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THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK OF PSALMS

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FIVE BOOKS OF PSALMS?

I. INTRODUCTION

Does the Psalter really consist of five books of psalms? Several scholars have discussed this question and it is not easy to say anything new about it. Despite that I believe it is useful to take a fresh look at it and to discuss some evidence that sheds new light on the question.

Most modern scholars take the subdivision of the Psalter into five books for granted. They suppose that four so-called doxologies, found at the end of Psalms 41, 72, 89, and 106, are not part of these psalms, but were added later to mark the ends of the first four books. Many scholars regard the psalms after the fourth doxology, Psalms 107 to 150, as the fifth book. Some of them suggest that Psalm 150 constitutes the fifth doxology, although the expression ברוך יהוה “Blessed be YHWH”, that we find at the beginning of the four doxologies, does not occur in Psalm 150¹. Others argue that the doxology in 145,21, which is definitely an integral part of Psalm 145, not only concludes the psalm but also the fifth book of psalms. They assume that Psalms 146–150 were added later².

The doxologies occur in the oldest Hebrew manuscripts and also in the oldest manuscripts of the translations. Patrick Skehan and others defend the view that the four doxologies were added at a very early stage. They point out that the first part and the final part of Psalm 106 seem to be quoted in 1 Chron 16,34-36. As the doxology of Psalm 106,48 is also taken up in 1 Chron 16,36, the doxology must have been added as early as the fourth century B.C.E. or even earlier³.

1. See, for instance, J. DAY, *Psalms* (Old Testament Guides), Sheffield, Academic Press, 1990, p. 109.

2. See, for instance, E. ZENGER, *Der Psalter als Buch: Beobachtungen zu seiner Entstehung, Komposition und Funktion*, in Id. (ed.), *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum* (HBS, 18), Freiburg, Herder, 1998, 1-57, esp. pp. 27-31. See also F.-L. HOSSFELD – E. ZENGER, *Die Psalmen. 1: Psalm 1–50* (NEB), Würzburg, Echter, 1993, pp. 9-12, J.-L. VESCO, *Le psautier de David traduit et commenté*, vol. 1 (Lectio Divina, 210), Paris, Cerf, 2006, pp. 44-45. Vesco points out that in 11QPs^a Psalm 145,21 is followed by ברוך יהוה וברוך שמו לעולם וְעַד[. See also the article by J.-M. AUWERS in the present volume.

3. P.W. SKEHAN, *Qumran and Old Testament Criticism*, in M. DELCOR (ed.), *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (BETL, 46), Gembloux, Duculot; Leuven, University Press, 1978, 163-182, pp. 167-168; DAY, *Psalms* (n. 1), p. 109; K. SEYBOLD, *Poetik der Psalmen*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2003, p. 365 n. 4; K. VAN DER TOORN, *Scribal Culture*

Others cast doubt on the view that the doxologies were inserted in order to divide the Psalter into five books. Among them is Hartmut Gese. Gese points out that the four doxologies differ considerably from each other, which suggests that they were not added by the same editors⁴.

It is impossible to discuss all the arguments of the scholars who either take the division into five books for granted, or reject it. My contribution is only a modest one. I will deal in particular with the question of whether the doxology at the end of Psalm 106 should be regarded as the conclusion of this individual psalm, or of a collection of psalms. In order to answer this question, I have studied the textual layout of the doxologies and their contexts in some of the oldest manuscripts. I will also briefly discuss four relevant Mesopotamian and Hittite prayers concluding with phrases that show interesting similarities with Psalm 106,48.

II. FOUR DOXOLOGIES

I will start with a brief review of the similarities among the four doxologies. Each of the doxologies starts with ברוך יהוה “Blessed be YHWH”⁵. Another common feature of the doxologies is that they end with אמן ואמן “amen and amen”. Only at the end of Psalm 106 we find a single אמן “Amen!”⁶. The latter phrase is not found elsewhere in the Psalter, but we find it several times in Deuteronomy 27, where the people are ordered to say אמן “amen” to confirm curses starting with ארור “Cursed be...” (27,16-26).

In each of the four doxologies we find an expression with עולם: “Blessed be YHWH forever”, or “Blessed be YHWH from everlasting and to everlasting”. In three doxologies, we find after “Blessed be YHWH” the apposition אלהי ישראל “the God of Israel”. The short doxology of Psalm 89 differs in that this apposition is missing. Psalm 106 is unique in that we find the additional expression הללו יה “Praise YH!” after אמן.

and the Making of the Hebrew Bible, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 125.

4. H. GESE, *Die Entstehung der Büchereinteilung des Psalters*, in J. SCHREINER (ed.), *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch*. FS Joseph Ziegler. Vol. 2: *Beiträge zu Psalmen und Propheten* (FzB, 2), Würzburg, Echter, 1972, 57-64.

5. Also ברוך יהוה in 72,18, although it is part of the Elohistic Psalter. In 66,20 and 68,36 we find ברוך אלהים.

6. In the oldest translations of Psalm 106,48 we find a double translation of אמן, in the Septuagint γένοιτο γένοιτο (only in Codex Sinaiticus single γένοιτο), in the Peshitta 'myn w'myn, and in most manuscripts of the Vulgate fiat fiat or amen amen. However, these double translations must be due to harmonization with the other doxologies.

Do the doxologies occur at the end of collections of psalms? In the case of the doxologies of Psalms 41 and 72 this is particularly likely. Psalm 41 is the last of a long series of psalms that the superscriptions ascribe to David. The first of these psalms is Psalm 3⁷. After Psalm 41 we find another series of psalms, ascribed to the sons of Korah. This short collection finishes with Psalm 49. In the case of the doxology at the end of Psalm 72 it is made quite clear that it denotes the end of a collection of psalms. It is followed by the colophon כלו תפלות דוד בן ישי "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended". The fact that the colophon follows the doxology suggests that the doxology was added at an earlier stage, or possibly at the same stage as the colophon. It was certainly not added later than the colophon. This may imply that originally the doxology was not the conclusion of the so-called second book of psalms, but only of the second collection of psalms of David (Psalms 51–65, 68–70 and some attached psalms not ascribed to David)⁸.

It is more debatable whether the doxology at the end of Psalm 106 marks the end of a collection of psalms. The correspondences with the other doxologies are conspicuous, especially with 41,14. Therefore, many scholars assume that the doxology at the end of Psalm 106 does mark the end of a book of psalms⁹. However, the correspondence with the other doxologies is the main argument in favour of this view. The additional reasons to regard Psalm 106 as the last psalm of a collection of psalms are much more dubious. Both Psalm 106 and Psalm 107 begin as follows: הודו ליהוה כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו "Give thanks to YHWH, for he is good; yes, his steadfast love endures for ever" (cf. also 105,1). It is clear that 107,3 refers back to the prayer in 106,46¹⁰, and there are additional reasons to see Psalms 106 and 107 as psalms belonging to one collection¹¹.

III. THE DOXOLOGIES IN THE OLDEST MANUSCRIPTS

It is remarkable that in all the oldest manuscripts, the textual layout suggests that the four doxologies are part of the psalm. The doxologies

7. Only in the case of Psalm 33 a superscription is missing.

8. See GESE, *Die Entstehung der Büchereinteilung* (n. 4), p. 59. Comparable colophons are found in Job 31,40 and Jer 51,64.

9. See L.C. ALLEN, *Psalms 101–150* (WBC, 21), Waco, TX, Word Books, 1983, p. 50: "V 48 is unrelated to the psalm: it forms a closing doxology to the fourth book of the Psalter". See also the literature mentioned in note 3.

10. See DAY, *Psalms* (n. 1), p. 112.

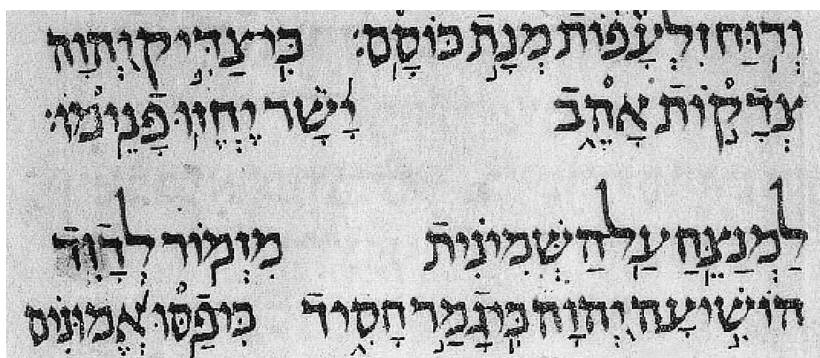
11. See the article by E. ZENGER in the present volume.

are not separated from the preceding verses by a drawn horizontal line, or by the use of a different colour for the doxology, nor by a line that has wholly or partially been left blank. The oldest evidence is found in the fragmentary manuscript 4QPs^e (1st century C.E.)¹². The last line of Psalm 89 that is preserved there – although only partially – reads:

[אויביכה יהוה אשר חרפו עקבות מ]שיחכה ברוך

The word משיחכה is the last word of 89,52, and it is followed immediately by the first word of the doxology, ברוך, which touches the left margin. The rest of the doxology must have been written on the following line, which is now missing. The other Dead Sea scrolls do not clearly display any of the four doxologies¹³. It is not apparent whether the division of the Psalter into five books was known in this early era¹⁴.

The Aleppo Codex and the Leningrad Codex do suggest that the four doxologies mark the end of a book of psalms, also the doxology at the end of Psalm 106. In these early medieval codices, the individual psalms are separated from each other by one line that has been left blank, mostly completely. After Psalm 11, for instance, the scribe of the Aleppo Codex left one line completely blank. This is what he did after most of the psalms.



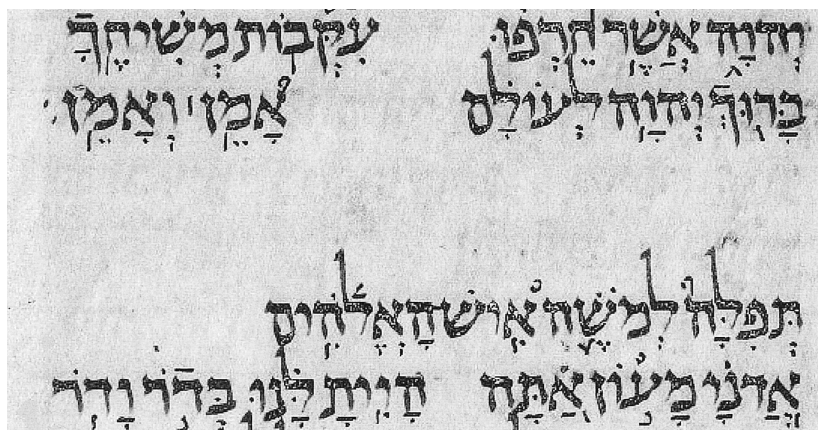
PICTURE 1 — The end of Psalm 11 and the beginning of Psalm 12 in the Aleppo Codex – Ben-Zvi Institute Jerusalem.

12. See *DJD* 16 (2000) 79.

13. In 4QPs^d (1st century B.C.E.), Psalm 147 was possibly preceded by Psalm 106; see *DJD* 16 (2000) 66. However, only the last line of the psalm before Psalm 147 is partially preserved: [] vacat [ה] ללויה [אמ]ן [ה] ואמר כל העם אמ[ן]. The two *lameds* and the *nun* are not clearly visible.

14. The suggestion in *DJD* 1 (1955) 132, that the words פרים חומשים [ס] on fragment 1Q30 from Qumran relate to the five books of psalms is extremely dubious. See H.-J. FABRY, *Der Psalter in Qumran*, in ZENGER (ed.), *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum* (n. 2), 137-163, pp. 147-148.

In other cases, the last words of the psalm were written to the right and the rest of the line was left blank. In such cases, the next psalm follows on the line after the line that was partially left blank¹⁵. After the four doxologies, however, more lines have been left blank, in the case of the Aleppo Codex two lines, for instance after the doxology at the end of Psalm 89.



PICTURE 2 — The end of Psalm 89 and the beginning of Psalm 90 in the Aleppo Codex – Ben-Zvi Institute Jerusalem.

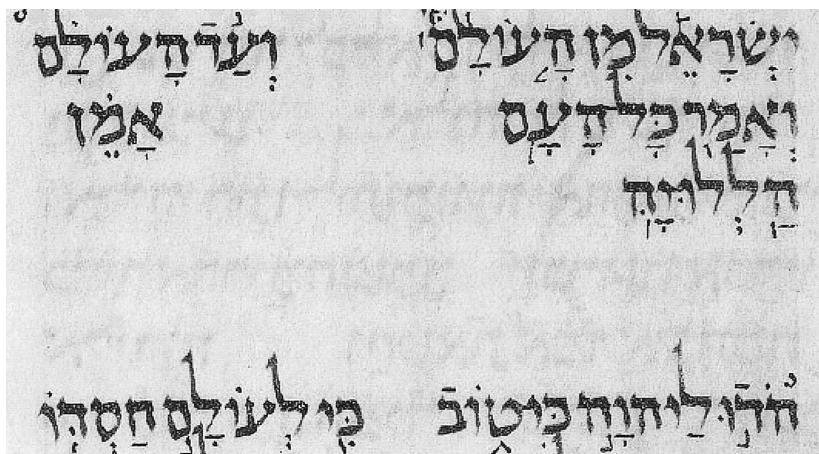
Also in this case, the doxology, which covers the last line of the psalm, is not separated from the preceding part of the psalm by a blank line or in any other way. Only the two blank lines after the doxology suggest that the doxology was regarded as the conclusion of a book of psalms.

Also after Psalm 106, two lines have been left blank. This suggests that after Psalm 106 a new collection of psalms starts.

In this case, it is also remarkable that the last words of the psalm, *הללו יה*, have been written on a separate line, though there was enough room for them on the preceding line. Apparently, the scribe did not regard *הללו יה* as an integral part of the preceding phrase and he assumed that the people were not expected to say *יהללו יה* “Amen! Praise YH!”, as one may be inclined to think¹⁶, but only *אמן*. In this codex, *הללו יה* is not part of the doxology, but it follows.

15. See P. SANDERS, *Poetic Layouts in the Oldest Masoretic Codices of the Hebrew Bible*, in R. DE HOOP – P. SANDERS (eds.), *Have a Break: Masoretic Traditions of Pauses in the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Pericope, 8), forthcoming in 2011.

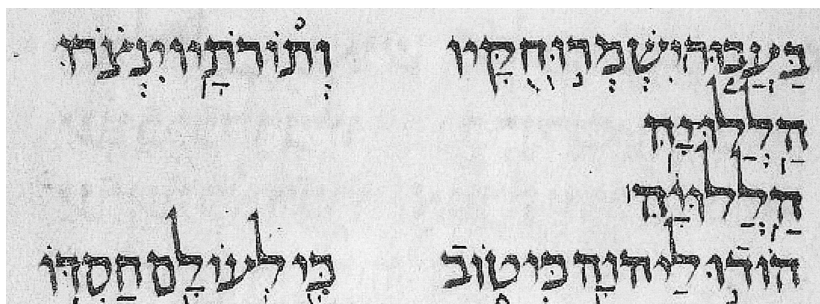
16. See SEYBOLD, *Poetik der Psalmen* (n. 3), pp. 302-303; K. SEYBOLD, *Der Segen und andere liturgische Worte aus der hebräischen Bibel*, Zürich, Theologischer Verlag, 2004, p. 91. See also 1 Chron 16,36 and Neh 5,13.



PICTURE 3 — The end of Psalm 106 and the beginning of Psalm 107 in the Aleppo Codex – Ben-Zvi Institute Jerusalem.

In the Aleppo Codex, both the *הללו יה* at the end of Psalm 105 and the *הללו יה* at the beginning of Psalm 106 have been written on a separate line. Apparently, the scribe also wanted to separate the *הללו יה* at the beginning of Psalm 106 from the psalm itself. Psalm 106 – including the doxology – is preceded and followed by a *הללו יה* that is not an integral part of the psalm itself.

In the Leningrad Codex, the five books of psalms are not separated by two blank lines, but by three blank lines. Also here the final words of Psalm 106, *הללו יה* – are separated from the preceding word *אמן*, in this case by means of a blank space within the line. The doxology starts on a previous line, with the word *ברוך* touching the left margin. There is no blank space separating this word from the preceding word *בְּתִהְלֶתְךָ*.



PICTURE 4 — The end of Psalm 105 and the beginning of Psalm 106 in the Aleppo Codex – Ben-Zvi Institute Jerusalem.

Again in the Leningrad Codex, the words הללו יה at the beginning of Psalm 106 are written on a separate line.

The view that the Psalter consists of five books of psalms is not only expressed by the two or three blank lines in the Aleppo Codex and the Leningrad Codex, but it is also found in the Midrash on the Book of Psalms¹⁷. It is clear that the division into five books was already known in the time of Jerome. In his letter to Sophronius, which must be dated around the year 392 C.E., he says that others divide the Psalter into five books. However, Jerome himself explicitly rejects this division and he does not see it as original¹⁸.

The division of the Psalter into five books is not rejected only by Jerome. It is not expressed in the oldest manuscripts of the Peshitta and the Septuagint. In the Syriac manuscripts 6t1¹⁹ and Codex Ambrosianus, the beginnings of the individual psalms are clearly marked by their numbers, which are written before the superscriptions. Some psalms are followed by a *paragraphos*, which marks their end. However, nothing in the two manuscripts suggests the existence of collections of psalms.

When we look in the valuable Greek Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus, nothing suggests that a new part of the Psalter starts after the doxologies. Nothing distinguishes the doxologies from the preceding verses. At the end of Psalm 106 (105 in the LXX), the phrases starting with the words ΕΥΛΟΓΗΤΟΣ “Blessed” and ΚΑΙ ΕΡΕΙ ΠΑΣ Ο ΛΑΟΣ “And the whole people will say” both start on a new line. In Codex Alexandrinus, also the phrase starting with ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ “from everlasting” has been written on a separate line. However, as virtually all cola of the psalms in these codices start on a new line, this is not significant. It is more remarkable that in both codices the word ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ (transcription of הללו יה) is written on a separate line, after a blank space to the left, and with red ink. This suggests that only ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ is not part of the psalm itself²⁰. In both codices, the word is clearly separated

17. W.G. BRAUDE, *The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 1, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1957, p. 5, gives the following translation: “As Moses gave five books of laws to Israel, so David gave five Books of Psalms to Israel, the Book of Psalms entitled *Blessed is the man* (Ps. 1:1), the Book entitled *For the leader: Maschil* (Ps. 42:1), the Book, *A Psalm of Asaph* (Ps. 73:1), the Book, *A prayer of Moses* (Ps. 90:1), and the Book, *Let the redeemed of the Lord say* (Ps.107:2)”.

18. See H. DE SAINTE-MARIE, *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium Iuxta Hebraeos* (Collectanea Biblica Latina, 11), Roma, 1954, p. 5. Before Jerome, Origen was also familiar with the division of the Psalter into five books, but he regards it as Jewish; see HOSSFELD – ZENGER, *Die Psalmen I* (n. 2), p. 10.

19. Thanks are due to Wido van Peursen (Leiden University) for his permission to consult photographs of this sixth-century manuscript in the Peshitta Institute.

20. In these two codices, only parts that do not constitute an integral part of the

from the preceding ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ, the rendering of Hebrew אֱמֵן. We have seen that in the Aleppo Codex and the Leningrad Codex יה הללו is also separated from the preceding word אֱמֵן. In the two Greek codices it is even unclear whether ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ relates to Psalm 106 (105 in the LXX) or to Psalm 107 (106 in the LXX). Between Psalm 105 and Psalm 106 (104 and 105 in the LXX) there is only one ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ, again written with red ink on its own line after a blank space. Also in Codex Vaticanus, the word is written on a separate line after a blank space.

The fact that the doxologies are already found in the manuscripts from Qumran and in the oldest translations is significant. The oldest textual layouts do not suggest that they are secondary additions to the preceding psalms. Only the extra blank lines after the doxologies in the Aleppo Codex and the Leningrad Codex express a division of the Psalter into five books.

The textual layouts of the Masoretic Aleppo Codex and Leningrad Codex and the Greek Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus suggest that יה הללו at the beginning and יה הללו at the end of Psalm 106 are not part of the psalm itself. They enclose the psalm including the doxology and thereby suggest that the doxology is part of the psalm²¹.

IV. EXTRA-BIBLICAL EVIDENCE

There are also two Akkadian prayers to the goddess Ishtar ending with a doxology that is clearly part of the prayer. In one of these prayers, there are many terminological links between the doxology and the rest of the prayer, especially the first part²². In the other prayer, which was pronounced by a person suffering from an illness, the terminological

psalms themselves, such as the superscriptions and the word ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ (rendering of Hebrew סֵלָה), are written with red ink on a separate line, after a blank space to the left. In Codex Vaticanus, the page with Psalm 106,48 (LXX: 105,48) is not original. However, in this codex nothing suggests the beginning of a new collection of psalms after the other three doxologies.

21. See SEYBOLD, *Der Segen* (n. 16), p. 111 n. 30.

22. The doxology reads: *^dIštarma šīrat ^dIštarma šarrat ^dbēltuma šīrat ^dbēltuma šarrat ^dIrnini mārat ^dSin qaritti māhiri* NU TUK "Ishtar indeed is exalted; Ishtar indeed is queen; the Lady indeed is exalted; the Lady indeed is queen. Irnini, the valorous daughter of Sin, has no rival" (translation: ANET, 3rd edition, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1969, p. 385). The following words and expressions occur also in the preceding part of the prayer: *šarratu* (l. 2), *šīru* (ll. 4, 8, 17, 23), *^dbēltu* (passim), *mārat ^dSin qaritti* (l. 5; cf. l. 34). For the transcription and a German translation, see E. EBELING, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung" von neuem gesammelt und herausgegeben*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1953, pp. 130-137. A French translation can be found in: M.-J. SEUX, *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, Paris, Cerf, 1976, pp. 186-194.

links with the rest of the prayer are much weaker²³. In both cases, the prayer is not subdivided by horizontal lines. There is neither a horizontal line before the doxologies. Horizontal lines, which mark the ends of the prayers, occur only after the doxologies and separate them from the text that follows the prayers.

For the last phrase of the doxology in Psalm 106,48 – “And the whole people may say: Amen!” – I have found interesting parallels in two prayers of the famous Hittite king Mursili II. These prayers end with a formula that is very similar: “And the congregation cries out: So be it!”²⁴. One of them is a prayer to the god Telipinu for the well-being of the royal family²⁵. The other is a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, who is implored to end a severe plague²⁶. The assembly was apparently supposed to say *apāt ešdu* “So be it!” after these prayers had been pronounced. However, this formula is not found after all the prayers of Mursili. It is worth noting that in the two prayers where the formula occurs, it is part of the prayer itself. The prayer to Telipinu occurs on two different tablets. On one of them (KUB 24.1), the phrase “And the congregation cries out: So be it!” is followed by a double horizontal line, which indicates that the liturgist has to stop reading. After the double horizontal line there is a colophon that indicates that there is no following tablet and that this single tablet has to be read daily. The text of the prayer itself is subdivided by single horizontal lines. On this tablet, there is also such a horizontal line above the formula “And the congregation cries out: So be it!”, although the line is interrupted in the middle. On the other tablet (KUB 24.2) with this prayer to Telipinu, the line above the formula is even completely missing and the formula starts within the line. Also in the prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (KUB 24.3 + 544/u²⁷), there is no horizontal line above the formula, which also starts within the line. In all these cases, there can be no doubt that the formula “And the congregation cries out: So be it!” had to be read by the liturgist and that it was part of the prayers themselves.

23. The doxology reads: *ḏIštarma šīrat ḏIštarma šarrat ḏIštarma šurbāt ḏIštarma šūzuba ile* e “Ishtar indeed is exalted, Ishtar indeed is queen, Ishtar indeed is supreme, Ishtar indeed has the power to save”. For the transcription and a German translation, see W. FARBER, *Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi: Atti Ištar ša ḫarmaša Dumuzi*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977, pp. 127-155. A French translation can be found in SEUX, *Hymnes et prières* (n. 22), pp. 435-438.

24. The text reads: *nu pankuš apāt ešdu ḫalzāi*. Literally, the noun *pankuš* means “totality”, but it is also used as a technical term for all those assembled.

25. See the translation in I. SINGER, *Hittite Prayers*, Atlanta, GA, SBL, 2002, pp. 54-56.

26. See the translation in SINGER, *Hittite Prayers* (n. 25), pp. 49-54.

27. See H.G. GÜTERBOCK, *An Addition to the Prayer of Muršili to the Sungoddess and Its Implications*, in *Anatolian Studies* 30 (1980) 41-50.

V. A DOXOLOGY AS THE END OF PSALM 106

It is my assertion that the doxology at the end of Psalm 106 must be regarded as an integral part of the psalm. Jan Fokkelman points to the concentric structure of Psalm 106. He shows that several words and ideas that occur at the beginning of the psalm are also found at the end of the psalm, including the doxology in v. 48²⁸. Also, it is not unusual that a doxology concludes one individual psalm. In the Elohist Psalter, for instance, we find the doxology ברוך אלהים at the end of Psalm 66 and the end of Psalm 68. At the end of Psalm 135 we find the doxology יהוה ברוך²⁹.

Hartmut Gese, who also regards the doxology at the end of Psalm 106 as part of the psalm, states that the doxology refers back to the prayer for salvation in verse 47³⁰. Apparently, he assumes that the phrase ואמר כל העם אמן “And the whole people may say: Amen!” summons the people to confirm the short prayer by saying “Amen”. The occurrence of a similar phrase at the end of the two Hittite prayers shows that this is certainly possible. It is also possible to assume that the people are summoned to say “Amen” to confirm only the preceding doxology “Blessed be YHWH from everlasting and to everlasting”³¹. However, in my view it is likelier that the people must say “Amen” to confirm the message of the whole psalm. Not only the supplications in verses 4-5 and in verse 47, but also the rest of the psalm, in which the people recognize their guilt and which describes God’s loyalty and steadfast love, is confirmed by saying “Amen”. After such a description of God’s steadfast loyalty, which contrasts with the people’s disloyalty, it is not strange to praise God and to summon the people to say “Amen”. The doxology “Blessed be YHWH” does not come as a surprise. Also at the beginning of the psalm God was praised, albeit with words that are partially different. Therefore, verse 48 is a very appropriate conclusion for Psalm 106.

28. See J. FOKKELMAN, *Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible at the Interface of Prosody and Structural Analysis*. Vol. 2: *85 Psalms and Job 4–14* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica, 41), Assen, Van Gorcum, 2000, pp. 270, 277. See also the article by J.-M. AUWERS in the present volume.

29. Note that Psalm 135 – including the doxology – is also enclosed by two occurrences of יהוה הללו.

30. See GESE, *Die Entstehung der Büchereinteilung* (n. 4), p. 62.

31. The phrase ואמר כל העם אמן “And the whole people may say: Amen!” is also found in Deut 27,16-26, where the people is summoned to confirm short curses by saying “Amen”. The curses start with ארור “Cursed”, which is the opposite of ברוך “Blessed”.

Of course, the correspondences with the other doxologies, which do seem to occur at the end of collections of psalms, are conspicuous. The doxology at the end of Psalm 41 in particular is very similar. Those who composed Psalm 106 may even have taken over the formula from Psalm 41³². It is possible to assume that the psalm was deliberately positioned at the end of the fourth book because of its doxology³³. It seems likelier, however, that only at a later stage was the doxology believed to mark the end of the fourth book of psalms. As a consequence, Psalm 106 was separated from Psalm 107, despite the correspondences³⁴.

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32. The phrase **וַיֹּאמֶר כָּל הָעָם אָמֵן** may have been taken over from Deut 27,16-26. See the previous footnote.

33. See S. MOWINCKEL, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, vol. 2, Oxford, Blackwell, 1962, pp. 193-201; P.W. FLINT, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ, 17), Leiden, Brill, 1997, pp. 213-214; VESCO, *Le psautier de David* (n. 2), vol. 1, p. 45. See also the article by J.-M. AUWERS in the present volume.

34. The **הִלְלוּ יְהוָה** before and the **הִלְלוּ יְהוָה** after Psalm 106 may have been added when the psalm was already regarded as the last psalm of a collection. See the article by E. ZENGER in the present volume.