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STUDIES IN THE PSALTER

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BY

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PREFACE

THESE Studies in the Psalter originated in an essay submitted in the year 1925 for the Senior Kennicott Hebrew Scholarship in the University of Oxford. The essay was an examination of a theory advocated by the Swedish scholar, Sigmund Mowinckel, in the second volume of his *Psalmstudien*, published in 1922. This subject was suggested by Canon G. A. Cooke, the Regius Professor of Hebrew, to whom I am indebted for many kindnesses and much encouragement. Since those days, in the intervals, often rare, of the manifold duties of a circuit minister, constructive suggestions have largely replaced destructive criticism, and the investigation has widened its scope to include the origin of many psalms, other than those to which Mowinckel's theory applies.

It will be noticed that throughout the Personal Name of the God of the Hebrews has the form 'Jehovah.' This spelling is certainly not correct, but in the opinion of many it is at least as accurate as the forms 'Jahweh' or 'Yahweh,' and the traditional pronunciation has the advantage of long associations with deep religious experience. For that reason it is preferred.

Grateful acknowledgement is due to my wife for considerable help in the correction of proofs and the checking of the Index, but most of all to my Mother and Father, without whose love and sacrifice during many years there would never have been any studies

at all. I have also to thank the authorities of the Epworth Press for many valuable suggestions, and for their unfailing courtesy.

The usual abbreviations have been adopted in referring to the various Versions of the Old Testament, namely, MT for the Hebrew Massoretic Text, LXX for the Septuagint, Syr for the Syriac (Peshitta), and Jer for Jerome's Vulgate. Where the numbering of the verses in the Massoretic Text differs from that of the English Versions, the Hebrew numbering has been included in brackets immediately following the English numbering.

NORMAN H. SNAITH.

DURHAM,

August, 1934.

STUDIES IN THE PSALTER

I

THE ELOHIST PSALTER AND ITS JEHOVIST SUPPLEMENT

THE group of psalms *xlii-lxxxiii* differs from every other group of psalms in that the use of the Divine Name Jehovah is generally avoided in favour of the Name Elohim. So marked a characteristic is this that the group has long been known as the Elohist Psalter. With the addition of a Jehovist Supplement, *lxxxiv-lxxxix*, it comprises the whole of Books Two and Three of the Psalter.

The object of this present study is to put forward the theory that the whole of the Elohist Psalter, except Pss. *xlv-xlix*, is from the period c. 530 B.C. to c. 420 B.C.; further, that, except for some psalms which belong to the closing years of this period, the Jehovist Supplement is from the period c. 420 B.C. to c. 400 B.C., preferably the earlier part of this time, but certainly not later than 397 B.C. In detail: firstly, the Korahite Psalms, *xlii-xliv*, are, we suggest, from the circle of those who were driven out from Jerusalem by that policy of exclusiveness which was followed with varying degrees of vigour from Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezra iv, 3) to Nehemiah (Neh. ii, 20; xiii, 1-14, 23-31). These psalmists protest

passionately against a policy which cuts them off from worshipping in the Temple at Jerusalem.

Secondly, the Asaphite Psalms, I, lxxiii-lxxxiii, belong to the South. These psalmists, unlike their Korahite brethren, have unhindered access to the Temple; they are supporters of the policy of Separation which Nehemiah pre-eminently represents. They reiterate continually the Deuteronomic warnings against turning to other gods. This is the charge made against the North in 2 Kings xvii, 24-41, and the same attitude is portrayed in Neh. x, xiii.

Thirdly, the Davidic Psalms of the Elohist Psalter are general psalms of mixed origin, though all from the same period. This mixed origin is to be expected, since the tendency, both in the Massoretic Text and in the Septuagint, is for all anonymous psalms to be classed as Davidic. Some of the Davidic Elohist Psalms are from the North; some are from the South; others are neutral in their attitude.

Fourthly, the Jehovist Supplement belongs to the time of re-union after Nehemiah had departed from Jerusalem for the last time. Then the North and the South came together, and for a little while found a measure of harmony. In this Jehovist Supplement are found happy songs of renewed fellowship, together with other psalms dating from the previous years of division.

It is not claimed that anything like definite proof of the above thesis is given, since anything like definite proof is impossible for the whole of the little known period which stretches from the middle of the sixth century B.C. to the beginning of the third century. If,

however, we are ever to obtain a clear insight into the story of these times, it is essential that further constructive efforts should be made to fill in the details of this formative period of Judaism. It is as a contribution towards such an end that this present study is offered.

A.—POLITICAL STRIFE IN JERUSALEM.

In order to reduce the story of the events at Jerusalem during the latter half of the fifth century B.C. to any measure of intelligibility, it is necessary to assume that Nehemiah's patron was Artaxerxes I (Longimanus) 464-424 B.C., and that Ezra's overlord was Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) 404-358 B.C. The problem is discussed at length in *The People and the Book* (ed. Peake, 1925, p. 293). The Chronicler, finding in his sources mention of a Persian king named Artaxerxes in connexion both with Nehemiah and Ezra, assumed that the reference in each case was to the same king, Longimanus. Either he did not know that during this half-century there were two kings of the same name, or he wrongly identified the second king. Nehemiah and Ezra never met; they belonged to different generations. Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem in the year 444 (or 445) B.C., the twenty-first (or the twentieth) year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; Ezra arrived in the year 397 B.C., the seventh year of Artaxerxes Mnemon. There was therefore probably an interval of some twenty years between the cessation of Nehemiah's activity, whether by death or recall, and the arrival of Ezra. During this period the mixed marriages were again tolerated, with the result that, when Ezra arrived with his reforming zeal, he was compelled to start

again practically where Nehemiah himself had begun. Nehemiah had been successful in his project of rebuilding the city walls, and for this his name was honoured in following days (Ecclus. xlix, 13), but in his policy of Separation he was scarcely more successful than his predecessors had been. This failure of his had in it, however, the seeds of future triumph, for it is probable that in rebuilding the walls he laid also the foundations of the final victory of the Separation policy. This latter was accomplished by Ezra, partly because in some ways (e.g. in dealing with the Korahites, as we shall see later) he was less rigorous, but chiefly because the immediate political situation gave him increased opportunity.

Politics played a much larger part in the story than is generally supposed. The trouble between Nehemiah and Sanballat was at least as much political as religious (see L. E. Browne, *Early Judaism*, pp. 146-149), and it is equally clear that on his arrival Ezra found acute political rivalry within the city. Indeed, the first move made by Ezra was the direct outcome of political enmity. This is seen from the fact that it was some of the princes who drew Ezra's attention to the existence of mixed marriages, and in doing so they particularly emphasized the fact that there were other princes and deputies who were ringleaders in the matter, Ezra ix, 2. Presumably these others were the political rivals of the informers. Jehohanan or Jonathan, the 'son' (he was actually the grandson, Neh. xii, 11, 22, and cf. Gen. xxix, 5; xxxi, 28, 43; Ruth iv, 17) of Eliashib, was in favour of action being taken, since it was to Jehohanan's chamber that Ezra retired to fast and mourn because of the trespass which had been committed, Ezra x, 6. The fact that

Jehohanan had a chamber in the Temple assigned to his own personal use does not in itself prove that he was High Priest at the time (cf. Tobiah, Neh. xiii, 4 f.), but it is extremely probable that, according to the Chronicler's sources, this was the case.

Jehohanan plays a leading part throughout in the Chronicler's story, and it is in the highest degree improbable that Ezra would have attempted such drastic reforms without the consent, and indeed the active support, of the High Priest. We know that there was a Jehohanan High Priest c. 400 B.C., and further, he has a thoroughly bad record in the politics of his day. According to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* XI, vii, 1), this Jehohanan had a brother named Jesus, to whom Bagohi promised the High-priesthood. The two brothers quarrelled in the Temple, and Jehohanan murdered his brother. Bagohi, who is the Governor of Judaea mentioned in the Sachau papyri and not, as Josephus supposed, the famous general of Artaxerxes III (Ochus), was full of indignation at the crime, forced his way into the Temple, and inflicted a heavy fine upon the Jews (see *Early Judaism*, p. 163 f.).

Can we go still further and identify this Jesus, brother of Jehohanan? He may have been the man whom Nehemiah had driven out some thirty years before (Neh. xiii, 28), because he had married a woman of non-Jewish descent. If relations between the North and the South improved after the cessation of Nehemiah's activities—and this is clearly the situation as shown in the Sachau papyri—then nothing is more likely than that the exile should return.

Furthermore, supposing that he were the elder brother

of Jehohanan, he would be most likely to attempt to gain for himself the High-priesthood to which Jehohanan had succeeded during his enforced absence. There is no evidence that this is the same man, or that he was older than Jehohanan—except the following: both the murdered man and the exile were grandsons of Eliashib, and the murdered man's name was Jesus, or Jeshua. This was a family name, for it was the name of the grandfather of Eliashib, the Jeshua who had been High Priest in Zerubbabel's time. The brother who bore the family name is more likely to have been the elder brother. If this be the case, then we have the cause of the quarrel and a motive for the crime. Jehohanan murdered his elder brother Jeshua c. 401 B.C. during a quarrel concerning the High-priesthood.

Some four years later he followed this up, when, with Ezra's help, he secured the expulsion from the city of all who had supported his murdered brother, those who, like Jeshua, had married non-Jewish wives. Thus it came about that Ezra received that whole-hearted support which had been denied to his predecessor Nehemiah. Since the death of Jeshua it had at last become tolerably clear which was the winning side. Kittel (*Ges. d. V. Is.* 3, ii, pp. 585, 595) pointed out the political aspect of Ezra's work, holding that Ezra was a priestly diplomat, the prototype of the papal legates of the Middle Ages. It seems more probable that he was the tool of the wily Jehohanan. Doubtless Ezra himself was for the most part single-mindedly religious, but his success was nevertheless to a large degree due to the fact that his general policy suited the convenience and the ambitions of a group of men whose motives

were personal and political rather than altruistic and religious.

This confusion of politics and religion seems to be a feature of the whole history of the Separation policy. We have seen that the attitude adopted by Nehemiah, and again by Ezra, towards the Samaritans had been taken by Zerubbabel and Jeshua a hundred years before (Ezra iv, 3). The political aspect of the quarrel is very plain in Ezra iv. There is foundation for the allegation that in those days also the High Priest on occasion made religion the handmaid of politics, and was, in fact, through his priests, guilty of giving false teaching in order to further his political ambitions. L. E. Browne (*Early Judaism*, pp. 109-112) has shown that in Hag. ii, 10-14 there is preserved a false 'torah,' or decision of the priests. They declared that whilst uncleanness was contagious, holiness was not. This is contradictory, not only to Semitic tradition from earliest times, but also to Lev. vi, 27 (MT 20), where it is laid down that holiness is contagious also. The fact that this latter passage, later than the time of Haggai, embodies an unvarying and ancient tradition, convicts the priests of making their religion suit their interests. They were thinking of the Samaritans, and were determined to secure their rejection. The priests were following their leaders in refusing 'to allow the Samaritans to seek Jehovah,' in refusing 'to be a light even to their nearest kinsmen.' Zerubbabel and Jeshua did not settle the issue, for it cropped up again under Nehemiah, and yet again in the time of Ezra. Apparently each leader had the same problem confronting him, but it was when strong and vigorous men were in control of affairs that

the religious question, like the political problem, assumed major importance.

We adopt, therefore, for the history of the years 444-397 B.C. the following scheme :—

444. Nehemiah's arrival. The building of the walls.
 432. Nehemiah's return. Marriage reforms. Grandson of Eliashib (elder brother of Jehohanan ?) is expelled.
 425 (say)—397. Nehemiah no longer in power. Position generally as before 444 B.C., especially in relation to mixed marriages.
 410. Correspondence with Egypt (Sachau papyri), showing improved relations between Samaria and Jerusalem.
 c.401. Jehohanan murders his brother Jeshua (elder ?).
 397. Ezra arrives. Supported by Jehohanan and his party, he drives out the mixed marriage party (Jeshua's ?).

B.—ISAIAH LVIII-LXVI.

To the period 525-400 B.C. belong, as many critics have realized, the chapters Isa. lviii-lxvi.

The section Isa. lviii-lxiii, 6 belongs to the time when the inhabitants of Jerusalem were longing for some one who should rebuild the city walls ; i.e. the section dates from the period of acute depression in the first half of the fifth century, before the arrival of Nehemiah.

Isa. lxiii, 7-lxiv must have been written by an early Samaritan (*Early Judaism*, chap. v), i.e. by a fifth century writer, who, though a worshipper of Jehovah, was not of the tribe of Judah, and was therefore denied the right of worshipping at Jerusalem. There seems indeed to be no other way of explaining satisfactorily his reference to the House of Israel, Isa. lxiii, 7, and the recitation of the triumphs of Jehovah on their behalf, 'For he said, Surely they are my people, children that will not deal falsely,' Isa. lxiii, 8. Apparently there are those who deny that the House of Israel are true children of Jehovah, and this impression is confirmed by Isa. lxiii, 16-19 :

‘For thou art our Father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us; thou, Jehovah, art our Father, our Redeemer from everlasting is thy Name. Jehovah, why dost thou make us to err from thy ways, and hardenest our heart from following thee? Return for the sake of thy servants, for the sake of the tribes of thy inheritance. Why do the ungodly stride over thy Holy Place (so Ges.-Buhl), and our adversaries trample thy Sanctuary? We have become “those whom thou hast not ruled from all time,” “those on whom thy Name has not been called” (*Early Judaism*, p. 83 f., where these phrases are shown to be epithets used against the writer and his friends by their adversaries) . . .’ The writer claims that he and his company belong to the true Israel equally with their defamers.

A similar situation is indicated in Isa. lxiv, 8 f. (MT 7 f.): ‘But now, Jehovah, thou art our Father; we are the clay, and thou our potter; and we are all the work of thy hand. . . Behold, look, we beseech thee, we are all thy people.’ It is difficult to explain the peculiar emphasis of these verses, namely that ‘we are all’ Jehovah’s, unless the writer is combatting the statement that some of them, he himself and those he represents, are not Jehovah’s people. If the next three verses, 10-12 (MT 9-11), involve a ruined Temple at the time when they were written, and Isa. lxiii, 18 refers to heathen conquerors trampling Solomon’s Temple into ruins, then the whole section Isa. lxiii, 7-lxiv may be from the time of Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who refused the proffered aid of the Samaritans with proud ungracious words, Ezra iv, 3. But Isa. lxiii, 18 does not necessarily

involve the trampling down of the Temple by Babylonian conquerors or by robber bands during the time of desolation. The word 'adversaries' is used in Ezra iv, 1 of the Samaritans, and again of Sanballat and his adherents in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iv, 11). The verse can equally well refer to such impious 'trampling of the courts of the Lord' as is mentioned in Isa. i, 12. The adversaries of the House of Israel in the late sixth and in the fifth century were the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Further, the last three verses of Isa. lxiv may refer to the tragedy of bygone years. Jehovah is urged not to remember iniquity 'for ever'; surely the desolation of the cities of Palestine, and the burning of the beautiful Temple which Solomon had built, must have atoned for all the sins of the past; must we go on paying the price throughout the long years? The whole section belongs to the troublous times succeeding the Exile, when from Haggai and Zechariah to Nehemiah and Ezra there was bitterness between North and South. If the Temple is understood to be still in ruins, then we must place the section in the time of Haggai, for Duhm and Marti do not give adequate reasons for detaching the last three verses and proposing for them a date in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Otherwise we may fix a date during the time of the rivalries of the fifth century.

The section Isa. lxv-lxvi is from a devout writer who desired only that all strife should end, and that both parties once more should worship amicably together in Jerusalem. Isa. lxvi, 1 refers to the building of a Temple, presumably the Second Temple. In this case the section down to Isa. lxvi, 4 belongs to the times of Haggai,

as do the previous sections of Trito-Isaiah (except possibly for the preceding section). The remainder, Isa. lxvi, 5-24, may also belong to this period, or may be as late as the time of Nehemiah. There are faithful ones who have been cast out from the City, and to these the prophet speaks in 5-24. They have been cast out by those who maintained that by so doing they were glorifying Jehovah. The days will come when they will be comforted once more in Jerusalem. In his concluding words the prospect broadens until he foretells a time when all nations will come to worship Jehovah in His Holy Mount.

C.—THE KORAHITE PSALMS.

xlii, xliii. This psalm, now found divided both in MT and in LXX, was clearly written by an exile from Jerusalem. Numerous attempts have been made to find both occasion and author for the psalm, but none have been satisfactory, because no one has allowed the psalmist to speak for himself. We have known better than the psalmist himself where he was living. He himself named the district; it was in Northern Israel.

The psalmist was a priest, who in happier days had led the festal throng (מִדָּוִד). The psalm is his lament, and is in three stanzas with a refrain. In the first stanza he describes his desperate longing to 'appear before God,' i.e. to worship God at His shrine, usually, though not necessarily, the Temple at Jerusalem, 1 Sam, i, 22; Deut. xvi, 16; xxxi, 11. Without ceasing he weeps, whilst his enemies jeer at him with the question, 'Where is *thy* God?' Meanwhile he remembers with sadness

the former days. In the second stanza we find the place from whence the mourner utters his plaint,

'Therefore do I remember thee from the land of Jordan,
And the Hermons, from Mount Mizar,'

xlii, 6 (7).

The three peaks of Hermon are the northern limits of the Holy Land, and 'the land of Jordan' is the district of the foothills of Hermon. Mount Mizar, or 'the little mountain,' must be some unidentified peak of the far North. The next verse is difficult on any basis of interpretation. It is best to read it in connexion with Jon. ii, 2-9 (3-10), the Prayer of Jonah, which is also the prayer of Exiled Israel. There 'the heart of the seas,' 'the deep,' 'the weeds wrapped about my head' are all metaphors for 'the heathen.' Similarly that line which is common to both psalm and prayer,

'All thy waves and thy billows are gone over me,'

is a description of a Jew exiled from Jerusalem, living among the heathen (see p. 107 below). But though Jerusalem is inaccessible to him, still day and night he prays to his God. 'Why hast thou thus forgotten me? Why am I still in distress because the enemy distresses me? My adversaries still mock me, for the very fact that I am here, exiled from the Temple with my prayers unanswered, is evident proof to all that Jehovah is far from me, and that He is on the side of my adversaries.' The third stanza is a prayer for restoration, an impassioned plea for justice, ending with joyful anticipation of the renewed delight to be found when once again he worships at God's Holy Hill. Those who have thrust him out are 'a nation not pious' גוי לא-יודים

and 'a man of deceit and villainy,' xliii, 1. What nation is this whose claims to piety are thus denied? Who is this vile, deceitful man?

xliv. The first part of this psalm recounts the story of the conquest of Canaan, how throughout it was God who fought for His people. The remainder of the psalm complains that He has cast them off. There has been a charge preferred against the psalmist and his companions that they have 'forgotten the name of their God,' and 'have dealt falsely,' 17 f. (18 f.), 20 (21). This they deny; they have not transgressed the Deuteronomic covenant. God is selling 'His people' for nought, and unjustly, 12 (13); He has cast them off, 9 (10), as in xliii, 2. He has scattered them among the heathen, 11 (12).

The situation of these psalms is that of Isa. lxiii, 7-lxvi. There also, as we have seen, the claim of the exiles is that they are God's people equally with their adversaries, Isa. lxiv, 9 (8); there, too, they claim that they are children that will not 'deal falsely' (שקר) as in Ps. xlv, 17), Isa. lxiii, 8. In order to glorify Jehovah, these adversaries, their own brethren, have cast the exiles off, Isa. lxvi, 5. Further, 'forgetting the covenant,' 'dealing falsely in the covenant,' 'turning aside to other gods,' are the acts against which there are repeated warnings in Deuteronomy iv, 9, 23, 31; vi, 12; viii, 11, 14, 19; ix, 7; xxvi, 13; and from the Books of the Kings it is clear that all these were directed mostly against the Samaritans. One of the prohibitions of the Deuteronomic Code was the intermarrying with the heathen, Deut. vii, 2 f. This was made the spear-head of the attack by means of which Nehemiah, and later

Ezra, drove their enemies out of the city. It was definitely on the basis of this prohibition that Nehemiah acted (Neh. xiii, 1).

xlix. This psalm is very different from the other Korahite psalms, and has, in addition, difficulties of its own. The psalm opens with a warning of a hidden meaning, for verses 1-4 (2-5) proclaim it to be a 'parable,' a 'dark saying.' These words are used in conjunction thrice otherwise in connexion with hidden meanings, Prov. i, 6; Ezek. xvii, 2, where the interpretation follows; Ps. lxxviii, 2, where the details of Israel's history are recounted so that the children may not fail to see what is hidden in it all. The first half of Ps. xlix is a homily on the folly of heaping up wealth. It cannot buy life. Even the wise die, and so also must the foolish and brutish perish, leaving their wealth to others. The upshot of it all is that the man of wealth is no better than the fool or the beasts that perish.

'This is the way of all them that are self-confident,
And of their followers who approve what they say.'

13 (14).

The psalmist refers in 15 (16) to his own hope of redemption, and of his being received by God. Here the psalm seems to reach a fitting conclusion, without containing anything which can reasonably be classed as a mystery. The hidden saying is in the concluding verses, which foretell the fate, not of rich men in general, but of one particular rich man. Previously the plural has been used, but now the singular. He may be rich now, but though he boast himself and others praise him, yet he too shall go to the generation of his fathers who never more shall see the light. We suggest that

5-15 (6-16) was the original psalm, being a homily on the vanity of riches, but that an exiled Korahite prefaced it with a paragraph to show that it meant more than appeared, and added a section which pointed the original a little more obviously to his own times and troubles. The whole psalm then referred to a man who made use of his wealth to 'increase the splendour of his house,' and by this means to dominate the righteous. Was this man Nehemiah? Is he the 'man of deceit and villainy' of Ps. xlv, 1? He was certainly a man of wealth, for he did not claim his salary as governor, even though he personally entertained at his table a hundred and fifty Jews and deputies, his own adherents from outside Jerusalem. Furthermore, he led the way in freeing absolutely all mortgaged property without repayment of either capital or accrued interest, and still further in reducing by one per cent. all that was due to the landlord, Neh. v. The writer of Pss. xlii, xliii would not have written in this way of any enemy, but not every psalmist was such a saint as he. Nehemiah certainly used his wealth in order to gain adherents and further his policy, for this entertainment of Jews from without the city played an important part in the success of his venture in rebuilding the city walls. He needed more men within the city, and those who came in 'from among the heathen that were about' were fed at Nehemiah's table.

The remaining Korahite psalms, xlv and xlvi-xlviii, belong to an earlier date. xlv is a marriage song for a bridegroom who is greeted as a king, and a bride as the daughter of kings. It is natural to think of Ahab and Jezebel as prototypes, in view of the references to the

ivory house and the daughter of Tyre. xlv is a Northern song from the ninth-eighth centuries. The burden of xlvi-xlviii is the inviolability of Zion. Jerusalem is unconquered, secure in her sublime confidence in God. Of the forty-three occurrences of the name Jehovah in the Elohist Psalter, six of them are in these psalms, and three of them in the phrase 'Jehovah of Hosts.' The repetition of this phrase and the general background of the psalms, confirm the generally accepted view that they belong to the time of Isaiah of Jerusalem.

D.—THE ASAPHITE PSALMS.

Many of these psalms express the views which were held by the supporters of Nehemiah in Jerusalem. Not all these psalms are from Nehemiah's time, nor can they all be ascribed to adherents of his policy. They have, on the other hand, one common characteristic—every Asaphite psalmist has unhindered access to the Temple Mount.

1. In this psalm those who cluster round Jerusalem, those who offer sacrifices, are called 'God's pious ones' חסידיו (5). This is precisely what the Korahite denies in xliii, 1. The Asaphite psalmist holds that to offer sacrifices is to keep the covenant (5). The Korahites are scattered among the heathen, xlii, 6 f. (7 f.); xlv, 14 (15); xlv, 11 (12); they cannot offer sacrifices, xliii, 3 f.; they have been accused of breaking the covenant, xlv, 17 (18). The conclusion of this 'lonely' Asaphite psalm is a recital of the charges which the South made against the North. The North has no right to declare God's statutes or to speak of His covenant. They have slandered their own kith and kin

(xlili, xlix); they have consorted with thieves, and taken part with adulterers, a frequent metaphor from Hosea downwards for the idolatries of Canaan. They have claimed that the Asaphite psalmist was on a par with themselves, outsiders and backsliders that they were, Ps. l, 21; Isa. lxiii, 16; &c. This the Asaphite indignantly denies. Those who offer sacrifices of thanksgiving, those who order their ways aright, these are they who see the salvation of God.

lxliii. The righteous psalmist and his company are in poverty whilst the wicked prosper. We know that in general the wealth and the prosperity belonged to the North, and that during the fifth century the economic situation in Jerusalem was anything but satisfactory. The moratorium proclaimed by Nehemiah shows this conclusively. The psalmist is troubled because it was still the generally accepted belief that prosperity was a sign of the blessing and the presence of God. In the midst of it all, however, the psalmist has access to the Sanctuary. When he enters there he finds his hope and faith restored, because then he understands what the latter end of the wicked must be.

‘Nevertheless, I am continually with thee,
Thou hast holden my right hand . . .
For, lo, they that are far from thee shall perish;
Thou hast destroyed all those that go a whoring from thee,
But it is good for me to draw nigh to God,’

lxliii, 23, 27 f.

‘I am continually with thee’ has, in part at least, a literal, geographical meaning. The psalmist is in Jerusalem, and can enter the Temple. Presumably also ‘they that are far from thee’ may also have a literal

and geographical significance as well as a metaphorical and spiritual meaning.

lxxv. Here is a contrast between those who dwell at Jerusalem, and those who live elsewhere.

'We give thee thanks for thy Name is near,'

1 (2).

'For neither from the East, nor from the West,
Neither from the Wilderness, nor from the Hill-country . . .'

6 (7).

The last line of *lxxv*, 6 (7) is difficult ; we read **ממזרח** (as Versions and most moderns) and **ומזרחים**, after Ewald, &c. God, therefore, exercises His functions as Judge, not from the East, nor from the West, nor from the Wilderness of the South, nor from the Hill-country of the North, but only from Jerusalem.

lxxvi. The psalmist emphasises the presence of God in Salem, 2 (3) ; he urges all who live in and around Jerusalem to bring presents unto Him, 11 (12).

lxxviii. Here we have the story of backsliding Ephraim. It is a story of repeated wondrous acts on the part of God, and of continued waywardness on the part of Ephraim, 37. This has continued down the years. For this reason God rejected Shiloh, and led His people into captivity. This refers to the captivity of Israel, not of Judah. The rejection of Israel, therefore, in verse 67 belongs to a later day, the time when the relationship to Jehovah was definitely the point at issue between the North and the South.

The remaining Asaphite psalms all have their origin in Jerusalem, but belong to earlier times. The earliest of them are *lxxiv*, *lxxix*, and *lxxx*, where in each case Jerusalem is a scene of desolation. In *lxxiv* and *lxxix*,

the city is in ruins, burned with fire, and the Temple desecrated. The appeal is made directly to God. The psalms portray the conditions of Isa. lviii-lxiii, 6, which we have seen belong to the days before Nehemiah rebuilt the walls. With Ps. lxxiv, 9 compare especially Isa. lix, 16; lxiii, 5. The reference to the Temple, and the fact that the adversaries are not Jews, suggest a date prior to the time of Zerubbabel and Jeshua. Ps. lxxx, 1 is, however, later, for the Temple has been rebuilt. This psalm is a plea for the restoration of the Northern tribes, for all three tribes mentioned are Joseph-tribes, and the chief towns of Ephraim belonged necessarily to the Northern Kingdom. Such hopes for the restoration of all Israel, and not of Judah only, are found in the exilic prophets, Ezek. xxxviii, 15-28; Isa. xlix, 5 f.; Jer. xxxi, 1-21. These passages, and the similarity of style between Ps. lxxx and Pss. lxxiv and lxxix, suggest a date about 530 B.C. for Pss. lxxiv and lxxix, and about 510 B.C. for Ps. lxxx. Later than this, and in the period of depression which followed the failure of the movement under Zerubbabel and the non-fulfilment of Jeremiah's 'seventy years,' we place Ps. lxxvii. This is the period which lasted to the end of the first half of the fifth century, the period of which Nehemiah himself lamented (Neh. ii, 3).

lxxxii. Here is a plea from Jerusalem for stricter observance of the Deuteronomic Law. The Temple is standing, and the services are in full swing, 1-3 (2-4), but all is not well. There are adversaries unsubdued; haters of Jehovah are in the ascendancy, 14 f. (15 f.). It is from lack of fidelity to God that Israel is suffering, 9 f. (10 f.).

lxxxii. This is a plea in the Deuteronomic style for justice to the 'poor and the fatherless, the afflicted and the needy,' the Deuteronomic types of the unfortunate. It was towards the close of the fifth century that Deuteronomic reforms came to the front in Jerusalem. Nehemiah's action was Deuteronomic, and Ezra's reforms were also based on that code. This latter is shown very clearly by L. E. Browne, in *From Babylon to Bethlehem*, pp. 51-55, where the reforms of Ezra are set out in parallel columns side by side with the corresponding demands both of the Deuteronomic and of the Priestly Codes.

lxxxiii. This psalm has been referred to as dealing with the troubles of Nehemiah when he was rebuilding the walls. The connexion is indeed clear, cf. Neh. iv, 7 f., where the allies of Sanballat and Tobiah are Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites. This is the confederacy of which the psalmist is complaining—various nomadic tribes who would pass under the general description of Arabians, and also Ammon and Amalek, together with Philistia, of whom the Ashdodites are representative, and Tyre. The ancient suggestion of Theodoret is that 'Asshur' in verse 8 means the Assyrian colonists of the North, i.e. the Samaritans.

The Asaphite psalms, then, are all from the South. Of them, I, lxxiii, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxviii support Nehemiah in his policy of Separation. lxxiv and lxxix are from c. 530 B.C.; lxxx belongs to the closing years of the sixth century; lxxxi and lxxxii to the days when the Deuteronomic Code was becoming more and more a matter for strict observance; lxxxiii to the days when Nehemiah was actually building the walls.

E.—THE DAVIDIC PSALMS.

Of the Davidic Elohist psalms, li-lxxi, we ascribe li to the days before the arrival of Nehemiah. It is the earliest of the Davidic psalms in this Psalter, and probably for this reason has pride of place. To the North, in company with the Korahite psalms xlii-xliv, xlix, we allot lii, lv, lvi, lxi, lxv, lxix, and lxxi. They belong to the time of Nehemiah's activity. To the South, in company with the Asaphite psalms of Nehemiah's time, l, lxxiii, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxviii, belong liii, lvii-lix, lxii-lxiv. These psalms are in support of Nehemiah's policy. In addition, liv and lxx are from this period, and may be from either side, though liv is probably from the North. lx also is from this time, but is quite definitely neutral. Of the remainder, lxvi and lxvii are not properly Davidic psalms. They are not entitled as such in MT and in Jerome, whilst in LXX and the Vulgate only lxvi is so named. They are probably later insertions. The composite psalm lxviii will be considered in connexion with the Jehovist supplement. The concluding psalm of the Second Book of the Psalter is lxxii, a Messianic psalm 'of Solomon.'

li. The psalmist is a man of 'a broken and a contrite heart.' He has sinned against God alone, and acknowledges his sin. He prays for forgiveness. This is the attitude portrayed in Deutero-Isaiah during the second half of the sixth century, Isa. xliii, 25; xlv, 22; it is the penitent confession of the Book of Lamentations. He continues by praying that he be not cast away from God's presence, and that God will not take His holy spirit from him. When God restores unto him the joy of His salvation, then the psalmist will be able to teach

transgressors His ways. God delights not in sacrifice that the psalmist should offer it (the phrase does not necessarily mean that the psalmist cannot offer sacrifice), nor has He any pleasure in burnt offerings as such. The truest sacrifice to God is a broken spirit, a humble and a contrite heart. It is not necessary to assume that the last two verses of the psalm are an addition, though probably 'burnt offering and whole offering' are an insertion. The walls of Jerusalem are in ruins, but they will be rebuilt; then men will offer true sacrifices, bullocks on the altar and true devotion in their hearts. No psalm has a sounder basis of real religious experience. It belongs, we believe, to the close of the first half of the fifth century, before the arrival of Nehemiah.

lii. This psalm is in very different vein, for the first two stanzas are full of bitterness against a man of wealth and lies. Is this psalm, like the Korahite *xlix*, directed against Nehemiah? In spite of all the villain's wealth, he shall perish, and be rooted out of the land of the living. The psalmist trusts in the mercy of God, unflinching as an olive tree in the Temple precincts. The day is coming when the psalmist will be able to praise God for ever, for God will have accomplished his prayer. Then will the psalmist wait upon His Name, conspicuously and in full view (נגד, not לפני) of 'His saints,' as the Jerusalem dwellers call themselves.

liii is Ps. *xiv* re-edited, but with significant changes. In verse 3 (4) we find סג, 'turned back' from following God for סר, 'turned aside' from the path. This may be an error in transcription, though it is a strange mistake to make. The changes at the end of the psalm cannot, however, be accidental. Ps. *xiv*, 4 f. (5 f.) read :

' Shall they not know (and rue it), workers of iniquity,
That devour my people like bread,
And have not called on Jehovah?
There, they have been in panic,
For Jehovah is with a righteous generation;
They would shame the counsel of the poor,
But Jehovah is his refuge.'

But liii breaks off after 'panic,' and continues:

' . . . but there was no panic,
For God scattered their counsel (?);
Thy besiegers thou didst put to shame,
For Jehovah had rejected them.'

6 (5).

There is a difficulty in MT, for *הבישתה* has no object. It seems as though *היך* ought to be the object, in which case the previous construct becomes an absolute. A transposition of *ת* and *ב* gives *עצרתם*, cf. Ps. xiv, 7. Against Ps. cxli, 7 see Jer. iii, 12; cf. Neh. iv, 9 (15).

This is exactly the position of Nehemiah against Sanballat. Ps. liii may therefore be the re-edition of Ps. xiv by an adherent of Nehemiah, who has retained the concluding prayer of the original with a new meaning in the changed circumstances.

liv. This psalm complains of violent men, strangers. It comes from a time of strife, and may belong to either party, according as *כִּי* in the last verse is translated 'for' or 'when.' The balance inclines to the North.

lv. The psalmist is in sore distress because of an enemy's voice and the oppression of a wicked man, so much so that he longs for the wings of a dove that he may fly away to find a resting-place afar off. At the time of writing,

' Behold I wander far,
I lodge in the wilderness'

7 (8).

these two verbs being not cohortatives, as are the verbs in the previous verse. Verses 9-23 (10-24) are a picture of lawlessness and mischief within the city, about the walls and in the streets. The real tragedy of the situation is that it was not an avowed enemy at the root of the trouble, but a familiar friend, a former companion. They had been wont to take counsel together, and together to walk in the throng of worshippers. The psalmist breaks out in bitterness at the perfidy of his former friend. He can see no reason for the sudden change, nor is he conscious that to any degree he himself has turned away from God. He remains confident that God will vindicate him, and that the oppressors will meet an early doom. The psalm belongs to the North, and is from one who fled the city when persecution became intolerable.

lvi is in three stanzas, the first two of which are from the North. The last stanza, 11-13 (12-14), has no refrain. Either the psalmist is speaking with confidence of what will come to pass, in which case the last stanza is also from the North, or he is speaking of what has come about, in which case these three verses are a later addition. The psalmist is a wanderer, but he is confident that God is on his side. The background is plots and iniquity, as in the previous psalm.

lvii-lix. This little group of psalms is distinguished by the common title 'Destroy not' אֱלֹהֵינוּ שְׂמֵחִים, found elsewhere in the Psalter only at the head of the Asaphite psalm lxxv. All three Davidic psalms, like the Asaphite psalm, belong to the South. The psalmist takes refuge under the shadow of God's wings until the perils be overpast. Enemies are on every side; they prepare

traps, but themselves fall into them. But the writer's heart is fixed on God, and continually he praises Him. He prays, lix, for vengeance on all heathen. They are continually yelping like dogs at night all round the city, but Jehovah mocks at them. May God scatter them, consume them, that they may realize that Jehovah rules in Jacob and to the very ends of the earth. These three Davidic psalms reflect the conditions under which Nehemiah rebuilt the walls, with enemies around continually plotting, now threatening to attack him, now seeking to lure him out of the city but always being thwarted 'charm they never so wisely.' The usual explanation of the title is that it is a reference to the vintage song to which allusion is made in Isa. lxxv, 8, and that probably these psalms were sung to that traditional air. This may be so. In any case the Isaianic passage and these three psalms all come from the same period. Isa. lxxv, 1-5 is an appeal addressed to those who were following what a Southern writer believed to be the illegitimate worship of the North. It is an appeal to turn from evil ways. Verses 8 f., however, are a promise to the faithful remnant in Jerusalem, 'I will not destroy them all,' *השחית לכל*. The chapter concludes, 'they shall not hurt nor destroy *ישחיתו* in all my holy mountain.' Apparently this particular vintage song was a source of inspiration to the remnant in Jerusalem; it spoke to them of the blessing reserved for the little company of the faithful.

lx. The psalmist bemoans a scattered people, a land torn asunder. God has shown 'His people' hard things; they have drunk the wine of amazement. God has indeed set up a standard for all who fear Him.

Bitterly the psalmist makes a pun on סֵד 'standard' and סָר 'to flee,' for what was intended to be a rallying sign has proved to be but a signal for the scattering of His people. The second stanza is an oracle of the day when Salvation comes. This will be when North and South are once more united, when God claims for His own Shechem and Succoth, Gilead and Manasseh. Then will He conquer Moab, Edom, and Philistia. Ephraim will be His helmet, and Judah His royal sceptre. Meanwhile all is disaster. Through God alone will they do valiantly, and tread down their enemies. Among these enemies Edom especially will meet with utter defeat. Edom is the defeated one of Isa. lxiii, where the prophet describes the return of Jehovah, His robes bespattered with blood, red as if He had trodden the wine-press. The psalmist belongs to neither party. He is outside the dispute, bewailing inner dissension in the face of perils from without (Neh. iv, 7 ff. (1 ff.)).

lxi. 'From the end of the land will I cry to thee.' Thou hast in the past been shelter and strong tower. Let me abide and take refuge in Thy tent for ever (the verbs are cohortatives). Here is another Northern psalm, though the reference to the king, 6-8 (7-9), is difficult, and must, if the psalm is from the time we suggest, be an addition.

lxii. This psalm is in two parts, the first of which belongs to the time of Nehemiah. It speaks of plots, of attempts to cast a man down from high estate, but in the midst of it all there is confidence in God. Verses 1-8 (2-9) belong to the South. The remainder is a pious addition.

lxiii. The psalmist tells of the joy of worshipping

in the Sanctuary, and how continually he is near to God. He rejoices in the shadow of His wings, and all who seek after the psalmist's life shall perish. Again there is a reference to a king, 11 (12). The psalmist has shown no previous trace of himself as such, and the change from the first person to the third person suggests that this last verse is an addition. The body of the psalm belongs to the South.

lxiv gives an admirable description by one who was inside the city of the time when Sanballat and his friends were plotting outside.

lxv. Translating MT as it stands, we have

'To thee praise is silent, O God, in Zion,
But unto thee the vow shall be performed.'

'O thou that hearest prayer,
Unto thee shall all flesh come,'

1 f. (2 f.).

'Blessed is the man whom God chooses,
And causes to come near, to dwell in his courts.'

'May we be satisfied with the goodness of thy house,
Thy holy Temple,'

4 (5).

This stanza, and with it the second stanza, might belong to any age, and indeed to either of the two parties of the fifth century. The lines quoted, however, can be interpreted best as written by one who desired earnestly to worship at the Temple. His praise is not heard there at the time of his writing, but he is determined one day to fulfil his vow there. The third stanza was undoubtedly written in the North, the land of golden corn, and spreading valleys covered with flocks.

lxvi and *lxvii* have no titles of origin in MT. They may have been inserted here in order to follow Ps. *lxv*, since all three were probably used as festival psalms, and it was convenient to find them together.

lcviii. See below, pp. 45, 46.

lxix. The psalmist is in great distress. He is in 'deep waters,' i.e. among the heathen. His enemies hate him, and would destroy him. They are mistaken, for he is faithful to God. God knows whether he has sinned. He prays that no seeker after God may have been dishonoured through any act of his. It is because such a charge has been laid against him that he is cut off from his brethren, alien and stranger even to his mother's sons. Meanwhile his zeal for God's Temple devours him, and he prays to be delivered from those that hate him, and also from 'the deep waters.' There is none on earth to take pity. Momentarily he breaks out into curses, praying in indignation for disaster to overtake those who have dealt thus hardly with him, but immediately he returns to his former attitude of patient waiting in steadfastness. He still will praise God; perhaps that will please Him better than an ox. So may God save Zion, and build up the cities of Judah that are desolate, that the seed of God's servants may dwell in them. The attitude and temper of the psalmist is that portrayed in *xlii-xliii*, *li* and *lv*. The psalm is from the North.

lxx is a transcription of *xl*, 13-17 (14-18). The first word 'Be pleased' רצה is missing, and should be restored. The differences between the two texts are slight and without significance. The psalm speaks of strife and calumny, whilst God is the refuge of the poor and needy. We have here an earlier psalm, found to be applicable to the troublous times of the latter half of the fifth century.

lxxi contains a fragment of *xxxi*, 1-3 (2-4), these

three verses being found as the opening verses of each psalm. Apart from 'cause me to escape and save me' for 'speedily deliver me,' the differences seem to be due to confusions in the text of MT, since LXX gives a rendering similar to xxxi in lxxi, 3. Then follows the cry of an old man, who has spent all his life from his youth up in declaring the works of God, but is now no longer permitted to do so, 18. But God will quicken him, will bring him from the 'Deeps' of the earth, and once more the psalmist will praise Him with psaltery and harp.

F.—THE JEHOVIST SUPPLEMENT.

This group of psalms, found at the close of the Elohist Psalter and completing the third book of the Psalter itself, is of miscellaneous origin. lxxxiv and lxxxv are Korahite; lxxxvi is a Davidic 'prayer'; lxxxvii is Korahite; lxxxviii is ascribed both to the Korahites and to Heman the Ezrahite; and lxxxix belongs to Ethan the Ezrahite. The psalms are as miscellaneous in matter and origin as they are in 'authorship.'

lxxxviii is by an exiled Korahite, and has as background the situation of xlii-xliii. The psalmist is in great distress. He has cried day and night to Jehovah, but no answer has come to his prayer. He is still like those who go down to the grave, in darkness in the depths. God has put all his acquaintance far from him, and has made him an abomination to them. He feels that Jehovah has cast off his soul.

lxxxvi is a compilation from many sources, chiefly from earlier Davidic psalms. The first verse, for instance,

is built up from the Davidic psalms, xvii, 6 ; lv, 2 (3) ; xl, 17 (18) or lxx, 5 (6), and the same kind of dependence is found throughout.

The remaining psalms belong to the time of reunion, during the last twenty years or so of the fifth century. North and South were then once more on the best of terms, and this friendship was broken only with the feud between Jehohanan the High Priest and his brother Jeshua, and with the enlistment of Ezra's reforming zeal on the side of Jehohanan and his party.

lxxxiv and *lxxxv* are both Korahite, but the authors are now in Jerusalem, and say so. Similarities of expression have been noticed between *lxxxiv* and *xlii-xliii* — 'tabernacles,' *xliii*, 4 and *lxxxiv*, 1 (2) ; 'the living God,' *xlii*, 2 (3) and *lxxxiv*, 7 (8) ; 'appear before God' using Elohim in spite of the fact that *lxxxiv* is Jehovist, *xlii*, 2 (3) and *lxxxiv*, 7 (8). The same metaphor of longing, fainting, panting is found in the opening verse of each psalm ; and 'my soul' is used in the same way in each case. The psalms may well be, as Kirkpatrick has suggested, from the same hand, but the circumstances are very different. 'In *xlii-xliii* the leading motif is the pain of being debarred from approaching the Sanctuary ; in *lxxxiv* it is joy of the privilege of access to it.' *lxxxiv* opens,

'How dear is thy dwelling place, O Jehovah of Hosts,
My soul hath longed, yea, hath fainted for the courts of Jehovah,
My heart and my flesh shout joyously to the living God.'

The next verse returns to the past tense once more. The sparrow and the swallow *have* found a home, in the Temple itself. This verse concludes with 'and my God,' the phrase with which the repeated refrain

of xlii-xliii concludes. The dwellers in Jehovah's house are blessed indeed, for continuously they praise Him. lxxxiv, 6 (7) is not easy to interpret, but it undoubtedly is a description of the journey back to Jerusalem. The psalmist is now a door-keeper in the House of his God, and that is far better than dwelling in 'the tents of wickedness,' far away from the sacred precincts for which his soul has been desperately longing.

Previously the Korahites had been priests, leading the procession of worshippers. This is clear from Ps. xlii, and from the Deuteronomic Code, where there is no distinction made between the priests and the Levites. It is true that Ezra enforced the Deuteronomic Code, but the equality of all Levites, whether sons of Aaron or not, belongs to the times which ended with the reforms of Nehemiah. Already before Ezra's time modifications were taking place. Nehemiah's *coup d'état* established more securely than ever the Jerusalem priesthood, so that when the exiles returned after the cessation of Nehemiah's activity, the priests in possession were far too firmly established for the old position to be restored. Among these returning exiles were the sons of Korah, who, anxious, chiefly and indeed only, to be worshippers in the Temple, gladly accepted the lower office of door-keepers, great though the loss of dignity was to them. In this way alone, they discovered, could they be continually worshipping Jehovah and dwelling in His courts. Distinguished and important doubtless as the office of door-keeper was when the ritual of the Second Temple began to grow more and more full, it was yet a humble duty when compared with the former status of the Korahites, the full status

of the officiating and sacrificing priesthood. By this compromise the Korahites were established as Temple officers before the time of Ezra. All that remained in this respect for Ezra was to be less rigorous than his predecessor had been, to accept this modification of the Deuteronomic Code, and so establish the distinction between the sons of Aaron and all other Levites. Here we have the beginnings of the Priestly Code, close to the end of the fifth century B.C.

The story of the 'strange fires' which the sons of Korah burned to Jehovah probably has its explanation in this lowering of the status of the Korahites. It dates, as a matter of fact, only from the end of the fifth century, but the writers of the Priestly Code, here as elsewhere and as the Chronicler uniformly, have carried it back to the earliest days, for all believed that the Temple ritual of the day was established by Moses himself in the Wilderness. The story as found in Num. xvi is interwoven with the earlier story of the folly of Dathan and Abiram. Disentangling the Priestly Code element in this chapter, it becomes clear that it is not here stated that Korah was swallowed up with Dathan, Abiram, and all their company, nor was he burned in the fires he had made, for the fire consumed only the two hundred and fifty men who took his part, Num. xvi, 2, 35. Since that day, the story goes, Korah had never offered sacrifice, but that once he had done so the very story of the Priestly writers itself admits.

Another indication that the distribution of the offices in the Second Temple is dependent chiefly on these incidents of the Ezra-Nehemiah period is shown by the fact that Asaph was the chief of the Levitical singers

in the fourth century, and at the time of the Chronicler, 1 Chr. xvi, 5, 37. We have seen that the Asaph psalms belonged entirely to Jerusalem, some to the period before the arrival of Nehemiah, but the majority to the period of Nehemiah himself. This means that before the time when the Korahites returned to Jerusalem and accepted their lower status, the Asaphites were already installed as singers in the Second Temple. Since the attitude of the Asaphites had been that of the Jerusalem priests, it is only to be expected to find them taking precedence over the returning Korahites and any others who may have taken the other side. Now, with the Asaphites there were also appointed as singers Heman and Jeduthun, 1 Chr. xvi, 41. Jeduthun appears to be equivalent to Ethan, 1 Chr. xv, 19. It is to Heman and Ethan, Ezrahites (possibly Ezrahites because their appointment as singers dates from roughly these times), that we find **lxxxviii** and **lxxxix** allocated, although **lxxxviii** had previously belonged to the Korahites. **lxxxviii** belongs to the time when the Korahites were still in exile. **lxxxix A** is a reunion psalm and breathes such a spirit of friendship with both parties that we may perhaps assume Ethan to have been an admirer of Nehemiah, but not such an enthusiast as Asaph, so that he rejoiced with added warmth, and indeed with complete abandon, in the coming together which took place after the time of Nehemiah. The net result was that Heman and Ethan were established as singers in the Temple, but in a position secondary to Asaph. The title of **lxxxviii** would then mean that when Korah became door-keeper, Heman sang the Korahite psalms. Possible confirmation of this is found in 2 Chr. xx, 19,

where it is said that 'the Levites of the sons of the Kohathites and of the sons of the Korahites stood up to praise Jehovah, God of Israel, with an exceeding loud voice.' Heman was a Kohathite, 1 Chr. vi, 33, but the sons of Korah are filling a strange role for the Chronicler's time. They were door-keepers, not singers. This passage is a confirmation, where we would least expect it, of the tradition which lies behind Num. xvi, that the Korahites once occupied a higher status than that which they held in the Chronicler's time.

lxxxv is a Korahite psalm, which, like *lxxxiv*, celebrates the reunion. It opens with the statement that Jehovah has received 'His people' into favour once more, and has changed the fortune of Jacob. He has pardoned the iniquity of 'His people,' but further mercies are desired, and a greater prosperity is expected. The psalmist is sure of his answer because Jehovah Elohim will speak peace to 'His people' and to 'His saints,' that is, to both parties. Now that they are united once more,

' Mercy and truth are met together,
Righteousness and peace have kissed each other,'
lxxxv, 10 (11).

All henceforth will prosper and be well.

The other Korahite psalm of this miscellany, *lxxxvii*, resounds with the same jubilant note. Zion is the best place of all, better than all the other cities of Israel. Henceforth it shall be said, 'This one and that one was born there,' a statement which could not have been made by the psalmist and his company, of their younger children born whilst they had been exiled in the North.

The last psalm, *lxxxix*, is a composite psalm. The

first psalm, 1-18 (1-19), is a psalm of reunion. The psalmist's sympathies are mostly with the South, as we would expect from a non-Korahite psalm in this supplement. Though David is Jehovah's servant, and the South are His chosen, yet God had made both North and South; Tabor and Hermon rejoice in His Name. The mention of these two mountains of the North make it clear that the reference in the first line of verse 12 (13) is to the north and south of Palestine, and not, as is generally assumed, to the north and south of the whole world. It were indeed an anticlimax to mention even Tabor after 'the heavens, the earth, the world, and the fulness thereof,' 11 (12). The second psalm, 19-37 (20-38) is in praise of the Davidic line, but not in the sense of 1-4 (1-5). There the references are to the South, but in the second psalm to a particular man in whom it is expected that the glories of the House of David will be restored. The psalm dates from a time when prosperity seems at last to be assured for the immediate future, if indeed it is not actually present. The psalm depends, as commentators have noticed, in part on the narrative of 2 Sam. vii, and on other passages where the continuance of the Davidic line is promised. The occasion of this psalm, lxxxix B, may well be the closing years of Haggai, ii, 20-23. We find there the same extravagant promises. Zerubbabel is the chosen one; he is the servant; the kingdoms of the world will be overthrown before him; cf. Ps. lxxxix, 19 f. (20 f.). The psalm continues to speak of triumph over land and sea. This prince will be 'higher than the kings of the earth.' These glorious days are dependent on the observance of the law, the judgements, the statutes,

the commandments of God. Here we have the Deuteronomic phrases revived from 2 Sam. vii, accompanied with the same threats of rods and stripes. This also was characteristic of the time of the revival under Zerubbabel. Zechariah points out Zerubbabel as the one who shall rebuild the Temple of Jehovah, 'and he shall bear the (royal) honour, and shall sit and rule upon his throne,' Zech. vi, 13. The concluding sentence of that section is, 'And this shall come to pass, if ye will diligently obey the voice of Jehovah your God,' where, as in the psalm, success is made dependent upon the observance of the Deuteronomic Law.

The third psalm, lxxxix, 39-end (40-end), is very different in tone and temper. Here, instead of brightness and hopefulness, we find despair, humiliation, and disaster. Jehovah has been wrath with His anointed; His crown has been cast to the ground. He is covered with shame, and whilst yet young, disaster has come upon him. We are here in the midst of those times of depression which lasted from the failure of the hopes and plans for the young Zerubbabel until the time when Nehemiah came to restore the fortunes of his fathers.

Thus the Jehovist Supplement contained originally eight psalms. lxxxvi is a Davidic compilation of uncertain date; lxxxix B belongs to the time of Zerubbabel, and lxxxix C to the times immediately following. There is one Korahite psalm from the time of exile in the North, lxxxviii, and the remainder are from the times of reunion which followed the end of Nehemiah's control of affairs. lxxxiv, lxxxv, and lxxxvii are Korahite, and from the hands of returning exiles; lxxxix A is from the hand of a Southern writer who rejoiced

exceedingly in the restored friendship between the North and the South.

It is possible that to this time of reunion belongs also part of lxviii, though Ball's suggestion of Maccabean times has much to recommend it. The first part, 1-18 (1-19), tells of the mighty saving work of God in the Wilderness and in Canaan. To this early psalm a later psalmist has added another, describing a procession in which North and South are mingled together. The occasion of this has always presented a difficulty, since, unless the psalm is to be treated as idealistic in character, the actual event has to be found in the time of the two kingdoms, if indeed not in the times of David and Solomon before the kingdom was divided, or in the days of the Maccabees. Duhm finds the occasion in the times of Alexander Jannaeus. The alternative is either to follow Wellhausen, Haupt, Ball, and others, and see in the psalm the story of 1 Macc. v, 23, the rescue of Simon by Mattathias, or else to find an explanation in the joy of reunion in Jerusalem when Nehemiah's day was done. It is difficult to regard the psalm as a unity, since Bashan is the home of Elohim in 15 (16), but not in 22 (23). In the second psalm God has brought back from Bashan, from 'the depths of the sea.' The two phrases can only be equivalent when the latter is interpreted to mean the heathen. This return cannot be from the Exile of Israel in 722 B.C., nor the earlier transportation of the most northerly tribes, 2 Kings xv, 29. Nor can it refer to the Exile of Judah, either that of 597 B.C. or that of 586 B.C. None of these were to Bashan, nor by any poetic licence can we refer to a return from any of these as a return 'from Bashan.' The

reference certainly fits in with the Maccabean incident, but it also fits in with a return after Nehemiah's time, for Hermon is in Bashan, and Hermon is the Ultima Thule of Palestine. All the tribes are there in the procession, not only Judah and Benjamin, but Zebulun and Naphtali also. The district of Bashan and the territory of Zebulun and Naphtali is that mentioned in *xlii*, 6 (7).

II

THE SABBATH PSALMS

A.—THE SABBATH CANTICLES AND THE ‘PSALMS OF MOSES.’

ACCORDING to the Talmud (b.R.H. 31 a ; j. Meg. iii), certain canticles were sung in the Temple at the Sabbath services—

‘What did they recite at the additional Sabbath services? Rabbi Aman b. Rabba says in the name of Rab, “Hazyv Lak (i.e. the Song of Moses, Deut. xxxii, 1-43).” And Rabbi Hannan b. Rabba says in the name of Rab, “As they (the sections) were divided (by the Levites) for singing in the Temple, so they were divided in the Synagogue (for the Reading of the Law).” What did they recite at the Sabbath Afternoon Service? Says Rabbi Johanan, “Then sang” (the Song of Moses, Ex. xv, 1-10), and “Who is like unto thee” (the Song of Moses, Ex. xv, 11-19), and “Then sang” (the Song of Israel, Num. xxi, 17 f.). The schoolmen asked, “Did they recite them all on one Sabbath, or perhaps on each Sabbath did they recite one?” Come and hear. A Boraitha teaches, “While the first (choir of Levites) were reciting once, the second had sung twice.” Understand from this that each Sabbath they recite but one.’

At the morning Sabbath service, then, the Deuteronomic Song of Moses was recited in six sections, 1-6 ; 7-12 ; 13-18 ; 19-26 ; 27-35 ; 36-43, for Hazyv Lak is a mnemonic giving the first letter of each section. At the Afternoon Sabbath Service the Levites recited the Exodus Song of Moses, Ex. xv, 1-19, in two sections, and the Song of Israel. The inference from ‘each Sabbath they recite but one’ is that in the one case each section was recited once every six Sabbaths, and in the other case each section was recited twice every six Sabbaths.

The Sabbath Canticles were sung when the drink offering of the additional Sabbath sacrifice was brought (see *Ecclus.* 1, 12-20). It was indeed only at this time that any song could properly be sung, in accordance with the ancient rule, 'No one singeth a song except over wine' (*Tam.* vi, 3).

At the head of Ps. xc is the title 'A Prayer. To Moses, the man of God.' Moses could not have written this psalm, nor indeed any of those which immediately follow it. Further, it is in the highest degree improbable that there was ever any minor psalter connected with his name. He was no singer; in fact the tradition is that he was anything but a ready speaker, *Ex.* iv, 10; vi, 14, 30. Tradition, nevertheless, is firm in associating the name of Moses with Ps. xc, and not only with this psalm, but with the whole group, xc-c. It is in connexion with these psalms that we find the tradition concerning 'orphan psalms,' that is, psalms which in MT have no 'authors' assigned to them. Both the Midrash and a certain Rabbi consulted by Origen (*Cheyne, Origin of the Psalter*, 75, 85) claimed that the superscription of Ps. xc meant that Moses wrote not only xc, but also the ten following psalms. This belief was shared by Jerome and many others. Grotius held that some later poet wrote them in the character of Moses. Cheyne strongly denied this or any other Mosaic theory. 'It was assigned to Moses partly as a mark of distinction, and to ensure for it the respect of future generations' (*O.P.* 86). But why this psalm more than any other? There are many psalms equally worthy of Moses, the

... man of mercy,
Which found favour in the sight of all flesh,
A man beloved of God and man.—*Ecclus.* xlv, 1.

The ancient explanation was that each psalm corresponds to one of the eleven blessings of Deut. xxxiii. This arose partly from the fact of there being eleven psalms in the group, that is, ten orphan psalms following one ascribed to Moses, and partly because the superscription of xc contains the phrase 'Moses, the man of God,' thus coinciding with the description given of Moses in the opening verse of Deut. xxxiii.

We have, therefore, the name of Moses most firmly embedded in two traditions, that concerning the Sabbath Canticles, and that concerning Pss. xc-c. The two canticles, and with them the Song of Israel, were sung regularly at the Sabbath Services of the Temple. We claim that the association of these psalms with the name of Moses is due to their liturgical association with the two Songs of Moses. xc-xcix were the first regular Sabbath Psalms of the Temple ritual, and they were sung in conjunction with the Sabbath Canticles. c was the original ordinary Week-day Psalm.

(a) The first section of the Psalter, i-lxxxix, was formed, in the main, from four earlier compilations, the two Davidic hymnaries, and the two Levitical hymnaries of Korah and Asaph. With xc a new method appears. The arrangement is no longer in blocks of psalms (for the 'lonely' Asaph Psalm, l, see Ewald, *Psalms, Eng. Trans.*, i, p. 13) drawn from earlier collections, but in groups already formed for a liturgical use common to the group. Psalms in this second section of the Psalter, xc-cl, bear traces, to a greater degree than any group of any particular psalm in the first section of the Psalter, of having been composed definitely for liturgical purposes. xc-c is the first of these groups,

and the presumption is that this group was the first to be so used.

(b) In the development of the Palestinian triennial lectionary, both of readings from the Law and of readings from the Prophets, the first portions to be fixed were those for festivals (see Büchler, *J.Q.R.*, v, 420; vi, 1). The next step was when the custom was extended to Sabbaths, and finally to the days of the week. If the manner of this development can be taken as any guide to the development of the use of the psalms in the Temple liturgy, then the first group of psalms formed for liturgical purposes would be used on the Sabbaths, since the festival psalms would be specially selected (as indeed they were) just as the early Festival Sedarim, or Readings from the Law, were. Similarly the next stage would be to provide for the days of the week. On this assumption, it is probable that xc-xcix would be the Sabbath Psalms, and c. the Daily Psalm.

(c) There are very many Jewish characteristics in the Apocalypse of John, particularly in Rev. xiv, where the setting of the vision is the worship in the Heavenly Temple on the great Sabbath at the end of days. The whole picture of the heavenly hosts around the throne is founded on a knowledge of the Temple Services at Jerusalem. There are continuous references to Old Testament passages, particularly in Rev. xiv, 2-4, where the Song of the Redeemed is associated with the Exodus Song of Moses. Just as the children of Israel sang the Song of Moses standing on the shores of the Red Sea, so now the shores of the glassy sea are the scene of another song of deliverance. Even if the mention of Moses is a later interpolation (see Charles, *I.C.C.*),

the connexion is still clear. Extracts from the heavenly anthem are given, and many commentators have noticed the similarity between Rev. xiv, 3 and the Deuteronomy Song of Moses. Much clearer, however, are the associations with the group of psalms xc-xcix.

Verse 3. 'Great and marvellous are thy works,' cf. xcii, 5 (6); xcvi, 1. 'Righteousness' and 'Truth' are found in xcvi, 13; the similar conjunction of righteousness and equity in judgement is common to Rev. xvi, 7 and xcvi, 9; xcix, 4. Throughout xciii, xcvi-xcix, Jehovah is represented as 'King of the nations,' xciii (the overcoming of the mighty waters); xcvi, 3, 10; xcvi, 5, 6, 9; xcvi, 2, 3, 9; xcix, 2. The use of 'Almighty' is rare, xci, 1.

Verse 4. There is the same cluster of ideas as in xcix, 3; fear, name, Jehovah is holy. In each verse the nations are called to 'praise His great and fearful Name.' The seer follows LXX rather than MT. See also xcvi, 4, 9; and compare xcvi, 8. 'All nations shall come and worship before thee' is from lxxxvi, 9, perhaps because of the similarity between lxxxvi, 10 and the opening phrase of Rev. xiv, 3. But see xcvi, 7; xcv, 6. The conclusion is based on xcvi, 2.

(d) With the sole exception of xciv, the psalms of this group are traditionally associated with the services of the Sabbath. The connexion is very ancient, and can be seen in the modern services of both the Ashkenazic and the Sephardic Jews. The Ashkenazic Jews sing xcvi-xcix, xxix, xcii, xciii at the Service for the Inauguration of the Sabbath. At the Morning Service on the Sabbath, c, which is sung every week-day, is omitted, and the following psalms are sung, xix, xxxiv, xc, xci, cxxxv, cxxxvi, xxxiii, xcii, xciii, and, after certain intermediary sentences, as on week-days, cxlv-cl. All these psalms are used also for the Morning Service for Festivals, but when a Festival or one of the Intermediate Days of a Festival falls on the Sabbath, the Inauguration Service commences with xcii; that is, xcvi-xcix, xxix, are omitted, together with the Bridal Song. The

Sephardic Jews sing xxix, xcii, xciii, xxxiii at their Service of the Eve of the Sabbath. At the Morning Service the order is xxxiii, xxxiv, xc, xci, xcvi, cxxix, cxxxiv, cxxxv, cxxxvi, xcii, xciii, cxlv. On the Sabbath which falls within the Festival of Passover, xciii is chanted after the Reading of the Law, but if the Sabbath falls on one of the Intermediate Days, then the psalm is cxi. On the Eve of Festivals xcii, xciii are recited, but not unless the Festival falls on the Sabbath. According to the Mishna (*Tamid* vii, 4), xcii is the Sabbath Psalm. There are but two services at which xcii only is used, the Additional Service for the Sabbath among the Ashkenazic Jews, and the Afternoon Service for the Sabbath, and it is sung while the vestments are being replaced on the Scroll of the Law prior to its replacement in the Ark.

In the modern synagogue, therefore, xc and xci, xcii and xciii, xcv-xcix are essentially Sabbath Psalms. The title of the Arabic version also contains a Sabbath tradition in respect of xciii, 'Of David, who spake it for praise on the Sabbath day, when the earth rested.' The use of these psalms on the Sabbath is apparently completely independent of the use of xcii; it is quite distinct from the Mishnaic tradition, and in no way interferes with it. A feature of the use of these psalms is the close association of xc with xci, xcii with xciii, and the separation always from these of xcv-xcix. The reasons for these peculiar groupings will appear subsequently in our tracing of the development of the Sabbath ritual.

We therefore maintain that xc-xcix were the original Sabbath Psalms, there having been, except in the case

of xciv, an unbroken use of them as such. Further, c. has similarly been the regular Week-day Psalm.

There are a number of Kennicott and de Rossi MSS. in which there is considerable confusion in the numbering of these psalms. xc and xci are written as one in 15 codd.; xcii and xciii in 12; xciii and xciv in 3; xciv and xc v in 9; xc v and xcvi in 4; xcvi and xc vii in 14; xc viii and xcix in 8. It appears at first sight that we have here evidence of very close association between these ten psalms, xc-xcix. Briggs (*Psalms, I.C.C.*, p. xlix) found in these occasional unions evidence that certain of these psalms are parts of a great hymn of praise consisting of fifteen trimeter hexastiches, afterwards broken up into six psalms for liturgical purposes. It is not easy to see why he omitted some of the ten, but included others in his scheme. The reason for these temporary alliances is much more simple. Two psalms are written as one in these MSS. only when the second has no title in MT. For this reason xcii is never written as part of xci, nor xc viii of xc vii. Further, ix and x are written as one in 4 codd.; xxxii and xxxiii in 8; xlii and xliii in 46; lxx and lxxi in 27; ciii and civ in 9; cxiv and cxv in 71; cxv and cxvi in a few; cxvi and cxvii in 32. The pairings of the psalms in the group xc-xcix are therefore due entirely to the fact that most of the psalms are without any superscription.

B.—THE SABBATH MORNING PSALMS.

xc-xcii are dependent on the Deuteronomy Song of Moses. This dependence is most marked in the cases of xc and xci, though the same element persists throughout the six psalms xc, xci, xcii, xciv, xc v A, xc v B (xc v being originally two psalms). Gradually the general Deuteronomic element becomes more marked, until xc v B is entirely Deuteronomic, both in substance and in style. We therefore propose these six psalms as the original Sabbath Morning Psalms, sung in rotation during a cycle of six Sabbaths in company with the six sections of the Sabbath Morning Canticle.

Psalm xc.

Verse 1—'in every generation.' Found in Deut.

xxxii, 7; and twice elsewhere, Isa. lviii, 12; lxi, 4, both of which promise the restoration of ruins long left desolate, and belong to the first half of the fifth century.

Verse 2—‘were brought forth,’ Deut. xxxii, 18. In each case the parallel is ‘born.’

Verse 12b—Compare Deut. xxxii, 29.

Verse 13—‘and repent thee concerning thy servants,’ Deut. xxxii, 36. The actual phrase is found also in cxxxv, 14, where Jehovah’s mighty deeds of redemption are recounted.

Verse 15—‘days’ and ‘years’ are in parallel also in Deut. xxxii, 7. This is most important, since these are the only two instances of the plural ימֹת; שָׁנֹת also is rare, occurring seven times only.

Verse 16—‘deed,’ i.e. deed of salvation, Deut. xxxii, 4.

There are, in addition, general Deuteronomistic elements. The title of the psalm, ‘Moses, the man of God,’ is from Deut. xxxiii, 1, the more clearly since אֱלֹהִים is not used absolutely in the psalm. Again, ‘dwelling-place’ (1) is found, in the feminine form, in Deut. xxxiii, 27. ‘The work of our hands’ (17) is a characteristic Deuteronomistic phrase (six times in a good sense, as in the psalm, once in a bad sense, xxxi, 29). The root עָנָה, ‘affliction’ (15) as a discipline inflicted by Jehovah is Deuteronomistic, viii, 2, 3, 16; 1 Kings xi, 39.

The psalm probably arises out of the same set of circumstances as the Book of Job. One of the features of the psalm is the frailty of man, the apparent shortness and futility of his life, a characteristic of many passages in Job. With xc, 3-11, compare Job v, 7; vii, 1-10;

viii, 14; ix, 25 f.; x, 20-22; xiv; xvi, 22. More especially compare xc, 3, and Job x, 9; also xc, 4, 10, with Job xx, 8. The idea of the birth-pangs of Creation is found in xc, 2 and Job xxxviii, 28 f.; and the moral of xc, 12 can be paralleled with the conclusion of Job xxviii.

Psalm xci.

Verse 1—‘covert.’ Found in the feminine form, Deut. xxxii, 38.

Verses 1, 9—‘Most High’ as a name of God is by no means common, and is found in Deut. xxxii, 38.

Verse 4—Compare the couplet, Deut. xxxii, 11. The word for ‘pinions’ is found twice elsewhere, lxviii, 13 (14); Job xxxix, 13; in each case parallel with ‘wings,’ but the two phrases are used of Jehovah and His people only in this psalm and in Deut. xxxii.

Verses 5 f.—These verses contain a list of the terrible weapons of Jehovah, the awful Terrors with which He will arm Himself in the day of His fierce anger. Two of these, Arrow and Destruction, are found in a similar list in Deut. xxxii, 25 f.

Verse 7—Here we find the parallelism ‘a thousand’ and ‘a myriad,’ as in Deut. xxxii, 30. This contrast is found elsewhere only in the couplet concerning Saul and David, 1 Sam. xviii, 7, 8, &c., and in Mic. vi, 7, but in these two latter instances the words are in the plural.

Verse 13—Here MT has ‘lion’ שׂוֹרֵל, but LXX, Syr, Jer have ‘asp’ אֲשׁוּרֵל, as in Deut. xxxii, 24. The reading of the versions may be an assimilation to Deut. xxxii, 24, since the parallel in each case is ‘young lion’

כפיר. Further 'adder' and 'dragon' are paralleled only in xci, 13, and Deut. xxxii, 33.

The more general Deuteronomic associations appear in Israel's love חשק for Jehovah, xci, 14. This word is found only here of Israel's love for Jehovah, but in Deut. vii, 7; x, 15; of Jehovah's love for Israel. It is not found elsewhere in this latter sense. Again 'length of days' is the Deuteronomic reward for devotion to, and knowledge of, Jehovah, Deut. xxx, 20; and Deuteronomy contains eleven references to the prolongation of 'thy days.'

Verses 1 and 2 have been found difficult by all versions and commentators. MT is pointed to read 'He that sitteth in the covert of Elyon, Shall abide under the shadow of Shaddai.' Both the Vulgate and LXX follow MT, except that LXX continues 'he saith.' According to Bar Hebraeus the sense of the Syriac is 'O thou that sitteth (participle) . . . , say (imperative)', but as Baethgen (*Die Psalmen*, p. 287) pointed out, without the points the Syriac might mean anything. The Syriac has a participle משהבת for יתלכין. Gunkel (*Die Psalmen*, 1925, p. 406) holds that Syriac and Jerome both read אִמַּר, but that LXX found יִאמַר. The objection to all the versions is that they are tautologous, and that, whilst a certain amount of repetition is to be expected in parallel verse, this particular couplet is weak and altogether unworthy of the remainder of the psalm. Olshausen, Hupfeld, and others have cut the knot by prefixing אֲשֶׁרִי, reading participles throughout, and translating verse 3, 'for he shall deliver . . .' Grimme and Buhl read יִשָּׁב and אִמַּר, thus making verse 2 the subject of the verbs in verse 1. Delitzsch follows the

traditional pointing of MT, but allocates the various lines to different speakers. Hitzig and Wellhausen follow the Syriac tradition of Bar Hebraeus, but add אָתָּה before יִשָּׁב. Briggs translates three participles, and, omitting the suffix of יִצִּיל, makes דָּוָא the subject of verses 1 and 2.

It is clear that the only way to avoid the clumsy tautology of MT is to translate the verbs in verse 1 as participles. Baethgen pointed out that the imperfect was really a continuation of the participle. The solution is to point exactly as MT, except for אָטָּר. The effect of this is to make the psalm an oracle in the style of the oracles of Balaam ben Beor. The prologue of the oracle in Num. xxiv, 3 f. is

‘ So he uttered his oracle and said,
Spoken of Balaam ben Beor,
Spoken of the Man Sealed (?) of eye,
Spoken of the Hearer of the words of El,
Who seeth the sight of Shaddai,
The Faller and Opened of eyes.’

Here are found two active and five passive participial forms. The same prologue is found in the next oracle, Num. xxiv, 15 f., with the addition of another active participle, ‘the Knower of the knowledge of Elyon.’ We therefore translate the opening verse of the psalm,

‘ The Dweller in the covert of Elyon,
The Sojourner in the shadow of Shaddai,
Hath said . . . ’

An additional link between the two oracles is the common use of both Shaddai and Elyon, neither of frequent use, especially Shaddai without El. There is but one Hebrew of whom it can truly be said that ‘ he dwelt in the secret

place of the Most High, and spent the night under the shadow of the Almighty.' This was Moses.

'When I went up into the Mount to receive the tables of stone, the covenant which Jehovah made with you, then I abode (כָּשַׁנְתִּי as in Ps. xci, 1) in the mount forty days and forty nights,'
Deut. ix, 9.

The oracle continues to xci, 13, and Moses is the speaker. Just as the Book of Deuteronomy is in the form of a series of speeches delivered by Moses, so this psalm, containing the experience of all the generations, is cast into the form of an oracle of 'the man of God.' The difficulty of the change of person in xci, 9 is resolved when Moses is the speaker. 'Jehovah my refuge' is a repetition from verse 2, and both this and 'Elyon' are objects of the verb 'thou hast made.' It is because the people have made the Refuge of Moses their Refuge also that no evil shall befall them.

In contrast to the previous psalm, the dominant feature of xci is the steadfast conviction that the man who shelters in Jehovah need fear no ill. But, different as the theme is from that of xc, it also finds a parallel in the Book of Job, namely in v, 19-22. There are few similarities of language, none indeed beyond those which the expressing of a common idea renders essential, but no two passages could be found more intimately connected in respect of the ideas conveyed.

Psalm xcii.

The association of this psalm and the Deuteronomic Song of Moses are meagre—the use of 'deed' in Ps. xcii, 4 (5) and Deut. xxxii, 4; and the ascription of greatness to Jehovah in verse 5 (6), which is echoed

from Deut. xxxii, 3. The most obvious connexion is in the last verse of the psalm, which has all the marks of an addition, and Deut. xxxii, 4. This psalm is one of the most original of all psalms, since few resemblances can be found to any passage of the Old Testament.

The three psalms xc-xcii are bound together by ties of language, xc, 1, and xci, 9, 'dwelling place'; xci, 1, and xcii, 1 (2), Elyon; xc, 16, and xcii, 4 (5) 'thy work'; and the answer to xc, 15, is found in xcii, 4 (5).

Psalm xciv.

Verse 1—The idea of the terrible vengeance which Jehovah will exact is prominent in Deut. xxxii, 35-43. Also, 'shine forth' is reminiscent of Deut. xxxiii, 1.

Verse 6—'the widow, the stranger, the fatherless' are the Deuteronomic types of the unfortunate (six times in Deut. and with the addition of 'the Levite' another five).

Verse 22—'My rock of refuge' is found only here, but both 'my rock' and 'my refuge' are ideas found in xc-xcii.

Psalm xcvi.

Verse 1—'the rock of my salvation' is a phrase unique except for the error in 1 Sam. xxii, 47 (cf. Ps. xviii, 47), and is from Deut. xxxii, 15.

Verse 1—'Let us shout joyfully.' The last verse of the Song contains a similar exhortation.

Verse 4 f.—It has generally been assumed that the references in these verses are to the Creation. The association is rather with the Desert Wanderings. There

is no reason why 'dry land' יבשה should refer necessarily and exclusively to the Creation, Gen. i, 9 (P). The form is found elsewhere, Ex. iv, 9 (J). Compare lxxvi, a psalm with which xcv has many points of contact, especially lxxvi, 6, where the turning of the sea into dry land is the chief of the mighty works of God. The reference is to the crossing of the Red Sea. Read הופעות 'shone forth' (cf. Deut. xxxiii, 2) and מרחקי 'distant places' (LXX, Gunkel, Baethgen, &c.). Jehovah is the God of the desert; the distant hills are redolent of Him, and of His mighty saving acts in days of old.

Verse 7—Practically the whole of the textual discussions concerning this psalm have been centred in this verse. The difficulties have been exaggerated beyond measure, for we all tend to blame the Massorettes when we do not see plainly the meaning of the text before us. Further, it does not follow, either here or elsewhere, that, because we find phrases which bear resemblance to those found in another context, we should forthwith alter them in order to make them coincide exactly with those other passages. Still less is it justifiable to put them down as glosses and omit them altogether. It is true that 'flock of my pasturage' is a common metaphor for the relationship between Jehovah and Israel, Jer. xxiii, 1; Ezek. xxxiv, 31, &c., but that is no reason why it should be found here also. The only change that need be made in verse 7A is to read עמנו.

' For He is our God, and we are His people ;
His flock, and the sheep of His hand.'

The necessity of treating this verse as a seam to connect two diverse fragments vanishes when it is realized that

the real join is at the beginning of verse 6, and not in the middle of verse 7. Ps. xciv B opens with a call to praise and worship, as does Ps. xciv A. The first psalm makes reference to the crossing of the Red Sea; the second to the Wanderings in the Wilderness.

Verse 7—The contacts with Deuteronomy are continuous. 'To-day' הַיּוֹם is essentially Deuteronomic, where it is found 55 times, apart from the numerous instances of 'this day.' There is no need to disturb MT. Again, 'hearken to his voice' לִקְוֹל (JE) not בְּקוֹל. This phrase is thoroughly Deuteronomic, being found 18 times in Deuteronomy, and 18 times in Jeremiah where the style is Deuteronomic.

Verse 8—'Harden not your heart' לִבִּי. The spelling is Deuteronomic, 47 times, against 4 times לֵב.

Verse 8—Meribah is found as early as Deut. xxxiii, 8, where we find the same association with Massah.

Verse 8—'although they had seen my mighty deed.' It is one of the complaints of Deuteronomy that, although Jehovah had helped and sustained Israel year after year in the Wilderness, they soon forgot Him. There was no excuse for them, because 'their eyes had seen,' i, 31; iii, 21; iv, 3; x, 21; xi, 2; xi, 7; especially vii, 19; xxix, 2. פָּעַל is never used of a deed against Israel, but always on Israel's behalf.

Verse 10—'they have not known my ways.' The actual phrase is not found, but both words are frequent in Deuteronomy and Joshua. יָדַע occurs 31 times of men knowing what God's dealings are with them, or realizing their true relationship to Him. דָּרַךְ is found 15 times, as here, with the meaning of God's moral laws.

Verse 11—Jehovah swears in His Wrath that they shall not cross over Jordan, Deut. 1, 34 f.

Verse 11—‘my rest.’ Only here and in Deut. xii, 9 of Canaan. Compare Isa. lxiii, 14.

C.—THE SABBATH AFTERNOON PSALMS.

The remaining Sabbath Psalms, xciii, xcvi-xcix, were, we suggest, originally allocated to the Sabbath Afternoon Service of the Second Temple, and were sung in connexion with the Sabbath Afternoon Canticles, the Exodus Song of Moses, Ex. xv, 1-18, and the Song of Israel, Num. xxi, 17 ff.

The first of these psalms, xciii, depends chiefly on the Exodus Song of Moses, but there is also a clearly defined element from Deutero-Isaiah. Just as in the Morning Psalms the general Deuteronomistic element grows at the expense of that from the Deuteronomistic Song of Moses, so in the Afternoon Psalms the Deutero-Isaianic element replaces that from the Exodus Song of Moses. In all the psalms xciii, xcvi-xcix, the Deuteronomistic element is completely absent, just as the phrases and ideas of these Afternoon Psalms are wholly absent from the Morning Psalms. The concluding psalm, xcix B (6-9) is to be explained with reference to the Song of Israel and the chapter in which it is found, Num. xxi. All associations between these psalms and Deutero-Isaiah are connected with his hopes of Israel's domination over the heathen, rather than with the ‘servant’ element and ideals.

(a) *Exodus xv*, 1-18.

The closing verse of the Song is ‘Jehovah shall

reign for ever and ever.' The opening phrase of xciii, xcvii, xcix A is 'Jehovah hath become King.'

The theme of Ex. xv, 17, the last verse but one of the Song, is the Sanctuary. The closing verses of xciii, xcvii, xcix A (5), xcix B (9) refer to the Temple and either to Its Holiness or to the Holiness of Jehovah.

The opening phrase of xcvi and xcviiii is 'Sing unto Jehovah a new song.' This is not unlike Ex. xv, 21, the introduction to the Song of Miriam, which doubtless was the original foundation of the Song of Moses. Evidence for the association of this phrase with the Exodus Song of Moses is found in the ancient Jewish Prayer named Geullah. We know that from a very early date the Shema (Deut. vi, 4-9; xi, 13-21; Num. xv, 37-41) has been held in great veneration, and that it formed part of the liturgy of the Herodian Temple (*Tamid* v, 1). Even before the Christian era it was preceded by a series of Benedictions, namely Yotzer, Ahabah, and Geullah (or Emeth we-Yatzib). The original text of the Benedictions was doubtless considerably shorter than that found in the modern Hebrew Prayer Books (Singer's Edition, pp. 37-44). The first two paragraphs, however, of Geullah (to 'there is no God beside Thee') are recognized by most scholars as being pre-Christian. Canon Oesterley (*The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, p. 139) has shown, by a comparison of that part of Geullah which follows the Shema (from 'From Egypt Thou didst redeem us' to 'Blessed is He, yea, for ever Blessed') with 1 Clem. lix, that here in Clement we have an early synagogal prayer which was early adapted for Christian use. The

next passage, that which immediately follows the Amidah, reads :

‘ Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto thee with great joy, saying, all of them, “ Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the mighty ones ? Who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness, revered in praises, doing marvels ? ” With a new song the redeemed people offered praise unto thy name at the sea shore : they all gave thanks in unison, and proclaimed thy sovereignty, and said, “ The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.” ’

Here we have a clear and certain reference to the Exodus Song of Moses as a new song, since not only is the concluding verse of the Song quoted, but also the opening of the second section, as it was sung in the Temple. The description ‘ new song ’ is all the more remarkable since nowhere in the Old Testament is the Song of Moses described in this way.

There is, in addition, one definite instance where the Rabbis connected Ex. xv with xciii. It is the comment on ‘ Then sang Moses ’ in *Shemoth Rabbah* :

“ Then sang Moses.” This is that which is written, “ Established is Thy Throne of Old ” (xciii, 2), even though “ Thou art from everlasting ” (xciii, 2b), Thou wert not seated on Thy Throne, nor acknowledged by Thy Universe until Thy sons sang the Song.’

Psalm xciii.

Verse 1—‘ strength ’ נִאוֹת. The same root is used in Ex. xv, 1, 7.

Verse 4—‘ glorious ’ אֲדִיר. See Ex. xv, 6, 10, 11. In both Song and Psalm the waters of the sea are called glorious, and in each case it is pointed out immediately that Jehovah is more glorious still. These are the only two passages where the waters of the sea are so described.

Psalm xcvi.

Verse 10—'Jehovah hath become King.' This is the phrase already noted as being the introductory phrase of xciii, xcvi, and xcix A. It is, as we have seen, allied to the closing verse of the Song, and is traditionally regarded (see the quotation from Geullah above) as being the chief topic of the Song.

Psalm xcvi.

The psalm has wider horizons than the Song, but in both there is the same terrifying onset of Jehovah. In the Song, the inhabitants of Philistia, Edom, and Moab are paralysed with terror, but in the psalm it is all the makers of idols. There is triumph and joy at last, in the one case for Jehovah's people who have passed over Jordan, and in the other, for Zion and the daughters of Jerusalem at Jehovah's righteous judgements, i.e. His triumphs over the heathen generally.

Psalm xcvi.

Verse 1—'For wondrous things he hath done,' cf. Ex. xv, 11.

Verse 2—'hath brought him salvation.' The same idea occurs in Ex. xv, 2. Also 'his right hand,' as in Ex. xv, 11.

Psalm xcix.

Verse 1—'the people tremble,' as in Ex. xv, 14, except that the order of the words is different. This curious inversion of the order occurs frequently in these psalms in phrases culled from the Exodus Song of Moses.

Verses 3, 5, 9—These all contain references to the Holiness of Jehovah. Cf. Ex. xv, 11.

(b) *Isaiah xl-lv.*

We have seen that the phrase 'Jehovah hath become King,' xciii, 1; xcvi, 10; xcvii, 1; xcix, 1, is intimately connected with the Exodus Song of Moses. It is also closely allied to Isa. lii, 7: 'Thy God hath become King,' where the deliverance from Babylon is associated with the Kingship of Jehovah, as also in Ezek. xx, 33 f.

Psalm xciii.

Verse 1—'he hath put on his strength.' Cf. Isa. li, 9, where the prophet associates the events of primeval days with the coming deliverance. In the psalm also Jehovah shatters His foes as He did when His throne was established of yore. This interpretation is obtained by adhering strictly to the tenses of the Hebrew Text,

'The floods lifted up, O Jehovah,
The floods lifted up their voice.
The floods lift up—Thou crushest them'

Read in xciii, 3 לְיַדְיָהוָה for דְּכַיִם , Cf. lxxxix, 10 (11). The word of MT is otherwise unknown, and all the versions guess. A ל has been lost by haplography. Further, it is tempting, in view of Isa. li, 9 to read $\text{הַיַּמִּים הַיְהוֹדִים}$ for $\text{הַיַּמִּים הַיְהוֹדִים}$, xciii, 1. The latter occurs elsewhere only in the corrupt Isa. viii, 9. Also, it is probably better to read in xciii, 5 נִיחָה for נִיחָה , as in Ex, xv, 13; 'Thy testimonies are firmly established, For thy house, the habitation of holiness, O Jehovah, for length of days.'

Verse 1—'from old,' מִיָּמִן , is found sporadically

throughout the Old Testament, but most commonly in Deutero-Isaiah, of whose style it is a characteristic word. It is found ten times in the Old Testament as an adverb, and in eight of these instances the reference is to the remote past. Of these eight six are in Deutero-Isaiah, xliv, 8; xlv, 21; xlviii, 3, 5, 7, 8; and one in this psalm.

Psalm xcvi.

Verse 1—‘Sing ye to Jehovah a new song.’ Just as the opening phrase of the Afternoon Psalms xciii, xcvi, xcix A, has associations both with the Exodus Song of Moses and with Deutero-Isaiah, so also has this opening phrase of xcvi and xcvi. This new song to Jehovah is to celebrate His victory. In both psalms and in Isa. xlii, 10, the whole wide world is called upon to praise Him.

Verse 2—‘proclaim his salvation.’ The phrase is found in conjunction with ‘salvation’ in Isa. xl, 9; lii, 7.

Verse 5—This is the frequent argument of Deutero-Isaiah.

Verses 11 f.—The appeal to Nature to join in the universal song of praise to Jehovah is a feature of the writings of Deutero-Isaiah, xlv, 23; xlix, 13, &c.

Verse 12—‘the sea and its fulness.’ The same phrase occurs in Isa. xlii, 10, the new song which is to be sung among the Gentiles, proclaiming the great deliverance which Jehovah will have accomplished when the Jews are released from Babylon.

Verse 12—‘all the trees of the forest shall rejoice.’ Cf. Isa. xlv, 23.

Psalm xcvi.

Verse 1—'Isles.' The word is used by Deutero-Isaiah eight times, xli, 1, 5; xlii, 4, 10, 12, 15; xlix, 1; li, 5; and rarely elsewhere.

Verse 3—Compare Isa. xlii, 25, where there is a similar picture of the irresistible onset of Jehovah.

Verse 6—'The heavens have proclaimed his righteousness, And all peoples have seen his glory.' Compare Isa. xl, 5.

Verse 7 is Deutero-Isaianic both in style and in argument.

Psalm xcvi.

This psalm is essentially dependent on Deutero-Isaiah, particularly on Isa. lii, 9, 10, numerous phrases being common to this passage and to the psalm.

Verse 1—'his holy arm.' Cf. Isa. lii, 10.

Verse 2—'in the sight of the heathen.' Cf. Isa. lii, 10.

Verse 3—The first half of the verse is the reply to Isa. xlix, 14. The second half is a transcription from Isa. lii, 10, except that by the omission of the conjunction, it has become a proclamation that the promise of the prophet has been fulfilled.

Verse 4—'break forth and shout joyously' פצרו ורננו. Only here and in Isa. lii, 9 are the two words found together. Further the Qal of פצרו is found five times in Deutero-Isaiah, xlv, 23; xlix, 13; lii, 9; liv, 1; lv, 12, and elsewhere only in the late Isa. xiv, 7. Only in these passages is the root used of breaking forth into a joyous shout.

Verse 5—'clap the hands.' The phrase is found only

here and in Isa. lv, 12, where also *הרים*, *פצחו*, and *רננו* are found, as in xcvi, 4.

The relationship of xcvi, xcvi, and 1 Chr. xvi, 23-33 presents a difficult problem. According to Oesterley and Box (*The Literature of Mediæval Judaism*, p. 161), 'We are specifically told also that every morning, immediately after the sacrifice had been offered, the Levites sang cv, 1-15, and every evening xcvi.' This custom may well date back to the time of the Chronicler, for there must have been some adequate reason for his choice of these two particular psalms as his example of Asaphite psalmody. These are the only two psalms he quotes, and he concludes with the ritual call to praise, and the Benediction from cvi, 33, 34, prefixing this latter with 'and say ye.' Now, the Chronicler has transcribed cv, 1-15, practically without any alterations, whilst in the case of xcvi there are some five lines which are not found in 1. Chr. xvi, 23-33. Probably the Chronicler gave the correct text of xcvi also. xcvi, 1a would then be added when the psalm came to be used for the Sabbath Service, and 2a in order to preserve the metre. 10c seems to be an addition under the influence of xcvi, 9c, but on the other hand the position of 10 seems to be correct. The conclusion of xcvi is almost identical with that of xcvi.

xcvi.	xcvi.
11. Let the sea roar and its fulness,	7. Let the sea roar and its fulness,
12. (nature exults)	8. (nature exults)
13. Before Jehovah for he hath come	9. Before Jehovah for he hath come
To judge the earth.	He hath come To judge the earth.
He will judge the world in righteousness,	He will judge the world in righteousness,
And peoples in his truth.	And peoples in his upright- ness.

The probability is that xcvi is original, since xcvi is a psalm dependent on many other psalms apart from its dependence on Deutero-Isaiah. 4a is from xlvi, 1 (2); 4b is reminiscent of xlvi, 2 (3) and xcvi, 3; 7-9 are dependent on xxix, 1, 2; 10b is similar to xcvi, 1c; and 10c is from ix, 9 (10)b. That part of xcvi which is found also in 1 Chr. xvi, 23-33 may have been embodied in xcvi in the first place, and the remainder of what is common to the two psalms may well have been assimilated because of the similar functions which the two psalms fulfilled in the Sabbath ritual, the last word in xcvi, 13d being changed because that phrase had already been used in 10c.

(c) *Numbers xxi, 17 f.*

The association is entirely with xcix. The song opens 'Up, O well, answer it.' Compare the two references to 'answer' in xcix, 6, 8.

The idea of three heroes of antiquity, Moses, Aaron, and Samuel, here represented as interceding on behalf of Israel, xcix, 6, has occasioned great difficulty, since it apparently involves the idea of heavenly intercessors. It is probable that the key is to be found in Num. xxi. The incident related immediately before the Song of Israel is the lifting up of the serpent in the wilderness. This was the occasion when Moses prayed most earnestly to Jehovah, interceding passionately on behalf of the people who themselves admitted that they had greatly sinned. Had he not sought the Lord that day, Israel would assuredly have been destroyed, Num. xxi, 7. Aaron would of necessity in later times be included with Moses, for in the Priestly redaction of the events preceding the Exodus Aaron is his brother's continual companion, Ex. vii, 6; vii, 8-13. The miraculous rod there belongs to Aaron, and not to Moses, as in J and E. The mention of Samuel secures the necessary parallelism. He interceded mightily on behalf of Israel, and 'Jehovah answered him,' 1 Sam. vii, 9. This passage was evidently of great importance, since this incident is the first and the most detailed which Ben Sirach recounts in establishing Samuel's claim to a place among the 'famous men,' *Ecclus. xlvi, 16 f.*

For 'Samuel among those that call on his name' xcix, 6, compare 1 Sam. xii, 17, where Samuel 'calls to Jehovah,' and Jehovah answers with thunder even though it be in the midst of harvest.

There are, in xcix, 6-8, curious changes of tense which cannot be without significance. The verses can be paraphrased thus:— In time past the priests, Moses and Aaron first of them all, were mighty intercessors with Jehovah. There were men like Samuel, mighty in prayer. This unending succession is one of true 'callers on God'; they are men who call to Jehovah and He answers them. In the desert of old it was in the cloudy pillar that His presence was manifest, and in this way did He speak with Moses at the door of the Tabernacle. So now Jehovah is present in His Holy Mount (9), and there before us is the cloudy pillar rising from the altar. Once again the priests have observed His testimonies, and the ordinances He gave them. The sacrifice now burns and the smoke rises high. The cry rises that the sacrifice is accepted, 'Jehovah, our God, Thou hast answered them once more. Once again Thou hast shown Thyself to be a pardoning God to them, overlooking any errors they may have made,' (reading בְּקָרְבָן for בְּקָרְבָן as Baethgen), i.e. any mistakes in the observance of the ritual. The psalm closes with a final exhortation to adoration and worship, such as is described by Ben Sirach as marking the closing incidents of the Service. (Ecclus. i, 18 f.). In this psalm we are certainly in the period of the fully developed sacrificial ritual.

D.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SABBATH LITURGY.

(a) *The First Stage.*

Morning Canticle : Deut. xxxii, 1-40.

Morning Psalms : xc, xci, xcii.

Afternoon Canticle : nil.

Afternoon Psalms : nil.

We have seen that xc, xci, xcii, contain frequent reminiscences of the Deuteronomic Song of Moses. In xc and xci the points of contact are found throughout, but in xcii in the last verse only, which was probably added at a later date. These three psalms form a group, for where xcii is not dependent on Deut. xxxii it provides an answer to the problems of xc, xci.

It has often been pointed out that these three psalms portray successive stages of experience.

xc must be assigned to the period of the Exile, for it breathes the same atmosphere of utter despondence as

is found throughout Lamentations, particularly in Lam. v, 15-18, and it continues with the passionate prayer for the long night of darkness to come to an end, that God's saving work may become known to His children. Compare xc, 13 with Lam. v, 19-22. Further, the recognition in this psalm that the present sorrows are due to past sins, and that they are afflictions sent by Jehovah, leads also to the conclusion that the date for this psalm is those later years of the Exile when the Deuteronomic ideas of retribution were becoming more and more firmly established. We have noticed also similarities in idea with parts of the book of Job, but their nature leads us to assume that, though the two belong to the same stream of thought, the psalm is prior.

In xci, the depression has passed, and, whilst the state of joy and happiness is not attained (14), there is a confidence and trust unknown in xc. Again there are contacts with Job, but once more the psalm is prior. There are no similarities of expression to Deutero-Isaiah, except possibly the 'salvation' of the last verse. We find, however, the same recounting of the mighty saving acts of Jehovah, but combined with the Deuteronomic reward of 'long life' to all who walk in His ways. But great as is the difference between the despondency of xc and the sure steadfastness of xci, there is an even greater contrast in the matter of the sinners. In xc the sinners are Jehovah's own people, who without exception have sinned against Him; in xci, 8 the worshipper himself is to see the reward of the wicked, for the sinners are either individual Israelites, or, more probably, the oppressing heathen, for in this psalm Israel has firmly fixed his love on Jehovah (14).

With xcii the triumph has come. Jehovah has made His people glad by His great works. There are still enemies, but the worshippers in the House of Jehovah shall flourish and grow fat; they shall be prosperous as trees that bear fruit at advanced age. xcii was definitely written for the service of the Temple, in a way that xc and xci were not written. We are here in the beginning of the growth of those exclusive ideas which later became closely associated with the worship in the Temple at Jerusalem.

In the Song of Moses, Deut. xxxii, 1-43, there is a clear break at the end of verse 40. Previous to that verse, the substance of the Song is that Jacob has ill-requited Jehovah, the Father who bought him, made him, and established him. Jehovah found him in the desert, instructed him, bore him as on the vulture's wings, and gave him prosperity. But in his prosperity he fell away to strange gods, not heeding the continual Deuteronomic warnings. The result was that Jehovah withdrew His favour, Deut. xxviii. Jacob was scattered into corners, and if it had not been for Jehovah's good Name and for the necessity of preserving that among the heathen, Deut. ix, 28, there would have been no relief whatever, and Israel would have ceased to be. But Jacob will find that the grapes of these strange gods are bitter, and that the wine from them is poison. The day will come when Jacob's foot will slip, and he will find that power belongs to Jehovah alone. It is He that killeth and maketh alive; He alone liveth for ever. Thus far we have the prose outline of Deut. xxxi, 28 f., the setting of the Song as it is now found. But Deut. xxxii, 41-43 contains ideas of vengeance on

the heathen which are not found elsewhere in the Song, nor indeed in the Book of Deuteronomy, for there the destruction of Israel's enemies is confined to the original inhabitants of Canaan, and no silver lining of the destruction of the heathen generally is vouchsafed to the dark cloud of Exile. Further, the vengeance of the last verses is directed against the very people who have been the instruments whereby Jehovah has punished Israel. A similar change is found in Isa. x, 5-19, but there reason is given for the change of attitude. The last three verses of the Song are probably an addition, and belong to the time when the bitterness and antagonism of the Jews to the heathen was assuming the larger proportions of the days following the time of Ezra in the fourth century. Apart from these verses, we place the Song after 586 B.C., but at that time in the sixth century when the star of hope was beginning to rise for exiled Judah.

We suggest, therefore, that the original Canticle for the Sabbath Morning Service was Deut. xxxii, 1-40, and that this was introduced into the liturgy towards the end of the sixth century when the Temple was rebuilt under the combined influence of Zerubbabel and Jeshua, Haggai and Zechariah. It was about this time that xci was written, xc belonging to the previous generation. During the fifth century we see the rise of enmities within the Palestinian community, the mutual recriminations of which are found in Isa. lvi-lxvi. Early in this period we have xcii, and during this time the three psalms were adopted for the Sabbath Morning Service, so that before the arrival of Ezra the Sabbath Morning Service contained Deut. xxxii, 1-40 as Canticle,

and xc, xci, xcii as psalms, the division of the Canticle being for three Sabbaths.

(b) *The Second Stage.*

Morning Canticle : Deut. xxxii, 1-40.

Morning Psalms : xc, xci, xcii.

Afternoon Canticle : Ex. xv, 1-18.

Afternoon Psalm : xciii.

The next stage, we suggest, was the adoption of the other Song of Moses, that in Exodus, as the canticle for the Afternoon Service. The last verse of the Song proclaims the Kingship of Jehovah, made clear by the release from bondage in Egypt. Deutero-Isaiah had looked forward to release from Babylon as a second triumphal march, and for this reason had proclaimed anew the Kingship of Jehovah, Isa. lii, 7. The influence of the writings of this prophet combined with the reforming zeal and the apparent success of Ezra's reforming movement led to the belief that the day of triumph was near at hand. Hence the immediate reason for the selection of this particular canticle for the Sabbath Afternoon Service, in addition to the general principle that probably by this time a Mosaic Canticle was essential in any case. xciii has the closest associations both with the Exodus Song of Moses and Isaiah li, lii ; it opens with the proclamation anew of the Kingship of Jehovah, and therefore became the first Sabbath Afternoon Psalm.

The Exodus Song of Moses was, we therefore suggest, adopted as Sabbath Afternoon Canticle soon after the time of Ezra, and at the same time it was provided with a psalm, xciii, in order that the Afternoon Service should, at least to this extent, correspond to the Morning

Service. In this way we would explain the place of xciii immediately after xc-xcii, psalms with which it has nothing in common.

(c) *The Third Stage.*

Morning Cantic: Deut. xxxii, 1-43.

Morning Psalms: xc, xci, xcii, xciv, xcv A, xcv B.

Afternoon Cantic: Ex. xv, 1-18.

Afternoon Psalm: xciii.

The addition of the closing verses to the Deuteronomic Song of Moses, with the bitter revengeful spirit of the later years of the fourth century B.C. (see the late apocalypse Isa. xxiv-xxvii), marked the next stage. With this innovation there came also the division into six sections, partly doubtless because the increasing ritual placed a limit to the additions that could be made. We may safely assume that the services of the Temple were gradually becoming richer and fuller in other ways than in the matter of canticles and psalms. The addition of a new psalm, xciv, suitable in ideas to the new addition to the cantic, disturbed the old allocation to three successive Sabbaths, since now there were four psalms, and a cycle of four Sabbaths would disturb the divisions of the cantic. By making a cycle of six Sabbaths the original sections could be halved, and the two additional psalms were xcv A and xcv B.

xciv, like the additional verses in the Song, opens with a cry to Jehovah for vengeance. The enemies in the psalm seem to be tyrants in high places within the community, who transgress the Deuteronomic Law (6, 21) in the name of the Law itself (20). This attitude is similar to that shown in certain psalms in the Elohist

Psalter. The psalm, we therefore suggest, belongs to the fifth century, but was not used as a Sabbath Psalm until later, when the throes of the conflict within the community had subsided, and the identification of the enemies of the psalmist had been obscured. It was adopted for the Sabbath ritual at the same time as xcv A and xcv B, psalms which belong to the time when the Deuteronomic Law was supreme, the time of that 'Back to Moses' movement which led to the establishment from the fourth century onwards of the Law as the only guide in faith and conduct.

(d) *The Fourth Stage.*

Morning Canticle : Deut. xxxii, 1-43.

Morning Psalms : xc, xci, xcii, xciv, xcv A, xcv B.

Afternoon Canticles : Ex. xv, 1-18 ; Num. xxi, 17 f.

Afternoon Psalms : xciii, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi, xcix A, xcix B.

It is probable that the Afternoon Canticle was found in time to be too long, and it was therefore divided into two sections, 1-10 and 11-18, according to the natural division in the Song. A division into six was out of the question, since it is only half the length of the other Song of Moses, and a division into three equally inconvenient because of the actual construction of the Song. It remained, therefore, either to repeat the two sections on alternate Sabbaths or to find another Song. This latter was found in the Song of Israel, Num. xxi, 17 f., a very short song, but one which opens with exactly the same phrase as the Exodus Song of Moses. The final development was, according to the *Talmud*, as we have seen, that these two songs were sung twice

whilst the Deuteronomic Song was sung once. The position and order of the Sabbath Psalms suggests that the order in which the canticles were sung was: Ex. xv, 1-10; Ex. xv, 11-18; Ex. xv, 1-10; Ex. xv, 11-18; Num. xxi, 17 f.; Num. xxi, 17 f. The psalms xciii, xcvi, xcvi, xcvi are allied in pairs, but the alliance is alternate, xciii with xcvi, xcvi with xcvi. The first pair open with 'Jehovah hath become King' and close with a reference to the holiness of the Temple. The second pair open with the phrase 'Sing ye to Jehovah a new song' and conclude with verses which are practically identical. Again xcix A opens as does xciii, so the canticle associated with xcix A opens as does the canticle associated with xciii. xciii began this way because it was the original psalm, and its opening phrase acted as a link with the last verse of the canticle.

The three psalms, xcvi-xcvi, are essentially Deutero-Isaianic. Stress is laid on the worthlessness of idols, the overwhelming superiority of Jehovah, the proclamation of His glory among the heathen, the call to Nature to rejoice. These are the themes of the prophet, and whilst we miss the broadest aspect of his universalism, we miss also the savage ferocity of succeeding generations. The attitude to the heathen is in both psalms and prophet one of dominance throughout.

The psalms were definitely constructed for use in the Temple worship. This is shown by the differences between xxix, 1 f. and xcvi, 7 f.; in the musical aids to worship of xcvi, 5 f.; and in xcvi, 10.

Corresponding to the Song of Israel we have xcix, 1-5 and xcix, 6-9. These were originally distinct and parallel, for a similarity can be noted in the closing

verse of each section. It has been generally maintained that in this psalm there is an original *trisagion* at the end of verses 3, 6, 9. This, however, does not explain the Septuagint, which divides verse 3 into two equal parts, 'Let them praise thy great name; fearful and holy is it.' The psalm was originally two psalms, and the alteration in verse 3 in MT took place when it became the custom to recite the psalms in three sections.

(e) *The Substitution of xxxix for xciv.*

Of all the psalms xc-xcix, one only, xciv, has ceased to be a Sabbath Psalm. This psalm has tragic associations, for it is connected in tradition doubly with the destruction of the Temple. According to the *Talmud*, b. Erach. 11b-12a :

'When the Temple was destroyed for the first time—the day was the ninth of Ab, the "outgoing of the Sabbath," the outgoing of the year of release, and the temple watch of Jehoiarib—the priests and the Levites were standing on their pulpits and singing. Which song were they singing? "And he turned upon them their iniquity" (xciv, 23). They had not sung "Jehovah our God will destroy them" (xciv, 23b), when the enemy came and overwhelmed them. And so it was the second time also.'

Then there follows a discussion as to the reason why the Levites were singing this particular psalm, since according to the Mishnah tradition (*Tamid* vii, 4), if it was the first day of the week, they ought to have been singing xxiv. It is finally decided that these words rose to their lips owing to the circumstances of the time, because of the sadness of their hearts. A similar tradition is found in *Seder Olam xxx* (ed. Neubauer).

The tradition cannot have originated with the events of 586 B.C., since xciv was not then written, and the

institution of the temple watches belongs to the Second Temple, Jehoiarib's being the first watch of the series in the Chronicler's time, 1 Chr. xxiv, 7. In connexion with which destruction, then, did the tradition arise? There are three possibilities: the destruction by Titus in A.D. 70; the partial destruction by Pompey in 63 B.C.; the partial destruction by Herod the Great in 36 B.C., twenty years later to the very day, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xiv, 16, 4). Zeitlin (*J.Q.R.*, new series, ix, pp. 71 ff.) suggested that in Seder Olam we have an incomplete and defective Boraitha, the missing part of which mentions the first and second partial destructions, those by Pompey and Herod, and that the whole tradition concerning xciv really refers to these two disasters, both of which, according to Zeitlin, occurred on a Wednesday, when xciv was the Daily Psalm. He is correct, we believe, in saying that the tradition arose in respect of Pompey and Herod, but he is in error in respect of the Wednesday, because he assumed that xciv was never anything other than a Wednesday Psalm. The day, we maintain, was a Sabbath, and xciv was being sung then in the normal way as a Sabbath Psalm.

There is a tradition found in Dion. Cassius (xxxiii, 16) that Pompey destroyed the Temple on the Sabbath. Zeitlin maintains that this is a Roman error due to their common belief that the Sabbath was a fast-day, and that actually Dion. Cassius has misunderstood Strabo (born c. 60-55 B.C.) and Josephus, who stated that disaster took place on 'the day of the fast' (*Ant.* xiv, 4, 3). Josephus more probably is adapting himself to the current idea of the Roman world; he was never anxious to point out the distinctiveness of the Jews from the

larger Graeco-Roman world. He cannot have meant an ordinary fast day, for then he would surely have said 'a fast-day,' and he cannot have meant the great Fast of the ninth of Ab, for he must have known that Pompey did not destroy the Temple at that time of the year. He must have meant on a Sabbath.

Now, it is established beyond doubt that when Pompey captured the Temple, his soldiers rushed in whilst the Levites were singing. This is made clear by Josephus's description of the slaughter of the priests (*Bel. Ind.* vii, 5). It was while they were 'pouring out the drink offering and the incense' that they were cut down. We know that it was when the drink offering was brought that the singing began (b.R.H. 31 a; j. Meg. iii; *Ecclus.* i, 14-21). Thus it becomes clear that the conditions which Josephus describes are exactly those demanded by the traditions of Seder Olam and the tractate Erachin.

Further, Josephus gives another description of the successful assault by Pompey. In the *Antiquities* he states that the Romans made little progress until they realized at last that on the Sabbath the Jews never cast missiles from the walls. The attackers, therefore, proceeded to raise their mounds and to advance their towers on the Sabbath without let or hindrance. Josephus proudly claims that this is no exaggeration, for the daily sacrifices were continued at whatever cost throughout the siege. In this way the Temple was taken, the priests slaughtered as they performed the rites around the altar, and whoever doubts this, says Josephus, can read for themselves in Strabo, Nicolaus, and Livy. It is not clear from Josephus (*Ant.* xiv, 4, 3)

whether the slaughter took place on the Sabbath or on the following day, but that it was actually the Sabbath is suggested by the figures of the losses which Josephus gives, twelve thousand Jews and of the Romans 'only a few' (*Ant.* xiv, 4, 4). The figures could scarcely have been so disproportionate unless the Jews had been hampered by Sabbath restrictions, for they had certainly lacked nothing in valour or determination before that fatal day.

It may be objected that, if xciv was indeed a Sabbath Psalm, it must have been a Morning Psalm, and that insufficient time would have elapsed for the Romans to make their way into the Temple, since according to Josephus the whole affair took place on the Sabbath. It should be remembered, however, that Pompey did not capture the whole city on that one day, since already the followers of Hyrcanus had surrendered, and it was only the Temple which the followers of Aristobolus were holding. There was no resistance during the earlier part, at any rate, of the Roman operations; xciv would, in any case, be recited towards the conclusion of the service, since these first Sabbath Psalms were recited in connexion with the additional Sabbath sacrifice, and not the ordinary daily sacrifice. Yet again, Josephus does not say that the Romans began to build and advance their towers at dawn on the Saturday, but on the Sabbath. More than half the Sabbath was past when xciv was recited, since the Sabbath began on Friday evening at 6 p.m.

In 63 B.C., then, xciv was a Sabbath Psalm, but it then became a 'black' psalm. These associations led to its disuse on the Sabbath, the day of hallowed

observances when the last thing of which the Jews would care to be reminded would be the destruction of the Temple, with its accompanying slaughter of the devoted priests, and Pompey's subsequent 'respectful' violation of the Holy of Holies. For this reason xciv alone of all the original Sabbath Psalms has ceased to be used on that day.

It is difficult to decide on which day of the week Herod captured the Temple, for no direct statement can be found. 'Twenty seven years to the day' and 'on the feast of the fast' probably means the Sabbath. The transference of the tradition to the two major destructions involved the insertion of the date 'the ninth of Ab,' though the date of the destruction by the Babylonians is variously given as the seventh (2 Kings xxv, 8), the ninth (Septuagint, L), the tenth (Jer. lii, 12), and the *Talmud* harmonizes by dating the forcing of the Temple, the firing, and the destruction on the seventh, ninth, and tenth respectively.

It may be that the tradition that the Levites were singing xciv when the Temple was destroyed will explain the Massoretic pointing in xciv, 21. The Qre has גִּירִי from the root גִּיר, but dagesh after holem plene is strange, as the Massorettes themselves noticed. Was this read in order to ensure the idea of 'bursting in in a body' as the Babylonians and Romans did traditionally, and Pompey's soldiers did actually? And was the original text גִּירִי, as Olshausen proposed, and as we read in lvi, 6 (7), the root being גִּיר 'gather together' or 'stir up strife'?

When xciv ceased to be regarded as suitable for singing on the Sabbath, there was need for another psalm to be substituted for it. This, we suggest, was xxix. It is the psalm which has closest affinity with

the Sabbath group since part of it is quoted in xcvi. Further, in the modern synagogal service it is never sung except on Sabbaths and at the Feast of Pentecost. This latter usage is due to another, and entirely separate, tradition. The Feast of Pentecost is, among other things, the festival of the Giving of the Law, and xxix is a Pentecostal psalm because in it there occurs seven times the phrase 'the voice of Jehovah,' and the Law was given on Sinai by the 'Voice of Jehovah,' Ex. xix, 19; xx, 1 (Oesterley, *Psalms in the Jewish Church*, p. 165).

(f) *The Mishnah Tradition of Daily Psalms.*

All the foregoing is completely independent of the tradition in the Mishnah (*Tamid* vii, 4; also b.R.H. 30b; 31a; *Sopherim* xviii, 1) concerning the daily psalms. The tradition is as follows:

'These were the psalms which the Levites used to recite in the Temple; on the first day of the week they used to recite "The earth is the Lord's" (xxiv); on the second day, "Great is the Lord" (xlviii); on the third day, "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty" (lxxxii); on the fourth day, "God of vengeance" (xciv); on the fifth day, "Exult aloud unto God our strength" (lxxxix); on the sixth day, "The Lord reigneth" (xciii); on the Sabbath, "A Psalm, a song for the Sabbath Day" (xcii). It is a psalm and a song for the hereafter for the day which will be wholly a Sabbath, and a rest for life everlasting.'

Three of the psalms which we have maintained to be Sabbath Psalms, xcii, xciii, xciv, are found in this list. The modern usages of the Jews confirms this Mishnah tradition, for these are the daily psalms at the present day according to the ritual of both Sephardic and Ashkenazic communities. On the other hand, xc-xciii and xcv-xcix are also confirmed by modern rites as Sabbath Psalms, together with xxix. There are, therefore,

two traditions concerning the proper psalms for the Sabbath. The later of these is the Mishnah tradition, but this tradition refers to the psalm which was recited in connexion with the ordinary daily sacrifice, whereas the earlier tradition, that which involves xc-xciii and xcv-xcix, xxix, is in connexion with the additional Sabbath sacrifice. xcii would, then, we may presume, be recited every Sabbath in connexion with the ordinary daily sacrifice, and it would take its turn once every six Sabbaths at another part of the service when the additional Sabbath sacrifice was offered. In the modern prayer books, when xcii is recited singly, the Mishnah tradition is being followed, but when with xciii, the pre-Mishnah tradition is being followed.

(g) *The Re-Grouping of the Sabbath Psalms.*

As we have seen, the grouping of the Sabbath psalms in the modern synagogal services is not in accordance with our division of xc-xcix (and later xxix for xciv) into Morning and Afternoon Psalms. The modern grouping is xc and xci, xcii and xciii, xcv-xcix, xxix. The original grouping is xc, xci, xcii, xciv, and xcv for the morning, and xciii, xcvi-xcix for the afternoon. At some period, therefore, there was a complete re-organization of the Sabbath liturgy, and the Sabbath Psalms of the more ancient tradition were transferred *en bloc* to the first of the Sabbath services. If they were the most ancient Sabbath Psalms, this is what would be expected. For this reason, then, the ancient Sabbath Psalms are sung by the Ashkenazic Jews at their service for The Inauguration of the Sabbath, and by the Sephardic Jews at their service of The Eve of the

Sabbath. The date of this change is impossible to fix, but it probably took place after the destruction of the Temple when all sacrificial rites had perforce to be abandoned. This is in itself inherently probable, and is supported by the Mishnah tradition concerning Sabbath Canticles. The two Songs of Moses were the Sabbath Canticles in the Temple in the first century A.D., but they do not hold that place in the modern liturgies. The Exodus Song is now part of the ordinary daily morning service (Singer's edition, p. 35), in one section and not in two according to the ancient practice, whilst the Deuteronomy Song is not used at all. Presumably these changes took place at the destruction of the Temple, and we may assume that the psalms continued to be used in conjunction with them to that same time.

(b) *The Daily Psalm.*

In modern custom *c.* finds a place in every week-day service in the synagogues. It is rigidly excluded on Sabbaths, holy days, the day before Passover, the Intermediate Days of Feasts, and on the Day of Atonement, whenever any one of these days happens to fall on the Sabbath. It is, therefore, essentially the week-day psalm. As may be seen from the prayer-books, its use is quite distinct from, and in addition to, the use of the special psalm for the day of the week. It follows that here also we have in the modern liturgies traces of two traditions concerning the psalm for the day. There is the psalm for the day of the week according to the Mishnah tradition, but there is also the psalm for every week-day, *c.*, which has been the week-day psalm ever

since it first became such at some time in the fourth century B.C.

There are three reasons why c. should be regarded as the original daily psalm. (i) It is a perfectly general psalm of praise. (ii) It is the first psalm to be used in the modern synagogal daily service, being found even before c. l. v. - c. l. ; it is separated entirely in the liturgy from the other psalms which are recited, vi, xxiv, xx ; it is separated from and is quite independent of the special psalm for the day of the week. (iii) It is found in the Psalter next after the original Sabbath Psalms.

III

THE CORONATION PSALMS

A.—THE HISTORY OF THEIR INTERPRETATION.

THE Coronation Psalms comprise psalms xciii, xcvi-xcix, psalms which we have shown to have formed part of the liturgy of the Sabbath afternoon service in the Second Temple. They celebrate the Coronation of Jehovah as King, picturing it with all the ceremonial of the coronation of the kings of Israel and Judah. Many commentators have recognized the existence of a group of coronation, or accession, psalms, though they have varied as to the limits they have fixed to the group. Some, while recognizing a group more or less co-extensive with the limits we have set, have sought to connect the psalms with definite historical events. They have examined, as carefully as may be, any possible references in the psalms to current topics and happenings, and, from such internal evidence as they have collected in this way, have suggested with varying degrees of confidence this or that occurrence as the occasion of the origin or of the first public use of the psalms.

Hupfeld (Nowack's edition, 1888) recognizes the group as xciii-c, but does not care to connect the psalms with any definite historical events. If there is such an occasion for the group, or for any individual member of the group, it is described in figurative language, and

cannot be fixed with certainty. Reuss (1891) does not recognize any group, and makes xciv, xcvi-cii originate in Maccabaeen times. Hitzig and Olshausen relegate all psalms after lxxiii to the times of the Maccabees. Ewald (1886) assigned lxxiii, lxxvii, xciv and xcii, xciii, xcv-c to the same author, the first three being composed towards the end of the Exile, and the others after the 'Return.' They 'were composed for the consecration of the Temple, and at that time publicly sung.' Cheyne (1891) adds xlvii to the Coronation group, xciii-c; they are new songs in celebration of the Second Temple. Baethgen (1892) agrees for the most part, but continues by suggesting that the experiences of the immediate past have inspired the poet to paint a glowing picture of the Messianic Age. This is an attempt to combine the old historical method with the newer eschatological method of interpretation. Delitzsch (1867, English edition) had already suggested a post-exilic origin for xciii-c, and that they beheld in anticipation the glories of the Messianic future. To him, xci-c form a group of Deutero-Isaianic Psalms. In respect of xlvii, Delitzsch follows Hengstenburg (1849-1852), who extended an earlier suggestion of Paulus (1817) that the psalm was sung at the return of the Ark to its resting place after some successful war. This occasion is identified as the return from Jehoshaphat's bloodless victory, 2 Chr. xx. Wellhausen finds the inspiration of xciii-c in the early Greek period; so also Buhl, but more carefully, recognizing the dependence on Deutero-Isaiah.

Perowne, Gunkel, and Kirkpatrick adhere to the eschatological explanation. Gunkel especially develops

this. Jehovah is not yet king. At present the world is under the domination of heathen gods and heathen peoples, but at the End of Days Jehovah will arise in His might and will overthrow all His enemies. He will establish His Kingdom; the whole world will pay Him homage, and His throne will be established for ever. The poet-prophet has transported himself into the far-off future, and sings as though his hopes had already materialized. This is the position taken also by Kittel. Duhm avoids historical and eschatological explanations alike. They are praises to Jehovah, and in xcix he hears the Sadducees rejoicing under Jonathan or Simon. Briggs places xciii, xcv-xcix together, regarding them as originally one psalm (see criticism of this above on p. 53). He notes the dependence on Deutero-Isaiah, and, like Buhl, places them in the early Greek period.

A new departure was made by Mowinckel (*Psalm-*enstudien** ii, 1922), following suggestions by Volz and Gressmann. Mowinckel maintains that these psalms are to be interpreted neither historically nor eschatologically. Sufficient attention, he claims, has never been paid to the cultus of old Israel. These psalms, like many others, are definitely to be associated with the cultus, and must be interpreted from that point of view. They formed part of the liturgy of the cultus of New Year's Day, when the Coronation of Jehovah was celebrated. This 'kultisch Thronbesteigungstag Jahwas' was originally part of the great Harvest Feast, and before the Exile was celebrated on the first day of the Feast of Ingathering. Every year in the cultus, Jehovah comes anew, and takes His seat upon His throne. In pre-exilic times this coming was represented

by a procession in which the Ark was carried up to the Temple with great pomp, escorted by acclaiming crowds. Then Jehovah, having taken His seat upon His throne, and thus having assumed His royal dignity, gives judgement, and appoints the fate of the coming year. Mowinckel is satisfied that there is sufficient evidence in the Old Testament and in later Jewish writings to show that this ceremony was celebrated every year during the time of the kingdoms, and that after the Exile an 'arkless' variant took the place of the original rite. This lasted, according to Mowinckel, right down to the time when the Temple was destroyed in 70 A.D.

The ceremony which Mowinckel outlines is closely analogous to the ceremonies connected with the worship of Marduk in Babylon on New Year's Day. Gressmann had previously suggested that this Babylonian custom had a counterpart in Israel. Indeed recent German scholars have been influenced beyond measure by the growing knowledge of Babylonians' customs and religion, and there has been among them a marked tendency to search for a Babylonian original for all things Hebrew. This has been encouraged in part by the archæological discoveries in Palestine in recent years. These undoubtedly have shown an extraordinary state of syncretism in the religion of the inhabitants of ancient Palestine, though it should be noted that most of the evidence relates to pre-Davidic times.

Mowinckel regarded as the primary Coronation Psalms, *xlvi*, *xciii*, *xcv-c*. They were the apparatus of a real and living cultus. To these he added, because of similarities of expression and ideas, a number of

other psalms, viii, xx, xxiv, xxix, xxxiii, xlvi, xlvi, l, lxvi A, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvii, cxiv, cxviii, cxxxii, cxlix, and Ex.xv, 1-18. In addition, he included as connected with the festival, though to a lesser degree, lxv, lxvii, lxxxv, cxx-cxxxiv. Volz, in his history of the Feast of Booths (*Das Neujahrsfest Jahwas*, 1912) had already ascribed certain psalms to the liturgy of this feast. He shows how in later times, because of the changes in the Calendar due to Babylonian influence, this great feast developed into the three separate feasts of the month Tishri, namely, Rosh hashShanah or New Year's Day, Yom Kippur or the Day of Atonement, and Succoth or the Feast of Tabernacles. The psalms which Volz allocated to the liturgy of this feast were viii, xxvii, xxxvi, xlii, lxviii, xcii, ciii, cxiii-cxviii, cxix?, cxx-cxxxiv. As with Mowinckel, the Coronation Psalms are the liturgy of the procession with which Jehovah is escorted to His throne.

The general criticism of Mowinckel's position is that given by Barnes (Psalms, *Westminster Commentary*, 1931, i, p. lxxiv), that Mowinckel has not established his theory of a yearly accession Feast in Israel. 'No one of these seven psalms (xlvi, xcii, xcv-c) really needs the hypothesis of an Accession Feast to explain it, nor does any fact conveyed to us in the Historical Books of the Old Testament support the hypothesis.' We would point out, furthermore, that nowhere does Mowinckel make any attempt to trace back the association of the Kingship of Jehovah with New Year's Day. There is undoubtedly a firm connexion between these two in the modern Jewish rites, but it does not therefore follow that this relationship has always existed. As a

matter of fact, it cannot be traced back beyond the second, or at most, the first century A.D.

We believe that xciii, xcvi-xcix had their origin in post-exilic times, since, where they are not dependent on the Exodus Song of Moses, they are dependent on Deutero-Isaiah. The psalms cannot therefore be pre-exilic. If there was a Coronation Feast before the Exile, then these psalms can have had no place in the liturgy. Nor can we admit either xcv or c to the group, since xcv has associations with the Deuteronomy Song of Moses, and there is no point of contact with the Coronation of Jehovah. These psalms are Sabbath Psalms; they are not New Year Psalms; they never have been New Year Psalms. There is no trace of any one of them ever having been used on New Year's Day. Further, the original significance of New Year's Day was not the Kingship of Jehovah, but Judgement and Penitence. So far as New Year's Day is concerned, Jehovah is King because He is Judge, and not Judge because He is King.

These Coronation Psalms celebrate the setting up of Jehovah's throne. He has won a great victory, and as a result has become King over the gods of the heathen and their worshippers. In virtue of His victory He has just set up His royal dominion, and is proceeding to judgement.

The difficulty in the interpretation of these psalms is not in the matter of the Coronation of Jehovah. All are agreed that the imagery of the psalms is the ceremonies attending the crowning of an Israelite or a Judahite king. The difficulty lies in the answer to the question, When was this Coronation? Did it take

place in the far distant past? (xciii, 2). Has it just taken place? This is the general impression created by the psalms generally, and Mowinckel has made an important contribution in insisting so vigorously upon this. It is clear that the psalmists are insisting in some sense that Jehovah has just taken His seat upon His royal throne. Mowinckel, by interpreting this to mean that the enthronement had just taken place in the cultus, supposed the psalms to be recited with reference to what was happening symbolically before the eyes of the singers, a counterpart of what was actually taking place 'in the Height.' The eschatological method of interpretation makes the poet sing of the mighty deeds of Jehovah at the End of Days as though they had just taken place, the prophet either transporting himself in thought to that day or being so confident of the outcome that he sings of them as events of the immediate past. In this way the undoubted idealizing element in the psalms was explained. Our position is that there is another way in which the idea of the immediate past can be retained, and together with it that ideal element which is the ground of the Eschatological interpretations. This is to be found in the associations of the ancient Dragon Myth and the Kingdom of God.

B.—THE DRAGON MYTH AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

Throughout the Bible, both in the Old Testament and in the New Testament, the Kingdom of God is regarded in a triple light. God has been King since the Beginning of Days; He has just established His Kingdom; He will establish it at the End of Days. A realization of these three aspects is essential to the

understanding of the thought of the Kingdom of God, not only on the part of prophet and psalmist, but also on the part of Our Lord Himself. The explanation of this apparent confusion of thought is found to a large extent in the ancient Dragon Myth, and in the way in which this myth became part of the medium through which the Hebrews looked upon their national history, and expressed their firm faith in the Power and Might of the God of their fathers.

The Dragon Myth underlies very much more of the whole of the Bible than is commonly supposed. It is inextricably interwoven, as Gunkel has shown (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, 2nd ed., 1921) with the Hebrew ideas of Creation, and innumerable references to this Monster of the Deep are found throughout the Bible from Genesis to Revelation. Not only so, but the whole attitude of the Hebrews to the surrounding nations, and after the Exile that of the Jews to the Gentile World at large, is influenced by it.

The myth belongs to the Semitic races whose early associations are with Mesopotamia. It was part of the heritage of the Hebrews, a myth of a Hero-God which they brought with them from their ancient home beyond the Great River. That there was this close association of the Hebrews with Babylonia is beyond dispute. It is seen, not only in the tradition relative to the birth-place of Abraham, but also in the similarity of ancient Hebrew law and custom to the Code of Hammurabi, and in the fact that the Tell-el-Amarna letters are in Babylonian cuneiform script. Recent excavations in Palestine have confirmed more and more the reality of this early contact with the East.

It is important, however, to realize that the Dragon Myth had a development among the Hebrews independent of Babylonia. The Hebrews changed the name and character of the Hero ; they excised all gods but One, almost ruining the story by depersonalizing the Dragon ; they made the whole story the vehicle of deep religious and ethical truth. To them it was a never-failing source of strength and encouragement in the midst of a heathen and hostile world. The story doubtless received accretions during the centuries, as all myths must, and as, in fact, our English myths and romance cycles have done. These additions would take place not only among the Hebrews, but also in Mesopotamia, for something of the same nature would also be taking place there. The developments and variations would not necessarily take the same form in both areas. Whenever the story of any myth is told, it should always be prefaced with an intimation of the place and period in which it was told with these particular details, because a myth does not necessarily take the same form in one locality in different centuries, nor in the same century in different localities. We may find in post-exilic times details in the Hebrew myth borrowed from the Babylonian rescension of the sixth century, but on the other hand we must recognize that the Hebrew myth had variations peculiar to itself long before the renewed contact with Babylonia in the seventh and early sixth centuries. It is never safe to take a Babylonian custom or rite, or even the setting of a myth, as any or all of these were observed or told in Babylonia at any particular time, and forthwith proceed uncritically to examine the Hebrew myth or rite on that basis. The historical point

of view must be observed in respect of Babylon equally as in respect of Israel.

The ancient Dragon Myth is the story of the great fight which took place before the world was made. It is the Semitic Mesopotamian counterpart of the Persian story of the warfare of Ormuzd and Ahriman. It is the story of the War between Good and Evil. The Babylonian form, as it was told after the revival consequent upon the supremacy of Babylon and the worship of the Babylonian god Marduk, is recounted on the Seven Tablets of Creation (See L. W. King's translation, 1902). These belong to the seventh century, but the story is very ancient. This particular form is not ancient, for the hero was not always Marduk. At Nineveh in the time of Asshur-bani-pal the hero was Asshur. According to Berossus and Damascius, it was Bel. At Nippur, it was Enlil; at Eridu, Ea; at Uruk, Anu; at Sippar, Shamash (see Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babyl. Trad.*, 1914).

At first, in the Beginning, there were the two gods of chaos, Apsu and Tiamat. From them were born various generations of gods, until at last were born the supreme Babylonian triad, Anu, Bel, and Ea. To these two gods of chaos was added a third, Mummu, and these three plotted to destroy the way of the gods of heaven. Ea defeats Apsu and Mummu, but Tiamat remains unsubdued. She takes a new god, Kingu, as her consort, and from them are born eleven kinds of monsters, her 'helpers.' They all raise the standard of revolt against Ea and the gods of heaven. Marduk, the youthful god of the rising sun, is chosen champion of the gods of heaven. He attacks Tiamat

and her brood. The helpers flee, leaving Tiamat alone to face the wrath of Marduk. He rushes on her, accompanied by the winds of heaven. He entangles her in his net, he blows a hurricane into her distended jaws, he pierces her with his arrow. Then follows the work of Creation. He splits Tiamat into two parts like a fish. Of one half he makes the earth, and of the other the heavens. He fixes a limit to Tiamat, the mighty Deep, that she may not pass over; he allocates stations and duties to the heavenly bodies; he fixes the seasons and the years; and last of all, having consulted Ea, he devises a cunning plan, and of his own blood and bone he makes Man.

In Hebrew legend the name Tiamat does not appear except under the form 'tehom' תְּהוֹמוֹת, a feminine word used to describe the primeval vasty Deep, Gen. i, 2 and frequently. Here Tiamat is almost entirely depersonalized. She has become a thing; the gender only remains. But though Tiamat suffers this fate in Hebrew lore, the dragon remains. She is called Rahab, and has her helpers, Job ix, 13. Sometimes she is represented as having been utterly destroyed; at other times she is thought of as having been cast alive into the depths of the sea, where she still is, Amos ix, 3. The dragon changes her sex, and becomes Leviathan, who is 'king over all the sons of pride,' Job xli, 34. The name becomes Behemoth, and she inhabits the reeds of the Nile, Job xl, 15-24. According to IV Esdras vi, 49-52, Behemoth is the husband of Leviathan. Apart from all these variations, there is a nameless dragon of the sea, and innumerable sea-monsters. Sometimes all these have been defeated once for all before the foundation of the

world. Sometimes the fight is recent, or has yet to come. Indeed we get in the myth exactly the same confusion as in the setting up of the Kingdom of God. There are passages where the writers pass easily to and fro between the story of the fight with the dragon or its fate and the promise or proclamation of Jehovah and His Kingdom. The two are bound together. (The various passages are discussed in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 29-114.)

The connexion of the myth with the Creation is seen in Job xxvi, 7-14, where at the close of a description of the way in which Jehovah fixed limits to 'the face of the waters,' and to light and darkness, similar in many ways to the Priestly account of Creation in Gen. i, 1-ii, 4a, and also to the Marduk-Tiamat Babylon variant of the seventh century, we read :

'He stilled the sea with his might,
And by his understanding he smote through Rahab ;
With the winds of heaven he broke her,
His hand pierced the flying serpent.'
(so Lyon ; see Gray, *I.C.C.*, pp. 181 f.).

According to Job vii, 12, Jehovah has set a watch over the sea and the sea-monster. When Jehovah speaks to Job out of the whirlwind, He places before Job every evidence of His might and power, how He set limits for the seas and for darkness, Job xxxviii, 10 f. He shows His power over every detail of the natural world, but the supreme proofs are in the might of Behemoth, whom He made and who lies under the reeds, and in Leviathan, whom He conquered. Behemoth is a strange kind of hippopotamus ; she is here a half-mythical monster. We shall see below why she is

connected with the reeds and the lotus. As for Leviathan, in him we have an even more wonderful crocodile. He has borrowed some of the qualities of the primeval dragon, and it is the battle between Jehovah and Tiamat-Rahab which Job is bidden to remember, Job xli, 8 (7). Yet again, to show that the dragon in the sea is a pre-exilic idea, we have Am. ix, 3. Further references are Pss. civ, 26; lxxiv, 12-17, where again we have the connexion with Creation.

So much for the myth itself. It was, however, interpreted by the Hebrews to stand for the great fight throughout history between Jehovah and His enemies. Ultimately it becomes representative of the ceaseless warfare between Good and Evil. Jehovah stands for righteousness and truth, the Dragon for all the powers of Evil when and wherever they arise. Jehovah conquered the Dragon before the world began. He cast down Rahab and founded the world upon her, Ps. xxiv, 2. Then first He became King. Creation and Kingship go hand in hand and are interwoven right from the beginning with the defeat of the Dragon. But though the Dragon was then overthrown, still she raises her hydra head. Jehovah fights her again and again throughout the long years, and each time He conquers. Then again He re-establishes His Kingdom, or, alternatively, He vindicates His right to take His seat upon His throne. At last shall come the last great fight of all, when finally Rahab and all the powers of darkness she represents shall be cast down never more to rise. Then Jehovah shall be King for ever and ever, and Earth and Sea and Heaven shall acknowledge Him. This is the Kingdom of God which shall be established

at the End of Days. In this way we have in the ever-living Dragon Myth those past, present, and future aspects which are inseparable from the ideas of the Kingdom of God. The three-fold time content of the Kingdom of God is from the three-fold attitude of the Jews to the Dragon Myth.

The locus classicus, not only for the Kingdom of God, but also for the interpretation of the myth, is the Exodus Song of Moses. The importance of this Song, and of the psalms which we have shown to be connected with it, can therefore hardly be over estimated. In the first place, we have in this pre-exilic Song, the Deliverance from Egypt and the passing through the Red Sea described, partly historically, but partly also in terms of the primeval fight with the Dragon. The result is that the basis of Jehovah's right to reign for ever and ever is not the Deliverance from Egypt in itself, but the fact that this is an example in history of what took place before the world was made. We have, in Ex. xv, 1-19, more than a description of the parting of the waters. When did Jehovah cast Pharaoh and his captains into the sea? It was Rahab and her helpers who were so cast. The accurate account of the fate of the Egyptian captains is found in the next line, Ex. xv, 4 b—they sank. Again and again we have the Wondrous Deed of Jehovah described in terms of the battle with the Dragon; 'the Deeps (Tehomoth) covered them' (5); that is, the primeval Deeps, not the shallow depths of the Red Sea, nor even the depths of the ocean; 'the Deeps were congealed in the heart of the sea' is a strange description of the fate of Pharaoh. What does it mean? The sentence becomes intelligible

when 'the Deeps' are recognized as being equivalent to Rahab the Dragon.

From this the tendency develops, even in pre-exilic times. Isaiah of Jerusalem, Isa. xxx, 7, calls Egypt 'Rahab that is stilled' (reading רַהַב שְׁטִיטָה , but see Duhm, *Jesaia*, p. 194). He is thundering against the policy which would seek aid from Pharaoh. It is vain to look for help from Egypt; her help is to no purpose. She can never help; she is the Dragon which Jehovah overthrew before the world was made. The whole passage is called 'The Oracle of the Behemoth of the South.' Here, then, Behemoth is connected with Egypt, and this is the beginning of that line of development whereby Behemoth becomes the monster of the reeds, and lies beneath the lotus-tree, Job xl, 15-24. As we have seen above, the Dragon changes sex. This is because Pharaoh is her first representative in history. In Ezek. xxix, 3-6; xxxii, 2-8, Pharaoh is a sea-monster, who crouches in the midst of his rivers, presumably the channels of the Delta, since נַיִם is used only of the Nile. The identification with Egypt is found again in Ps. Sol. ii, 28-34, and in Ps. lxxviii, 30 (31).

With the Babylonian Exile we find a new complication. Just as Pharaoh is the Behemoth of the reeds and the sea-monster of the Delta, so Nebuchadrezzar is the Dragon who swallowed Israel, Jer. li, 34, 44. Here is the beginning of the tendency to identify Babylon with Rahab. The Exile is spoken of under the figure of being swallowed up by the dragon that is in the midst of the sea. But destruction is coming to Babylon; the sea will come up over her, and she will be covered with the waves thereof. This, as we shall see below,

probably means that the heathen nations will overwhelm her. Jer. li, 34 is final with regard to the interpretation of the Book of Jonah. The 'great fish' which swallowed Jonah is the sea-monster of mythology, but in the hands of the redactor of the story of Jonah, it has become Nebuchadrezzar, the Rahab of the sixth century B.C. It has long been recognized that the Song of Jonah in the belly of the great fish is the Song of Exiled Israel. Here again are details borrowed from the dragon myth. The waves, the flood, the depth, the heart of the seas, all represent the heathen among whom Israel is compelled to live, Jonah ii, 3-5 (4-6). The identification of Babylon with Rahab is carried still further in Isa. li, 9-11. Here the primeval Rahab and her defeat are connected, first with the crossing of the Red Sea, and then with the promise of the release from Babylon. Finally this latter is, in Isa. lii, 7 f., linked with the renewal of the Kingdom of God.

'Awake, awake, Jehovah, put on strength, O arm of Jehovah,
 Awake as in primeval days, the generation of ancient time.
 Art thou not he that cut Rahab in pieces,
 That pierced the Dragon?
 Art thou not he which dried up the sea,
 The waters of the great Deep,
 That made the depths of the sea a way,
 For thy people to pass over?
 And the ransomed of Jehovah shall return . . .'

It is on such passages as this in Deutero-Isaiah that the Coronation Psalms are dependent, in addition to the primary dependence on the Exodus Song of Moses. The part which the Coronation Psalms played, therefore, in the development of the interpretation of the myth, and rising out of that in the development of the ideas of the Kingdom of God, is incalculable, for never a

Sabbath passed without one of them being recited in the Temple liturgy. In this way, ideas concerning the establishment of the Kingdom, were, like the Deuteronomic ideas in the Morning liturgy, ever present in the minds of the people. Psalm xciii, for instance, is the ancient myth revived under the influence of the 'Return' from Babylon. In it we find the secret of the interpretation of the myth. The waves rose proudly, but Jehovah more proudly still. Yet again the waves mount high, for the enemies of Israel are ever ringing him round, but always Jehovah conquers and triumphs. Now once more He has overthrown them; once more He has become King, for every time He accomplishes a Mighty Saving Act, He is but repeating what was laid down before the foundation of the world. This process of identifying Rahab with the oppressor of the age is found almost everywhere—Egypt and her Pharaoh; Babylon and her king; and at last in the Jewish-Christian Apocalypse, Rev. xiii, 1, 'the beast that rises from the sea.' This time the dragon is Anti-Christ, whether Rome, or Nero-Redivivus, or Domitian in this particular instance. The explanation of the difficult 2. Thess. ii, 3 is probably to be found in this identification. The Revolt, or Rebellion, is the last great fight of the Dragon; the 'man of Sin' is the unnamed, and probably to Paul, unidentified Rahab of this last Revolt; whilst 'that which restraineth' is, as elsewhere in Paul, the Roman Empire. Paul is using the old framework, just as his fathers did; he is describing what will happen at the End of Days, and there is no need to suppose that he is doing any other than using general terms. Perhaps the most remarkable

instance of interpretation is in the late Jewish Apocalypse, Isa. xxiv-xxvii, where we find apparently three dragons instead of one, Isa. xxvii, 1. In this Apocalypse we find the ancient myth revived with all its proper associations—Kingship of Jehovah, the tumult of the waters and the seas, the Coronation Feast, and the songs. Actually there are two dragons to be destroyed, 'the flying serpent and the winding serpent.' They are 'Assyria and Egypt,' Isa. xxvii, 13; that is, Seleucid and Ptolemy. 'And he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea' is a general statement to the effect that all the enemies of Israel will be confounded, the expectation being that when both Seleucid and Ptolemy are destroyed Israel will be left in peace. As the Rabbis said, when the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, 'only one escaped, Pharaoh; he became king of Nineveh; he became king of Babylon; he was called Antiochus; he was called Titus; he was called Justinian; Until the end of the world he will bear a thousand names, for like Israel, Israel's enemy is eternal.' (Quoted from Edmond Feng in 'Moses,' p. 67.) Equally clear is a passage from the Fragment of a Zadokite work, given by Charles in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. ii, p. 818. Here Deut. xxxii, 33, is quoted (Zad. ix, 19 f), 'their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps.' The interpretation is, 'The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles, and their wine is their ways; the venom of asps is the head of the kings of Javan, who came to execute vengeance upon them.' The reference is to Alexander the Great.

In Ps. lxxxvii, 4 (5), Rahab is generally taken to stand

for Egypt. It is more probably an equation of Rahab with Babylon. Just as Rahab of olden time experienced the power of Jehovah, so this modern Rahab, Babylon, has recently experienced it, together with Philistia, Tyre, and Cush. In lxviii, 30 (31), we have the reference to the wild beasts of the reeds, who turn out to be Egypt and Cush. All Jehovah's enemies are equivalent to Rahab, and their fate shall be as hers.

A further development is that the Sea itself becomes identified with Rahab and the sea-monsters. This is found to be the case in many instances of that parallelism which is a feature of Hebrew poetry, Isa. li, 9 f.; Pss. lxviii, 30 (31); lxxiv, 13 f. (14 f.); lxxxix, 9 f. (10 f.); cxlviii, 7; Job, vii, 12; xxvi, 12. This is the reason why there can be no sea in the new heaven of the Apocalypse of John, Rev. xxi, 1. The sea is the enemy of Jehovah. It stands for Evil, for all that fight against God, and nothing can enter through those pearly gates 'which worketh abomination or maketh a lie.' It is a weak exegesis which finds in Rev. xxi, 1 the thought that in the New Age all separation shall be done away, or sees the reason for the exclusion of the sea in the fact that the Jews did not like or were unaccustomed to the sea. The fact is that they hated it, not because they were unused to it, nor even because Palestine is naturally cut off from the sea, but because in it was the Dragon from time immemorial. The Sea had become the Enemy of God. The waters fought against Jehovah, Ex. xv, 7; Nah. i, 4; Hab. iii, 8; Pss. xlvi; lxxvii, 16 (17); xciii, 2 f. The identification has gone still further, for the waves of the sea, and the billows come to represent all the heathen who are antagonistic to Jehovah

and His people. The passage in which this is most clear is Ps. xviii, 16-18, as it is used in Ps. cxliv, 7 :—

‘Stretch forth thine hand from above,
Rescue me from great waters,
Out of the hands of foreigners.’

The same identification is found in Isa. xvii, 12 f.; Ps. lxxv, 7 (8). There are many instances where in the Old Testament we must understand the heathen when we read of waves and billows.

The association of these Coronation Psalms with the Exodus Song of Moses in the Afternoon liturgy of the Sabbath ensured that the ancient Deliverance of Jehovah was ever new. He became and remained an ever present Saviour, the Keeper of Israel who never slumbered nor slept (cxi, 3); always a very present help in trouble.

Ex. xv, 1-18 is the ancient Song of Deliverance. It celebrates the first triumph in history of Jehovah over Rahab. It is a Song to the King of primeval days, the King who is thus established anew. Each new Mighty Saving Act of Jehovah is accompanied by a song, and this song is a ‘new Song.’ We have seen ‘Sing unto Jehovah a new song’ is a phrase characteristic of the Coronation Psalms. The phrase ‘a new song,’ wherever it is found in the Bible, is a Song of Deliverance.

Ps. xxxiii, 3. ‘Sing ye to him (*i.e.* to Jehovah) a new song.’ The actual sentence of the Coronation Psalms is not found here, but Mowinckel rightly included this psalm in his wider group of which he made the Coronation Psalms the core. The connexion, however, is not directly with the Coronation Psalms, but because

of their association with and dependence upon the typical Song of Deliverance, Ex. xv, 1-19. The psalm xxxiii is a late insertion in the Psalter, but it is a true song of deliverance.

Judith xvi, 13. 'I will sing unto my God (A has "Jehovah") a new song.' The Song of Judith is essentially a Song of Deliverance. Judith by her courage and resource has delivered her people from the tyrant Holofernes. The writer of the song had certainly in mind Ex. xv, 1-18; Pss. xcvi, 1; xcvi, 1.

Ps. xl, 3 (4). 'And he put a new song into my mouth.' This is because Jehovah had delivered him by lifting 'him up out of the horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and has set his feet firm upon a rock.'

Ps. cxliv, 9. 'O God, I will sing a new song unto thee.' This psalm had associations with the Dragon Myth. The old ideas have been revived because of new dangers overpassed. The same is true of cxlix, where we are in the time of the Maccabees.

Of all the new songs the most important is Isa. xlii, 10-17. Here we have the connexion between the old song of the Exodus and the new songs of the release from Babylon, *i.e.* the Coronation, or Sabbath Afternoon, Psalms. This idea of the new song as a song of deliverance is carried right through to the Apocalypse of John, where in Rev. v, 8-10 the four beasts and the four and twenty elders sing a new song, 'Thou art worthy to take this book and to open the seal thereof; for thou wast slain and hast redeemed us unto God.' And again, Rev. xiv, 3: 'They sang as it were a new song before the four living creatures and the elders, and no man could sing that song except the 144,000 which were

redeemed from the earth.' It takes a redeemed people to sing a new song, because it is essentially a song of deliverance.

It has been the wonder of the world to see the way in which the Jew throughout the ages has triumphed over every obstacle, and has firmly kept the Faith. Each disaster has but made him more sure of the triumph of Jehovah. There has been born within him the certainty that God will triumph and that all His enemies will perish. This conviction has been due in part to the inherent religious genius of the sons of Abraham in every generation. It has been nurtured and fostered by the way in which the Dragon Myth was developed to stand for ever as the typical fight against Evil, that fight in which God always must win the victory. But what has made this confidence more sure, and has contributed in no small measure to the courage and trust of Israel, was the fortunate choice of the Exodus Song of Moses as the Sabbath Afternoon Cantic. Because of this Cantic, and its associated psalms, xciii-xcix, Jehovah and the establishment of His Kingdom were continually being brought to the mind of His worshippers, and with them the story of the sure triumph of their God. Always Jehovah was the only Deliverer and Saviour; and His Salvation was sure. In the Coronation Psalms, therefore, and in the causes and results of their adoption as Sabbath Afternoon Psalms, we have one of the most important factors in the development of Hebrew religion.

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