

# The Formation of the Hebrew Psalter

Edited by  
GIANNI BARBIERO,  
MARCO PAVAN,  
and JOHANNES SCHNOCKS

*Forschungen  
zum Alten Testament*

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Mohr Siebeck

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Edited by

Konrad Schmid (Zürich) · Mark S. Smith (Princeton)  
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The Book of Psalms Between Ancient Versions, Material  
Transmission and Canonical Exegesis

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Gianni Barbiero, Marco Pavan,  
and Johannes Schnocks

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## Preface

The present volume puts together in a revised form the papers presented on the occasion of a panel devoted to “Canonical Exegesis of the Psalter: Challenges and Prospects” arranged as part of the *SBL International Meeting* held in Rome in July 2019. At the request of the editors, these papers have been supplemented by four articles written purposely for the publication in this volume.

The meeting in Rome took place almost exactly on the day on which Erich Zenger (July 5, 1939 – April 4, 2010) would have celebrated his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday. He was one of the most highly regarded scholars in biblical exegesis of recent decades and, in particular, in the exegesis of the Psalms and the Psalter. We honoured Erich Zenger in an evening reception held at the *Pontifical Biblical Institute* where he was a student in the 1960s. The three addresses delivered on this occasion can be found at the end of this volume.

This volume is intended to honour Erich Zenger’s memory and to recognise his fundamental contributions to the study of the Psalms and the Psalter.<sup>1</sup> It does so by delineating the present *status quaestionis* concerning the exegesis of the Psalter by representing recent developments and discussions.

We give our sincere thanks to Konrad Schmid and the editorial board of “Forschungen zum Alten Testament” who accepted the volume for this series. We also thank Elena Müller and Tobias Stäbler from Mohr Siebeck for their most professional assistance in the process of publishing.

The contributions were proofread and typeset in Münster. These routines were in some ways hampered by restrictions due to the pandemic which accompanied the whole process. Annika Freyhoff, Johanna Kock, Tobias Laubrock, Charlotte Nielen, Maria Ritter and Simon Spratte dedicated themselves to this task and also generated the index. All these steps were coordinated and supervised by Ludger Hiepel with great competence, friendliness, and tireless commitment. Many thanks to this great team!

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Rome*

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Florence*

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<sup>1</sup> For a bibliography of Zenger see: [https://www.uni-muenster.de/FB2/zrat/publikationen/zenger\\_literatur.html](https://www.uni-muenster.de/FB2/zrat/publikationen/zenger_literatur.html).



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## Introduction

If one wants to define where international exegesis of the Psalms stands today, it becomes clear quite quickly that there is a very active scholarly community working on these texts using different approaches. The difference in these approaches stems from the varying emphasis with which certain suppositions are integrated. However, many of these are fundamentally shared by most scholars. The differing emphasis mentioned above on the other hand sometimes leads to contradicting results. The SBL panel in Rome documented here has shown impressively how even exponents of widely differing standpoints share a great many fundamental positions and also textual observations. This made possible further fruitful discussions showing a surprising amount of consensus.

Present debates agree that the form-critical paradigm cannot claim any longer to be the predominant approach in Psalms research, as it was during most of the twentieth century. The sequence of the Psalms, which had been paid a great deal of attention in the nineteenth century, is playing a larger role again today, as well as many literary qualities of the Psalms which far exceed the scope of form-criticism.

Differences evolve now where further questions are being asked. Already Gerald Wilson saw the Hebrew Psalter as a unity: “First, I contend there is evidence within the MT 150 itself of an editorial movement to bind the whole together. Second, I submit that the unity achieved by this process is not merely a convenient combination of disparate items into an ‘accidental’ formal arrangement, but represents the end result of purposeful, editorial organization.”<sup>1</sup> Today, this unity can be understood in different ways and may even be denied again. A different understanding on this level often results in different evaluations of the available textual observations.

It is decisive, for example, whether in analysing the Psalms and the Psalter one starts out on the one hand from the individual Psalm, relating it to the neighbouring Psalms and to those “farther away” and thus finally taking into account the whole Psalter and its structures thereby rendered visible. Or if, on the other hand, the canonical Psalter as a whole is analysed for structures and this search is then specified down to the level of each individual Psalm. In the first case – regardless whether the analysis proceeds synchronically or diachronically – the unity of the Psalter stands like a horizon in the background. It is kept in mind but it emerges only as a perspective of detailed analysis. This is evident as well in corresponding metaphors for the Psalter such as “temple”,

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<sup>1</sup> WILSON, Editing, 4.

“garden” or “great house”, which point at a complex unity characterized by its constituents and their interrelations.<sup>2</sup> As a test, one might consider that the metaphor of the temple remains valid also if there are small changes in its “architecture”, such as additional interior furnishings or the opening of connecting doors between rooms.

In the second case, the unity of the Psalter is the necessary pre-condition. A synchronic approach has to establish a choice and hierarchy of criteria – which may be disputed. These should allow for a structuring of the whole and its parts, as well as for an interpretation of the overall structure. The aim is to understand the text as a whole and what the structural units contribute to this understanding. With a diachronic approach one presupposes – with Wilson – that the final shape was the intentional design of a final redaction. Its working techniques and its intended messages have to be analysed. In both approaches, in this second case, the concept of the canon plays a crucial role. First, because it is supposed to ensure the necessary unity, second, because an almost complete congruity of the *textus receptus* with the product of the second century BCE (or a little later) final redaction can be made plausible only by the idea of the canonisation of just this text.

It is of interest in this context that the name of “Psalter” or “Book of Psalms” can be used evoking different associations. It is important to state clearly in what sense these terms are used. It is correct that “book” may denote a scroll, but not every “book” consists of exactly one scroll. A book may signify a very coherent and consistent text, but there are also books whose chapters may be connected to a greater or lesser extent. Even H. Gunkel quite as a matter of

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. the contribution by B. Janowski in this volume. From a methodological point of view only the book of Psalms in its entirety can be the horizon of the study on the individual Psalms and their interrelations. The focus cannot be restricted to a “manageable cluster of texts” (SPEICKERMANN, Psalter, 21). H. Spieckermann is right when he states: “The Psalter contains doubtlessly plenty of evidence hinting at a long history, starting with collections of psalms, which finally lead to the Psalter. Therefore it is necessary to analyse and to reconstruct the process of how the Psalter came into being through the ages. But it is also necessary to be aware of the limits to enlightening the process, since diverse endeavours had been undertaken side by side while the Psalter was being shaped. There is no main avenue leading from the single psalms to the Psalter. And there is no progressively [sic!] increasing trend which claims authority on how the growing and finally concluded Psalter is to be understood according to its editors.” (*ibid.*, 17) The insight that there was neither only one redaction which produced the book of Psalms which we know nor that there was a formative redaction responsible for the one and only concept of the Psalter is the result of thirty years of scholarly work. But that does not mean that there “is neither a Psalter as a book nor a temple consisting of words” (*ibid.*). It is indeed necessary to show that there were different endeavours that shaped not only some clusters of Psalms but also as a result the Psalter as a whole. In this context, the labels of “book” or “temple” are not used to stress uniformity but as a means to highlight the “plus” which is the result of the intentional combination of the great diversity and long literary history of these fascinating poems.

course spoke of the “Psalter” as a “Buch”, certainly not intending to postulate a close literary connectedness of the individual Psalms in the given sequence, as it is being shown by Psalter exegesis.<sup>3</sup>

Two areas which have gained more weight in recent Psalms scholarship are reception history and the material culture of antique and medieval manuscripts. While reception history shows the manifold recourses of Judaism and Christianity to these canonical texts, manuscript studies quite often throw doubt on a narrow notion of the canon, which in turn influences the concepts of the unity and textual stability of the Psalter in every detail.

Exegetical practice has shown that the same textual observations are considered by different approaches, but may lead to rather divergent results. At the same time, criticism levelled at e.g. “canonical exegesis” of the Psalter may not be valid for all approaches which are associated with this label. The same is true for the contributions presented in this volume which aim at delineating these discussions.

The volume opens with four studies which show a more general perspective and address from different directions methodological and theological aspects.

In his introductory essay, “The Psalter as a Book? A Critical Evaluation of the Recent Research on the Psalter”, M. Pavan inspects important milestones of Psalms scholarship in the last 170 years. He discovers significant principles of a canonical exegesis of the Psalms in Franz Delitzsch’s “Symbolae ad Psalmos illustrandos isagogicae” from 1846. For the description of approaches from Gerald Wilson to the works by Erich Zenger and Frank-Lothar Hossfeld he distinguishes between the preference of macro-indicators as Psalm titles or micro-indicators like lexemic links between Psalms on the one hand and synchronic or diachronic methodology on the other. In the current discussion he evaluates the criticism of these approaches reconsidering the Psalms fragments from Qumran, the ways how the unity of the Psalter may be conceptualized, the hermeneutical relevance of the MT and the methodological relevance of lexemic links.

The aim of D. Willgren Davage’s contribution, “What Could We Agree On? Outlining Five Fundaments in the Research of the ‘Book’ of Psalms”, is to demonstrate that, in the light of the Qumran manuscripts, the Psalter cannot be considered a “book” in the modern sense of the term, and, therefore, the individual Psalms cannot be interpreted on the basis of their canonical position. His demonstration is constructed on five foundations: *First*, the Psalter was written on scrolls of different length; *second*, before the advent of printing, it did not have a fixed arrangement; *third*, in the Second Temple period, it did not have a uniform sequence; *fourth*, it grew with different compositional “trajectories”; *fifth*, the individual Psalms were not read on the basis of the neighbouring Psalms.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. GUNKEL/BEGRICH, Einleitung, 1.

In his challenging contribution, “Why the Future of Canonical Hebrew Psalter Exegesis Includes Abandoning Its Own Premise”, W. Yarchin focusses on the differences of the segmentation of Psalms which can be found in medieval manuscripts. He claims that a subcollection of the Psalter like Book IV (Pss 90–106) may contain in different medieval manuscripts a different number of Psalms by reading in some places two adjacent Psalms as one or dividing a single Psalm into two. He claims “the resulting textual units (i.e., these new Psalms) served some didactic or liturgical purpose” (130). It is therefore a false assumption that there is only one canonical configuration of the Hebrew Psalter in a strict sense. Yarchin consequently votes for an updating of the research agenda for Psalms studies.

B. Janowski’s programmatic contribution, “A Temple in Words. The Theological Architecture of the Psalter”, provides a synchronic reading of the Psalter with the aid of the metaphor of the temple. According to Janowski, the Psalter is a “temple in words” which has an “entrance porch” (Pss 1–2) and a “key-stone” (Pss 146–150). Between these two extremities, he proposes a theological journey through Books I–V. He illustrates this “architecture of the Psalter” with three examples: from lament to praise (anthropological aspects), between Sheol and temple (cosmological aspects), and from David to Zion (theological-historical aspects). Alongside, the structure of the journey through the five books remains a deep structure embedded in the individual Psalms.

The following case studies investigate subcollections of the Psalter and present new insights in dialogue with recent suggestions. The first group of contributions focus on the first Davidic Psalter, a second on Book IV and V and a third on the Final Hallel.

In his study, “Indications of Intentional Interconnectedness between Pss 1–2 and Ps 37 and the Implications for Understanding the Concerns of the Editors of Book I of the Psalms”, P. Botha works on a purely synchronic level. He starts out from the compositional unity of the first book and its division into four collections (Pss 3–14; 15–24; 25–34; 35–41). First, Botha demonstrates the relationship of Ps 37 with the neighbouring Pss 35 and 39. He then focuses on the link with the prologue of the book, Pss 1–2. In addition to the precise echoes of significant lexemes, the three Psalms are united by a marked eschatological perspective which reveals the basic concern of the book’s author: to reassure the just in the face of the apparent success of the wicked.

In “Psalm 23 als Brennspiegel seines Umfelds. Intertextuelle Bezüge und Entstehung in der Teilkomposition Ps 15–24”, F. Hartenstein asks how Ps 23 is placed and interconnected within the subcollection of Pss 15–24, combining synchronic and diachronic approaches. Previous propositions which have been made to support a synchronic structure of the subcollection present problems with regard to individual Psalms. This is why Hartenstein analyses the composition starting from the individual Psalms. Psalm 23 is connected with Pss 16–22 in a special way. It turns out to be the conclusion of an older composition

of Pss 16; 17–18\*; 20–21; 23, which was then further augmented. At the same time, Ps 23 can be better understood when it becomes clear how it deliberately condenses the preceding Psalms like a concave mirror.

The study by K. Liess, “Schuld und Vergebung. Psalm 25 in seinem Psalterkontext”, starts out with a detailed analysis of Ps 25 and continues with its position within the Psalter. Liess proceeds from shorter analyses of the neighbouring Psalms 24; 26, which are shown to possess several connections. Between these prayers of the just there is interposed Ps 25, which deals with guilt and forgiveness, but is still connected with its neighbours. At the same time, it effectfully opens the subcollection Pss 25–34, where this topic is further elaborated particularly towards its end.

This composition is also analysed in the following study. B. Weber opens his contribution “Ich will den HERRN preisen zu jeder Zeit ...” (Ps 34,2). Die Psalmen 25–34 als Kleinkomposition in Verbindung mit hermeneutisch-methodischen Überlegungen zur ‘Psalterexegese’”, with deliberations on the criticism by Davage. He focuses the present discussion on the alternative of regarding the Psalter as a whole either as an anthology or still as a composition. His analysis of the subcollection Pss 25–34 supposes a chiastic structure around Ps 29, which is proved primarily by correspondences between parallel textual pairs. Weber therefore sees Pss 25–34 as an artistic composition.

The contribution by G. Barbiero, “The Conclusion of the First Book. Psalms 35–41”, focuses on the last subcollection of Book I (Pss 35–41). After assessing the traditional view of the Psalter as a corpus of five books, the author shows the relationships between the beginning and the end of the first book, the multiple structures of Pss 35–41 and their thematic cores. The theme of silence, in particular, pervades the entire collection and reveals its unitary nature.

The studies devoted to Book IV and V are opened by the contribution, “Die Psalterexegese und die Handschriften. Überlegungen zum IV. Psalmenbuch (Ps 90–106) als Komposition und in Qumran”. Here, J. Schnocks acknowledges the recent criticism from various directions of an exegesis of the Psalter as a book. He contends that such exegesis should always start with the individual Psalm, and should be augmented by the study of the context as well synchronic as diachronic. He demonstrates this with an exemplary study of the Fourth Book (Pss 90–106), comparing the sequence of Psalms in the MT with that of the manuscripts from Qumran.

Starting from group identity theory, W. Dennis Tucker in “Let Israel Now Say” (Ps 124:1b). Group Identity in Psalms 107–145” analyses the structure of Book V of Psalter and the relationship between the MT and 11Q5. The author tries to connect the major collections of Book V to the three commitments that shape group identity according to Bar-Tal and David: place, culture, and collective memory. In so doing, Tucker identifies a shift in group identity markers from Pss 113–137 to Pss 138–145. At the same time, a comparison with the

arrangement of Pss 107–145 in 11Q5 shows how the latter is a “creative continuation” of the proto-MT.

S. Gillingham’s contribution, “The Egyptian Hallel. Narrative and Liturgy, and the Formation of the Hebrew Psalter”, emphasises the importance of the liturgy in order to grasp the “narrative” of small groups of Psalms such as the Egyptian Hallel (Pss 113–118). In her opinion, the differences between the MT, the LXX and Qumran do not reflect textual divergences but different ways of conceiving the “liturgical history” of a particular group of Psalms. Gillingham presents her own narrative reading of Pss 113–118 and studies their reception in different liturgical traditions both Jewish and Christian.

Opening the studies on the Final Hallel, the contribution by A. Brodersen, “No Final Hallel. Material Sources for Psalms 146–150”, challenges the hypothesis that Pss 146–150 constitutes an original coherent group of Psalms, a literary unity. The oldest material evidence of these Psalms (DSS; LXX) and the analysis of the intertextual links between them shows, according to Brodersen, that Pss 146–150 were originally independent Psalms and that their sequence in MT has no special importance.

This position is challenged in the following study. In her contribution, “‘YHWH Shall Be King Forever!’ (Pss 146:10) The Phenomenon of *Fortschreibung* within the Final Hallel”, F. Neumann explores the motif of the kingdom of YHWH in Pss 146–150 and the scribal background responsible for its formation. From this point of view, according to Neumann the collection is the product of a multiple-step *Fortschreibung* aimed at re-reading ancient traditions. Pss 146–150 have to be read as a multilayered discourse on the Kingship of YHWH, in which multiple positions are expressed and juxtaposed.

The contribution of E. Ballhorn, “Researching Sense at the End of the Psalter. Pss 145–150 and Its Canonical Shapes”, focuses on the differences between the MT and LXX shape of Pss 146–150. The MT form of the Final Hallel does not necessarily reveal, from a “genetic” point of view, an overall message. However, the meaning of a text is not only bound to the *intentio auctoris* but also to the *intentio operis*. From this point of view, the LXX – a text that can be conceptualized as a reception of the MT – shows a more unified text. The conclusion is that the canon does not imply the idea of the “total stability of the text” but, instead, has to be conceived as a plural tradition of texts that can be analysed on their own and together.

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## *I. Methodological and Theological Aspects*



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<i>4Q88/4QPs<sup>f</sup></i>	40–42, 44–48, 55, 88, 94, 257	<i>11Q5/11QPs<sup>a</sup></i>	20–23, 40–44, 46– 50, 55–57, 61, 64, 86, 88, 91f., 94, 250, 257, 313, 321, 326f., 343f., 352f., 370, 370f., 375–377
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<i>4Q90/4QPs<sup>h</sup></i>	40, 48, 88	<i>11Q5/Ps<sup>a</sup></i>	23
<i>4Q91/4QPs<sup>i</sup></i>	40f., 44, 48	<i>11Q6/11QPs<sup>b</sup></i>	40, 44, 46, 48, 55, 88, 91, 250, 257, 353
<i>4Q91/4QPs<sup>j</sup></i>	88	<i>11Q7/11QPs<sup>c</sup></i>	40f., 43f., 48, 88
<i>4Q92/4QPs<sup>j</sup></i>	44, 46, 48	<i>11Q8/11QPs<sup>d</sup></i>	40, 41, 43–46, 48, 88, 91, 101f., 353
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<i>4Q93/4QPs<sup>l</sup></i>	40, 48, 88, 326	<i>11Q8/frag. 17</i>	102
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<i>4Q94/4QPs<sup>m</sup></i>	40, 48, 88	<i>11Q9/11QPs<sup>e</sup></i>	88
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<i>4Q96/4QPs<sup>n</sup></i>	41, 44, 48	<i>11Q11/11QaprocrPs</i>	88, 94
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