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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PSALTER IN LIGHT OF  
QUMRAN CAVE ELEVEN PSALTER SCROLL A

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Exegetical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

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by

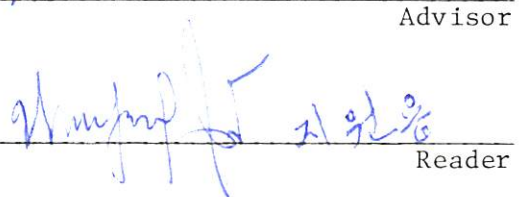
Martin J. Homan

May 1982

Approved by:



Advisor



Reader

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		
I.	INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
II.	STUDY OF BIBLICAL PSALMS IN 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	7
	The Text of 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	7
	General overview . . . . .	7
	Selected psalms with peculiar characteristics in 11QPs <sup>a</sup>	10
	Psalm 118 . . . . .	11
	Psalm 119 . . . . .	13
	Psalm 135 . . . . .	19
	Psalm 139 . . . . .	22
	Psalm 144 . . . . .	25
	Psalm 145 . . . . .	26
	Fragment E of 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	31
	Psalm 104 . . . . .	32
	Psalm 105 . . . . .	34
	Psalm 118 . . . . .	35
	Psalm 147 . . . . .	36
	Conclusions From the Primary Research on 11QPs <sup>a</sup> , the MT, and the LXX . . . . .	37
	Variant readings in 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	37
	Variant readings in the E fragments of 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	41
	The use of the divine name in 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	42
	Conclusions . . . . .	44
III.	TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	46
	Cross's Theory on Local Texts . . . . .	46
	General presentation of the theory on local texts . . . . .	46
	The Palestinian text family . . . . .	48
	The Egyptian text family . . . . .	51
	The Babylonian text family . . . . .	53
	General criticism of Cross's theory on local texts . . . . .	55
	D. W. Gooding . . . . .	55
	George Howard . . . . .	58
	Albert Pietersma . . . . .	60
	Alternate Theories to Cross's Theory on Local Texts . . . . .	63
	Multiplicity of textual traditions . . . . .	63
	S. Talmon . . . . .	63
	M. Goshen-Gottstein . . . . .	67
	B. Childs . . . . .	68
	The emergence of a standard text from the Hebrew texts of rival groups (Albrektson) . . . . .	71

	11QPs <sup>a</sup> and Prevalent Theories on Textual Criticism of the Old Testament . . . . .	74
	Cross's theory on local texts with respect to 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	75
	Alternate theories with respect to 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	79
IV.	NON-BIBLICAL PSALMS IN 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	81
	Non-Biblical Psalms Known Outside of the Dead Sea	
	Community . . . . .	82
	Psalm 151 . . . . .	82
	Psalm 154 . . . . .	89
	Psalm 155 . . . . .	90
	Sirach 51:13-30 . . . . .	92
	Non-Biblical Apocryphal Material not Known Outside of	
	Qumran . . . . .	97
	"Compositions of David" . . . . .	97
	Non-biblical psalms . . . . .	99
	"Plea for Deliverance" . . . . .	99
	"Apostrophe to Zion: . . . . .	100
	"Hymn to the Creator" . . . . .	102
	Conclusions . . . . .	103
V.	11QPs <sup>a</sup> : PSALTER OR PSALMBOOK? . . . . .	105
	Psalter Theory . . . . .	106
	The fluidity of the Psalter theory . . . . .	106
	Alternate Psalter for the Qumran community . . . . .	109
	General criticism of the Psalter theory . . . . .	111
	Psalmsbook Theory . . . . .	113
	11QPs <sup>a</sup> and the psalmsbook theory . . . . .	116
VI.	IMPLICATIONS OF 11QPs <sup>a</sup> FOR UNDERSTANDING THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW TESTAMENT . . . . .	118
	The Canon of the Old Testament in Light of 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	118
	Prevalent interpretations of 11QPs <sup>a</sup> 's role in the canon of the Old Testament . . . . .	119
	The Qumran community's understanding of the canonical Psalter . . . . .	121
	New Testament and 11QPs <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	127
VII.	CONCLUSION . . . . .	131
	APPENDIXES . . . . .	136
	BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	156

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The Dead Sea Community has provided the world of biblical scholarship with both biblical and non-biblical apocryphal compositions. This new wealth of biblical material has brought about a new understanding of textual criticism of the Old Testament, since we now have some of the oldest known Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> This community has also given us a new insight into the Intertestamental period by its nonbiblical apocryphal material. This insight by the Dead Sea compositions has been especially on the Essenes, a sect of Judaism.<sup>2</sup> The material has also evolved certain theories based on compositions from the Qumran community.

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<sup>1</sup>An example of the study brought about by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls is by Ralph W. Klein, Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: From the Septuagint to Qumran (Philadelphia, PA.: Fortress Press, 1974). As Klein observes in the preface concerning the importance of the Qumran compositions, "The discovery of the many ancient Hebrew and Greek fragments, popularly called the Dead Sea Scrolls, provided manuscripts one thousand years older than the manuscripts printed in Biblia Hebraica. Much of this evidence is contemporaneous with the Hebrew text scholars had reconstructed from LXX." Klein's contention concerning the closeness of the LXX and the Dead Sea Scrolls will be studied in depth in chapter II.

<sup>2</sup>The author of this thesis believes that the Dead Sea community was inhabited by Qumran Essenes. See James H. Charlesworth, "The Origin and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases Among the Qumran Essenes," Revue de Qumran 38 (May 1980: 213-233).

One scroll of importance from Qumran is Qumran Cave 11 Psalter Scroll a (11QPs<sup>a</sup>). This scroll concerns itself with certain theories on textual criticism of the Old Testament and canon. James A. Sanders prepared this scroll for publication, and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> was published in two editions in 1965 and 1967.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Sanders believes that this scroll is an authentic Psalter reflecting Books IV and V of the Masoretic Text's Psalter. Sanders asserts that "For the Essenes, the openended Psalter was the more archaic Psalter, the preservation of an earlier stage of the stabilization process; just as their cultic calendar was for them the more archaic and authentic calendar."<sup>4</sup> The implications for the understanding of the canon of the Old Testament is that the Psalter text was extremely fluid until quite late, perhaps until the time of the Council of Jamnia.

The major thesis of this paper is that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is better understood not as a Psalter but as a liturgical psalmbook, a collection of psalms, used by the Dead Sea community. This scroll's text does not support the theory of Frank M. Cross, Jr. on local text types,<sup>5</sup> but

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<sup>3</sup>James A. Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Judah (Oxford, England: At the Clarendon Press, 1965). Also, James A. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967). Sanders' work on 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has been instrumental for our understanding of this scroll and its implications for the study of textual criticism of the Old Testament, as well as canon and the Intertestamental period. This study will focus on Sanders' understanding of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the Old Testament.

<sup>4</sup>James A. Sanders, "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," New Directions in Biblical Archaeology, ed. D. N. Freedman & J. C. Greenfield (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), p. 112.

<sup>5</sup>Frank M. Cross, Jr. bases his theory on local text types as reflected by the LXX, the MT, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The most recent article by Cross is "Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the

the text does have importance for textual criticism of the Old Testament. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> supports an understanding of an earlier development of the canon of the Old Testament. This thesis will be developed in the subsequent chapters.

11QPs<sup>a</sup> contains both biblical and nonbiblical apocryphal compositions. As Sanders observes,

The scroll contains all or parts of forty-one canonical psalms, including the psalm which in the Bible appears in II Sam. 23:1-7. In addition it includes eight apocryphal compositions, seven of which are nonbiblical psalms and one of which is a statement about David in prose. (One of the apocryphal psalms, Psalm 151, appears in the scroll in two parts, 151 A and 151 B, and could be counted as two psalms.)<sup>6</sup>

As we will see, the combination of these psalms is not segregated, but it is an admixture of both biblical and nonbiblical psalms, especially toward the end of the scroll.<sup>7</sup> The implications of the integration of this material will be made evident, especially concerning the question whether 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a Psalter or a psalmbook.

The scroll itself has a history of its own. The date of the scroll according to palaeographic analysis is ca. 30-50 A.D.<sup>8</sup> The text did not completely withstand the ravages of time. As Sanders observes,

. . . the four outer layers of the roll were not continuous but were left only as four separable leaves increasing in size until at the fifth layer the leather was continuous thereafter, sewn together in five sheets of varying length, to almost thirteen feet; all told,

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Hebrew Bible," in The Critical Study of Sacred Texts, ed. Wendy D. O'Flaherty (Berkeley, CA.: Graduate Theological Union, 1979), pp. 1-54.

<sup>6</sup> Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> The arrangement of both biblical and nonbiblical psalms in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is found in Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, pp. 144-45.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

edge to edge, disregarding lacunae, there are about thirteen and a half feet of leather in the five sheets, four leaves, and four leaves, and four fragments. Every column including the last one which is blank, is ruled or lined, by stylus in the manner of the other scrolls from Qumran. Each column contains from 14 to 17 lines of text according to the length of column preserved; originally, however, the columns ran 21 to 23 lines. The scroll in its present condition is six to seven inches wide, whereas it originally was nine to ten inches wide; thus six to seven lines of invaluable text are lacking at the bottom of each column.<sup>9</sup>

We have in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> an incomplete scroll. Yet, the contents of this scroll were sufficient enough for Sanders to develop the Psalter thesis, and the contents are sufficient enough for an analysis of the scroll as a whole and in light of Sanders' thesis.

Textual criticism of the Old Testament is an important aspect of the study of this scroll. Cross's theory on local text types will be analyzed in light of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Certain other theories on textual criticism of the Old Testament which concern themselves with the Dead Sea Scrolls will be presented and analyzed.

One other area of importance for this study is the significance of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> for the understanding of the canon of the Old Testament. This part of the study will also deal with the New Testament and its understanding of the Psalter. This part of the study will rely on whether one understands this scroll as a Psalter or as a liturgical psalmbook.

The sigla and the abbreviations for this study are as follows:

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| BHS | K. Elliger and Rudolph, Ed. <u>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</u> (Stuttgart, Germany: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1967/1977, pp. 1087-1226. |
| LXX | Septuagint. Alfred Rahlfs, ed. <u>Septuaginta, II</u> (Stuttgart, Germany: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935), pp. 1-164.              |

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



MT	Masoretic Text as found in BHS
11QPs <sup>a</sup>	Qumran Cave 11 Psalter Scroll A. This text is found in James A. Sanders, <u>The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll</u> (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967): James A Sanders, <u>The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, Discoveries of the Judean Desert of Judah, IV</u> (Oxford, England: At the Clarendon Press, 1965).
Ant	Antiochean Text
Kaige (Καίγε) recension	"A revision of the Greek text toward the MT made in Palestine, shortly after the turn of the era. The name <u>kaige</u> comes from its peculiar translation of the Hebrew particle <u>gam</u> (also). Identical with proto-Theodotion." <sup>10</sup>
L	Lucianic text.
Proto-Lucian	"A revision of the Old Greek to agree with the Palestinian Hebrew text, in the second or first century B.C. In Samuel-Kings it can be recovered from manuscripts." <sup>11</sup>
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the <u>Holy Bible</u>
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
1QM	The War Scroll
4QPs <sup>b</sup>	Qumran Cave 4 Psalter Scroll B.
4QPs <sup>d</sup>	Qumran Cave 4 Psalter Scroll D.
4QPs <sup>f</sup>	Qumran Cave 4 Psalter Scroll F.
4QPs <sup>n</sup>	Qumran Cave 4 Psalter Scroll N.
11QPs <sup>b</sup>	Qumran Cave 11 Psalter Scroll B.
11QPs <sup>d</sup>	Qumran Cave 11 Psalter Scroll D.
[ ]	Brackets indicate lacunae in the text.

These are the sigla and abbreviations that are found throughout this paper. The sigla and abbreviations presented with bibliographical information are noted the most in the thesis. Those sigla and

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<sup>10</sup>Klein, Textual Criticism of the Old Testament, p. xi.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

abbreviations not presented with bibliographical information are not found that often in this study, and are given for the reader's general information.

Finally, it should be noted that this study is not an indepth study of biblical poetry. It is a textual study of llQPs<sup>a</sup>. Where the poetic style and arrangement is noted, these references have direct bearing upon the understanding of the text of llQPs<sup>a</sup>.

## CHAPTER II

### STUDY OF BIBLICAL PSALMS IN 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

#### The Text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a scroll from the Dead Sea community. This scroll has an admixture of biblical and non-biblical material. This part of the study will deal with the biblical psalm material as found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The thesis of this chapter is that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is quite often very close in its text to that of the MT and the LXX. Where the texts do have major differences, these differences are theological. The presentation of the biblical psalm material in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> will be done in two parts. First, the text of the biblical psalms in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> will be studied. Secondly, conclusions from the primary research of the biblical psalms will be drawn together for an analysis of the specific implications of the biblical material in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> for this study.

#### General Overview

It is important to note the extent of the psalms found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The psalms in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> have as the lowest numbered psalm, Psalm 93. The highest numbered psalm is Psalm 150.<sup>1</sup> With this range of psalms, it is important to note that this limits the contents of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to Books IV and V of the Psalter. Since it appears that the Psalter could have

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 15.

been collected by Books at different times, the collection of the psalms as found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> could support an open ended Psalter in these last two Books. The question to be asked here is when did these two Books become stable, before or after the time of the Dead Sea community? This question will be answered in this thesis.

The arrangement of the psalms in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is also of note. The psalms are not in the same numerical order as in the Masoretic Psalter. Nor are the psalms separated from the apocryphal literature. In 28 columns and five fragments, we have 41 psalms plus 2 Sam. 23:7.<sup>2</sup> The apocryphal non-biblical psalms are interspersed in the later part of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> in columns XVIII, XIX, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII, and XXVIII.<sup>3</sup>

The specific order of the psalms in the columns of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has certain implications for our understanding of the scroll. As noted by Sid Leiman, "In MT, all the Songs of Ascents (Psalms 120-134) are grouped together. In 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Psalm 133 is isolated from the other Songs of Ascents . . ."<sup>4</sup> Certain columns in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> are similar to mosaics of psalm verses, such as column XVI where we find Ps. 136:26; 118:1, 15, 16, 8, 9, 29; 145:1-7; and column XXVIII where we find Ps. 141:5-10; 133:1-3; 144:1-7. This arrangement of psalms might be built around some clustering of the psalm material for practical or theological use by the Qumran community,

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<sup>2</sup>James A. Sanders, Discoveries in the Judaen Desert of Jordan, IV; The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (Oxford, England: At the Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Sid Z. Leiman, Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 47 (Hamden, CT.: Archon Books, 1976), pp. 154-55, N. 183.

such as we find alluded to in 1 Chronicles 25 and 2 Chronicles 7. The singers of psalms are noted here.

The text, although it is in a poetic arrangement in the MT, no longer has this poetic arrangement in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> but with one exception. As Sanders notes, "All the poetry in the scroll is copied out as though it were prose: only Psalm 119 is in metric arrangement, but that is due not to any effort on the part of the ancient scribe to make poetry but to show clearly the alphabetic arrangement of the first letters of each bicolon."<sup>5</sup> This lack of poetic arrangement might signify some other use of the psalms in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.<sup>6</sup>

Such alterations of not just the arrangement of the psalms but also the lack of poetic form with the exception of Psalm 119, would seem to point to one of three possible understandings of the structure of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The first possible understanding of the structure is that the arrangement in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> was of no great concern for the scribe. The second possible understanding is that the community had no concept of the arrangement of the psalms as known to us in the MT. The third possibility is that this scroll was liturgical hymnbook which would restructure the standard form with the exception of an acrostic psalm due to its natural

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<sup>5</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup>Two current works of note on poetic style and structure not available at the time of the writing of this thesis are: David N. Freedman, Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Hebrew Poetry (Winona Lake, IN.: Eisenbrauns, 1980); and Michael O'Connor, Hebrew Verse Structure (Winona Lake, IN.: Eisenbrauns, 1980). The emphasis of this thesis is not on the psalms' poetic structure and style. This author is concerned more with the textual study of the psalms in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Interest in style and structure is here secondary to textual study, and will be mentioned only briefly.

order. More will be said on these possible understandings later. What is necessary at the present time is to keep these possible interpretations in mind as this study proceeds through the text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

A section of biblical prose of interest in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is 2 Sam. 23:7. It is found in column XXVII of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The verse itself is not intact, since it is missing the first part of the verse as found in the MT. 2 Sam. 23:7 is the preface to the apocryphal "Compositions of David" is followed by Ps. 140:1-5. The text of 2 Sam. 23:7 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has one variant. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{נ' } \text{ל} \text{ב' } \text{ח}$  (outside room) as opposed to the MT which has  $\text{נ' } \text{ל} \text{ב'}$  (shaft). The implication here is that the apocryphal Davidic composition is prefaced by a line from the life of David. Thus this understanding of Davidic authorship in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is historically anchored by the book of Samuel.

#### Selected Psalms with Peculiar Characteristics in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Certain variations exist in the text of the psalms of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as opposed to the text of the Psalter of the MT and the LXX. It is important to examine the texts of these psalms. Sanders observes concerning the text of the psalms of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>: "The texts of the forty-one biblical psalms in the Psalms Scroll are, with some very interesting exceptions, the texts we have always known . . ." <sup>7</sup> The texts of those psalms with "interesting exceptions" are the scope of interest in this part of the study.

The psalms with "interesting exceptions" do not include every psalm of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, although variations do exist in every psalm. The scope

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

of this section will focus on six psalms which have a larger amount of variants from the MT. The psalms are Psalms 118, 119, 135, 139, 144, and 145. This section will deal with these psalms in the order found in the MT, and the text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> will be compared with the LXX and the MT.

### Psalm 118

The first psalm for study is Psalm 118. Psalm 118 is located in column XVI, lines 1-6. It is prefaced by Ps. 136:26, and is followed by Ps. 145:1-7. As is noted above, Psalm 118 is in the midst of a psalm mosaic. The arrangement of the psalm itself is a mosaic of verses. The order of the verses is verses 1, 15, 16, 8, 9, 29. Verse 1 is retained as an introductory verse to the psalm. Verses 15 and 16 are next. It is interesting to observe that a degree of parallelism exists in these two verses. In the MT, verses 15c and 16a begin with the phrase "right hand of Yahweh." In 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, the wording in verse 16b is different from that of the MT. Verse 16b of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *הַיְדָא הַתְּשׁוּבָה* (You have acted in strength). This variant *הַיְדָא* (strength) has a similar meaning to that of the MT's *יָמִינֶךָ* (strength), but the variant in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> reminds the reader of a "mighty warrior" rather than "strength." Instead of inclusion in verses 15c-16 as found in the MT, we have parallelism in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> with each colon building upon the next colon as a response to the righteous community's joy.

In verses 8-9, two major variants from the MT and the LXX are present. The first variant is in verse 8, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *תִּיִּבְרַח* (to trust); the MT has *תִּיִּבְרַח* (to seek refuge); and the LXX has *πιστοβεναι* (to trust). The LXX and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> agree on this variant. In verse 9, an addition to the verse is placed at the end of the verse where it has

09 9487 71020 7172 21025 210 (It is better to be good than to trust in a thousand people). Sanders recognizes that the first part of this addition is not parallel between the verbs of the two cola of the strophe, so he emends the text from 21025 (in being good) to 71025 (to trust) in line with the emendation in verse 8 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.<sup>8</sup> Sanders suggests in another book that this addition to verse 9 be omitted.<sup>9</sup> With this addition, verses 8 and 9 read: "It is better to trust in Yahweh than to put confidence in man. It is better to take refuge in Yahweh than to put confidence in princes. It is better to trust in Yahweh than to put confidence in a thousand people."<sup>10</sup> Verses 8 and 9 in the MT are virtually parallel with the exception of the last word in each verse which deals with mankind. In 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, verses 8 and 9 have lost this parallelism as found in the MT. The parallelism here is more synthetic than in the MT with the addition to verse 9 observing that trust even in a multitude of people is not as great as trust in Yahweh. The comparison is again made concerning mankind, but it refers to a multitude of people as opposed to man in a collective sense as in verse 8, or as opposed to a distinct group of people, namely the "princes," as in verse 9. These two verses in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> become a refrain by the righteous community with verses 15 and 16.

Verse 29 is at the end of Psalm 118 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as it is in the MT. Verse 29 has inclusion with verse 1 for Psalm 118, so that we have one unit here. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> ends with 77 1557 (Praise Yah!) which is not in

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>9</sup> Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 65.



the MT, but this reading is found at the beginning of the next psalm in the LXX. It is interesting to see that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> ends a psalm of praise in the MT with an extra exclamation of praise.

Psalm 118 is arranged then as a hymn of praise by a community of righteous people. We no longer have a psalm of praise by God's people, Israel, as a whole. Psalm 118 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> represents a variant version of what we have in the MT, and reflects a different theological emphasis for the Dead Sea community.

#### Psalm 119

The next psalm of interest for this study is Psalm 119. In 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Psalm 119 takes up a large part of the scroll. It begins in column VI after Ps. 132:8-18, and ends in column XIV where it is followed by Ps. 135:1-9. Its arrangement is as an acrostic psalm. It is curious to note that Psalm 118 occurs quite a bit later than Psalm 119 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. As Dahood observes about the general appearance of Psalm 119, "Of all the psalms, Ps. cxix benefits most from the Qumran discoveries. Of its verses, 114 are preserved wholly or partially in the Psalms Scroll labelled 11QPs<sup>a</sup>."<sup>11</sup> The psalm appears to play an important role in this scroll.

Column VI of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> contains verses 1-6 of Psalm 119. Two important variants are in this column. In verse 2, the variant occurs in the second half of the verse, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *ןד* (time); the MT has *ל* (heart); and the LXX has *καρδία* (heart). The emphasis in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is on the time of the life of the individual, but the LXX and the MT

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<sup>11</sup>Mitchell Dahood, Psalms II:101-150, Anchor Bible Series, ed., W. F. Albright & D. N. Freedman (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1970, pp. 172-73.

concentrate on the person's being, the heart. The second variant of importance in this column is in verse 5, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *לְאֱמֻנָתְךָ* (your truth); the MT has *לְפָרְשֵׁי* (your statutes); and the LXX has *τὰ δικάσι-  
ωματα σου* (your commandments). Sanders conjectures that the word in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is "truths," although the text is missing the aleph.<sup>12</sup> Since much of this verse is missing in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> except for the first and the last word, the MT is used to fill in the gap. What is of interest here is this understanding of God's decrees as "truths" if we accept Sanders' conjecture.

In column VII, Ps. 119:15-28 is presented. An important variant is in verse 17, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *לְנִקְמָה* (to revenge); the MT has *לְשִׁלּוּם* (render); and the LXX has *ἀνταπόδος* (to pay back). *לְשִׁלּוּם* (render) in the MT is somewhat synonymous with *לְנִקְמָה* (to revenge) of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Thus the difference between the two texts is quite small, and might be due to the fluidity of the Psalter text. For the reading is not that different, and might even be due to the replacement of a lamedh with a resh. As Dahood notes, "The close semantic relationship between the roots gml, 'to requite,' and gmr, 'to avenge,' stressed in my article . . . is further evidenced by 11QPs<sup>a</sup> which reads gmwr, 'Avenge!' instead of MT gemol, 'Requite!'"<sup>13</sup> 11QPs<sup>a</sup> might be using a word with stronger emphasis in their text. Yet the text is quite similar to the MT and the LXX.

In verse 22, the variant in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is *לְשִׁלּוּם* (roll!); in the MT is *לְשִׁלּוּם* (uncover); and in the LXX is *περίελε* (uncover). Dahood believes that the "MT piel imperative gal from gālāh, 'to uncover,' has often been repointed, on the basis of Josh V9, to gol, from galal, 'to roll away.'

<sup>12</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 45.

<sup>13</sup>Dahood, Psalms III:101-150, p. 175.

This repunctuation finds new support in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> gw1 . . ."<sup>14</sup> According to the critical apparatus of BHS, the editor supports the reading in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, and adds the LXX and the Syriac as supporting texts for the variant reading. This variant in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a possible reading over the MT.

Column VIII of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> contains Ps. 119:37-49. In this column, three variant readings are of note. The first variant reading of note is in verses 37 and 40, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has 𐤒𐤕𐤕𐤓 (show me mercy); the MT has 𐤒𐤕𐤕𐤓 (let me live); and the LXX has *ἐπιθῶν με* (let me live). The MT and the LXX agree with "let me live." 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has "be gracious to me." This is not the only place in this psalm where this variant occurs as will be noted below. Table seven gives enough examples of this variant to show that this is a standard variant for the MT's 𐤒𐤕𐤕𐤓 (let me live).

Two other variant readings of importance are found in this column. One of these variants is found in verse 41, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *תוּן* (mercy); the MT has 𐤕𐤒𐤕𐤒 (your mercy); and the LXX has *σωτηρίαν σου* (your salvation). The pronominal suffix is dropped in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. In verse 43, a more substantial difference exists, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has 𐤗𐤒𐤕𐤓𐤓 (to your words); the MT has 𐤗𐤑𐤑𐤖𐤓 (to your judgment); and the LXX has *ἐπὶ τὰ κρίματά σου* (to your judgments). Instead of hoping for God's judgment, the text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has "your words." These variations show a difference in a few points which do not radically alter the meaning of the verses in this column.

In column IX of Psalm 119 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, we find no major variants. In verse 68, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has 𐤒𐤕𐤓 (my Lord); the LXX has *Κύριε* (Lord);

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

and the MT has no reading. Yet the subject is understood by the MT in  $\text{אַתָּה}$  (You). Otherwise, the variants are of no great consequence to our understanding of this part of the psalm.

In column X of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Ps. 119:82-96 is found. A number of major variants are present in this column. In verse 83a, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{וַיַּעַשׂ$  (You made me); the MT has  $\text{וַיֵּשֶׁבֶת}$  (I have become); and the LXX has  $\text{ἐγενήθην}$  (I have become). The MT and the LXX center the subject on the psalmist. In verse 83b, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{רַחֲמֶיךָ}$  (your mercy); the MT has  $\text{וְצִוְוֹתֶיךָ}$  (your statutes); and the LXX has  $\text{τὰ δικάϊωματα σου}$  (your commandments). The MT and the LXX reflect the fact that the subject is the psalmist in 83a while 11QPs<sup>a</sup> reflects that God is the subject in 83a, because the psalmist will not forget God's mercy of 83b.

In verse 85, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{וְהָרַס$  (destruction); the MT has  $\text{וְהָרַס$  (pitfalls); and the LXX has  $\text{ἀδολεσχίας}$  (destruction). As Dahood notes, "MT sihot with long i in the first syllable, should be upheld against 11QPs<sup>a</sup> sht (=sahat) . . ." <sup>15</sup> The "pit" also points to a euphemism for hell in the Hebrew text. The LXX and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> agree in meaning here. The MT and Dahood have a better understanding of the word here, because the MT understands the text in light of the interpretation of hell as the pit in the Old Testament.

In verse 87, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{מֵאֲרָצָה}$  (from earth); the MT has  $\text{מִן־הָאָרֶץ}$  (in the earth); and the LXX has  $\text{ἐν τῇ γῆ}$  (in the earth). The MT and the LXX have the same reading over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The question is why does 11QPs<sup>a</sup> use the preposition  $\text{מֵ}$  (from) instead of the preposition  $\text{מִן}$  (in)? Dahood provides a possible explanation here when he writes:

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 183.

The long-standing emendation of ba'ares to me'ares is sustained by 11QPs<sup>a</sup> m'rs, but both the emendations and the Qumranic lection are confuted by the growing documentation of ba, "from." . . . MT ba'ares remains the more difficult reading and still to be maintained. What 11QPs<sup>a</sup> proves is that ba, "from," was no longer understood in the first century B.C.<sup>16</sup>

Although the editor of BHS does not state his reasoning in the critical apparatus, he proposes the reading of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, בָּאָרֶץ (from the earth). The grammatical note by Dahood is of interest, and is supported by the LXX. The variant from 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does show a later usage of the Hebrew language, and thus dates the text to a specific era. Such a modernized variant means that the text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> might have been altered to suit the understanding of the community.

In column XI of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Ps. 119:105-120 occurs. Again, the vocabulary plays a part in dating the scroll. In verse 106, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has תַּעֲשֶׂה (to do); the MT has תִּשְׁמֹר (to keep); and the LXX has τοῦ φυλάξασθαι (to keep). The MT and the LXX agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. In verse 107, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has כְּדִבְרֵיךָ יְהוָה (according to your word show me mercy); the MT has כְּדִבְרֵיךָ יְהוָה (according to your word let me live); and the LXX has ζῆσόν με κατὰ τὸν λόγον (let me live according to your word). The MT and the LXX agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has as noted above "show me favor" as opposed to "give me life." The verb of giving life is interspersed throughout the MT instead of the verb showing mercy in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. In verse 110, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has כְּדִבְרֵיךָ יְהוָה (I . . . your commands); the MT has כְּדִבְרֵיךָ יְהוָה (and from your commands); and the LXX has καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐντολῶν σου (and from your commands). The MT and the LXX agree as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> places emphasis here on the psalmist

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

with  $\text{בְּיָדְךָ}$  (I) and the lack of  $\text{מִן}$  (from). The variants in this column show a later understanding of Hebrew and perhaps an intentional updating of the text by the scribe. It would seem that variant is more than a grammatical difference.

In column XII, Ps. 119:128-142 is located. One variant of note here is in verse 129, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{נַחֲלֵי בְּלֶחֶם}$  (streams of honey); the MT has  $\text{נִיִּצְוֹתֶיךָ}$  (marvelous deeds); and the LXX has  $\text{θαυματοῦντα}$  (marvelous deeds). The Mt and the LXX agree as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Dahood believes that "For MT p<sup>e</sup>la'ot, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> reads, interestingly enough, palge nopet, 'streams of honey,' a lection which evokes Job XX17, 'He will not feast on streams of oil, on torrents of honey and cream' . . ." <sup>17</sup> The scribe makes such an intentional variant changing the modifier of "your testimonies" from marvelous to sweet altering the text and meaning to that of joyfulness over awe, so that a theological alteration might be behind it.

Ps. 119:150-164 occurs in column XIII. A variant of note occurs in verse 152, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{יְדָעְתָּ מִן}$  (from knowledge of You); the MT has  $\text{יְדָעְתָּ מִן}$  (from Your testimonies); and the LXX has  $\text{ἐκ τῶν μαρτυρίων σου}$  (from Your testimonies). The MT and the LXX agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has the psalmist knowing God's knowledge as opposed to God's testimonies. The second half of verse 152 has another variant which again reflects on the author as subject. For 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{בְּיָדְךָ}$  (You established me); the MT has  $\text{בְּיָדְךָ}$  (You established them); and the LXX has  $\text{ἐθεμελίωσας αὐτά}$  (You established them).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

This type of reflection by the community would exhibit the feeling that God has chosen them as His divine remnant.

In verse 159, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{יְיָ יְיָ הַדְּבָרִים הַלְלוּ}$  (Yahweh according to your word show me mercy); the MT has  $\text{יְיָ יְיָ הַחַסְדִּים הַלְלוּ}$  (Yahweh according to your mercy let me live); and the LXX has  $\text{κύριε, ἐν τῷ ἐλέει σου ἤσπασόν με}$  (Lord, in your mercy let me live). The MT and the LXX agree as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. What is of note here is that the text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has the community dependent upon God's speaking for mercy, and the MT and the LXX have Yahweh in His mercy giving life.

Ps. 119:171-176 appears in column XIV along with Ps. 135:1-9. One variant of interest is present in this column. In verse 176, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{הַדְּבָרִים הַלְלוּ}$  (your testimonies); the MT has  $\text{הַצִּוְוֹת הַלְלוּ}$  (your commandments); and the LXX has  $\text{τὰς ἐντολάς σου}$  (your commandments). The MT and the LXX agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Both words are somewhat synonymous, but a variation in meaning does exist here.

The 11QPs<sup>a</sup> text of Psalm 119 is quite close to that of the MT and the LXX. Where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> disagrees with the MT and the LXX, these major variants seem to be intentional. One frequent variant in Psalm 119 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is  $\text{יְיָ יְיָ}$  (show me mercy) for  $\text{יְיָ יְיָ}$  (let me live) in the MT. These variants are noted in table seven. The other variants in Psalm 119 point more to the community.

### Psalm 135

The next psalm of interest in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is Psalm 135. Psalm 135 is found in columns XIV and XV. It is prefaced in column XIV by Ps. 119:171-176 as noted above. It is followed by Psalm 136. The extant verses of Psalm 135 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> are verses 1-9 and 17-21.

Psalm 135 in both the MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is as one unit as Dahood notes when he writes:

1. Praise Yah. . . 21. Praise Yah. The inclusion formed by this exhortation, as well as the 11QPs<sup>a</sup> reading . . ., tells against the LXX transfer of vs. 21 hal<sup>e</sup>lu yah, "Praise Yah!" to the beginning of Ps cxxxvi. It should be noted, however, that the A+B+C pattern of the three hal<sup>e</sup>lu, "praise!" cola in vs. 1 is curiously inverted into a C+B+A sequence by 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.<sup>18</sup>

What Dahood is talking about in the latter part of this quote is the varied arrangement within verse 1 even though inclusion exists in Psalm 135.

In verse 1 of Psalm 135, the rearrangement of the verse is present. We find that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *יְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה יְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ יְהוָה יְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ* (Give praise, Oh servants of Yahweh, praise the name of Yahweh, praise Yah); the MT has *יְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ יְהוָה יְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה יְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ* (Praise Yah, praise the name of Yahweh, servants of Yahweh give praise); and the LXX has *Ἀλληλουια. Ἀνεείτε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, ἀνεείτε, δοῦλοι, κύριον* (Praise Yahweh. Give praise to the name of the Lord, give praise, servants, to the Lord). This variation as seen in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> points to an intentional alteration of the psalm by the author for another use, perhaps liturgical.

In verse 2, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has two readings which neither the LXX nor the MT have. These textual variants are *יְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ יְהוָה* (and exalt Yah!) and *אֲשֶׁר בְּיְרוּשָׁלַיִם* (and in your midst Jerusalem). These additional variants give an expanded meaning to this verse. The first variant gives an interesting choral response for the community, since verses 1 and 3 have *יְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ* (praise) at the beginning of them. The second variant makes

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 258.



specific the location of the temple, "in your midst Jerusalem." Those people who used this form of the psalm had a specific knowledge of the location of the temple of Israel. In this verse, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has a conflated text exhibiting an act of exaltation to the true temple.

In verse 6, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has a conflated reading which neither the MT nor the LXX have. Verse 6 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> adds after  $\mu\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  (in the earth) and before  $\alpha\mu\omega\tau\epsilon$  (in the waters) the following textual variant:  $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   
 $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  (to do He does; there is none like Yahweh there is none like Yahweh, and there is none who does as the King of the gods). The 11QPs<sup>a</sup> text adds an extra verse of praise in the middle of the verse, and destroys the parallelism of the verse. The variant could be considered to be a refrain of sorts in response to God's work on earth and in the heavens. A fragment of the variant,  $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  (to do He does), is found in 4QPs<sup>n</sup>.<sup>19</sup> Thus another scroll at Qumran has partially the same understanding of this verse. This repetition of at least part of the same variant might point to a special liturgical usage with a different theological understanding of the text.

In verse 21, another variant of interest occurs, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  (He will bless you); the MT has  $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  (blessed); and the LXX has  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\gamma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (blessed). The LXX and the MT agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. This alteration is not as important as the conflation noted above. What is to be noted here is a reluctance to attribute anthropomorphic qualities to Yahweh. Yahweh may be blessed, but He is not blessed.

In Psalm 135 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, a noticeably large variation in the use of  $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  (Yahweh) is present. In verse 33a, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$

<sup>19</sup>Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, p. 35.

(Praise Yahweh!); the MT has  $\text{יְהוָה} - \text{יְהוָה}$  (Praise Yah!); and the LXX has  $\alpha\lambda\eta\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\nu$  (Praise the Lord!). In verse 3b, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has no reading; the MT has  $\text{יְהוָה}$  (Yahweh); and the LXX has  $\kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (Lord). In verse 4, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has no reading; the MT has  $\text{יְהוָה}$  (Yah); and the LXX has  $\delta\ \kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (the Lord). In verse 5, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{יְהוָה} \text{ וְיְהוָה}$  (our God); the MT has  $\text{יְהוָה} \text{ וְיְהוָה}$  (and our Lord); and the LXX has  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\ \kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\lambda\eta\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\nu$  (and our Lord). This seeming reluctance by 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to use the tetragrammaton here in Psalm 135 could be an attempt to keep from attributing anthropomorphic qualities to Yahweh. This inclination would be identifiable with later Judaism of the Intertestamental period.

Psalm 135 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has variant readings which at the very most might exhibit a variant text type. At the very least, what is present here in this psalm is a liturgical construction developed by the Dead Sea community from their theological perspective. The latter of these two understandings is preferable.

### Psalm 139

The next psalm of interest to this study is Psalm 139. It is found in column XX. The extant text is Ps. 139:8-24. It is followed by Ps. 137:1.

The first variant of note is found in verse 11, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{וְיָסַד} \text{ וְיָסַד}$  (has girded about me); the MT has  $\text{וְיָסַד} \text{ וְיָסַד}$  (shown about me); and the LXX has  $\phi\omega\tau\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \epsilon\nu \ \tau\eta \ \tau\rho\upsilon\phi\eta \ \mu\omicron\upsilon$  (light on my joy). The MT and the LXX have similar readings as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Dahood ventures to say concerning  $\text{וְיָסַד}$  (to gird); "11QPs<sup>a</sup> reads 'zr (MT 'wr) b'dv. 'He encircles round me,' a reading whose tautology tells against

its originality, since our poet is very economical with words."<sup>20</sup> Dahood notes concerning  $\text{ב'טו}$  (around me): "The hapax legomenon ba'<sup>a</sup>deni (11QPs<sup>a</sup> eliminates it, reading the common form b'dy . . .) has been explained as the preposition ba'ad followed by the verbal suffix -eni, which would be anomalous here."<sup>21</sup> Dahood's observations are important here concerning the inferior readings in this verse. The question is why would 11QPs<sup>a</sup> use supposedly inferior variants? Instead, the variants of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> balance the bicolon of verse 11, but verse 11 is no longer parallel with verse 12. It is quite possible that the scribe intentionally developed anithetical parallelism between verses 11 and 12.

In verse 14, the variant in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is  $\text{נורא'ת}$  (You are fearful); the MT has  $\text{נורא'ות}$  (fearful things); and the LXX has  $\phi\omicron\beta\epsilon\rho\upsilon\varsigma$  (fearfully). The MT and the LXX agree as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Dahood comments on this variant that

With its reading nwr''th, "you are awesome," 11QPs<sup>a</sup> opens an exit from the impasse created by MT nora'ot, "awesome things." But it is not necessary to supply an extra aleph with 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, since the evidence quoted at Ps lxii proves that when the same consonant (especially aleph) ended one word and began the next, it was often written but once; thus consonantal nwr't can be vocalized nora''atta, as observed in Biblica 47 (1966), 141.<sup>22</sup>

If Dahood is correct here, the scribe of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is ignorant of the orthography of ancient biblical Hebrew. The emendation then is either an updating of the text, or perhaps the author's use of poetic license.

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<sup>20</sup>Dahood, Psalms III:101-150, p. 291.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 292.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

In verse 15, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has ׀׀׀׀ (my pain); the MT has ׀׀׀׀ (my bones); and the LXX has τὰ ὀστέον (my bones). The MT and the LXX agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Dahood asserts concerning this verse that

MT 'osmi is a hapax legomenon in this sense, and GB, p. 611b, correctly suspects that consonantal 'sm relates to 'esem, "bone," rather than to 'osem "might"; one may dissent, however, from his proposed plural vocalization 'asamay, "my bones." 11QPs<sup>a</sup> reads differently, 'sby, "my pains: Since the psalmist gives evidence of seeking prosodic effects such as rhyme and assonance (cf. vss. 11-12, 23), the preferable reading seems to be 'asmi, understood collectively, a disyllabic counterpart to napsi, "my soul"; the 8:8 syllable count would become 8:9 with the trisyllabic plural form 'asamay, "my bones."<sup>23</sup>

Again, the question is why did the scribe of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> use ׀׀׀׀ (my pain)? It would seem that such an error would not be unintentional.

In verse 16, two variants occur. In the first variant, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has ׀׀׀׀׀ (your books); the MT has ׀׀׀׀׀ (your book); and the LXX has τὸ βιβλίον σου (your book). The MT and the LXX agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The second variant is of more importance in this verse. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has ׀׀׀׀׀׀׀ (among every one of them); the MT has ׀׀׀׀׀׀׀ (one among them); and the LXX has οὐδὲς ἐν αὐτοῖς (no one among them). The MT and the LXX agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Dahood observes that: "In Biblica 40(1959), 34, bahem was rendered 'among them,' but 11QPs<sup>a</sup> mhmh and the reading mhm of three manuscripts suggest that bahem expresses the agent with the passive verb 'ehade, 'I was seen.'"<sup>24</sup> The critical apparatus of BHS testifies to the usage of ׀׀׀׀ (from them) over ׀׀׀׀ (among them), in that a few Hebrew manuscripts have this reading.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 296.

The variant reading of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> appears to be an intentional variant reading perhaps due to later orthographic usage.

The variant readings in biblical Psalm 139 are not as drastic as the addition of verses, as has been noted above. The differences in understanding of certain words is present in Psalm 139 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The variants point to darkness and pain, for example, verse 11 <sup>7</sup>777 777<sup>7</sup> (has girded about me); verse 15 <sup>7</sup>777 (my pain), and would perhaps be considered intentional scribal variants. Other variants do exist in Psalm 139, but they are not as unique as the variants noted. Psalm 139 is a text altered for a certain use by the community.

#### Psalm 144

The next psalm for study is Psalm 144. Psalm 144 occurs in columns XXIII and XXIV. The extant text in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is verses 1-7, and 15. Psalm 144 is prefaced by Pss. 141:5-10; 133:1-3. Psalm 144 is followed by Ps. 155:1-19 which is found in the Syriac Psalter. Thus Psalm 144 is found in the midst of biblical and non-biblical psalms.

A variant which occurs throughout this psalm has to do with the name of God. In verse 3, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has <sup>7</sup>777777<sup>7</sup> (God); the MT has <sup>7</sup>7777<sup>7</sup> (Yahweh); and the LXX has *κύριε* (Lord). In this verse, God is the subject addressed by the psalmist. In verse 5, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has <sup>7</sup>777777<sup>7</sup> (God); the MT has <sup>7</sup>7777<sup>7</sup> (Yahweh); and the LXX has *κύριε* (Lord). Again, God is the subject addressed by the psalmist. In verse 15, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has <sup>7</sup>777<sup>7</sup> (Who is Yahweh); the MT has <sup>7</sup>777777<sup>7</sup> (Who is Yahweh); and the LXX has *οὗς κύριος* (Who is the Lord). It would appear that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is trying to separate <sup>7</sup>777<sup>7</sup> (Yahweh) from its closeness to the relative pronoun. All of these variants have one thing in common. They all deal

with Yahweh in the MT and the LXX. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not deal with Yahweh as directly here. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> develops a method of circumlocution by adopting methods which will separate the tetragrammaton from any profaneness.

Another variant occurs in verse 2, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *עַמִּי* (peoples); the MT has *עַמִּי* (my people); and the LXX has *τὸν λαόν μου* (my people). The MT and the LXX agree as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Yet, here the critical apparatus of BHS lists a number of texts which support the variant reading in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, that is, certain Hebrew manuscripts, Sebir, Aquilla, Syriac, Targums, and Jerome. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does seem to reflect an alternate reading at this point.

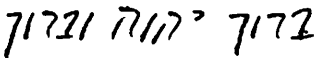
In verse 5, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *תָּרִי* (and go down!); the MT has *תָּרִי* (and you will go down); and the LXX has *κατάβηθι* (go down!). Although it would appear that the LXX and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> agree as opposed to the MT, the meaning of all three texts is synonymous. The major variant in Psalm 144 then has an aversion to attributing anthropomorphic qualities to the tetragrammaton. This aversion is noted above in Psalm 135, and as will be noted below, it is not an isolated feature in this scroll.


#### Psalm 145

The last psalm for this part of the study is Psalm 145. Psalm 145 is found in columns XVI and XVII. In column XVI, Psalm 145 is prefaced by Pss. 136:26; 118:1, 15, 16, 8, 9, 29. No psalm follows Psalm 145 in column XVII.

The psalm in the MT is a virtual acrostic with the exception of a missing nun-verse. The nun-verse is found in Psalm 145 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. As Dahood observes, ". . . it is found in one Hebrew manuscript, in the LXX and Syriac. . . . 11QPs<sup>a</sup> likewise preserves the nun verse, reading

n'mn 'lwhym bdbryw whsyd bkwl m'syw, 'God is faithful in his words, and gracious in all his deeds.'"<sup>25</sup> Manfred Lehmann comments concerning this nun-verse that ". . . the inclusion of a verse commencing with the letter Nun--absent in the Massoretic text (see Berakhot 4b)--may not offer a problem of Biblical exegesis."<sup>26</sup> Berakhot 4b referred to by Lehmann gives us an understanding why this nun-verse gives one no problems in biblical exegesis. It reads: "R. Johanan says: Why is there no nun in Ashre? Because the fall of Israel's enemies begins with it. For it is written: Fallen is the virgin of Israel, she shall no more rise."<sup>27</sup> Thus the nun-verse of Psalm 145 is a known variant in the land of Israel as seen in the textual support given by the manuscripts. The nun-verse is not an accepted verse for the standard text we have in the MT nor by the religious community of Israel. Thus the nun-verse has the possible meaning for the scribe of the anticipation of the fall of the enemies of Israel.

Another variant in this psalm is a refrain added to every verse of Psalm 145 of the MT by 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. This variant is: 

 (Blessed is Yahweh and blessed is His name forever and ever). Lehmann observes concerning this refrain that it ". . . may hint at the Talmudic saying that the faithful reading of Psalm 145 brings eternal life as a reward, (cf. Berakhot 4b) which may indicate that the Scroll was not intended as a faithful copy of the Biblical

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 335.

<sup>26</sup> Manfred R. Lehmann, "Some Recent Publications of the Dead Sea Documents," Tradition 8:3 (Fall 1966): 77-78.

<sup>27</sup> J. Epstein, ed., The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Zeraim, 35 vols. (London, England: The Soncino Press, 1948), 31:15.

text, but was part of liturgical work."<sup>28</sup> The passage Lehmann refers to in Berakhot 4b is:

R. Eleazar b. Abina says: Whoever recites the psalm Praise of David three times daily, is sure to inherit the world to come. What is the reason? Shall I say it is because it has an alphabetical arrangement? Then let him recite, Happy are they that are upright in the way which has an eightfold alphabetical arrangement. Again, is it because it contains the verse, Thou openest Thy hand and satisfiest every living thing with favour? Then let him recite the great Hallel, where it is written: Who giveth food to all flesh!--Rather, the reason is because it contains both.<sup>29</sup>

Thus Talmudic support exists for such a refrain in a liturgical version of the psalm. It would seem then that the scribe of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> either borrowed material from liturgical texts, or this is a liturgical form of Psalm 145.

The next variant of note is in verse 1, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has

*לשגן* (a prayer); the MT has *לשגן?* (praise); and the LXX has *Αἰνεῖς* (praise). The MT and the LXX agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Dahood conjectures that

This is the only psalm which bears the title t<sup>e</sup>hillah, literally "a praise"; from the plural of this word comes the Hebrew title of the whole Psalter, t<sup>e</sup>hillia, "praises." It is interesting to note that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> reads t<sup>p</sup>lh, "a prayer," suggesting that in their Psalter no psalm bore the heading t<sup>e</sup>hillah, "a psalm of praise!"<sup>30</sup>

What the variant in verse 1 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> also does is support a liturgical understanding of Psalm 145. Thus this psalm could have very well been a prayer for this community.

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<sup>28</sup>Lehmann, "Some Recent Publications of the Dead Sea Documents," p. 77.

<sup>29</sup>Epstein, ed., The Babylonian Talmud, 31:14, 15.

<sup>30</sup>Dahood, Psalms III:101-150, p. 336.



Verse 5 has a variant of note, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *172T*<sup>3</sup> (they will say); the MT has *׳72T!* (and words of); and the LXX has *ἀδοξάσουσιν* (they will say). Here, the LXX and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> agree over against the MT. As BHS notes in the critical apparatus, the Syriac also agrees with the LXX, and the editor agrees making the variant *׳172T*<sup>3</sup> (they will say). The Qumran text is helpful here in clearing up the weak points in the text.

In verse 6, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *790s*<sup>6</sup> (I will recount); the MT has *הַלְּ790s*<sup>6</sup> (I will recount); and the LXX has *διηγῆσονται* (they will recount). Dahood conjectures that "Though MT '<sup>a</sup>sapp<sup>e</sup>rennah can be explained as employing the resumptive pronominal suffix, the fact that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> reads 'spr suggests that consonantal 'sprnh expresses the energetic form to be pointed '<sup>a</sup>sapp<sup>e</sup>rannah. What is more, the resumptive pronoun construction proves unprovable if the antecedent should turn out to be plural . . ." <sup>31</sup> It would seem that the MT is supported by 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as opposed to the LXX and also the Targum as noted in the critical apparatus of BHS. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not seem to have a distinct textual family of its own.

Verse 18 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is almost totally different from the MT and the LXX. It is necessary to quote the entire verse from each text to get the full impact of the difference. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *ך1721 ה77ה 217P*  
*שמו ך1721 ה77ה ך1721 ה77ה 217P*  
*שמו ך1721 ה77ה 217P* (Yahweh is near and blessed be His name forever and ever; they call upon Him in faithfulness. Blessed is Yahweh and blessed is His name forever and ever). The MT has *שׁוֹכֵן בְּאֵרֶץ חַיִּים* (Yahweh is near to all who call on Him in truth). The

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 337.

LXX has  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$   $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ,  
 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$   $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (the Lord is near  
 to all who call on Him, to all who call on Him in truth). The MT and the  
 LXX basically agree as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The first emendation of note  
 is that the refrain is repeated after  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\text{זיִרְק}$  (Yahweh is near) in  
 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not have  $\eta\psi\eta\eta\eta$   $\text{סִיחַ}$   $\text{יִצְיִרְק}$   $\text{סִיחַ}$  (to all who call  
 on Him to all who). Instead of  $\eta\mu\eta\eta\eta$  (in truth), 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$   $\text{ז}$   
 (in truth). This verse in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has what might almost be called versic-  
 les with responses. This use would reinforce a liturgical use for this  
 psalm at the Dead Sea community.

In verse 20, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{יִצְיִרְק}$  (who fear Him); the MT has  
 $\text{יִצְיִרְק}$  (who love Him); and the LXX has  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (who  
 love Him). The MT and the LXX agree over against 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> concen-  
 trates here on those who fear Yahweh will be guarded by Yahweh. Could an  
 aversion to God be in place of loving God?

In verse 21, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has an additional variant with many lacunae.  
 So much of this verse is missing, that it is impossible to know whether  
 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{זֶדַי}$   $\text{וְעַד\text{?}}$  (forever and ever) or not, as does the MT and the  
 LXX. What is understandable from the addition in verse 21 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is

$\text{זֶדַי}$   $\text{וְעַד\text{?}}$  (This is for a memorial). Sanders believes that  
 ". . . for verse 21 of the Massoretic recension of Psalm 145 contains a  
 clear historic memory of the last two words of the Qumran refrain where-  
 as verse 21 in Qumran Psalm 145 lacks the two words precisely because it  
 has the whole refrain."<sup>32</sup> What Sanders is implying here is that this

<sup>32</sup> James A. Sanders, "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon,"  
New Directions in Biblical Archaeology, ed. D. N. Freedman and J. C.  
 Greenfield (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), p. 107.

ending to verse 21 as well as the refrain is a proper text for this psalm. Instead, one should ask whether this emendation is not in accord with the  $\text{רשן}$  (prayer) in verse 1, and that this is a  $\text{זכרון}$  (memorial) to God in prayer rather than a psalm of praise to God. This variant strengthens a liturgical aspect of prayer in Psalm 145 from 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

Psalm 145 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> shows a remarkable alteration from a psalm of praise to that of a memorial perhaps by the community to God. The refrain, the addition of a nun-verse, and the note on "this is for a memorial" point to a use of Psalm 145 not known to us from the texts of the MT and the LXX. Rabbinic literature does give indication that parts of the emendations in this psalm of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> are due to certain understandings of Psalm 145.

What has been observed in these psalms that have been under study is that a difference does exist between the MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. These major differences are not basically due to another text family but rather to a different use of the psalms by this Dead Sea community. The question is does this different understanding of the psalms mean a different text or an adaptation of these psalms for another use?

#### Fragment E of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Another fragment of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> was sold to Yadin in 1961 by an anonymous American citizen.<sup>33</sup> Yadin wrote in 1966 after the appearance of Sanders' standard critical text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>:

Now that we have the splendid edition by Dr. J. A. Sanders, I am absolutely convinced that the fragment in my possession is part of

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<sup>33</sup>Yigael Yadin, "Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11," Textus 5 (1966):1.

the same scroll; furthermore it is even possible to fit it in its proper place within the fragments at the beginning of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Therefore I hasten to publish it, in order to enable scholars who deal with this highly important scroll, to have all the known material at hand.<sup>34</sup>

Thus Yadin believes that he has obtained a fragment of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

Sanders responded positively to this publication by Yadin in a Postscriptum in The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll.<sup>35</sup> Sanders observes that

Fragment E raises the total number of compositions in the extant portions of the scroll to forty-nine; forty-one biblical psalms, seven nonbiblical psalms, and the prose composition in column XXVII. The three columns of the fragment contain parts of Pss. 118:25-29; 104:1-6, 21-35; 147:1-2, 18-20; and 105:1-12.<sup>36</sup>

Fragment E is considered to be part of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> by Sanders.

In this part of the study on fragment E, the same procedure as used above for the main corpus of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> will be applied here to study these psalms. Since this fragment is not that large, each psalm will be analyzed. This analysis will not be done according to the order of the psalms in fragment E but according to the MT.

#### Psalm 104

The first psalm for consideration is Psalm 104. Psalm 104 is found in columns I and II. In column I, Ps. 104:1-6 occurs after Ps. 118:25-29. In column II, Ps. 104:21-35 is found prior to Ps. 147:1-2.

In verse 1, fragment E has  $\tau \iota \tau \varsigma$  (to David); and the LXX has  $\tau \acute{\omega} \Delta \alpha \upsilon \iota \delta$  (to David). The MT has no reading. Thus the tradition of the scroll and of the LXX identify this as a Davidic psalm as opposed to

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>35</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, pp. 155-56.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

the MT. This is one of the few psalms which 11QPs<sup>a</sup> identifies as Davidic, and the MT does not agree. Later in verse 1, fragment E has  $\text{לַיהוָה}$  (our God); the MT has  $\text{לַיהוָה־עַמִּי}$  (my God); and the LXX has  $\text{ὁ θεὸς μου}$  (my God). Fragment E has two variant readings in the verse are fluid in this text.

In verse 4, fragment E has  $\text{לַיהוָה}$  (flaming); the MT has  $\text{לַיהוָה}$  (flaming); and the LXX has  $\text{φλέγον}$  (flaming). The LXX apparently supports the MT here. The question here is why does fragment E change to a feminine participle with a noun that is either masculine or feminine?

In verse 22, fragment E has  $\text{אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לָהֶם}$  (their iniquities); the MT has  $\text{אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ}$  (their iniquity); and the LXX has  $\text{ἐν ταῖς ἀνδραῖς αὐτῶν}$  (in their iniquities). The LXX and fragment E agree as opposed to the MT. Fragment E adds an extra syllable, and alters the amount of syllables for poetic scansion. The meaning is not altered by this variant.

In verse 29, fragment E has two variants of note. In the first variant, fragment E omits what the MT has,  $\text{וְיִפְתָּח וְיִסְתֵּר וְיִסְתֵּר}$

(They are terrified You will hide Your face); and what the LXX has,  $\text{ἀποστρεφάντος σέ σου τὸ πρόσωπον ταραχθήσονται}$  (You turned away Your face, they are terrified). As Yadin notes, "Thus the verse has two hemistiches instead of three."<sup>37</sup> The question is why would the scribe of this fragment leave this line out unless it were an intentional omission? The MT is better here. In the second variant, fragment E has  $\text{אֲשֶׁר$  (your spirit); the MT has  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  (their

<sup>37</sup>Yadin, "Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11," p. 9.

spirit); and the LXX has τὸ πνεῦμά σου (your spirit). The LXX and fragment E agree as opposed to the MT.

These are the major variants in Psalm 104 of fragment E. With one exception in verse 29, the textual variants are not that drastic. These variants are perhaps due to another textual tradition.

### Psalm 105

Psalm 105 is the next psalm for consideration. Psalm 105 is found in column III after Ps. 147:18-20. Its extant text in fragment E is verses 0-12.

In verse 0, fragment E has a variant reading which neither the MT nor the LXX have. This verse is  $\text{אֲשִׁירָא כִּי יְיָ כִּי הָיָה לְדָוִד}$   
 1707 (Praise Yahweh for He is good, for His mercy is forever).

In verse 3, fragment E has  $\text{יִשְׁאָר וְיִצְחָק}$  (who seeks His favor); the MT has  $\text{הַיִּתְיָצֵר וְיִצְחָק}$  (those who seek Yahweh); and the LXX has  $\text{ΖΗΤΟΥΝΤΩΝ Τὸν Κύριον}$  (those who seek the Lord). The MT and the LXX agree as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The reading of the MT is parallel with the first colon spelling out who  $\text{יְשׁוּבָה}$  (His holiness) is. This reading is better than the variant in fragment E.

In verse 7, fragment E adds  $\text{כִּי}$  (because) at the beginning of the verse. The scribe seems to add this variant as an explanatory note for verse 6.

Psalm 105 is rather close in its text for both the MT and the LXX. The only major textual differences are those found in verses 0, 7. Verse 0 is an intentional variant by the scribe. It implies a liturgical use.

Psalm 118

Psalm 118 is the next psalm in this fragment for study. Psalm 118 is found at the beginning of column I followed by Ps. 104:1-20. The extant text of Psalm 118 is verses 25-29. Verses of Psalm 118 are found in the main corpus of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Sanders defends Psalm 118's existence in both fragment E and column XVI of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> by asserting:

The presence in the fragment of Psalm 118 in its traditional guise indicates that the six or so verses which follow Psalm 136 at the top of column XVI are by no means a mutilated form of Psalm 118 but must be viewed as a coda to Psalm 136 made up of phrases familiar from Psalm 118. They should be viewed in the same manner as the incidence of a similar case in the apocryphal Hymn to the Creator in column XXVI, which contains verses known from Jeremiah 10 and Psalm 135; such floating bits of liturgical literature would have been familiar in more than one context. Psalm 118 is now available, therefore, in 4QPs<sup>a</sup> . . . in its tradition guise.<sup>38</sup>

Sanders seems to say that we have two different forms of Psalm 118, and both of them are biblical. This coda of Psalm 118 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> could also be explained as a post-biblical construction of biblical verses from Psalm 118. The question is whether the text of Psalm 118 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a special liturgical form for the Dead Sea community, and Psalm 118 in fragment E is the normal psalm? This liturgical emphasis would imply that the Dead Sea community had various uses for various psalms.

The only variant of note in Psalm 118 of fragment E is in verse 27, where fragment E has  $\text{ׇ710s}^{\text{׃}}$  (are bound); the MT has  $\text{ׇ70s}^{\text{׃}}$  (be bound); and the LXX has  $\text{οὐκ ἔχουσι}$  (be bound). The MT and the LXX agree as opposed to fragment E. The critical apparatus in BHS notes that two readings exist at Qumran,  $\text{ׇ710s}^{\text{׃}}$  (be bound) and  $\text{ׇ710s}^{\text{׃}}$  (are

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<sup>38</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 156.

bound) as we have in fragment E. The MT has support from Qumran, and thus has better support than the variant.

### Psalm 147

In the order of the Psalter of the MT, Psalm 147 would appear last of the psalms we have studied from fragment E. In fragment E, Psalm 147 appears in columns II and III. In column II, it follows Ps. 104:21-35. In column III, it precedes Ps. 105:0-12. Psalm 147's text in fragment E is verses 1, 18-20. Sanders defends the arrangement of Psalms 104 and 147 in fragment E when he writes,

The fact that Psalms 104 and 147 appear together in fragment E is significant in the light of the observation that the only other pre-Masoretic manuscript in which order is ascertainable they also appear in 4QPs<sup>d</sup>. Psalm 104 follows Psalm 147. . . . the approximation of Psalms 104 and 147 in the scroll as well as in 4QPs<sup>d</sup> is quite important in the light of the fact that the order of Psalm 141 followed by Psalm 133 is not attested both in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and 11QPs<sup>d</sup>; 11QPs<sup>d</sup>, like the Psalms Scroll (11QPs<sup>a</sup>), also contains the fragment of the former do not indicate order.<sup>39</sup>

The argument by Sanders here is plausible, and thus it is not necessary to continue on in this connection concerning the arrangement of Psalms 104 and 147. This is the only unique difference with regards to Psalm 147.

Fragment E as a part of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is much closer in content to the MT than is the main corpus of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The only psalms with any significant difference in fragment E are Psalms 104 and 105.

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid.



Conclusions from the Primary Research  
on 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, the MT, and the LXX

Other variants in psalms not discussed above are found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. It is necessary to draw together conclusions from all of the psalms in this scroll. This analysis will be presented by noting the variants between the MT, LXX, and 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. We will survey the use of the divine name to see if a pattern is present in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s use of the divine name.

Variant Readings in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Concerning variant readings in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, tables are placed at the end of the thesis to show the numerical distribution of such variant readings. The major concern in this part of the paper is to draw conclusions from the primary research of this study. Examples will be noted from psalms not dealt with earlier in this chapter.

First, we will note the readings peculiar to a certain text of the Psalter. As noted in table one, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has 20 such variants; the MT has two such readings; and the LXX has 16 such readings. The variant readings in detail are noted in the appendix. A few examples will be cited here. In Ps. 123:1, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{דָּוִד}$  (David). The psalm is identified as a Davidic psalm only in this text. After Ps. 136:7, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{וְהַיָּרֵחַ וְהַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד כִּי לֹא יִשְׁכָּח וְהַיָּרֵחַ וְהַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד$  (His mercy is forever, the sun and the moon, because). The scribe has  $\text{מֵהַלְּאוֹת}$  (from the lights) instead of  $\text{מֵהַלְּאוֹת}$  (lights) as does the MT in verse 7. In Ps. 146:9, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\text{כִּי יִדְרֹג וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְפָנָיו כָּל הָאָרֶץ וְכָל הַיָּם וְכָל הַיַּבֵּשׁוֹת וְכָל הַיָּם וְכָל הַיַּבֵּשׁוֹת$  (fear Yahweh, all the earth . . . in His being known by all His deeds on the earth). This addition in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> according to Sanders

is derived from Ps. 33:8 or Ps. 145:10-12.<sup>40</sup> The question is if the first part of the Psalter is closed, why would a verse from Psalm 33 appear in the fluid part of the Psalter? The last variant of note in this section is found in Ps. 149:9, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\alpha\omega \varsigma \nu\epsilon\tau\omega\upsilon \nu\iota\zeta\varsigma$   
 $\iota\omega\tau\iota\rho$  (to the sons of Israel, the people of His holiness). This phrase is a conflation of the text explaining who the faithful are.

One is able to observe from such variant readings noted above that the text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is conflated from that of the MT. This "conflated" text points to a different understanding of these psalms.

The next set of variants are those readings found in two of the three texts of the Psalter. The MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> have seven such readings in common; 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the LXX have seven such readings in common; and the MT and the LXX have 17 such readings in common. This information is noted in table two. Those readings of special significance with regards to 11QPs<sup>a</sup> will be noted below. The other readings are found in the appendix.

The MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> both attribute Psalm 122 to David. This is noted in verse 1 where it reads  $\tau\iota\tau\zeta$  (to David). This is the only reading of note in this part.

The LXX and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> have a couple of readings of interest in common. In Ps. 102:29, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\gamma\iota\tau\varsigma$  (for generation); and the LXX has  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\nu\alpha \alpha\iota\omega\nu\alpha$  (forever). In Ps. 138:1, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has  $\gamma\iota\tau\zeta$  (Yahweh), and the LXX has  $\kappa\upsilon\iota\epsilon$  (Lord!).

What is significant in this section is not how many readings 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the MT have in common as opposed to the LXX, nor how many

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

readings 11QPs<sup>a</sup> have in common as opposed to the MT. What is significant in this section is that the MT and the LXX have more peculiar readings in common with each other here than with 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

The next point of interest in this study is the occurrence of "waw" in the Psalter. This information is provided in tables three and four in the back of the paper, and it is found in detail in the appendix. Two points are of importance here. The first point is that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has "waw" 10 times where the other two texts do not have it. The second point is that the MT and the LXX use "waw" as opposed to no use of "waw" in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 10 times.

The next set of variant readings for consideration is where two of the three texts agree on a reading. The data for this section is found in table five and in the appendix in detail. What is of interest from the number of readings favoring two out of the three texts is where the MT and the LXX agree as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. We will look at some examples where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is directly involved.

Where the MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> agree as opposed to the LXX, the differences are not major. One example is from Ps. 125:2, where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the MT have  $\alpha^{\nu} \gamma \eta \alpha \varsigma \psi \iota \gamma$  (mountains of Jerusalem) as opposed to the LXX's reading of  $\theta \rho \gamma$  (mountains). In Ps. 132:8, the MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> have  $\eta \kappa \iota \upsilon$  (your strength), and the LXX has  $\tau \omicron \upsilon \acute{\alpha} \gamma \iota \alpha \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \acute{\omicron} \varsigma$  σου (of your holiness). In Ps. 138:1, the MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> have  $\alpha^{\nu} \eta \iota \varsigma \alpha$  (gods), and the LXX has  $\acute{\alpha} \gamma \gamma \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \omega \nu$  (angels), and interpretation of  $\alpha^{\nu} \eta \iota \varsigma \alpha$  (gods). In Ps. 141:5, the MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> have  $\psi \iota \gamma$  (my heads), and the LXX has  $\acute{\alpha} \mu \alpha \rho \tau \omega \lambda \omicron \upsilon$  (of sin). The LXX here interprets the readings of the MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

We will observe where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the LXX agree as opposed to the MT. Some examples are noted below. In Psalms 121 and 122 in verse 1, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *לַיְסוּדִים* (the ascents) and the LXX has *τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν* (of the ascents), as opposed to the MT's reading of *לַיְסוּדִים* (to the ascents). In Ps. 132:11, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *לְשׂוֹן* (on a throne): the LXX has *ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον* (on the throne); and the MT has *לְשׂוֹן* (to a throne). In Ps. 142:5, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *לְיָמִי יִבֹּן וְיִרְאֶה* (I look to the right and see), and the LXX has *κατενόουν εἰς τὰ δεξιά καὶ ἐπέβλεπον* (I gazed to the right and saw), as opposed to the MT's reading of *לְיָמִי יִבֹּן וְיִרְאֶה* (look to the right and see). In Ps. 129:3, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *רָשָׁעִים* (evil ones), and the LXX has *οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ* (the sinners), as opposed to the MT's reading of *רָשָׁעִים* (ploughmen). This reading changes the meaning of the verse from ploughmen to sinners. In Ps. 136:8, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *לְיָמִי יִבֹּן* (to trust), and the LXX has *πεποθεῖναι* (to trust), as opposed to the MT's reading of *לְיָמִי יִבֹּן* (to seek refuge). This difference also brings a different understanding to the psalm. In these verses, the LXX and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> have some textual agreement. The verses differ slightly, but the only possible theological difference here is in Ps. 129:3, because the shift is from ploughmen to sinners.

The last part of this analysis is found in table five. It deals with the MT and the LXX agreeing in textual readings as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Some examples are noted below. In Ps. 105:29, the MT has *שָׁפַךְ* (he spilled out), and the LXX has *μετέστρεψεν* (he poured out), as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s reading of *שָׁפַךְ* (he placed). In Ps. 123:1, the MT has *לַיְסוּדִים* (the ascents), and the LXX has *τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν* (of the ascents), as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s reading of *לַיְסוּדִים* (to the ascents).

This variation is reversed with one noted above. In Ps. 132:12, the MT has  $\cdot 12\psi^{\dot{\iota}}$  (they will dwell), and the LXX has  $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  (they dwell) as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s reading of  $15\omega^{\dot{\iota}}$  (they go up). In Ps. 137:1, the MT has  $\zeta\ddot{\zeta}\ddot{\zeta}$  (Babylon), and the LXX has  $\beta\alpha\beta\upsilon\lambda\omega\acute{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$  (Babylon), as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s reading of  $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$  (in Babylon). 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s reading is syntactically better, but it is not necessarily original. In Ps. 126:4, the MT has  $\gamma\lambda\eta\iota\zeta\psi^{\dot{\iota}}$  (our captivity), and the LXX has  $\alpha\lambda\chi\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\gamma$  (captivity), as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s reading of  $1\lambda^{\dot{\iota}}\eta\iota\zeta\omega$  (our fortunes). What is of interest here is that the Masoretic pointing changes the basic understanding of this part of the verse. These variants noted above show textual differences reflecting an understanding of the Psalter which shows that a textual fluidity was present in the Psalter text.

11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a text of the Psalter with complicated undercurrents. The basic text is in agreement with the MT. Yet the undercurrents of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> point to major differences which are theological in understanding. The other textual variants in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> point neither to total textual agreement with the LXX nor with the MT.

#### Variant Readings in the E Fragment of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Before turning to the use of the divine name in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, it is first necessary to note the variant readings of fragment E. Since fragment E has been studied in detail above, the basic emphasis of this section will be to note numerically how fragment E compares with the other two texts concerning textual variants.

Concerning the variant readings found in one text of the Psalter as noted in table one, fragment E has four variant readings peculiar to

its text. The MT has no particular readings as opposed to fragment E. The LXX has two variant readings peculiar to its text. This data exhibits no particular pattern of textual differences.

In tables two through four, no conclusive pattern is established. No great amount of variant readings is present in these texts on these types of variants.

Table five on variant readings, where two of the three texts agree concerning certain textual variants, does give a little different picture. In this table, we get the picture that fragment E will more often disagree with the MT where two of the three texts do agree. The amount of variant readings is not that great for a conclusive decision.

Fragment E is closer in its text to the MT than is 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to the MT. Thus the concern over fragment E's distinctive text of the Psalter is not as great as that for 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s text.

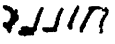
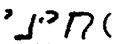
#### The Use of the Divine Name in the 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

The last part of this chapter concerns itself with 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s some time distinctive use of the divine name. The statistics are noted in table eight, and are spelled out in the appendix. What is of interest in table eight is the lesser degree of the use of the tetragrammaton in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as opposed to the MT and the LXX. This author presupposes that the LXX translated יהוה (Yahweh) as κύριος (Lord). At this point, it is necessary to understand why this aversion to "Yahweh" might have developed in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

This aversion to Yahweh in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is noted in a number of passages. In Ps. 121:8, the MT has יהוה יצא לך - יהוה יצא לך (Yahweh will guard your going out); 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has יהוה יצא לך יהוה יצא לך (He will guard your

going out); and the LXX has *κύριος φυλάξει τὴν εἴσοδον σου* (The Lord will guard your entrance). The tetragrammaton is the subject directly mentioned in all but 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. In Ps. 128:5, the MT has *יְיָ יְבָרֶכְךָ* *יְיָ יְבָרֶכְךָ* (Yahweh will bless you); 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *יְיָ יְבָרֶכְךָ* (The Lord will bless you); and the LXX has *εὐλογήσῃ σε κύριος* (The Lord will bless you). In Ps. 129:4, the MT has *יְיָ יְשׁוּבֵנִי* (Yahweh is righteous); 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *יְיָ יְשׁוּבֵנִי* (the Lord is righteous). In both of these circumstances the tetragrammaton is read as *יְיָ* (Lord) in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, and is the subject of these verses. In Ps. 135:1, as noted above, verse 1 has been rearranged with the result that Yahweh is no longer praised first. In Ps. 144:3, the MT has *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* (Yahweh, what is man?); 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* (God, what is man?) and the LXX has *κύριε τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος* (Lord, what is man?). In Ps. 144:5, the MT has *יְיָ יְשׁוּבֵנִי* (Yahweh bend down your heavens); 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has *יְיָ יְשׁוּבֵנִי* (God bend down your heavens); and the LXX has *κύριε κλίνον οὐρανοῦς σου* (Lord bend down your heavens). These two verses from Psalm 144 have *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* (God) instead of *יְיָ* (Yahweh). In Ps. 150:1, the MT has *יְיָ יִשְׁשַׁבֵּן* (Praise Yah!), and the LXX has *Ἀλληλοῦια* (Praise Yah!). 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has no reading. It should be noted that when "Yahweh" appears in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, the ancient script is used as opposed to the square script. The reverence to Yahweh is quite great. This reverence is so great that the scribe when he did use "Yahweh," did not profane it with the square script. This attitude reflected the Intertestamental period's reluctance to use the tetragrammaton. An alteration of the text was done some times.

## Conclusions

What 11QPs<sup>a</sup> shows us of the Psalter text is a fairly stable text on the whole. Fragment E found by Yadin is definitely a part of this scroll. Yet the theological implications of this scroll are noticeable. Examples of these theological implications can be seen throughout the scroll, but a few will be noted here. Two versions of Psalm 118 are present in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. One version is found as a coda in the corpus of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The other is an intact version of Psalm 118 in fragment E. These appear to be different liturgical uses for the same psalm. Psalm 119 with its important position in the scroll shows the great importance this psalm had for its audience. Psalm 119 uses  (show me mercy) rather than  (let me live). In Psalm 135, we have the reverential use of the tetragrammaton by the avoidance of "Yahweh" as the subject. An additional verse of praise is also added. In Psalm 144, the avoidance of the tetragrammaton is also noted. Psalm 145 with its nun verse and its refrain as noted in rabbinical literature points to a different understanding of this psalm as one used by a very faithful Jewish community. The understanding of this psalm as a memorial prayer as opposed to a hymn of praise is of note here. The overall use of different variants and the aversion to the use of the tetragrammaton point to a text used for something other than it was originally intended.

This same scroll reflects a fluid textual tradition which does not exhibit a textual family. The implications of this fluidity and difference in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> will be noted in the coming chapters, especially the next one on textual criticism of the Old Testament. It would seem



that at the present time due to the variants noted above that this scroll might be considered to be something other than a Psalter.

## CHAPTER III

### TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

The purpose of this chapter is to examine prevalent theories of textual criticism of the Old Testament, and then to compare these theories concerning textual criticism of the Old Testament with the biblical material of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The thesis of this chapter is that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not necessarily buttress Cross's theory on local texts. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> leaves open the possibility for other theories of textual criticism of the Old Testament. Those men whose theories will be examined below are Frank M. Cross, S. Talmon, M. Goshen-Gottstein, B. Childs, and B. Albrektson. The most prevalent theory on textual criticism of the Old Testament is that of Frank M. Cross, and his theory of local text types, so that this theory will be dealt with in more detail. This analysis of Old Testament textual criticism and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> will be followed by certain conclusions based on this comparison.

#### Cross's Theory on Local Texts

##### General Presentation of the Theory on Local Texts

Frank M. Cross has developed a theory of textual criticism of the Old Testament that takes into account the Dead Sea Scrolls. Cross observes three periods of settlement in the Dead Sea community. The first period was from the reign of John Hyrcanus I (ca. 134 B.C.) to the

early part of Herod's reign (ca. 31 B.C.) and the great earthquake. The second period of occupation began during the early years of Herod's successor, Archelaus (4 B.C.-6 A.D.), until the first Jewish revolt against Rome (ca. 66-70 A.D.). The third period was that of a Roman garrison.<sup>1</sup> This would mean that these scrolls have been in the caves since ca. 70 A.D. Cross posits here a period of time from ca. 130 B.C. to 70 A.D. for the Qumran manuscripts. The Dead Sea Scrolls represent text types from this time period, and are not affected by later developments in the Hebrew text.

Cross believes that these three periods of time affected the development of the Hebrew Old Testament text spanning the Intertestamental and New Testament eras. Cross believes that

. . . by the beginning of Hasmonean times we should suppose (1) that different local texts had immigrated to Judah, no doubt causing such confusion as we find reflected in the library of Qumran, and (2) that scribal activity was urgent, both because of rival traditions and the great loss of Palestinian texts. . . . A second era would be that of the interval between the Jewish Revolts when both Hebrew and Greek evidence affirms that the official text was regnant. A third period would be that of the great schools of Hillel and Shammai. By Hillel's time, the theological and hermeneutic principles requiring a stable text had come into being.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the Hebrew Old Testament, which we have today as found in the MT, did not become stabilized until the great rabbinical schools of Hillel and Shammai arose, if not until the alleged Council of Jamnia.

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<sup>1</sup>Frank M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran & Modern Biblical Studies (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958; reprint ed., Grand Rapids, MI.: Baker Book House, 1980), pp. 57-65.

<sup>2</sup>Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," Harvard Theological Review 57 (1964):291.

Cross cites Jerome concerning different text types of the Old Testament when he observes that Jerome ". . . in the late fourth century speaks of three recensions of the Greek Bible current in his day, that of Hesychius in Egypt, Origen in Palestine, and the Koine, or recension of Lucian in Antioch and Constantinople."<sup>3</sup> The Greek recensions of the Old Testament were three in number by the fourth century A.D. What about the Hebrew text of the Old Testament?

The history of the Hebrew text for Cross parallels precisely the history of the Greek translations and its recensions of the Old Testament. Three text families of the Hebrew Old Testament were in existence prior to the Greek recensions.<sup>4</sup> As Cross asserts,

Yet even the earliest Qumran exemplars are clearly distinct from the Hebrew textual tradition underlying the Septuagint. We have to do with three distinct textual traditions, a Palestinian text type, the Vorlage of the Old Greek, both fairly full texts, and the short, relatively pristine text preserved in the Massoretic text.<sup>5</sup>

These three text families are important for Cross's theory on local texts. It is necessary to examine each of these text families to come to a better understanding of the theory on local texts.

#### The Palestinian Text Family

The oldest text family for Cross is the Palestinian Text family. This does not mean that the same understanding of age and quality of text

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<sup>3</sup>Frank M. Cross, Jr., "Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," in The Critical Study of Sacred Texts, ed. Wendy D. O. Flaherty (Berkeley, Calif.: Graduate Theological Union, 1979), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," 1971 Proceedings, International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (Septuagint and Cognate Studies, 2; Missoula, MT.: Scholars Press, 1972):108-109.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

is given to each scroll found at Qumran of this text family. Cross establishes this Palestinian text family as the oldest text type, because he believes that ". . . this Old Palestinian text type derives from the fifth-century Jewish community in Palestine, and that the ancestral Egyptian textual tradition diverged from this Old Palestinian text no earlier than the fourth century, no later than the early third century B.C."<sup>6</sup> For Cross as well as one of his students, Ralph Klein, "The Palestinian local text is more closely allied to LXX than to MT."<sup>7</sup>

Cross does not base his theory of local text types on the Psalter but rather on Reigns, the historical books of Samuel and Kings. It is necessary to see how Samuel is related to this Palestinian text family, and then try to relate this presentation later to the Psalter. For Cross "The Old Greek translation of the Pentateuch, and Samuel transmits a Hebrew textual tradition at home in Egypt and ultimately a branch of the Old Palestinian text of the fifth or at latest fourth century."<sup>8</sup>

The Greek text connected with the Dead Sea scrolls

. . . is the so-called proto-Lucianic recension. . . . It consists apparently of a light sprinkling of readings derived from the Palestinian textual family of the type found in the three Samuel manuscripts from Qumran, to which the Old Greek was sporadically corrected.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Frank M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Co., Inc., 1958), p. 142.

<sup>7</sup>Ralph W. Klein, Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: From the Septuagint to Qumran (Philadelphia, PA.: Fortress Press, 1974), p. 71.

<sup>8</sup>F. Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," p. 115.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

Cross believes that Samuel in Josephus should be assigned to this ". . . early stratum of the Lucianic recension (boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> in Reigns), and the sixth column of the Hexapla in Reigns section (1 Samuel 1 - 2 Samuel 9)." <sup>10</sup> Thus the proto-Lucianic text, namely the Old Greek recension, Josephus, and some Qumran texts are all allegedly from this same text family.

Only one major problem exists in finding this proto-Lucianic text of the LXX. Klein observes that the proto-Lucianic recension is not preserved intact. The church father Lucian revised that text toward MT in the fourth century. <sup>11</sup> Klein reassures the reader that the authentic proto-Lucianic readings can still be isolated from the evidence according to a formula which he has developed. <sup>12</sup> Klein then attempts to present a formula which will lead the reader to the correct Greek text of the Septuagint for the Palestinian text family and the Samuel scroll from Qumran. <sup>13</sup> This Palestinian text family is the allegedly original text type for Samuel and thus the Hebrew Bible.

One other characteristic is to be noted concerning the Palestinian text family of Samuel. Cross writes that the "Vorlage belongs to a different textual tradition, it is one which is closely allied and shares the expansionistic or 'full' attributes of the proto-Massoretic tradition." <sup>14</sup> Thus we have the expansionistic textual characteristics attributed to the Palestinian text family.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Klein, Textual Criticism of the Old Testament, p. 71.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 71-72.

<sup>14</sup> Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," p. 109.

What about the Latter Prophets and the Writings as found at Qumran? Cross believes that "Many of the one hundred eighteen biblical manuscripts from Cave 4, Qumran must be identified similarly as 'proto-Massoretic' and 'Palestinian' in type . . . . Especially obvious cases include the 'full' texts of Ezekiel, Proverbs, Psalms, and Job."<sup>15</sup> Thus representative Books of the Old Testament from each of the three divisions, the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings, are found in the Palestinian text family at the Dead Sea community. Other family texts are found at Qumran as Cross observes in the same article. "Deviation from this pattern of 'proto-Masoretic'='Palestinian' does occur at Qumran in three group of manuscripts we possess for the reconstruction of the history of the biblical text before its stabilization in the Pharisaic recension (M)."<sup>16</sup> The Palestinian text family is the oldest text type of these three text families.

With this oldest text family, Cross believes that we have new controls on textual criticism. For this family is also closely connected with the Old Greek text and the Egyptian text family.<sup>17</sup>

#### The Egyptian Text Family

The next text type of importance for Cross is the Egyptian text family. The Egyptian text family proceeded from the Palestinian text family. Klein writes that this text type

. . . was a copy of the Palestinian text which was taken to Egypt and was eventually used for the LXX, many agreements between LXX

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Cross, "Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," p. 46.

and SP reflect only a secondary reading in two closely related text families, whereas the original reading has been preserved in the isolated text family behind MT.<sup>18</sup>

Cross confirms the value of the Septuagint to textual criticism of the Old Testament.

The LXX is equated with the Ur-text, the Vorlage, of the LXX, and this text stems from the third century B.C. Cross believes that

In the absence of archaic Hebrew manuscripts antedating the Rabbinic recension of the first century C.E., a circumstance persisting through the first half of the twentieth century, the Greek version is a crucial witness to an older stage in the history of the Hebrew text. We now know that its Vorlage was a Hebrew text or group of texts stemming from a family of Hebrew manuscripts strongly divergent from our received Hebrew text (the Massoretic Bible).<sup>19</sup>

The attempt to find an Ur-text, a Vorlage of the LXX is part of Cross's goal of textual criticism. The question is how does Cross justify such an attempt to find an Ur-text of the LXX with the multitude of extant manuscripts of the LXX presently available?

Cross believes that a Vorlage of the LXX can be developed from the extant Greek manuscripts of the Old Testament. His understanding of this Ur-text is in line with Barthelemy who has demonstrated that the sections of Samuel and Kings are apparently identical in style with such a recension in line with the proto-Theodotionic text.<sup>20</sup> Cross believes that "Barthelemy's thesis that the *Kaiye* Recension is to be identified with Theodotion must remain sub judice."<sup>21</sup> Cross places a limit on the

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<sup>18</sup>Klein, Textual Criticism of the Old Testament, p. 18.

<sup>19</sup>Cross, "Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," p. 32.

<sup>20</sup>Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," p. 282.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 283.



latest development of such an Egyptian recension. The archetype of this recension can be no later than the fourth century, especially in the case of Samuel.<sup>22</sup> Thus certain Greek Old Testament translations represent this LXX Vorlage.

This Greek Vorlage of the LXX is a reality for Cross. As he observes in an article on textual criticism:

. . . for much of the Hebrew Bible there did indeed exist an Old Greek translation (and indeed pre-Christian witnesses of this translation are known from Qumran Cave Four). A series of revisions or recensions of this Old Greek were made, the *Lucyfe* or Theodotionic group, Aquila, and of course, Origen's Hexaplaric recension. In no case are these independent translations. In each case a major element motivating the reviser is the desire to correct the Greek to a Hebrew text in hand.<sup>23</sup>

Cross's theory on local texts depends on the LXX Vorlage as a reality and as the representative text of the Egyptian text family.

#### The Babylonian Text Family

The third text type is the Babylonian text family. Cross maintains that the assignment of the third text family is more precarious.

He has

. . . generally thought of Babylonia as likely; it was a major Jewish center and a center of Jewish religious learning. In the Maccabean Age and later, a stream of Jews returned to Jerusalem and Judah in a movement of nationalistic and Zionistic fervor. Hillel was among the distinguished Rabbis who returned from Babylon and gained preeminence among the teachers of the first century C.E.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," p. 122.

<sup>23</sup>Cross, "Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," p. 42.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

Cross conjectures that the Babylonian return of Jews to Palestine brought this Hebrew text to Palestine. The question is how could this Babylonian text remain in isolation, when communication must have existed prior to this return via the land trade routes of the fertile crescent?

Cross believes that this Rabbinic recension ". . . had a very narrow base. . . . they did not select in the case of every book, textual traditions which have a common local background. . . . By and large they did little editing or correcting of the narrow textual base chosen. From Qumran came manuscripts we can designate proto-Rabbinic."<sup>25</sup> This recension is pristine in character and chosen from different textual traditions of the Old Testament Books.

This Rabbinic, Babylonian, recension is the surviving textual recension of the Hebrew Old Testament in what we know as the MT. Cross maintains that,

A variety of textual traditions, families, manuscript types showing wide variation, came together in Palestine and in Jerusalem. For reasons about which we need not speculate here (though theological and halakhic considerations of the sort we find in the school of Hillel certainly played no small role), the circumstances led to the fixing of the Hebrew text by the scholars of the Pharisaic school with the promulgation of what we may term the Rabbinical recension of the Hebrew Bible. This recension alone survived in the normative Jewish communities after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. The great mass of medieval manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible all stem from this recension.<sup>26</sup>

Cross has chosen this historical movement of the surviving Pharisees as the developers of our present day MT. It is of note that Cross believes that the Pharisees developed a recensional text and not a received text. For if it were a received text, then the search for the original text behind the recensions would be impossible.

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

In summary then, Cross has developed three recensional text types, the Palestinian, the Egyptian, and the Babylonian text families. The goal of textual criticism of the Old Testament for Cross is the reconstruction of the Urtext of the Hebrew Bible. In attempting such a reconstruction, Cross encompasses the Dead Sea scrolls and the historical implications of the Intertestamental period. Yet this theory of textual criticism is neither conclusive nor exclusive in its use of the Qumran texts of the Old Testament. We turn to certain criticisms of Cross's theory on local texts to see if these criticisms have any substance.

#### General Criticism of Cross's Theory on Local Texts

##### D. W. Gooding

One man who questions at least part of the validity of Cross's theory on local texts is D. W. Gooding. Gooding questions the emphasis Cross places upon the Septuagint. In Gooding's discussion of Ralph Klein's book on textual criticism, he observes:

The remainder of Chapter III is devoted to showing how our understanding of the Chronicler's work has been considerably helped by the discovery at Qumran of Hebrew texts of Samuel-Kings that differ from the MT and clearly resemble the Chronicler's Vorlag. . . . Klein would take this agreement to prove that the LXX is here based on a Palestinian Hebrew text, whereas the MT is a text developed in Babylon.<sup>27</sup>

In response to this position taken by Klein and Cross himself as noted above, Gooding questions the accuracy of the LXX as a representative text for the Egyptian text family and for the study of the Old Testament. Gooding questions the timetable of the LXX as opposed to the MT,

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<sup>27</sup>D. W. Gooding, "A Recent Popularisation of Professor F. M. Cross's Theories on the Text of the Old Testament," Tyndale Bulletin 26 (1975):129.

and whether such an altered timetable would fit a different text type of the Old Testament. The most damaging question which Gooding asks is whether one is able to get back to the LXX Vorlage. If one is able to get back to this LXX Vorlage, does one have a text that represents the original Hebrew text or an imperfect translation?<sup>28</sup> Thus Gooding questions Cross's presuppositions concerning the validity and use of the LXX for textual criticism.

In his discussion of recensions of the Greek Old Testament and its use by the Alexandrian Jews, Gooding asserts that the

. . . later Palestinian rabbis freely used the methods of Alexandrian scholarship in their expositions of Scripture, though of course, they did not alter the Hebrew text on those principles. What we have to ask ourselves is this: if Palestinian rabbis used Alexandrian methods in the interpretation of Scripture, is it likely that the earlier Alexandrian Jewish scholars did not? And secondly, did the Jews of Alexandria use all of the Greek Old Testament (if, indeed, they ever used any part of it) as a substitute for the Hebrew for the official reading of Scripture in the synagogue, or did they regard at least some parts of it as midrashic exegesis in which the devices of Alexandrian scholarship could be used, where necessary to produce better sense than the text, as it stood before them, seemed to yield?<sup>29</sup>

The rules of Greek recensional development of the text cannot be applied to the Hebrew text, because normative Judaism does not fit in this mold.

Another part of Cross's theory of local texts which Gooding questions is the understanding of the LXX and the proto-Lucianic text of the Old Testament. Gooding maintains that

. . . the existence of a pre-Christian proto-Lucianic revision is a part of Cross's textual theory that has not convinced all scholars outside Cross's own school; and secondly that the Lucianic text has not survived (if ever it existed) for all books of the Greek Old Testament. This means that text-histories written on the basis of

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 118-19.

the evidence taken from books where Lucian's recension has survived and is easily identified, are not necessarily valid for other books of the Old Testament.<sup>30</sup>

Gooding asserts that the translators of the various parts of the Greek Old Testament and the primary purpose of this translation is unknown to us.<sup>31</sup> Gooding also questions the existence of the different recensions of the Greek Old Testament which Cross uses to support the recensions of the Hebrew text. The world of the Intertestamental period does not have to fit our present understanding of text recension and restoration.

Gooding's third point of contention concerning Cross's theory on local texts deals with Cross's terminology. In a 1976 article, Gooding observes that he has experienced difficulties

. . . in following Cross's arguments in some places, and from the growing suspicion that these difficulties are not altogether occasioned by the present writer's obtuseness, but in part at least by the fact that Old Testament textual criticism is at present using an ill-defined terminology.<sup>32</sup>

Gooding has problems with the terminology of Old Testament textual criticism in general, and specifically with Cross's terminology.

Gooding first notes Cross's inability to distinguish between "Family" and "text-type." Cross

. . . has already told us that there are three (not two) textual Families, Palestinian, Egyptian and Babylonian; and although the Egyptian and Old Palestinian texts almost merge, the differences between them are greater than those between a Sub-Group and the Family of which it is a branch; they are of the order of a distinct, apparently as the Babylonian is from the Palestinian.<sup>33</sup>

Cross's terminology is not consistent.

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 116-17.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>32</sup>D. W. Gooding, "An Appeal for a Stricter Terminology in the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament," Journal of Semitic Studies 21 (1976):15.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

Concerning the Babylonian text family, Gooding observes that "Cross's own theory demands that in Babylon not all scribes were of the same habit. Some--like those who copied the Pentateuch--were good, and faithfully reproduced what lay before them; others--like those who copied Samuel--were bad, and made omissions."<sup>34</sup> Gooding exhibits here certain presuppositions of Cross's theory on local texts. These presuppositions are necessary for Cross's theory on local texts to work.

#### George Howard

The second man of note is George Howard, an American scholar in the area of Septuagint studies. A point which Howard, as well as Gooding, calls into question is the use of the Lucianic text and thus Cross's understanding of the Septuagint. Howard observes: ". . . that almost everything hinges upon what the Old Septuagint is. . . . he denies that the Old Septuagint, for the relevant sections of Samuel-Kings is extant."<sup>35</sup> Cross uses this Old Greek for his own benefit.

Howard observes concerning this Lucianic text and Cross's use of it that Cross's

. . . evidence for this Greek revision is Chronicles, Qumran of Samuel, Josephus, boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>, and the sixth column of Origen's Hexapla. The first two, being Hebrew text, have no bearing on the date of Greek translations. The earliest of the others is Josephus who dates at the end of the first century A.D. . . . Cross's evidence says nothing more than that a Proto-Lucianic Greek translation existed at the end of the first century A.D.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>35</sup>George Howard, "Frank Cross and Recensional Criticism," Vetus Testamentum 21 (1971):442.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 443.

The Lucianic and the proto-Lucianic text have no historical background according to Howard's understanding of Old Testament textual criticism.

Howard also calls into question the *Kuize* recension, and Cross's presuppositions for the Septuagint Vorlage. Concerning the *Kuize* recension, "Cross himself offers no proof for this view. He relies totally on Barthelemy's conclusion . . ." <sup>37</sup> Howard does an analysis of Barthelemy's development of the proto-Lucianic text in the above noted article to show the weakness of Cross's theory, and returns with the conclusion that the recensional text differences are not present between the MT (Babylonian text family), the Palestinian text family, and the Egyptian text family. <sup>38</sup> Howard concludes concerning Barthelemy's theory that "It is clear from this that neither Pal or Ant represents consistently a single text type. In other words, if we use MT as the standard by which to gauge the type of text each offers, we must conclude that both present mixed texts." <sup>39</sup>

Howard does not believe in a recensional text but rather in a *textus receptus*. As he writes: "It is true that by the time of the second Jewish Revolt, c. 135 A.D., a text like the *textus receptus* was in existence. This is clear from the findings at Murabaat, especially from the Minor Prophets Scroll. . . . It is altogether possible that even in the second and third century A.D. Greek texts were revised by Christians away from the *textus receptus* toward other textual traditions such as those which appear at Qumran." <sup>40</sup> This approach would allow for later revision by certain communities, so that the LXX became an even more

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 448.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 447.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 448, 449.

obscure text. Howard believes that ". . . the time period in which Barthelemy's scroll dates, proximity to MT is not a proof of revision."<sup>41</sup>

Howard observes concerning the Septuagint Ur-text which Cross supports that

It must be remembered that the actual text of the original LXX has not yet been established. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly clear that the LXX which appears in the Codices of the Christian Church is a mixture of texts of all types including the Egyptian, Lucianic, Kaige, Theodotonic, and many others.<sup>42</sup>

Thus the return to a LXX Vorlage is virtually impossible. As Howard writes, "It must be remembered that the actual text of the original LXX has not yet been established. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly clear that the LXX which appears in the Codices of the Christian Church is a mixture of texts of all types including the Egyptian, Lucianic, Kaige, Theodotonic, and many others."<sup>43</sup> The use of the Septuagint as the representative of a text type has again been called into question.

#### Albert Pietersma

Pietersma in an article entitled "Proto-Lucian and the Greek Psalter" questions the existence of a proto-Lucianic text for the Psalter. He asserts that

The question to be raised, however, is whether extreme caution ought not to be exercised in transferring the problematics of one section of the Greek Old Testament to another book or books. The inherent danger one faces is that of setting up superstructures which have been arrived at deductively but which lack basis in fact. To state the obvious, the existence of a proto-Lucianic text (or variae lectiones) presupposes that a Lucianic text has been isolated. Where

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 449

<sup>42</sup>George Howard, "The Septuagint: A Review of Recent Studies," Restoration Quarterly 13 (1970):164.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 164.



the latter has not been identified at all or has not, at least, been isolated with a reasonable degree of certainty, it would appear hazardous in the extreme to speak of pre or proto-Lucianic witnesses.<sup>44</sup>

Pietersma asks ". . . whether the 'characteristic' readings are not better explained as original readings and are therefore, unable to tell us anything more than what the old Greek text (=LXX) read."<sup>45</sup> These points of contention call into question the use of the proto-Lucianic Greek Old Testament as a text type and the transference of Cross's proto-Lucianic text to other books of the Old Testament.

In this article, Pietersma focuses in on the Psalter and the proto-Lucianic text. Pietersma observes that

. . . it is well known that according to Jerome, the text was widely associated with the name of Lucian. . . . Whether in fact the numerically vast textual family which Rahlfs designated with the siglum L has any connection with Lucian the martyr of Antioch is not at all clear. It is readily apparent upon even limited investigation that L of the Psalter does not manifest the distinctive characteristics of Lucian in Samuel-Kings. It would therefore, perhaps be advisable to speak of the Byzantine text of the Psalter in place of Rahlfs's L until the question has been more fully investigated. But even if one assumes that L constitutes basically the Lucianic recension of Psalms, does it follow that any papyrus which shares a certain number of readings with L and at the same time antedates Lucian of Antioch ought to be labeled proto-Lucianic?<sup>46</sup>

With these questions in mind, Pietersma deals with what he considers to be the major Greek manuscript representing the Lucianic text for the Psalter, manuscript 2054. After an analysis of this manuscript, he writes ". . . that 2054 of the Greek Psalter has little if indeed anything at all to do with L. Consequently, it cannot be a proto-Lucianic witness (if L equals Lucian), and one hopes it will no longer be cited as

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<sup>44</sup>Albert Pietersma, "Proto-Lucian and the Greek Psalter," Vetus Testamentum 28 (1978):66-67.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 68.

such."<sup>47</sup> The question must be asked whether any valid assignment of text families can be made to manuscript 2054?

Pietersma responds to the value of manuscript 2054 to the understanding of text-families and also the validity of the proto-Lucianic witness. He asserts that ". . . 2054 belongs to no text-family so far delineated. It belongs with what Rahlfs called 'Mischtexte und nicht sicher einzureihende Texte' (Psalmi cum Odis p. 6), and nothing more. To call 2054 proto-Lucianic robs the term of any possible meaning. If proto-Lucianic witnesses exist for the Psalter, they have yet to be discovered."<sup>48</sup> The proto-Lucianic witness for the Ur-text of the LXX is again under fire. This questioning by Pietersma focuses in on the major text for this study, the Psalter. This questioning of the proto-Lucianic text will be of importance later in this chapter in the section concerning the comparison of Cross's theory on local texts with 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

What has been of note here among these critics of Cross's theory on local texts is their unanimous rejection of the subjective approach by Cross in establishing the proto-Lucianic text of the LXX. Cross's development of the proto-Lucianic text is largely due to Barthelemey's work with the Twelve Prophets Greek scroll from Nahal Hever.<sup>49</sup> These presuppositions of Cross as seen in Barthelemey are not able to stand, because they have no factual basis.

The second problem found basically by Gooding is the Looseness of terminology of the Old Testament textual criticism, especially

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ernst Wurthwein, Der Text des Alten Testaments, Eine Einführung in die Biblia Hebraica, fourth ed. (Stuttgart, Germany: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1973), p. 178.

concerning Cross's theory on local texts. Cross is not consistent in his use of this terminology, but this looseness is partially due to the fact that a precise terminology has not been developed in the area of textual criticism of the Old Testament.

One criticism concerning Cross's theory on local texts has to do with his understanding of the Babylonian text family. In the most recent article on textual criticism by Cross, he does not completely equate this third text type with the community at Babylon. The question is whether Cross has been able to really identify these texts with some geographical area.

#### Alternate Theories to Cross's Theory on Local Texts

With such criticism as presented above, one does not have an alternative theory to Cross's hypothesis on local texts which takes into account the Dead Sea scrolls. Two possible alternative theories to Cross's theory will be dealt with below. These theories are 1) multiplicity of textual traditions as supported by S. Talmon, M. Goshen-Gottstein, and B. Childs; 2) the emergence of a standard text from the Hebrew texts of rival Jewish communities as supported by Albrektson. These alternate theories will be presented and analyzed for their usefulness to textual criticism of the Old Testament.

#### Multiplicity of Textual Traditions

##### S. Talmon

The first alternate theory is the multiplicity of textual traditions. One of the major proponents of this theory is Shemaryahu Talmon. Talmon believes that the history of the textual transmission

of the Old Testament is from ca. 300 B.C.-200 A.D. He believes that "The beginning of what may properly be called the history of the Old Testament text roughly coincides with the final phases of the Old Testament books . . ." <sup>50</sup>

Talmon divides this time period of the history of the textual transmission of the Old Testament into four distinct main stages. The initial stage lies outside the scope of Talmon's investigation, since it precedes the written documentation. <sup>51</sup> The second phase occurred after the Exile. Talmon believes that "The preponderance of written transmission of Old Testament books after the return from the Exile still does not make this second phase of development a ready subject for textual study in the strict sense of the term, since it is not yet represented by manuscript evidence." <sup>52</sup> With these two stages, no textual study is possible, since no extant manuscript is in evidence.

Beginning with the third phase, ca. early third century B.C., Talmon is able to concentrate on the development of the manuscripts of the biblical text. For Talmon,

At this stage, the written transmission of biblical literature finally and, to all intents and purposes, completely replaced oral tradition. With this transition went the gradual formal sanctification of the books which were accepted as scripture, culminating at the end of this phase, i.e. by the turn of the eras, in the establishment of the complete and closed Old Testament Canon. <sup>53</sup>

The fourth phase is ". . . from the end of the last century B.C. to the beginning of the third century A.D. It is marked by a

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<sup>50</sup> Shermayahu Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

vigorous process of textual standardization which affected practically all versions."<sup>54</sup> These two phases are of interest to Talmon and to us, for these are the two periods which deal with the Hebrew text as we know it.

For this study, it is important to understand the position of the scrolls from Qumran in phases three and four. Talmon asserts that

There is nothing specifically sectarian in the external appearance of the Qumran Scrolls, in the scribal customs to which their copyists adhered, or in the majority of the deviant readings found in them. The impression of dissent that goes with the biblical Scrolls from Qumran derives from the succession of their scribes from normative Judaism, and has no roots in the manuscripts as such. That is to say, it must be attributed to the socio-historical processes which engulfed these Scrolls, but in no way to their textual or manuscript character. Genetically the biblical texts from Qumran are "Jewish." They became "sectarian" in their subsequent history.<sup>55</sup>

Talmon finds nothing inherently "hon-Jewish" with the Dead Sea scrolls.

The Dead Sea scrolls do not all reflect the same textual tradition. Talmon finds nothing wrong with this diversity, and states concerning this diversity from normative Judaism that ". . . this 'liberal' attitude towards divergent textual traditions of the Old Testament prevailed also in 'normative' Jewish circles of the second and first centuries B.C."<sup>56</sup> The Hebrew text of the Old Testament is very fluid for Talmon.

Talmon believes that with the beginning of the standardization of the Old Testament text, three main types of technique came about to counterbalance the impact of this standardization. This counterbalance affected the textual transmission of the Old Testament. These three counterbalances are

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

. . . (1) Internal manuscript notation of variant readings, either in the text-base, leading to the emergence of double-readings, or else in the margins. . . . (2) The preservation of variant readings in parallel text traditions. . . . (3) Extra-manuscript preservation of variants in midrashic-homiletic exegesis.<sup>57</sup>

Because of such an altered text, it would be impossible to return to an Urtext of the Hebrew Bible.

Since the Dead Sea scrolls were a miniature of the textual transmission of the text by normative Judaism, Talmon believes that the Qumran texts reflect ". . . different chronological layers, geographical areas and social strata."<sup>58</sup> Talmon would agree with Cross that Qumran has a representative number of biblical manuscripts and texts.

Talmon and Cross do not agree on textual criticism of the Old Testament in other respects. Talmon does not believe that the three local texts of Cross's text theory is applicable to the plurality of texts present from this period. He believes that the texts Cross uses to exhibit three text families can be explained in another manner. The two historical factors which explain the distinct textual differences are: ". . . (a) historical vicissitudes which caused other textual families to disappear; (b) the necessary socio-religious conditions for the preservations of a text tradition, namely its acceptance by a sociologically integrated and defineable body."<sup>59</sup>

The textus receptus would then be the text which emerged from phase four for Talmon. This text would be the result of an evolutionary development of the Hebrew Bible from a multitude of fluid manuscripts. Talmon's greatest problem here is that this evolutionary development of

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

the Hebrew text development conceived of only one textus receptus, the MT, out of a multitude of texts.

M. Goshen-Gottstein

Another proponent of the multiple textual tradition theory is Moshe Goshen-Gottstein. Goshen-Gottstein divides the history of Hebrew biblical manuscripts into three major periods with an evident break between the second and the third period.<sup>60</sup> The first period is ca. 300 B.C., the period of the second Jewish Commonwealth. The period is characterized by a period of textual diversity.<sup>61</sup> This is a period of a fluid Hebrew text, and it is also the beginning of the period of the Dead Sea community.

Goshen-Gottstein places the second period in the first century A.D. This period is the decisive phase in the stabilization and growing predominance of what Goshen-Gottstein calls the "Masoretic type." By the end of that second period, this type had become absolutely dominant.<sup>62</sup> Again as in Talmon's presentation, the MT evolved out of the mass of fluid Hebrew manuscripts in the first century A.D.

The break between the second and third periods is decisive for Goshen-Gottstein. He asserts that ". . . the third period of non-Hebrew evidence, down to the days of Jerome, as yet lacks any comparable Hebrew evidence; the third period of Hebrew MSS starts centuries later."<sup>63</sup> The third period is described with the term "Masoretic" to indicate that all

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<sup>60</sup>Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition," Biblica 48 (1967):244.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 246-47.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 248.

manuscripts after 150 A.D. were the activity of the Masoretes. He would also consider the term "medieval" as an acceptable term describing the period.<sup>64</sup> The third period was the originator of the MT. It should be noticed that Goshen-Gottstein places this text at a distance from earlier textual transmission.

For Goshen-Gottstein the fluid text is predominant until the break between the second and third periods. The development of this text is a constant narrowing of text traditions until one text becomes predominant in the first century A.D. The official text for Goshen-Gottstein is the center of a broader current of textual tradition leading to further standardization and unification. This official text developed into one central text to such a degree that the illusion of an archetypal text was present.<sup>65</sup> Thus the emergence of a standard text was for liturgical and halachic use which brought about the standard text in the New Testament era.

### B. Childs

A third proponent of the multiplicity of textual traditions is Brevard Childs. Childs writes concerning the major proponents of the multiplicity of textual traditions that

. . . both Talmon and Goshen-Gottstein, in resisting certain aspects of Cross's theory, stress the multiplicity of traditions in a manner which continues to represent some of the important emphases of Kahle. Also Barthelemy, on the basis of the Qumran community itself, emphasizes the ability of divergent textual traditions to co-exist which would caution against too quickly assigning the decisive role in the formation of the text to geographical factors.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 288-89.

<sup>66</sup> Brevard Childs, Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture (Philadelphia, PA.: Fortress Press, 1979), pp. 91-92.



Childs lends support to this theory of the multiplicity of textual traditions at the expense of Cross's theory on local texts.

Childs lends some of his own style to this theory of textual criticism of the Old Testament based on his understanding of canon. Childs believes that behind the MT is a long history of fluid texts.<sup>67</sup> This fluidity of the text of the Old Testament did not cease with the advent of a stabilized text. Childs believes that the fluid text continued after the stabilized text was established, and this fluid text was tolerated by the Jewish communities.<sup>68</sup> Stabilization of the text does not mean a lack of continued alteration of the text for Childs.

Childs combines his understanding of canon with his understanding of textual criticism of the Old Testament. Childs believes that ". . . the canonical critic identifies with the historic Jewish community in starting with the received form of the literature which comprised the Hebrew canon. On the other hand, he seeks critically to discern the canonical function of the literature."<sup>69</sup>

Childs has five points where he joins together the text critic and the canonical critic. These points are: (1) The stabilization of the canon of the Old Testament led to the stabilization of the text of the Old Testament in the first century A.D. The Greek Old Testament remained fluid until a much later date, when it obtained stability because of its dependence upon the Hebrew text.<sup>70</sup> (2) "Constitutive of canon is a religious community for whom this corpus of literature functioned authoritatively."<sup>71</sup> The Jewish community adapted itself to the

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

MT as opposed to the text being adapted to the community.<sup>72</sup> (3) The original text of the Hebrew Bible was consonantal. The text began to have long vowels from certain consonants. The oral tradition was finally adopted to the text in the vowel pointing of the Masoretic period.<sup>73</sup> (4) The Greek speaking Jewish community continually modified the LXX to that of the MT. The LXX had no independent integrity, nor did it represent an independent text family.<sup>74</sup> (5) The writing of the New Testament was prior to the final stabilization of the Hebrew text, so that the text of the New Testament quotes a more fluid text of the Old Testament. The important point for Childs is that the early Christian community never developed a doctrine of Scripture apart from the Jewish doctrine.<sup>75</sup>

For Childs the text of the Old Testament has multiple textual traditions. These multiple traditions are not based on geography nor on sociology. These multiple traditions were an accepted fact in normative Judaism. Even with the advent of a standardized text, a fluid text existed. Again, the final standardization of the text is seen to be done at such a place and time as Jamnia. The question is why would this be considered to be a time for the ending of the different textual traditions, except for the sole existence of the Pharisees after the destruction of Jerusalem?

Childs as well as the two other men, Talmon and Goshen-Gottstein, hold to a theory of textual criticism of the Old Testament based on a multiplicity of textual traditions. This theory does not allow for the geographical assignment of text families or recensions. What it does

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., pp. 98-99.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

allow for is a multiplicity of textual traditions represented at Qumran and solidified in what one could call a *textus receptus*. The problem with this theory is what is the evidence for a formation of a received text? Was Jamnia the major repository for the editing of this text?

The Emergence of a Standard Text from the  
Hebrew Texts of Rival Groups (Albrektson)

Another theory of Old Testament textual criticism is advocated by Bertil Albrektson, and this theory deals with the emergence of a standard text from the Hebrew texts of rival Jewish groups.<sup>76</sup> Albrektson's purpose is ". . . to call in question the current idea that the emergence of the standard text must have been the result of a conscious and deliberate text-critical activity with the purpose of creating a normative recension."<sup>77</sup> He attempts this purpose by recreating the sociological and geographical setting of the Intertestamental and New Testament eras to establish his theory of text criticism.

Concerning the land of Egypt and the text of the Old Testament, Albrektson believes that the correspondence between the early rabbis and the Alexandrian grammarians belong to two distinct groups, ". . . that of purely scribal procedures concerning the copying of texts and the terminology used in this connection, and that of principles of interpretation and exegesis."<sup>78</sup> Albrektson attempts to bring textual criticism of the Old Testament in line with New Testament textual criticism and its understanding of Alexandrian exegesis.

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<sup>76</sup>Bertil Albrektson, "Reflections on the emergence of a standard text of the Hebrew Bible." Vetus Testamentum Supplement, vol. 29, ed. J. A. Emerton, pp. 49-65.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

Albrektson does not believe that any great weight can be placed on any type of theoretical transfer of methodology from Alexandrian Judaism to the normative Judaism of Jerusalem concerning the text of the Old Testament. He believes that the striking and important element in the Hebrew text is the emergence of a standard text. Questions of textual criticism with discussions of variant readings and proposals of conjectural emendations are absent from the rabbinical literature. This lack of emphasis on textual development is exactly the opposite of the interest at Alexandria concerning textual criticism.<sup>79</sup> The emphasis in textual criticism of the Old Testament shifts from a recensitional development of the text to the emergence of a standard text in line with normative Judaism as opposed to sectarian texts of the Old Testament.

Albrektson has no problem with allowing for the textual differences of the numerous communities. The text was fluid prior to the stabilization of the Hebrew text. As he observes,

. . . this kind of interpretation does not in itself presuppose that everybody else has got exactly the same text: the only necessary requirement is that there is a text which can serve as a starting-point for the hermeneutic exercises. Moreover--and this is more decisive--it can be shown that certain exegetical arguments of this type in the rabbinic literature are in fact based on a text which deviates from the standard text of the masoretes.<sup>80</sup>

This approach to the text does not call for a Hebrew Old Testament Vorlage. It almost seems that even to consider a Vorlage Hebrew text is untenable.

The authoritative text for Albrektson is the MT which is not a standardized text. Albrektson observes that:

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

We know that the ancestor of the standard text is found already in Qumran, and the fact that all manuscripts from Murabba'at belong to the same type could be due to their origin in a certain group namely followers of the rebel leader Bar Kochba, who was closely connected with the master of "normative" Judaism, R. Aqiba.<sup>81</sup>

Concerning the theory of a standardized text of the Old Testament, Albrektson believes that "The main argument is simply that the MT displays certain characteristics which are hard--if not impossible--to reconcile with such a theory. We all know that the MT is not a flawless text."<sup>82</sup> Thus no conscious rabbinical textual recension is known to Albrektson.

This theory is at odds with the theories noted above, especially Cross's theory on local texts. Albrektson believes that our views of the shape of the text of the Old Testament are not the same as the views of normative Judaism in the Intertestamental period. "For them the ideal was not to find one and only one signification but to discover the entire fulness of divine truths which lay hidden in the sacred writings. Variety was not primarily a problem but an asset."<sup>83</sup>

Albrektson believes

. . . that the crystallization of a standardized consonantal text is not primarily the outcome of conscious and deliberate measures taken by the rabbis but to a much greater extent than is usually thought, the result of historical coincidences, of a number of concurrent factors which are not in the main of a textual kind.<sup>84</sup>

The chief event of these historical coincidences is the Jewish Revolt against Rome. With the destruction of Jerusalem, the diverse Jewish groups disappeared with the emergence of the Pharisees. "Religious diversity is replaced by unity: the Pharisees alone dominate the development. Similarly before the revolts there is a diversified textual

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

tradition, but afterwards one single text-type gradually becomes predominant."<sup>85</sup> The MT is this text type which survived.

According to Albrektson, this text has a unique character. This unique character is that

It had been handled in circles which devoted much care and attention to the word of Scripture, and so it is plausible that on the whole it should have an archaic and authentic character, lacking many of the defects which are typical of the so-called vulgar texts. But at the same time it is not the result of a thorough-going recension, it is based on manuscripts which happened to be preserved after the downfall, and its dominating position is not based on text-critical grounds--and therefore in places it does display lacunae and errors which would not be found in a thoroughly revised text.<sup>86</sup>

What Albrektson stressed here is that this text became the textus receptus because it survived. The text's characteristic's are notably conservative.

Albrektson's theory of a standard text from rival Jewish communities is of interest to this study. It does not establish geographical text types, nor does this theory attempt to get back to the Ur text. Albrektson works from the position that we cannot get back to the Ur-text nor should we attempt same. This concept of a recensional text was not prevalent among the rabbis. What was prevalent is the preservation of the Hebrew text. The problem with this theory is that the surviving texts of other traditions did not surface until a much later date, that is, the twentieth century. What was the factor that maintained this standard text?

11QPs<sup>a</sup> and Prevalent Theories on  
Textual Criticism of the Old Testament

These theories as well as Cross's theory on local texts must now be evaluated in light of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Because these present day theories on

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., pp. 62-63

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

textual criticism of the Old Testament allegedly take into account the Qumran scrolls, it is of interest to see now how these theories relate to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>,

Cross's Theory on Local Texts  
with respect to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

The first theory on textual criticism of the Old Testament to be considered in light of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is Cross's theory on local texts. Cross does not do an indepth study of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Yet he has made certain statements concerning 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Cross writes in 1964 that,

If the so-called 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is indeed a Psalter, despite its bizarre order and non canonical compositions, mostly of the Hellenistic era, then we must argue that one Psalms collection closed at the end of the Persian period (the canonical collection), and that another remained open well into the Greek period (11Q), but was rejected by the Rabbis. This is not to mention the extensive fragments of Psalms manuscripts from Cave IV, to be published shortly by P. W. Skehan.<sup>87</sup>

In this article, Cross is ready to admit the existence of two canonical Psalters, one closed and the other open at the time of the Qumran community.

In the 1967 German preface of The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, Cross writes: "It must be admitted that it is not easy to suppose that the Palestinian canon of the Psalter existed in two very different forms side by side."<sup>88</sup> Cross concedes that "Sanders is probably correct in his view that the document is thought to be composed by David. Even one of the Hodayot is attributed to David . . ."<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," p. 286.

<sup>88</sup>Frank M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (reprint ed.), p. xix.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. xix, N 20.

Cross does not hold to the same position as he held in 1964. He states later in the same preface:

In view of other Psalms material at Qumran, it seems fairly well established that the traditional order and contents of the Psalter had long been fixed, perhaps as early as the end of the Persian era. Moreover, there is no reason to suppose that the textus receptus of the Psalter is not Palestinian; all the traits of its text point to such a conclusion.<sup>90</sup>

Cross goes from an acceptance of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to that of considering 11QPs<sup>a</sup> almost as a spurious non-Palestinian text-type. If we consider Cross's understanding of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, then this part of the study would be at an end, because Cross's theory on local texts would not apply to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

Yet, James A. Sanders as the publisher of the scroll 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a proponent of Cross's theory on local texts. He believes that this theory must be at least partially applicable to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.<sup>91</sup> Sanders also shows this support in more detail in an article entitled "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll."<sup>92</sup> The purpose of this part of the study is to view briefly Sanders' arguments concerning 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and Cross's theory, and compare Sanders' analysis with the analysis of chapter one.

Sanders first deals with 2 Sam. 23:1-7 in light of Cross's theory on local texts. Sanders observes that "In the Psalms Scroll 2 Sam. 23:1-7 plays a part in the oiterary (colophonic) conceit which extends over the last columns of the scroll."<sup>93</sup> 2 Samuel 23 plays an important

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. xix, N 21.

<sup>91</sup>James A. Sanders, "The Dead Sea Scrolls--A Quarter Century of Study," Biblical Archaeologist 36 (1973):138.

<sup>92</sup>James A. Sanders, "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll," Harvard Theological Review 59 (1966):84.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 85



part in Sanders' understanding of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. For he believes that this passage truly belongs here, since this is a biblical Psalter and contains Davidic material.<sup>94</sup> Thus this must be a bona fide Psalter.

Sanders understands 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s role to be that of a Psalter. This scroll represents a general proto-Masoretic profile of the Psalter of the MT. Sanders believes that the presence of the prose insert the "Compositions of David" to be a factor in the stabilization of the Psalter, because the Psalter was attributed to David for its authority. "The attribution of Davidic authorship did not come after the Psalter was fixed, but was applied to smaller collections of psalms and the individual psalms over a long period of time."<sup>94</sup> Sanders believes then that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is an example of the entire Psalter's textual development.

Sanders believes that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a local text representing a limited but valid Psalter tradition as opposed to a maverick Psalter.

He writes:

A theory of variance from an accepted order, for Books IV and V, would require an explanation involving sound reasons for the variance, that is, in the case of a Qumran scroll, sectarian theological reasons, or at least sectarian liturgical reasons; and those are not present in the scroll to any convincing degree.<sup>96</sup>

This discussion concerning whether 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a psalmbook or a Psalter will be dealt with in a later chapter. What is important to note here is that Sanders does not believe that the variants are sectarian to any great extent, so that he is able to fit his scroll into Cross's system.

Sanders attempts to correct Cross and Skehan in their understanding of the Psalter at Qumran. He believes that

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., pp. 87-88

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., pp. 88-89.

Cave 11 fails to support Cross and Skehan only in Books IV and V of the Psalter, and even there one senses that crystallization of the collection lies close beneath or perhaps close behind, the emerging order evident in the Psalms Scroll. Since the material in the Psalms Scroll lacks any clearly theological or even liturgical bias, but on the contrary wants above all, and perhaps despite all, to be "Davidic" in its cadence, it seems wise to view the Psalms scroll as evidence of a Psalter tradition distinct from the "canonical" (Masoretic) which was accepted by the Rabbis after the First Jewish Revolt in the last quarter century A.D.<sup>97</sup>

What Sanders has attempted to prove is that this scroll is part of the Psalter. He identifies 11QPs<sup>a</sup> with the Palestinian text family.

In this text as normative for Qumran and the Palestinian text family and a support for Cross's theory as Sanders would have one believe? 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not support Sanders and thus Cross. The text is fluid with both apocryphal and biblical readings. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has no counterpart concerning the proto-Lucianic family as noted by Pietersma. As can be seen from tables three through five, the LXX is closer to the MT, but where 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does support one text it is never in complete accord with one text. Its variant readings are not distinctive enough to be a separate representative of a text type. In table seven, the MT and the LXX agree on the use of the phrase "let me live!" 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has "be gracious to me!" The use of the divine name is closer in use to the MT and the LXX as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as seen in table eight. Thus by sheer numerical variants, the LXX and the MT agree much more than they do with 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. This would mean that the "Egyptian text family" and the "Babylonian text family" are closer, and it is not the "Palestinian text family" which is close to the "Egyptian text family."

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

This scroll does not represent a unique text family, because of the wide variance of variants. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> agrees more often with the two other texts than not outside of the theological variants. Thus Cross's theory on local texts gains no support from 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> can not be discounted, because it contains to a large extent biblical psalms.

#### Alternate Theories with respect to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

The theory advocating multiplicity of textual traditions is not supported by 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The variant readings reflecting theological differences in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> do not represent a variant normative Jewish community. This scroll is a sectarian text.

Out of the alternative theories to Cross's theory of local texts, Albrektson's theory on the emergence of a standard text is the most congenial to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. For 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the LXX emerged out of different circumstances and community needs. The Pharisaic movement, which survived, brought with them what is the normative text in the end, because this is the text that the community used.

The use of textual criticism also gives understanding to the concept of canon in the Old Testament. This understanding of canon will be discussed more in detail in a later chapter. Behind the text of the Old Testament is the autograph. The text of the Old Testament was not established like a patchwork quilt from different text families. This concept of a recensional text is Alexandrian and not rabbinic. Although the text was fluid to a degree as can be seen from the general comparison of the Psalter of the MT and the LXX as opposed to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, the text of the Old Testament Psalter does not vary significantly enough to have

11QPs<sup>a</sup> represent a major text family as developed by the theory of local texts as supported by Sanders.

## CHAPTER IV

### NON-BIBLICAL PSALMS IN 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Chapter IV deals with the apocryphal non-biblical psalms and prose material in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Eight non-biblical psalms are found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> interspersed among the biblical psalms. These psalms are Psalms 151 A and B in column xxviii, lines 3-14; Psalm 154 in column xviii; Psalm 155 in column xxiv, lines 3-17; Sirach 51:13-30 in columns xxi, lines 11-17 and xxii, line 1; "Plea for Deliverance" in column xix; "Apostrophe to Zion" in column xxii, lines 1-15; "Hymn to the Creator" in column xxvi, lines 9-15; and the "Compositions of David" in column xxvii, lines 2-11.<sup>1</sup> These psalms are not all unique to Qumran. Psalms 151, 154, and 155 and Sirach 51:13-30 are found outside of the Dead Sea community. The other psalms are unique to the Qumran community. The material is then not unknown outside of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. These compositions have a special function in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze this non-biblical poetry in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to understand its function for the Qumran community and this Psalter scroll. The thesis of this chapter is that the extensive use of non-biblical apocryphal material in the last part of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the "Compositions of David" point to the community's extensive knowledge

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Sanders, "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll," Harvard Theological Review 59 (1966):85-88.

and acceptance of apocryphal material. The "Compositions of David" does not confirm Davidic authorship of the compositions in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, but it identifies 11QPs<sup>a</sup> with David.

Non-Biblical Psalms Known Outside  
of the Dead Sea Community

The non-biblical psalms known outside of the Dead Sea community will be presented here. These psalms are Psalms 151, 154, 155, and Sirach 51:13-30. It should be noted first that Psalms 151, 154, and 155 are found in the Syriac as part of a collection of five apocryphal psalms in the Syriac Psalter.<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to analyze these psalms separately and then comment on them as a unit. This will be followed by a discussion on Sirach 51:13-30.

Psalm 151

Psalm 151 of the LXX and the Syriac Psalter is found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Psalm 151 is located in column XXVIII after Ps. 134:1-3. Psalm 151 as found in the LXX is not the same composition as found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Instead, as Sanders observes,

. . . it is actually two poems, and that is the reason that we must subdivide 151 into 151 A and 151 B. The old translations are all preserved as units without a suspicion of being divided into two poems originally, which is to say that the earliest or Greek translation represents a dramatic transformation of the text of Psalm 151

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<sup>2</sup>Martin Noth, "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 48 (1930):1-23. This article by Noth describes the five psalms in the Syriac Psalter not found in the MT. Noth believes that these psalms are derived from a Hebrew text prior to the discovery of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and Psalms 151, 154, and 155.

A, B into a shorter and amalgamated Psalm 151 as it has been known in the old Greek Bibles.<sup>3</sup>

11QPs<sup>a</sup> has two psalms where only one psalm has known to have existed before.

Psalm 151 (A and B) of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not have the same meaning as Psalm 151 in the LXX and the Syriac. Depending on the prevalent school of thought, the Syriac text is either dependent on the LXX, or it is an equal text of the psalm with the LXX text.<sup>4</sup> This discussion of textual transmission of the psalm is secondary to the interpretation of this psalm.

With the discovery of Psalms 151 A and B, four prevalent interpretations have emerged. These theories are basically divided over whether this psalm understands David as a Jewish Orpheus or not.<sup>5</sup> It is important to present these interpretations briefly, because of the ultimate understanding of David in this psalm, and thus the psalm's purpose in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

The first interpretation under consideration is that of David as a Jewish Orpheus. James Sanders is the basic proponent of such an

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<sup>3</sup>James A. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 94.

<sup>4</sup>J. Strugnell, "Notes on the Text and Transmission of the Apocryphal Psalms 151, 154 and 155," Harvard Theological Review 59 (1966):257-81. Strugnell discusses in this article the possible textual development of this psalm. His position is that of the Syriac text of Psalm 151 as a daughter text of the LXX. The paucity of texts does not allow for a clear understanding of the textual transmission of Psalm 151.

<sup>5</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 100.

interpretation. Sanders believes that: "11QPs<sup>a</sup> 151 provides tenuous literary evidence of the Orphic image of David in the intertestamental period."<sup>6</sup> This view is established from his understanding of verses 2b to 4, especially verse 3.<sup>7</sup> Sanders believes that Psalm 151 A is a poetic midrash of I Sam. 16:1-13.

For Sanders

. . . the point of David's election in the Bible is the crux of the poetic midrash: "The Lord looks upon the heart" (I Samuel 16:7). However, the biblical passage fails to state what God saw in David's heart, and it is just that which the poetic midrash supplies. Even though David is insignificant in external appearance, he, in his soul or heart or to himself, has said the significant thing: he would give glory to the Lord (verse 2); and the Lord who can see into the heart has seen and heard everything David has done and said (verse 4). Therefore, God heeded David's piety of soul by sending the prophet Samuel to take him from behind the flock to make him a great ruler.<sup>8</sup>

What Sanders has done is to buttress his understanding of David as the Jewish Orpheus by his interpretation of the text, so that it is because of David's piety that God chose him.

He then attempts to bring in outside proof to support this view. Sanders points to the fact that Moses was understood in Orphic terms in Alexandria. He tries to substantiate this view by pointing to nonliterary references to David as found in mosaics and paintings.<sup>9</sup> Sanders must admit that other than Psalm 151 A in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> no other literary evidence of an Orphic David exists, and that this theory is at best tenuous.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>James A. Sanders, "Ps. 151 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 75 (1963):84.

<sup>7</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 95

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 99.



Psalm 151 B in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> represents the battle of David and Goliath for Sanders.<sup>11</sup> This view would substantiate any understanding of David as the hero of God. The question is does this text, especially since it is unpointed, support such a premise?

This Hellenistic understanding of David as Orpheus is not substantiated by the Dead Sea community knowingly or unknowingly. No Jewish literature exists on this subject from the time of the Qumran scrolls in Palestine. Sanders' use of Moses as an Orphic figure in Alexandria does not mean that this figure can be transferred to Palestine. The mosaics of David as an Orpheus are from a much later time. Sanders has no support for his interpretation.

Skehan is another interpreter of the text of Psalms 151 A and B and its text in relation to the LXX and the Syriac texts. This study by Skehan is very detailed in its textual study, but two points are evident from Skehan's study. Psalms 151 A and B do not understand David as a Jewish Orpheus. As Skehan observes, "Finally, though there is no question that the figure of David was given an Orpheus coloration in later Judaism, this writer sees nothing in the language of Ps. 151 in Hebrew that justifies finding such a coloration there."<sup>12</sup>

The second point emphasized by Skehan is that these psalms are midrashic poems of 1 Sam. 16:1-13, but other Scripture passages are found in this midrash. Skehan writes:

Though at bottom, 1 Sm 16, 1-13 is being elaborated here, later Biblical materials are also called upon. God sees the hearts of

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Patrick W. Skehan, "Again the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 38 (1976):147.

David's brothers and of David, as in sin; but He also hears David's Psalms. The handsome hair of David's brothers is a trait borrowed from Absalom (2 Sm 14, 26). The anointing "with the holy oil" is from Ps. 88(89),21. The term ma'asay, here rendered "my compositions," is from Ps. 44(45) 2. The term 'adon used absolutely as a name of God, besides its occurrence in Ps. 113 (114) 7 and the related usage in Mal. 3,1, is to be found in Sir 10,7 and 35(32)22. A similar usage is in the Qumran Hodayot, 10, 8.<sup>13</sup>

Thus Skehan identifies this psalm as an apocryphal psalm based on biblical material with a pro-Davidic stance. This is not a Davidic psalm but a psalm about David.

Another opponent to Sanders' Orphic David is Isaac Rabinowitz. Rabinowitz disagrees on two points of textual interpretation on which he believes Sanders bases his understanding of David as the Jewish Orpheus in this psalm. Rabinowitz asserts that

The first of these points is where the words <sup>וַיֹּאמֶר</sup> <sup>בְּנַפְשִׁי</sup> <sup>אָמַרְתִּי</sup> "I said in my soul" (28:5; Sanders' verse 2, end) are construed with what precedes instead of as the introduction to what follows. . . . The waw of <sup>וַיֹּאמֶר</sup> cannot be waw-conjunctive, as implied by Sanders' translation, since this would require a preceding imperfect-jussive <sup>יֹאמֶר</sup> rather than the perfect <sup>אָמַר</sup> which actually stands in the text. Were Sanders' translation of the second distich here correct, the Hebrew words and word-order would necessarily have to read: <sup>אָמַרְתִּי</sup> <sup>בְּנַפְשִׁי</sup> <sup>אָמַרְתִּי</sup> <sup>וַיֹּאמֶר</sup> "So I said within my soul, 'Let me render glory to the Lord.'" There is, therefore, no alternative to the conclusion that this verse ends with the words, "and I gave the Lord glory," and that the words "I said in my soul" are introductory to what follows.<sup>14</sup>

Rabinowitz has divided the text, so that David is no longer the one whom Yahweh chooses because of his purity. The Orphic concept is removed.

The second point emphasized by Rabinowitz is ". . . where the common noun <sup>אֲדֹנָי</sup> "lord" or "master" (28,7; verses 4a end) has been

<sup>13</sup>Patrick W. Skehan, "Again the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 25 (1963):407.

<sup>14</sup>Isaac Rabinowitz, "The Alleged Orphism of 11QPss 28, 3-12," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 76 (1964):194.

construed as the governed word of a construct-expression | 17s' 'wv

'the deeds of the Lord' (sic) instead of the construct expression

| 17s' 'wv 'The Master of the Universe.'<sup>15</sup> What Rabinowitz attempts to show here is that Yahweh is not the subject being referred to here.

Rabinowitz does not find the foreign element of David as a Jewish Orpheus in this psalm, especially in verses 2b and 3. This psalm is a homily with David as exemplum for Rabinowitz. He writes:

The novum here is the typically homiletic (midrashic) linkage of the narratives about David and his preferment to the kingship (contained in II Sam 16-17) with the "fact" that he had composed hymns to God's glory--the Davidic Psalms. In keeping with the psalm's midrashic character, the ideas of nature, man, society, prestige, kingship, "chosenness" and "glory" which appear in it, as well as its conception of God's universality, sovereignty, and providence, are all derived from the Bible.<sup>16</sup>

Rabinowitz as did Skehan above finds no Orphic linkage but an apocryphal biblical midrash.

The third major opponent of Sanders' interpretation of David as a Jewish Orpheus is Frank Cross, Jr. Cross attempts through an orthographic study of the psalm to show that this psalm does not portray David as a Jewish Orpheus.<sup>17</sup> Cross's second point of contention is that this is not a biblical psalm. He writes: "The composition, Psalm 151, is probably Persian period in date, to judge from language and early orthographic survivals. In no case can it be later than the 3rd century B.C."<sup>18</sup> The composition is from the Intertestamental period and unable to be considered biblical in any manner other than as a biblical midrash.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>17</sup> Frank M. Cross, Jr., "David, Orpheus and Psalm 151:3-4," Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research 231 (1978):69-71.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

The major point of contention concerning Psalm 151 A is verses 2b-4. Here Sanders attempts at least tenuously to interpret David as a Jewish Orpheus. His opponents as typified by these three men do not find this Orphic understanding of David. Instead, a midrash of biblical texts is found here which can be no earlier than the Persian period. It is an apocryphal psalm and not a biblical psalm.

Two men have found what they would consider evidence of Psalm 151's wide spread existence in the region of Palestine as we have it in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. One of these men, John Strugnell, points to the existence of an Arabic anti-psalm to Psalm 151. He believes that the Arab had access to Psalm 151 A and corrected "David's" unorthodox thoughts.<sup>19</sup> Strugnell supports Sanders' contention that this psalm portrays David as a Jewish Orpheus.

The second man, Joseph Baumgarten, believes that an earlier text than the "Arabic anti-psalm" existed which supported 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s text of Psalm 151 A and B. This Hebrew text is Perek Shirah. It dates as early as the third century A.D. with the earliest known manuscript from the tenth century A.D.<sup>20</sup> Baumgarten quotes the following midrash found in the poem of Perek Shirah which allegedly reflects Psalm 151 A.

It is said of David, King of Israel, peace be upon him, that when he had completed the Book of Psalms, he was flushed with conceit and said before Him: Master of the Worlds, is there a creature in existence which excels me in reciting song? At that moment a frog came along and said to him: David be not puffed up with conceit, for I utter more songs than you. Moreover, for every song I utter, I

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<sup>19</sup>Strugnell, "Notes on the Text and Transmission of the Apocryphal Psalms 151, 154 and 155," p. 280.

<sup>20</sup>Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Perek Shirah, An Early Response to Psalm 151," Revue de Qumran 36 (Dec. 1975):576.

recite 3000 proverbs, as is written: "And he spoke 3000 proverbs and his songs were 1005" (1 Kings 5, 12).<sup>21</sup>

Baumgarten supports Sanders' understanding of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s Psalm 151 with his understanding of this passage from Perek Shirah.

The question is whether these passages from outside the Qumran community would not rather support than be critical of Psalm 151 A? If one accepts this psalm with the pointing that would exhibit David's humility, could this psalm and the other passages not be a reaction against the Hellenistic Jews and the other Gentiles? This non-Orphic emphasis is much more tenable for this author textually and theologically, because there is no other evidence that David is equated with Orpheus at this time.

#### Psalm 154

The next apocryphal psalm is Psalm 154 found in the Syriac Psalter. Psalm 154 is located in column XVIII of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Until the discovery of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Psalm 154 was not known in a Hebrew text. Sanders believes concerning both Psalms 154 and 155 that

. . . our newly found Hebrew texts of Psalms 154 and 155 are the Vorlagen of the Syriac texts of them; that is, Psalms 154 and 155 in the scroll are the Hebrew psalms from which the Syriac translations were made. . . . The Syriac translation corresponds to the Hebrew original at about 95 per cent, or better, correspondence.<sup>22</sup>

The correlation between 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s Psalm 154 and the Syriac text is quite good.

The psalm itself does not deal with David. Sanders concludes that "(A) We now have in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> the Hebrew 'Vorlagen' of the Syriac

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 576-77.

<sup>22</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 103.

non-canonical Pss Nos. II and III. (B) Ps II is a sapiential hymn of possible proto-Essenian origin."<sup>23</sup> Psalm 154 would then be an apocryphal psalm brought into the Dead Sea community, because this psalm supported their theological position.

#### Psalm 155

The last of the Syriac psalms found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is Psalm 155. Psalm 155 is located in column XXIV of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. It is preceded by Ps. 144:15. As noted above, Psalm 155 has been basically known to us from the Syriac Psalter.

Skehan observes that the psalm is a broken acrostic. He asserts that with

. . . the coincidence of the space requirements of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> in the gap of the bottom of column 24 with the amount of text actually offered us by the Syriac suggests at least that our early Hebrew ms contained no more than the Syriac, and the acrostic elements now available to us can be interpreted in favor of a degree of integrity not perceptible at first glance.<sup>24</sup>

Psalm 155 joins the ranks of Psalm 119 and 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s Psalm 145 as an acrostic known to the Qumran community.

The question is can Psalm 155 be termed a "biblical" psalm? Sanders believes that this psalm is thoroughly biblical and not part of the sectarian language and thought of Qumran.<sup>25</sup> Skehan believes otherwise when he writes:

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<sup>23</sup>James A. Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Judah, 4 (Oxford, England: At the Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 76.

<sup>24</sup>Patrick W. Skehan, "A Broken Acrostic and Psalm 9," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 27 (1965):1.

<sup>25</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 112.

As to the date of the composition, we have at least three indications that it is indeed late (2nd century B.C. as a reasonable surmise): its eclectic use of materials from throughout the canonical Psalter; its parallel between s<sup>e</sup>ela(h) and the Aramaizing baqoasa(h), a parallel specific to Esther in the OT (Est 5, 6-8; 7, 2-3; 9, 12, contrast Pss 6, 10; 66, 19-20); and the lack of spontaneity in its use of cara'ti 'eleka in the opening line followed by an imperative contrast Ps. 28, 1, 'eleka Yhwh' egra'.<sup>26</sup>

This analysis does not detract from the "biblical" quality of the psalm.

Yet the psalm is not a biblical psalm.

Hurvitz adds to this observation by Skehan with a verse by verse analysis of Psalm 155.<sup>27</sup> The study by Hurvitz is quite detailed and quite conclusive that this is not a biblical psalm. It is not the purpose of this paper to present all of the argumentation by Hurvitz, but it is necessary to substantiate this claim from his conclusions. He writes: ". . . the poet of this psalm tends to use linguistic idioms which are peculiar to late biblical or even post-biblical Hebrew, rather than the entirely different idioms employed in pre-exilic Hebrew in linguistic contexts similar to that of the present Qumran psalm."<sup>28</sup> Such an interpretation would not allow for the extant version of this Psalm 155 to antedate the Persian era.<sup>29</sup>

Psalm 155 is an apocryphal psalm. It is biblical in nature, but it is not a biblical psalm. The psalm has an acrostic form. No mention of David is found in the psalm, and it is quite late in its origin.

These three Syriac psalms are not Davidic. In fact, the only psalm which discusses David to any great degree is Psalm 151 A and B,

<sup>26</sup> Skehan, "A Broken Acrostic and Psalm 9," p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> A. Hurvitz, "Observations on the Language of the Third Apocryphal Psalm from Qumran," Revue de Qumran 18 (1965):225-32.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

and this psalm is an interpretation of various verses from Scripture. These psalms are adopted by the Dead Sea community as psalms which reflect this community's understanding of the world situation in light of their understanding of Scripture.

#### Sirach 51:13-30

The next apocryphal non-biblical psalm is Sirach 51:13-30.

This psalm is located in column XXI after Pss. 137:9; 138:1-8, and verse 30 is located in column XXII prior to the "Apostrophe to Zion" and Ps. 93:1-3. Sanders at first was unable to recognize this psalm as part of Sirach 51.<sup>30</sup>

This psalm then is not completely the same as the extant text known to us from Sirach. Sanders observes that: "It is clearly a valid first-century copy of the original composition, and not a reconstruction from the versions. There are only three words in the text which present serious difficulties and they are far from insurmountable ( $\text{לְיָמֵינוּ}$  in verse 2,  $\text{לְיָמֵינוּ}$  in verse 6, and  $\text{לְיָמֵינוּ}$  in verse 9)."<sup>31</sup> The text is not then totally different from the other sections of Sirach.

The psalm itself is an acrostic. The Greek and Hebrew texts of this psalm have some differences. The Greek text has no corresponding lines to verses 8b or 9 in the Hebrew text. Sanders also observes that verses 1 and 2 have differences between the Greek and the Hebrew texts. Verse 13a of the Greek is a translation of Hebrew verse 1a, but Greek verse 13b adds a note of piety totally lacking in Hebrew verse 1b.

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<sup>30</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 112.

<sup>31</sup>Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, p. 79.



Greek verse 14a fails to translate Hebrew 2a; the Greek is pious while the Hebrew is on the border of erotic. "The other versions, it may be pointed out, follow the Greek lead in this regard, presenting essentially pious ideas in lieu of these phrases in the Hebrew which suggest erotic figures and nuances."<sup>32</sup> Sanders believes that the texts were adapted for different uses.

With these variations in understanding and Sanders' understanding that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a Davidic Psalter, Sanders draws several conclusions concerning Sirach 51. He believes that: (1) 11QPs<sup>a</sup> contains a highly authentic if not the original text of Sirach 51:13-30. (2) This psalm was originally independent of Sirach, and adapted with major alterations. (3) Sirach has adapted this psalm to an erotic understanding of Wisdom. (4) Sirach interprets the psalm to fit his context. (5) Sirach's use of this canticle might be a retranslation. (6) The canticle gives the reader further insight into the Jewish views in Hellenistic-Roman times of David's youth. (7) This apocryphal psalm found in a biblical Psalter and in Sirach calls for a reinterpretation of the non-biblical apocryphal psalms in the LXX.<sup>33</sup> Sanders believes that this psalm is not originally from Sirach, but both the Dead Sea community and Sirach borrowed the psalm from the same source. Each community would consider itself to have the authentic composition of their respective author.

Sanders' view is not shared by everyone concerning this canticle. Sirach as a composition was known to normative Judaism. As Martin Hengel observes concerning Sirach and the Essenes, ". . . with the help of his wisdom terminology Sirach is developing the basic concepts of a

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

theological anthropology. We meet it again in a strongly dualistic context with the Teacher of Righteousness and the Essenes . . ."<sup>34</sup> The themes found in Qumran literature and Sirach have similarities.

Sirach is found in other caves at Qumran either as extant manuscripts or implicit in the Dead Sea community's own apocryphal literature. Sirach fragments are found primarily in Cave 2.<sup>35</sup> Lehmann believes that the Yom Kippur liturgy as found in Sirach 50 is present in the Qumran community's literature.<sup>36</sup> Sirach is not unknown to this Dead Sea community outside Cave 11.

Other references to Sirach are found in other parts of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> by Lehmann. He writes that

. . . line 2 "Pleas for Deliverence"  $\text{הַיְיָ יְיָ יְיָ יְיָ יְיָ}$  is a quotation from Ben Sira 17:20  $\text{הַיְיָ יְיָ יְיָ יְיָ יְיָ}$ . Lines 16, 17 in "Apostrophe to Zion"  $\text{יְיָ יְיָ יְיָ יְיָ יְיָ}$  draw on Ben Sira 20:21. Compare likewise Col. XVIII:12 and Ben Sira 39:1; Col. XXII:1, 2 and Ben Sira 24:10, 11; Col. XII:17, 18 and Ben Sira 36:19; Col VII:9 and Ben Sira 35:8.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, 1, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia, PA.: Fortress Press, 1974), p. 141.

<sup>35</sup> Manfred R. Lehmann, "Ben Sira and the Qumran Literature," Revue de Qumran 3 (1961-1962):103-16. These implicit references are found in 1QMilhamah and the Hodayot formulas.

<sup>36</sup> Manfred R. Lehmann, "'Yom Kippur' in Qumran," Revue de Qumran (1961-1962):117-24. Lehmann writes: "Ben Sira's most lasting contribution to Jewish literature is the sequence of the Yom Kippur found in Ben Sira 50, 6 ff. which has survived in the standard Jewish Kippur liturgy, as well as, as we may see, in the Samaritan and perhaps the Qumran Yom Kippur liturgy. The Ben Sira description of the Yom Kippur ritual does not follow the standard order of the service, probably as Ben Sira is primarily intended as a poetic homage to the High Priest Simon and as a description of his personal appearance on this day." (p. 119).

<sup>37</sup> Manfred R. Lehmann, "Some Recent Publications of the Dead Sea Documents," Tradition 80 (Fall 1966):78.

This widespread use of Sirach at Qumran both in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and in other manuscripts seems to be due to the fact that Sirach and this community had a common philosophy and a common enemy, even though the theological understanding of both is not entirely compatible.

The question is whether this canticle known as Sirach 51:13-30 is written by Jesus Ben Sirach or not, and if not, from where did the psalm originate and why did Jesus Ben Sirach incorporate it? These questions must now be addressed.

Detailed studies on Sirach 51 are in existence<sup>38</sup> but this study's purpose is not to present such a detailed analysis of this psalm. What is important to observe here is that the authors are unable to attribute this as a biblical psalm of David nor completely as a canticle of Jesus Ben Sirach. As Middendorp observes:

Ben Sira hat des Akrostichon also gekannt und verwendet. Selber verfasst hat er es nicht. Darin mag Sanders recht haben. Sonst stünde es nicht im Anhang und nicht in der Psalmensammlung von 11Q. Auch hätte Ben Sira die thematische Wiederholung kaum auf sich genommen. Am einfachsten ist die Annahme, dass er das Thema des Akrostichon abgewandelt hat. Schliesslich fand sich das Stück bei dem Papieren des Ben Sira in einer Form die bereits von Q abwich. Der Enkel fügte es dem Buche bei.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>For a more detailed analysis of Sirach 51 see: Theodore Middendorp, Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras Zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 118-25.

Robert Polzin, "Notes on the Dating of the Non-Masoretic Psalms of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," Harvard Theological Review 60 (1967):471-73.

Patrick W. Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem in Sirach 51:13-30," Harvard Theological Review 64 (1971):387-400.

<sup>39</sup>Middendorp, Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras Zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus, p. 124. "Ben Sira had also known and altered the acrostic. Thereby Sanders would be correct. Moreover it stands not in the appendix and not in the psalm collection of 11Q. Also Ben Sira has only taken the Thematic recapitulation. In the simplest manner, it is a recapitulation, because he has altered the theme of the acrostic. Finally, the piece itself is the composition of Ben Sira--in one form which is already divergent from Q. The related composition is joined together in the Book" (Author's Translation).

This psalm then is neither originally Davidic nor an original from biblical sources, nor originally from Sirach.

This position of non-originality of Sirach 51:13-30 found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> can be attributed to two facts. One fact is as noted above by Lehmann that Ben Sirach was known to the Dead Sea community. The second point concerns the grammatical and syntactical style in 11QPs Sirach 51. Polzin believes that many new phrases and idioms which are like Mishnaic Hebrew are found here. He also observes:

The features concern both grammar and vocabulary. His writings also exerted a great influence on later Jewish and Rabbinic literature. It is not surprising, then, to find a composition, elsewhere attributed to him, here in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> grouped with other apparently late Persian/Hellenistic compositions. And that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> Sirach should give us several interesting late Hebrew/Mishnaic forms is also consistent with these facts.<sup>40</sup>

What we have in this psalm is a composition of the Intertestamental period.

This psalm is as Sanders observes neither original to 11QPs<sup>a</sup> or Sirach. Yet, Sanders is incorrect in his understanding that this psalm could be attributed to David by 11QPs<sup>a</sup> or to Sirach by the school of Jesus Ben Sirach. This composition is part of a vast group of wisdom literature from the Intertestamental period. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has Psalms 154 and 155 which are sapiential by nature. This psalm known as Sirach 51 is also part of this corpus of wisdom literature in the Intertestamental period in reaction to Hellenism and other Gentile influences. Sirach is not unknown to the Dead Sea community, so that the Qumran community and Jesus Ben Sirach could very well have had similar sources which they adapted to their themes and their use.

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<sup>40</sup>Polzin, "Notes on the Dating of the Non-Massoretic Psalms of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," p. 473.

Non-Biblical Apocryphal Material  
not Known Outside of Qumran

Three non-biblical apocryphal psalms in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> not known outside the Dead Sea community are found here, "Plea for Deliverance," "Apostrophe to Zion," and the "Hymn to the Creator." Also found in this scroll is the "Compositions of David" in prose. Because of the importance of this "Compositions of David" for the understanding of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, it will be discussed first followed by the three non-biblical psalms.

Compositions of David

The "Compositions of David" is located in column XXVII. It is preceded by 2 Sam. 23:7, and is followed by Ps. 140:1-5. It is highly reminiscent of the solar calendar found at Qumran, in Jubilees and in 1 Enoch, because of the days noted for sacrifice. It also has an understanding of liturgy unique to the situation. As Sanders observes,

The prose insert in column XXVII is interesting from three different points of view: the calendars of early Judaism, the liturgies of this period, and beliefs concerning David around the time of Christ.<sup>41</sup>

This "Compositions of David" challenges one's understanding of the use of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and ultimately of the use of the Psalter.

Sanders contention is that this "Compositions of David" asserts Davidic authorship for 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the Psalter. He writes concerning David's abilities: "At Qumran David was thought of not only as a musical composer and author of the Psalter under prophetic inspiration, but also as a hakham, capable of the kind of thinking elsewhere attributed

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<sup>41</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 134.

to the great Wisdom teacher Ben Sira."<sup>42</sup> This assertion of David as the great man of wisdom takes into account Pslams 154 and 155 as well as Ben Sirach 51:13-30. Sanders buttresses his understanding of David's "wisdom" in a later work when he says, "Biblical allusions to David's wisdom are limited to the psalm above, the few expressions in I Samuel 16:12-23, and the speech of the wise woman of Tekoa in II Samuel 14 . . ."<sup>43</sup> This composition is used by Sanders to weld this scroll into a comprehensive unit by attributing recognized authorship of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to David.

The problems with such an understanding is that Sanders assumes much from a text which exists nowhere else. The solar calendar here is that of the orthodox Jew of the Intertestamental period. As Lehmann observes, Sanders ". . . fails to note any significance from the point of view of Halakhah in this list, for example the celebration of 1 day of Rosh Hashanah or of a 364 day and 52 week year."<sup>44</sup> Lehmann seems to imply here that this composition is a halakah.

One point of mild interest to Sanders is that the psalms attributed to David are a challenge to Solomon's record of psalms written as recorded in 1 Kings 5:12.<sup>45</sup> This passage does throw some light on the scroll's use of this "Compositions of David." The passage reads: "And the Lord gave Solomon wisdom, as he promised him; and there was peace between Hiram and Solomon; and the two of them made a treaty." This passage indicates more than a mere challenge between David and Solomon

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<sup>42</sup>Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, p. 92.

<sup>43</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 135.

<sup>44</sup>Lehmann, "Some Recent Publications of the Dead Sea Documents," p. 77.

<sup>45</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 134.

over their wisdom and ability. David's son, Solomon, is attributed wisdom in line with his father, David. If Solomon is this wise, then David his father would be wiser. So that attributing this wisdom scroll to David, would give it the wisdom and authority of David.

This "Compositions of David" does not call for the recognition of David as author of all the psalms in this scroll, but rather that the Dead Sea community called upon the name of "David" to validate what they assembled in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. This scroll is a collection of wisdom material attributed to David.

#### Non-Biblical Psalms

The other three non-biblical apocryphal psalms of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> are not as important in their ramifications for 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the Psalter, since they appear nowhere else outside of the Qumran community. Therefore the discussion will not be as great.

#### "Plea for Deliverance"

The first non-biblical apocryphal psalm known only to the Qumran community is the "Plea for Deliverance." The psalm is located by itself in column XIX of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The psalm is a hymn. This hymn ". . . contains twenty or so verses of a prayer for deliverance from sin and Satan, with a praise of thanksgiving for past experiences of salvation embedded within the prayer."<sup>46</sup> Sanders observes that

The biblical argument that God spares a man death since the dead cannot praise God is here repeated (Isa 38<sup>18-19</sup>, Job 7<sup>21</sup>, Ps. 6<sup>4-5</sup>, et passim). Ll. 14-16 remind one somewhat of lQS iii and iv, but the vocabulary is different. <sup>רננו</sup> of l.16 is rabbinical

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<sup>46</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 119.

(cf. Sirach 44<sup>1</sup>). Here also are found Satan and the evil inclination of rabbinic literature rather than Belial and the spirit of faithfulness rather than the spirit of truth.<sup>47</sup>

The hymn's theme is not that usually found in the Qumran scrolls. The implication of this different theme is that this psalm was known outside of this community, and was perhaps a reaction to the Hellenistic society.

Another extant copy of the "Pleas for Deliverance" is found in Cave 11. It was located by Father J. van der Ploeg among the fragments of 11QPs<sup>d</sup>. More lines of this hymn are found here.<sup>48</sup> The psalm was not unknown to the community then.

#### "Apostrophe to Zion"

The second psalm of interest is the "Apostrophe to Zion." This psalm is located in column XXII of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. It is preceded by Sirach 51:30, and it is followed by Ps. 93:1-3. It is an acrostic as is the preceding Sirach 51.

The content of this psalm is unique as an "Apostrophe to Zion." As Sanders observes,

This apostrophe to Zion is not a prayer addressed to God; that is, it is not a Promethean prayer in itself, but it refers to such prayers in an attempt to console Jerusalem because of her enemies. "Accept a vision bespoken of thee, a dream of prophets sought for thee" (verse 17).<sup>49</sup>

As Sanders observes later, "It is written in the style of apostrophes to Zion found in the Bible: Isa. 54:1-8; 60:1-22; and 62:1-8. But much of the vocabulary and the imagery of the poem is taken from

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<sup>47</sup>Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, p. 76.

<sup>48</sup>Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 119.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 123.



Isa. 66:10-11. . ."<sup>50</sup> This psalm is not a biblical apostrophe to Zion, but it is biblical in its language and usage of Scripture texts.

This is not the only extant copy of this psalm. Another copy of this psalm is found in Cave 4 (4QPs<sup>f</sup>). Sanders observes concerning 4QPs<sup>f</sup> that "The Cave 4 manuscript dates from the middle of the first century B.C. and includes about half the text of the Apostrophe to Zion in columns VII and VIII of the extant fragments. It offers some twenty variants, none of which alters the sense of the poem but some of which brings improvements to the Hebrew text."<sup>51</sup>

The text of the Apostrophe to Zion is not biblical in its composition. Polzin observes in line 11, ". . . the word  $\eta\zeta\eta\eta$  'praise' in Rabbinic. It is not found in Biblical Hebrew. We find it in Ben Sirach 51:12 and 6QXVIII."<sup>52</sup> In line 13, ". . .  $\zeta\eta\eta$  'to receive' is found in Biblical Hebrew mainly in the late books. It is also very common in Rabbinic literature and is found in Ben Sirach 15:2."<sup>53</sup> This author would concur with Polzin that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> Apostrophe to Zion is a late Hellenistic/Persian composition.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid. A detailed analysis of the "Apostrophe to Zion" as found in 4QPs<sup>f</sup> is presented by J. Starcky, "Psaumes Apocryphes De La Grotte 4 De Qumran (4QPs<sup>f</sup>VII-X)," Revue Biblique 72 (1966):353-67.

<sup>52</sup>Polzin, "Notes on the Dating of the Non-Massoretic Psalms of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," p. 473.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 474.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

"Hymn to the Creator"

The last psalm peculiar to Qumran is the "Hymn to the Creator." This psalm is located in column XXVI of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. It is preceded by Ps. 149:7-9 and 150:1-6. The psalm's extant length is only nine verses.

The content of this "Hymn to the Creator" is not original but dependent on passages from the Old Testament. Sanders observes that it is ". . . a sapiential hymn of praise to the Creator. It has vague affinities with the Hodayot in the first six verses, but vv. 7-9 are made up of phrases which are found in Jer. 10<sup>12-13</sup> (51<sup>15-16</sup>) and Ps. 135<sup>7</sup> . . . . The phrases in vv. 7-9 appear in better order here than in Jeremiah or Ps 135. The three colons of vv. 8b-9 are in reverse order in the biblical passages; and Jer 10<sup>13ax</sup> is lacking in Q. This material undoubtedly derives from some liturgical hymn of praise of the Creator."<sup>55</sup> The content then is arranged by the author for this liturgical piece, and would be later than the biblical compositions even for Sanders.

The psalm then is not of the biblical period. Sanders believes that the "Hymn to the Creator" belongs ". . . to Jewish Wisdom literature of the period between the testaments, in a category with Psalm 154 and Sirach 51:13ff. It does not represent the best poetry in the scroll."<sup>56</sup> An example from the vocabulary of the lateness of this psalm is the phrase ". . .  $\text{סְׁוֹתֵי בְרִית}$  'sons of the covenant' in lines 11 and 12 . . .  $\text{סְׁוֹתֵי בְרִית}$  is not found in the Bible but at Qumran (1Q<sup>MXVII</sup>, 8), in Rabbinic literature, Odes of Solomon (17-15), and the New Testament

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<sup>55</sup> Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, p. 89.

<sup>56</sup> Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, p. 129.

(Acts 3:25). It also is probably from the Hellenistic period or later."<sup>57</sup>  
 This psalm is not Davidic nor is it composed from Davidic material only.  
 This psalm is rather a post-biblical hymn of the Dead Sea community.

These three non-biblical apocryphal psalms found only at Qumran are all of a late date from either the Hellenistic or Persian periods. They do not entirely represent the theology of the Qumran community. Some themes of the normative Jewish community are found in the texts. They are not biblical, but they contain biblical material. These psalms are not Davidic.

#### Conclusions

These non-biblical apocryphal psalms and this prose section do not require the assumption of Davidic authorship for this scroll. Instead, with the exception of Psalms 151 A and B, these psalms point to themes found basically in Wisdom literature. Their affinity with Rabbinic literature in its attacks upon Hellenism points to a much later composition than the biblical psalms. The last three psalms noted above are more liturgical in nature, and could have easily been used in this manner by the Qumran community.

If it were not for the section Sanders entitles "Compositions of David," Davidic authorship would not be so strongly asserted. As it is, this identification of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a Davidic psalter is not understood. Instead, this psalm collection was given authority by the community's claim for Davidic sponsorship for this scroll.

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<sup>57</sup> Polzin, "Notes on the Dating of the Non-Massoretic Psalms of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," p. 475N33.

The question is, after having viewed these biblical and non-biblical psalms in this scroll, does this alter our understanding of the Psalter? This question will be dealt with in the next chapter where the question of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a biblical Psalter will be considered.

## CHAPTER V

### 11QPs<sup>a</sup>: PSALTER OR PSALMBOOK?

This chapter deals with the question raised concerning the nature of this scroll known as 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Three theories concerning the nature of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> are presented below. The first theory advocated by James Sanders is that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a fluid Davidic Psalter.<sup>1</sup> The second theory advocated by such men as Peter Ackroyd and Brevard Childs is that this scroll is an alternate canonical Psalter.<sup>2</sup> The third theory supported by such men as Mark Goshen-Gottstein and Patrick Skehan is that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a psalmbook, a songbook, similar to a collection of psalms used in liturgical services.<sup>3</sup> The thesis of this chapter is that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a psalmbook with liturgical implications and not a Psalter. It is necessary to present and then to analyze these theories in light of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to prove this thesis.

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Sanders, "The Qumran Scroll (11QPs<sup>a</sup>) Reviewed," In On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida, ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley (The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton, 1974), p. 97.

<sup>2</sup>Peter R. Ackroyd, "Original Text and Canonical Text," Union Seminary Quarterly Review 32 (1977):166-73. Brevard S. Childs, "Reflections on the Modern Study of the Psalms," In The Mighty Acts of God. In Memoriam of G. E. Wright, ed. Frank M. Cross, Jr. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), p. 382.

<sup>3</sup>Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs<sup>a</sup>), A Problem of Canon and Text," Textus 5 (1966):22-33. Patrick W. Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 35 (1973): 195.

Psalter Theory

The Fluidity of the Psalter Text

Sanders believes that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a valid variant Psalter text of Books IV and V of the MT text. Sanders asserts that ". . . the field is moving toward affirming that the Qumran Psalter, represented by 11QPs<sup>a</sup> but also by other fragmentary Psalter manuscripts from Caves 4 and 11, was revered at Qumran as authoritative as any other Psalter present there: it was 'canonical' at Qumran though by no means closed; on the contrary, it was, while authoritative, still open-ended."<sup>4</sup> The Psalter at Qumran in the form of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is not a sectarian Psalter of the Qumran community.

The Qumran Psalter for Sanders is indicative of the fluidity of that part of the Old Testament text known as the "Writings." Sanders observes that ". . . the Qumran Psalter manuscripts indicate that in the first century B.C. and early first century A.D. Judaism had simply not yet arrived at that uniform point for the Psalter just as it had not yet arrived a stabilization of the remainder of the Hagiographa or Ketubim."<sup>5</sup> The fluidity of the text of the Psalter as part of the Writings is noted specifically here. Sanders allows for Books I-III of the Psalter to be stabilized in the Macabbean period as Cross notes, but that the fluidity of the Psalter text is found in Books IV-V as noted earlier.

The basis for the authority and the final stabilization of the Psalter for Sanders is Davidic authorship. As noted in chapter IV

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<sup>4</sup> Sanders, "The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs<sup>a</sup>) Reviewed." p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

concerning the "Compositions of David," Sanders asserts that this prose composition is part and parcel of the acceptance of Davidic authorship of the Psalter. Sanders believes that "The weight of authority attached to the name of David in the period from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100 would bring the Psalms the same respect which the Law and the Prophets commanded: As indeed Luke 24:44 indicates, the Psalms are cited by Jesus as having the same authority, for Christian purposes as the Law and Prophets."<sup>6</sup> The Psalter as well as the rest of the Writings were not stable at this time for Sanders. His understanding of "canon" will be observed in the next chapter, but it is important to note here that Sanders' understanding of the Psalter and canon are interdependent.

When was the text of the Psalter stabilized for Sanders then? The Jewish Revolt, which brought about the end of Jerusalem, and the alleged Council of Jamnia were the bench marks, the points of stabilization, for Sanders. As he writes,

What the Qumran Psalter literature indicates is that prior to the crisis of the First Jewish Revolt and the all-unifying conciliar decisions that it provoked, there was a Psalter textual tradition which exhibited the tension between a faithful piety toward the texts inherited and a pious faithfulness to the elastic memory of David . . .<sup>7</sup>

Thus the Psalter as a whole was eventually formed under the umbrella of Davidic memory as the Torah was formed under the umbrella of Mosaic memory.

What does this understanding of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> say for the use of text families and this scroll? As noted in an earlier chapter, Sanders holds

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<sup>6</sup> Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 157.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

to the theory of local texts as advocated by Frank Cross. Sanders presents 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a representative of the Palestinian text family. With this understanding of the text, Sanders is able to assert that

Before A.D. 70, however, there was an open-ended Psalter tradition, independent of whatever proto-Masoretic Psalter existed before the end of the first century, which was both stable enough and fluid enough to satisfy the piety of those Jews who adhered to it. Such a state of affairs leaves wide open the question of the authority of variant readings.<sup>8</sup>

Such a theory would allow for a number of equally valid texts of the Psalter until the time of the Council of Jamnia. The question is, to what extent can a text of a book of the Bible such as the Psalter be fluid, and still be considered the same text of that book which we presently have in the MT?

Sanders points to the great diversity of the text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and other psalms scrolls at Qumran to that of the MT to support his theory. He asserts that with

The "Psalm of David" designation, which appears in the superscriptions of all other psalms were expected, fails in the scroll to appear at the beginning of Psalm 144 where the Masoretic text has it, but does appear at the top of Psalm 123. . . . and now on Psalm 104 in fragment E where the Masoretic text does not include it.<sup>9</sup>

He later supports this position by noting that, "The refrain familiar in Psalm 136 and reflected in 118 . . . is found also as a variant at the opening of Psalm 105 in fragment E: 'O give thanks to the Lord, for he is good; for his steadfast love endures forever.'<sup>10</sup> Enough of Sanders' understanding and defense of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a Psalter and the open ended Psalter has been presented to show that Sanders' understanding of this

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 158-59.



scroll has been influenced by this scroll in his understanding of the text of the Old Testament and canon.

#### Alternate Psalter for the Qumran Community

Sanders' understanding of canon will be discussed in the next chapter. Before we turn to the problems of Sanders' understanding of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a Psalter, it is important to deal with the theory that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is an alternate Psalter. Proponents of this theory are Peter Ackroyd and Brevard S. Childs. As Childs observes concerning Ackroyd and this alternate Psalter theory,

Ackroyd raises the question as to whether the canonical psalter itself is not really to be defined as a "liturgical collection" and to what extent a somewhat arbitrary section from a larger body of material by part of the Jewish community should be binding on the Christian faith. He does not suggest a final answer, but clearly the issue of canon has moved to the center of the discipline and affects a wide range of subjects including text criticism and theology.<sup>11</sup>

This theory then entails a different use and understanding of the canon during the Intertestamental period from that of the Masoretes.

Childs' own understanding of the Psalter and Davidic authorship is based on this alternate Psalter theory. Childs believes

. . . that the historical references to David are the result of a development of inner biblical exegesis akin to later midrashic techniques which sought to establish the setting from the content of the psalms. The development of this use of superscriptions can be also fixed in time. The form does not appear until after the Chronicler and is fully developed by the time of the Qumran Psalms Scroll.<sup>12</sup>

David becomes the crux of the development of the canonical Psalter. The Psalter we presently have in the MT evolved under the guidance of Davidic authority.

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<sup>11</sup>Childs, "Reflections on the Modern Study of the Psalms," p. 382.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 384.

Thus the Qumran community had an equally valid alternate Psalter. How was the Psalter anchored in its canonical historical context? David is the key here for Childs for both authority and history. Childs believes that

. . . David is pictured simply as a man, indeed chosen by God for the sake of Israel, but one who displays the strengths and weaknesses of all men. By attaching a psalm to a historical event the interpretation of the psalm is made to focus on the inner life of the psalmist. An access is now provided the reader into David's emotional life. Later Israel is offered a guideline on how the faith relates to the subjective side of its life.<sup>13</sup>

This personalization of the psalms by Davidic authorship gives them the ability to become a personal word from God to their own corporate or personal situation for Childs.

With regards to the titles of the psalms, Childs asserts that "The titles, far from tying these poems to the ancient past, serve to contemporize and individualize them for every generation of suffering and persecuted Israel."<sup>14</sup> Thus the text is given its authority from God by its alleged author, namely David for the Psalter. Thus a scroll such as 11QPs<sup>a</sup> which allegedly attributes Davidic authorship to these psalms is an equally valid alternate Psalter for the times.

It is of interest to note what Ackroyd has to say about the text of the Old Testament and its development apart from Childs. In an article entitled "Original Text and Canonical Text," Ackroyd asserts that

The whole structure of the biblical canon rests upon the assumption that earlier stages of authoritative writing can be discerned, and that these continue to operate in the eventually modified text-forms which are given a final and fixed shape. In fact, though this moves over into another area of discussion which is not my concern here directly, the final fixed text-form which is accorded full

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

canonical status is clearly itself subject to the modifications which are implied by reinterpretation. In Jewish and Christian communities the way in which biblical authority operates is clearly interlinked with the ongoing exegesis of the texts by which their contemporary authority is affirmed and applied. Canon and tradition both have their place.<sup>15</sup>

The text of the community is an equally valid canonical representative of the text as is the final canonical text. Thus 11QPs was an equally valid canonical Psalter for the Qumran community but not necessarily for the normative Jewish community of Jerusalem.

The implications of the alternate Psalter theory for 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is that of not merely a fluid text but also a fluid understanding of the pre-canonical Psalter. The Psalter for such a theory would be any collection of psalms validated by Davidic authorship. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> fits into such an historical validization by its citation of 2 Sam. 23:7 and the "Compositions of David" as well as the superscriptions to David which appear with these psalms. Davidic authorship fits an alternate Psalter.

#### General Criticism of the Psalter Theory

These two theories are both dependent on their understanding of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. It is necessary to analyze these theories in light of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The question which must be first addressed here concerns Davidic authorship of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.

Leiman makes two observations concerning Davidic authorship and the composition of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The first observation of note is that 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

. . . is an anthology of Psalms and Hymns, probably intended for the Levites who accompanied the sacrifices with song. The Davidic prose insert supports such an interpretation of the scroll's function. Whether or not the sectarians were still offering sacrifices at

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<sup>15</sup>Ackroyd, "Original Text and Canonical Text," p. 168.

Qumran is a moot question. . . . But they had certainly done so earlier in their history and intended to resume sacrifices in the future kingdom.<sup>16</sup>

Leiman works under the assumption here that the Davidic authority was asserted over this scroll for liturgical purposes and not for the authorship of the Psalter.

Leiman asserts a second point concerning Sirach 51:13-30 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> of which he observes, "The inclusion of an apocryphal Ben Sira passage proves that the scroll could not have been considered Davidic or canonical. Other Ben Sira passages are known to have influenced the liturgy."<sup>17</sup> The emphasis here as noted in the last chapter is that the book of Sirach was known to the Qumran community. At the very least, this chapter from Sirach comes from a common source that both the scribe of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and Jesus Ben Sirach drew from in the composition of their texts. Davidic authorship cannot be taken as an understood and accepted fact for this wisdom psalm.

Another point of contention concerning the apocryphal psalms in this scroll and Davidic authorship is that a heavy influence of wisdom literature is present, especially in the latter two Syriac psalms, Psalms 154 and 155. These two psalms are not typical of the Davidic psalms in the MT, but they are typical of the wisdom literature of the Intertestamental period.

The contention made by Sanders that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a Psalter because of the surprising variant readings is an argument that supports both

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<sup>16</sup>Sid Z. Leiman, Canonization of Hebrew Scriptures. The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 47 (Hamden, CT.: Archon Books, 1976), p. 155 N. 184.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 155 N. 183.

positions. The Davidic superscription as noted by Sanders is not consistent in the psalms of the MT and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as Sanders himself admits. Psalm 145 with its added refrain and the nun-verse in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> are explainable as alternate readings known by the rabbinic community, but they were not given support by this normative community. Psalm 118 as a coda in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s main corpus and in fragment E exhibit different liturgical uses of this psalm. The scroll 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not distinctively support a canonical or alternate canonical Psalter.

#### Psalmsbook Theory

One other theory has been proposed concerning 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. This theory considers 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to be a psalmsbook, a liturgical book, not too much different from our present day songbook. As noted earlier, the two major supporters of this theory are Skehan and Goshen-Gottstein. Skehan believes ". . . that a twofold explanation is needed for the 11Q manuscripts: first, a grouping in view of liturgical considerations; and secondly, a more all-inclusive compilation in honor of David, the Psalmist par excellence."<sup>18</sup> The liturgical emphasis is again brought forth this time by Skehan.

Goshen-Gottstein does not believe that the Psalter theory for this scroll is correct either. He believes that

The claim for "Davidic" authorship can hardly be taken as evidence that the collection enjoyed canonical status with anyone. What the collector wished his readers to believe was--possibly even in conscious contradiction to the accepted canon--that, similarly to the legendary number of the wise sayings attributed to Solomon, there was a huge treasure of hymns credited to David. Many of these had perhaps, been used liturgically, as the "Epilogue" informs us, and

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<sup>18</sup>Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," p. 195.

some of these were saved and were available--perhaps even in the use of the community. No better way could be thought of to ensure future use of these hymns than to collect them together with a selection of "canonical" Psalms. It is thus, at the utmost, "Davidic" authorship that is also claimed for the "non-canonical" hymns in the collection. This would not have constituted a claim for a rival "canon" even if the collector had given us all the four thousand psalms and hymns.<sup>19</sup>

Goshen-Gottstein believes that Sanders' theory is based extensively on the epilogue known as the "Compositions of David," and that this epilogue does not denote Davidic authorship for all of the compositions.

Goshen-Gottstein believes that Sanders' theory causes certain difficulties in our understanding of the scroll. He believes that

. . . the additional difficulty of a specific "Qumranic" collection of canonical character, not to mention at the moment the third difficulty connected with the recensional textual side. The assumption of "Qumranic" (or allied sectarian provenance of the collection is indicated not so much because of the contents of the "apocryphal" hymns but because the "Epilogue" presupposes the Qumranic calendar. Since it is this "Epilogue" on which the theory rests, little would be gained by assuming separate origins for the Epilogue and the rest of the scroll and by pronouncing the "Epilogue" a secondary addition.<sup>20</sup>

One difficulty for Goshen-Gottstein lies here with Sanders' superficiality in understanding the calendar behind the "Compositions of David." This calendar was in wide usage at Qumran and other sectarian literature.

Sanders' entire argument as has been noted is not entirely dependent upon this prose composition. Goshen-Gottstein is aware of this, and presents data from the psalms to bolster his presentation.

One psalm under consideration by Goshen-Gottstein is Psalm 145. Sanders uses this psalm to bolster his argument also. Goshen-Gottstein believes that ". . . if we accept the 'liturgical' theory, the form of

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<sup>19</sup>Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs<sup>a</sup>), A Problem of Canon and Text," p. 27.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 28

Ps. 145 in this scroll represents the 'text,' rewritten for liturgical purposes. In other words, if we take our clue from Ps. 145 and accept its form at face value, the two types of problems canonical and textual, are solved at the same time."<sup>21</sup> Psalm 145 can only be a liturgical text and not a pure biblical psalm.

Goshen-Gottstein points to the arrangement of the "Psalms of Ascent" discussed in the beginning of chapter two. He observes that

. . . in the canonical collection each psalm of a whole group (Pss. 120-134) is headed *לַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* 121: *לַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* (*לַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ*). All the psalms of this group which are included in 11Ps-a (Ps. 121-132) appear together according to the canonical sequence (col. III-VI). Ps. 133, however, appears by itself in col. XXIII, yet it bears the *לַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* heading. It is difficult to imagine a reasonable explanation unless we accept the most obvious one, i.e. that our selection is secondary.<sup>22</sup>

Skehan notes the addition to Psalm 145, and believes that ". . . it is here understood that the zo't l<sup>e</sup>zikkaron at the end of column xvii, line 17 is the beginning of a notation having to do with liturgical use not merely of the preceding Ps. 145 with its inserted response, but of the whole group beginning with Ps 135."<sup>23</sup> Skehan believes then that zo't l<sup>e</sup>zikkaron is a heading for this section of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> rather than as an addition to Psalm 145. This detracts from allowing this to be considered a Psalter, and adds more emphasis to the psalmbook theory.

The text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a mosaic of biblical and non-biblical material. The question is whether this mosaic is a normative Psalter of the time of the Intertestamental period if not for all of Judaism at

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 30 N. 36.

<sup>23</sup>Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," p. 195.

least for the Dead Sea community. Skehan and Goshen-Gottstein have the most tenable theory for this scroll. The reasons are noted below.

### 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the Psalmbook Theory

Psalm 145 is one of the major points of contention for both theories. As noted above by both Skehan and Goshen-Gottstein, the material has extensive liturgical additions. The addition of the nun-verse and the refrain are just two examples of this difference. The variant of note in verse 1 in the MT is *לשן* and *לשן* in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. As noted in chapter two, this variant and the *לשן* *לשן* in the additional verse at the end might reflect a liturgical prayer. Psalm 145 is not a biblical psalm in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. It can only be considered as liturgical in this scroll.

Psalm 119 covers a major portion of this scroll. Besides the large attention Psalm 119 receives in this scroll, it is also the only psalm appearing as an acrostic according to the poetic form as found in the MT. Although it is not the only acrostic in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, Psalm 119 is the only psalm from the MT which retains its poetic form. Poetic form does not play an important part for this scroll, except where the text calls for it. The other acrostics do not appear in this poetic style.

The text of the psalms does have a close affinity to the text of the psalms in the MT. Yet the theological undercurrents of these variants as found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> are not the same as the text of the MT and the LXX. This scroll has a different understanding of the text.

As noted above, the non-biblical psalms are an integral part of both theories. Sirach 51:13-30 is evidence enough to point out that this scroll is a psalmbook. It is not isolated. The Syriac psalms are



known outside of Qumran. The psalms found only in Qumran are known to us from other scrolls. These compositions are not generally considered Davidic.

It has been asserted in this thesis that this scroll known as 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a liturgical psalmbook used by the Dead Sea community. The "Compositions of David" does not imply Davidic authorship but rather Davidic authority over this scroll. The psalms are known to the Dead Sea community, and were used freely as part of their liturgical services. This does not mean that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a totally sectarian scroll. As Leiman observes, "The Sitz im Leben of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> was probably not in sectarian services (daily or otherwise). Such liturgical texts have been found at Qumran; they include a 'formularly of blessings' which a functionary (the maskil) bestowed upon the laymen, high priests, priests, and the perfect of the community ( מטביל ש'ש)." <sup>24</sup> It must be admitted though that this scroll is a liturgical scroll in existence at the Dead Sea community.

The question to be dealt with next concerns itself with the understanding of the canon of the Old Testament and the implications for the New Testament's understanding of the Psalter. The next chapter will concentrate on this question. The answer again depends on whether one understands 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a Psalter or as a psalmbook. This thesis understands 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a liturgical psalmbook, and will endeavor to present its understanding of the scroll's implications on the canon of the Old Testament in this manner.

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<sup>24</sup> Sid Z. Leiman, Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence, p. 155 N. 184.

## CHAPTER VI

### IMPLICATIONS OF 11QPs<sup>a</sup> FOR UNDERSTANDING THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

As has been noted in the previous chapter, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has possible implications not just for our understanding of the Psalter but also for our understanding of the canon of the Old Testament. The scroll, 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, and our interpretation of this scroll have ramifications for the New Testament and the Psalter. The thesis of this chapter is that with a fixed Psalter prior to the Qumran community's existence, the alleged council of Jamnia loses its significance. The canon need not be fixed to an arbitrary date of ca. 90 A.D. as the terminus ad quem. This chapter will examine these two points in light of this thesis.

#### The Canon of the Old Testament in Light of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

The first point under consideration is the canon of the Old Testament in light of the Dead Sea community's manuscripts of the psalms, especially 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. This part of the discussion will consider two areas. The first area of consideration is to view prevalent interpretations of the canon of the Old Testament in light of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The second area for consideration is the Dead Sea community's use of the Hebrew Psalter, especially 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Conclusions will be drawn concerning the status of this scroll.

Prevalent Interpretations of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s Role  
in the Canon of the Old Testament

One's interpretation of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s role concerning the canon of the Old Testament is determined by whether one considers 11QPs<sup>a</sup> to be a Psalter or a psalmbook. Since this discussion of the nature of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has been dealt with in the previous chapter, this chapter will presume that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a psalmbook.

As noted in the last chapter, the Psalter theory is advocated by James A. Sanders. Sanders believes that with the discovery of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> the stabilization of the Psalter text can no longer be relegated to the period before the Maccabean era. Instead, the 150 psalm collection of the Psalter as known to us in the MT was not stabilized in every segment of the Jewish community until a much later date. The stabilization of the Psalter text for the entire Jewish community was not until the end of the first century A.D., at the alleged Council of Jamnia.<sup>1</sup>

The canon itself has remarkable characteristics for Sanders, especially in light of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The primary characteristic of the canon is its adaptability. This adaptability is centered in man's actions and has no mention of a God-man relationship.<sup>2</sup> The second important characteristic of the canon is that it has the ability to give life as well as survive in itself. The important aspect for our understanding here is that ". . . canon is canon not only because it survives but because it can give its survival power to stay in the community that recites it.

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Sanders, "Adaptable for Life: The Nature and Function of Canon," in *Magnalia Dei*, ed. Frank M. Cross, Jr. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1976), p. 532.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 539.

It not only has survival qualities for itself, it shares those life-giving qualities with the community which finds identity in it."<sup>3</sup> Thus the development of the canon of the Old Testament is viewed solely from a historical and sociological viewpoint by Sanders. This understanding is not intrinsically incompatible with a theological view, but the latter must also be articulated.

The psalmbook theory concerning 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is the interpretation advocated in the previous chapter. As noted, Goshen-Gottstein and Skehan are supporters of this interpretation of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Another advocate of the psalmbook approach is Sid Z. Leiman. He views this interpretation in light of the canon of the Old Testament.

Leiman believes that the arguments supporting 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a liturgical text outweigh the arguments supporting 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a Psalter. His argumentation is based on five points. This argumentation has been noted to a lesser degree in the previous chapter, but it will be repeated here to get the entire scope of Leiman's understanding of this scroll and its canonical status. Leiman asserts that: a. The unique order and text of the psalms differs from all known texts and versions, and its canonicity is suspect; b. The great amount of non-biblical apocryphal psalms casts suspicion on the canonicity of the scroll; c. The cultic calendar as reflected in the "Compositions of David" suggests the liturgical nature of this scroll. The prose insert is foreign to the canonical Psalter; d. The cultic calendar is sectarian, and thus the scroll does not reflect the normative Jewish community; e. The refrain after

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 540.

each verse in Psalm 145 is a liturgical response.<sup>4</sup> Leiman's observations emphasize the non-canonical nature of this scroll as a whole. The prose insert used as a defense for a Davidic Psalter becomes the scroll's own adversary for canonical status. This scroll cannot be considered a canonical Psalter.

The Qumran Community's Understanding  
of the Canonical Psalter

The question is what was the canonical status of the Psalter in the Dead Sea community? Since we have no documents from the Dead Sea community stating whether a book of the Bible is canonical or noncanonical, such a question must be answered from the texts of the Psalter scrolls themselves.

One point for consideration is that three or four psalm commentaries on Psalms 37, 45, 57(?) and 68 have been identified from the Qumran manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> These psalm commentaries from the earlier Books of the Psalter do not prove or disprove Sanders' understanding of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>'s status, since Sanders would agree that the earlier Books of the Psalter were stable by the time of the Maccabean era. What these commentaries do show is that the Dead Sea community's Psalter at least in these earlier Books was canonical quite a while prior to the time of its interpretation, since the biblical book would have had to have canonical status prior to the formation of the Dead Sea community for such use.

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<sup>4</sup>Sid Leiman, Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 47 (Hamden, CT.: Archon Books, 1976), pp. 154-55 N. 183.

<sup>5</sup>Jan H. Eybers, "Some Light on the Canon of the Qumran Sect," Die Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika, ed. A. H. van Selms (Pretoria, South Africa: University of South Africa, 1962), p. 2.

As Eybers observes concerning the Dead Sea community, "Whatever elements are common to this sect and the rest of Judaism, should therefore be regarded as being common elements before the year 130 B.C."<sup>6</sup>

How the psalms are used and to what extent they are utilized by the Dead Sea community also exhibits a certain understanding of the Psalter by this sect. Eybers notes that "Hardly any definite quotations from the Psalms occur in the Qumran texts, although parts of Psalms 1 and 2 are quoted in 4Q Florilegium. However, especially in the Hodayot, numerous quotations and definite allusions to the Psalms occur though they are not indicated as such."<sup>7</sup> These texts at Qumran are influenced by and depend on the Psalter. The Hodayot and other such apocryphal psalms are not comparable to the biblical psalms but use them extensively.

The number of psalm scrolls in the Dead Sea community points to an extensive use of the Psalter. Twenty-eight manuscripts of the Psalter have been recovered from Qumran.<sup>8</sup> These manuscripts are spread out among a number of the caves. Thus the Psalter was known to the entire community.

The Psalter was well known to the Dead Sea community, and could very well be considered a canonical text. Yet how fluid was this text

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<sup>6</sup>Jan H. Eybers, "Historical Evidence on the Canon of the Old Testament with Special Reference to the Qumran Sect," (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1965), p. iv.

<sup>7</sup>Eybers, "Some Light on the Canon of the Qumran Sect," p. 3.

<sup>8</sup>Eybers, "Historical Evidence on the Canon of the Old Testament with Special Reference to the Qumran Sect," p. 163. See J. A. Fitzmyer, S.J., The Dead Sea Scrolls, Major Publications and Tools for Study, Sources for Biblical Study, 8 (Missoula, MT.: Scholars Press, 1975), pp. 159-62, for a detailed list of the psalms and psalm scrolls found at Qumran.

of the Psalter? Was it fluid enough to accept 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a valid representative of the Psalter? This author's contention has been that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a psalmbook rather than a Psalter. This interpretation is viable in light of the community's understanding of the Psalter as canonical.

The Dead Sea community did not declare whether a book was clean or unclean as did rabbinic Judaism. What the Qumran community did do was to point out which books were tolerated by them. The only book of the Hebrew Scripture not represented at the community was Esther. Leiman believes that the absence of Esther might possibly be due to the sectarian's nonobservance of the Purim festival, and thus they rejected the book which is connected with the festival.<sup>9</sup> This deduction on the part of Leiman might be correct, but what is important to observe here is that this community had the same overall canonical text of the Hebrew Bible as did normative Judaism after their break with the main Jewish community.

This observation also has something to say about the development of the canon of the Old Testament. If we are favorable to Eyber's position that the Hagiographa was accepted by the Jews by about 100 B.C., or even 150 B.C., then the community of Qumran, because of its inception at approximately the same time the text of the Hebrew Scripture was accepted, used the same text as normative Judaism.<sup>10</sup> Eybers believes that the "Common elements in the Canon of the Qumran Sect and the rest of Judaism must therefore be regarded as common property of Judaism in

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<sup>9</sup>Leiman, Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence, p. 35.

<sup>10</sup>Eybers, "Historical Evidence on the Canon of the Old Testament with Special Reference to the Qumran Sect." p. 257.

the period before the founding of the Sect."<sup>11</sup> Thus the text of the Old Testament as a whole was accepted by Qumran. This implies also that the ultimate authentication of such texts was not dependent upon councils such as Jamnia.

Again, what of the text of the Psalter itself? Was it as fluid as 11QPs<sup>a</sup>? This author would accept the fact that a certain amount of textual fluidity was present in the text of the Psalter prior to the period of stabilization known as the period of the Masoretes. Yet 11QPs<sup>a</sup> reflects more than mere textual variants. In this scroll, we find the type of composition which accepts the canonicity of the Psalter, and feels the freedom to use psalms and psalm passages to exhibit their liturgical practice.

This freedom can be seen in the large amount of non-biblical apocryphal material especially. One such non-biblical psalm is Sirach 51:13-30. The argument in the previous chapters of this thesis has been that this psalm found in both 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and Sirach came at least from a common wisdom source. Sirach has been found in other scrolls from the Dead Sea community. Ben Sirach also used psalms and other parts of the Hebrew Old Testament as did the Qumran community. Sirach does not give the precise canonical status of the Hagiographa. Yet, as Leiman observes, ". . . Ben Sira's grandson, in his preface to the Greek translation of Ben Sira mentions 'the law and the prophets and other books of our fathers.' It has, therefore, generally been assumed that Ben Sira's canon was tripartite, with the last section remaining open until

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.



the rabbis decided to close the Hagiographa."<sup>12</sup> We have here what could be considered to be a notation to the tripartite division of the canon by an author known to the Qumran community.

It is necessary to examine the passages from Sirach that are of note to Leiman. One passage he referred to in Sirach is 39:1. The passage reads: "On the other hand he who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients and will be concerned with prophecies . . ." <sup>13</sup> It is possible that Sirach is referring loosely to the tripartite division of the canon of the Old Testament in his text. This is possibly a close connection of the Prophets and the Hagiographa, and since the Prophets would be considered to be canonical then the Hagiographa would be considered canonical.

The passage from the prolegomena to the Greek translation by the grandson of Jesus Ben Sirach is:

Whereas many great teachings have been given to us through the law and the prophets and the others that followed them on account of which we should praise Israel for instruction and wisdom; and since it is necessary not only that the readers themselves should acquire understanding but also that those who love learning should be able to help the outsiders by both speaking and writing, my grandfather Jesus, after devoting himself especially to the reading of the law and the prophets and the other books of our fathers, and after acquiring considerable proficiency in them, was himself also led to write something pertaining to instruction and wisdom, in order that,

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Bruce M. Metzger, Ed., The Apocrypha of the Old Testament, Revised Standard Version (NY: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 179. The LXX has: *πλὴν τοῦ ἐπιδιδόντος τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διανοουμένου ἐν νόμῳ ὑψίστου, σοφίαν πάντων ἀρχαίων ἐκζητήσει, καὶ ἐν προφητείας ἀπολογηθήσεται.*

by becoming conversant with this also, those who love learning should make even greater progress in living according to the law.<sup>14</sup>

We have in this prolegomena of ca. 130 B.C. a contemporary of the Dead Sea community. The tripartite division of the canon is plain in this passage. Because of the accepted manner in which Jesus Ben Sira uses the Old Testament, it seems evident that the Hebrew text was stable to some extent.

This discussion concerning the Qumran scroll and Sirach's understanding of the tripartite division of the canon of the Old Testament does not prove that the text of the Old Testament was not fluid to some extent. This discussion does show that the text of the Old Testament could not accept 11QPs<sup>a</sup> as a canonical Psalter. A common understanding of the Old Testament text was present in Judaism at this time.

As has been noted above, the psalms had an influence on the Dead Sea community. The Hodayot are examples of the influence the psalms exerted on the Qumran texts. The Hodayot were never intermingled with the psalms as we find in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 128. The LXX has: ὁ πύππος μου Ἰησοῦς ἐπιπλεῖον ἑαυτὸν δοῦς, εἰς τε τὴν τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατριῶν βιβλίων ἀνάγνωσιν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱκανὴν ἔξεν περιποιησάμενος, προήχθη καὶ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς τι τῶν εἰς παιδείαν καὶ σοφίαν ἀνηκόντων... ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων, οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεχόμενα. (Prol. II.7-12,24-26).

<sup>15</sup>Eybers, "Some Light on the canon of the Qumran Sect," p. 3.

As has been noted above, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a psalmbook used by the Dead Sea community. This scroll is an anthology of psalms used perhaps by the Levites of the community in the sense of a transference of the cultic use to the Qumran community, because of the corruption of the cultus in Jerusalem.

### New Testament and 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

The New Testament's understanding of the Psalter is important for our understanding of the canonical status of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. The tripartite division of the Old Testament canon is referred to once by Jesus in Luke 24:44. Jesus stated here that "'These are my words which I spoke to you, while I was still with you, that everything written about me in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms must be fulfilled.'"<sup>16</sup> This reference is the only passage which is a direct acknowledgment of the tripartite division of the Old Testament canon. What is important to observe here is that the division of the canon is presented in the order of the parts of the canon as we know it.

When the New Testament refers to "the Law and the Prophets," as Eybers observes, "the Writings" are not excluded. Three examples of this inclusion of the Writings with the Law and the Prophets are John 10:34;

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<sup>16</sup>Luke 24:44 reads: *Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς· οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔτι ὡν σὺν ὑμῖν, ὅτι δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ.*

12:34; 15:25.<sup>17</sup> The first passage, John 10:34, quotes Ps. 82:6. Jesus responds with "Is it not written in your law, 'I said, you are gods?'"<sup>18</sup> In John 12:34, the crowd responds to Jesus: "'We have heard from the law that the Christ remains forever. How can you say that the Son of man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of Man'"<sup>19</sup> The crowd recites what we know as Ps. 89:37. In John 15:25, Jesus tells His disciples: "It is to fulfil the word that is written in their law, 'They hated me without a cause.'"<sup>20</sup> Jesus recites Ps. 35:19. A wide spectrum of the Psalter was considered authoritative in the time of Jesus at approximately the same time as 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. As has been seen, the entire Psalter was canonical. The Psalter was then part of the canonical text known to the New Testament which had an overall fixed text. An alternate authoritative canonical Psalter would not then be acceptable.

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<sup>17</sup> Eybers, "Historical Evidence on the Canon of the Old Testament with Special Reference to the Qumran Sect," p. 77.

<sup>18</sup> John 10:34 reads: ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶπα θεοὶ ἔστε;

<sup>19</sup> John 12:34 reads: ἀπεκρίθη οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ ὄχλος· ἡμεῖς ἤκούσαμεν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ὅτι ὁ χριστὸς μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ πῶς λέγεις σὺ ὅτι δεῖ ὑψωθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

<sup>20</sup> John 15:25 reads: ἀλλ' ἵνα πληρωθῇ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν γεγραμμένος ὅτι ἐμίσησαν με δωρεάν.

The use of the Psalter in the New Testament is quite extensive. As Leiman observes: "The canonicity of the Hagiographa is assumed by the New Testament; there are more citations from Psalms than from any other book of the Hebrew Bible."<sup>21</sup> One-fifth of Paul's quotations of the Old Testament are from the Psalter. This amount of psalm quotations is very large.<sup>22</sup> The New Testament was richly endowed with Old Testament quotations from the Psalter.

The point here is not that the New Testament used the exact wording of the psalms known to us from 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Rather, the emphasis is on the canonical status of the Psalter as part of the Writings and thus part of the tripartite division of the Old Testament. Since the New Testament does not enter into an explicit discussion of the canonicity of the books of the Hebrew Old Testament, it is possible to say that the Psalter, part of the Writings, was generally stable prior to the New Testament era of the first century A.D.<sup>23</sup>

The contention by this author that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is not an alternative to the canonical Psalter has been shown by this overview of the canonical status of the Psalter prior to the Intertestamental Era. The Intertestamental period and the New Testament era both knew of the Psalter as a whole and used it extensively. The text of the Psalter would not have additional psalms unknown to normative Judaism and normative early

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<sup>21</sup>Leiman, Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup>Allan M. Harmon, "Aspects of Paul's Use of the Psalms," Westminster Theological Journal 32 (1969):1.

<sup>23</sup>Leiman, Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence, p. 41.

Christianity. This understanding does not negate fluid psalm texts with regards to certain words or phrases. This understanding does not allow for the radical reinterpretation of psalms with the addition of phrases and verses to the text of a canonical Psalter.

11QPs<sup>a</sup> does prove that the psalms did have a liturgical use. This liturgical psalmbook could have very well been composed for the Levites and the priests of the Qumran community or the community as a whole.<sup>24</sup> 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not exhibit the characteristics of a normative canonical Psalter.

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<sup>24</sup>See Elisabeth S. Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in the NT," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 38:2 (1976):159-77. Fiorenza believes in a transference theory of cultic worship to the Dead Sea community from normative Judaism. She writes: "This loss of the Jerusalem cult forced the sectarians to create a new possibility of worshipping God in cultic purity and of experiencing God's presence. Since the Torah did not allow them to build a new temple outside of Jerusalem the community now became the place where atonement was paid and where God was worshipped in cultic purity and holiness. In the last days before the end of the temple of Jerusalem is replaced by the community, as an eschatological temple, as the pure, holy, and elect remnant of Israel" (p. 165).

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

The scope of this paper has been the scroll known as 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and its implications for biblical study. The thesis of this last chapter reiterates the words of the previous chapters that the canonical text of the Old Testament is not a development of the first century A.D. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> evidences rather that the text of the canonical psalms of the MT Psalter was stabilized before the Maccabean period. Books IV and V of the Psalter were as fixed as Books I-III at that time. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is not a scroll of biblical psalms which represents a separate Palestinian text family, but rather it represents a fluid text of fixed psalms.

As has been observed earlier, the canonical shape of the Psalter of the MT has been called into question by Sanders. He goes so far as to say that

Belief in the Davidic authorship of the Psalter as a whole dates from about the time of Christ, and the Psalms Scroll provides the first clear literary evidence of that belief. The high esteem in which David was held in the time of Christ, may be seen in the last two columns of the Psalms Scroll, where in swift, sweeping strokes of the pen we are told not only of David's royalty as the great king of Israel, but also of his gifts of prophecy and wisdom.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Sanders, "The Psalter at the Time of Christ," The Bible Today 22 (1966):1467.

As has been noted above, this dependence on Davidic authorship has not been proved by the prose section entitled "Compositions of David," and the other compositions attributed to David by Sanders.

Rather, the scroll known to us as 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a psalmbook, a liturgical collection, used by the Dead Sea community. The material in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is not all Davidic, nor does it assume Davidic authorship. Examples of the non-Davidic authorship are Sirach 51:13-30, Psalms 154 and 155, and the three nonbiblical apocryphal hymns found only at Qumran. The prose section entitled the "Compositions of David" places Davidic authority over the scroll rather than Davidic authorship.

Since this theory concerning the canon of the Old Testament is not supported by 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, this theory cannot be applied to the Psalter of the MT. One cannot impose this understanding of canon on the other texts of the Old Testament either.

Child's understanding of the development of the canonical Psalter is also incorrect. As has been observed in the chapter on textual criticism, Childs believes in equally valid canonical Psalters. As Childs observes concerning Psalter and text, ". . . the number and order of the psalms within the Psalter has emerged with new significance from the Qumran Psalms Scroll and touches directly on the problem of canon . . ." <sup>2</sup> 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has become an example of the historical reevaluation of the psalms for the Israelite community.

The question is why was such a variant canonical Psalter not recognized by a larger part of normative of Judaism? Psalm 145 of 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Brevard S. Childs, "Reflections on the Modern Study of the Psalms," The Mighty Acts of God, In Memoriam G. E. Wright, ed. F. M. Cross (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), p. 380.



has two aberrant verses added to its text, but rejected by normative Judaism, that is, the nun-verse and the refrain. The calendar used by the community is reflected in the "Compositions of David," and is a sectarian calendar. The reinterpretation and reevaluation of such psalms as found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not allow for such an understanding of canon. This interpretation cannot be transferred to other books of the Bible, because this understanding of canon does not apply to the test case.

Canonical criticism cannot be supported by 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Rather, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> exhibits a scroll which uses the MT Psalter for a special purpose. This purpose is that of a liturgical psalmbook which reflects at the very least the community's liturgical practices. At the very most, the scroll known to us as 11QPs<sup>a</sup> represents an example of the use of psalms for a sectarian psalmbook. The Psalter as we have it by and large was shaped prior to the Maccabean period, because the Psalter to be accepted by the Essenes would have to have been in existence prior to its total separation from normative Judaism.

This liturgical emphasis of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> does not detract from the use of this scroll for textual criticism. What the scroll does detract from is Cross's theory on local texts. Chapter II exhibits the nonconformity of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> with one textual family, namely the Palestinian text family, for Cross. Instead, we have a text which helps to clarify variants in the text. One example of this is the support 11QPs<sup>a</sup> given to the MT concerning the superscription "to David" in Psalm 122. In Ps. 126:4, the Masoretes have repointed *לשׁונו* to "our captivity" rather than remaining with the original reading "our fortunes" as found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and

the LXX. The text of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has its usefulness in the study of the text of the Old Testament.

Thus we are not able to get back behind the text to the "original text" of the Hebrew Bible, because no layers of the Hebrew Bible are in existence to peel off of the text. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> shows us that we are not able to peel off the layer represented by the MT and the layer represented by another text family. For the text did not develop as Sanders and Cross would have one believe. It was stable before the Maccabean period. True, fluidity is present in the text, but this fluidity is not that great so as to accept apocryphal psalms into the canonical text.

The text of the Psalter was not canonized by a council at Jamnia nor by a community at Qumran. The text of the Psalter is self-authenticating in that the community accepted these psalms as part of Holy Scripture, God's Word. The liturgical use of the psalms in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is the highest form of acceptance by the community, because they realized that the Psalter is Holy Scripture.

11QPs<sup>a</sup> also reflects an understanding of the Intertestamental period by this community. This understanding is seen in the inclusion of Psalm 154, Sirach 51:13-30 and the "Hymn to the Creator." For in these compositions from 11QPs<sup>a</sup> we have what could be aptly called sapiential literature. This literature exhibits the wisdom literature as found in the Intertestamental period. The sapiential character is present here to such an extent that Hengel is able to assert that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is a wisdom collection of psalms by David.<sup>3</sup> Sirach 51 portrays wisdom as

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<sup>3</sup>Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, 2 vols, trans. by John Bowden (Philadelphia, PA.: Fortress Press, 1974), 1:136.

an enticing woman. Psalm 154 is wisdom literature not dealing with David, and is proto-Essene. The "Hymn to the Creator" is a sapiential hymn of praise. It has vague affinities to the Hodayot. This psalmody is in reaction to the profaneness around the community caused by Hellenism.

The community also had a reverential awe for the tetragrammaton, so much so that they attempted not to use the name of "Yahweh" as the subject of these psalms' action. They used the ancient script as opposed to the square script as found in the rest of the scroll for the tetragrammaton. Psalm 135 is an example of this reverential use of "Yahweh." Psalm 144 also has a similar use of Yahweh. This respect of the use of "Yahweh" reflects a similar reverence by the Jewish community of the Intertestamental period.

11QPs<sup>a</sup> presents us with a liturgical psalmbook not quite unlike a book of psalmody we might use today. It reflects the Essenes' use of psalmody. Qumran literature also reflects texts in Hebrew older than we have known before. Thus we are able to say with confidence that the canonical text of the Psalter was in existence prior to the Maccabean period.

APPENDIX I

TABLES OF VARIANTS BETWEEN 11QPs<sup>a</sup> AND  
THE PSALTERS OF THE MT AND THE LXX

Table 1

Additional variant readings found in one text of the Psalter

Text	Number of Variants	E Fragment
11QPs <sup>a</sup>	20	4
MT	2	0
LXX	16	2

Table 2

Additional variant readings found in two of the three texts of the Psalter

Texts	Number of Variants	E Fragment
MT and 11QPs <sup>a</sup>	7	1
11QPs <sup>a</sup> and LXX	7	1
MT and LXX	17	1

Table 3

Additional variant readings due to "waw" in one text of the Psalter

Text	Number of Variants	E Fragment
11QPs <sup>a</sup>	10	2
MT	3	0
LXX	3	3

Table 4

Variant readings where "waw" is found in two of the three texts of the Psalter

Texts	Number of Variants	E Fragment
MT and 11QPs <sup>a</sup>	8	0
11QPs <sup>a</sup> and LXX	4	2
MT and LXX	10	1

Table 5

Variant readings where two of the three texts agree in the Psalter

Texts	Number of Variants Favoring Two of Three Texts	E Fragment
MT and 11QPs <sup>a</sup>	20	2
11QPs <sup>a</sup> and LXX	31	7
MT and LXX	117	15

Table 6

Variant readings differing in each of three texts

Table 7

Use of **וַיִּינַח** in Psalms 119 and 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Text	MT	11QPs <sup>a</sup>	LXX
Ps. 119:37	וַיִּינַח	וַיִּינַח	ἐπιπέσει με
Ps. 119:40	וַיִּינַח	וַיִּינַח	ἐπιπέσει με
Ps. 119:88	וַיִּינַח	וַיִּינַח	ἐπιπέσει με
Ps. 119:132	וַיִּינַח	וַיִּינַח	ἐλεπήσει με
Ps. 119:154	וַיִּינַח	וַיִּינַח	ἐπιπέσει με
Ps. 119:156	וַיִּינַח	וַיִּינַח	ἐπιπέσει με
Ps. 119:159	וַיִּינַח	וַיִּינַח	ἐπιπέσει με

Table 8Different Uses of the Divine Name in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Uses	Number of Variants	E Fragment
Yahweh in the MT and LXX with nothing in 11QPs <sup>a</sup>	6	
יְהוָה in 11QPs <sup>a</sup> with Yahweh in the MT and LXX	2	
יהוה in 11QPs <sup>a</sup> with Yahweh in the MT and LXX	2	
יהוה in LXX only	3	
Divine name in LXX and 11QPs <sup>a</sup> only	1	
Yahweh in 11QPs <sup>a</sup> only	2	
Variants favoring the MT and LXX with Divine Name	3	2
Variants favoring the MT and 11QPs <sup>a</sup> with Divine Name	1	
Variants favoring LXX and 11QPs <sup>a</sup>	1	1
Variants peculiar to the MT and 11QPs <sup>a</sup>	1	

APPENDIX II

PRIMARY DATA

Peculiar to 11QPs<sup>a</sup> & LXX

- Ps. 119:68: יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי: Κύριε  
 Ps. 119:136 יְיָ: ἔπει  
 Ps. 130:6 יְיָ יְהוָה: ἠλάτισεν  
 Ps. 138:1 יְהוָה: Κύριε  
 Ps. 145:16 יְהוָה: σου  
 Ps. 145:13 יְשׁוּׁמָה שׁוֹבֵב תְּשׁוּבָה יְשׁוּבֵי אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 πιστὸς Κύριος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁσιος  
 ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ (2 mss. only)

- Ps. 102:29 תִּיטֵשׁ: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

Peculiar to MT & LXX

- Ps. 119:68 יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי: δὴ  
 Ps. 119:131 יְיָ: ὅτι  
 Ps. 119:44 אֱלֹהֵינוּ: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα  
 Ps. 121:5 יְהוָה: Κύριος  
 Ps. 121:8 יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ: Κύριος  
 Ps. 122:8 יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ: δὴ  
 Ps. 125:5 אֱלֹהֵינוּ: τοὺς δὲ ἐκκλίνοντας  
 Ps. 135:3 יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ: Κύριος  
 Ps. 135:4 יְיָ: ὁ Κύριος  
 Ps. 135:6 שׁוֹבֵב: πάντα  
 Ps. 136:4 תִּיטֵשׁ: μεγάλη  
 Ps. 135:5 יְיָ: ὅτι

Ps. 141:5      יִשְׁמַע ה' יְהִי: παλιδεύσει  
 Ps. 142:4      יִשְׁמַע ה' יְהִי: τὰς τράβους μου  
 Ps. 146:9      מִיֵּשׁוּעַ-תְּהִי: τοὺς προσκλυτοὺς  
 Ps. 148:1      הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע: Ἀλληλουα  
 Ps. 150:1      הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע: Ἀλληλουα

Peculiar to MT & 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Ps. 119:38      וְשִׁבְעָה: וְשִׁבְעָה  
 Ps. 119:39      כִּי: כִּי  
 Ps. 122:1      תִּיִּדָּע: תִּיִּדָּע  
 Ps. 132:12      אֱלֹהִים: אֱלֹהִים  
 Ps. 132:18      יִשְׁמַע ה' יְהִי: יִשְׁמַע ה' יְהִי  
 Ps. 149:9      הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע-יְהִי: הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע  
 Ps. 145:15      הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע: הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע

Peculiar to 11QPs<sup>a</sup>

Ps. 93:1      הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע  
 Ps. 118:9      וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי  
 Ps. 118:16      הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע  
 Ps. 118:29      הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע  
 Ps. 119:119      כִּי  
 Ps. 119:129      תִּיִּדָּע  
 Ps. 119:171      כִּי  
 Ps. 121:5      וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי  
 Ps. 123:1      תִּיִּדָּע  
 Ps. 130:1      וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי מִיֵּשׁוּעַ  
 Ps. 132:11      כִּי  
 Ps. 135:2      וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי  
 Ps. 135:2      וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי  
 Ps. 135:6      כִּי הַיָּם יִשְׁמַע וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי  
 Ps. 136:7      יִשְׁמַע ה' וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי וְשִׁבְעָה יְהִי





- Ps. 138:3    *σε*  
 Ps. 138:3    *ταχύ*  
 Ps. 139:9    *μου, κατ' ὄρθρον*  
 Ps. 139:13    *κύριε*  
 Ps. 142:8    *κύριε*  
 Ps. 143:1    *ὅτε αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς καταδύωκε*

Variants Favoring MT:LXX

- Ps. 102:18:    *תְּשׁוּבָה: תַּשׁוּבָה: תֵּן פְּרוּשָׁאָן*  
 Ps. 102:24:    *לְפָנֶיךָ: לְפָנֶיךָ: ἀπεκρίθη*  
 Ps. 102:26:    *תִּתְּוֹת: תִּתְּוִן: εὐμελείωσας*  
 Ps. 109:27:    *אֲנִי שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי תִּתְּוִן: הִתְּשִׁיבָה לְפָנֶיךָ: σὺ κύριε ἐποίησας*  
 Ps. 105:29:    *תִּתְּוִן: שָׁפַח: μετεστρεψεν*  
 Ps. 105:30:    *תִּתְּוִן: שָׁפַח: ἐξήραψεν*  
 Ps. 105:37:    *אֲנִי שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי: שָׁפַח: αὐτούς*  
 Ps. 148:1:    *אֲנִי שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי-מִן: שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי: ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν*  
 Ps. 148:4:    *אֲנִי שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי: שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי: τὸ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν*  
 Ps. 148:5:    *יִשְׁשַׁבֵּן: יִשְׁשַׁבֵּן: ἀνεσάτωσαν*  
 Ps. 122:2:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: οἱ πόδες ἡμῶν*  
 Ps. 122:3:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: ἡ μετοχὴ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.*  
 Ps. 122:4:    *שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי: שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי: ἐκεῖ γὰρ*  
 Ps. 122:4:    *שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי: שָׁפַח יְקוּהִי: τῷ Ἰσραὴλ*  
 Ps. 122:5:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: θρόνον*  
 Ps. 122:9:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: ἀγαθὰ*  
 Ps. 123:1:    *תִּתְּוִן: תִּתְּוִן: τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν*  
 Ps. 125:1:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: οὐ*  
 Ps. 125:2:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: αὐτῆς*  
 Ps. 125:5:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם-יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם-יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: μετὰ τῶν ἐργαζομένων*  
  
 Ps. 125:5:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: τὴν ἀνομίαν*  
 Ps. 128:5:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: κύριος*  
 Ps. 129:4:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: κύριος*  
 Ps. 130:2:    *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: יְרוּשָׁלַיִם: εἰσακούσων*

- Ps. 130:7:  $\eta\iota\tau\theta$ :  $\eta\tau\theta$ : λύτρωσις
- Ps. 132:12:  $\iota\omega$ :  $\iota\omega$ : καθιούσιν
- Ps. 132:16:  $\iota\iota\eta\eta$ :  $\iota\iota\eta\eta$ : ἀγαλλίασει ἀγαλλιάσονται
- 
- Ps. 119:2:  $\iota\zeta$ :  $\eta\omega$ : καρδία
- Ps. 119:5:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : τὰ δικαιώματά σου
- Ps. 119:37:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
- Ps. 119:37 & 40:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ζῆσόν με
- Ps. 119:41:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : τὸ σωτήριόν σου
- Ps. 119:43:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ἐπὶ τὰ κρίματά σου
- 
- Ps. 119:70:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ἐμελέτησα
- Ps. 119:59:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : τὰς ὁδοὺς μου
- Ps. 119:83:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ἐχέτηθην
- Ps. 119:83:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : τὰ δικαιώματά σου
- Ps. 119:105:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ὁ λόγος σου
- Ps. 119:106:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : τοῦ φυλάξασθαι
- Ps. 119:106:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : τὰ κρίματά σου
- Ps. 119:107:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : σταπεινώθην
- Ps. 119:107:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ζῆσόν με  
κατὰ τὸν λόγον σου
- Ps. 119:110:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐντολῶν  
σου
- Ps. 119:111:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ὅτι ἀγαλλιάμαι
- Ps. 119:114:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : εἰς τὸν λόγον σου
- Ps. 119:117:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : καὶ μελετήσω
- Ps. 119:117:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασίν σου
- 
- Ps. 119:131:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ἐπειτόθουν
- Ps. 119:142:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : δικαιοσύνη
- Ps. 119:142:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
- Ps. 119:152:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ἐκ τῶν μαρτυριῶν σου
- 
- Ps. 119:152:  $\eta\eta\eta$ :  $\eta\eta\eta$ : ἐθεμελίωσας αὐτά



- Ps. 133:3: קָדְשׁוֹ: קָדְשׁוֹ: τὰ ἁγία  
 Ps. 133:3: אֲשֶׁר-הָיוּ עַל מַיִם: אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ עַל מַיִם: τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ ζωὴν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος
- Ps. 144:2: וּמַצֵּט: וּמַצֵּט: καὶ ῥύσῃς μου  
 Ps. 144:3: יְהוָה: יְהוָה: κύριε  
 Ps. 144:5: יְהוָה: יְהוָה: κύριε  
 Ps. 144:5: וְתָד: וְתָד: κατάβηθε  
 Ps. 143:3: קָדְשׁוֹ: קָדְשׁוֹ: κατεδύωξεν  
 Ps. 143:6: קָדְשׁוֹ: קָדְשׁוֹ: ὡς γῆ  
 Ps. 150:6: הַשְׁמַיִם: הַשְׁמַיִם: πνοῆ,  
 Ps. 140:4: וְכִשְׁוֹ: וְכִשְׁוֹ: ἀσπίδων  
 Ps. 134:2: יְהוָה - יְהוָה: יְהוָה: τὸν κύριον
- Ps. 93:1: יָמֵינוּ: יָמֵינוּ: σαλευθήσεται  
 Ps. 102:26: וְיִמְנָשֶׁה: וְיִמְנָשֶׁה: ἔργα  
 Ps. 109:28: דְּבָרָיו: דְּבָרָיו: τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ
- Ps. 126:4: וְשִׁבְתֵנוּ: וְשִׁבְתֵנוּ: ἀρχμαλωσίαν  
 Ps. 129:8: אֲשֶׁר-כָּמֹ: אֲשֶׁר-כָּמֹ: ἔφ' ὑμᾶς  
 Ps. 130:2: יְהוָה: יְהוָה: τὰ ὦτα σου  
 Ps. 144:2: עַמִּי: עַמִּי: τὸν λαόν μου  
 Ps. 136:12: וְיִזְכְּרוּ: וְיִזְכְּרוּ: καὶ ἐν βραχίονε ὑψηλῶ
- 139:12: קָדְשׁוֹ: קָדְשׁוֹ: σκοτισθήσεται  
 139:12: קָדְשׁוֹ: קָדְשׁוֹ: σκοτός  
 139:15: עֲצָמֵי: עֲצָמֵי: τὸ ὄστούν  
 139:16: תְּהִי: תְּהִי: οὐθεις  
 139:18: יָדֵי: יָדֵי: ἐμοί  
 139:23: יָדֵי: יָדֵי: τὴν καρδίαν μου  
 143:5: חַשְׁבֹּנֹתַי: חַשְׁבֹּנֹתַי: ἐμελέτων  
 143:5: וְיִמְנָשֶׁה: וְיִמְנָשֶׁה: τοὺς ἔργους  
 Ps. 119:48: וְיִשְׁשֶׁה: וְיִשְׁשֶׁה: καὶ ἠδολέσχουν  
 Ps. 119:45: וְיִזְכְּרוּ: וְיִזְכְּרוּ: ἐν πλατυσμῶ  
 Ps. 119:2: וְיִשְׁשֶׁה: וְיִשְׁשֶׁה: ἐκζητήσουσιν

- Ps. 119:64  $\eta^{\prime} \rho^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \kappa \rho \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \tau \grave{\alpha} \delta \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \acute{\omega} \mu \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \sigma \upsilon$
- Ps. 119:92  $\text{''} \eta^{\prime} \psi \eta^{\prime} : \text{''} \eta^{\prime} \psi \eta^{\prime} : \acute{\epsilon} \nu \tau \eta \tau \alpha \pi \epsilon \iota \nu \acute{\omega} \sigma \epsilon \iota \mu \omicron \upsilon$
- Ps. 119:88  $\text{''} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \text{''} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \zeta \eta \sigma \acute{\omicron} \nu \mu \epsilon$
- Ps. 119:87  $\mu^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \mu^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \acute{\epsilon} \nu \tau \eta \eta^{\prime}$
- Ps. 119:116  $\text{''} \eta^{\prime} \psi \eta^{\prime} : \text{''} \eta^{\prime} \psi \eta^{\prime} : \pi \rho \omicron \sigma \delta \omicron \kappa \iota \acute{\alpha} \varsigma \mu \omicron \upsilon$
- Ps. 119:137  $\eta^{\prime} \psi \eta^{\prime} : \alpha^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \psi \eta^{\prime} : \kappa \alpha \iota \acute{\epsilon} \nu \theta \eta^{\prime}$
- Ps. 139:19  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \theta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \theta^{\prime} : \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \kappa \lambda \acute{\iota} \alpha \tau \epsilon$
- Ps. 119:156  $\text{''} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \text{''} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \zeta \eta \sigma \acute{\omicron} \nu \mu \epsilon$
- Ps. 119:159  $\text{''} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \text{''} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \zeta \eta \sigma \acute{\omicron} \nu \mu \epsilon$
- Ps. 143:4  $\text{''} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \text{''} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta \kappa \alpha \rho \delta \iota \acute{\alpha} \mu \omicron \upsilon$

Variants Favoring 11QPs<sup>a</sup>: LXX

- Ps. 119:17  $\delta \eta \lambda : \eta \eta \lambda : \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha \tau \acute{\omicron} \delta \omicron \varsigma$
- Ps. 119:22  $\delta \eta : \delta \eta : \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon \lambda \epsilon$
- Ps. 102:20  $\mu^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \mu^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \tau \eta \nu \eta^{\prime}$
- Ps. 109:31  $\tau \eta \psi \eta^{\prime} : \tau \eta \psi \eta^{\prime} : \sigma \tau \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \acute{\omicron} \tau \eta$
- Ps. 121:1  $\eta \iota \varsigma \psi \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta \iota \varsigma \psi \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \tau \acute{\omega} \nu \acute{\alpha} \nu \alpha \beta \alpha \theta \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$
- Ps. 121:2  $\alpha \psi \eta^{\prime} : \alpha \psi \eta^{\prime} : \pi \alpha \rho \acute{\alpha}$
- Ps. 122:1  $\eta \iota \varsigma \psi \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta \iota \varsigma \psi \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \tau \acute{\omega} \nu \acute{\alpha} \nu \alpha \beta \alpha \theta \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$
- Ps. 122:3  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \omicron \kappa \omicron \delta \omicron \theta \omicron \mu \omicron \mu \epsilon \nu \eta$
- Ps. 125:4  $\alpha \eta \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \tau \eta \kappa \alpha \rho \delta \iota \acute{\alpha}$
- Ps. 126:6  $\eta^{\prime} \psi \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \psi \eta^{\prime} : \acute{\epsilon} \nu \chi \acute{\omicron} \mu \epsilon \nu \omicron \varsigma$
- Ps. 129:2  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \pi \lambda \epsilon \omicron \nu \alpha \kappa \iota \varsigma$
- Ps. 132:11  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \acute{\epsilon} \pi \acute{\iota} \tau \acute{\omicron} \nu \theta \rho \acute{\omicron} \nu \omicron \nu$
- Ps. 119:71  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \acute{\epsilon} \tau \alpha \pi \epsilon \iota \nu \acute{\omega} \sigma \epsilon \iota \mu \omicron \upsilon$
- Ps. 119:119  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \omicron \gamma \omicron \sigma \acute{\alpha} \mu \eta \nu$
- Ps. 119:119  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \delta \iota \acute{\alpha} \tau \omicron \upsilon \tau \omicron$
- Ps. 119:133  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \kappa \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \omicron \lambda \acute{\omicron} \gamma \omicron \nu \sigma \upsilon$
- Ps. 119:160  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \tau \acute{\omega} \nu \lambda \acute{\omicron} \gamma \omicron \nu \sigma \upsilon$
- Ps. 119:175  $\eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} : \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \alpha \kappa \omicron \mu \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \upsilon$







- Ps. 130:8 אֲנִי־יְהוָה: אֲנִי־יְהוָה: καὶ αὐτὸς  
 Ps. 130:5 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: εἰς τὸν λόγον σου  
 Ps. 130:7 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: καὶ πολλὰ  
 Ps. 135:4 שֵׁשׁ־שָׁשִׁי: שֵׁשׁ־שָׁשִׁי: Ἰσραὴל  
 Ps. 135:18 שֵׁשׁ: שֵׁשׁ: καὶ πάντες  
 Ps. 136:15 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: καὶ ἔκτινάξαντε  
 Ps. 139:21 מְחַרְחֵרֵי־י: מְחַרְחֵרֵי־י: τοὺς μισοῦντάς σε  
 Ps. 139:18 שִׁיקָמ: שִׁיקָמ: καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄμμον  
 Ps. 139:19 שׁוֹשַׁיִ: שׁוֹשַׁיִ: ἄνδρες  
 Ps. 141:6 יְשׁוּשׁוֹיִ: יְשׁוּשׁוֹיִ: ἀκούσονται  
 Ps. 144:1 יְתִיב־יְשׁוּשׁוֹיִ: יְתִיב־יְשׁוּשׁוֹיִ: τοὺς δακτύλους μου  
 Ps. 144:4 יָמִי: יָמִי: ἀς ἡμέρα  
 Ps. 144:5 תַּיִתִי: תַּיִתִי: κατὰ־בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ  
 Ps. 143:4 שׁוֹרֵשׁוֹיִ: שׁוֹרֵשׁוֹיִ: ἐτάρᾳχְתָּ  
 Ps. 145:3 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: καὶ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ  
 Ps. 145:5 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: λαλήσουσιν  
 Ps. 148:8 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: κρύσταλλος

Variants Differing Among All Three Texts

- Ps. 119:82 יִשְׁבֹּ: יִשְׁבֹּ: ἐξέλιπον  
 Ps. 119:128 שֵׁשׁ-יְהוָה-שֵׁשׁ: שֵׁשׁ יְהוָה: πρὸς πάντας  
 τὰς ἐντολάς  
 Ps. 130:2 שִׁירָם: שִׁירָם: τὰ ὠτά σου  
 Ps. 135:4 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: εἰς περιουσιασμόν  
 αὐτοῦ  
 Ps. 138:7 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: ἐν μέσῳ  
 Ps. 139:14 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: φοβερῶς  
 Ps. 139:15 יְהוָה־יְהוָה: יְהוָה־יְהוָה: ἐπισημασ







119:93 קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי - אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ :  
 יְהוָה הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּי קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ :  
 εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάβωμαι τῶν σκακισμάτων  
 (3) σου ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξήσασ με κύριε.

135:1 קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי :  
 קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי קָדְשׁוֹתַי :  
 Αλληλουκία. Αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, αἰνεῖτε,  
 δούλος, κύριον.

135:2 יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה :  
 יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה יְהוָה :  
 Οἱ ἐστῶτες ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου, ἐν αὐλαῖς  
 οἴκου θεοῦ ἡμῶν

135:3 אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ :  
 אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֶּיךָ :  
 αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἀγαθὸς κύριος·  
 ψάλατε τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι καλόν·

135:4 יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל :  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל :  
 ὅτι τὸν Ἰακώβ ἐξέεατο ἑαυτῷ ὁ κύριος  
 Ἰσραὴλ εἰς περιουσιασμόν αὐτοῦ.



χ<sup>1</sup>ε<sup>2</sup>ρ<sup>3</sup>α<sup>4</sup>ς ε<sup>5</sup>μ<sup>6</sup>ω<sup>7</sup>ν ε<sup>8</sup>ς τ<sup>9</sup>ὴ ἀ<sup>10</sup>γα<sup>11</sup> καὶ ε<sup>12</sup>ὐλο<sup>13</sup>γε<sup>14</sup>τε τὸν κ<sup>15</sup>ό<sup>16</sup>ρ<sup>17</sup>ι<sup>18</sup>ον

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