Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 28; *idem*, “Qumran Pseudepigraphic Psalms,” 2; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 343. Another possibility that Schuller raises is that the “man of God” could be a reference to Moses or almost any other holy man. Although the majority of the attributions in 4Q381 seem to be to royal figures, the collection may have been meant to be joined with 4Q380, which, if this is the case, may indicate that this was a broader collection of non-Davidic psalms attributed to various types of figures. However, 4Q381 was apparently written by a different hand than 4Q380, and if it was an independent work, it would seem to have been a collection of mostly royal psalms. Wise, et al., comment on the fact that this fragment contains extracts from Ps 18, a royal psalm attributed to David.

<sup>28</sup> See Chazon, “Use of the Bible,” 89. Chazon argues: “Whoever attached the title, whether the psalmist himself or the editor of the collection, evidently recognized the references to Psalm 18 = 2 Samuel 22, knew of that biblical psalm’s ascription to David on the occasion of his deliverance from all his enemies, and exploited these connections to attribute the new psalm to the Davidic Man of God (cf. Neh 12:24, 2 Chr 8:14).”

<sup>29</sup> As discussed in sections 4.2.3 and 4.4.2.

<sup>30</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 119.

rendering of verses 7-9 and also alludes to 18:19 and 18:4. With a detailed analysis this is outlined by Schuller.<sup>31</sup> In her general comments on the fragment, she observes:

The phrase in line 7 וּמִצְוֹדָתִי וּמִפְּלִטָּי, the last colon of line 9, everything which remains of line 10, and the beginning of line 11 seem to follow Ps 18/2 Sam 22 most closely; the middle of this section (that is, the end of line 7, line 8 and the first part of line 9) seem to be more freely composed, although still with some links or allusions to Ps 18/2 Sam 22...<sup>32</sup>

Some expressions extraneous to Ps 18 are common elsewhere in the Qumran library. For example, the petition for God to “rise up” in this context of prayer for deliverance/song of praise is also found in 1QM XIV:16. The use of the expression “On the day of my distress” in line 7 of fragment 24 instead of the phrase in Ps 18:7, “In my distress,” seems to reflect the common image in the Qumran texts of the eschatological “time of distress” that would test the faithful.<sup>33</sup> The change in this phrase, along with the unconverted *waw*-consecutive imperfects throughout<sup>34</sup> support the suggestion that this hymn looks forward to a time of affliction that the chosen community expected to have to pass through before the promised time of deliverance.

Chazon argues that the insertion of the imperative “Rise up, [my] G[od]” and other changes into the lines from Ps 18 appear to transform “the biblical royal psalm of thanksgiving into a prayer that now shares affinities with the genre of laments of the individual.”<sup>35</sup> Chazon, analyzing the text as a whole, reasons that this new, reworked version of Ps 18 should be understood as a communal lament, a liturgical recitation that the tested ones will perform in the “perhaps immediate” future, as indicated in line 6.<sup>36</sup> This possibility could perhaps explain why the text in line 10 directly quotes Ps 18:8, including both its *waw*-consecutive imperfects and its final perfect verb, which are apparently meant to be taken as referring to past events in the canonical psalm. If this text was part of a liturgical recitation, perhaps at this point in the worship service the speaker (or congregation) was supposed to recite this verse from Ps 18 directly. In support of this possibility it is interesting to note that the portion (vv. 7b-8) of Ps 18 that is quoted in line 10 of the text is out of place – it should have come in line 8. Perhaps this evidences why the preceding lines of the text appear to be more paraphrastic – they may have been part of the liturgical service used by the author

<sup>31</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 115-21.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-22.

<sup>33</sup> See 1QpHab V:6; 1QS X:17; 1QM I:12; XV:1; 4Q171 1-10 IV:19; 4Q380 7i:3; 4Q460 7:11; and many others. The motif of the individual in distress is especially common throughout the *Hodayot*.

<sup>34</sup> See discussion in section 4.2.1. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 118, 20. Chazon, “The Use of the Bible,” 89. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 343.

<sup>35</sup> Chazon, “The Use of the Bible,” 88.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 89, see note 11. She states: “Based on this understanding, I take the imperfect forms of the verb with *waw* in line 6 to be unconverted forms referring to the tested ones’ liturgical recitation in the, perhaps immediate, future.”

whereas line 10 (and subsequent lines?) may have been points where Ps 18 was to be recited directly.

Although it is unknown if or how this composition would have been used liturgically, it is clear that the entire fragment is structured closely around Ps 18, with the few additions generally being common phraseology as found in other Qumran texts that represent expressions of a common tradition.<sup>37</sup> As concluded in section 4.2.1, 4Q381 24a+b should be considered to be a reworking of Ps 18 that follows a similar exegetical pattern to the reworking of Ps 89 that is found in 4QPs89. Verses from the canonical psalm are quoted or paraphrased and rearranged to fit the purposes of the author. This would include the depicting of an eschatological scenario in which the faithful community looks forward to God's deliverance from their suffering during the time of distress.

#### 5.2.4 *Fragment 28*

1.           ]before him (Ps 18:13). And [with] *coals of fire* (Ps 18:14) he will *scatter* (Ps 18:15) [
2.           ]. to them. And he will *rout them* (Ps 18:15) and he.[
3.           ]hope for your enemies. They will be cut off [
4.           ].. .m . . . . .[

#### *Fragment 29*

1.           ].btw '[
2.           ]and he will send his angels and he..[
3.           *at the bl]ast of the breath of your nostrils* (Ps 18:16) all fle[sh] will perish[
4.           ]my God, you send your hand [

Analysis:

Fragments 28 and 29 should be evaluated together.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, there is a reasonable possibility that these should be seen as related to fragments 24a+b, analyzed above, based on their dependence on verses of Ps 18 that are in close proximity to those drawn on in fragment 24.

Fragment 28 seems to be drawing on Ps 18:13-15 (Evv. 12-14), which includes the lines: "Thick clouds came from the radiance before him... the Most High uttered his voice: hailstones and coals of fire ... And he sent out his arrows and scattered them; he flashed forth

<sup>37</sup> As discussed in section 4.2.2.

<sup>38</sup> See arguments in DJD XI, 115.

lightnings and routed them ...” Then fragment 29 quotes this phrase from 18:16 (Ev. 15): “...at the blast of breath from his nostrils.”<sup>39</sup>

Instead of presenting events, as does Ps 18, in the historical past, fragments 28 and 29 follow the orientation of fragment 24, depicting events as something that the speaker expects to happen in a future time. The call for God to “rise up” and come to defend the speaker, followed by his departure in vengeful wrath from his temple, is depicted in fragment 24 (based on Ps 18:7-9). This is followed by a version of the biblical psalm’s dramatic presentation of God’s assault on the speaker’s enemies. God comes “[with] coals of fire” in order to scatter the enemies; he routs them; they will be cut off; there will be no hope for them. The speaker seems to envision an eschatological setting in which God will come in his wrath to destroy the wicked – a time when “the blast of the breath” of God’s nostrils will cause all flesh to perish.

There are several thematic elements of the psalm from 4Q381 that are original in that they are not found in Ps 18. One novel feature of the Qumran psalm that is not included in the biblical psalm is the presence of the angels that are sent by God (29:2) to assist in the depicted destruction. Although there is no mention of angelic messengers in Ps 18, other biblical accounts of the theophanic arrival of God to deliver his servant(s) from the hand of enemies do include additional celestial beings. A number of examples of the inclusion of angels can be found in the Hebrew Bible. This would include in Ps 78:49 (cf. Ps 68:17), Deut 33:2, and Judg 5:20-23. In some of the later prophets, the narrative takes on an eschatological flavor, as exemplified by the colorful depiction of the “Day of the Lord,” where the Lord comes “thundering” as he leads his mighty host to destroy the wicked in Joel 2:1-11 and the similar expectation in Zech 14:3-5.<sup>40</sup>

Another element in the non-canonical psalm that is not found in Ps 18 is the notion of God “sending” his “hand” (29:4), although Ps 18:35 does mention that king is sustained by God’s “right hand.” The idea of God sending aid or supporting with his hand is common in many of the Pss, including the RPss. Ps 144:7 says: “Send out your hand from on high; rescue me and deliver me from the many waters, from the hand of foreigners...” Similarly, in Ps 138:7, the hand of the Lord is against the psalmist’s enemies and he is upheld by God’s “right hand.” In Ps 89, the Lord is praised for the strength and exalted status of his right hand (89:14; Ev. 13). In 89:22 (Ev. 21), we are specifically informed that his hand/arm will establish and strengthen “David, my servant.” Then in 89:26 (Ev. 25), the psalmist presents an image where God now places David’s “hand on the sea and his right hand on the rivers,” in parallel to God’s hand overcoming the waters in the opening verses. We read similar

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<sup>39</sup> Except that the 4Q381 version addresses God in the second person instead of presenting the scene as a historical event in which God is referred to in the third person as does the biblical psalm.

<sup>40</sup> For more on the topic of the “Day of Yahweh,” see section 1.1.2.12 of the introduction to this thesis.

language in Ps 80:17: “But let your hand be on the man of your right hand, the son of man whom you have made strong for yourself!” The mention in fragment 29 of God’s “hand” being sent is, therefore, in line with the interest in God’s hand in the RPss and the connection made there to the royal figure.

Although the specific imagery of the angels and the “hand” of God being “sent” may seem foreign to Ps 18, these fragments nevertheless follow the general structure of that psalm, continuing with the same narrative of the Lord’s wrathful theophany contained in fragment 24. Ps 18 does contain the general notions discussed above: that the Lord has power over the waters (Ps 18:15), that he reaches down to deliver the king from the waters/enemies (18:16; 35), and that he strengthens the king (with his right hand) (18:29, 32-45, 47-50). We also see the idea that the Lord has trained the king’s hands to effectively do what the Lord can do (cf. Ps 89:26), at least on the battlefield. The precedent for what appears in the other biblical passages cited above and for what we read in 4Q381 28-29 is found in Ps 18.

### 5.2.5 *Fragment 31*

1. [ ] *in the net which [they] hi[d]* (Ps 9:16).. ..[ ]...[ ]  
]. *I will sing to* [ ] [ ] .ny ‘ .[ ] b.[ ]
2. [ ] *I will ponder your marvels*, for to [ ] before you. You š[ ], you save me, and *bring me up from tents of death*; and you[ ] . to the *heights* of all [ ]
3. [ ] a]ll its ways will come to ‘w.[ ] . in a holy place[ *Selah* ] vacat
4. [Prayer of ki]ng of Judah. Hear, [my] G[od ] .šyk ..m.t my strength [ ] .tk. I will recount before those who fear you [ ] ...[ ] with me ..[ ]
5. [ ] your [tho]ughts, who can understand them? *For my foes are many before you—you know them*—and those who hate my life you have overturned before your e[yes]. For I live [ ]
6. [ ] *you will [not] hide the sins of those who possess understanding*, but you slaughter them. God of my salvation, the days of my existence are fixed. And what can be done? Here I am, weak, and how
7. [ ] you hand over ]those who wait for me to the sword. On the day of wrath, those who say p‘nh They have woven a wreath for my head. For the magnificence of nsyb is their glory, and their ornamentation
8. [ ] Im my lips a question s[ ] .. [ ] ... from the *book of li[f]e* (Ps 69:28) [and] those who terrify me will cease, [and] my enemies will perish, and no ...k..n



The sources that served as inspiration for the more complete psalm (lines 4-9) are somewhat more difficult to identify, but it seems that Ps 69 was an influence here. Ps 69 describes a crisis of the Lord's "servant" with imagery that echoes some of the RPss. This is precisely what led John Eaton to list it as one of a group of Pss that contain "clearly royal content."<sup>44</sup> The non-canonical psalm here appears to identify itself as a royal psalm with the reconstructed title, "[Prayer of ... ki]ng of Judah."<sup>45</sup> Fragment 31, line 5 says: "For my foes are many before you—you know them—and those who hate my life you have overturned before your e[yes]." Similarly, Ps 69:18-19 has: "deliver me because of my enemies. You know my reproach, and my shame, and my dishonor: my foes are all before you" (cf. 69:4). Line 6 states: "you will [not] hide the sins of those who possess understanding," which is reminiscent of Ps 69:5: "God, you know how foolish I am, and my sins are not hidden from you." Line 8 mentions the "Book of Life," an expression that is also found in Ps 69:28. These parallels notwithstanding, there is not sufficient evidence to determine that this psalm from fragment 31 is as closely based on Ps 69 as fragments 24, 28 and 29 are based on Ps 18. However, it is reasonable to hypothesize, as Schuller does, that "the unmistakable impression is that the author of our psalm has somehow been conscious of Ps 69."<sup>46</sup>

#### 5.2.6 *Fragments. 33a+b + 35*

1. [ ] and he will not find a remnant for it. [ ]..t they will complete and t[
2. And you set times for me and lmyš[ Above the heaven]s, rise up, YHWH, and, [my] God[ ]
3. And we glory in your might, for unsearchable[ you] s[e]t me. And may your reproach become for me [joy]
4. everlasting and for your praise. For my sins are too many for me, and .[ ]lkl me. But you, my God, send your spir[it], and [give your mercy]
5. to the son of your handmaiden, and your lovingkindness to the servant near to you (Ps 86:16). And h[ I] cry out in joy, and I rejoice in you before those who fear [you]. For [you judge]
6. your servants in your righteousness, and according to your lovingkindness [ ] to deliver 'š[ ] [ ] to you Selah vacat
7. vacat
8. Prayer of Manasseh, King of Judah, when the King of Assyria imprisoned him. [My G]o[d ] near, my salvation is before your eyes. What[ ] l [

<sup>44</sup> See Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 51-53.

<sup>45</sup> See Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 138.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

9. I wait for your saving presence, and I cringe before you because of my s[in]s. For [you] magnified [your mercy ]but I multiplied guilt. And so I [will be cut off]  
 10. from eternal joy, and my soul will not see what is good. For [ ]y they went into exile and '[ ]H]e exalted me on high, over a nation [ ]  
 11. But I did not remember you [in your] h[oly pla]ce, [I] did not serve [you ]ly [ ]

#### Analysis:

Although these are three fragments, Schuller has argued convincingly that they belong together.<sup>47</sup> With acceptance of this conclusion, there are two identifiable psalms present in these fragments, including the final lines of one, ending in line 6, and the initial lines of another in lines 8-11. Both Pss have features that make them reminiscent of some of the RPss.

Due to the fact that these psalms, like those in fragment 31, are quite well preserved, a consideration of form and genre is called for. The first psalm takes the form of an individual lament in which the psalmist summons God, petitioning him to “rise up” and show mercy to the psalmist and deliver him from his many sins. He expresses confidence that because of the Lord’s loving-kindness, his prayer will be answered. Similarly, the second psalm petitions the Lord for his “saving presence” and laments his wrongdoings. Although God has been kind to him, the psalmist fears God’s judgment because despite God’s mercy, the psalmist has only responded with failure to do God’s will. Both psalms, similar to the biblical Ps 51, emphasize the theme of confession of sin.

As Newsom and Schuller note, there do not appear to be any direct quotations from the Hebrew Bible in these psalms.<sup>48</sup> Lines 4-5 (But you, my God, send your spir[it], and [give your mercy] to the son of your handmaiden, and your loving-kindness to the servant near to you), however, have a very close parallel in Ps 86:16, which has: “Oh turn unto me, and *have mercy* upon me; Give thy strength *unto thy servant*, And save *the son of thy handmaid*” (cf. Ps 116:16). As pointed out in the earlier analysis of 4Q381 fragment 15, which draws on this same passage, Ps 86 has many parallels with Ps 89, was considered to be Davidic, and may have likewise been considered to be a “royal” psalm. In fragment 15, the speaker refers to himself as the Lord’s “servant” and his “handmaid’s son,” and also sees himself as the Lord’s “anointed.” Likewise, the speaker in this first psalm of fragments 33/35, by using these appellations, is apparently placing himself in the position of the royal (or comparable) figure, one who enjoys a close (covenantal?) relationship with God. As seen in a number of Davidic Pss,<sup>49</sup> the speaker here praises God, laments over his sins, and prays for mercy and

<sup>47</sup> See Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 147-148; DJD XI, 122.

<sup>48</sup> DJD XI, 122.

<sup>49</sup> See Pss 32, 38, 51, 89, 130, 143

deliverance. Although many of the early RPss depict the king as being blameless (e.g. Ps 18:20-27) or aspiring to be such (e.g. Ps 101:2), many of the Pss later attributed to King David (or the Davidic monarchy) take on this theme of penitence and confession of sin. Ps 89 also seems to move in this direction.

The title of the second psalm from 4Q381 fragments 33/35 (starting on line 8) is well-preserved, reading: “Prayer of Manasseh, King of Judah, when the King of Assyria imprisoned him.” This, too, is clearly meant to be a royal psalm. The title is reminiscent of many of the biblical Pss which contain biographical information regarding King David in their superscripts, including Pss 3; 18; 51; 60; 142 and others.<sup>50</sup> As Gordon Wenham observes, the King David presented in the biographical headings is not the glorious founder of the temple and its worship that we see portrayed in Chronicles, but the flawed, struggling monarch that is described in the books of Samuel. Quoting Martin Kleer, Wenham asserts: “‘The biographical headings portray David predominantly as the persecuted, betrayed and captured, as the mourning and guilty one.’ These psalms exemplify problems that the pious may experience, inviting them ‘like David to overcome... particularly life’s crises with the help of his psalms and with God.’”<sup>51</sup> The RPs presented in fragments 33/35 depict this type of monarch – one who is persecuted and afflicted, and one who is guilty of sin and humbly pleading for the Lord’s mercy and deliverance. Although some of the biblical RPss depict a strong, glorious warrior-king who appears to be free from the taints of sin, others focus on this persecuted figure who is within the grasp of Sheol and cries out for deliverance.

The repentant mood of this second psalm of fragments 33/35 makes its attribution to King Manasseh appropriate. The idea that the wicked King Manasseh humbles himself, repents, and finds redemption is foreign to the story we have of him from the Deuteronomist, but the Chronicler is familiar with a tradition that depicts Manasseh as humbling himself and being accepted by God (2 Chr 33:10-20). Schuller posits the question of whether the author of the non-canonical psalm was influenced by the text of 2 Chr 33. She argues that there does not appear to be any direct dependence, and that “it is more likely that this psalm was only secondarily attributed to Manasseh, and not composed specifically as a psalm of Manasseh.”<sup>52</sup> In other words, she believes that a later editor found this psalm about repentance and confession and, because they were familiar with the story of Manasseh’s repentance, attributed the psalm to him. Schniedewind, however, argues that the Qumran psalm is early,

<sup>50</sup> Pss 3; 7; 18; 34; 51; 52; 54; 56; 57; 59; 60; 63; 142.

<sup>51</sup> Gordon J. Wenham, *Psalms as Torah: Reading Biblical Song Ethically* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2012), 36-37. Wenham quotes Martin Kleer, *Der liebliche Sanger der Psalmen Israels: Untersuchungen zu David als Dichter und Beter der Psalmen*, BBB 108 (Bodenheim: Philo, 1996), 116.

<sup>52</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 162.

perhaps pre-exilic, and that it may have been the inspiration for the Chronicler's mention of Manasseh's prayer.<sup>53</sup>

Whatever the case may be, the Pss contained in these fragments arguably depict the situation of multiple royal figures, albeit rulers who are flawed and who suffer before being delivered by God and exalted. It is possible that the emphasis on the erring, sorrowful royal figure in these non-canonical Pss may be a result of Deuteronomistic or Second Temple perspectives on the monarchy, which idea may be supported by the common scholarly position that the superscriptions of the biblical Pss were inserted at a late date by editors of the Psalter. Although there may have been a concerted effort to depict monarchs in a negative light in order to fit a certain agenda, it should be noted as well that a number of the biblical RPss already contain many of these elements. For example, in line 2 of fragments 33/35, there is a call for Yahweh to "rise up" that, as has been previously discussed, can be found in Pss 21:14 and 132:8. In these non-canonical psalms we see the archetypal pattern of the king in need of God's deliverance, the lamenting because of enemies/sins, the pleas to God for help, and the praise of God's great power that can be found in various forms and degrees in Pss 18, 20, 68, 86, 89, 118, 144, and others.

### 5.2.7 *Frg. 45 a + b*

1. and I understand, and the one who does not understand I teach, and to him [ ] [ ]y; and I fear you, and I purify myself
2. from abominations (that) I knew/cut down;<sup>54</sup> and I give my soul to be humbled before [you ] they multiplied sin, and against me they plot
3. to shut me up. But as for me, I trusted in you[ ]l [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]
4. And do not set me in judgment with you, my God [ ]
5. Those who conspire against me loosed a deceit[ful] tongue[ ]
6. To me deeds of š.. [ ].... ..[ ]
7. To h.. ..[ ]

Analysis:

<sup>53</sup> William M. Schniedewind, "A Qumran Fragment of the Ancient 'Prayer of Manasseh'?" *ZAW* 108 (1996), 105-07.

<sup>54</sup> The verb here (הכרת) is difficult to translate in this context. Schuller suggests: a) "the abominations which I knew" (from נכר); b) "the abominations which I cut down" (perhaps referring to asherim, from כרת); c) as the start of a new colon: "I acknowledged, and I gave my soul..." See Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 173-4.

This psalm presents another song of lament in which the speaker complains about his enemies and expresses trust and confidence in the Lord. It has affinities to Ps 86 and the RPss.

Schuller suggests that attributing the psalm to a specific king of Judah may be possible. If we understand the first clause in line 2 to read: “from abominations (that) I cut down,” this may be a reference, as Schuller argues, to one of the kings of Judah who is said to have purged corrupt elements from the cult, specifically here cutting down the *asherim*. These kings would include Asa (1 Kgs 15:13), Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:4), Josiah (2 Kgs 23:14), or possibly Manasseh (2 Chr 33:15).<sup>55</sup> She notes that the verb להכנע (“to be humbled”) in line 2 resembles the descriptions of Josiah, Hezekiah, and especially Manasseh and Amon in Chronicles.<sup>56</sup> Finally, she suggests that the phrase ועלי יזמו להסגירני (lines 2-3) does not seem appropriate for Hezekiah or Josiah, but may fit a psalm about Manasseh. In the end, Schuller does cautiously favor attributing this psalm to Manasseh and suggests the text is perhaps a continuation of fragment 33. However, she does acknowledge that the verbs and phrases she bases her arguments upon are typical of laments in general.<sup>57</sup>

Arguably, the basis of Schuller’s argument is not strong enough to attempt attribution to any particular biblical king. The claimed reference to cutting down *asherim* does not seem to fit the overall context of the psalm. The incomplete text makes it difficult to make a determination on exactly how the phrase is being used. The themes of sin and repentance, humility, and the threat of enemies, however, do reflect similar motifs found in the RPss.

### 5.2.8 *Fragment 46 a + b*

1. [ ] against me [ ]
2. [ abun]dance of *your lovingkindness*[ ]b and I[ ] and you give me a *horn* [ ]
3. [ ].tw in you; and ’š.[ ]fools. Your laws, and your splendour and [your] beauty [ ]
4. and *like clouds they are scattered* over the fa[ce of the earth [ ]].t l’btyn’ they are scattered in great number until ’ [ ] ny w[ ]’t
5. humans will not prevail and will not rise [ ]You [*te*]*sted* everyone; and *chosen ones*, like offerings, you cleanse before you, and hated one[s]

<sup>55</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 174.

<sup>56</sup> Schuller does not give references for the specific passages in 2 Chr she is referring to, but see, e.g., 2 Chr 31-32 (Hezekiah is submissive to YHWH; faces Sennacherib); 33:12-20 (Manasseh humbles himself, prays to God, repents); 33:23-25 (Amon sins and is assassinated); 34-35 (Josiah learns of the scroll of the law, carries out reforms, is killed in battle).

<sup>57</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 175-6.

6. you reject like impurity. And a stormy wind [ ]their [d]eed, but those who fear you are before you always. Horns are *horns of*
7. *iron* with which *to gore many*, and they gore[ ]a line; *you make their hoofs bronze* (Mic 4:13), and sinners like dung
8. are trampled upon the face of the earth. And [ ]they are driven [from] before b..[ ] in them; but your spirit ... .lh
9. [ ]. and a blaz[ing] fire[ ]..[ ] .1 [ ]..[ ]l

#### Analysis:

Regarding the psalm on this fragment, DJD XI has the following comments, regarding its use of the biblical Pss:

Although most other Pss in this collection draw specifically on biblical psalmic texts, this passage takes up an unusual text from Mic 4:13; otherwise, there is little direct reuse of biblical texts.<sup>58</sup>

These authors are underestimating the degree that the psalm is dependent on themes that are found in the biblical Pss, and particularly in the RPss. This psalm from 4Q381 fragment 46 borrows imagery and language from Ps 112, while also echoing more distantly Pss 18 and 89, as well as drawing on not only the prophecies of Micah, but also of Joel and other eschatological visions. This psalm creates an eschatological scenario in which the “chosen ones,” led by what may be a royal figure, are separated out from the wicked, cleansed, and are given power by God to destroy the wicked.

The psalm in fragment 46 is incomplete, to the degree that the content of each line frequently does not seem to relate to the next. For this reason, it is sometimes difficult to follow the thrust of the overall here proposed theme. In line 2, the reference to the abundance of “your lovingkindness” (ךהסדיך) is possibly drawn from Joel 2:13, where the abundance of lovingkindness (רבהחסד) is a characteristic of the Lord that allows the inhabitants of Zion to be forgiven of their sins if they turn back to him. Reference to the Lord’s חסד is common in the Psalter, including the RPss. In Ps 18:51, the Lord shows deliverance and loving-kindness to his anointed king, to David and his descendants. חסד is mentioned in RPss 21:8;101:1; 118:1, 2, 3, 4, 29; and 144:2.

Similar to line 2 of this 4Q381 psalm, Ps 89:25 mentions both the loving-kindness of the Lord on behalf of King David and also the “horn” that David possesses: “My faithfulness and my loving-kindness shall be with him, and in my name shall his horn be exalted.” The horn is mentioned again in line 6 of the non-canonical psalm, in the plural, but in line 2 it is a

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<sup>58</sup> DJD XI, 135.

single speaker who has been given the horn, apparently by God. The significance of the horn and the dichotomy between singular versus plural horns will be discussed below.

Line 4 is difficult to interpret; the editors of DJD XI call the last half of the line “puzzling.”<sup>59</sup> However, if examining the imagery depicted in this line through the lens of eschatological prophecy and the RPss, the scenario becomes clearer. The mention of “clouds scattered” (וכעננימ יפרשו) over the face of the earth and something<sup>60</sup> being “scattered” (יפוצו) in great number evokes descriptions of the Day of Yahweh, in which the theophanic arrival of the Divine Warrior is accompanied by the presence of clouds and his scattered people are gathered back to their promised lands. We read in Ezekiel 34:12 of the day when the Lord will come to gather his people:

As a shepherd seeks out his flock when some of his sheep have been *scattered* (נפרשות) abroad, so will I seek out my sheep; and I will rescue them from all places where they have been *scattered* (נפוצו) on a day of clouds (ענן) and thick darkness.<sup>61</sup>

Such visions of the day of the coming of the Lord seem to draw on the thematic tradition found in Ps 18, where the Lord comes in his wrath to save the Davidic king and punish his enemies:

12 He made darkness his covering around him, his canopy *thick clouds*<sup>62</sup> dark with water. 13 Out of the brightness before him there broke through *his clouds* hailstones and coals of fire (Evv. 11-12).

Although this is ultimately the imagery that the non-canonical psalm from fragment 46 is using, it should be emphasized that line 4 actually states that something will be spread *like* clouds over the face of the earth. The following section of the line speaks of something being dispersed in great number, and then in line 5 people are “tested” and the “chosen ones” are cleansed, while the “hated ones” are rejected. The scenario is the Day of Yahweh, the clouds in this context are the armies that are mustered to come against rebellious Israel and scatter them, which would be part of the Lord’s “testing” of his people. In Jeremiah 4, we read of the “hordes of invaders” (4:16) that God allows to come upon his people as punishment for their rebellion. Jeremiah 4:13 describes the approaching enemy:

Behold, he comes up *like clouds* (כעננים), his chariots like the whirlwind; his horses are swifter than eagles -- woe to us, for we are ruined!

The same type of imagery is utilized in Joel 2, where the invading hosts are associated with the Day of Yahweh and the accompanying clouds and darkness. The language of the army being “scattered” over the earth is used.

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<sup>59</sup> DJD XI, 136.

<sup>60</sup> Due to the broken text here, we do not know what was “dispersed.”

<sup>61</sup> See also Joel 2:2; 1 Kgs 22:17.

<sup>62</sup> The term for cloud used here is עב instead of ענן.

A day of darkness and gloom, a day of *clouds* (ענני) and thick darkness! Like blackness there is *scattered* (פּרָשׁ) upon the mountains a great and powerful people; their like has never been from of old, nor will be again after them through the years of all generations (Joel 2:2).

If the author of our Qumran psalm is, indeed, following this scenario, then the thing that is dispersed in the last half of line 4 is likely either the invading army as they spread and destroy, or it is the people of Judah that are being scattered as a result. In Micah 4:6, God promises to restore those who He has caused to be scattered:

In that day, says the LORD, I will assemble the lame and gather those who have been dispersed, and those whom I have afflicted.

As mentioned above, line 5 of this psalm from 4Q381 goes on to indicate that these events are part of a “testing” and that it has served to separate out the “chosen ones” and that they would be “cleansed” as offerings<sup>63</sup> before the Lord. In the eschatological prophecy in Zechariah 13, after the shepherd has been stricken and the sheep scattered, they are tested and refined:

8 In the whole land, says the LORD, two thirds shall be cut off and perish, and one third shall be left alive. 9 And I will put this third into the fire, and refine them as one refines silver, and test them as gold is tested. They will call on my name, and I will answer them. I will say, `They are my people'; and they will say, `The LORD is my God.'"<sup>64</sup>

The “stormy wind” of line 6 is also found in theophanies and eschatological scenarios, including the vision in Ezek 1 where the fiery theophanic cloud is likewise accompanied by a “stormy wind.” In Ezekiel 13:11, 13, the stormy wind is again mentioned when the Lord comes in judgment.

This leads into lines 6-8, which quote extensively from Micah 4:13. The text seems to indicate that the chosen ones, they who fear God, will be given horns (pl.) of iron and bronze hooves for the purpose of goring and trampling their enemies. After Israel has been tested and the remnant restored to Zion, God will lead them to destroy their enemies.<sup>65</sup> It is significant that we see, between line 2 of the psalm and line 6, a transition from a singular horn given to an individual to plural horns being possessed by the chosen ones. This phenomenon could be understood to represent the author’s belief that there would be an individual leader who would be raised up in association with the eschatological events depicted. Additionally, the chosen ones separated out by the Lord would be similar to, or have a similar role to, this individual leader.

<sup>63</sup> See Mal 3:1-4; Isa 4:3-4; cf. Lev 14; Num 8:15.

<sup>64</sup> See also Zech 13:1; Ezek 36:25.

<sup>65</sup> See Joel 3:9-17; Mic 5:1-15; Zech 14:12-15; 1 Kgs 22:11.

“Horn” imagery in the Hebrew Bible is usually used to depict power, including the ability to win military victories. In Numbers 23:22, we read that “God brings them out of Egypt and is for them like the *horns* of the wild ox” (cf. Num 24:8). In Moses’ final blessing over the people of Joseph, he declares: “In majesty he will be like a firstborn bull, and his *horns* are the *horns* of a wild ox; with them he will gore the nations and drive them to the ends of the earth” (Deut 33:17). In 1 Samuel 2:1, Hannah prays and exults that “my *horn* is exalted in the Lord.” However, in following her words to verse 10, it appears that her prayer is concerned with God’s king, who, at the time of judgment, will receive strength from the Lord, who will “exalt the *horn* of his anointed.” In 1 Samuel 16:3, Samuel takes a *horn* full of oil to use in anointing David to be the future king,<sup>66</sup> an act which brings the Lord’s Spirit (רוּחַ) upon David. Reminiscent of the passage in Deut 33, in 1 Kgs 22:11, Zedekiah “made for himself *horns of iron* and said, ‘Thus says the Lord, “With these you shall push the Syrians until they are destroyed.”’” In Ps 18:2, the Lord is “the horn” of the psalmist’s salvation. God, in Ps 75:10, declares that the horns of the wicked will be cut off but the horns of the righteous will be exalted. Ps 89 speaks of King David’s horn, along with his people’s, being exalted. Ps 92:10 compares the exaltation of the psalmist’s head to the height of an ox’s horns and likens this to his head being anointed with oil. In Ps 112:9, because the servant, like God, gives gifts to the needy, his horn will be exalted (112:9) and his enemies will be defeated (112:8, 10). In Ps 132:17, the horn that the Lord causes to sprout is a successor to King David.<sup>67</sup> The same language is used in Ezekiel’s prophecy of the horn that will sprout in Ezek 29, just before the prophecy of the destruction on the Day of the Lord. Daniel uses the term “horn” in a similar fashion, to refer to powerful kings/kingdoms. The motif is used similarly in Zechariah, where the “horns” represent the nations who scatter Judah.

From this study of the use of “horn” it is apparent that this image is most often used in relation to kingship or other position of power, whether it be in conjunction with the anointing of the ruler, his exaltation, or the power given to him to defeat his enemies in battle. This power is representative of, or stems from, God’s own power. This imagery can be used to describe both royal figures from Israel and other nations and they can act on behalf of Israel or against them.

1QSb V:26-28 cites Micah 4:13, applying “horns” (pl.) directly to the Prince of the Congregation (sg.) as part of the blessing that the *maskil* is to give him. The text says:

“May He make your horns iron and your hoofs bronze!” (Mic 4:13) May you gore like a bu[ll]      May you trample the nati]ons like mud in the streets! For God has established you as the scepter over the rulers; bef[ore you peoples shall come and bow down, and all nat]ions shall serve you.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. 1 Kgs 1:39.

<sup>67</sup> Compare also Ps 148:14.



Analysis:

Schuller argues that fragment 48, starting with line 7, borrows extensively from Ps 76.<sup>69</sup> Although this is clearly the case, there are a few themes, phrases, and particular words, especially in the parts of the fragment that do not draw upon Ps 76 (lines 1-6), that can arguably be seen as borrowing from Ps 18.

If, in line 10 of the non-canonical psalm, we can reconstruct the word “servant,”<sup>70</sup> which appears in the superscription to Ps 18 and parallels the mention of the Lord’s anointed in 18:50, this fact may support my hypothesis. There is no reference to a servant in Ps 76, which appears to democratize the theme of the deliverance of the Lord’s servant to apply to all “the afflicted in the land” (76:9). Although the editors of DJD XI accept the reconstruction of עַבְדָּךְ in line 10, both the first and last letters of the word are highly damaged, making their reconstruction uncertain.

Schuller finds that the first six lines of the fragment largely borrow from passages in Isaiah; most notably, she sees line 6 (“and I will leap like a deer”) as drawing on Isa 35:6: “Then will the lame leap like a deer.”<sup>71</sup> Again, Schuller is not incorrect to make this connection, but I would note that here we can also find more links to Ps 18. Similar to this imagery of leaping “like a deer,” Ps 18 makes mention of the servant leaping over a wall (18:29) and God having made his feet “as the feet of deer” (18:33). In general terms, the reference in fragment 48, line 4 to testing can be seen as drawing on the theme of persecution of the Lord’s anointed in Ps 18. A number of texts that develop the imagery of the Lord coming in judgment as part of an eschatological setting describe the events involved as a time of testing for the Lord’s chosen people. The assertion that persons will “lie down in trust” (line 5) is reminiscent of the psalmist’s declaration that he will trust in the Lord in Ps 18:2.

What we appear to have with this composition is another depiction of the eschatological scenario, set up in a way that is reminiscent of fragment 46, above. Although the text borrows more directly from Ps 76, we see a single protagonist (e.g. in lines 3-4, 6) as the key actor in the psalm, as in Ps 18, whereas Ps 76 never features a single, first-person speaker. However, Ps 76 was likely useful to the author because of its collective approach. It is more inclusive of the people, the “tested” ones, as a whole compared to Ps 18, featuring mentions of Judah (76:1)<sup>72</sup> and the deliverance of, as mentioned above, “all the afflicted in

<sup>69</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 193; DJD XI, 141.

<sup>70</sup> Following Schuller’s reconstruction in *ibid.*, 188; also DJD XI, 139. The word is poorly preserved, but the first letter appears to be an *ayin*, making עַבְדָּךְ. However, the apparent *dalet* at the end is somewhat dubious as well.

<sup>71</sup> Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 189; DJD XI, 140.

<sup>72</sup> See analysis of fragments 17 and 24 above, where Judah is used as a parallel to the royal figure, likely as a means to democratize passages that refer to the king so that they refer to the community and people as well.

the land” (76:9). Using elements of Ps 18<sup>73</sup> together with Ps 76, the author is able to depict a single figure who acts in the eschatological events together with a group of the faithful. All are similarly strengthened by the Lord to defeat their enemies in battle, much as the royal figure in Ps 18 is given power to overcome his foes.

### 5.3 11Q5/11QP<sup>s</sup><sup>a74</sup>

#### 5.3.1 Psalms 151A:1-7; 151B:1-2 (11QP<sup>s</sup><sup>a</sup> col. XXVIII:1-12)

Psalm 151A:1-7

A Hallelujah of David the Son of Jesse

1. Smaller was I than my brothers  
and the *youngest* of the sons of my father,  
so he made me shepherd of his flock  
and ruler over his kids.
2. My hands have made an instrument  
and my fingers a lyre;  
and [so] have I rendered glory to the Lord,  
thought I, within my soul.
3. The mountains do not witness to him,  
nor do the hills proclaim;  
the trees have cherished my words  
and the flock my works.
4. *For who can proclaim and who can bespeak  
and who can recount the deeds of the Lord?*  
Everything has God seen,  
everything has he heard and he has heeded.
5. He sent *his prophet to anoint me*,  
Samuel to make me great;  
my brothers went out to meet him,  
handsome of figure and appearance.
6. Though they were tall of stature  
and handsome by their hair,  
the Lord God chose  
them not.

<sup>73</sup> Using similar themes, as discussed above, from Isa 35 as well.

<sup>74</sup> Translations based on Sanders, DJD IV. A variant form of Ps 151 survives in Greek in the LXX Psalter. See also the translation of Pss 151-155 by Charlesworth and Sanders in *OTP* 2: 609-24.

7. But he sent and took me from behind the flock  
 and *anointed me with holy oil,*  
*and he made me leader of his people*  
*and ruler over the sons of his covenant.*

Psalm 151B:1-2

At the beginning of David's power after the prophet of God had anointed him.

1. Then I [saw] a Philistine  
 Uttering defiances from the r[anks of the Philistines].
2. ....I.....the.....

Analysis:

Pss 151A and B are written as an autobiographical composition attributed to King David<sup>75</sup> and should likely be seen as a midrash on 1 Samuel 16-17.<sup>76</sup> Ps 151A tells of David's humble background as the least of his brethren, as a shepherd and psalmist, and how he was selected over his brothers to be ruler over Israel. The motif of the youngest, humblest, and most faithful being elevated over the older and more obvious candidates is comparable to similar themes in the RPss. Only two fragmentary verses of 151B are preserved at Qumran. These begin the story of David's encounter with "a Philistine" (Goliath), which story the author relates under the title "At the beginning of David's power after the prophet of God had anointed him." Due to the incomplete nature of 151B, I will focus on 151A in this analysis.

The elevation of David to kingship is the main theme of this psalm. The author creates a parallelism featuring this theme in the first and last verses.<sup>77</sup> Whereas his father put him in the humble position of being "shepherd of his flock and ruler over his kids," God sent Samuel to set him in the parallel, but more exalted status of "leader of his people and ruler over the sons of his covenant." As Reymond notes:

The irony, which is present in the biblical story too but is here underlined by the form of the poem, involves the fact that David's diminutive stature seems to be the reason he is made shepherd of his father's flock . . . , while the reason David is made a

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<sup>75</sup> Flint notes that this psalm and 151B are the "only truly autobiographical Psalms at Qumran" and that both their titles and their content refer to the life of David. He sees the function of these psalms as asserting the Davidic authorship of the 11QPs<sup>a</sup> collection. Flint, "The Dead Sea Psalms," 192.

<sup>76</sup> See J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>)*, DJD IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 56.

<sup>77</sup> See Eric D. Reymond, *New Idioms within the Old: Poetry and Parallelism in the Non-Masoretic Poems of 11Q5 (=11QPs<sup>a</sup>)* (Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 69-74; J. B. Storfjell, "The Chiastic Structure of Psalm 151," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 25 (1987): 97-106, at 99-102; Shemaryahu Talmon, "Extra-Canonical Hebrew Psalms from Qumran—Psalm 151," in idem, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 244-72, at 258; Martin Kleer, *Der liebliche Sänger*, 221-23.

metaphorical shepherd (i.e., king) of a metaphorical flock (i.e., Israel) is explicitly not connected to his physical appearance.

Reymond explains further that the notoriously difficult third verse (“the mountains do not witness...”) <sup>78</sup> provides an additional example that contributes to this theme of the exaltation of the humble youth. He suggests that mountains and hills were often the sites of non-Yahwistic cults and that, as such, were frequently equated with idol worship and worshipers. Because of such associations, and perhaps because of their height as well, he asserts that these geographical features are also used as a metaphor for the “powerful and/or arrogant” (see Isa 2:12-14). The mention of these tall, prideful characters parallels the description of David’s handsome brothers, who are explicitly described as being tall in stature, but who were not chosen by God to be king (vv. 5-6). David, who is said to be the “smallest” and “youngest” of his brothers – the one relegated to tending the sheep – is also the most humble and is, therefore, the one chosen to be made great. <sup>79</sup>

The theme of the elevation of the humble youth is reminiscent of Ps 89:20-30 (Ev. 19-29), where the Lord exalts a “youth” (בַּחֹרֶר, v. 20b) from among the people. <sup>80</sup> Further parallels with Ps 89 include:

- the anointing of David with holy oil (89:21)
- David praises the Lord (89:2-3, 6-11)
- Verse 4 (“Who can proclaim...recount the deeds...”) is reminiscent of similar language in Ps 89:2, 6-9
- in a possible parallel to the role of Samuel and/or the “sons of his covenant” in 151A, Ps 89 states that the vision of David’s election (89:20a) was given to a faithful one (i.e., possibly Samuel or Nathan) or faithful ones (compare LXX, “your sons”) <sup>81</sup>
- the “sons of his covenant” may also allude to Ps 89:29-33, where David’s sons take part in the covenant God made with David (see also Ps 132:12)

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<sup>78</sup> Vs. 3, which mentions the mountains and hills not testifying, and the questionable status of the flora and fauna, has been debated perhaps more than any other segment of Psalm 151A. Some see evidence of allusions to Orphism if the end of the verse is understood to assert that the trees and animals are following David. As this discussion is not especially relevant to the purposes of this analysis, I refer the reader to the following treatments of the topic: F. M. Cross, “David, Orpheus, and Psalm 151:3-4,” *BASOR* 231 (1978): 69-71; I. Rabinowitz, “The Alleged Orphism of 11QPss 28 3-12,” *ZAW* 76 (1964), 193-200; J. Magne, “Orphisme, pythagorisme, essénisme, dans le texte hébreu du Psaume 151?” *RQ* 8 (1975), 508-45; M. Smith, “Psalm 151, David, Jesus, and Opheus,” *ZAW* 93 (1981), 247-53. Reymond has an extensive review of the arguments surrounding this issue. See Reymond, *New Idioms*, 56-65.

<sup>79</sup> See Reymond, *New Idioms*, 65-67.

<sup>80</sup> Tate proposes that this verse should be translated: “I have set (or exalted) a boy over the warrior / I have raised up a young man from the people.” See Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 410.

<sup>81</sup> Hebrew mss differ on בַּחֹרֶר, some with singular or, alternatively, plural. The LXX has τοῦ ἑνὸς υἱοῦ σου. 4QPs89 has בַּחֹרֶרֶךָ. See *ibid.*

Ps 151A was composed to tell the story of King David in a manner that follows biblical accounts and that emphasizes David's election as related in Ps 89. Although Ps 151A is clearly dependent on the traditions (if not the text) of 1 Sam 16 and possibly 2 Sam 7, some significant elements seem to be drawn from Ps 89 (or the traditions behind it), which emphasizes David's praise of God and the role of his "sons" as participants in the covenant.<sup>82</sup>

Although the RPss of the MT Psalter do not feature David himself writing autobiographically after the manner of 151A+B, they are often written in first person and are attributed to David, if only in the superscription. Similar to the biblical RPss, Ps 151A focuses on the exaltation of the young/humble figure that is chosen from among the people. The author of the psalm was writing at a later time when the "sons of the covenant" looked back to their paragon and desired to follow his example.<sup>83</sup> The presence of additional royal motifs, such as the anointing and Davidic covenant, in Ps 151A should lead us to conclude that its author intended to compose it as a royal psalm of David following the biblical narratives of his life and the model of the biblical RPss.

### 5.3.2 *Psalm 154:3-19 (11QPs<sup>a</sup> Col. XVIII)*<sup>84</sup>

3. [Bind] your souls with the good ones  
and with the pure ones to glorify the Most High.
4. Form an assembly to proclaim his salvation,  
And not be lax in making known his might  
And his majesty to simple folk.
5. For to make known the glory of the Lord  
is Wisdom given,
6. And for recounting his many deeds

<sup>82</sup> 2 Sam 7 uses language similar to Ps 89 (compare 2 Sam 7:8-16 with Ps 89:20-38; see also section 1.1.2.7), but focuses on Solomon as heir to the covenant, whereas Ps 89 focuses on "sons," plural. It should be noted that Ps 151A-B do not appear to quote from Ps 89 directly.

<sup>83</sup> I would note here that Wacholder argues for an eschatological interpretation of Ps 151 based on the possibility that the struggles between David and the wild beasts and David and Goliath (mentioned in Syriac renditions, but not fully extant at Qumran) may have been understood as symbolizing eschatological conflicts and also on the idea that the patronym "ben Jesse" attached to David's name in this composition would likely have been understood at the time to refer to an eschatological descendent of Jesse (see Isa. 11:1), a "Second David." Although Wacholder's arguments are of varying strength, the fact that so many of the other psalms from Qumran analyzed in this chapter do appear to have eschatological content indicates to me that an eschatological intent or interpretation of Ps 151 at Qumran is certainly plausible. The mention of the "sons of the covenant" may be a reference to the author's own community, which may imply that he composed the psalm with his present (possibly eschatological) time period in mind. See Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter," 32-35, 57-60, 65-72.

<sup>84</sup> Based on translation and reconstruction by Sanders in DJD IV. Sanders also refers to this psalm as (Syriac) Psalm II, as it was previously known in the Syriac sources. Reconstructions are based on parallel verses in the Syriac manuscripts.

she is revealed to man:

7. To make known to simple folk his might,  
And to explain to senseless folk his greatness,
8. Those far from her gates,  
those who stray from her portals.
9. For the Most High is the Lord of Jacob,  
And his majesty is over all his works.
10. And a man who glorifies the Most High  
He accepts as one who brings a meal offering,
11. as one who offers he-goats and bullocks,  
as one who fattens the altar with many burnt offerings,  
as a sweet-smelling fragrance from the hand of the righteous.
12. From the gates of the righteous is heard her voice,  
And from the assembly of the pious her song.
13. When they eat with satiety she is cited,  
And when they drink in community together,
14. Their meditation is on the Law of the Most High,  
Their words on making known his might.
15. How far from the wicked is her word,  
From all haughty men to know her.
16. Behold the eyes of the Lord  
Upon the good ones are compassionate,
17. And upon those who glorify him he increases his mercy;  
From an evil time will he deliver [their] soul.
18. [Bless] the Lord  
who redeems the humble from the hand of [strangers]  
[and deliv]ers [the pure from the hand of the wicked,]
19. [Who establishes *a horn* out of Ja]cob  
and a judge of [peoples out of Israel;]
20. [*He will spread his tent in Zion*  
*and abide for ever in Jerusalem*] (Ps 132:13).

Analysis:

Looking at this psalm form-critically, Sanders viewed it as a *berakhah*, or “call to worship,” and also recognized it as a sapiential hymn.<sup>85</sup> Ps 154 was preserved in Syriac

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<sup>85</sup> Sanders, DJD IV, 68.

sources<sup>86</sup> and was unknown in Hebrew until its discovery in the 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and 4Q448 scrolls at Qumran.<sup>87</sup> The version of the psalm found in 4Q448 is shorter, being composed of verses 1, 3, 16-17, 18b-c, and 20 of the version in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, and also containing four and a half (fragmentary) lines at the beginning that are not found in the longer version. A translation of these lines is given below, but for convenience I cite here the two lines (5-6) that precede and include verse 3 of the 11QPs<sup>a</sup> version:

5. They were terrified of Senna[cherib and cried out: With a loud voice glorify God, in the congregation]
6. of the many procl[aim His majesty. Bind your souls to the good ones,]

Line 5 mentions the terror experienced by whom we should probably assume to be the people of Judah under the reign of King Hezekiah when Sennacherib invaded (2 Kgs 18-19; 2 Chr 32:1-23). The Syriac manuscripts explicitly associate Ps 154 with Hezekiah in the psalm's title: "The Prayer of Hezekiah, when the Assyrians were surrounding him; and he asked of God deliverance from them."<sup>88</sup> As the Eshels point out, a tradition regarding Hezekiah's request for Isaiah to pray is recorded in 2 Kgs 19:4 and a prayer of Hezekiah himself appears in 2 Kgs 19:15-19. 2 Chronicles 32:20 mentions a prayer for the salvation of Jerusalem attributed to both Hezekiah and Isaiah.<sup>89</sup>

An attribution of this psalm to King Hezekiah also helps us to make sense of the reference in verse 19 to the Lord establishing "a horn out of Ja]cob and a judge of [peoples out of Israel." This verse, as well as verse 20, draws on the biblical Ps 132.

154:19 – Who establishes a horn out of Jacob, and a judge of peoples out of Israel.

154:20 – He who desires His habitation in Zion, chooses Jerusalem forever.<sup>90</sup>

132:17 – There I will make a horn to sprout for David; I have prepared a lamp for my anointed.

132:13 – For the LORD has chosen Zion; He has desired it for His habitation.

<sup>86</sup> See W. Wright, "Some Apocryphal Psalms in Syriac," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 9 (1887), 257-66; M. Noth, "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen," *ZAW* 48 (1930), 1-23; H. F. van Rooy, "The Hebrew and Syriac Versions of Psalm 154," *Journal for Semitics* 5 (1993), 97-109.

<sup>87</sup> See Sanders, DJD IV, 39, 64-70; J. Magne, "Le Psaume 154," *RevQ* 9 (1977), 95-102; P. Auffret, "Structure littéraire et interprétation du Psaume 154 de la grotte 11 de Qumran," *Revue de Qumran* 9 (1977), 513-45; Esther Eshel, Hanan Eshel and Ada Yardeni, "A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and his Kingdom," *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. 42, no. 3/4 (1992), 199-229; Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20, and 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup>," *JBL* 119, no. 4 (2000), 645-659.

<sup>88</sup> See Eshel and Eshel, "4Q448, Psalm 154," 649.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Translation according to Eshel and Eshel, *ibid.*, 647.

If the traditions that associate Ps 132 with Hezekiah are taken into consideration, it is not surprising that Ps 154, also attributed to Hezekiah, borrows from it. The author of Ps 154 must have understood Hezekiah to be the successor to David's throne promised in Ps 132:17 (cf. Ps 132:11; 1 Kgs 11:36). Ps 132:18 indicates that this heir will be given a shining crown, whereas his enemies will be covered with shame, which correlates with verses 17 and 18 of Ps 154, where God delivers the righteous congregation from the hand of the wicked, presumably by means of the "horn" that he establishes.<sup>91</sup> Ps 154 also employs liturgical language (e.g., vv. 4, 10-14, 17-18), which is reminiscent of the liturgical flavor of Ps 132 (e.g. vv. 6-9, 11-12, 16).<sup>92</sup>

Ps 154 is understood to be a composite text<sup>93</sup> and includes multiple themes, including Wisdom material, liturgical instructions, and the praise of the Lord. This diversity makes it difficult to assign the psalm to a specific genre. However, when we consider the various renditions of the psalm, we can see that it was understood to be set in the time of Hezekiah and that it appears to look to him as a deliverer, the successor to the Davidic throne that will fulfill the promises of the Davidic covenant, as suggested in RPss such as 132, 89, 2 and others. The focus of the psalm is not, to be sure, on Hezekiah but on the "assembly of the pious," the psalm seems to describe the preparations that this group is making in order to be ready for the "evil time," during which they expect, due to their piety, to be granted mercy and to be delivered from the wicked. These expectations are comparable to some of the eschatological scenarios that we have previously analyzed in this chapter and elsewhere in this dissertation.<sup>94</sup> The description of the End Times expectations often involves a community embroiled in a "time of distress" in which they are persecuted or endangered by wicked enemies, but have hope for deliverance from the Lord.

#### 5.4 *4Q448 (Apocryphal Psalm; In Praise of King Jonathan)*

Col. I

1. Hallelujah, a song of [...]
2. You loved as a fat[her]...
3. You ruled over [...]
4. *vacat*

<sup>91</sup> See also the discussion of the "horn" imagery in section 5.2.8.

<sup>92</sup> It also has some elements in common with the language of the cultic procession through the gates of the temple in Ps 118:15-29 (compare, e.g., 154:12 with 118:19-20). Compare with the offerings and prayers made at the temple by Hezekiah in 2 Chr 29:20-35.

<sup>93</sup> See Noth, "Die fünf," 1-23; Eshel and Eshel, "4Q448, Psalm 154," 648; Reymond, *New Idioms*, 75-78.

<sup>94</sup> See, e.g., the discussion of 4Q381 24a+b in section 5.1.7 and frg. 46a+b in section 5.1.13.

5. They were terrified of Senna[cherib and cried out: With a loud voice glorify God, in the congregation]
6. of the many procl[aim His majesty. Bind your souls to the good ones,]
7. and to the pure ones [to glorify the Most High. Behold the eyes of the Lord are compassionate over the good ones,]
8. And upon those who glorify Him He [increases His mercy. From an evil time will He deliver their soul. Who redeems]
9. the humble from the hand of adversaries, [and He delivers the perfect from the power of the wicked. *He who desires*]
10. *His habitation in Zion, ch[oozes Jerusalem forever]*<sup>95</sup>

## Col. II

1. Guard (*or*: Rise up), O Holy One
2. over (*or*: for) King Jonathan
3. and all the congregation of Your people
4. Israel
5. who are in the four
6. winds of heaven.
7. Let them all be (at) peace
8. and upon Your kingdom
9. may your name be blessed.

## Col. III

1. in your love 'tys[
2. in the day and until evening m [
3. to approach to be b[
4. Remember them <sup>for</sup> blessing <sup>l</sup> [
5. on your name, which is called[
6. kingdom to be blessed[
7. for the day (?) of war and [
8. to Kin[g] Jonathan[
9. mt[ ] [

## Analysis:

We see on this scroll verses 1, 3, 16-17, 18b-c, and 20 of Ps 154, as discussed in the previous section, along with two columns of another composition that pertains to “King

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<sup>95</sup> Following reconstruction based on Syriac Ps 154 in Eshel and Eshel, “4Q448, Psalm 154,” 646.

Jonathan.” Although their previous efforts avoided making any tentative conclusions – besides asserting that the upper (col. I) and lower (cols. II-III) parts of the document were likely written by different hands at different times<sup>96</sup> – a later, revised analysis by Hanan and Esther Eshel argued for a purposeful placement of the three columns on the same scroll.<sup>97</sup> The Eshels put forward the hypothesis that the copyist who put these compositions together saw a connection between the mention of Sennacherib’s invasion in column I (line 5) and the hymn in columns II and III regarding King Jonathan. According to this hypothesis, the copyist sees Sennacherib’s campaign as prefiguring the campaign of Ptolemy Lathyrus against King Jonathan (Alexander Jannaeus).<sup>98</sup>

The connection between Sennacherib and Ptolemy Lathyrus is made, the Eshels assert, in 4QPIsa<sup>a</sup>, which contains a pesher on Isa 10. Isaiah 10 explains how an invading army will come from the north, conquering numerous villages as they draw near to Jerusalem, a description which is understood to refer to Sennacherib’s campaign in 701 B.C.E. The pesher interprets the prophecy of Isaiah regarding the invading army as pointing to a campaign in the “end of days” (frgs. 2-6:26), which the Eshels (following Amusin) claim likely refers to the campaign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, who came in very similar manner against Alexander Jannaeus, the Hasmonean ruler. Based on this association, a song (Ps 154) that was originally attributed to King Hezekiah, has now, according to this hypothesis, been connected by the scribe who wrote 4Q448 columns II and III to King Jonathan.

If this hypothesis is correct, the scribe who wrote the lower columns of 4Q448 was essentially making King Jonathan equivalent to King Hezekiah. The significance of seeing King Jonathan the Hasmonean as a Hezekiah-like figure lies in the fact that Hezekiah was seen as the great defender of Jerusalem and restorer of a righteous monarchy to Judah.<sup>99</sup>

We should note that the version of Ps 154 that we see in 4Q448 does not contain the one line of that psalm that clearly refers to a restored Davidic ruler. The longer version of the psalm that appears in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> describes, in verse 18, the manner in which the Lord delivers the “pure” from the hand of the wicked and then states, in verse 19, that he is the God:

Who establishes a horn out of Ja]cob and a judge of [people out of Israel;]

In an early analysis of 4Q448, Menahem Kister suggests that this line was deliberately left out, due to its implicit reference to a Davidic successor, based on Ps 132:17:

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<sup>96</sup> DJD XI, 405, 410; Eshel, *et al.*, “A Qumran Composition,” 214.

<sup>97</sup> Eshel and Eshel, “4Q448,” 654-56.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 652-53.

<sup>99</sup> See 2 Kgs 18:1-8; 2 Chr 32:22-33. In later texts, he is recognized as a messianic figure. Bar Kappara argued that God had wanted to appoint Hezekiah as the Messiah and Sennacherib as Gog, but Justice complained that King David had been a more worthy candidate and yet was not appointed Messiah, so it was not fair to appoint Hezekiah as such (*b. Sanh.* 94a). Rabbi Hillel II said: “There shall be no Messiah for Israel, because they have already enjoyed him in the days of Hezekiah” (*b. Sanh.* 99a). See also *Sg. Rab.* 4.8; Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 284.

...and it should be recalled that the 4Q448 was written by an enthusiastic admirer of the Hasmonean kingdom, who certainly did not want to encourage excited expectations of a messianic king of the Davidic dynasty, who would replace the Hasmonean kingdom.<sup>100</sup>

The Hasmonean were a priestly line of the tribe of Levi and we see in a number of texts from this period the idea of a priestly messianic figure descended from Levi/Aaron.<sup>101</sup> A scribe who supported the Hasmonean dynasty could have wanted to depict Alexander Jannaeus as a new Hezekiah, the true restorer of the monarchy in the end times, and using Ps 154 would have been a means to do so, but he would have had to leave out the line about the “horn out of Jacob.”<sup>102</sup>

Eshel and Eshel object to this argument, rejecting the idea that the author of 4Q448 would have selectively chosen to include only verses 1, 3, 16-18, and 20 of a larger Ps 154, and asserting that the lines that appear in the 4Q448 version are “the original nucleus of this hymn, which was later expanded to the form documented in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and in the Syriac manuscripts.”<sup>103</sup> Although their hypothesis is certainly plausible, I would call attention to the fact that, as demonstrated in the analysis of 4QPs89 in section 2.4.4, many of the scribes whose texts were found in the Qumran library were adept at taking select verses that they found useful from known Pss and reusing them in their own compositions. This is demonstrably the case with the use of Ps 154 in 4Q448, where both one of the lines it quotes (verse 20) and one that it does not quote (verse 19, the “horn” line) are based on Ps 132.

The fact that column I of 4Q448 takes one line from the psalm that is drawn from Ps 132 and does not include the other one indicates that the author is being selective in his choice of verses to use from Ps 154. Thus, I agree with Kister, against Eshel and Eshel, that the author of column I of 4Q448 had a more complete version of Ps 154 and chose to omit the verse that implied a Davidic messiah.

Having said this, I propose that the author<sup>104</sup> did mean for column I, including the remaining verses quoted from Ps 154, to be part of a royal/messianic psalm. As the Eshels argue, the hymn in this upper part of the scroll should be seen as, essentially, a “Prayer of Hezekiah, when the Assyrians were surrounding him; and he asked of God deliverance from

<sup>100</sup> Menahem Kister, “Notes on Some New Texts from Qumran,” *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 44, no. 2 (Autumn, 1993), 290. Kister notes that the notion of a Davidic messiah “is alluded to by the word קֶרֶן, based on Ps. 132:17” (note 47).

<sup>101</sup> E.g., Jubilees 31:13ff.; T. Reuben 6:10-12; T. Levi 18. See Mowinckel, 287-88.

<sup>102</sup> See also Louis Feldman, “Josephus’s Portrait of Hezekiah,” *JBL*, vol. 111, No. 4 (Winter, 1992), 597-610. Talk of Hezekiah as the ideal king or as a “messianic” figure seem to have been circulating in the Hasmonean period. Feldman argues that Josephus would have been aware of such messianic speculations regarding Hezekiah, but because Josephus was a Hasmonean and wrote for Roman audiences, he likely downplayed such speculations in his writings.

<sup>103</sup> Eshel and Eshel, “4Q448,” 648.

<sup>104</sup> The author of columns II and III, if this was indeed a different author than the one who wrote the first column.

them,” as the title of the Syriac version of the psalm indicates. To this point, we see that in line 5 of column I, the author recounts that “They were terrified of Senna[cherib and cried out...” Whoever wrote columns II and III, the Eshels suggest, meant for these columns to be “a pesher-style exegesis explicating Senacherib’s campaign as referring to an event that occurred early in King Jonathan’s reign.”<sup>105</sup>

When we consider that the psalm is meant to be the prayer of a king asking for God’s deliverance from enemies, it becomes apparent that the Eshels are correct in positing a connection between the first and subsequent columns, and, furthermore, that the author/editor of the final version of the composite work meant for the whole to be a royal psalm following the pattern of our biblical examples.

As asserted by the editors of DJD XI, columns II and III of 4Q448, containing the petition/prayer for the welfare of King Jonathan, are considered to be one composition, and appear to have been written as an *homage*, similar to Ps 21 on behalf of David and Ps 72 on behalf of Solomon.<sup>106</sup> Although Armin Lange’s extensive study found no direct quotations of or allusions to biblical passages, there are some phrases that are similar to lines from the RPss and parallel themes that should be noted. I provide here a comparison of a few examples from Pss 20/21 and 72:

col. II:1-4 – Keep guard (or: Rise up) over King Jonathan and over all the congregation of your people Israel	Ps 20:9 – LORD, save the king, and answer us when we call	Ps 72:1-2 – God, endow the king with your own justice...that he may govern your people rightly...
col. III:2, 4, 6 – in the day and until the evening...remember them for blessing...kingdom to be blessed	Ps 21:3, 6 – You welcome him with blessings and prosperity...for you bestow everlasting blessings on him	Ps 72:3, 6-7, 15, 17 – ...provide your people with prosperity... may righteousness flourish, prosperity abound...blessings be his all the day long...then all will pray to be blessed as he was
col. II:9 – may Your name be blessed	Ps 20:1, 7 – May the name of Jacob’s God be your	Ps 72:17, 19 – Long may the king’s name endure...blessed

<sup>105</sup> Eshel and Eshel, “4Q448,” 652.

<sup>106</sup> DJD XI, 410-12.

	tower of strength...our boast is the name of the LORD our God	be (God's) glorious name for ever
col. III:7 – for the day of war	Ps 20:1, 6, etc. – in time of trouble...the LORD has given victory to his anointed one	Ps 72:4, 9 – may he crush the oppressor...May desert tribes bend low before him, his enemies lick the dust

With connections made to Pss 154 and, more indirectly, 132, and affinities with RPs 20, 21, and 72, it appears that the author of this text was interested in creating an original royal psalm in imitation of the biblical examples. The objective was to create a royal psalm that painted King Jonathan as a new King Hezekiah who would deliver the Jewish people from their current enemies.

### 5.5 11Q11/11QPsAp<sup>a107</sup>

11Q11/11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> is a small scroll that contains two or three apocryphal psalms, unknown before their discovery at Qumran, followed by the biblical Ps 91.<sup>108</sup> The apocryphal psalms include magical incantations to be used as protection against evil spirits. Although the psalms are fragmentary, they appear to have been attributed to David and/or Solomon.<sup>109</sup> Taking into consideration their apotropaic purpose and the fact that Ps 91 is considered in Jewish tradition to be a שיר של פגעים (“song for the stricken/possessed” or antidemonic song),<sup>110</sup> these four psalms were taken by Van der Ploeg and Puech to reflect the claim in

<sup>107</sup> Numbering and translation follow that in DJD XXIII.

<sup>108</sup> See J. P. M. Van der Ploeg, “Le psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumran,” *RB* 72 (1965), 210-17; idem, “Un petit rouleau apocryphes (11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>),” in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festgabe für K. G. Kuhn*, eds. G. Jeremias, H. W. Kuhn & H. Stegemann (Göttingen, 1971), 128-39; E. Puech, “11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>: Un rituel d’exorcismes. Essai de reconstruction,” *RevQ* 14 (1990), 377-408; Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 227-236; J. M. Baumgarten, “The Qumran Songs against Demons,” *Tarbiz* 55 (1986), 442-45; Matthias Henze, “Psalm 91 in Premodern Interpretation and at Qumran,” in idem., ed., *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 168-93. The editors of DJD XXIII are only willing to claim that the scroll “contains the remains of at least three songs against demons,” including Ps 91. DJD XXIII, 183.

<sup>109</sup> Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2 (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 712. Henze comments: “The attribution ‘of David’ is preserved only in 11Q11 5:4, but it can be inferred with some confidence that originally the other compositions bore the same attribution.” Henze, “Psalm 91,” 191. The editors of DJD XXIII assert: “Some were believed to have been written by David, whereas others were attributed to Solomon, the exorcist *par excellence*.” DJD XXIII, 183.

<sup>110</sup> Bilhah Nitzan, “Hymns from Qumran – 4Q510-4Q511,” in Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: 40 Years of Research* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 54. I would also note that Ps 91 is given a Davidic superscription in the LXX and is considered by Dahood to be a royal psalm. Dahood, *Psalms II:51-100*, 329.

11QPs<sup>a</sup> XXVII:9-10 (“David’s Compositions”) that David wrote “songs for making music over the stricken, four.”<sup>111</sup> The idea that David’s music had power to cast out evil spirits is also made explicit in 1 Sam 16:14-23. 11Q11 col. II mentions Solomon, who was believed in Second Temple times to have had power over demons.<sup>112</sup> Although all of the songs on this scroll may have been attributed to David, I will analyze here only the compositions found in col. II, which mentions Solomon, and col. V, which is explicitly attributed to David in the extant text.

### 5.5.1 11Q11 col. II

1. ] [
2. [ ] Solomon [ ] and he shall invo[ke
3. [ the spir]rits, [ ]and the demons, [
4. [ ] These are [the de]mons. And the p[rin]ce of enmi]ty
5. [ w]ho [ ] the a[byss ]
6. [ ] [ ]the gre[at ]
7. [ ] [ ]his nation [ ] cure
8. [ ]relied [upon] your name. And invo[ke]
9. [ Is]rael. Lean
10. [on YHWH, the God of gods, who made] the heavens
11. [and the earth, and all that is in them, w]ho separated[ ]
12. [light from darkness ] [<sup>113</sup>

Analysis:

The fragmentary nature of these songs makes analysis and interpretation difficult. The fact that Solomon, son of David, is mentioned (line 2) is clear. Although any reconstruction of line 2 is necessarily tentative, the editors of DJD XXIII suggest: “he shall utter a spell which Solomon made, and he shall invoke the name of YHWH.”<sup>114</sup> Lines 3-4 likely enumerated the demons, including the “prince of enmity.” The last lines, although a tentative reconstruction, seem to direct the individual to trust in God, who is the Creator of heaven and earth. Perhaps the implied meaning is that God separated the light from darkness, as He will also separate the good from the evil.

<sup>111</sup> See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 228, 233.

<sup>112</sup> See Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 8.2.5 (8.45). See also Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 228;

<sup>113</sup> The reconstruction of these lines (10-12) is tentative and follows the work of Puech based on the preserved words which seem to make reference to YHWH’s acts of creation. See DJD XXIII, 192.

<sup>114</sup> DJD XXIII, 191.

This song likely has more in common with the magical incantations found in later protective amulets than it does with the biblical RPss.<sup>115</sup> There does not appear to be any direct dependence on the RPss. It is apparent, however, that these songs do draw on the traditions that grew out of the biblical stories of David and Solomon, as discussed above. Beyond the historical narratives of these Israelite monarchs, these songs likely depend on themes from the biblical RPss as well. The invocation of God's name for strength and protection is a motif that is found in the RPss. We read, for example, in Ps 20:2-3, 8 (Evv. 1-2, 7):

May YHWH answer you in the day of trouble! May the name of the God of Jacob protect you! May he send you help from the sanctuary and give you support from Zion!

Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we trust in the name of YHWH our God.

Similarly, the theme of invoking or calling on YHWH for protection from evil enemies is common in the RPss. Ps 18 is an especially poignant example.

I call upon YHWH, who is worthy to be praised, and I am saved from my enemies (v. 5).

In my distress I called upon the LORD; to my God I cried for help. From his temple he heard my voice, and my cry to him reached his ears (v. 7).

... You exalted me above those who rose against me; you rescued me from the man of violence (v. 49).

For this I will praise you, O LORD, among the nations, and sing to your name (v. 50).

Great salvation he brings to his king, and shows steadfast love to his anointed, to David and his offspring forever (v. 51).

Ps 144, discussed in the introduction to this chapter, presents an example of a biblical RPs which reuses this theme from Ps 18, placing the same type of plea for YHWH's protection in the mouth of a later individual. The psalmist makes reference to the prophylactic power that God exercised in defending David.

God who gave victory to kings and deliverance to your servant David, rescue me from the cruel sword; snatch me from the power of aliens ... (vv. 10-11).

The antidemonic songs of 11Q11 appear to make similar use of the tradition that the songs of David, such as Ps 18 (or Ps 91), which were seen to have protective power.

The mention of God's power in connection with the Creation in the final lines of the song in col. II is also not unexpected. As the editors of DJD XXIII note: "References to the

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<sup>115</sup> See J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press; Leiden: Brill, 1985).

creative acts of God are also found in later amulets, e.g. Naveh and Shaked, amulet 9.<sup>116</sup> Although the Creation motif is not common in the RPss *per se*, it does appear in a number of psalms attributed to David (e.g., Pss 8, 19, 29, 65, 104/103 LXX, 139). The principal example of this type of language in the RPss is Ps 89, where the psalmist praises God's unmatched power, which was demonstrated in the creation of the cosmos (vv. 6-13; Evv. 5-12) and overcoming of enemies (e.g. Rahab and others, v. 11). The psalmist recognizes this great power in the context of recounting the covenant made between God and David, which covenant apparently included the application or delegation of this power to David (vv. 22-29).

### 5.5.2 11Q11 col. V

1. [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]
2. which [ ] the possessed [ ]
3. the volunteers of [ ] Ra]phael has healed [them. Amen, amen. Selah.] *vacat*
4. Of David. A[gainst An incanta]tion in the name of YHW[H. Invoke at an]y time
5. the heav[ens. When ]he comes to you in the nig[ht,] you will [s]ay to him:
6. 'Who are you, [oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly one]s? Your face is a face of
7. [delu]sion and your horns are horns of ill[us]ion, you are darkness and not light,
8. [injust]ice and not justice.[ ]the chief of the army, YHWH [will bring] you [down]
9. [to the] deepest [Sheo]l, [and he will shut the] two bronze [ga]test th[rough which n]o
10. light [penetrates,] and [the] sun [will] not [shine for you] tha[t rises]
11. [upon the] just man to [ And] you will say: [
12. [ the ]just man, to go[ ] a de[mon] mistreats him, [
13. [ of tr]uth from [ because] he has [jus]tice [
14. [ ] and [ ] [ ]

Analysis:

This composition explicitly declares itself to be a song of David (line 4). The same line also states that it is an "incantation in the name of YHWH." It directs the reader/user to "invoke at any time the heavens" and gives instructions for what to say, including words of derision and discouragement, to the demon when he comes at night. The individual is to declare that YHWH is the chief of the army and will strike (bring) down the demon to the deepest Sheol and shut the gates behind him. The fragmentary text continues on with more instructions for what to say to the evil spirit.

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<sup>116</sup> See DJD XXIII, 192.

There is not a large amount of material in this psalm that is comparable with the RPss, the major parallel being the themes of the struggle with enemies and deliverance of the Lord. In the RPss there are numerous examples of the protagonist being threatened by enemies (e.g., Pss 2:1-3; 18:4-6, 18; 20:2; 89:43, 52) and even more instances of the Lord coming to deliver him (Pss 18:4, 7-20, 28, 44, 48-51; 20:2-3, 7; 21:9-13; 89:24; 110:1, 5-6; 132:18; 144:2, 5-11). I would note, as well, the similarity between the derisive language that the adept is instructed to direct towards the demon and the following language from Ps 2 describing YHWH's reaction to the rebellious rulers:

He who sits in the heavens laughs; the Lord holds them in derision. Then he will speak to them in his wrath, and terrify them in his fury (vv. 4-5).

Another parallel to this psalm is the motif of invoking, or calling upon, the heavens or God to ask for assistance, which is found frequently in the biblical RPss, as discussed in the previous section. I have cited examples from Pss 18 and 20. Ps 144 provides a further and poignant example, using the language of “invoking” the Lord:

- “Bow your heavens, O Lord, and come down!” (v. 5)
- “Send your hand from above ... Rid me, and deliver me” (v. 7)

The psalmist believes that he can invoke the Lord, or the name of the Lord (Ps 20:1), and that the Lord will respond to him and come down out of heaven to deliver him. This belief is a recurring theme throughout the RPss, with Pss 18 and 144<sup>117</sup> as especially salient examples.

The belief that God will come to rescue his faithful servant allows, in the antidemonic incantation, the individual to be able to declare to the evil spirit with confidence that YHWH “[will bring] you [down] [to the] deepest [Sheol] ...” (lines 8-9). Although the biblical RPss more commonly declare that the protagonist will be drawn out of or delivered from Sheol, there are a number of psalms labeled as Davidic which use this type of language.

- Ps 9:17 – The wicked shall return to Sheol...
- Ps 31:17 -- O LORD, let me not be put to shame, for I call upon you; let the wicked be put to shame; let them go silently to Sheol.
- Ps 55:15 -- Let death steal over them; let them go down to Sheol alive; for evil is in their dwelling place and in their heart.

Psalm 21:8-11 expresses sentiments similar to this theme:

For the king trusts in the Lord;  
through the unfailing love of the Most High  
he will not be shaken.  
Your hand will lay hold on all your enemies;

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<sup>117</sup> Ps 144 borrows from Ps 18.

your right hand will seize your foes.  
 When you appear for battle,  
 you will burn them up as in a blazing furnace.  
 The Lord will swallow them up in his wrath,  
 and his fire will consume them.  
 You will destroy their descendants from the earth,  
 their posterity from mankind.

Although the song in col. V does not quote or allude to the language in the RPss directly, it draws on a confidence in the power of divine intervention that is emphasized in the RPss. The individual reciting the psalm is to have confidence that he can invoke the powers of heaven to deliver him when he recites the given words. The fact that the author has attributed this incantation to David indicates that he desires it to be as efficacious as were David's prayers invoking the deity that are expressed in the RPss and his songs that were effective for soothing Saul's torment by an evil spirit in 1 Sam 16:14-23. Taking this song into consideration along with the previous composition, I would suggest that although they do not appear to draw on the text of the RPss directly, it seems plausible that they were inspired by the RPss and that their authors believed that creating a song in the name of David or Solomon would make that song effective in combating evil enemies in the manner depicted in the RPss.

## 5.6 *Conclusions:*

As we assess the findings in this chapter, we can observe that these non-canonical psalms found at Qumran do, to varying degrees, borrow from or imitate the biblical RPss and the traditions of the Davidic monarchy found in biblical texts. Whereas some are explicitly designed to be psalms about or attributed to kings (e.g., 4Q381 31; 33a+b+35; Pss 151; 4Q448; 11Q11), others portray the protagonist as a "servant" or similar figure (e.g., 4Q381 15; 19; 24a+b; 48; Ps 154). All were found to incorporate motifs that are recurring in the RPss. Some of the principal themes that I determined were emphasized in these non-canonical psalms were:

- 1) The use of the suffering and deliverance motif common in the RPss. The speaker(s) of the text, or the group referred to in the text, is suffering for a time, but is then delivered miraculously by God's power. This is the most common theme found in these texts. It is often expressed in terms of the speaker suffering in Sheol, or being persecuted by enemies (e.g. the "time of distress") and then being delivered through God's intervention, usually in the form of the speaker being raised to a safe place or God descending to bring wrathful judgment upon the enemies. Many texts also refer

to a group in similar distress being rescued by God. An important factor in many expressions of this motif is the notion that the protagonist can pray to God or “invoke the heavens” and that he will be heard and God will respond and use his immense power on behalf of the individual (or group). Also, God often strengthens or delegates power to the individual or group.

The non-canonical psalms employing these motifs are 4Q381 15; 24a+b; 31; 33a+b, 35; 45a+b; 46a+b; Ps 154; 4Q448; and 11Q11 II; V. The psalms can be seen to draw largely on Pss 18, 86, 89, and also 69 and 76 for these motifs. I have argued that those which draw on Pss 76 and 86 are likely also influenced by Pss 18 and 89, albeit perhaps more indirectly.

- 2) The themes of suffering/deliverance are sometimes associated with the ideas of the elevation of the protagonist (or group) to a leadership position, including anointing and coronation (see 4Q381 19; Ps 151). References to a “horn” are also found in some texts (4Q381 46a+b; Ps 154).<sup>118</sup> Occasionally, the notions of being lifted up into heaven or exalted are also present (4Q381 31; 33a+b+35), but not necessarily associated with the protagonist being made a ruler. 4Q381 33a+b+35, however, combines the notions of being exalted on high with kingship, putting the following in the mouth of Manasseh, King of Judah: “H]e exalted me on high, over a nation.” Compositions which employ these motifs can be seen to be drawing largely on Ps 89, and also Pss 9, 18, 21, 69, 86, and 132, among others.
- 3) Although it occurs less frequently, the motif of the revelation of heavenly mysteries should also be mentioned. This motif entails the notion that when humans encounter the Divine, they are often given special knowledge from the Deity that they are then instructed to share with others. The clearest example of this motif is in 4Q381 15, where the speaker, the Lord’s “servant” declares: “And I, your anointed, understand [... knowle]dge of you because you instructed me, and insight because you taught me...” Other examples, which are not so clear (partially due to the fragmentary text in some cases), include 4Q381 24a+b:11; 45a+b:1; Ps 154:5-7. The content of these mysteries can be seen, in some cases, to be related to God’s marvelous deeds in the Creation (see section 5.2.1).

Another type of text that I would include under this category is the pair of antidemonic hymns from 11Q11 that were analyzed in this chapter. There are a few reasons why these prophylactic incantations should likely be seen as associated with the revealed mysteries.

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<sup>118</sup> The use of the term “horn” often has royal connotations and is frequently used when speaking of the elevation or empowerment of a ruler, as discussed in sections 5.2.8, 5.3.2, and elsewhere.

- As noted in section 5.5.1, antidemonic incantations often make reference to the power of God in the Creation. See 11Q11 II:10-12.<sup>119</sup>
- The instructions given in these hymns regarding what the adept should do and say are likely meant to be understood as revealed instructions. Although this is not so clear in the two hymns analyzed from 11Q11, other known antidemonic incantations state it more explicitly.<sup>120</sup>
- The antidemonic hymns in 11Q11 demonstrate knowledge of the Enochic *Book of the Watchers*, including the notions that Raphael would come to heal the nations from the damage done by the illicit revelation of the mysteries, that demons are the offspring of the Watchers with mortal women, and that the demons would be imprisoned in Sheol (see. e.g., 11Q11 V:3, 6, 9). One of the key themes of the *Book of the Watchers* is the revelation of heavenly mysteries.<sup>121</sup>

Texts that use the language of the mysteries or divine instruction are often dependent on Ps 89 for those themes.

- 4) Another major motif is the author's interpretation of the base text as fitting his eschatological expectations. We see the authors drawing on and reworking the RPss and other texts in order to depict an eschatological scenario. The eschatological expectations most often found in these texts concern the destruction of the wicked in the End Times, which is generally seen as the author's present. Other themes include the separation of the righteous from the wicked, a time of cleansing or trial for the chosen people, and the empowerment of the elect ones and their leader over their enemies. Many texts describe the wrathful theophany when God comes, sometimes accompanied by heavenly hosts, to bring judgment upon the enemies of his chosen people. There is often significant overlap between this category and the suffering/deliverance motif, due to the fact that the End Times are seen as a time of distress and trial for the righteous who look forward to the imminent intervention of the Lord to deliver them.

The texts that depict these eschatological events include 4Q381 24a+b; 28-29; 46a+b; 48; Ps 154 and perhaps also 4Q381 31.<sup>122</sup> These compositions are most often influenced by Ps 18, along with Pss 21, 76, 89, 112, 132, and other biblical passages.

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<sup>119</sup> Compare 4Q511 30:1-3.

<sup>120</sup> See, e.g., 4Q511 48-51:1; K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magica* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; 2 vols.; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973), I, 184-86.

<sup>121</sup> See Thomas, *The "Mysteries" at Qumran*, 111-16.

<sup>122</sup> 4Q381 31 focuses on the persecution of the speaker by his enemies and the deliverance he expects to come from God. It also mentions the "day of wrath." These notions may indicate that the speaker

5) Finally, I would also mention the fact that many, but not all, of these non-canonical psalms should be seen as laments. As I noted in the section on 4Q381 24a+b, Chazon suggests that the non-canonical psalm in that fragment has essentially transformed what was a prayer of thanksgiving in Ps 18 into a communal lament.<sup>123</sup> The speakers in the compositions that can be labeled as laments are persecuted and cry to the Lord for relief. This principle overlaps, of course, with the motif of suffering and deliverance, explained previously, but the phenomenon of the author utilizing the biblical RPss for his own creative purposes is a notable feature in its own right. Although the themes of struggle and danger at the hands of enemies are certainly a principal feature of the biblical RPss, this observation suggests to me that although the authors of these psalms can arguably be seen to be imitating the biblical RPss, they had their own concerns and agendas that caused them to reshape the themes found in those RPss to better suit their time and context. They rework words from the RPss to focus even more on persecution and troubled times that afflict not just a single royal individual, as depicted in most of the examples from the RPss, but often a whole community of beleaguered believers.

Compositions analyzed in this chapter that can be seen as laments include 4Q381 24a+b; 31; 33a+b+35; and 45a+b. These psalms can be seen as drawing on Pss 18, 86, 89, and others.

I would reiterate here that although I see eschatological themes as one of the main motifs found, I am not suggesting that all of the non-canonical psalms analyzed in this chapter were necessarily meant to be eschatological. Compositions such as 4Q381 45a+b and the exorcism hymns in 11Q11 show no clear indications of having eschatological intent, although arguments could plausibly be made to the contrary.<sup>124</sup> However, in a general sense, the findings illustrated in this chapter lead me to agree with David Mitchell that “the authors of the Qumran literature seem to have regarded the Psalms as future-predictive”<sup>125</sup> and this chapter demonstrates that many of the non-canonical psalms they wrote demonstrate this perspective.

The non-canonical psalms analyzed in this chapter demonstrate an affinity for the RPss found in the Hebrew Bible. The authors of these texts drew on and reworked the RPss, including Pss 18, 89, and others, in order to create new psalms that reflected, the themes of suffering and deliverance, exaltation or ascension to heaven and the depiction of

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has the eschatological “time of distress” in mind. See Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter,” 32-35, 57-60, 65-72.

<sup>123</sup> Chazon, “The Use of the Bible,” 88-89.

<sup>124</sup> For example, one could argue that concept of the struggle with demons and their banishment to Sheol by Yahweh, as depicted in 11Q11 V, could allude to a belief that these events would take place at the End Times.

<sup>125</sup> Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 25-26.

eschatological events, among other key motifs. Furthermore, we have seen that they composed new RPss in imitation of the biblical examples that featured some of the later Judahite monarchs, including, arguably, Alexander Jannaeus of the Hasmonean dynasty. These original RPss tend to reflect later, post-monarchic assumptions and perspectives. The conclusions reached here indicate that the RPss were indeed influential for the authors of these non-canonical texts as they sought to perpetuate the themes of the RPss and the traditions of the Davidic monarchy and apply them to their own day.

### Conclusion

Numerous studies have demonstrated the significance of the Royal Psalms in the contexts of Ancient Israel, Second Temple Judaism, and early Christianity. Given the particular (though varied) influence of the Royal Psalms in these contexts, an in-depth evaluation of their use among the Qumran texts was warranted. This dissertation has examined a wide spectrum of relevant issues, including: whether or not these Psalms are to be found in the known Psalms scrolls, variations or differences as compared to the Masoretic Text, interpretation in exegetical and other texts, quotations of and allusions to the RPss, and how themes and traditions from the RPss contributed to the writing of new psalms that sought to rework or imitate the biblical examples.

We discovered, in chapter 2, that most, if not all, of the RPss were present in the Qumran library. The only RPss not found among the many Psalms scrolls were Pss 20, 21, 72, and 110. However, due to the fragmentary state of most of these scrolls, it is certainly possible that these RPss were originally present as well. In support of this assertion, as we saw in chapter 4, there are Qumran texts that are clearly interacting with Pss 20 and 21.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, although he never quotes Ps 110 directly, the author of 11QMelch may have had Ps 110 in mind when he depicts Melchizedek as the heavenly warrior who will execute judgment upon the wicked in the End Times.<sup>2</sup>

The most significant harvest regarding the RPss from the textual witness of the Psalms scrolls themselves were in relation to Pss 89 and 132, as discussed in sections 2.4.4 and 2.4.6, respectively. The variations analyzed in these sections indicate that the authors/editors of these texts desired to read them differently than the way they are rendered in the MT versions. The text of Ps 89 in 4QPs89 is highly modified as compared to the MT version and, as I argued, appears to be shaped in a manner so as to emphasize an eschatological perspective and the role that the Davidic messiah figure would play in the End Times scenario. Ps 132 also contains a textual variation in its 11QPs<sup>a</sup> rendering, where the text of verse 12 declares that David's descendants will "ascend" (יעלו) to his throne forever instead of "sitting" (ישבו) on his throne, as the MT renders it. By opting for the term "ascend," the author/editor appears to be envisioning a more esoteric fulfillment of the covenant with David, one in which his faithful descendants will inherit a heavenly throne instead of an earthly, political one. Although the number of major variations in the RPss that have been identified here are few, these couple of examples from chapter 2 are representative of the trends that were demonstrated to a greater extent in the subsequent chapters.

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<sup>1</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII paraphrases Ps 20:9 twice (see sec. 4.3.1). 4Q381 17 paraphrases Ps 21:10 (see sec. 4.4.1). 1QM XIV:16 alludes to Ps 21:14 (see sec. 4.4.2).

<sup>2</sup> See Mitchell, *Message of the Psalter*, 258-260. Mitchell suggests that Ps 110:4 may have been understood to address Melchizedek with a vocative: *You are a priest forever according to my promise, Melchizedek.*

In chapter 3, we again found only a few relevant examples that contribute to our understanding of how the Qumran authors were interpreting these RPss, but fortunately, the RPss found in these exegetical texts are Pss that we do not see treated elsewhere in the Qumran library. Although these exegetical commentaries on RPss are few and fragmentary, we can observe that the authors of these texts viewed at least some of the RPss as applicable to their own time and as prophesying of events that would take place in the End Times.

One of the important issues covered in this chapter was the interpretation of Ps 2, together with an interpretation of 2 Sam 7, found in 4QFlorilegium. Although the exegetical commentary on 2 Sam 7 includes ideas regarding the author's expectations of a coming "Branch of David" figure, we see that the interpretation of the reference in Ps 2:2 to the Lord's "anointed" does not make this same connection. The author apparently understands the word משיחו to be plural as evidenced by his assertion that the passage is referring to "the chosen ones of Israel" who would undergo a "time of refining" at the hands of the heathen nations in the End Times. After demonstrating interest in an individual messianic figure (the Branch/booth of David), it may appear peculiar that exegete did not take advantage of what would seem to be a natural parallel to that concept in Ps 2. Instead, the author opts for a collective interpretation. The apparent objective of this approach was to depict a scenario in which there was an individual chosen ruler who was joined by a group of chosen ones who were similarly predicted by prophecy. The peshet of the RPs 2, therefore, focuses on the elect community and the eschatological events in which it will participate.

The authors, or interpreters, of these texts apparently had an eschatological scenario(s) in mind and saw the RPss, as well as other Pss, as useful for assisting in the illustration of this scenario. The RPss include many themes that are helpful in this endeavor, including the attack on the righteous by the wicked nations ("time of refining"), the coming of the Lord to deliver his chosen servants, the destruction of the wicked and blessing of the righteous, the temple, the exaltation of the elect, and so on.

This predominant eschatological interpretation became more apparent still in chapter 4, where quotations from, paraphrases of, or allusions to the RPss were analyzed. In this chapter, we investigated texts that are arguably using Pss 2, 18, 20, 21, and 89 and determined that the majority of the examples identified were approaching these psalms from an eschatological viewpoint. All of these psalms, except Ps 89, were being read eschatologically with notable consistency.<sup>3</sup>

As discussed in the conclusion to chapter 4, the compositions analyzed tended to employ Ps 89 to refer to ideas such as ascension to heaven, learning and teaching the divine mysteries, and other related themes. Naturally, if the authors of these texts saw themselves as

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<sup>3</sup> Although Ps 89 does appear to have been understood eschatologically in the 4QPs89 text.

already living in the eschatological age, then their interpretations, in general, would likely have to do with the End Times. The suffering of the speaker and/or his followers, the ascension of the individual and/or group to heaven, and so on, would have been seen as events that would take place in the Last Days, of which the authors felt they were a part.

It should be mentioned here also that although the use of Ps 18 in chapter 4 was generally found to be clearly eschatological, some examples could arguably be seen as placing the protagonist in the role of the persecuted royal figure of the RPss. Again, although this motif does not always manifest itself as explicitly eschatological, perhaps we could be justified in making that assumption.

As we looked, in chapter 5, in detail at several of the non-canonical psalms found among the Qumran library, we were able to identify many of the same motifs that were featured in the texts analyzed in the previous chapters, including: suffering/deliverance, exaltation/ascension to the divine council and learning the heavenly mysteries, and eschatological expectations. The authors often draw on the same RPss to depict these themes that we observed in previous chapters, especially Pss 18 and 89, but also Pss 9, 20, 21, 69, 76, 86, 132, and others.

The suffering and deliverance motif often appears in texts which draw on Ps 18 for inspiration, including 4Q381 frgs. 24a+b, and 28-29. The authors also go to Ps 89 for this theme, usually in conjunction with Ps 86, as seen, for example, in frg. 15. The authors also utilize Pss 69 and 76 to portray the ideas of suffering and deliverance.

Often associated with the themes of suffering and deliverance is the elevation of the protagonist out of persecution or out of humiliation and into a position of influence or leadership. This motif often includes the language of kingship, including references to anointing and coronation, as seen in 4Q381 19 and Ps 151. We saw reference in some of the texts analyzed to the individual being lifted up to heaven (e.g., 4Q381 31; 33a+b+35). In 4Q381 33a+b+35 we saw the combination of these themes as the protagonist, King Manasseh, claims to have been “exalted on high, over a nation.” The texts that contain these themes are often drawing on Ps 89, and also 18, 21, 132, and others.

Just as in chapter 4, the theme of the revelation of divine mysteries also appears in some of the texts analyzed in chapter 5, although not frequently. The idea that God has instructed the speaker of the psalm in heavenly knowledge is found most clearly in 4Q381 15, and the idea of learning or teaching is also found in 4Q381 24a+b; 45a+b; and Ps 154. I postulated in the conclusion to chapter 5 that the two hymns against demons from 11Q11 may also attest to the “revelation of mysteries” motif. 11Q11 II mentions Solomon and V is explicitly attributed to David. As in other texts that feature the motif of the mysteries, these exorcism psalms show an interest in God’s deeds at the Creation and should likely be seen as

utilizing revealed instructions or words. Texts that utilize the theme of heavenly mysteries can often be seen to depend on Ps 89, among others.

Another major motif that we saw in these non-canonical psalms from Qumran – one that has been apparent in previous chapters – is that of eschatological expectations. We determined that compositions which included this motif were often influenced by Ps 18, along with Pss 21, 76, 89, 112, 132, and other biblical passages. The eschatological scenario(s) depicted include, among others, the following elements: a time of trial or distress for the elect people, separation of the righteous from the wicked, destruction of enemies in the End Times, including the theophany of God coming in judgment with his hosts, and the empowerment of the chosen ones and their leader(s) over their enemies.

The non-canonical works evaluated in chapter 5 could generally be seen to have been inspired by, rework, or imitate the biblical RPss. 4Q381 24a+b, for example, apparently reworks Ps 18 in such a manner as to create a lament out of lines that originally constituted a prayer of thanksgiving. Some pieces, such as 4Q381 31, Pss 151 and 154, and 4Q448, should likely be seen as original royal psalms that borrow, in varying degrees, from the canonical RPss and other biblical traditions about the Davidic monarchy. The antidemonic hymns of 11Q11, although they do not generally borrow much from the text of the RPss, nevertheless can be seen to draw upon the efficaciousness of the royal invocations of God's power and the legacies of David and Solomon.

From the examples analyzed in this thesis, it is apparent that there was not an equal interest in the entire corpus that we now label as Royal Psalms. Although many texts analyzed here are fragmentary and there very plausibly could have been additional and more extensive use of the RPss, the evidence that is currently available indicates that there was more interest in certain of them, especially Pss 18 and 89, as well as 20, 21, and 132, as previously discussed.

Another important observation elucidated by this thesis is the role that democratization played in the Qumran interpretation of the RPss. Whereas we should likely understand that the original *Sitz im Leben* of the RPss was, generally speaking, in the royal cult of the Davidic monarchy and that they were originally applied to individual monarchs, it is apparent that by the beginning of the Second Temple period, and perhaps even earlier, these psalms had taken on a democratized or collective interpretation.<sup>4</sup> As a result, the anointed royal figure in psalms such as 2, 18, or 89 came to be understood, as Marttila argues,

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<sup>4</sup> This idea is presented in section 1.1.3.1 of the introduction to this thesis. See discussions in Grant, *King as Exemplar*, 74; Wallace, "King and Community," 269; Starbuck, *Court Oracles*, 211; Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 64.

as “either a messianic figure or the people of Israel.”<sup>5</sup> A key example of this transition was seen in the analysis of the interpretation of Ps 2 in 4QFlorilegium, as previously discussed.

Although the movement to a collective interpretation of the RPss is apparent in the texts analyzed in this thesis, there is evidence that some authors were also interested in messianic interpretations. Together with, or as part of, the predominant tendency toward eschatological understandings, the idea that God would send an ideal royal figure to assist the community was also a factor in the interpretations elucidated here.

Although not fully explored in this thesis, there are also a number of insights that resulted from my research that have bearing on some of the more speculative theories offered for the original life setting of the RPss, as discussed in section 1.1.2.13 of the introduction. The possible ritual or performative nature of the Hodayot and perhaps some of the other texts, such as those in 4Q381, may support some theories regarding the ritual/cultic use of the RPss in the pre-exilic period. For example, the motif of the speaker being lifted up to the heavenly realm<sup>6</sup> is compatible with the theories of Mowinckel, Eaton, Borsch, Barker, and others that the Davidic king would have been imagined, as part of his enthronement ceremony, to ascend to heaven in order to sit on his throne.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, just as some scholars have argued that the additional participants in the liturgy of the royal cult would have played the part of the “hosts” or “company” of heaven in the ancient rites,<sup>8</sup> the same has been speculated for some of the more liturgical texts at Qumran.<sup>9</sup> If the elements of the cultic drama, including ritual ascent to heaven and adoption of angelic identities, were conceivably a part of the pre-exilic life setting of the RPss as well as the Qumran use, this can contribute greatly to our understanding of the use of these Psalms in cultic ritual over time, as well as the development of the earliest forms of “mystical” praxis.

In a time when the Davidic monarchy had come to an end long before, the royal themes of the RPss continued to have special meaning for some Jews, as can be seen from the texts of the Judean desert. Instead of looking to the past, however, the RPss inspired in the authors of the texts visions of the eschatological future and how God would fulfill, for their community, the promises he made to the Davidic monarchy. God would not abandon them, but would act on behalf of those faithful to him in order to deliver them from their enemies and exalt them to eternal glory in his presence in accordance with the prophetic words of the Royal Psalms.

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<sup>5</sup> Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 183.

<sup>6</sup> See discussions in, e.g., sections 4.2.3, 4.2.8, 4.5.1, 4.5.2, 5.2.5.

<sup>7</sup> See discussion in section 1.1.2.13.

<sup>8</sup> See section 1.1.2.13.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., sections 4.5.1, 5.2.1.

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