

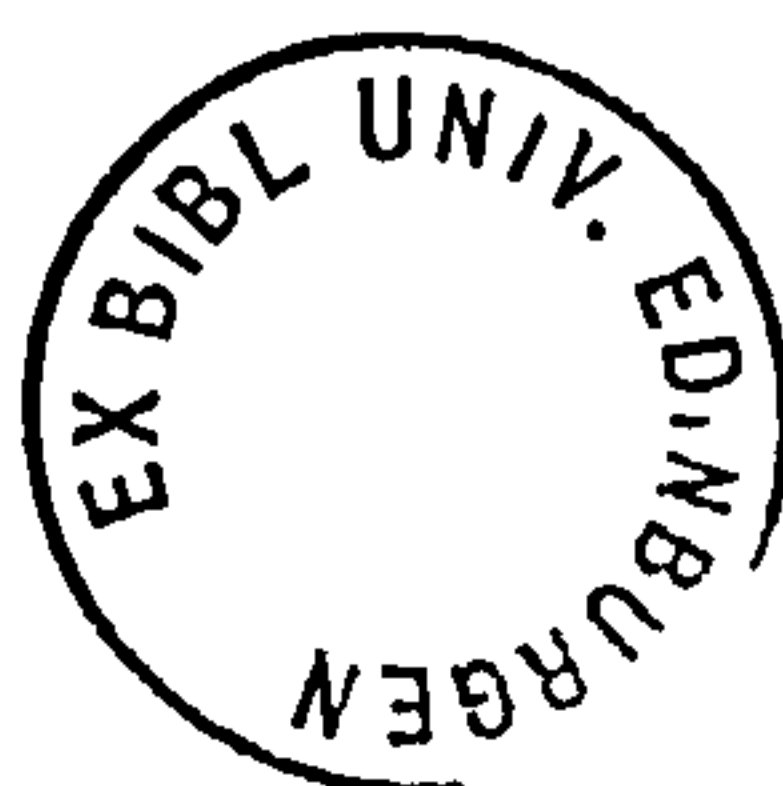
THE CONTEXT AND FUNCTION OF HISTORICAL RECITATION IN ANCIENT ISRAEL:
A STUDY OF THE HISTORICAL PSALMS, 78, 105 AND 106.

By

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I declare that this thesis is the result of my own independent research.

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15th July, 1980.

ABSTRACT

The major objectives of this research into the three "historical psalms" (78, 105 & 106) are to determine the context and to investigate the function of the recitation of history in Israel. The historical and religious context of historical retrospect is reflected in the way ancient historical traditions of Exodus-Wilderness-Settlement is recalled and shaped. Ps. 78 reflects the fall of the Northern Kingdom, the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem and the contemporary theological tendencies of Hezekiah's reform. The "twin psalms" (105-106) are inspired by the Exile, the great national catastrophe of Israel. There are affinities between Deutero-Isaiah and Pss. 105-106, especially in their viewing the ancient tradition of deliverance as a model for the future restoration of the despairing, dispersed and landless people of the Exile.

The function of the recitation in Ps. 78 is seen in the psalmist's concern to expound the mystery of history so as to draw a lesson for his audience. Ps. 78 provides a good example of pedagogical presentation of history similar to the prophetic teaching of history and the Deuteronomistic structure of history. This didactic interest is considered an integral part of the covenantal instruction. Pss. 105-106 together furnish the covenant renewal liturgies preserved in the manual of discipline from Qumran. The hymnic proclamation of the mighty acts of God (Ps. 105) and the penitential response in confession of sin (Ps. 106) constitute the historical recapitulation for covenant renewal. These three historical psalms, each of which reveals different points of view and emphasizes different aspects of history, are found to have their place in the prophetic-Deuteronomistic theology of history and in the canonical shape of the Pentateuch.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible, the
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AI	Ancient Israel, by R. de Vaux, 1961
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Text relating to the Old Testament, ed. by J.B. Pritchard, 1969
Ass	Assyrian
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BDB	Brown, F., Driver, S.R. and C.A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament
BH	Biblia Hebraica, ed. by R. Kittel
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttartensia, eds. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph
Bib	Biblica, Rome
Bib Or	Biblica et Orientalia, Rome
Bib Sa	Bibliotheca Sacra
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester
BKAT	Biblicher Kommentar: Altes Testament
BR	Biblical Research, Chicago
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin, Rome
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift, Paderborn
BZAW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissen- schaft, Berlin
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History I-II, London: Cambridge University Press, 1972-5
CBSC	The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series, Lund
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Washington
CHB	Cambridge History of the Bible, I-III, Cambridge.
CJT	Canadian Journal of Theology
CMHE	Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, F.M. Cross
D	Deuteronomistic source
DDS	Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic School, by Weinfeld
Dtr	Deuteronomistic work of history
EHI	Early History of Israel, by R. de Vaux

EI	Eretz-Israel, Jerusalem
EJ	Encyclopedia Judaica, Jerusalem
ER	Exile and Restoration, by P.R. Ackroyd
ET	English Translation
ETOT	Eichrodt's Theology of the Old Testament
Ev Th	Evangelische Theologie, Munich
EV	English versions
Exp T	Expository Times, Edinburgh
Ges	Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar
HDR	History of David's Rise to Power
Herm	Hermeneia, Commentaries of the Bible published by Fortress Press
HI	History of Israel
HIR	History of Israelite Religion, by Fohrer
HOTP	A History of Old Testament Priesthood, by A Cody, 1969
HPT	History of the Pentateuchal Tradition, by Noth
HR	History of Religions, Chicago
HTR	Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual, Cincinnati
IB	The Interpreter's Bible, Nashville
IBP	Israel under Babylon and Persia, by P.R. Ackroyd
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
IDB	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Nashville
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem
Interp	Interpretation, Richmond
IOTS	Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture, by Childs
IR	Israelite Religion, by Ringgren
J	Yahwistic source
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature, Missoula
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies, London
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review, London
JR	Journal of Religion, Chicago
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies, Manchester
JTC	Journal of Theology and the Church
JTOT	Jacob's Theology of the Old Testament
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford

LPOS	The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies, by M.Noth
LXX	Septuagint, the
MT	Massoretic Text
NCB	The New Century Bible
NEB	The New English Bible, London
NIV	The New International Version
OrNS	Orientalia, new series
OT	Old Testament, the
OTL	Old Testament Library, London
OTMS	The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. by H.H.Rowley
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien, Leiden
OTT	Old Testament Theology, by von Rad
OTWSA	Die Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika, Pretoria
PIW	The Psalms in Israel's Worship, by S. Mowinckel
RSV	The Bible, Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
S	Syriac source
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, Missoula
SBS	Studia Biblica et Semitica, Th. C. Vriezen... Dedicata
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology, London
SEÅ	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
SH	Scripta Hierosolymitana, Jerusalem
SN	The Succession Narrative
Son B	The Soncino Books of the Bible
ST	Studia Theologica, Lund
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Leiden
T	Targum
TB	Tyndale Bulletin, London
TC	Torch Commentary
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
U T	Ugaritic Text
Vul	Vulgate (Latin)
VT	Vetus Testamentum, Leiden
WC	Westminster Commentaries
WL	Wisdom Literature
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin
ZOTT	Old Testament Theology in Outline, by Walther Zimmerli

I. Introduction

The designation "historical psalms" (Geschichtspsalmen) was probably first used by A. Lauha who placed Pss. 78, I05; I06; III; II4; I35; I36 and Exod. I5 into the group. ⁽¹⁾ Before that Gunkel grouped Pss. 78, I05 and I06 together under "Legende" which he did not consider to be an independent Gattung, but only a psalm motif to be found in different Gattungen. ⁽²⁾ It is evident, as we shall see, that these three psalms do not exhibit a similar literary style, intention or Sitz-in-Leben. What they have in common is the historical retrospect of Israel's early history.

Since Gunkel and Lauha, many scholars have retained the term "historical psalms" and accepted that it does not signify a psalm Gattung. ⁽³⁾ It is under such a consideration of a common theme in the historical surveys incorporated in Pss. 78, I05 and I06 that this thesis adopts the designation "historical psalm". In these psalms the detailed historical summaries are framed in different contexts and presented with different emphases, Pss. I05 and I06 represent very different aspects and points of view on Israel's ancient history. ⁽⁴⁾

The major issue in determining the characteristics and purposes of the recital of history in these historical psalms is whether they are cultic or non-cultic psalms. Both Mowinckel and Eissfeldt regard

(1) A. Lauha, Geschichtsmotive in den alttestament - lichen Psalmen, 1945, p. 128.

(2) Gunkel, Einleitung in die Psalmen, 1933, pp. 323ff.

(3) Westermann, "Vergegenwärtigung der Geschichte in den Psalmen," Forschung am Alten Testament, 1964, p. 306-35. Leslie, The Psalms, 1959, p. 53. Kissane, The Book of Psalms, 1964, pp. XIX, 35I. A.A. Anderson classifies Pss. 78, I05, I06 under a minor type, sacred legends, Psalms, I, p. 40, but in his commentary on Ps. 78, he terms the later as "a historical Psalm which resembles a Description Psalm of Praise", Psalms, II, p. 56I, and on Ps. I05, "a History-Psalm (Geschichtspsalme) in the style of a hymn", p. 725. Kraus assumes that "historical psalm" constitutes a Gattung, Die Psalmen, 1972.

(4) von Rad points out that "the form of historical summaries, that is, short or detailed recapitulations of history, had an age-long tradition in Israel," Wisdom in Israel, 1972, p. 27I.

these psalms as non-cultic didactic psalms. (5) On the other hand, A. Weiser insists on these psalms being genuine liturgies which are cradled and nurtured in the cult, in the cultic celebration of the festival of covenant renewal. (6) Other than these two extreme positions, A. Bentzen holds a view which is considered to be moderate. He contends that some of the oracles of the psalms (50; 78; 81; 95; 106-107) have much in common with the Deuteronomistic sermons, and he further subdivides this group of psalms into liturgical oracles (Pss. 81 and 95) and those with a more elaborate form of the cultic admonition (Pss. 78 and 106). The latter, he maintains, provides an intermediate link between the liturgical oracles and the parenetic sermons of the Deuteronomist. (7) With the above diversified views in mind we shall evaluate the three historical psalms to see in what sense they can be considered "non-cultic" and what cultic occasions they are

- (5) Mowinckel considers Pss. 78 and 105 as didactic hymns and Ps. 106 as a historical penitential psalm. Three of them are classified under the category of "the Learned Psalmography" which shows a disintegration of style and a mixture of modes and motive. The Psalms in Israelite Worship, II, 1962, pp. III-III2. Eissfeldt groups them under the literary types "sermon" and "wisdom poems". He notes that Ps. 105 has hymnic features and hence has been reckoned among the hymns. The Old Testament. An Introduction, 1965, pp. 16-17, 124-27. Briggs too treats these psalms as "didactic psalms", Psalms, II, (ICC), p. 178. To R.B.Y. Scott, Pss. 78, 105 and 106 comprise a special group of wisdom psalms, which emphasizes religious instruction and admonition, The Way of Wisdom, 1971, p. 200. Fohrer views Pss. 105 and 106 as psalms bearing wisdom theology, History of Israelite Religion, 1973, p. 364. Engnell supposes that there is no "wisdom poem" at all in the Psalter, Critical Essays on the Old Testament, 1970, p. 99. He regards Pss. 78, 81, 95 as "Psalms of law", p. 107. A. Bentzen accepts only three wisdom psalms (Pss. 1, 112, 127), Introduction to the Old Testament, I, 1958, p. 161. See also R.E. Murphy, "A Consideration of the Classification 'Wisdom Psalms'," SVT 9, 1962, p. 156-67.
- (6) A. Weiser, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1961, p. 93, also The Psalms, (OTL), 1962, pp. 35ff., 538f., 673f., 679f. F. Baumgärtel too advocates a cultic interpretation, "Zur Liturgie in der Sektenrolle von Toten Meer," ZAW, 65, 1953, pp. 263-65.
- (7) A. Bentzen, op. cit. pp. 160, 190-91, 209. Lauha testifies that the historical psalms are both for educational and cultic use, op. cit., p. 132. Ringgren, too, refers to Pss. 78, 105 and 106 as admittedly not giving "the impression of being real cultic psalms; they seem rather to be based on meditation and reflection upon a cultic motif; yet it is possible that they were used in the Temple." The Faith of the Psalmists, 1963, p. 98. This double function of
- (to be cont'd)

meant for, if they are taken to be "cultic" psalms.

Another issue is how the psalmists made use of or interpreted the ancient historical traditions for their definite purposes in the different situations in which they found themselves. (8) We shall prove that the concrete historical situations of the people would shape the way historical traditions are interpreted and presented. The psalmist did not compose the historical summaries to satisfy some individual or national nostalgic sentiment but incorporated into the historical survey a lesson and an admonition. He was governed in his liberty to select relevant historical traditions by the current theological streams. (9) and the people's immediate experience. (10)

One final issue is the function of the historical psalms in the worship life of Israel and in the formation of the Canon of the Old Testament. There is no doubt that the cultus of Israel is the ultimate source in shaping and interpreting the Psalter. (11) But the Psalter, especially the recitation of history in the historical psalms, had indeed its function in the cult and hence exerted its influence on the literary formation of the Deuteronomistic theology of history and on the canonical shape of the Pentateuch. This claim is to be substantiated in this thesis.

The thesis will proceed from a general exegetical analysis and an initial traditio-historical consideration of the three "historical

- (7) the psalms is also entertained by E. Jacob who claims that Pss. 77, 78, 105 and 106 present "the great facts of history in the double form of praise and teaching". Theology of the Old Testament, 1958, p. 191. n. 1.
- (8) For the notion of "tradition", see D.A. Knight's analysis in Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament, 1977, pp. 14-15. "Tradition" has at least the following characteristics : 1. It is received from others and transmitted further, either orally or in written forms. 2. It has both form and content. 3. It belongs to a group or a community who transmits it and it functions meaningfully to the person or community. 4. It is living, developing, malleable and only relatively stable; it can be transformed and reinterpreted to meet the needs of its transmitters. 5. It is cumulative and agglomerative; it grows.
- (9) On the development and function of theological streams, see O.H. Steck, "Theological Streams of Traditions," Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament, 1977, pp. 183-214.
- (10) D.A. Knight is right in his conclusion to the discussion on
(to be cont'd)

psalms" in chapter 3 to a more specific investigation of the Exodus traditions in chapter 4. The Plagues narratives in Ps. 78 (vv. 43-51) and in Ps. 105 (vv. 26-36) will be considered in their traditio-historical aspect together with the view that the way the Plagues are fashioned and presented by the psalmists may reflect the traditio-historical context, the current theological conception and contemporary historical events. Besides, the Reed Sea traditions in Pss. 78 and 106 will be also taken up for examination. The final section of chapter 4 is devoted to the analysis of the adaptation of Exodus-Wilderness traditions in Deutero-Isaiah, the Exilic prophet who proclaimed the message of great comfort to the desperate people of the Exile by referring to the saving facts of the past and who was concerned with a glorious return to the land. Pss. 105-106 will be seen with such a perspective, which further fixes them in their historical situation.

To confirm what is found to be a traditio-historical background of the psalms concerned we shall investigate the theological conceptions of election and covenant which are basic to the psalms. In chapter 5 the traditions of election of David-Zion and the rejection of Ephraim-Shiloh presented in Ps. 78 be scrutinized. This chapter will focus on the tradition of covenant with Abraham and with the people in Pss. 105-106. After an examination of the historical traditions and the covenant conceptions preserved in the historical psalms, we shall be in a better position to place the psalms in their proper historical situations and to interpret them accordingly.

While it has long been recognized that the element of history is significant to the faith of Israel, surprisingly few extensive researches have been done on the role of historical recitation in the cult of Israel, the source of the Israelite faith. In chapter 6 we shall

- (IO) "Revelation through Tradition" that the strength of tradition is its authentic tie to the concrete human life situations and revelation too cannot be abstract and timeless. "Yahweh's revelation occurs in His continuous involvement with the people's struggling for survival and meaning." ibid., pp. 180f.
- (II) Arvid S. Kapelrud, "Tradition and Worship: The Role of the Cult in Tradition Formation and Transmission," ibid., p. 123. He is convinced that the Psalter has been the great melting-pot of traditions since it is used in worship of ancient Israel.

launch out to determine the functions of recitation of history in the worshipping community. It is of interest that the three psalms which embody three retrospects of the past for the present generation frame the reviews differently; Ps. 78 provides a didactic context. Ps. 105 praises Yahweh with a recital of His wonderful deeds whereas Ps. 106 introduces a penitential community engaging in confession and petition. With these three psalms, our investigation into the role of historical summaries in the covenantal community of Israel can be facilitated.

The study of the Historical Psalms cannot be completed without a comparison with the Deuteronomistic theology and the Pentateuchal traditions. Though one realizes the immensity of such an attempt to relate the didactic and cultic material of the Psalms with the canon of the Old Testament, a research into the canonical role of the historical psalms may prove rewarding. The didactic recitation of history with admonitory and warning impact in Ps. 78 exhibits prophetic spirit and Deuteronomistic teaching. The inclusiveness of historical traditions in the recitation of history in Pss. 105-106 recalls the similar structure of the Pentateuch. Chapter 7, therefore, gives a survey of the canonical function of Pss. 78, 105 and 106 in the development of the didactic presentation of the Prophetic-Deuteronomic theology of history and in the formation of the Pentateuch as a whole.

II. Translation and Synopsis

I. Psalm 78

A Maschil of Asaph

1. Give ear, O my people, to my teaching,
incline your ears to the words of my mouth.
2. I shall open my mouth in a parable,
I shall expound mysteries from the past.
3. Which we have heard and known,
and our fathers have told us.
4. We shall not conceal from their children,
telling to the next generation the glorious deeds of Yahweh,
His strength and His wonderful works which He has performed.
5. He established a testimony in Jacob,
and appointed a law in Israel,
which He commanded our fathers
to make known to their children.
6. That the next generation should know,
the children to be born should arise and tell their children.
7. So they might place their confidence in the Lord,
and not forget the works of God,
but keep His commandments.
8. And might not be as their fathers,
a stubborn and rebellious generation,
a generation that did not set their heart upright,
and whose spirit was not faithful to God.
9. The sons of Ephraim, the best equipped of bow^emen,
turned back in the day of battle.
10. They did not keep the covenant of the Lord,
and refused to walk in His law.
- II. They forgot His deeds,
and the wonders that He had shown them.
12. In the sight of their fathers He did wonders,
in the land of Egypt, in the country of Zoan.
13. He divided the sea, and let them pass through,
and He made the waters to stand as a heap.
14. He guided them with a cloud by day,
and all night long with a light of fire.

15. He cleft rocks in the wilderness,
and gave them drink in abundance as from the deeps.
16. He brought streams out of the rock,
and made water run down like rivers.
17. Yet they continued to sin more against Him,
and to rebel against the Most High in the desert.
18. They put God to test in their hearts,
to demand food for their desire.
19. They spoke against the Lord and said,
can God spread a table in the wilderness?
20. Behold, He struck the rock,
water gushed out, and streams overflowed,
but can He give bread also?
21. Therefore, when Yahweh heard it, ~~and~~ was angry, *he*
and a fire was kindled against Jacob,
and wrath also blazed up against Israel.
22. Because they were not faithful to the Lord,
and did not trust in His salvation.
23. Yet He commanded the skies above,
and He opened the doors of heaven.
24. He rained upon them manna to eat,
and He gave them the grain of heaven.
25. So men ate the bread of the mighty,
He sent them food to their heart's desire.
26. He set loose the east wind from heaven,
and by His power He directed the south wind.
27. He rained meat upon them like a dust-storm,
flying birds like the sand of the seas.
28. And He let them fall in the midst of their camp,
round about their tents.
29. So they ate and were well filled,
for He had given what they desired.
30. Yet they were not estranged from their desire,
even while the food was still in their mouths.
31. Then the anger of the Lord blazed up against them,
He slew the fattest of them,
and brought the young men of Israel to death.

32. In spite of all, they sinned further,
they were not faithful in His wonderful works.
33. So He put an end to their days like a breath,
and to their years in sudden terror.
34. When He struck them they then sought Him.
they returned and looked eagerly for God.
35. And they remembered that the Lord was their rock,
and God the Most High their redeemer.
36. But they flattered Him with their mouths,
and deceived Him with their tongues.
37. For their heart was not steadfast in Him,
and they were not faithful to His covenant.
38. Yet He, being compassionate, forgave their iniquity,
and did not destroy them;
Time and again He restrained His anger,
and did not wholly arou~~se~~ His wrath. se/
39. He remembered that they were but flesh,
a passing wind that does not return.
40. How often they rebelled against Him in the desert,
and grieved Him in the wilderness.
41. Again and again they tempted God,
and provoked the Holy One of Israel.
42. They did not remember His deed,
the day when He redeemed them from the enemy.
43. How He set His signs in Egypt,
and His wonders in the country of Zoan.
44. He turned their rivers into blood,
and their streams they could not drink.
45. He sent among them swarms of flies which devoured them,
and frogs which destroyed them.
46. He gave their harvest to the caterpillars,
and the fruit of their labour to the locusts.
47. He destroyed their vines with hail,
and their sycomore trees with frost.
48. He abandoned their cattle to pestilence,
and their flocks to the flash of lightning.

49. He sent upon them His fierce anger,
rage and indignation and distress,
a sending of His messenger of destruction.
50. He levelled a path for His anger,
He did not spare their life from death,
but gave their life over to the plague.
51. He slew all the firstborn in Egypt,
the firstlings of strength in the tents of Ham.
52. But led out his own people like sheep,
and guided them like a flock in the wilderness.
53. And He led them in safety that they did not fear,
but the sea covered their enemies.
54. He brought them to His holy border,
the mountain that His right hand had won.
55. He drove out nations before them,
and apportioned them as an inheritance,
and settled His tribes in their tents.
56. Yet they tempted and rebelled against the Most High God,
and did not keep His testimonies.
57. They turned back and acted faithlessly like their fathers,
they turned aside like a treacherous bow.
58. They provoked Him to anger with their high places,
and aroused His jealousy with their graven images.
59. When the Lord heard ~~and~~ was enraged, He/
and He utterly rejected Israel.
60. He forsook the dwelling place at Shiloh,
the tent where He dwelt among men.
61. And He gave His strength to captivity,
and His glory into the hand of the enemy.
62. He gave His people over to the sword,
and was enraged against His inheritance.
63. Fire devoured their young men,
and their maidens could not celebrate.
64. Their priests fell by the sword,
and their widows could not mourn.
65. Then the Lord awoke as if He had slept, if/
like a warrior shouted heartily after wine.

66. And He smote His enemies back,
and gave them ^a perpetual reproach.
67. He rejected the tent of Joseph,
and did not choose the tribe of Ephraim.
68. But He chose the tribe of Judah,
mount Zion, which He loved.
69. He built His sanctuary like the heights of heaven,
like the earth which He established forever.
70. He chose David His servant,
and took him from the sheepfolds.
71. From following the ewes He brought him to shepherd Jacob His people,
and Israel His inheritance.
72. He tended them according to the integrity of his heart,
and guided them by His skilful hands.

to be /

2. Psalm 105

- I. Give thanks to Yahweh, call upon His name,
make known His deeds among the peoples.
2. Sing to Him, sing praises to Him,
tell of all His marvellous works.
3. Glory in His holy name,
let the hearts of those who seek Yahweh rejoice.
4. Search for Yahweh and be strengthened,
seek His face constantly.
5. Remember the wonderful works that He has done,
His wonders and His words of judgement.
6. O seed of Abraham, His servant,
O children of Jacob, His chosen one,
7. He is Yahweh our Lord,
His judgement~~s~~ are throughout the earth. s/
8. He remembered His covenant forever,
the promise that He commanded to a thousand generations.
9. The covenant that He has made with Abraham,
and His oath to Isaac.
10. And He confirmed it to Jacob as a statute,
to Israel as an everlasting covenant.
- II. Saying : "I shall give you the land of Canaan,
to be the portion of your inheritance."
- I2. When they were few in number, a handful,
and sojourners therein.
- I3. They wandered from nation to nation,
from one kingdom to another.
- I4. He did not permit man to oppress them,
but rebuked kings for their sake.
- I5. "Touch not my anointed ones,
and do no harm to my prophets".
- I6. And He summoned a famine upon the land,
and destroyed all the food supply.
- I7. He sent a man ahead of them,
Joseph, sold as a slave.
- I8. They afflicted his feet with fetters,
his neck entered a hoop of iron.

19. Until the time His word came to pass,
the command of Yahweh proved him right.
20. The king sent and released Him,
the ruler of the nations set him free.
21. He set him ~~lord~~ to his household, as/
and governor of all his possessions.
22. To instruct his princes at his will,
and that he might teach his elders wisdom.
23. Then Israel came to Egypt,
and Jacob sojourned in the land of Ham.
24. He made His people exceedingly fruitful,
and made them stronger than their enemies.
25. He turned their hearts to hate His people,
to deal craftily with His servants.
26. Then He sent Moses His servant,
Aaron whom He had chosen.
27. He manifested His signs in Egypt,
and wonders in the land of Ham.
28. He sent darkness and it became dark,
and they did not rebel against His words.
29. He turned their waters to blood,
and He killed their fish.
30. Their land swarmed with frogs,
even in the chambers of their kings.
31. He spoke, and there came swarms of flies,
and lice throughout all their borders.
32. He sent them storms of hail,
and flames of fire into their land. g
33. He struck down their vines and their fig-trees,
and shattered the trees throughout their borders.
34. He spoke, and there came locusts,
and grasshoppers in great numbers.
35. And they consumed every plant in the land,
devoured the fruit of their earth.
36. Then He struck every first born throughout their land,
the firstfruits of all their manhood.
37. He brought Israel out with silver and gold,
and none in His tribes stumbled.

38. Egypt was glad at their departure,
for fear had fallen upon them.
39. He spread out a cloud for a covering,
and a fire to light up the night.
40. They asked and He brought them quails,
and satisfied them with bread of heaven.
41. He opened the rock so that water gushed out,
and like a river ran in the desert.
42. For He remembered His holy promise,
to Abraham, His servant.
43. He led out His people with rejoicing,
His chosen ones with shouts of joy.
44. He gave them the land of the nations,
and they inherited the fruit of the people's toil,
45. In order that they should keep His statutes,
and observe His laws.

Hallelujah.

trs. /

3. Psalm 106

I. Hallelujah !

Give thanks to Yahweh for He is good,
for His loving kindness endures forever.

2. Who shall proclaim the mighty acts of Yahweh,
or fully voice all His praise?

3. Blessed are those who observe justice,
who do righteousness at all times.

4. Remember me, O Yahweh,
with your favour to your people,
visit me with your salvation.

5. That I may see the prosperity of your chosen,
rejoice in the gladness of your people,
exult with your inheritance.

6. We have sinned like our fathers,
we have done wrong and acted wickedly.

7. Our fathers in Egypt did not comprehend your mighty deeds,
they did not remember your many acts of faithful love,
and they rebelled at the Reed Sea.

8. But He saved them for His name's sake,
to make known His might.

9. And He rebuked the Reed Sea and it dried up,
and He led them through the deep as through a desert.

10. And He delivered them from the hands of the hater,
and redeemed them from the power of the enemy.

11. Water covered their oppressors,
not one of them was left.

12. Then they believed in His promises,
and sang His praises.

13. But soon they forgot His deeds,
they did not wait for His counsel.

14. And they lusted after a desire in the wilderness,
and they put God to test in the desert.

15. So He gave them what they asked for,
~~but~~ sent abundant provision at their desire.

16. And they were envious of Moses in the camp,
and of Aaron, the holy one of Yahweh.

17. The earth opened and swallowed up Dathan,
it covered the company of Abiram.
18. Fire burned in their congregation,
a flame devoured the wicked.
19. They made a young bull at Horeb,
and bowed down to a molten image.
20. And they exchanged their glory,
for the likeness of a bull that feeds on grass.
21. They forgot God their saviour,
who has done great things in Egypt.
22. Marvellous acts in the land of Ham,
terrible deeds at the Reed Sea.
23. He thought to exterminate them,
had not Moses His chosen stood in intercession,
to turn away His wrath from destroying them.
24. Then they despised the pleasant land,
they did not trust in His promise.
25. But they murmured in the tents,
they did not listen to the voice of Yahweh.
26. Therefore He lifted His hand to swear against them,
to strike them down in the wilderness.
27. And to disperse their seed among the nations,
to scatter them over the lands.
28. And they yoked themselves to worship Baal of Peor,
and ate the sacrifice to the lifeless gods.
29. They provoked Him to anger with their deeds,
and a plague broke out among them.
30. Then Phinehas stood up and interceded,
and the plague was withheld.
31. And this has been counted to him as righteousness,
from generation to generation, forever.
32. And they provoked Him at the Water of Meribah,
it even went badly with Moses on their account.
33. For they had embittered his spirit,
and he spoke rashly with his lips.
34. They did not exterminate the peoples,
as Yahweh had commanded to do.

35. But they mingled with the nations,
and learned to follow their ways.
36. And they worshipped their idols,
and this was to them a snare.
37. They even sacrificed their sons,
and their daughters to the demons.
38. And they shed innocent blood,
the blood of their sons and their daughters,
whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan,
and the land was polluted with bloodshed.
39. And they became defiled in their deeds,
and went a whoring in their acts.
40. So the wrath of Yahweh kindled against His people,
and He abhorred His own possession.
41. He gave them to the hands of the nations,
and their adversaries ruled over them.
42. Their enemies oppressed them,
and they were subdued under their power.
43. Many a time He delivered them,
but they rebelled in their counsel,
and were brought low for their iniquity.
44. Then He looked upon their affliction,
when He heard their outcry.
45. And He remembered His covenant with them,
and was moved to pity according to
the abundance of His covenant love.
46. And He gave them compassion,
before those who held them captive.
47. Save us ! O Yahweh, our Lord,
and gathered us from among the nations that
we may give thanks to your holy name
and boast of your praises.

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4. A Synopsis

<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Ps. 78</u></p> <p>Exhortation to listen vv. 1-7 addressees: the people, Israel v. 1 content : mystery of the past v. 2 His glorious, mighty , wonderful acts v. 4 teaching the law to the future generations v. 5, not forgetting His works, trusting Him v. 7</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Ps. 105</u></p> <p>Invitation to praise vv. 1-6 addressees: seed of Abraham, sons of Jacob v. 6 content : making known His deeds v. 1 telling His wonderful works v. 2 singing to Him, seeking Him vv. 3-4 remembering His acts, His wonders, the judgment of His mouth v. 5</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Ps. 106</u></p> <p>Call to praise vv. 1-5 addressees: the people, God's chosen ones vv.1,5 content: praising the Lord, expressing His mighty deeds, showing His praise v.2 observing justice, doing righteousness, rejoicing in His gladness, singing praises vv. 3-5</p>
<p>Their forefathers: stubborn & rebellious vv. 8-10</p> <p>He did marvels to their fathers in Egypt vv. 11-12</p>	<p>Yahveh's promise and covenant to the Patriarchs vv. 7-15 (Abraham, Isaac & Jacob)</p> <p>He promised them the land of Canaan v. 11, He protected from the nations vv. 12-13</p> <p>The Joseph story & the migration vv. 16-23</p>	<p>They sinned like their forefathers v.6</p> <p>Their forefathers in Egypt did not comprehend His wonderful deeds v. 7</p>
<p>The Plagues: vv. 43-51 (מִצְרַיִם, מִצְרַיִם)</p>	<p>The Egyptian oppression vv. 24-25</p> <p>He sent Moses His servant, Aaron His chosen v. 26</p> <p>The Plagues: vv. 27-36 (מִצְרַיִם, מִצְרַיִם)</p>	<p>Moses, Aaron - the Holy One of Yahveh v. 16</p> <p>God did great things in Egypt & marvellous acts in Ham vv. 21-22 (מִצְרַיִם, מִצְרַיִם)</p> <p>The Exodus: He rebuked the Reed Sea Led them through the deep v.9 Water covered their enemies v.11 They believed His words & sang praise v.1</p>
<p>The Exodus: He divided the sea, they crossed v. 13 He led them out v. 52 The sea covered the enemies v. 53 Israel was not afraid v. 53b</p>	<p>The Exodus: God brought them out vv. 37,43 They depolled the Egyptians v. 37</p> <p>Israel came out rejoicing v. 43</p>	<p>The Desert: food: put God to test v.14 Dathan & Abiram vv.16-18 Golden Calf vv. 19-23 Murmuring v.25, death & dispersion vv.26f. Water of Meribah vv.32-33, went badly with Moses</p>
<p>The Desert: cloud; light of fire v. 14 food: they put God to test v. 18 God rained manna, grain of heaven, bread of the mighty one, meat & winged birds vv. 24-27 water: He cleft rock, gave water vv.15-16, 20</p>	<p>The Desert: cloud; light and fire v.39 food: quails & bread of heaven v. 40</p> <p>water: He opened a rock, water came out like a river v. 41</p>	<p>The Desert: food: put God to test v.14 Dathan & Abiram vv.16-18 Golden Calf vv. 19-23 Murmuring v.25, death & dispersion vv.26f. Water of Meribah vv.32-33, went badly with Moses</p>
<p>They came to the border of His holy land, His mountain vv.54-55</p>	<p>They inherited the land of the nations v. 44</p>	<p>They despised the land v.24, polluted it v.38</p>
<p>Sin: Idols and high places v. 58</p>	<p>They inherited the land of the nations v. 44</p>	<p>Sin: worship Baal of Peor v.28, not terminated the nations, mingled with them, worshipped idols, sacrificed their sons & daughters vv.29-39 Punishment: God rejected them & gave them over to enemies vv.40-42 Compassion & deliverance vv.44-46</p>
<p>Punishment: rejection of Israel, Joseph, Ephraim & Shiloh vv. 59-63, 67, (9,57)</p> <p>Forgiveness and deliverance vv. 38-39, 65-66</p>	<p>He remembered His promise to Abraham, His servant the gift of the land v.44 observing His laws and statutes v. 45</p>	<p>He remembered the covenant with them v.45 They received compassion from enemies v.46 A prayer for deliverance v.47</p>
<p>Future hope: He chose Judah, loved Mt. Zion, built the Temple firmly & chose David, His servant vv. 68-72</p>	<p>He remembered His promise to Abraham, His servant the gift of the land v.44 observing His laws and statutes v. 45</p>	<p>He remembered the covenant with them v.45 They received compassion from enemies v.46 A prayer for deliverance v.47</p>

III. An Exegetical Analysis of Psalms 78, 105, and 106.

I. An Exegesis of Psalm 78

Ps. 78 is a didactic historical psalm which intends to remind the audience of the saving acts of Yahweh and the rebellion of the people and their "fathers" in order to promote edification. Verses 1-8 are introductory verses in which the psalmist invites the people to listen to his teaching (ןןןן). The lesson he is about to set forth is drawn from the past in comparison with the present. The psalmist sees himself fulfilling a commandment and a tradition that knowledge of God's mighty acts is to be passed on from one generation to another. Primarily, the father of a family should assume this responsibility of educating his children in the historical traditions of the people (vv. 3-7). The father, presumably, gets his inspiration and the interpretation of the historical facts of salvation from the recitation of history of a "Moses" (in the Book of Deuteronomy), a "Joshiah" (Josh. 24) or a "Samuel" (I Sam. 12) when he participates in feasts and festivals.

There are roughly two recitals each of which embodies a twofold rejection, a rejection of God by Israel and then a rejection of Israel by God, and framed between an accusation in the beginning and forgiveness that leads to a new hope at the end. This pattern can be outlined below:

	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>
a. General accusation	vv. 9-11	40-42
b. God's Saving Acts	12-16	43-55
c. Sin & punishment	17-37	56-64
d. Forgiveness and restoration	38-39	65-72

The analysis of this psalm will start with the introduction (vv. 1-8) and follow the pattern in its sequence.

vv. 1-2

A Maschil of Asaph

- I. Give ear, (I) O my people, to my teaching,
Incline your ears to the words of my mouth.
2. I shall open my mouth in a parable
I shall expound mysteries from the past.

These two verses, including the superscription, are an indication of the psalmist's didactic intention. Verse I resembles the opening formula characteristic of the wisdom teaching of ancient Israel. (Ps. 49:1 [2]; Isa. 28:23 etc.). It is a claim for an attentive hearing to what is to be said and taught. תורתו, in parallel with אגרו-פ' (Prov. 7:24), is meant to be rendered in general terms of instruction. The word can be applied to the teaching of priest, prophet and teacher of wisdom. (2) The hearers are addressed as "my people" (עמ) which is different from the usual term "my son" used by wisdom teacher. They are not individuals but belonging to a community of worshippers. As we shall notice in the following verses, the psalmist and the audience identify themselves as the children of their "fathers" in the past generations. The occurrence of אבותינו (vv. 3, 5, 8), בנינו (vv. 4, 5, 6), אבותינו (vv. 4, 6, 8), אבותינו and אבותינו (v. 5) points to the continuity and solidarity of the present with the past generations. All the people are addressed.

The instruction, admonition and accusation embodied in this psalm have a distinct prophetic character. (3) If this prophetic element is seen in the light of the alleged role of cultic prophets and the form of prophetic speech, we shall be certain that there is a high probability that the psalm is delivered by a prophetic personality who shares responsibility with other cultic functionaries in the worship life of the people. We shall deal with this aspect in detail in chapter 7. The psalmist does not recount history as a mere narrative of facts, but with a strong didactic purpose. He penetrates into the hidden meaning of the perplexing problem of history (ה'דוה) and presents it

- (1) The frequent use of the play on roots appears in this very first verse of the psalm. Here the denominative verb אגרו and the substantive אגרו are both used. The verb formed from אגרו is commonly adopted in the opening of various ancient poems (cf. Gen. 4:23; Judg. 5:3; etc.) and the instruction of wisdom teachers (cf. Prov. 7:24; Isa. 28:23; etc.). Dahood points to this play on roots as part of the linguistic evidence for dating the composition of the psalm, 922-721 B.C. This is hardly conclusive. The late Book of Daniel frequently uses a lot of play on roots. Other examples in this psalm are vv. 19 & 49.
- (2) Östborn, Tora in the OT, 1945, cf. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody, 1979, pp. 45-46.
- (3) Delitzsch infers that the opening formula is "more especially for the prophetic discourse which propagates and sets forth the purport of the divine teaching." Commentary on the Psalms, II, 1888, p. 415. Kirkpatrick also recognizes that the people are here addressed in the (to be cont'd)

in his lesson by an example (לַשִׁבְחָה) (cf. Ps. 49:4 [5]). He uses לַשִׁבְחָה as an instrument (-וּ) to lighten the darkness surrounding the historical events. The enigma is to be expounded by a parable using historical events as a paradigm to illustrate the present situation. This psalm is unique in laying out this approach to history, a didactic history as Delitzsch calls it. ⁽⁴⁾ One may immediately note that the history of the people does not take a central position in the wisdom teaching while it is the central concern of prophecy. ⁽⁵⁾ The psalmist employs typical wisdom formulas and terminology in the introduction of Ps. 78.

לַשִׁבְחָה in the superscription of this psalm is probably a designation of a particular type of psalm. There are thirteen psalms in the Psalter with this title (Pss. 32, 42-45, 52-55, 74, 78, 88, 89, 142). The meaning of the word is however doubtful. לַשִׁבְחָה appears to come from the root לַשִׁבְחָה which in the hiphil means to act wisely and successfully.

⁽⁶⁾ Mowinckel holds that the term denotes "a song sprung out of and containing supranormal insight and effect." ⁽⁷⁾ He designates Ps. 78 as a didactic hymn which derives its material from the historical traditions of Israel. If we regard לַשִׁבְחָה psalms as "didactic poems", we shall find Ps. 32 and Ps. 78 to be good examples. Ps. 32:8 has אֲשַׁבְּחֶךָ, "I shall instruct you". Kirkpatrick supposes that Ewald's explanation, "a skillful psalm", is most likely and hence לַשִׁבְחָה in Ps. 47:7 [8] refers to a special type of psalm more definite than the ordinary mizmōr, "a cunning psalm". ⁽⁸⁾ Eerdmans maintains that לַשִׁבְחָה carries the meaning of "to gain or to have insight" or "to teach insight" and therefore, "a song

⁽³⁾ spirit of prophecy. "It was the function of prophecy to interpret the past, as well as to foretell the future." The Book of Psalms, 1903, pp. 464-5.

⁽⁴⁾ Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 415, J.W. Rogerson and J.W. McKay Psalms, 51-100, 1977, p. 141.

⁽⁵⁾ Though no significant bearing on Ps. 78 is to be deduced from the quotation of Ps. 78:2 in the New Testament, it is still worth a mention that Jesus refers to this verse as spoken by the prophet in Matt. 13:34-35.

⁽⁶⁾ לַשִׁבְחָה means "to be prudent", "be wise, skilful", "to have insight, comprehension," "to give insight, teach". לַשִׁבְחָה, therefore, is a contemplative poem. BDB, p. 968.

⁽⁷⁾ S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 1962, p. 94.

of instruction as well as an exposition of religious truth" is probably the closest rendering. He illustrates his position by citing II Chron. 30:22 which tells of Hezekiah's comforting the Levites. The task of the Levites is to advance good insight by their reciting a *מִשְׁכִּיל*. To Eerdmans, Ps. 45 can be called a maskil because it gives good insight into the position of royalty. (9) In spite of the lack of agreement as to the rendering of *מִשְׁכִּיל*, it is still clear that Ps. 78 is a perfect example of a didactic recital of the history of Israel. The psalm embodies a *מִשְׁכִּיל*, in which "a sketch of Israel's history which is presented in such a way as to make it an object - lesson in obedience to Yahweh." (10)

In vv. 3-6 the psalmist relates his teaching to the historical traditions which the people have heard and known because their fathers have told them. The psalmist identifies with the people by speaking in the first person plural pronoun. "Our fathers ^{have narrated to us} confirms the prophetic and Deuteronomic concern of oral transmission from father to son of the *magnalia Dei* (Exod. 10:2; 12:26ff.; 13:8ff., 14; Deut. 4:9; 6:20ff.; Josh. 4:6ff.). The psalmist, on behalf of the audience, declares their acceptance of the duty to let their children know Yahweh's glorious deeds (*תהלות יהוה*), strength (*עֹז*) and wondrous deeds (*נִפְלְאוֹת*) (v. 4). This handing down of the great saving deeds of Yahweh is enjoined upon the people as *עֲדוֹת/תּוֹרָה*. (11) Yahweh establishes a testimony and a law in Jacob and in Israel. The word *תּוֹרָה* is found in Ps. 81:5 [6] to refer to a special provision of law regarding observance of a festival in which the memorial of the mighty deeds of Yahweh's salvation is maintained. Israel is commanded to keep the *תּוֹרָה* and *מִצְוָה* and to

(8) Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. XIX. cf. C.A. & E.G. Briggs, *Psalms*, I, 1907, p. LXI, and G. Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1968, p. 289, prefer "didactic poem" while Kaiser, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1975, p. 352, suggests "effective song" or "artistic song" and Delitzsch, "a meditation", *op. cit.*, p. 413.

(9) Eerdmans, *The Hebrew Book of Psalms* (OTS), 1947, pp. 77-78.

(10) A.R. Johnson, "מִשְׁכִּיל", *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, SVT, 3, 1955, p. 165.

(11) A.A. Anderson refers to these two words together with *תּוֹרָה* in v. 10 as an allusion to the Sinai tradition, *The Book of Psalms*, II, 1972, p. 563. von Rad holds a different view on the psalm as a whole: "there is no reference either to the Patriarchal tradition or to the Sinai tradition" *PHOE*, 1966, p. 55.

make sure that children of the coming generation do acquire a knowledge of *תורה* and *מדות*. Such a knowledge should result in confidence in Yahweh, keeping His commandments and avoiding forgetfulness of the deeds of God (78:7).

לֹא שָׁכַח is not a slip of memory, but a deliberate disregard of God's saving acts. Forgetfulness is sin which leads to breaking of covenant and worshipping other gods (Pss. 44:17, 20 [18, 21]; 106:13, 21).

"To remember" and "not to forget" is a constant recurring warning of Deuteronomy (cf. Deut. 9:7ff.). (I2) The ancestor of the audience is strangely referred to as *דור סורר ומרה*. (I3) A similar idea of a stubborn and rebellious generation is found in Deut. 32 with which Ps. 78 is usually associated, but there are two different words used *עקש* and *פתלתל* (Deut. 32:5). Probably in both cases the desert generation is meant (Deut. 9:6f.; 31:27; Ps. 95:10). (I4)

From the above brief analysis of the introduction (vv. 1-8) of the psalm, we may conclude that these verses bear the characteristics of wisdom instruction, allusions to Deuteronomic principles and the spirit of prophecy. The central warning to the present generation of the children of Israel is in v. 8, *לֹא הָיוּ כְּאֲבוֹתֵם*. The fathers belong to a deviant and perverse generation like a rebellious son described in Deut. 21:18 (I5) The strong didactic purpose and future-oriented presentation of the past are characteristic features of the prophetic-Deuteronomic religion.

a) General Accusation (vv. 9-11, 40-42)

The warning in the introduction is turned into accusation throughout the psalm: they did not keep Yahweh's covenant

(I2) B.S. Childs, Memory and Tradition, 1962, p. 49, cf. A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 813.

(I3) Moshe Weinfeld classifies *סורר* and *מרה* as belonging to the Wisdom-Deuteronomic phraseology, Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic School, 1972, pp. 303, 339. Both *סורר* and *מרה* are used together to point to the stubborn and rebellious son in Deut. 21:18, 20 (cf. Jer. 5:23, *לֹב סורר ומרה*).

(I4) Kissane, Psalms, 1964, p. 358.

(I5) A. Cohen recognizes the parallel and comparison between the perverse child and the disobedient generation, Psalms, 1945, p. 250.

(v. 10a), they did not stand firm in His law (v. 10b), they forgot His wonderful deeds of salvation (v. 11), they sinned against God (v. 17), they tempted Him (v. 18), they had no faith in His wonderful acts (vv. 22, 32), they deceived Him (v. 36), they were not faithful to His covenant (v. 37), they rebelled against Him in the desert (v. 40), they provoked Him to anger (v. 41), they did not keep His *נִתְּוּ* (v. 56) and finally they roused God's anger with their high places and image worship (v. 58). Amidst all these accusations is singled out the special sin of the sons of Ephraim (v. 9).

Verse 9 is probably one of the keys to the understanding of the theme of this psalm, but unfortunately it also presents us with the most serious difficulties. Many scholars think that it interrupts the sequence of thought between v. 8 and v. 10. They, therefore, reject the verse as an interpolation. ⁽¹⁶⁾ It is however, possible to discern the significance of v. 9 in this place, it provides an explanation of the rejection of Ephraim, which is traced to the disobedience of the sons of Ephraim. Kirkpatrick, though he is of the opinion that v. 9 is a gloss, remarks that the verse points forward to the rejection of Ephraim and choice of Judah which is the climax of the Psalm (v. 67). ⁽¹⁷⁾ It is difficult to assign any historical situation to the verse. Several attempts have been made; the final battle of Saul on the mountains of Gilboa, ⁽¹⁸⁾ the refusal of Israel to advance into Canaan after hearing the report of the spies (Num. 13-14), ⁽¹⁹⁾ the slackness of Ephraim in prosecuting the conquest of Canaan (Judg. I), ⁽²⁰⁾ and the defeat at

(16) C.H. Toy, "On the Asaph - Psalm," JBL, 1886, pp. 73-85, Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 467, Briggs, op. cit., p. 182, Boylan, The Psalms, II, 1924, p. 41, Kraus, Die Psalmen, (BK), 1978, p. 702. B.D. Eerdmans proposes that "it is a marginal note inserted by a copyist in the wrong place. Originally it explained v. 67 telling why Ephraim was rejected." The Hebrew Book of Psalms, 1947, p. 376. He also raises the questions of no war being mentioned in the context and the fathers of v. 8 being the fathers of all Israel. Butterwieser transposes it to follow v. 62, The Psalms, 1938, pp. 125, 147.

(17) Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 467, Boylan also expresses a similar idea, op. cit., p. 40. Weiser too refers to Ephraim as a particularly telling example of the fate of disobedience to God, The Psalms, (OTL), 1962, p. 540. j

(18) Weiser, op. cit., p. 540.

(19) Barnes, op. cit., p. 376.

(20) Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 467.

Ebenezer (I Sam. 4), (21) These proposals are not conclusive and are also unnecessary. It is better to understand the verse generally and, according to v. 57, figuratively as is suggested by Delitzsch who regards what is said in v. 9 of Ephraim as also true of the people in general.

(22) In this case we should take vv. 9-II as a literal unit describing the disobedience of the people in general and the sons of Ephraim in particular. This is especially clear when we come to vv. 57-58. The idolatrous worship at high places cannot be limited to Ephraim.

A word must be added here as regards the translation of the obscure phrase $\text{נָשְׂקֵי רַמִּיָּהוּ}$. The exact meaning of רַמִּיָּהוּ is uncertain; probably, according to BDB, "either handle, or be equipped with". (23) There are two examples of רַמִּיָּהוּ used in I Chron. 12:2 and II Chron. 17:17. Both passages refer to the archers of the tribe of Benjamin. The word רַמִּיָּהוּ is the participle plural construct of רָמָה the root of which has three meanings: 1. "to cast or to shoot" (cf. Jer. 4:29, רָמָה קָשֶׁת), 2. "beguils, deal treacherously with", 3. "to grow loose". The רַמִּיָּהוּ of Ps. 78:57 may take either the meaning of 2 or 3, probably 2, referring to a treacherous bow. Hosea applies certain forms of רָמָה to Ephraim (7:16; II:12; 12:8). The most illuminating passage is Hos. 7:16 where Ephraim is accused of turning away from Yahweh like a treacherous bow ($\text{כְּקָשֶׁת רַמִּיָּהוּ}$). The same phrase is used in Ps. 78:57. In order to make v. 9 parallel to v. 57, Briggs suggests $\text{נָשְׂקֵי קָשֶׁת רַמִּיָּהוּ}$ for v. 9 and supposes that רַמִּיָּהוּ had been transposed by textual error while נְנִי אֶפְרַיִם had been inserted by a later glossator. (24) There is no solid ground for this rendering neither is there one for Dahood's treating נָשְׂקֵי as a third person singular form with

(21) A.F. Campbell, The Ark Narratives, 1975, pp. 212-26, and "Psalm 78: A Contribution to the Theology of Tenth Century Israel," CBQ, 41, 1979, pp. 60-61. Battenwieser has already written against taking the defeat at Ebenezer in I Sam. 4ff. as the historical situation of this psalm. : the defeat was the affair of all Israel and there is no specific mention of Ephraim. The transfer of power from Saul as Benjaminite, to David can hardly represent the replacement of Joseph - Ephraim by Judah. Furthermore, the destruction of Shiloh is not mentioned in I Sam. 4ff., op. cit., p. 130f. cf. The Targum refers to a Jewish legend which narrates the defeats of the Ephraimites when they left Egypt thirty years before the Exodus and they subsequently returned to their bondage. see J.M. Neale, The Psalms, 1860, II pp. 544f.

(22) Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 417.

(23) BDB, p. 676.

(24) Briggs, op. cit., p. 192, Gunkel and Leslie also emend the text to read with v. 57. Leslie, op. cit., p. 135.

a plural noun : "The sons of Ephraim were His bowmen, His treacherous archers who turned tail on the day of battle." (25) The approach of Bittenwieser and A.A. Anderson to regard one of the two participles as a magical gloss is not satisfactory. (26) We should keep both of the two verbs 'קש / and carrying bows' (27). Delitzsch offers an explanation to keep 'קש and translate as Eerdmans does "being armed" the text : "the two participial copulative forms do not stand logically in subordination but in coordination." (28) Anyway, H. Junker's and J. Schildenberger's effort to retain the verse should be strongly supported. (29) We may also consider A.R. Johnson's suggestion that there is a superlative force in the phrase which he renders "the best equipped of Bowman". (30)

tr. | Beside the association of Joseph-Ephraim with the bow in Hos. 7:16, there are other passages which tell of Ephraim as a powerful tribe (עבד / ליהוה in Josh. 17:17; cf. Hos. 13:1). In his analysis of the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49), which is regarded as a mixed form of the two types of tribal poem, the epigrammatic and the prophetic, Lindblom points out that the Joseph oracle (49:23-26) clearly describes skilfulness and bravery in warfare as the characteristics of the tribes of Joseph. They had to fight against archers and they fought with valour and vigour (v. 24). The 'bow' of Joseph symbolizes figuratively his military force (cf. Hosea 1:5; Jer. 49:35) (31) There are also numerous passages in the pre-Exilic prophets which designate Israel as "Ephraim" especially in Hosea and Isaiah (Hos. 4:17; 5:3; 9, 11-14; 6:4; 10; 7:1, 8, 11; 8:9ff.);

(25) M. Dahood, Psalms, (AB), II, 1973, p. 239.

(26) Bittenwieser, op. cit., p. 147, drops 'קש and translate "expert archers", "noted as archers". A.A. Anderson supposes that either 'קש or 'קש is gloss, op. cit., p. 564. RSV omit 'קש.

(27) Eerdmans, op. cit., p. 371.

(28) Delitzsch renders, "The sons of Ephraim, the archers armed with the bow", op. cit., pp. 409, 417.

(29) H. Junker, "Die Entstehungszeit des Ps. 78 und des Deuteronomiums," Biblica, 34, 1953, pp. 490-92; J. Schildenberger, "Psalm 78 (77) und die Pentateuchquellen," Lex tua Veritas, 1961, pp. 234-36.

(30) A.R. Johnson, CPIP, p. 49. He appeals to Gesenius I33h and an example in Judg. 5:29, "the wisest of her ladies". He also refers us to O. Eissfeldt, Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32, 1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78, 1958, p. 27.

(31) Joh. Lindblom, "The Political Background of the Shiloh Oracle," SVT, 3, 1953, p. 81.

9:3, 8, 11, 13, 16; 10:6, 11; 11:3, 8f.; 12: f., 9, 15; 13:12; 14:9; Isa. 7:2, 5, 9, 17:3; 28:1; cf. Jer. 7:15; 31:8, 17:19). It is highly probable that Israel as distinct from Judah is referred to in Ps. 78:9 and 57. We shall return to this point later as it has a significant bearing upon the dating of this psalm.

Verses 40-42 form a transition from the first recital of the saving deeds of Yahweh (vv. 12-16) and the rebellion of the people in the wilderness (vv. 17ff.) to the second recital of further saving deeds (vv. 43ff.) and greater sins of the people (vv. 56-58). This section begins with *כִּי* "How often!" (v. 40) and *וְעַד* "They again and again" (v. 41).

40. How often they rebelled against Him in the desert,
and grieved Him in the wilderness.

41. Again and again they tempted God,
and provoked the Holy One of Israel.

42. They did not remember His deed (*יָדָו*),
the day when he redeemed them (*יָדָו*) from the enemy.

These verses sum up the rebellion in the wilderness and introduce the deed of Yahweh, His hand. "The day" refers back to the Exodus, the day of great redemption in Egypt when He worked signs and wonders. Like the accusation in vv. 9-11, these verses also single out the failure to remember God's deeds as the source of sin and are anticipatory.

The "how often" shows that the two perfect forms should be taken as frequentative. ⁽³²⁾ *וַיִּגְדָּו* (v. 41) is the hiphil perfect of *גִּדָּו*; a "hapax legomenon" in the Old Testament. Emerton has studied the cognate verb *גָּדַע* and concluded that in the pi'el it means "to be sorry, regret, feel compunction, remorse" and in the hiphil "to grieve, cause to feel sorrow". But he further points out that ancient versions (LXX, S. Jerome) understand the word to mean "to provoke to anger." ⁽³³⁾ "The Holy One of Israel" is a title of Yahweh mostly found in Isaiah (11 times, 1:4; 5:19; 24; 10:20; 12:6 ; 17; 7; 29:19; 30:11, 12, 15; 31:1; cf. "The Holy One of Jacob" in 29:23 and "His Holy One" in 10:17). Outside Isaiah

(32) David Robertson, Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry, 1972, p. 46, also the verbs in v. 38.

(33) J.A. Emerton, "Notes on 3 Passages in Psalms, Book III," JTS, 14, 1963, p.381.

it appears only seven times (II Kg. 19:22 // Isa. 37:23; Pss. 71:22; 78:41; 89:18 [19]; Jer. 50:29; 51:5; Ezek. 39:7). It is most likely a title related to the cult of Jerusalem. J. Schildenberger regards Ps. 78 as having been influenced by the language of Isaiah in this respect while Johnson gives priority to the psalm. ⁽³⁴⁾ Johnson's view is more probable.

b) God's Saving Acts (vv. 12-16, 43-55).

The saving acts of Yahweh are presented in two separate recitals: the crossing of the Sea (v. 13), the guidance in the wilderness (v. 14) and the provision of water (vv. 15-16) in the first, ~~while~~ ^{and/} the Plagues (vv. 43-51), wilderness protection (vv. 52-54) and the giving of land by driving out the nations (v. 55) in the second. In v. 12, "In the sight of their fathers He did marvellous things; In the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan," the ~~אשר~~ ^{אשר} done in Egypt ~~any~~ ^{may/} refer in passing to the Plagues of Egypt (vv. 43-51). Zoan is not mentioned in the Exodus narratives in the Pentateuch. It links v. 12 with v. 43. Another name for Egypt is Ham. (Ps. 78:51; 105:23, 27; 106:22). ⁽³⁵⁾ The word יָרָא used in connection with the crossing of the Sea is found in Exod. 14:16; Neh. 9:11 and Isa. 63:12. In v. 15 the singular form יָרָא cannot be an adjective of מַלְאכֹת (in plural form) which does not need any intensification. יָרָא is rather an adverb to modify the giving of drink in abundance. ⁽³⁶⁾ In the account of the plagues the introductory verse does not specify the reference to the pronoun 'their' in "He turned their rivers into blood, and their streams they could not drink" (v. 44). A.F. Campbell, therefore, assumes that vv. 44-50 are foreign to the psalm. ⁽³⁷⁾ His assumption is far-fetched and unnecessary. Bittenwieser does not have the problem when he translates v. 43 as "How he displayed his portents to the Egyptians" ⁽³⁸⁾ We should, however, consider these verses to be an updated version of a hymnic tradition of a similar recitation of the

(34) J. Schildenberger, op. cit., pp. 232 ff. A.R. Johnson, CPIP, 1979, pp. 26-30. See also N. Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, 1944, p. 54.

(35) Ham is the name of a son of Noah (Gen. 5:32 and the ancestor of Egypt (Gen. 10:6-20).

(36) Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 419. Dahood takes מַלְאכֹת as paralleled to מַדְבָּר and unnecessarily translates it "wasteland".

(37) Campbell, "Psalm 78. A Contribution to the Theology of Tenth Century Israel," CBQ, 1979, p. 56.

mighty acts of Yahweh, which is handed down by oral recital as the psalmist already outlined in vv. 3-6. (39) We shall devote more space to the issues of the Plagues traditions in Ch. 4. Here it is sufficient to observe the technique of presenting the plagues in a culminative way, from the minor plagues which presumably failed to change Pharaoh's decision to the destruction of the firstborn. Yahweh attacked the very lives of the Egyptians, ראשית ארצם which literally means "the beginning of strength" or "firstlings of strength", a phrase which applies to the firstborn sons in Gen. 49:3; Deut. 21:17 and Ps. 105:36. Its parallel to בכור makes its meaning clear, the firstborn of the Egyptians.

By these plagues Yahweh secured a release of the people. He led forth His people like sheep (v. 52) and guided them in security (40) that they did not fear (v. 53 a). Israel did not fear while in contrast Egyptians were seized with panic (Exod. 14:13; 24). The psalm contrasts the state of Israel with that of the enemies whom Yahweh overwhelmed by the sea (v. 53b). Then the psalmist continues (vv. 54-55) :

54. He brought them to His holy border,
the mountain that His right hand had won.

55. He drove out nations before them,
and apportioned them as an inheritance,
settled His tribes in their tents.

literally means "to the border of His holiness". LXX has "the mountain of His sanctification" and the Vulgate renders "Mons sanctificationis". The Hebrew phrase is the only occurrence in the Old Testament. קנתה is used in a metaphorical sense of obtaining by conquest (Isa. 11:11). In v. 55 God is described to have driven out or dispossessed the nations and allotted the land of the nations to Israel by measured portion. (41)

(38) Buttenwieser, op. cit., p. 124.

in montem sanctificationis suae

(39) On the source of the review of the past, Buttenwieser, op. cit., pp. 139-144. Campbell suggests that Ps. 78 was composed before the Pentateuchal selection and sequence had become traditional, op. cit., p. 69. J.W. Rogerson and J.W. McKay find out signs of independence in Ps. 78 when compared with the traditions in Exodus, op. cit., p. 147. Schildenberger is of the opinion that Ps. 78 is to be associated with the J tradition.

(40) LXX has "in hope".

(41) cf. Josh. 17:15; 23:4; Ps. 80:8-9 / 9-10. See Joh. Lindblom, "Lot-casting in the Old Testament," VT, 12, 1972, pp. 164-178.

The difficulty in these verses is the exact reference of "אל-גבול אר-ר-גו" and א-גבול אר-ר-גו . The translation of A.R. Johnson helps to sum up the view taken by most scholars :

He brought them to His own holy territory,
the hill-country which His right hand had won. (42)

It is the hill country of Canaan, a mountainous land, the holy land, which is meant here. (43) The recital of the saving deeds of God ends at the conquest and the settlement of the tribes.

C. Sin and Punishment (vv. 17-37, 56-67)

The response to Yahweh's mighty acts of salvation is the repeated rebellion of the people. It was true then in the desert (vv. 17-29) and it was much worse after the settlement (vv. 56-58). Both of these sections make it clear that the people's sin is directed to the God Most High (v. 17: אלהים, v. 35: אלהים, v. 56: אלהים). אלהים is an appellation given to Yahweh in the Psalms, especially in the Asaphite Psalms (Pss. 50:14; 73:11; 77:10 [11]; 78:17, 35, 56; 82:6; 83:19). It is closely connected with Jerusalem (Gen. 14:18, 19, 20, 22; Ps. 89:27 [28]; Isa. 14:14; Lam. 3:35, 38 etc.). The use of the title implies the Jerusalem setting of this psalm. In v. 17 and v. 56. 'The Most High' is probably a contrast to the rebellious people. Later in the next section on forgiveness and hope we shall see that Most High God is understood to be the compassionate God who takes into account man's weaknesses. It is also this God who chooses David and Zion.

(42) A.R. Johnson, CPIP, 1979, p. 59.

(43) This view is taken by Kirkpatrick, B. Duhamel, Briggs, Leslie, Kissane, Weiser, Mc-Cullough, G.W. Anderson, Battenwieser, and A.A. Anderson. Gunkel is in favour of Mt. Ephraim, as is A.F. Campbell, Ewald of Shiloh, Kraus of Zion. These latter scholars, however, all understand the reference of the verse to the land of Canaan, though they specify the location. But Oesterley and recently Freedman and Cross argue for Mt. Sinai. Freedman and Cross is of the opinion that Exod. 15:13, 16, 17 which are similar in ideas and terminology with Ps. 78:52-55 speak of "holy habitation", a wilderness sanctuary, Cross, CMHE p. 125. n. 41; Cross and Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," JNES, 14, 1955, p. 248, n. 42. Freedman analyses Ps. 78:52-55 that the first two verses narrate the Exodus and drowning of the Egyptian the last one conquest, and, therefore, v. 54 tells about the wandering and the sojourn at Mt. Sinai. "Early Israelite History in the Light of Early Israelite Poetry," Unity and Diversity, 1975, p. 8. His argument is not convincing. We shall discuss these verses in Ch. 4.

וַיִּסְפוּ in v. 17 is a hiphil imperfect third person plural derived from וָסַף which means to add and to increase. It is followed by the infinitive לַחֲטֹא; the translation must, therefore, carry the meaning "they went on further to sin" (eg. BDB). We understand the verse as "they continued to sin more against Him" which also takes into consideration the word וַיִּלְכְּדוּ. The question, however, is which sin is meant here that the people continued to commit. Coats presumes that v. 17 refers to a tradition of rebellion at the springs. (44)

A.F. Campbell suggests that the sin of v. 9 is referred to. (45) Most probably the psalmist is thinking of the sinful tendency and state of the people who kept on sinning even from the time of the Wilderness.

The roots מָרַד (v. 17, to rebel) and נָסָה (v. 18, to test or tempt) recur like a refrain at the beginning of each section (every 8 or 16 verses) of the psalm (vv. 17, 18, 40, 41, 56). Kirkpatrick remarks that "the two words sum up Israel's behaviour: they rebelled against God by constant disobedience to His revealed will; they tempted Him, by sceptical doubts that He should prove His power." (46) Verses 18-20 illustrate the doubt and scepticism vividly; "Can God spread a table in the wilderness?", "Can He provide meat for His people?" Eerdmans treats this as the psalmist's charge of the people's "secret intention of embarrassing God" (47).

At least we perceive the seriousness of these questions as the people's intention to test God: "They put God to the test in their hearts (בְּלִבְבָם), to ask food for their desire (לְשֹׁמְרוֹ)" (v. 18). They spoke against God (וַיְדַבְּרוּ). We find examples of דָּבַר in the meaning of 'insulting' in Ps. 50:20; Num. 12:1, 8 and Job. 19:18. (48) These examples are used in human relationship while Ps. 78 applies the meaning to human-Divine encounter.

So when God heard the intended insult He was enraged. His anger is portrayed metaphorically as a kindled fire in v. 21. We can find the same parallel in Num. 11. This wrath is all because of Israel's disbelief and distrust in God and His salvation. (v. 22). Being faithful to (וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ) and trust in (בְּטַח) God and His saving power involve the

(44) Coats, Rebellion in the Wilderness, 1968, pp. 211-12.

(45) A.F. Campbell, op. cit., 1979, p. 54. Briggs, op. cit., p. 184.

(46) Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 468.

(47) Eerdmans, op. cit., p. 377.

(48) Bultmann, op. cit., p. 145. "They affronted God."

whole person. von Rad defines יָהֲרָאֵן as "to make oneself secure in Yahweh."
 (49) This faithfulness includes obedience to God's commandment and His covenant. בְּטוֹחַ is a synonym of Israel's term for faith. (50)

Verse 23 is better rendered with "Yet" because despite Israel's lack of faith and God's response in wrath, God gave the people food according to what they desired. He opened the doors of heaven (פָּתַח שְׁמַיִם), a phrase found only here in the Old Testament (cf. Gen. 28:17, $\text{שָׁעַר הַשָּׁמַיִם}$; Gen. 7:11; Mäl. 3:10, $\text{אֵרְבֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם}$; II Kg. 7:2, $\text{אֲרָבוֹת בַּשָּׁמַיִם}$, and rained (נָטַף cf. Exod. 16:4) manna and bread of the mighty ones (לֶחֶם אֲבוֹרִים , cf. I Sam. 21:7; Job. 24:22; 34:20; לֶחֶם אֲבוֹרִים Ps. 132:2, 5; Isa. 49:26; 60:16; לֶחֶם אֲבוֹרִים , Isa. 1:24). אֲבוֹרִים should not be understood to mean "the angels" (51) The language of vv. 26-31 resembles by and large that of the description of the sending of quails in Num. 11:31ff. The words קָדִים and צָפוֹן refer probably to the south-eastern wind; they are separated for poetical reasons (Num. 11:31 רוּחַ צָפוֹן). (52) In v. 31 בְּחוּרֵי is the plural construct of בְּחוּר , young men, rather than "chosen ones". Their young men were killed by Yahweh. Both גִּישְׁמוֹתָם and גִּישְׁמוֹתָם are signs of health and strength of the people. A good parallel is found in Deut. 32:15, when Israel waxed fat and grew thick she forsook God, the Rock of her salvation. Ps. 78:35 conveys the same accusation that the God rebelled against is their Rock, their Saviour, the Most High God.

Johnson draws our attention to the 'tents' (מִשְׁכָּנֹת) in Ps. 78:31. He compares it with the same plural form of שָׁכָן in Ps. 132:5, 7 and concludes that it refers to the 'dwelling' of Yahweh in the midst of the people in the wilderness. Here the punishing character of Yahweh's presence is referred to. (53)

Verses 32-37 sum up in general terms the 'sin and punishment which are presented in concrete events in vv. 17-31. The chastisements failed

(49) H.W. Robinson, Inspiration and Rebellion in the Old Testament, 1946, p. 266.

(50) von Rad, Old Testament Theology, I, 1965, p. 171.

(51) Oesterley, A Fresh Approach to the Psalms, 1937, pp. 280-81, reasons that in Ps. 105:40, the 'bread of heaven' refers to the food of the angels too because heaven is the dwelling place of the angels. This can best be taken as an interpretation of traditions preserved in Targum cf. Cohen, The Psalms, 1945, p. 252.

(52) Kirkpatrick, p. 470, Briggs, p. 185, Gunkel, p. 344, AA. Anderson (to be cont'd)

to renew the people, they sinned further. The repetition of rebellion and the stubborn nature of the fathers are seen in the phrase בכל-צאת and in the question of Moses raised in Num. 14:11, אנה' ינאצני העם הזה. Once again the psalmist pauses and reflects upon the reason for the people's sin; "they were not faithful (האמינו) in his wonderful works (כפלאותיו)" (v. 32). The result is then clear (v. 33).

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"So He put an end to their days like a breath, And to their years in sudden terror". הכל basically means "breath" or "vapour", a favourite word of Koheleth who uses it to convey the notion of "vanity" and "emptiness". The word for sudden terror is בהלה, perhaps a word play on הכל. LXX and Vulgate have "with speed" and "in haste" which probably refer to sudden judgment. (54) A.A. Anderson supposes that v. 33 may allude to "the eternal destruction of the wilderness generation (Num. 14:22f.)." (55) But the psalmist is not so specified at this point to substantiate such a supposition. A general understanding of punishment is probably meant here. The verse represents at most a summary statement of several occasions. The other occurrences of בהלה is in Lev. 26:16; Jer. 15:8; Isa. 65:23, the idea of a sudden terror and ruin or an absence of such terrifying scene is to be read in these passages. The subsequent verse in Ps. 78:34 makes plain the destruction of the people, when (אל) Yahweh slew them and such a punishment exerted an influence on the people who returned to Him and they remembered again that God was their rock, the Most High was their redeemer (v. 35, cf. on God as rock of the people, Deut. 32:4, 13, 15, 18, 30, 31, 37). (57)

σ/

Yet their return is but a sin of self-deception because they only flattered God with their mouth and lied to Him. Their return did not

(52) p. 568. כ is better rendered "from" in v. 26: "He let loose the east wind from heaven", see J.H. Patons, Canaanite Parallels The Book of Psalms, 1944, p. 34.

(53) Johnson, CPIP, p. 68. The other affinities between the two psalms are אבי'רם in Ps. 78 and אבי'רם in Ps. 132:2, 5 and "David thy servant" in 78:70 and 132:10. Cross understands משכנת as the 'tent shrine', the temple in archaic contexts, CMHE, p. 97.

(54) J.M. Neale, op. cit., II, p. 558, cf. Boylan, op. cit., II, p. 39.

(55) A.A. Anderson, op. cit., II, p. 569 cf. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 471.

(56) NEB reprints אלהם to אלהם (their creator) which is not necessary when the original word is clear enough.

(57) on the meaning of אמין meaning "true", "sure", see Buttenwieser, op. cit., p. 145.

represent conversion or change of heart. It is a short lived outward act (cf. Hos. 6:4) or it is an insincere lip-service. The deceitfulness of Ephraim (כזב/סתה) is well recognized by Hosea (7:13, 12:1 [2]; cf. 13:1). The psalmist, knowing so well of his people, reasserts that their sinfulness is due to their not standing firm (v. 37) :

For their heart was not steadfast (וכוון) (57)

And they were not faithful to His covenant.

When we come to vv. 56-67 we at once realize the similarities between these verse and vv. 17-37. As we have mentioned, the psalmist asserts that rebellion and putting God to test are the sins of the people. The God the people rebelled against is the Most High God (vv. 17, 56). Here the psalmist adds that the people did not keep God's testimonies (עדותיו לא שמעו) (cf. II Kg. 23:3). This reminds us of the עדות and תורה which God established in Israel in v. 5. עדות recalls the covenant obligation and the Heilsgeschichte. (58) The psalmist specifies the sinful deeds of the people by recalling the admonition in vv. 6-8 that the making known of the commandments and historical traditions may keep the people from following their fathers (לא יהיו כאבותם). Here in v. 57 the people turned away, acted faithlessly and dealt deceitfully (ו'כגדו), cf. Hos. 6:7) like their fathers (כאבותם, v. 57). They changed (הפכו) like a treacherous bow (כקשת רמיה) (v. 57b). (59) The image of a treacherous, perverse, crooked or twisted (LXX) bow illustrates the disappointment to its owner as a result of its slackness and missing of the aim when it is used. The psalmist further introduce the sin of idolatrous worship, worship at גמלות and worship of image (v. 58). This reflects the adoption of syncretistic cult and Canaanite idolatry (Deut. 32:16, 21). The failure to remember what He has done in the past led to idolatry. Deut. 7:18f help to illustrate this point clearly. Idols provoked God to great anger (v. 58, קנא/כעס).

It is not known what גמלות really refers to. The usual translation is "high places", artificial or natural elevation used for cultic purposes. The word finds expression in several instances in the

(58) A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 574.

(59) On the general meaning of הפך "to turn", to be changed or "to be transformed" see Battenwieser, op. cit., p. 146.

Hezekiah-Josiah's reform, after the fall of the Northern Kingdom (II Kg. 17:9-12; 18:4; 21:3-5; 23:4-15 etc.) ⁽⁶⁰⁾ Probably it denotes some kind of platform for cultic use, its association with Canaanite cult practice leads to condemnation from the prophets as well (Hos. 10:8; Amos 7:9; Jer. 7:31; 17:3; 26:18; Ezek. 16:16; 20:29 etc.).

When God heard their idolatrous cult He was angry. He utterly rejected Israel and forsook His dwelling place at Shiloh (vv. 59-60) The same construction of v. 21 (שָׁמַע יְהוָה וַיִּתְעַבֵּר) appears again in v. 59 (שָׁמַע אֱלֹהִים וַיִּתְעַבֵּר) only that this time in the latter case the consequence is far more serious. He utterly rejected Israel. ⁽⁶¹⁾ The rejection of the people and God's dwelling place at Shiloh is of great national rather than local significance. ⁽⁶²⁾

Verses 60-61 exhibit the capture of the Ark as it is recounted in I Sam. 4. The Ark is not mentioned by name, but is referred to by אָרְוֹן and אֲרֹן־יְהוָה which are terms used in Ps. 96:6. Ps. 96 and Ps. 105, in both of which is the word אָרְוֹן found, are cited in I Chron. 16 in the occasion when the translation of the Ark to Zion is celebrated. The word

אָרְוֹן is used in Ps. 132:8 together with אֲרֹן־יְהוָה. Therefore, it is most probably that the Ark is alluded to in Ps. 78:61. ⁽⁶³⁾ This supposition is generally accepted as the event at Shiloh is understood

(60) A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 574, R.E. Elements, Old Testament Theology, 1978. Albright puts forward his findings that בָּמָה does not always imply an elevation, it can be found at the bottom of a valley (Jer. 32:34), at the Temple of Jerusalem (II Kg. 23:8). "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," SVT, 4, 1956, pp. 242-58. cf. R. de Vaux, AI, 1961, pp. 284-8 : There is a full treatment of the meaning of בָּמָה by P.H. Vaughan, The Meaning of 'bāmâ' in the Old Testament, A Study of Etymological Textual and Archaeological Evidence, 1974.

(61) Both M. Dahood and David Freedman treat אֱלֹהִים as a divine epithet, the Almighty, (Freedman) or the Grand One (Dahood). Freedman comments that "if the poet had wished to express the idea "He utterly rejected", the normal method of doing so was at hand in the infinitive absolute construction : cf. Jer. 14:19, Lam. 5:22. "Furthermore the verb אֱלֹהִים comes from אֱלֹהִים which occurs more than 70 times in the Hebrew Bible, but "it is never used with אֱלֹהִים elsewhere, or in fact with any other adverb" D.N. Freedman, "God Almighty in Psalm 78:59," Biblica, 54, 1973, p. 268. Dahood gives as a second example Ps. 46:2, op. cit., p. 246. But the adverb אֱלֹהִים brings out the seriousness and firmness of God's decision. It is also necessary to assert such an emphasis if the destruction of the Northern Kingdom is meant by the rejection.

(62) G.W. Anderson, The History and Religion of Israel, 1966, p. 69.

to be that of the capture of the Ark. The only explicit and strong objection to this supposition is raised by Bittenwieser who is in favour of taking *תפארתה* and *ל* to refer to the 'sanctuary'. He argues that the "their strength" found in Ezek. 24:21 is descriptive of Yahweh's Temple of Jerusalem. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ The support for his argument is weak. His position is governed by his observation, perhaps a correct one, that Shiloh was not destroyed concomitantly with the defeat by the Philistines. The destruction of Shiloh is a later event which Jeremiah couples with the deportation of Ephraimites (Jer. 7:12-15). He, dating the psalm after the fall of the Northern Kingdom and the deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem from Sennacherib in 701 B.C., does not accept the allusion to Shiloh in I Sam. 4. He assumes that Ps. 78 refers to the destruction of Shiloh known to Jeremiah.

But Ps. 78 does not tell us about the destruction of Shiloh, but about the rejection of Shiloh as the dwelling place of God (v. 60) :

60. He forsook the dwelling place (*משכן*) at Shiloh,
the tent (*אהל*) where He dwelt among men. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

Only Jeremiah recalls the destruction of Shiloh which was still laid waste in his day (Jer. 7:12; 26:6). Recent archaeological evidence indicates that Shiloh was destroyed not by the Philistines in the battle described in I Sam. 4 after 1051 B.C., ⁽⁶⁶⁾ but in the first part of the 6th B.C. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ The city of Shiloh was still in existence in I Kg. II. An indication of its destruction is given in Jer. 41:4. It is true that the Ark did not return to Shiloh after its capture by the Philistines (I Sam. 6:12-15, II Sam. 6:10). This was a great blow to Shiloh as a cult centre, *משכן* and *אהל* of Yahweh.

(63) Henton Davis, "The Ark in the Psalms," in Promise and Fulfilment, ed. F.F. Bruce, 1963, pp. 51-61.

(64) Bittenwieser, op. cit., p. 132. He also accept LXX to read as the pronominal suffix : "their strength" and "their glory".

(65) NEB accepts LXX to read *משכן* for MT *בית* ; "He forsook his home at Shiloh, the tabernacle in which he dwelt among men."

(66) A date assumed by John Bright in his commentary, Jeremiah, (AB), 1965, p. 56 and defended by J. Day, "The Destruction of the Shiloh Sanctuary and Jeremiah VII 12, 14," SVT, 30, 1979, pp. 87-94.

e/ (67) Buhl and Nielsen, Shiloh, 1969, p. 62. cf. R.A. Pearce, "Shiloh and Jer. VII 12, 14 & 15," VT, 23, 1973, pp. 105-8.

Though we do not accept Battenwieser's exclusion of any allusion to the Ark in Ps. 78:61, we can still see the psalmist's intention of citing the sanctuary of Shiloh and reading into the verses the contemporary situation. The word תפארה for "glory and beauty" is used in Isa. 28:1-6 to contrast the fading beauty of Ephraim with the coming beauty of Yahweh to the people. The splendor of Israel (תפארת ישראל) and Yahweh's foststool (הדום-רגליו) are objects of God's anger in Lam. 2:1. The sanctuary is also described by תפארה in Isa. 60:7; 63:5; 64:10. The psalmist may well narrate the captivity of the Ark (לַיָּע) as well as the sanctuary or even the people of Ephraim (תפארתו). Verses 62-64 illustrate the captivity of the people. (68)

62. He gave His people over (רָגַע) to the sword,
and was enraged against His inheritance.

63. Fire devoured their young men,
and their maidens could not celebrate.

64. Their priests fell by the sword,
and their widows could not mourn.

These verses tell the story in I Sam. 4 which relates the death of Eli's two sons and the distress of their widows. The picture presented in this psalm is of national significance, concerned with the whole people, Yahweh utterly rejected His people and His inheritance (v. 62). Young men and priests fell by the sword while maidens and widows could not lament for them. Battenwieser rightly understands the verses as describing the fall of the Northern Kingdom and he recalls similar description relative to the destruction of Jerusalem over a century later (Jer. 16:5-9; Lam. 2:3, 20-21 cf. Isa. 9:8-17 [7-16]). (69)

(68) רָגַע comes from רָגַע which originally means to shut. Here the meaning of "to deliver up" derives from "to leave no other opening for one." BDB, p. 689. וְאֵל in v. 63 is a figurative description of the disaster of war, Num. 21:28; Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12. NEB changes the third person plural pronominal suffix of "their young men", "their maidens" "their priest", "their widows" into third person singular pronominal suffix "his". הָאֵל (הָאֵל) in v. 63 is emended by NEB with LXX to הָאֵל (הָאֵל): "and his maidens could raise no lament for them."

(69) Battenwieser, op. cit., p. 133.

d. Forgiveness and Restoration (vv. 38-39, 65-72)

Punishment is not the aim nor the last word of Yahweh's dealing with Israel. Sin has to be punished but behind the divine judgment there is always forgiveness and a new hope. Actually in both of the two recitals of Ps. 78, the conclusion signifies a new beginning. We start with the two great verses of affirmation of God's compassion (vv. 38-39). (70)

38. Yet He, being compassionate (דַּחֻם) forgave (כָּפַר) their iniquity and did not destroy them,
Time and again He restrained His anger,
and did not wholly arouse His wrath,
39. He remembered that they were but flesh,
a passing wind that does not return.

The use of the personal pronoun 'He' (הוּא) functions to contrast the sinfulness of the people and Yahweh's being primarily compassionate towards His people. דַּחֻם reminds us of the cultic formula, רַחוּם וְתַנּוּן (Exod. 34:6 - Ps. 86:15; Ps. 103:8) and דַּחֻם וְתַנּוּן (II Chron. 30:9; Neh. 9:17, 31; Pss. III:4; II:4; I45:8; Joel 2:13, John 4:2). (71) The formula is associated with covenant, law and forgiveness. Exod. 34:6-7 is a good example : "Yahweh, Yahweh, a God compassionate and gracious (רַחוּם וְתַנּוּן), slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness (רַכַּם חַסֵּד וְאֱמֶת)..... forgive iniquity (עָוֹן) rebellion (פְּשָׁע) and sin (חַטָּאת)." The word כָּפַר, meaning "to cover", in Ps. 78:38 is a technical term used mostly by P in connection with sin offering or with making atonement by a priest (Exod. 30:10, 15, 16; Lev. 4:20, 26, 31, 35 etc.). Ps. 78:38 is singled out for recitation in the Jewish liturgy for inclusion in the evening and afternoon services of the Day of Atonement. The verse is also used before וְכָרַב in both the evening and

(70) NEB unnecessarily changes דַּחֻם to רַחֲמֵינוּ and transposes it to follow לֹא יִשְׁחִית "Yet he wiped out their guilt, and did not smother his own natural affection." A.R. Johnson pointing to הוּא as a feminine noun and linking this verse with v. 8 renders : "The spirit (הוּא) of that which departeth and returneth not" CPIP, p. 55.

(71) On דַּחֻם as a basic metaphor of divine compassion derived from womb imagery, see "The Nature of God in the Old Testament," by P. Tribble IDB, Suppl., p. 368.

morning worship in weekdays, Sabbath, Passover and Tabernacles. Liebreich therefore speaks of the liturgical appropriateness of the verse. (72)
 The verse will remind the worshippers, ancient and contemporary, of the compassionate nature of Yahweh who even considers man's weaknesses which are summed up by the word "flesh" denoting the frailty of human nature and the word "wind" (73) which "symbolizes the transitoriness of human life". (74)

The compassion and forgiving character of Yahweh are best illustrated in the concluding verses of the second recital. After Yahweh delivered up His people to the enemy, His Ark to captivity, His sanctuary to destruction, young men and priests to the sword and maidens and widows in great distress, one may desparately look in vain for the saving deeds of Yahweh. He seemed to be unconcerned, or at least inactive and unmoved by the great catastrophe which fell upon the people. Verses 65-67 denote a new beginning. God proceeded to perform new saving deeds. (75) A daring, but vivid, picture is adopted by the psalmist who portrays God coming to the rescue. He woke up from sleep as though His former inactivity was due to his taking a rest : (76)

65. Then the Lord awoke as He had slept,
 like a warrior shouted heartily after wine,

(72) L.J. Liebreich, "The Liturgical Use of Psalm 78:38," Studies and Essays in Honour of Abraham A. Neuman, 1962, pp. 365-74.

(73) The use of 'wind' in v. 39 does not imply destruction or violence as in some cases Prov. 27:16; Ps. 55:8 [9]; Isa. 7:2; 32:2; Ezek. 17:10; 19:12 see N.H. Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, p. 145.

(74) Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 472.

(75) A. Weiser, op. cit., p. 542.

(76) The image of sleeping is applied to Yahweh also in Pss. 44:23 [24]; 121:4. In the first example, the psalmist cries for God's help in distress. A.A. Anderson describes the cry as a cry of bewilderment in a puzzling crisis, op. cit., p. 345. In Ps. 121:4 the psalmist believes that God neither slumbers nor sleeps. Here God's activity after a period of silence and inactivity is vividly described as waking from sleep. The second half of v. 65 is difficult. מִתְרוֹן מִן is traditionally taken as "shouted by reason of wine" assuming a hithpoel of the root יָרַח "to give a ringing cry" see AV, RV, RSV, Delitzsch, Kirkpatrick, Eerdmans, Barnes, Cheyne ("Shouts from wine") and Oesterley. BDB gives another root יָרַח "to overcome" which occurs in Arabic, but not in Hebrew. LXX, T.
 (to be cont'd)

66. And He smote His enemies back,
and gave them a perpetual reproach.
67. He rejected the tent of Joseph,
and did not choose the tribe of Ephraim.

These verses imply the hope that the people could be restored, God came to their rescue after a period of inactivity. He regarded their enemies as His enemies. Verse 66 seems to be fashioned after the defeat of the Philistines in I Sam. 5:6ff. Delitzsch thinks that this verse in the psalm "embraces all the victories gained by Israel in the time of Samuel, Saul and David, from I Sam. v. onwards and still later." (77) The issue is the identification of the enemy. If one accepts the rejection of Shiloh and the captivity of the Ark to be alluded to in I Sam. 4, then the enemy is

(76) and Vul ("Crapulatus a vinc") seem to presuppose the meaning of "to overcome"; hence the translation of Kissane, Bittenwieser etc. Gunkel suggests emendation, a hithpoel from $\text{נתרום} : \text{רם}$, "who raised up", a hapax. T.H. Robinson proposes מתעורר "rousing himself," (quoted by Oesterley) Dahood derives the meaning "to find refuge, to rest" from the root רנן in Pss. 32:7; 63:8; Isa. 43:14 and translates רנן as "after wine" with examples of רנן meaning "after" in I Kg. 8:54; Jer. 31:13; Hos. 6:2; 7:5, op. cit., p. 193. Most modern translators use different English words to render the phrase: NEB, "heated with wine"; NIV, "makes from the stupor of wine"; NTW, "overcome with wine"; Moffatt, "wide with wine"; Leslie, "exhilarated with wine"; A.A. Anderson, "stimulated by wine." A.R. Johnson, "made drowsy with wine" (CPIP, p. 60) and Ackroyd, "sobering up from wine", IBP, p. 128. The issue really is whether the second half of v. 65 is connected with the idea of being inactive or the idea of waking up. If the metaphor depicts the former than the understanding of a warrior made inactive (i.e. "overcome" from רנן because of wine is more appropriate. But if it intends to show that Yahweh as a warrior was excited by wine, then the reflexive form of רנן makes more sense. I adopt this latter understanding and follow Delitzsch's understanding of the Hithpoel of רנן , "to shout most heartily, after the analogy of the reflexives, התנוודד , התרועע . The word אתור in v. 66 also presents some problems. Generally, it is rendered "backward", "from behind" "while fleeing" (RV, AV, Kirkpatrick, Briggs, Kissane, NEB, NTW etc.). Some understand it as substantive, meaning "the back", "the hinder parts" (Kittel, Gunkel, Bentzen, Leslie, etc.). RSV's translation, "he put his adversaries to rout", gains support from NIV ("He beat back his enemies") and A.R. Johnson, who is not convinced of taking אתור to mean "the back" ("He beat His enemies back", CPIP, p. 61). Bittenwieser gives reason for his following RSV: אתור in the singular is "used throughout as an adverbial accusative only, or with prepositions when it is likewise a mere adverbial phrase". Only the plural אתור'ם with either a pronominal suffix or followed by a genitive is to mean "the back". He suggests with examples (Ps. 44:12/II/; Lam. I:13) the meaning "to beat or drive back" or "to put to rout", op. cit., p. 147.

certainly the Philistines. But even so a later date is not impossible because the Philistines had wars with Israel through the period of Samuel, Saul, David and even at the time of Hezekiah who smote the Philistines as far as Gaza (II Kg. 18:8). The other possibility is to see in the allusion to the Shiloh event a reflection of contemporary happenings. Yahweh was angry with the rebellion of Northern Israel that He delivered to the Assyrians the sanctuaries of the North, the people and the priests. He was enraged with His inheritance (v. 62) because of their high places and image-worship (v. 58). He utterly rejected them. The magnitude of the catastrophe goes beyond the capture of the Ark and the defeat in one or two battles (I Sam. 4). Only the fall of the Northern Kingdom can match such a depiction of a disastrous situation. The Assyrian did not merely bring about the destruction of the North but also threatened the security of Judah and Jerusalem. The pressing issue post questions of the inactivity of Yahweh and His permission for the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem. The daring metaphor expresses the sudden transition from a period when Yahweh seemed to be sleeping to one in which Yahweh triumphantly defended His people. (78) It makes much more sense when seen in the context of the miraculous deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem from Sennacherbi in 701 B.C.

Verse 67 is, therefore, not out of place, but it represents a statement of reality that though Yahweh came to their rescue, the situation of the North cannot be averted. The punishment is virtually utter rejection. (79) However, the hope of restoration lies in Yahweh's election of Judah, David and the Temple of Zion (vv. 68-72). (80)

(77) Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 430.

(78) Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 477.

(79) Divine rejection of Israel in II Kg. 17:20 and of Judah and Jerusalem in II Kg. 23:26-27; cf. Jer. 7:29. Wolff in Joel and Amos (Herm), 1977, p. 262, puts forward: "Divine rejection is the reaction of Yahweh to having been rejected by men (I Sam. 15:23; Hos. 4:6). The Prophetic language of rejection continues to exert influence in the Deuteronomistic History."

(80) ד'גא of v. 69 is the plural of דגא meaning "heights". It can also be a qal participle plural of דגא. עולת in v. 71 is a qal participle feminine plural of עול which means "ewes", BDB, e.g. Gen. 33:13, I Sam. 6:7, 10. In Isa. 40:11 it is used as a figure of returning Exiles. NEB omits "and Israel His inheritance" in v. 71.

68. "But He chose (וַיִּבְחַר) the tribe of Judah,
 mount Zion, which He loved (אָהַב).
69. He built His sanctuary (מִקְדָּשׁוֹ) like the heights of heaven,
 like the earth which He established forever.
70. He chose (וַיִּבְחַר) David His servant (עַבְדּוֹ),
 and took him from the sheepfolds.
71. From following the ewes He brought him to
 shepherd Jacob His people,
 and Israel His inheritance.
72. He tended them according to the integrity of his heart,
 and guided them by his skilful hands.

Verse 68 is to be contrasted with v. 67a. Yahweh rejected the house of Joseph (81) but elected the tribe of Judah. This can hardly be a psalm used to antagonize or alienate the Northern Kingdom. The psalmist, on the contrary, intended to bring the whole people of Israel together, to unite them under the leadership of the house of David. Yahweh's love for Zion and His Temple (מִקְדָּשׁוֹ) which was enduring like the high heavens and firm as the earth speak against any experience of the fall of Jerusalem. Instead we can sense the rise of the belief in the inviolability of Zion as a result of the miraculous escape of Jerusalem from Assyrian invasion, reinforced by the destruction of Samaria. Hezekiah-Josiah's reform would provide the Sitz-im-Leben of the psalm. The condemnation of high places and image worship bears out the records of the reforms : II Kg. 18:4, 22; (II Chron. 29:4-16; 30:1, 6-12; 31:1); II Kg. 22-23. Israelites were not excluded but they are among the congregation since Israel/Jacob are used to designate the people who are described to be under David's rule. Here David represents the ruling Davidic king. David is the example of faithfulness in serving God (I Kg. 15:3, 11; II Kg. 14:3). He rules according to an upright heart (Ps. 27:3; 64:4; cf. I Kg. 9:4) and skilfulness of his hands (I Sam. 16:16,

(81) Joseph in the Psalms 77:16; 78:67, 80:2-3; 81:6; 105:17, only in the last case is the story of Joseph referred to. For the history of the tribes see C.H.J. de Geus, The Tribes of Israel, 1976.

18). The image of David as the shepherd of Israel appears in II Sam. 5:2; 7:8. (82) The Davidic house is the hope for the people.

2. An Exegesis of Psalm 105

Ps. 105 is a historical psalm fashioned in the style of a hymn. (83) In the introductory verses the people are exhorted to in the second person to praise Yahweh and to make known His wonderful deeds. The main concern of the psalm is the recitation of Yahweh's mighty acts of salvation. Salvation is traced back to be begun in Yahweh's word of promise to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and to their offspring, Israel the people. History is presented in the framework of this promise and its fulfilment, namely in the giving of the land of Canaan. All the dangers and obstacles which appeared to threaten the fulfilment of Yahweh's promise were amazingly removed by Yahweh. The climax of the fulfilment, entry into the land, is the admonition to keep the law and commandment of God. It is a coherent presentation of history. The psalm itself can be divided nicely into the following sections.

- a. An Exhortation to Worship vv. 1-6.
- b. Yahweh's Covenant with the Patriarchs vv. 7-11.
- c. Yahweh's Protection of the Patriarchs vv. 12-15.
- d. The Joseph Story and the Migration to Egypt vv. 16-22.
- e. The Egyptian Oppression and the Plagues vv. 23-36.
- f. The Exodus and the Wilderness Wanderings vv. 37-42.
- g. Covenant Fulfilment : Land and Laws vv. 43-45.

a. An Exhortation to Worship (vv. 1-6)

The LXX places "Hallelujah" at the beginning of this psalm instead of at the end of Ps. 104. The result is that the closely related Pss. 103 and 104 both begin and end with "ברכי נפשי את יהוה" while Pss. 105 and 106 begin and end with "Hallelujah". (84)

(82) The use of the term מלך as a honorary title of David and the concept of shepherd may probably imply cultic usages, A.A. Anderson, op. cit., I, p. 196. On the king as God's servant, see C. Lindhagen, The Servant Motif in the Old Testament, 1950 and J.H. Eaton, Kingship and the Psalms, 1976, p. 149.

(83) Kraus, op. cit., p. 89I.

(84) Kirkpatrick is in favour of the LXX in this respect. op.cit., p. 615.

יְהַלֵּל in v. 1 is the common introductory formula of a series of Hoda-Psalms (e.g. 105, 106, 107, 118, 136). It sets the hymnic presentation of history in the thanksgiving mood. (85) The notion of giving thanks expresses a recognition of God's help and acknowledgement of what He has done, His dealing (עָלֵל לִוְתִי) with His chosen people. This imperative call to give thanks is followed by another six verbs in the imperative mood (vv. 1-2). (86)

1. Give thanks (יְהַלֵּל) to Yahweh, call upon (קָרָא) His name, make known (יְגַדֵּל) His deeds among the peoples.
2. Sing to Him (שִׁירָה), sing praises (שִׁירָה) to Him, tell of (שִׁירָה) all His marvellous works.
3. Glory (הִתְהַלֵּל) in His holy name, let the hearts of those who seek Yahweh rejoice.

The phrase of *פָּנֵי יְהוָה* in v. 3 which appears again in v. 4 with "His face or present" (פָּנֵי) as object, is often used as a cultic term for the worship of the Lord (Pss. 24:3; 27:8; 69:7; Hos. 3:5 etc.) In II Chron. II:16, "And those who had set their hearts to seek the Lord come ... to Jerusalem to sacrifice to the Lord" and in Jer. 50:4f, ".... they shall seek the Lord their God. They shall ask the way to Zion", a pilgrimage may sometimes imply a return to Yahweh (Hos. 5:15-6:1).

- (85) This verse has its parallel in Isa. 12:4. B.D. Eerdmans regards Isa. 12:4 as a small collection of ritual formulae, op. cit., p. 476.
- (86) *קָרָא* is suggested by Barnes and others (Briggs, Delitzsch, Kirkpatrick) to mean "proclaim His name rather than "call upon His name". Barnes, Psalms, II, p. 502; also Kraus, op. cit., p. 892, a prayerful proclamation with similar idea expressed in *יְגַדֵּל*. The word *שִׁירָה* is derived from *שָׂרָה* which means "to occupy oneself diligently with" (Kirkpatrick), hence either to meditate upon, or as the context and parallelism required here and in Ps. 140:5, "to speak or discourse of", a meaning found in post Biblical Hebrew, Kirkpatrick, p. 616. Briggs translates it "to hum" (p. 343), cf. Judg. 5:10; Ps. 104:34. BDB, "to speak". *שָׂרָה* is a characteristic verb of the Psalter (33:2; 66:4; 71:22; 98:5; 146:2; 147:7; 149:3). It can mean either to make music in praise of God or to sing to the accompaniment of musical instruments, BDB, p. 274 and A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 474. The word *עָלֵל לִוְתִי* in v. 2 is also a common term in the Psalter; 28 out of a total number of 45 occurrences in the Old Testament are found in the Psalter. See Wheeler Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, pp. 37f. E. Jacob remarks that *עָלֵל לִוְתִי* "applied by the Psalms and Isaiah to the miracles of history, mainly to those of the Exodus already interpreted as types (Pss. 78:4, 11, 12, 32; 105:5; 107:24-31; Mic. 7:15; Isa. 28:19; 29:14 etc.), Theology of the Old Testament, p. 224. We shall look into the meaning of the term in more detail in Ch. 4.

(87) Here in this elaborate introduction to Ps. 105 the psalmist invites the people to worship Yahweh through thanksgiving and psalm singing. A joyful mood and a promise of strength (vv. 3-4) are assured to those who seek the presence or fellowship of the Lord. But great emphasis is laid upon the marvellous things that ^{Yahweh has done for the addressees whose identity is only revealed in v 6.} Solidarity with the Patriarchs is explicitly expressed. Verses 4-6 can be translated as shown below : (88)

4. Search for Yahweh and be strengthened,
seek His face constantly.
5. Remember the wonderful works that He has done,
His wonders and His words of judgment.
6. O seed of Abraham, His servant,
O children of Jacob, His chosen one.

The concept of remembering the marvels and wonders that Yahweh has done is a frequent feature of Deuteronomy (7:8; 8:2 etc.). The word מופת is often coupled with נִתְּנָה and translated "wonders and signs" which usually refers to the Plagues in Egypt. Yahweh is the ultimate source and power of מופת and נִתְּנָה, which may produce fear and terror to His enemies (Exod. 7:3; II:9; Deut. 6:22). (89) The phrase מִשְׁפָּטֵי עוֹלָם in v. 5b does not seem to imply the precepts of the law.

(87) A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 320, Kirkpatrick agrees that both שָׁרַח and שָׁרַח refer to the outward act of visiting the Temple, but also express "the inward purpose of the heart". Seeking Yahweh is the duty and joy of Israel, Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 616.

(88) יָצָא in v. 4 may refer to the Ark of Covenant (Pss. 78:60-61; 132:8). Ps. 105-15 in I Chron. 16:11 is applied to the celebration of the transference to the Ark of Zion. The other psalm fragment in I Chron. 16:27 = Ps. 96:6 also has יָצָא in it. G.H. Davis in "The Ark in the Psalms," Promise and Fulfilment, ed. F.F. Bruce, 1963, pp. 52ff. remarks that שָׁרַח and שָׁרַח are words employed for a visit to a sanctuary as well as the Ark. This is confirmed by the association of אֵלֹהִים. It is however very unlikely that the object of the visit is the Ark. S. Holm-Nielsen points out that the meaning of יָצָא in reference to the Ark must have been forgotten "since the context here makes it improbable that the author should have had the Ark in mind." ASTI, II, 1978, p. 23. We follow LXX to repoint MT to יָצָא. Barnes suggests that this imperative is to be understood as a promise. We read בְּחִירָיו (v. 6b) with some Mss. for בְּחִירָיו in order to get a good parallel with יָצָא (v. 6a). LXX however has יָצָא and בְּחִירָיו in this verse.

(89) A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 320. See also Wheeler Robinson, op. c it., pp. 34-37.

Moffatt's translation brings out the meaning clearly, "His sentences of doom", the sentence passed by Yahweh on Pharaoh and the Egyptians (Exod. 6:6; 7:4; 12:12). All the marvels, signs and wonders were done on behalf of the seed of Abraham and the children of Jacob. ⁽⁹⁰⁾ These mighty acts of Yahweh facilitated the fulfilment of His promise and covenant to the Patriarchs and the people that they would possess the land of Canaan. The fulfilment of the promise (vv. 42-44), therefore, constitutes the reason for praise, thanksgiving, recitation of history and remembrance of the acts of salvation (vv. 1-5).

b. Yahweh's Covenant with the Patriarchs (vv. 7-II)

The divine words of promise to Abraham-Isaac-Jacob are spelled out in vv. 7-II. ⁽⁹¹⁾

7. He is Yahweh our Lord,
His judgements are throughout the earth.
8. He remembered His covenant forever,
the promise (כִּבְרֹת) that He commanded to a thousand generations.
9. The covenant that He has made (כִּבְרֹת) with Abraham,
and His oath to Isaac.
10. And He confirmed it to Jacob as a statute,
to Israel as an everlasting covenant.
11. Saying : "I shall give you (לְךָ) the land of Canaan,
to be the portion of your inheritance."

(90) LXX renders $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ in v. 6, and therefore assumes that the people, Israel/Jacob, including the Patriarchs themselves, are His servants and chosen ones (e.g. Isa. 42:1; 45:4). The idea that Israelites are God's servants is supported by v. 25.

(91) The perfect כִּבְרֹת in v. 8 (I Chron. 16:15 has כִּבְרֹת) is taken by Delitzsch as implying a "practically pledged certainty", *op. cit.*, p. 113. So Kirkpatrick, "a general truth guaranteed by past experience". The plural imperative in I Chron. 16:15 expresses the idea that Israel must do her part in keeping the covenant obligation. ^{Kirkpatrick rightly comments that the exhortation} is out of place here, *op. cit.*, p. 617. The context demands a confirmation of God's remembering His covenant. כִּבְרֹת is used with כִּבְרֹת for covenant making e.g. Gen. 15:18; Exod. 34:27 : Barnes (so NEB) renders כִּבְרֹת in v. 8a "promise". כִּבְרֹת in 9b is the only occurrence here in the whole Psalter. I Chron. 16:16 has כִּבְרֹת . לְךָ in v. 11 is suggested by Kirkpatrick that the promise was made to the Patriarchs individually, in them to their descendants also. There are cases that both singular and plural forms are applied to the same subjects, Ps. 145:4; Isa. 41:6 etc. see Dahood, *op. cit.*, p. 54. But I Chron. 16:18 reads כִּבְרֹת to be paralleled with כִּבְרֹת .

The Abrahamic covenant is decisive for the pattern of history and governs the entire recitation of history. It also forms the basis of confidence in the salvation of Yahweh. (92) "God remembered His covenant" would be a great consolation to the people in Exile; landlessness and statelessness are only temporary. The phrase "to a thousand generation" (cf. Deut. 5:10; 7:9; Exod. 20:6) is used in a synonymous manner with לְעוֹלָם (cf. Ps. III:5, 9), and it explicitly denotes the firmness and foreverness of "He remembered". (93)

"The portion of your inheritance" (חֵלֶק נַחֲלָתְכֶם) has parallels in Ps. 78:55 and Deut. 32:9. According to von Rad חֵלֶק means "share of the land" belonging to a tribe (Josh. 17:5, 14:19:9), (94) while applied originally to the hereditary lands of both families and tribes. The land of Canaan was not yet the inheritance of the Patriarchs who were sojourners wandering from place to ^{place. They were among a} small group of people as Jacob confessed, "I being few in number . . ." (Gen. 34:30). The children of Israel were always reminded that they were sojourners in the land, therefore they should be more concerned with the stranger who sojourned with them in their land (e.g. Lev. 19:23). אֲנִיִּים denotes those who are poor and "dependent upon the good will and generosity of the native inhabitants of the land (Lev. 19:10; 23:22; Deut. 24:19ff.)". (95) The promise, like the case in the Pentateuchal traditions, was first given to Abraham (Gen. 15:18; 17:1ff; 24:7) and then to Isaac (Gen. 26:3ff) and to Jacob (Gen. 28:13ff.; 35:12). The three Patriarchs are therefore connected with the promise which is to be fulfilled to their offspring (Gen. 50:24; Exod. 2:24; 6:3ff; Num. 32:11; Deut. 1:8). (96)

(92) Verses 8-11 present the main theme of the psalm. Kraus, op. cit., p. 893. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, II, pp. 73, 464.

(93) On the "everlasting covenant" to Abraham, see von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," PHOE, p. 228 and R.E. Clements, Abraham and David, 1967, pp. 15-34. Chapter 5 of this thesis will cover some aspects of the Abrahamic covenant.

(94) von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch," PHOE, p. 82.

(95) A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 313.

(96) Kraus, op. cit., p. 893.

c. The Protection of Yahweh for the Patriarchs (vv. 12-15)

Yahweh's marvellous promise of land came to the Patriarchs when they were just a handful in number, insignificant, poor, wandering among the nations and therefore did not have the slightest idea of possessing the land of Canaan (v. 12). He protected them from the nations among whom the Patriarchs were to wander (vv. 13-15), (97)

12. When they were few in number, a handful,
and sojourners (ד'גג) therein.

13. They wandered from nation to nation,
from one kingdom to another nation.

14. He did not permit man to oppress them,
but rebuked kings for their sake.

15. "Touch not my anointed ones,
and do no harm to my prophets".

For the Patriarchs the land of Canaan was at first "a land of sojourning". (98) In the above verses it is unusual that the Patriarchs were designated God's "prophets" and His "anointed". Of the Patriarchs only Abraham is called a prophet in the context of intercession in Gen. 20:7 and he is God's prince in Gen. 23:6. But none of the Patriarchs was actually described as anointed. Cheyne thinks that "anointed" is used not to mean more than consecrated to God's service (Isa. 45:1). (99) Kraus suggests a transfer of the title of the king (Ps. 89:38 [39]) to the Patriarchs. (100) This may be correct, but "anointed" is not

(97) The phrase אנשים מספר literally means "men of number" (Gen. 34:30; Deut. 4:27; I Chron. 16:19; Jer. 44:28). It is used in v. 12 as an opposite to ("without number" e.g. Ps. 40:12 [13]). The Israelites were men of a countable number and because they were easily counted, therefore, must be few in number; e.g. Isa. 10:19. Briggs proposes אלם הלך for MT אלם הלך in v. 13b. ה'נ'נ is the hiphil of נ'נ meaning "to let alone, leave or permit". אנשים "my anointed ones" has the sole parallel in I Chron. 16:22. Whether this verse refers to the Patriarchs or to prophets or priests, it is one of the two verses with אנשים in the plural form (cf. II Chron. 6:42).

(98) Exod. 6:4, see S. Herrmann, A History of Israel in Old Testament Times, 1975, p. 56.

(99) Cheyne, The Psalms, 1888, pp. 288.

(100) Kraus, op. cit., p. 894.

exclusively applied to kings; priests (Lev. 4:3, 5, 6; 6:15; Exod. 28:41) and prophets (I Kg. 19:6; Isa. 61:1) are God's anointed ones too. (I01)

M. Noth perceives a democratization of the concepts "anointed" and "prophet" to designate "those among the peoples specially called by God". (I02)

S. Holm-Nielsen goes a step further to assume that it is the whole people of Israel who are referred to as "anointed ones" and "prophets" in Ps. 105. (I03)

This assumption is very instructive when we consider the terminology used in vv. 14-15 : $\text{לְעַשׂוֹת, וְיִכַח}$ and לְעַשׂוֹת . The word עַשׂוֹת is usually used of oppression of a nation. S. Holm-Nielsen, therefore, suggests that it denotes subjugation of the people of Israel by foreign powers, i.e. in the Exile (Isa. 52:4; 54:14; Jer. 50:33).

נִכַח describes the rebuke and reproof of God (e.g. Ps. 50:7 [8]; II Kg. 19:4 - Isa. 37:4). Speaking in the context of the Exile, Zechariah reported God's decision that the one who does harms to the people harms the apple of His eye (2:8 [12] $\text{לְעַשׂוֹת בְּעֵינַי}$). The two imperatives (v. 15) and the speech of God introduced by לְעַשׂוֹת (v. 11) present the promise of the land and the protection as a present reality with future orientation. (I04) We do not have enough evidence to identify "the anointed ones". The king, the prophet or the priest can be a candidate. It is however most probable that in association with the prophetic office in v. 15b, the "anointed ones" (v. 15a) may represent a priestly figure. We shall discover that Pss. 105-106 have sympathy for the function of intercession and the priestly figures, Aaron, Phinehas, and his priesthood. (I05) Anyway, the fact that the quoting of Ps. 105 in I Chron. 16 breaks off at this point may denote the Chronicler's understanding of the protection of the "anointed ones" and the "prophets" to be a current divine promise. Yahweh's intimate relationship with His "anointed ones" is inviolable.

(I01) G. Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, 1973, p. 349.

(I02) Exod. 19:6; Isa. 61:6. M. Noth, "Office and vocation in the Old Testament," LPOS, p. 248.

(I03) S. Holm-Nielsen, "The Exodus Tradition in Psalm 105," ASTI, II, 1977-78, p. 24.

(I04) The elimination of לְעַשׂוֹת suggested by Kraus weakens the force of the two direct speech of Yahweh (vv. 11, 15). Kraus, op. cit., p. 890.

(I05) II Chron. 6:41-42, corresponding to Pss. 132:8-10, have the plural form לְעַשׂוֹת as compared with singular, לְעַשׂוֹת in Ps. 132:10. These verses forming a conclusion to the "prayer of Solomon" are absent from the paralleled passage of I Kg. 8.

d. The Joseph Story and the Migration to Egypt (vv. 16-22)

Verses 16-23 describe events which lead to the migration of Israel into Egypt. Yahweh Himself was the one who summoned the famine upon the land. He sent Joseph into Egypt to prepare the way for the further fulfilment of His promise (cf. Gen. 45:5, 7; 50:20). In order to be fit to carry out His purpose, Joseph had to go through testing. Since outside the Genesis and Ps. 105 the story of Joseph is not alluded to in the Psalter and in the Old Testament, at least not in such a detail, this section is especially significant and a translation of the verses is necessary (vv. 16-22) : (I06)

16. And He summoned a famine upon the land,
and destroyed all the food supply (מטה-לחם).
17. He sent (שלח) a man ahead of them,
Joseph, sold (נאכר) as a slave
18. They afflicted (עניו) his feet with fetters (בכבל),
his neck (צו) entered a hoop of iron (ברזל).
19. Until the time His word came to pass,
the command of Yahweh proved him right (צרפתהו).
20. The king sent and released him,
the ruler of the nations (משל עמים) set him free.
21. He set him lord to his household,
and governor of all his possessions.
22. To instruct his princes at his will (בנפשו)
and that he might teach his elders wisdom.

Verse 18 is rather difficult. According to the narrative of Genesis (39:21ff.; 40:4) Joseph was not severely ill-treated. He assisted the keeper of the prison. S. Holm-Nielsen supposes that the description reflects Israel's sufferings under foreign yoke (cf. Ps. 107:10, 14, 16;

(I06) The phrase מטה-לחם שכר "He broke the staff of bread", is a trope for food supply (Lev. 26:26; Ezek. 4:16; 5:16; 14:13). In v. 18 בכבל and ברזל (used in juxtaposition in Ps. 149:8) may depict imprisonment. The phrase צו נאכר is understood by LXX as "His soul came into iron" and by Targum "the iron entered his soul" (so Delitzsch). In the latter case the difficulty is that ברזל is a masculine noun which does not match with the feminine verbal form. נפשו may mean "his neck" (so Kraus). צו (v. 19) has the meaning of 'to purify' ; LXX renders "inflamed". צו occurs only here in v. 20b in OT. It is possible that v. 20a be translated "He (Yahweh) sent a king who released him" (S. Holm-Nielsen, *op. cit.*, p. 29. n. 12). In v. 22, מר לאסר means "to bind", but LXX (του παραέυσσε), supported (to be cont'd)

I49:8; Deut. 28:48), "it is quite probable that the Babylonian Exile lies behind^{the} description of Joseph's fate in this psalm, cp. Isa. 42, 22; 43, I4 and also the mood of Ps. I37". (I07) There are supports for such an perception. The notion of selling can be interpreted as God's selling His people to enemies (Deut. 32:30; Ps. 44:12 [I3] ; Isa. 50:1).

(I08) Lev. 26:26 uses the phrase "breaking of *מטה-לחם*" in the Exilic context of judgment for Israel's sin. The enemies whom Yahweh sent to Israel would put an iron yoke (*כַּרְסוּ*) upon the neck of Israel according to Deut. 28:48. Charles T. Fritsch contends that "Joseph's strategic place in the history of redemption is clearly brought out by the Psalmist." (I09) The word of God as an agent to bring about fulfilment of His plan is central in the process of history. Nothing can stop God's word of promise to come to realization.

There is still another important aspect in this psalm, that is, the instruction and teaching of Joseph to the household of Pharaoh (v. 22). The verse may point to the tradition preserved in Gen. 41:37-40. But Deutero-Isaiah expresses a view that Israel is superior to the heathen world (43:9; 45:14ff;). (I10) Furthermore, Deut. 4 explicitly claims that Israel's wisdom before the nation is in her God and the words of God given to her (vv. 5-8). Israel is acknowledged by other nations to be a wise and understanding people (*עם-חכם ונבון*). This self realization and identity of Israel would be strengthened in her contact with other people especially at the time when they were in Diaspora.

e. The Egyptian Oppression and the Plagues (vv. 23-36)

Israel's lengthy sojourn in Egypt, started with the migration of Jacob to Egypt, (v. 23, cf. Gen. 46:1-7), is briefly treated in this

(I06) by Jerome and S. presupposes *לְיָדָיו*, "to instruct". NEB reprints MT to read *לְיָדָיו*, "to correct."

(I07) S. Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 25. H-J Kraus, however, interprets the verse figuratively to denote Joseph's spiritual sufferings in prison, op. cit., p. 890.

(I08) *כַּרְסוּ* in BDB, p. 569.

(I09) C.T. Fritsch, "God was with Him", A Theological Study of the Joseph Narrative." Interpretation, 9, 1955, p. 32. On the function of the Joseph Story as a connecting piece between "promise to the Patriarchs" and "guidance out of Egypt" and other peculiar characteristics of the story see M. Noth, HPT, pp. 208-213.

(I10) S. Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 25.

section which mainly spells out the multiplication of Israel and its aftermath (vv. 23-27) and sets the stage for the Plagues (vv. 28-36). The translation of vv. 23-27 is given as below. (III)

23. Then Israel came to Egypt,
and Jacob sojourned in the land of Ham.
24. He made His people exceedingly (מְאֹד) fruitful,
and made them stronger than their enemies.
25. He turned their hearts to hate His people,
to deal craftily (לְהַתְנַכֵּל) with His servants.
26. Then He sent Moses His servant,
Aaron whom He had chosen (בַּחֲרָהּ),
27. He manifested His signs in Egypt,
and wonders in the land of Ham.

Yahweh made Israel very fruitful and strong (cf. Exod. I:7). The multiplication of the people may be a preliminary fulfilment of the promise. In the above verses it is not difficult to get the concept that Yahweh was the absolute controller of every event, He turned the Egyptians' hearts to hate the Israelites. (II2) He sent Moses, His servant, and Aaron, His chosen one, to carry out His promise when it is threatened by the oppression of Egypt. (II3) The Plagues sketched in vv. 23-36 are

(III) We shall deal with the Plagues (vv. 28-36) in Ch. 4. "The land of Ham" is a poetical synonym of Egypt, Pss. 78:43, 105:27; 106:22; cf. Ps. 78:51 אֱהוּא חַם. Ham was the ancestor of Egypt (Gen. 10:6). Verse 24 lacks an explicit subject. Therefore RSV inserts "the Lord". Dahood renders מְאֹד as a divine epithet "the Grand One" (cf. Ps. 78:59). Here the meaning of "exceedingly", "greatly" is preferable. "Their enemies" (אֹיְבֵיהֶם) in v. 24 is read by Duhm אֹיְבֵיהֶם. The only other occurrence of the hiphil form of נִכַּל is in Gen. 37:18, applying to the plot of Joseph's brothers to kill Joseph (cf. Mal. 1:14 (qal); Num. 25:18 (piel)). בַּחֲרָהּ is presupposed by LXX ἡμεῖς ἐλέξαμεν. The Hebrew of v. 27 reads: שָׁמוּ בְּמִלֵּי דְבָרָיו "They manifested the words of His signs". NEB renders rather strangely "They were His mouthpiece to announce His signs" cp. LXX, Vulgate. Bittenwieser, following S, omits דְּבָרָיו. Ps. 145:5 has נִפְלְאוֹתָיו. We read בְּמִלֵּי דְבָרָיו, instead of בְּמִלֵּי דְבָרָיו (so Kraus). Gunkel emends to כְּדִבְרֵיהֶם "by their (Moses & Aaron's) words", Dahood to בְּמִלֵּי דְבָרָיו = wilderness. As the text stands may refer to the Egyptians, but NTW takes it to point to Moses and Aaron.

(II2) The notion of hatred derived from אָוֶן is used in parallel with "enemy" (אֹיֵב) in Ps. 106:10, 41.

(II3) Moses appears only in five Psalms : 77:20 [21]; 99:6; 103:7; 105:26; 106:16, 23, 32 and in the heading of Ps. 90. Aaron is mentioned four (to be cont'd)

considered to be the judgement of Yahweh upon the Egyptians and also be the wonderful deeds, signs and wonders of Yahweh by which He set His people free (Pss. 78:43; 135:9; cf. Deut. 4:34; 7:19; 11:3; Jer. 32:21). We shall discuss the Plagues traditions in detail in Ch. 4.

f. The Exodus and the Wilderness Wandering (vv. 37-42)

Verse 37 attributes to Yahweh's deliverance of Israel out with silver and gold, which is a motif recorded in Exod. 3:21; 11:2; 12:35; cf. Gen. 15:14. In the later book, Wisdom of Solomon (10:7), the valuables were regarded as rewards to the Israelites for their slavery in Egypt. (II4) G.W. Coats claims that the despoiling tradition was a tradition of a secret escape with spoil; it "constitutes an alternative climax for the Exodus theme (in addition to the Passover narrative), a proper sequence for at least one facet of the plague traditions, and the description of the Exodus event presupposed in the Reed Sea tradition." (II5) He also declares, arguing from Exod. 10:28f., that the negotiations between Moses and the Pharaoh were broken off and the only means to achieve release from slavery was to escape without the Pharaoh's knowledge. However, Coats' reconstruction does not fit into the content of Ps. 105:37-42. (II6)

37. He brought Israel out with silver and gold,
and none in His tribes stumbled.

38. Egypt was glad at their departure,
for fear (of Israel) had fallen upon them.

(II3) times together with Moses in Pss. 77:20; 99:6; 105:26; 136:16; once independently of Moses in 133:2 and in three other Psalms in the phrase "the house of Aaron" (115:10, 12; 118:3; 135:19). In Ps. 78:70 David is God's servant and in Pss. 105-6 Abraham, Jacob and the people are servants of God. For the meaning and theology of the notion servant in the O.T. see W. Zimmerly and J. Jeremiah, The Servant of God, 1954, cf. above note 82.

(II4) M. Noth calls this a subsidiary theme in the Exodus tradition, Exodus, (OTL), 1962, p. 93. cf. G.W. Coats challenges Noth's position, "Despoiling the Egyptians," VT, 18, 1968, pp. 450-57. See also David Daube, The Exodus Pattern in the Bible, 1963, pp. 55f, and B.S. Childs, Exodus, (OTL), 1974, pp. 175-7. The despoiling motif displays disunity with the content in Exodus. G.W. Coats has an investigation into the textual - literary problem of the three Exodus passages, op. cit., pp. 450f. He suggests that Ps. 105 is late, at least Exilic.

(II5) G.W. Coats, ibid., p. 457.

39. He spread out a cloud for a covering (למסך),
and a fire to light up the night.
40. They asked (מַתְּלִין) and He brought them quails,
and satisfied them with bread of heaven.
41. He opened the rock so that water gushed out,
and like a river ran in the desert.
42. For He remembered His holy promise
to Abraham, His servant.

The verses presuppose a tradition preserved in Exod. 12:30-36 which narrates that the Egyptians urgently sent Israel out in haste, saying "We are all dead men" (v. 33). Another peculiar feature is the silence on the Reed Sea tradition which is the major act of salvation in Ps. 106: 9-12. The dread of God falling upon the Egyptian is found in the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15:16). The cloud functioned as a covering and protection. (II7)

Both quails and the "bread of heaven" are gifts and provision of God as signifying a positive response of God to the people's request. The murmuring of the people recorded in Exod. 16; Num. 11; Ps. 78:24, 27f., Ps. 106:14-15 and Neh. 9-15 is not mentioned at all. (II8) The concern of the psalmist is the wonderful deeds of Yahweh which constitute a confirmation of the everlasting covenant with Abraham and through him with Isaac, Jacob and Israel. The marvellous acts are expressions of God's faithfulness to His holy word with Abraham. קדשן קדש is another term

(II6) למסך ענן כדשן as a phrase is a hapax, מסך is a masculine noun which has two meanings :

- I. covering, screen (II Sam. 17:19; Isa. 22:8).
 2. the veil of the Tabernacle in P (Exod. 26:36 etc.).
- למסך is a singular 3rd person verb, the context requires שאלו (LXX). למסך (v. 40) is adopted in Neh. 9:15, cf. למסך-שמים and למסך אבירם in Ps. 78:24-25. For the tradition of Manna, see B.J. Malina, The Palestinian Manna Tradition, 1968.

(II7) Ps. 78:14 refers to the cloud as guiding the people. Wisd. 10:17 developed further into the idea of identification of the works of God in history with wisdom. In Isa. 4:5-6 cloud and fire are God's glorious protection and presence on Mt. Zion, Briggs is in favour of the influence of Isa. 4:5-6 upon Ps. 105:39, Psalms, II, pp. 355, and he take vv. 38-45 as a later addition.

(II8) G.W. Coats discovered that the murmuring motif has been "secondarily incorporated into the more positive narrative of the people's petition for Yahweh's aid". vv. 38-45 as a later addition.

for God's covenant promise narrated in vv. 8-9. (II9)

g. Covenant Fulfilment : Land and Laws (vv. 43-45)

43. He led out His people with rejoicing,
His chosen ones with shouts of joy.

44. He gave them the land of the nations,
and they inherited the fruit of the people's toil.

45. In order that they should keep His statutes,
and observe His laws.

Hallelujah.

Israel's coming out of Egypt is pictured as ןןךך and ןןןןןן .
(I20) Similar language and thought can be found in Deutero-Isaiah
(35:10; 51:11; 55:12). Verses 43-44 show the link between Exodus and
the occupation of the land of Canaan. We shall examine in Ch. 4 the
Exodus theme in connection with the Exile as it is presented in Deutero-
Isaiah. Here an idea precisely formulated by G.W. Anderson can sum up
the impact of these verses on the people : "the land was theirs by
divine promise and gift; and when many of them were driven into exile,
they thought of restoration as a new fulfilment of the divine promise
accomplished by a new act of divine grace comparable to the first." (I21)

The last verse of this psalm has a legalistic colouring. The aim
of Israel's history is understood in the keeping of God's laws, the
latter is a natural response of gratitude for what God had already done.
(I22) There may be tension between grace and law, but there is also
inner relatedness. If the psalm is set in the festival cult, a
recitation of the law is likely to follow v. 45. A. Weiser is especially
in favour of this view. (I23)

(II9) The word ןןןןןן is regarded by Cheyne as in the sense of inviolable
(I Sam. 6:20; Jer. 23:9). Kirkpatrick also suggests that this
sacred promise cannot be broken, op. cit., p. 623. J.W. Rogerson
and J.W. McKay understand the phrase as "a promise backed and
guaranteed by God's holy character", Psalms, III; (C.B.C.), p. 40.

(I20) cf. Pss. 42:5 [6] ; 47:1 similar notion of rejoicing is expressed
at the shore of the Reed Sea (Exod. 15). ןןןןןן can either be shouts
of joy or sorrow (Pss. 17:1; 88:2 [3] ; 106:44).

(I21) G.W. Anderson, The History and Religion of Israel, 1966, p. 22.

(I22) A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 735, on the concept of covenant based
on gratitude, see G.W. Anderson, ibid, p. 42, H.H. Rowley, Worship
in Israel, 1967, pp. 39, 44.

3. An Exegesis of Psalm 106

Ps. 106 is a penitential prayer which embodies a confession of sins. In the confession the sacral history of the people is reviewed, but great emphasis is laid on the long history of the people's rebellion against Yahweh. This rebellion is even traced back to the time of the Exodus. The consequence of such a long history of infidelity is shown in the fact that Yahweh delivered the people to the hands of the enemies. Therefore, the intention of the recapitulation of Israel's sinful deeds is to justify the punishment of Yahweh, namely the miseries and catastrophe of the captivity of the people (vv. 40-43, 47). The sins of the people are set in contrast with the רַחֲמֵי of Yahweh in vv. 8-11, 23, 43-46. It is the gracious dealings of Yahweh that forms the basis for the confession and petition. Yahweh's רַחֲמֵי towards His covenant promise did not leave the people, wherever they were, in despair. He would gather them from their places of scattering. The psalm can be divided in three main sections :

- a. Introduction (vv. 1-7)
 - i) A call to worship vv. 1-3
 - ii) A personal prayer for salvation and joy vv. 4-5
 - iii) A confession of sin vv. 6-7
- b. Historical Recitation vv. 8-46
 - i) Yahweh's deliverance of Israel at the sea vv. 7-12
 - ii) Putting God to the test vv. 13-15
 - iii) Rebellion of Dathan and Abiram vv. 16-18
 - iv) The calf idolatry vv. 19-23
 - v) The refusal to enter the land vv. 24-27
 - vi) Baal of Peor apostasy at Moab vv. 28-31
 - vii) Rebellion at Meribah vv. 32-33
 - viii) Sin and apostasy in Canaan, vv. 34-39
 - ix) Disciplinary chastisement pattern vv. 40-46
 - x) A confession of Yahweh's covenant love vv. 44-46
- c. A prayer to gather the people and a vow to praise God. v. 47
Doxology v. 48

From this outline we can understand that the historical recitation (vv. 8-46) is framed within the general confession of the people (vv. 6-7)

(I23) A. Weiser, op. cit., p. 676.

and the petition for return (v. 47a). (I24) The personal prayer confirms God's favour and salvation on His people. The call to praise Yahweh in vv. 1-2 is responded to a vow to praise Him at the end of the Psalm (v. 47b).

Verse 48 is usually taken as a concluding doxology of the end of the Fourth Book of the Psalter. Kirkpatrick on the other hand treats it as part of the psalm. The usage of vv. 47-48 in I Chron. 16:35-36 seems to support his view. (I25) The Chronicler connects Ps. 106:1 and 47 with וְאָמְרוּ which transforms the verses into a historical statement, ... וְאָמְרוּ כָּל-הַעַם אָמֵן.

a. Introduction (vv. 1-7)

The introduction is further subdivided into :

i) an exhortation to praise (vv. 1-2) ii) a blessing to the righteous (v. 3) iii) a personal prayer for God's favour (vv. 4-5) and iv) a communal confession of sin (vv. 6-7). The exhortation to praise opens with a liturgical formula which appears at the beginning of Pss. 107, 108, 136 etc. cf. Ezra 3:10, 11. Verses 1-3 are translated below : (I26)

I. Hallelujah !

Give thanks to Yahweh for He is good,
for His loving kindness endures forever.

2. Who shall proclaim the mighty acts of Yahweh,
or fully voice all His praise (תהלתו)?

3. Blessed are those who observe justice (משפט),
who do righteousness (צדקה) at all times.

(I24) The rationale behind the different elements in the psalm is outlined by Kraus, Die Psalmen, pp. 899-91, also by Coats, Rebellion, p. 231 and Wolverson, "Sermons in the Psalms," CJT, 10, 1964, p. 169.

(I25) Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 634. A.A. Anderson suggests that the doxology can be found in Pss. 41, 72, 89, I Chron. 29:10; Neh. 9:5. The later two are recited at the beginning of confession. LXX attaches the doxology of Ps. 106 to the beginning of Ps. 107. Mowinckel assumes that Ps. 106:48 is "not a result of the division into five added to the psalm for liturgical use." PIW, I, p. 199. *parts, but rather one of the causes of it, and that it was already*

(I26) On the concept of חסד and רחם see N. Glueck, Hesed in the Bible (ET) 1967. M.H. Snaith, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, 1944. pp. 100-110, K.D. Sakenfeld, The Meaning of Hesed in the Hebrew Bible, 1978 and A.R. Millard, "For He is Good," TB, 17, 1966, pp. 115-117. חסד may refer to the act of thanksgiving which is fitting and appropriate (so NEB) or to God Himself (So LXX, RSV, NIV and NTW), cf. Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, 1973, p. 170. In v. 2, LXX and S give a plural form to תהלתו (sing.) making it a better parallel to גבוותות. חסד in v. 3 should be read 'שׁוּע with the versions.

The reason for thanksgiving and praise is sought in the marvellous acts of divine intervention. No human attempt can adequately express God's saving might (גבורות) or proclaim His praises (תהלתיו) (cf. Isa. 63:7, 15). The rhetorical question of v. 2 is supposed to be uttered by a priest. (I27) This may apply also to the beatitude which is rather unexpected to appear in v. 3. (I28) The priest exhorts the congregation to strive for עֲשֵׂה and קִרְא which God has manifested in His dealing with the people and which are absolutely essential to the covenant relationship between God and the people. To practice עֲשֵׂה and קִרְא will uphold that relationship, hence in the blessed state which God will bestow on the people.

Walter Beyerlin tries to detect the inner connection between the seemingly loosely related introductory hymn, (Eingangslied) in vv. 1-3 and the historical narrative (Geschichtserzählung) in vv. 4-47, which he refers to as the "dominierender Hauptteil". (I29) The hymnic opening which is a call ^{to praise is thought by many scholars to be separated and cut off from the main} body of confession and lament. (I30) Its significance in the whole psalm is therefore very much neglected. Beyerlin insists that the psalm should in reality be comprehended precisely on the basis of the introductory call to praise. The restored cry to praise prepares the way for confession and remembrance of the historical traditions. He further perceives that the historical situation which gives rise to the combination of different types of form in the psalm and which also renders it difficult to praise God is the dispersion of the people after 587 B.C.

This introductory hymn (vv. 1-3) and the prayers in (vv. 4-5) illustrates a certain cultic setting for this psalm. The form of worship is probably centred on psalm singing, recitation of history and prayer. There

(I27) Weiser, op. cit., p. 680. On the link between God's marvellous acts and the worshipper's response in thanksgiving and praises, see Ringgren, Faith of the Psalmists, 1963, p. 83.

(I28) So R.E. Murphy, "Psalms," Jerome Bible Commentary, 1968, p. 595.

(I29) Walter Beyerlin, "Der *nerus rerum* in Psalm 106," ZAW, 86, 1974, pp. 50ff.

(I30) W. Wolverton attaches vv. 1-3, as a hymnic conclusion, to Ps. 105 since he thinks that these verses do not fit the mood of Ps. 106 "Sermons in the Psalms," Canadian Journal of Theology, 10, 1964, p. 170.

is no trace of any performance of ritual or sacrificial offering. The situation of the Exile required and reinforced such a form of ritual-free worship though we realize that recitation and prayer did not originate in the Exile.

Verses 4-5 form an individual prayer within the communal content and setting. Probably it is a prayer uttered by the priest who calls the people to praise (vv. 1-2) and exhorts them to uphold the blessed state of covenant relationship by doing righteousness (v. 3). God's election of the people and His gracious purpose in history form the basis for both the individual and communal appeals. The psalmist is certain that Yahweh will show His favour for the people and therefore he prays for the privilege of sharing the restoration. (I31)

4. Remember me (זכרני), O Yahweh,
with your favour (כרצון) to your people,
visit me (פקדני) with your salvation.
5. That I may see the prosperity (טובת) of your chosen,
rejoice in the gladness of your people,
exult with your inheritance.

Though the versions and some MSS read זכרני in v. 4, the contrast between the one who prays and the people makes it more preferably to retain the first person singular suffix. The psalmist affirms that God's favour (כרצון) and His salvation (ישועתך) are with His people. The kind of favour and salvation is taken by Kissane to refer to deliverance from the Exile (Isa. 49:8). Kissane's understanding is possible as the joy and gladness are presupposed in the prayer. Further the phrase - כ לראות has the meaning of "looking with special pleasure". (I32)

In Jeremiah, Shemaiah is to be punished by Yahweh that no one from his descendants will see the good that Yahweh will do to His people (לא-יראה בטוב) (אשר-הני עשה-לעמי, Jer. 29:32). Yahweh promises to His servants in Deutero-Isaiah that they will see the return of Yahweh to Zion (כראו בטובך..., Isa. 52:8). It may be assumed that the present suppliant of Ps. 106:4-5 is far away from the Jerusalem community, who nevertheless feel himself to be

(I31) Kissane, op. cit., pp. 485, 489.

(I32) A.R. Johnson, CPIP, p. 190 n. 5.

part of the community and asks God not to forget him but to let him experience His salvation. (I33) He is representing his worshipping community to beseech Yahweh for His favour. He stresses that the worshippers are God's chosen ones (בת'ר'יך), people (גו'יך / עמך), and inheritance (נחלתך). (I34)

Verses 6-7 are the confessional sentences spoken by the community as a whole; notice the change in the subject of the speaker. (I35)

6. We have sinned (נט'אנו) like (עם) our fathers,

We have done wrong (העו'ינו) and acted wickedly (הרשענו).

7. Our fathers in Egypt did not comprehend

your mighty deeds,

they did not remember your many acts of faithful love (רב חסד'יך),

and they rebelled at the Reed Sea.

In this general confession of sin, the idea of solidarity of the present generation with the forefathers is explicitly mentioned. The present generation recognizes itself as equally responsible for what the forefathers have done. These two verses do not depict ill feeling against the past generations as Dahood seems to suppose so, "the sinful behaviour of Israelites is due partially to the bad example of their forebears." (I36) The three keywords of v. 6 appear in I Kg. 8:47 (cf. Dan. 9:5), also in the context of confession. This is very likely due to that the psalmist is familiarized with the same formula of

(I33) Leslie, op. cit., p. 165.

(I34) 'ל is used here as poetic parallel with עם, not with polemic intention. See further, E.A. Speiser, "People' and 'nation' of Israel," Oriental and Biblical Studies, 1967, pp. 160-169.

(I35) The hiphil form of עלה conveys the meaning of deliberately going astray from God, See N.H. Snaith, The Seven Psalms, 1964, p. 50. The Hebrew עם, in v. 6 is usually translated "with" but here RSV "Both we and our fathers have sinned", NEB. NIB and NTW render it "like". Dahood claims to attest such meaning in Ugaritic, Psalms III, p. 68. For the sake of metre Gunkel adds דם before הרשענו. רב חסד'יך refers to the many acts of God's חסד as it is clearly shown in parallel with פלאות'יך. LXX has a singular form חסדך (cf. v. 45). Briggs and Oesterley prefer the singular. Oesterley also deletes כמארת and the final line of v. 7, The Psalms Book IV, Hebrew Text, p. 64. But in his commentary he retains the line and reads עליון for על-ים, The Psalms, p. 449, so RSV. Barnes follows the LXX, ἀναβαίνοντες = עלים, "they went up". Kraus refers us to לזרות עליון בצה'ת in Ps. 78:17 and reads, עליון, op. cit., p. 898. Since vv. 6-7 are directed to Yahweh by the worshipper as confession of sin, the emended עליון is not appropriate. We follow RSV to omit על-ים.

(136) M. Dahood, Psalms, III, p. 69; cf. A.A. Anderson op. cit., p. 738; Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 628.

confession. (I37) Briggs rightly states that the use of the three verbs in emphatic coordination with conjunction (some MSS do have וְהִוָּיָה) as "an explicit and solemn confession of sin." (I38) לָא הִשְׁכִּיחַ in v. 7 characterized the Israelites' lack of insight into the wonderful deeds of God who has delivered them from Egypt. Besides their failure to understand, they also repeatedly forgot and therefore, time and again they rebelled against Yahweh. Lack of understanding and forgetfulness are the source of Israel's sin (cf. vv. 13, 21; Ps. 78:11; Deut. 32:18). Rebellion too becomes a form of Israel's sin (cf. vv. 33, 43; Ps. 78:17; Num. 20:10; Isa. 1:20; 50:5; 63:10). Ezekiel has emphasized the importance of memory in the history of Israel who continued to transgress Yahweh's commandment and failed to remember His covenant love and mighty acts (Ezek. 16; 20; 23). To Ezekiel Israel's history is a whole chain of sins without even a period of innocence (cf. Hos. 11:1f.; Jer. 2:2). (I39)

A conscious effort was made in Israel to preserve a good memory of the great experience of her historical traditions and to pass it on to the coming generations, not only memory but also the institution to perpetuate such a memory (Exod. 13:3; Deut. 4:9; 8:2-18; 6:20-25). Yahweh has appointed a memorial for His wonderful works (Ps. 111:4). Historical recitation is one of the means to perpetuate the memory of their historical traditions. The recitation became significant during the period of Exile when the survival of the people was associated with the land to which the people expected to return. (I40) Ringgren comments that "reading between the lines of Ps. 106, we see how bad it is not to consider God's wonderful works, or not to remember the abundance of His steadfast love (v. 7), or to forget God, the Saviour, and the great things and wondrous works He had done (vv. 2, 22)." (I41) Israel owes to Yahweh praise and remembrance of His mighty acts of

(I37) Kirkpatrick (p. 626) is of the opinion that the language in v. 6 is borrowed from Solomon's prayer in I Kg. 8:47.

(I38) Briggs, op. cit., p. 349.

(I39) Simon J. de Vries, "Remembrance in Ezekiel, "Interpretation, 16, 1972, pp. 58-64.

(I40) There have been in existence before the Exile such memories which antedated the later memories. Leo L. Honor, "The Role of Memory in Biblical History," Mordecai M. Kaplan Jubilee Volume, 1953, pp. 417-35. Also B.S. Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, 1962.

(I41) Ringgren, The Faith of the Psalmists, 1963, p. 79.

salvation. Failing to fulfil such a duty before God is considered as an act of arrogance and rebellion.

b. Historical Recitation (vv. 8-46)

The historical recitation in vv. 8-46 is so called because in these verses the people and Yahweh are referred to in the third person, they - He. These verses may be recited by a priest or a Levite, probably the latter. In the liturgy of the annual feast of the renewal of the covenant in Qumran Manual of Discipline, The sacral saving acts are recited by a priest and the sinful rebellions of Israel by a Levite. (I42)

The recitation of the historical traditions in Ps. 106 does not merely present a gloomy picture of the sin of Israel. It opens and ends with Yahweh's mighty acts of salvation at the Reed Sea (vv. 8-12) and before the enemies who held them captive (vv. 44-46). The psalmist intends to convey his idea that Yahweh in the remote past delivered His people from the oppressors (vv. 8-12) and He was then still performing such deliverance when they were in captivity (vv. 44-46). Yahweh was faithful to His covenant with Israel. The captivity was solely due to the rebellion of the people and therefore a justifiable punishment (vv. 41-43)⁽¹⁴³⁾.

Verses 8-12

8. But He saved them for His name's sake,
to make known His might (גבורתו).
9. And He rebuked the Reed Sea and it dried up,
and He led them through the deeps (תהומות) as through a desert.
10. And He delivered them from the hands (מית) of the hater (שונא),
and redeemed them from the power (מית) of the enemy (אויב).
11. Water covered their oppressors (צרהם),
not one of them was left.
12. Then they believed (אמינו) in His promises,
and sang His praise.

(I42) Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, 1956, p. 372.

(I43) Some MSS has "against His counsel" (את עצתו) in v. 43 instead of "their counsel". NEB omits וימנו בעונם (v. 43c) and one MS has אמינו instead of וימנו, cf. Lev. 26:39; Ezek. 24:23; 33:10. The root ימנ in qal means "be low, humiliated" in niph. "sink in decay"

(to be cont'd)

Verse 8 refers to a special theme in God's dealing with Israel - "for His name's sake" (Pss. 25:11; 31:3 [4] : Isa. 48:9; Jer. 14:7, 21; Ezek. 20:9, 14, 22, 24). God delivered Israel in spite of her sinfulness for the sake of upholding His character as a compassionate God and furthermore the enemy might know He is Yahweh (Exod. 14:18).

(I44) The Reed Sea which was rebuked by God is conceived of as a servant of Him in the destruction of His enemies. (I45) Israel's response in faith and praise represents a right relationship towards the redeemer. (I46) The response in praise is expected in the introductory hymn (vv. 1-2) and is promised in a vow by the people at the end of the psalm (v. 47).

The presentation of the historical tradition of Reed Sea in vv. 8-12 is fashioned in mythological language as we find it in Pss. 74, 77 and Isa. 51:9-11. (I47) Ps. 106 supports the Reed Sea tradition of the prose narrative in Exod. 14-15: Israel rebelled against Yahweh at the Reed Sea (Exod. 14:10-12), Yahweh saved them for His name's sake (Exod. 14:18), He dried up the sea and the people walked on dry land (Exod. 14:21-2), waters covered their enemy (Exod. 14:26-28; 15:15), they believed in Him and sang praises (Exod. 14:31; 15:1ff.). (I48)

(I43) and in Hoph, "be brought low". Dahood argues to retain the third clause in v. 43 on ground of syllable count and verbal arrangement of the verse, op. cit., p. 75. ךסך is primarily a covenant word and in Ps. 89:28 [29] בְּרִית־כֶּסֶךְ , therefore, ךסך in 106:45 can be translated "covenant promise" or "faithful love". On the use of אֶשׁוּ to denote political enemies see J.A. Thompson, "Israel's 'Haters'," VT, 29, 1979, pp. 200-205.

(I44) A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 739.

(I45) For the Reed Sea tradition, see N.H. Snaith, "Yam-sôp, the Sea of Reeds : The Red Sea," VT, 15, 1965, pp. 395-398 and R. de Vaux, the Early History of Israel, I, 1978, pp. 377f. The response of Israel to Yahweh's redemption is faith and praise (cf. Exod. 14:31; 15:1-2; 20:21).

(I46) On the connotation of the verb לָלַךְ and its application to Yahweh, see N.H. Snaith, "The Hebrew Root G'L (I)," The Annals of Leeds University Oriental Society, 3, 1961-2; pp. 61-67, Ringgren. " לָלַךְ ", TDOT, II pp. 351ff. and A.R. Johnson, "The Primary Meaning of לָלַךְ ," SVT, 1953, pp. 67-77.

(I47) For a discussion of the link and development between the "myth and ritual" school and the "history-of-redemption" school of thought. See F.M. Cross, CMHE, pp. 82-90.

(I48) Kraus, Die Psalmen, p. 902.

In the recitation of the sinful acts of Israel in vv. 13-39 which give seven particular incidents of Israel's rebellion : tempting God by their desire (vv. 14-15), dispute against Moses and Aaron's leadership (vv. 24-27), Baal of Peor idolatry (vv. 28-31), rebellion at the Waters of Meribah (vv. 32-33), apostasy in the land and defilement of the land (vv. 34-39), one feature stands out clearly, namely, Yahweh's forgiveness of the people as regards the most disgraceful act of rebellion, the Golden Calf idolatry. We shall in later chapters spell out the significance of this feature in connection with intercession, priesthood and the canonical shape of the Pentateuch. It is suffice for the time being, to take note of the element of forgiveness and hope in the seemingly gloomy picture of the sinfulness of the people. This element together with the opening recital of salvation at the Reed Sea (Vv. 8-12) and the closing summary of Yahweh's remembering His covenant with the people (vv. 40-46) encourage the direct approach to God in prayer and petition (vv. 4-5 and v. 47).

Verses 13-15

With the above overall view of the psalm in mind it is only necessary to give a translation of vv. 13-39 below and to provide a short comment. A longer discussion of the traditions behind these verses will be found in Ch. 7. The wilderness traditions begin from v. 13 onwards.

13. But soon (1777) they forgot His deeds,
 they did not wait for His deeds.
14. And they lusted after a desire in the wilderness,
 and they put God to test in the desert.
15. So He gave them what they asked for,
 but sent abundant provision at their desire.

The people made haste (1777) to forget what Yahweh did at the Reed Sea. Their faith in God's word and their praises were short lived. They quickly forgot the deeds of God. Such a forgetfulness is an constant Deuteronomic warning (Deut. 4:9; 23; 31; 32:18). Kraus rightly conceives that here the psalmist presents a Deuteronomic theology of history and God's 'counsel' refers to His plan of salvation. (149) They craved for

(149) Kraus, Die Psalmen, p. 902, cf. Isa. 5:19; 28:29 etc.

their desire (הוֹרֵם) which may imply to be something not absolutely necessary. ^(I50) God still gave them what they asked for but at the same time He sent דַּשְׁמַן וַיִּרְבֵּ. Most translators have "a wasting disease" (RSV, Leslie), "a wasting sickness" (NEB, NIV, NIB) or "leaness" (AV, RV, Kirkpatrick, Barnes). We do not know exactly what וַיִּרְבֵּ means, elsewhere it appears in Isa. 10:16 (opposite to וַיִּבְשֹׁב) and Mic. 6:10. Probably the meaning of becoming thin is conveyed. ^(I51) The versions diverse from MT : LXX has πληθυσμον ("fulness" or "abundance"), Vulgate has "saturation". Kissane suggests that these two versions presupposed the word וַיִּרְבֵּ meaning "abundance". ^(I52) Briggs, following by Oesterley, reads "food" (וַיִּסְבֵּ, from וַיִּסְ, to feed, cf. Gen. 45:34: II Chron. II:23). He further assumes that the first and second line in v. 15 are of synonymous rather than antithetical parallelism. ^(I53) The nearest parallel tradition with Ps. 106:15 is in Num. II:20. Based on אָרַף (הָרַף) of Num. II:20 Gunkel and Kittel suggest וַיִּרְבֵּ (וַיִּסְ II, BDB), meaning "loathing" or "loathsomeness". Yahweh gave meat to the people at their desert, but the meat becomes loathsome simply because it is given in great abundance. ^(I54) This interpretation which makes more sense, gains support from tradition preserved in Num. II. The affinities between Num. II and Ps. 106: 13-15 will be discussed in Ch. 7.

Verses 16-18

Verses 16-18 go on to present the people's rebellion against the leadership of Moses and Aaron. These verses are unique because only here in the Psalter is Aaron designated "the holy one of Yahweh" and the

(I50) Neale, Psalms III, p. 369. Delitzsch comments that the first of the principal sins the people committed after crossing the Sea was "their ungrateful, impatient, unbelieving murmuring for food and drink", Psalms, IIII, p. 217.

(I51) Kraus suggests "Abmagerung" or "Schwindsucht", and refers us to A. Bentzen, "Die Schwindsucht in Ps. 106:15b," ZAW, 57, 1939, p. 152). But emaciation implies lack of food and hunger which is not the case in v. 15, unless we take a spiritual interpretation. Neale attempts to explain the difficulty by assuming that the food Yahweh provided did not nourish the people, Psalms, III, p. 370.

(I52) Kissane, op. cit., pp. 489, 491.

(I53) Briggs, op. cit., p. 356. cf. Oesterley, Psalms, p. 450. Dahood also assumes the synonymous parallelism, but his suggestion is strange and far fetched : "Cast out leaness from their throats", Psalms, III, pp. 65, 71.

(I54) B.S. Childs, Exodus, (OTL), p. 281.

Dathan-Abiram tradition (cf. Num. 16; Deut. II) alluded to. (I55) The psalmist does not mention by name the rebellion of Korah, the Levite and his company, who are linked with the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram, the descendants of Reuben, in Num. 16. But the incident of the Korahites being consumed by fire is clearly alluded to (Ps. 106:16-18) : (I56)

16. And they were envious (לֹא יָרְאוּ) of Moses in the camp,
and of Aaron, the holy one of Yahweh.

17. The earth opened (תַּפְּתָה) and swallowed up Dathan,
it covered the company of Abiram.

18. Fire (אֵשׁ) burned in their congregation,
a flame (לֶהֲכֹהֵם) devoured the wicked.

The word דֹּעַר , applied so often to the Gentiles and avoided being used as a designation of Israel as a whole, is adopted in v. 19 to designate the rebellious company of Dathan and Abiram. Harris Birkeland remarks that the realization of Israel as a totality, really regarded as consisting of evildoers, is derived from the reflection on the historical facts of Israel's misfortunes. (I57) It is most likely that the omission of the name of Korah and his group is intentional, in order not to offend the Korahite singers. In this incident of jealousy of Moses and Aaron, God answered the דֹּעַר with great punishment.

Verses 19-23

The sin of calf worship (cf. Exod. 32 and Deut. 9:7ff) is taken up by the psalm. This section is significant in the whole development of Israel's confession of faith and sin. It mentions Horeb but does not concern itself with the giving of law and the theophany at Sinai. (I58)

(I55) The sons of Aaron are holy to Yahweh as priests (Exod. 39:30; Lev. 21:6 etc.). The Psalmist may have the story of the consecration of Aaron in mind (Exod. 28:36-38). Num. 16 is a conflation of the Korah tradition (P) and the Dathan-Abiram traditions (JE) according to C.R. North, The Old Testament Interpretation of History, 1940, p. 92, see also Noth who assumes three versions in Num. 16, Numbers, (OTL) 1968, pp. 121-2.

(I56) תַּפְּתָה (qal?) is read by LXX in the niph. תִּפְּתָה ('ηνοιχθη). A.A. Anderson assumes a qal passive תִּפְּתָה . The composite phrase אֵשׁ לֶהֲכֹהֵם is separated in two lines in v. 18. טִלְהֵם and אֵשׁ (v. 19) are tql which express past time, Dahood, op. cit., p. 106. The tradition of Dathan-Abiram has already undergone combination with that of Korah, Coats, Rebellion, p. 176. n. 87.

What is stressed is that idolatry is a result of forgetting God and His works (vv. 19-23). (I59)

19. They made a young bull at Horeb,
and bowed down to a molten image.
20. And they exchanged their glory (כבודם),
for the likeness of a bull that feeds on grass.
21. They forgot God their saviour (גאושׁיעם),
who has done great things in Egypt.
22. Marvellous acts in the land of Ham,
terrible deeds at the Reed Sea.
23. He thought to exterminate them, had not Moses His chosen
stood in intercession,
to turn away His wrath from destroying them (השחית)

The story of the Golden Calf is taken by Noth to be associated with the act of Jeroboam I and "a very late after-growth of the Pentateuchal narrative tradition" framed in the context of a breach of covenant. (I60) We shall explore in Ch. 7 the significance of these verses in the whole theology of Ps. 106 and in connection with the Pentateuch as a whole. What remains to be said is the meaning and reference of כבודם . Otto Eissfeldt accepts "their glory" as "the glory of God" which signifies openly and precisely the Ark, owing to the loss of the Ark to the Philistines (I Sam. 4:21-22) the wife of Phinehas gave her prematurely born

(I57) Harris Birkeland, The Evildoers in the Book of Psalms, 1955, pp. 61f. He also states that this special form of pragmatical view of history has its foundation in a nationalized prophecy.

(I58) R. de Vaux remarks, "the Exilic psalm, Ps. 106:19-20, recalls the making of the golden calf at Horeb (Sinai), but says nothing about the law given there. Only in the penitential liturgy of Neh. 9:13-14 do the theophany of Sinai and the giving of the law appear between the Exodus and the entry into Canaan." EHI, I, p. 402. He suggests that "Horeb" is later than "Sinai", p. 427.

(I59) The phrase "a molten young bull" (עגל מלכה) which is found in Exod. 32:4 is separated here in two parallel cola. Dahood, op. cit., p. 72, cf. Kraus, Die Psalmen, p. 903. כבודם is understood to be the people's glory, but some manuscripts of LXX read "His glory", Targum gives "the glory of their Lord", and the rendering of Rom. 1:23 refers to the glory of God, see Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 629. The expression in v. 23 עמד נפרץ, "Stood in breach" has the meaning of bursting forth; by instruction and especially by intercession (BDB) e.g. Ps. 22:30. It appears in Jer. 18:20; Ezek. 22:30 to refer to intercessory prayer of the prophets. The hiphil infinitive construct (to be cont'd)

son the name "gone is the glory" (גלה כבוד , אי כבוד). It is explicitly stated that the giving of the name is motivated by the loss of the Ark. (161) Both the Ark and the Calf image were probably considered to be representing Yahweh's appearance since no one can see the face of God and live (Exod. 3:6; 33:20, 23). The Calf image, therefore, was an Israelite cultic form in the Northern Kingdom. (162) Eissfeldt considers the Calf to be a particular threat to the Ark of the covenant. The Calf takes the place of the glory of God and hence the people's glory too. (163)

The rebellion is once again attributed to their forgetting God who has saved them through His great deeds of salvation, wonderful acts (פלאות) and terrible deeds (נוראות). The deeds are terrible because they arouse fear and terror among Israel's enemies. But they are, to the people of Israel, deeds of salvation. (164) The forgetfulness of such deeds brings God's wrath and the destruction of the people (e.g. Exod. 32:10-14; Deut. 9:25), which was averted or delayed because of the intercession of Moses who is God's chosen one.

Verses 24-27

This section narrates the rejection of the pleasant land which is promised by Yahweh. It may allude to the disappointment and rebellion of the people brought about by the unfavourable report of the spies.

(159) הַשְׁחִית takes its suffix from the double-duty suffix of the synonymous hiphil infinitive construct לְהַשְׁחִיט , Dahood, op.cit., pp. 72-73.

(160) M. Noth, HPI, p. 143.

(161) Otto Eissfeldt, "Die Psalmen als Geschichtsquelle," Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William F. Albright, 1971, p. 106.

(162) Beyerlin, Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Tradition, 1965, p. 132. Albright believes that the Calf image was the northern equivalent of what the cherubin or the Ark was in Jerusalem Temple. They were the pedestal upon which God was enthroned. From the Stone Age to Christianity, 1940, pp. 228-30.

(163) Hos. 4:9; Jer. 2:11. כבוד is a theological concept in the priestly strata, Second Isaiah and Ezekiel, see Cross, CMHE, p.322; cf. von Rad, "Deuteronomy's 'Name' theology and the Priestly Document's 'Kabod' Theology," Studies in Deuteronomy, 1953, pp. 37-44.

(164) Ringgren, Israelite Religion, 1966, p. 79.

The people are described here by the psalmist as murmuring in the tents (אָרָה, cf. Deut. I:27) and not obeying the voice of Yahweh. A.A. Anderson points to Deut. I:21 as the particular command of God to go up to take possession of the land, to which Israel failed to listen. Since they rejected the gift of the Promised Land, therefore they are denied of their right to enter the land (vv. 24-27). (I65)

24. Then they despised the pleasant land,
they did not trust in His promise (לֹא־בָטְחוּ).
25. But they murmured in the tents,
they did not listen to the voice of Yahweh.
26. Therefore He lifted His hand to swear against them,
to strike them down in the wilderness.
27. And to disperse their seed among the nations,
to scatter them over the lands.

Verse 25b refers to the destruction of the entire generation in the desert and in v. 27 the punishment is extended to include their descendants (אֶחָדָם) who were consequently to be dispersed among the nations. The psalmist may have the Exile in mind in v. 27. (I66) If this is so, then it is evident that their dispersion is interpreted as having its root in their despising the land. Verse 27 is the announcement of judgment, the fulfilment of which is seen in vv. 40-42 when Israel was delivered to the nations. The use of the murmuring tradition to explain the catastrophe of the Exile is part of the popular theology of the Exile. (I67)

Verses 28-31

These verses allude to the apostasy of Baal of Peor at Moab,

(I65) For אָרָה חַמְדָּה in v. 24, e.g. Jer. 3:19; Zech. 7:14. The phrase "He lifted up His hand" (וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת יָדוֹ) is a common expression for the practice of taking an oath in the Old Testament especially in Ezekiel and P (cf. Num. 14:30; Ezek. 20:15, 23). Therefore it can be simply translated "He swore". "And to disperse" (וּלְהַפִּיץ) in v. 27 is taken with S for Heb. וּלְהַפִּיץ cf. Ezek. 20:23, Oesterley, Psalms, p. 450.

(I66) Kittel, Die Psalmen, p. 388, Gunkel, Die Psalmen, p. 464, Kraus, Die Psalmen, p. 904, Coats, Rebellion, p. 229. The Exile is presupposed in Ezek. 20:23. Briggs regards v. 27 as a gloss from Ezek. 20:23.

(I67) Ezek. 20, Coats, op. cit., p. 238.

(cf. Num. 25). (168) In this incident Phinehas was honoured to be righteous and rewarded for his righteous deeds of executing judgement the covenant of an everlasting priesthood (cf. Num. 25:10-13; Sir. 45:23f.) Verses 28-31 are translated as follows: (169)

28. And they yoked (יָרַסוּ) themselves to worship Baal of Peor, and ate the sacrifice to the lifeless gods.
29. They provoked Him to anger with their deeds, and a plague broke out among them.
30. Then Phinehas stood up and interceded, and the plague was withheld.
31. And this has been counted to him as righteousness, from generation to generation, forever.

זָכְתָּי מֵתִים in v. 28b probably refers to sacrifices offered to pagan gods who are considered as dead or lifeless (cf. Isa. 44:9-20; Ps. 135:15-17).

(170) In the midst of the confession of sin the psalmist alludes to the reward of an everlasting priesthood to the line of Phinehas who acted righteously on behalf of Yahweh. The priest has the duty to discriminate against sin and idolatry.

(168) Peor is suggested to be a mountain in Moab (Num. 23:28). A.A. Anderson remarks that Baal of Peor (Num. 25:3, 5; Deut. 4:3; Hos. 9:10) is a local Canaanite God of Mount Peor, *op.cit.*, p. 744. See also Roger T. O'Callaghan, "Echoes of Canaanite Literature in the Psalms," *VT*, 4, 1954, pp. 164-76.

(169) יָרַסוּ in v. 28 means "They attached themselves closely to" or "They joined themselves to"; cf. Num. 25:3, 5. Noth takes Ps. 106 to be dependent upon Num. 25, vv. 1-5 of which has been suppressed by the Phinehas story in Num. 25:6ff. The Phinehas story is "a secondary Pentateuchal accretion which originated out of the post-exilic line proceeding from Aaron to Eleazar to Phinehas." *HPI*, pp. 74-75. "They provoked Him" (RSV, NIV etc.) is rendered "Their deeds provoked Him" by NEB. יָרַסוּ carried the meaning "executed judgement" (KJV), "interposed" (RSV, NIV), "prayed" (PBV), "interceded" (NEB) or "intervened" (NIV). LXX has "made atonement". וַתִּחַשְׁבֵנוּ לוֹ = "counted to" or "reckoned to"; cf. Gen. 15:6; Num. 23:9.

(170) Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 129: the idols are dead beings in contrast with the living God. Eerdmans holds a different point of view that the sacrifices would lead to death, *op. cit.*, p. 513; cf. G. Fohrer, *HIR*, p. 218.

Verses 32-33

These two verses depict the murmuring of Israel at Meribah (cf. Exod. 17:1-7; Num. 20:2-13). The people put Yahweh to the test (so Ps. 95:8; cf. Ps. 81:7 which however, relates God's testing of Israel at Meribah). It is observed that in comparison with the order of events in P the psalmist too places the incident at Meribah last as the climax to explain Moses' involvement in Israel's sinfulness and his failure to enter the land. (I71)

32. And they provoked Him at the Water of Meribah,
it even went badly with Moses on their account.

33. For they had embittered his spirit,
and he spoke rashly with his lips.

The difficulty with these two verses is the identification of the third person singular pronominal suffixes. Some of them may refer to Yahweh as well as to Moses. Verse 33a represents the issue clearly, *רוּחַ* can denote the spirit of God or that of Moses. (I72) We are in favour to take "his spirit" to refer to Moses' spirit the origin of which is in Yahweh whose spirit rests in Moses.

Verses 34-39

The rebellion in the land is alluded to in these few verses. A long history of over 600 years from the settlement in Canaan to the

(I71) Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 631, cf. G.W. Coats, Rebellion, p. 230, regards Ps. 106 in this respect reflects a point of development between D and P.

(I72) Targum has His "Holy Spirit". Supporters of "the spirit of Moses": Gunkel (p. 467), Leslie (p. 169), Kisaane (p. 492) and probably RSV, NEB and NIV. "The spirit of Yahweh" is accepted by Kirkpatrick (p. 631), Delitzsch (p. 130), Briggs, (p. 352), Dahood (p. 74), and NIV. The second view is substantiated by the usage of *רוּחַ* and *רוּחַ* to mean God's spirit, not that of Moses, in Isa. 63:10. NEB follows LXX to read *רוּחַ* for MT *רוּחַ* "for they had embittered his spirit". Snaith points out that there is a tendency to give suffixes to *רוּחַ* in the later time, Distinctive Ideas in the Old Testament, 1944, p. 158.

Babylonian Exile is condensed in these six verses. (I73)

34. They did not exterminate the peoples,
as Yahweh had commanded to do.
35. But they mingled with the nations,
and learned to follow their ways (*למעשיהם*)
36. And they worshipped their idols (*לעצביהם*)
and this was to them a snare (*למוקש*)
37. They even sacrificed their sons,
and their daughters to the demons (*לשדים*)
38. And they shed innocent blood,
the blood of their sons and their daughters,
whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan,
and the land was polluted with bloodshed.
39. And they became defiled in their deeds,
and went a whoring in their acts.

The people were repeatedly warned and commanded to exterminate the inhabitants of the land (Exod. 23:23-24; 32-33; 34:11-16; Num. 33:50-56; Deut. 7:1-5, 16; 20:10-18), but time and again they ignored God's commandment (Judg. 1-2). Moreover they settled among the peoples to the extent of practising intermarriage and copying the peoples' ways of life as well as religious practices. They served and worshipped the demons (*לשדים*); they sacrificed even their children to them. According to Ringgren *לשדים* are derived from Babylonian originals (cf. Deut. 32:17) (I74)

(I73) *למוקש* "snare", A.A. Anderson remarks, "Figuratively it suggests something which attracts and then destroys the unsuspecting victim", *op. cit.*, I, p. 462. Idols and idol-worship became a snare to Israel (Exod. 23:33; Deut. 7:16; Judg. 2:3). *לשדים* occurs elsewhere only in Deut. 32:17. Its exact meaning and etymology are not certain. A.A. Anderson suspects that it has connection with the Akkadian *šēdu* and is a term for "demons" in post-biblical writings, *op. cit.*, II, p. 746. Neale suggests the root *לשד* which means to oppress, destroy, *Psalms*, III, p. 379. *BDB* (*לשד*) assumes that it is a loan-word from Assyrian *šēdu*. The two middle lines of v. 28 are considered to be a gloss by most commentators (e.g. Oesterley, Weiser). Dahood defends their place in this verse and NTW takes 38 cd. as an independent verse.

(I74) Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, 1966, p. 102. He remarks that "uncleaness is primarily a cultic and ritual concept...." Idolatry and everything connected with it are unclean, pp. 141-142. To G. Fohrer the *לשדים* are former pagan gods, *HIR*, p. 176.

To the demons and the idols of Canaan Israelites sacrificed their sons and daughters. This practice of human sacrifice is the climax of Canaanite abomination and Israelites' rebellion (Deut. 12:31; 18:9-10; II Kg. 16:3; 21:6; 23:10; Ezek. 16:20-21; 20:31 etc). (I75) Therefore, the land was desecrated and polluted (Num. 35-33-34, by blood; Jer. 3:1, 2, 9, by idolatry). James D. Martin concluded from his study of Jer. 3:1 that "the idea of a land being defiled or polluted is fairly common in the Old Testament. Most of the instances, however, bear the idea that a land is polluted as a result of the collective sins of the totality of its inhabitants". (I76) Such collective sins are the result of a perverted relationship and the infidelity of Israel to the marriage vow between Israel and Yahweh (Isa. 1:21; Hos. 2-3; cf. Exod. 34:15-16; Deut. 31:16 etc.) The root $\eta\eta\eta$ (Ps. 106:39) conveys the meaning of "to be a prostitute", or "to^{be} a harlot" (Hos. 1-3). Worship of other Gods is treated as an act of spiritual adultery in the Old Testament. Weiser rightly remarks on Ps. 106:34-39 : "the fact that the people are specifically charged with mingling with the Gentiles, human sacrifices and idolatry, which are characterized as uncleanness and harlotry, still shows the cultic origins of that way of thinking, which stems from the morality of the covenant with Yahweh." (I77) Through his cult the chosen people have been polluted and Yahweh was angry with His chosen ones.

Verses 40-46

As we have noted before, these verses correspond to the rebellion of the people and the manifestation of His mighty acts at the Reed Sea. The Psalmist wants to show that Yahweh, in contrast with Israel, remembered His covenant with His people although the people have been constantly

(I75) Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 632. For detail on human sacrifice in the Old Testament, see N.H. Snaith, "Worship in the Old Testament," A Companion to the Bible, ed. H.H. Rowley, 1963, pp. 523-569, Eichrodt, Old Testament Theology, I, 1961, pp. 148ff., Ezekiel, (OTL), 1970, pp. 270-271, R. de Vaux, Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice, pp. 63-90, J.A. Soggin, "Child Sacrifice and Cult of the Dead in the Old Testament," Old Testament and Oriental Studies, 1975; pp. 84-87.

(I76) James D. Martin, "The Forensic Background to Jeremiah III 1," VT, 19, 1969, pp. 83f.

(I77) A Weiser, op. cit., p. 682.

rebellious against Him and forgetful of the לִּבְיָהוָה of Yahweh. Verses 40-46 form a summary survey of the whole course of Israel's history. A pattern of disciplinary chastisement can be discerned : deliverance - rebellion - judgment - repentance - deliverance.

40. So the wrath of Yahweh kindled against His people,
and He abhorred His own possession.
41. He gave them to the hands of the nations,
and their adversaries ruled over them.
42. Their enemies oppressed them,
and they were subdued under their power.
43. Many a time He delivered them,
but they rebelled in their counsel,
and were brought low for their iniquity.
44. Then He looked upon their affliction,
when He heard their outcry (קָרָעוּ).
45. And He remembered His covenant with them,
and was moved to pity (רַחֵם) according
to the abundance of His covenant Love (חַסְדּוֹ).
46. And He gave them compassion,
before those who held them captive.

"So the wrath of Yahweh kindled against His people" (v. 40a) is a characteristic Deuteronomistic formula (Judg. 2:14; 20 etc.) The chastisement pattern is also presupposed in the view of history presented in Judg. 2. Ps. 106:41-42 are in chastic arrangement. These two verses are regarded as bringing the punishment which is announced in vv. 26-27 to fruition. Israel is delivered (יָצָא) into the hands of the nation. Verse 43 echoes the people's sin in v.13. They forgot His deeds and did not wait for His counsel (v. 13). Here in v. 43 the people rebelled in their own counsel. But God, nevertheless, is faithful to His covenant. While the people forgot His deeds, He still remembered His covenant with them. He would never deliver her to the place of no remembrance; "Not to be remembered means to be thrust completely out of this world where Yahweh rules." (I78) The psalmist

(I78) Simon J. de Vries, op. cit., pp. 62, 63-64.

realizes that the contemporary situation of dispersion is a deserved punishment for the people's own iniquity. Still more he is also sure that God will forgive according to the abundance of His faithful love (רַב חַסְדּוֹ). Verse 46 is an appropriate answer to Solomon's prayer for forgiveness and compassion in the sight of those who carried the people captive (I Kg. 8:50). The difficulty is, which covenant is meant here. From the close connection of Ps. 106 with Ps. 105, the Abrahamic covenant is probably referred to.

c. A prayer to gather the people and a vow to praise (v. 47)

Verse 47 is a significant verse for it is a concluding prayer of the long confession of the people's sin. It can be said to be the goal of the whole historical recitation. The verse also consists of a vow to praise God, which expresses trust and confidence. (I79)

47. Save us ! O Yahweh, our Lord, and gather us (וּקְבְצֵנוּ) from among the nations that we may give thanks to your holy name and boast (לְהַשְׁתַּבַּח) of your praises.

"That we may give thanks to your holy name" is the congregational promise to praise God. In it a recognition of His help and a proclamation of what He has done are expressed. Yahweh's "holy name" is a manifestation of His holy character and His mighty acts of salvation. Here a note is struck of the common concern for the holy name of God and praising God in Ps. 105 (v. 3). The holy name of Yahweh also reminds us of His salvation to Israel for His name sake in v. 8 of this psalm.

Since we have noted that the people were driven into dispersion (vv. 26-27, 41-42) we can easily understand the historical situation from which the petition to reassemble the people from the nations is derived. The past experience of salvation provides the motivation for the prayer. The extensive presentation of history in vv. 8-46 accounts for the present

(I79) I Chron. 16:35 has וַיִּשְׁתַּבַּח as the first word of the verse, "O God of our salvation" (שְׁעֵנוּ) for יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ and קְבַצְנוּ to follow וְהִצִּילָנוּ. The form לְהַשְׁתַּבַּח, a hithpael of שָׁבַח, "to laud or praise" is a hapax legomenon, Targum and Syriac have בְּתוֹלְתֵךְ for נִחְלֵתֵךְ.

distress and dispersion. The certainty that the people's sin which is a hindrance to praise is to be forgiven forms the ground for the vow to praise God. (I80) The historical background of this verse is that of the Exile. But what is not sure^{is} where Ps. 106 was recited, in the Diaspora or at home in Palestine. (I81) The close link between this psalm and the final form of the Pentateuch as well as the strong Deuteronomic structure of history may provide some hints to the problem. The echoes of the preaching of Deutero-Isaiah may support the Diaspora as the original setting of this Psalm. The notion of gathering ($\gamma\pi\rho$) the people from all nations is common to the preaching of the Exilic prophets (Ezek. 11:17; 20:34; 41; 28:24-16; 29:13; 34:13; 36:24; 37:21; 38:8; 39:27; Isa. 43:5; 54:7. cf. Deut. 30:3-4). The notion of praising God in the prayer recalls the hymnic introduction of vv. 1-2.

4. Traditio-Historical Survey and the Dating of the Psalms

It is not an easy task to ascertain the date and setting of a particular psalm since "references to public events or to public conditions are in general faint and vaguely expressed : they cannot be satisfactorily referred to particular cases." (I82) The complexity involved in dating a psalm lies at the recognition of a process of post-Exilic editing and therefore we can only accept the unity of the text and suggest an earliest possible date for a psalm. (I83)

To give a date or a historical setting to Ps. 78 we must take into consideration certain clues given by the psalm : (I84)

(I80) The confession of sin is interwoven with the praise of God. Westermann remarks that the praise of God's earlier saving deeds functions as one of the motivations for God's intervention in the present desperate situation (Pss. 44:1-3 (2-4); 85:1-3; 74:1b-2; 80:8-II; Isa. 63:7-9, 11b-14). The Praise of God in the Psalms, 1965, pp. 55, 88.

(I81) Kraus admits that this is difficult to determine, Psalmen, p. 901.

(I82) Barnes, op. cit., I, p. XVIII. Barnes suggests the proper approach is the religion of the Psalms. Religious approach relies on a good knowledge of the history of religion in Israel our knowledge of which is limited.

(I83) A word of caution in dating the Psalms is put forward by R.P. Carroll "Psalm 78 : Vestiges of a Tribal Polemic," VT, 21, 1971, p. 144.

(I84) Some of the clues are listed by A.A. Anderson, op. cit., II, p. 562.

- I. The area of history covered stretches from Exodus to the house of David .
2. The Davidic dynasty apparently still in existence .
3. The Solomonic Temple is still standing; at least no evidence of the destruction of the Temple can be found .
4. Nothing is mentioned of the Exile and destruction of Jerusalem, which if the people had experienced would hardly have escaped the attention of the psalmist.
5. The general outlook suggests the fall of Samaria (722) and the deliverance of Jerusalem (701), though they are not referred to explicitly.
6. Some Deuteronomistic attitudes can be traced, condemnation of high places and image worship, etc.
7. The divine title of Yahweh, "the Hole One of Israel", "the God Most High" etc. suggest a Jerusalem setting.
8. The merging of the two great streams of tradition, the Exodus-Wilderness-Conquest tradition and the Davidic-Zion tradition. (I85)
9. The didactic character of the psalm in the two fold introduction (vv. 1-4, 5-8) and the two long historical recitals (vv. 9-39; 40-72).
10. The character and form of the historical traditions as compared with the Pentateuch, ie. the silence on the Patriarchal narratives. (I86)

If we take all these factors into consideration we shall arrive at the most likely date of the psalm's origin in the period between the

(I85) G.W. Coats has an analysis of the traditions incorporated in the psalm Rebellion, pp. 899-224. Also Carroll, op. cit., who regards the Exodus-Wilderness-Conquest traditions as essentially the property of the Joseph tribes, i.e. the Ephraim-Manasseh tribe complex. p. 139. Such traditions are preserved in the covenant by Joshua, an Ephraimite (Josh. 24), Samuel, another Ephraimite, and King Jeroboam, also an Ephraimite (I Kg. 12:26-29). It is true that there are different emphases in the tradition of the two Kingdoms : The Exodus tradition does not engage the attention of Isaiah of Jerusalem while the Davidic-Zion tradition does not play a significant role in Hosea in the North. But exclusive and rigid division is not possible.

(I86) Schildenberger, "Psalm 78 (77) und die Pentateuchquellen," Lex Tua Veritas, pp. 240-256.

If we take all these factors into consideration we shall arrive at the most likely date of the psalm's origin in the period between the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.) on the one hand and the destruction of Jerusalem, the Temple, The Kingdom of Judah (586 B.C.) on the other. (I87) Buttenwieser's and Junker's proposals based on the historical evidence from Hezekiah's time are to be taken seriously.

Both scholars direct us to the fall of Samaria when Israel was destroyed as an independent state by Assyrians who deported some of the Israelites. Judah in the south then became the sole hope and claimant to the sacral traditions. The influx of Israelites to Judah added new impetus to the revival of the Northern traditions and Yahwistic faith in the context of the theology and cultic setting of Jerusalem. The Deuteronomists worked in the background of the catastrophe of Israel. They believed that the future of the whole people lay with Judah. (I88) Both the psalm and Deuteronomy assume Israel's disobedience in failing to remember God and His saving deeds. (I89) The psalm reflects an early stage of the Deuteronomic effort to reform the cult and the process of merging of traditions, which did not take place very smoothly. According to Deuteronomy the Ark was demythologized to being a container for the tablets of the law. (I90) But Ps. 78 still holds

(I87) Kittel, Schmidt, Junker, Schildenberger ("Psalm 78(77) und die Pentateuchquellen," I96I) Buttenwieser, etc. The suggestion by Eissfeldt that the psalm together with Deut. 32 are derived from the background of the Philistine events in the eleven century (I070-I020) Das Lied Moses, I958, esp. p. 42, is not possible on the ground of the strong sense of the inviolability of Zion and the condemnation of the worship at high places. The defeat in I Sam. 4 could not be described as a defeat of the "sons of Ephraim" only. Early dates of the psalm are given by Albright, Freedman, Cross, G.E. Wright, A.F. Campbell, A.R. Johnson etc. The post-Exilic date is held by Gunkel, Die Psalmen, I929, p. 342, and Kraus, op. cit., p. 704.

(I88) A.C. Welch, The Code of Deuteronomy, I924, Deuteronomy: The Framework to the Code, I932, E.W. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, I967, pp. 94ff. I06. H. Junker emphasizes the psalm's connection with Deuteronomy. "Die Entstehungszeit des Ps. 78 und des Deuteronomiums," Bib, 34, I938, pp. 487 ff. cf. O.H. Steck, "Theological Streams of Tradition," Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament, I977, pp. 2I2ff.

(I89) B.S. Childs, Memory and Tradition, I962, p. 49.

(I90) von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, I966, p. 40.

the view that the Ark was the symbol of divine presence and glory (vv. 60-61).

As we shall illustrate later further points of affinity between Hosea and Ps. 78, here we only point out that the polemic with idolatry and condemnation of high places are characteristic of Hosea (Hos. 4:13; 8:11; 10:1, 8; 12:12) and Ps. 78. M. Weinfeld, who accepts a current of Northern thought flowing down to the South after the fall of Samaria, remarks that "chronologically Hosea is close to Hezekiah who was first to abolish the high places" (I91)

There are records of a Passover celebration in the reforms of Hezekiah (II Chron. 30:1ff) and Josiah (II Kg. 23:22). Passover was the occasion to rehearse and celebrate the Exodus events (Exod. 12:1-28; Deut. 16:1-8; Ezek. 45:21-25). (I92) It is probably that at least part of Ps. 78 may have its origin in the context of the Passover celebration in Jerusalem.

When people gathered together to celebrate God's great ancient acts of deliverance, the story is to be recited or be enacted. The unique situation of Passover celebration in the time of Hezekiah-Josiah's reforms needed special explanation. Hezekiah sent a letter with such explanation to invite the people of the North to come to Jerusalem for that particular occasion (II Chron. 30:1-10). Presumably when the people came together, not only the story of Passover was recited but also a lesson on the mysteries of history, past and contemporary, was drawn with the hope to centre the people's future on the Temple, the Davidic king and Judah. The reflection on the fall of Israel is an imperative for Judah and Israel alike. There might be intensive preaching activity which characterised the Deuteronomic circle. (I93)

(I91) M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic School, 1972, p. 366.

(I92) According to the later traditions preserved in the Jewish Passover Haggadah, the recount of the mighty deeds of Yahweh in Egypt (e.g. the Plagues) and in the wilderness, and the commandment to teach each generation the mighty deeds constitute on the great pilgrimage festivals as the setting of the Historical Psalms, see Leslie, op. cit., 153.

(I93) II Kg. 17. "Traditions of the most varied kinds, historical, cultic, and legal were united in these preachers' hands" von Rad, Old Testament Theology, I, 1962, p. 221. cf. W. Wolverton, "Sermons in the Psalms," CJT, 10, 1964, pp. 166-76. Ludwig Köhler, Hebrew Man, 1956, p. 169. Otto Eissfeldt includes some historical summaries as under the literary type "Sermon" in The Old Testament, An Introduction, 1965. p. 16.

These preachers formulated their sermons after the spirit and basic ideas of the prophets. Ps. 78 may be one of these sermons. G.W. Anderson has already recognized that Ps. 78 records "the authentic voice of prophecy in its penetrating judgments on Israel's historical experience. (I94) Wallace Wolverton is also convinced that Pss. 78, 105 and 106 are liturgical sermons with didactic presentations of God's saving acts, Israel's disbelief and rebellion, and the unexpected mercy and forgiveness of God. (I95)

The historical occasion for the delivery of Ps. 78 is sought first of all in the reform of Hezekiah. Junker argues against Gunkel who though rightly recognizes the fusion of literary types and themes; wisdom poetry, hymn, prophetic requirement and Deuteronomic teaching sees signs of a later period. (I96) He is in favour of the original unity of the psalm which would be dated to the time of Hezekiah, the first sole Israelite monarch since the United Monarchy. Verses 9-II allude to a contemporary, timely happening with which the psalmist and his addresses were familiarized, the defeat of the Northern Kingdom by the Assyrians. These verses connect nicely with what preceded and what followed. The introductory verses (vv. 1-8) exhort the listeners to learn, to trust and to keep God's covenant and commandment. A warning is attached to the final verse (v. 8) that the people should not follow the example of their fathers. Such an example is then immediately given, the example of the "sons of Ephraim" (vv. 9-II). (I97) The defeat of

(I94) G.W. Anderson, "Israel's Creed, Sung no Signed," SJT, 16, 1963, p. 281.

(I95) W. Wolverton, op. cit., p. 169, M.J. Buss accepts that there was a sizable class of religious leaders, the Levites, who were responsible for the propagation of the memory of ancient traditions, "The Psalms of Asaph and Korah," JBL, 82, 1963, p. 386.

(I96) Gunkel, Die Psalmen, p. 342, Junker, "Die Entstehungszeit des Ps. 78," Biblica, 34, 1953, p. 496.

(I97) Junker, op. cit., pp. 492f. Schildenberger also takes the political-religious failure of Ephraim as the ψ of v. 2, op. cit. p. 240.

the Northern Kingdom is then a warning example. The fate of the North could be averted because for their sake Yahweh has done great deeds of salvation (vv. 12-16; 43-55) and they could learn from the past history. They obviously have not listened and learnt. Moreover, they followed the example of the fathers (v. 57) and indeed worshipped at high places and engaged in image cult (v. 58). Hezekiah's reform was exactly directed against the high places and the syncretistic cult. The judgment upon the North provided strong impetus and confirmation for the reform. (I98) The only hope for the brother kingdom Israel and for Judah if the latter want to escape the fate of the former is the purification of the cult. The election of Judah-Jerusalem and David is still valid. The Deuteronomic principle of the Jerusalem Temple, as the only legitimate cult centre is found to be in its initial stage of formulation.

The elements of wisdom and law in Ps. 78 can also find their place in the time of Hezekiah. (I99) A group of teachers of wisdom and law, which is to be associated with the men of Hezekiah (Prov. 25:1). (200) may well have included the psalmist of Ps. 78. One must further take into account an interest of Ps. 78, as it is also the case in Pss. 77, 80, 81 in the affairs of the Northern Kingdom. Perhaps one

(I98) ibid., p. 495. cf. Battenwieser, op. cit. p. 135, on abolition of high places and image worship in Ps. 78 and in Hezekiah's reform, II Kg. 18:4, 22. As deviating from II Kg. and II Chron. he assumes on the basis of Ps. 78 that the rescue of Judah in 701 B.C. was the "immediate incentive of Hezekiah's reform", p. 136. He connects Pss. 48 and 76 with Ps. 78 in the belief in the inviolability of Jerusalem Temple, pp. 139-38.

(I99) Junker links these two elements in Ps. 78 with Deut. 4:6-8 and prophet Isaiah (5:21; 10:12; 19:15; 28:29; 29:14; 31:2-3), ibid., p. 498.

(200) On the role of Hezekiah in wisdom tradition, see R.B.Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in Israel," Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East, VT, 3, 1955, pp. 262-279. Scott remarks that the reign of Hezekiah is the most probable time for blending together historical traditions, prophetic records and psalm collections of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Therefore Hezekiah's time is a period of literary activity in Judah, p. 277.

has to be open to the possibility that among the "men of Hezekiah" there were North-Israelites. (201) At least some of them may look up to Moses as the proto-type of the role of religious instructor in law and wisdom. This role of Moses, whether it is prophetic, wisdom or teacher of law, becomes prominent in the book of Deuteronomy. We shall discuss this issue in detail in the sixth chapter. What we can be sure as regards Ps. 78 is that it is a didactic psalm most appropriately set in the occasion of the reform of Hezekiah.

Having settled the issues of the date and historical background of Ps. 78 we come next to consider those of Pss. 105-106 which are taken together. W. Zimmerli has pointed out that these two psalms are among some of the so called "Zwillingspsalmen." (202) Ps. 105:1-15 and Ps. 106:1, 47-48 together with Ps. 96 are incorporated into the present text of I Chron. 16:8-36. Most recent scholars are in favour of the view that Chronicles makes use of the Psalms which were already in existence in the time of the Chronicler. I Chron. 16 from the outset, admits that the Psalms fragments in I Chron. 16 are not composed by the Chronicler. They are hymns of the Asaphites. Further evidence, besides the self admission which may not be conclusive, is to be found. The Chronicler nearly always uses the name Israel instead of Jacob for the Patriarch (I Chron. 1:34; 2:1; 5:1; 3; 6:23; 7:29; 16:13; 17; 29:10; 18; II Chron. 30:6). It is noticed that the only two

(201) M. J. Buss presupposes that some of the psalms of Asaph with ideological and verbal affinities with Hosea and the Deuteronomists may have been "adopted or formulated by former North-Israelites in order to clarify the reason for their new worship in the South." in "The Psalms of Asaph and Korah," JBL, 82, p. 385. But Buss regard these Israelites as Levites from the North, who were engaged in the religious education of the people, p. 386. He also perceives that wisdom themes and forms of address which show a special tone of exhortation proper for a religious teacher are characteristic of the psalms of Asaph, p. 387.

(202) W. Zimmerli, "Zwillingspsalmen," Studies zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie, 1974, pp. 261-271, cf., Briggs, claims that Pss. 105-106 were originally one psalm. Psalms, II, p. 342. Pss. 105-106 are companion psalms (Kissane), complementary to one another (Barnes). NEB commentary suggests that they are to be taken together to reveal the gulf between God's call and Israel's response. Weiser, though rightly understnads the cultic setting of these two psalms in the covenant festival, suggests that they are independent psalms, The Psalms, p. 673.

places where Chronicles have "Jacob" are found in I Chron. 16:13, 17 (Ps. 105:6, 10) and in both cases "Jacob" is parallel to "Israel" (203) What is more, the only occurrence of the root כחך in connection with the people as a whole is found only in I Chron. 16:13. Something more can be said along this line. The words עלילה (I Chron. 16:8), פללות (16:9, 12, 24), שובועה (16:16), לחלל and חלה (16:18) are all terms used only in the citation of Ps. 105:1-15 in I Chron. 16. These words are not common terms in the Chronicles. Delitzsch also points to the abrupt transition from v. 22 to v. 23 and from v. 33 to v. 34 in I Chron. 16 as a support for the compilation of existing hymns for the Chronicler's definite purpose. (204) Hence, we are on safe ground to assume a pre-Chronicles date for these two psalms. Exilic or post-Exilic dating is accepted by most scholars except Buttenwieser and Dahood who give a pre-Exilic date to these psalms.

Those who are in favour of an Exilic or early post-Exilic date take into account the Deuteronomistic perspective of history and the inclusiveness of the main components of the Pentateuch, which are assumed by the psalms.

Ps. 105 celebrates the divine acts of God in history with great emphasis on the everlasting covenant with Abraham. The validity of the covenant depends on Yahweh who is still in control in the world and among all nations. The congregation, the seed of Abraham, to whom this psalm is suitably directed is the landless people of the Exile. It functions to strengthen their faith in the covenant God and His promise and therefore to proclaim a hope for the restoration of the people. Its link with the thought of the Priestly writers and the preaching of Deutero-Isaiah does indicate the date, the historical situation and the religious background of the psalmist. The recitation of history of the past is inspired by the Exile as S. Holm-Nielsen has clearly shown.

(203) In Ps. 105:6, "Jacob" is parallel to Abraham. H.G.M. Williamson, Israel in the Book of Chronicles, 1977, p. 62, arrives at the conclusion that I Chron. 16 quotes from the Psalms. Curtis, however, takes I Chron. 16:7-36 as an insertion of a later date than the period of the Chronicles. Chronicles (CC), 1910.

(204) Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 112.

Ps. 106 also reflects the Exile and its great distress. (205)
 Verses 27 and 47 are indications of the Exile. Oesterley supposes that the psalm is written by one living in the dispersion. It is a confession of the contemporary generation in the Exile. (206) Coats supports an Exilic date on the ground of the allusion to the Exile in vv. 27, 47 and the parallel between Ps. 106 and the Pentateuch. (207) One may also assume a post-Ezekiel date with the evidence that the psalm affirms the Aaron-Eleazar-Phinehas priesthood which is different from Ezekiel's exclusive emphasis on the Zadokite lineage. (208)

One factor which is of great interest in considering the place of Pss. 105-106 in the religions of Israel is the absence of any reference to the monarchy and the Temple. These two psalms, unlike Ps. 78 which has the choice of Zion and the election of David as its climax, do not betray traces of the cultus and ideology of the monarchy and the Jerusalem Temple. The covenant which God remembers to Israel is made between Yahweh and the whole people through Abraham (Pss. 105-106).

- (205) Lauha remarks that it is a mistake to look for historical reference in the simple sense. Peter R. Ackroyd agrees with Lauha that a general impression of distress which expresses clue of Babylonian Exile may not be historical but poetical, see A. Lauha, Die Geschichtsmotive in den Alttestamentlichen Psalmen, 1945, pp. 123f. and P.R. Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration, 1972, p. 225.
- (206) Oesterley, The Psalms, p. 449. Ackroyd also accepts that the present form of Ps. 106 alludes to the return from Exile, op. cit. p. 233 in n. 4.
- (207) Coats, Rebellion, p. 225. "The placement of the Meribah tradition and its association with Moses' vicarious exclusion from the land show a closer affinity with P and suggest that the psalm reflects a stage in the history of the rebellion tradition which is later than Deuteronomy." p. 230. Weiser does not agree that vv. 46-47 presuppose the Babylonian Exile, op. cit., p. 680.
- (208) Wolverton finds some influence of the post-Exilic teaching of Ezekiel in Ps. 106, op. cit., p. 173. We also note that the portrayal of the history of Israel's thankless sin is in contrast with the idealization of the wilderness period which is regarded by Hosea (Hos. 2:2-23 [4-25]) and Jeremiah (Jer. 2:2ff.) as the "honeymoon" of Israel. In this respect, Ps. 106 is closer in thought to Ezekiel.

The reference to the building of the Temple, which may be regarded as a crowning proof of Yahweh's mercy and grace, is lacking in the two psalms. Probably for the psalmist and the congregation the most important acts of restoration are the covenant promise of the land and the re-gathering together of the people in dispersion so that the worshipping community can be fully restored. The present great disaster is the consequence of their own sinfulness and breach of the covenant. The psalmist shares the same spirit of Solomon's prayer (I Kg. 8) in his appeal to God's mercy rather than to the people's innocence which can hardly be defended. The great confessions of sin in Neh. 9 is a good parallel to Ps. 106 both of which are historical penitential psalms. (209)

The hymnic recital of the great mighty acts of God in Ps. 105 and the penitential prayer of Ps. 106, though belonging to different literary types and expressing seemingly contrasting moods, are held together liturgically. The covenant renewal practice of the Qumran community provides evidence for viewing the two psalms in the same liturgical setting; the priests recount God's righteous deeds and His faithful love to Israel (cf. 105) and the Levites recite the history of Israel's iniquities and rebellious (cf. 106). (210)

(209) Kirkpatrick designates the psalm as a psalm of penitence with liturgical framework of the historical retrospect, op. cit., p. 624. Gunkel calls it a lament of the people while Westermann refers to it as a lament in an expanded form of a historical review, The Praise of God in the Psalms, 1965, p. 141, cf. Kraus, Die Psalmen, p. 900.

(210) M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, 1956, p. 371.

IV Israel's Recital of the "Mighty Acts of God"

I. Terminology

In the recital of the saving deeds of God in Pss. 78, 105 and 106 there are a number of terms which are worth looking into in detail.

The word נפלאות which is common to these three psalms denotes the wonderful deeds of Yahweh (Ps. 78:4 נפלאותיו / עצמותו , v. II נפלאותיו / שיחו ככל-נפלאותיו Ps. 105:2 לא האמיןנו כנפלאותיו v. 32 עלילותיו , v. 5 נפלאותיו / נפתיו and משפטי-פיו ; Ps. 106:7 נפלאותיו / נוראות , v. 22 נפלאות / נוראות). It occurs altogether 45 times in the Old Testament, 28 of which are found in the Psalter. ⁽¹⁾

In Exodus 3:20 God commissions Moses to bring the people of Israel out of Egyptian slavery after He had stretched out His hand to smite the Egyptians and shown them His wonders which reveal the might and power of God. The word is used in connection with the Exodus (3:21-22). The other passage in Exodus (34:10), where נפלאות occurs pictures the work done by Yahweh as He has not worked in all the earth or in any nation. This provides the reason for the keeping of the law. Yahweh makes a covenant with the people (v. 10 ברית) and they are warned to make no covenant with the peoples of the land. The act of God is then further described as terrible deeds (נורא),

נפלאות signifies the intervention of God. B.S. Childs thinks that the language used here is that of creation : "he will perform marvels never before created ! Both the thought and the language are not far removed from Second Isaiah." ⁽²⁾ But it must be noted that

(1) נפלא found solely in niph'al, piel, hithpael and hiphil. The word נפלאות is not used in the Chronicles except in the recitation of Pss. 105 and 96 (I Chron. 16:9, 12, 24). In the Book of Job (5:9; 9:10; 37:5; 14; 42:3) it refers to the creation with the intention that man cannot comprehend the wonderful power of God in creation. It is parallel to נפלאות (5:9; 9:10; 37:5; cf. Ps. 136:4; 145:4); other occurrences of נפלאות in reference to God's deeds : Deut. 10:21; Ps. 71:19; 106:21; 131:1. As compared with its usage in the rest of the Old Testament, Job does not attach any suffixes to the word. cf. 37:14 which has a construct form נפלאות אל. The two occurrences in Dan. 8:24; 11:36 have little significance for the present study. See, E. Jacob, JTOT, pp. 223-224, W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, 1946, pp. 37ff.

(2) B.S. Childs, Exodus, (OTL), 1974, p. 613. cf. C.D. Kaufman who understands the 'act of God' as "a particular act done by God either simply on his own initiative to further his ends or in response to something done by men," raises objection to limit the act of God to history in sharp isolation from nature. "On the Meaning of Act of God". HTR, 61-62, 1968, pp. 175-201.

נפלאות has not been adopted by Deutero-Isaiah. There are only two passages where the word is used in the prophets : Mic. 7:15; Jer. 21:2.

(3) In the Micah passage the future restoration of Israel and God's forgiveness (7:18-19) are compared with the נפלאות in the days when the people came out of Egypt. By God's intervention which He promised to Israel's forefathers the nations shall be frightened. God's might is an answer to the nations question : "Where is the Lord your God?" In Jer. 21:2 the people who are sent by King Zedekiah to Jeremiah to inquire of the Lord cited God's marvellous deeds in the past as the basis for their appeal for God's intervention in the present invasion by Nebuchadnezzar. Jeremiah, on the other hand, threatens them that Yahweh will instead punish them with His outstretched hand and strong arm (זרוע חזקה) and smite the inhabitants, men and beasts, with pestilence (בדבר גדול). It probably refers to the Plagues of Egypt. (4)

The announcement of Joshua before the crossing of Jordan points clearly to the crossing and drying of Jordan as the wonderful deeds that Yahweh will do among the people on the following day (Josh. 3:5) and also the driving out of the inhabitants : Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, Jebusites, Girgashites and Amorites (v. II cf. Exod. 34:11). It aims at showing that the living God is among the people (v. 10). (5)

The only passage in Judges, where נפלאות takes up its role is in the occasion when Gideon complains to the visiting angel of the invasion of Midian : why then has all this befallen us if the Lord is with us? Where are all the marvellous deeds Yahweh did to our fathers when He brought us up from Egypt? (Jud. 6:13).

The remaining passage outside the Psalter which will be noted is Neh. 9:17. In that chapter the recital of Yahweh's saving deeds includes

(3) cf. Dan. 8:24; 11:36.

(4) cf. J. Bright, "Doubtless they think particularly of Jerusalem's marvellous deliverance from Sennacherib, King of Assyria, a century earlier." (cf. II Kg. 18:17 - 19:37 - Isa. 36-37) Jeremiah, (AB), p. 215.

(5) J.A. Soggin presumes that v. 5 is derived from the ancient tradition. The expected event is the leading of Yahweh (represented by the Ark) in the procession of crossing. Joshua (OTL), 1972, p. 56.

the signs and wonders to Pharaoh and the division of the Reed Sea (vv. 9 - II) performed in front of the forefathers of Israel.

When we come to the Psalms we can discern two different usages of נפלאות, which refers either to the intervention of God in history, or to the work of God in creation. Psalm 9 gives thanks to the Lord for He is a stronghold for the oppressed in times of trouble: enemies turned back, stumbling, rebuked and perished (vv. 3, 5, 6, [4, 6, 7]; nations judged before Yahweh (vv. 8, 7, 19, [8, 9, 20]). The psalmists declare all these wonderful deeds of Yahweh (v. I [2], אספרה כל-נפלאותיך; v. 14 [15], אספרה כל-תהלתך). In the prayer for vindication the psalmist also tells of the Lord's wonderful deeds: נפלאותיך (26:7). God's נפלאות are appealed to in cases where the psalmists want to express the incomparability of God (40:5, [6] אליוך; 71:19, כמוך; 72:18, cf. 86:10 עשה נפלאות לבדו). In addition to נפלאות there are a number of other words which are usually found in some psalms to describe the deeds of Yahweh צדקתך, אמונתך, תשועתך, חסדך, אמתך 40:10, [11]; cf. 98:1-3; כבודו, 'שועתו, 96:2-3 cf. 136:4; 145:5. It should be noted that נפלאות can be seen from the law and also meditated upon (II9:18, 27) אשיחה בנפלאותיך and אביטה נפלאות מתורתך). The refrains ליהוה חסדו ונפלאות לבני אדם in Ps. 107 (vv. 8, 15, 21, 24, 31) provide the link between the past experience of God's deeds in history and the present reality of life and the faith in future assurance. (6).

From the above evidence, we can conclude that נפלאות is a general word which refers to the wonderful deeds of God in creation and in history. When it is used to denote God's historical deeds, it points particularly to the Exodus, the Plagues and the crossing of the Sea. (7)

Ps. 78:12 adopts the singular פלא in the introduction to the division of the sea and the guidance in the desert (vv. 13ff.):

(6) Jorge Mejia accepts that the word "normally reserved for the great miracles of God performed for the benefit of His people when he was taking them out of Egypt." Some Observations on Psalm 107, BTB, 5, 1975, p. 58.

(7) A.A. Anderson states that the word refers to God's mighty deeds in general and it is "a frequent term in the Dead Sea Scrolls to denote the glorious works of God (IQS xi:3, 19; IQH I:30, 33, 34; III : 23; vi:II etc.), op. cit., p. 316.

פלא. The word in the singular appears 10 times in three books of the Old Testament (Exodus 15:11; Isa. 9:5; 25:1; 29:14; Pss. 77 : 11, 14 [12, 15]; 78:12; 88:11, 13; 89:6). Similar to Ps. 78 the reference in Exod. 15:11 praises God for His wonders at the Sea.

Ps. 77:11, 14 [12, 15] have in mind the crossing of the Sea and the leading of the people by Moses and Aaron (vv. 16-21). (8)

Judging from the context, the two psalms of lament, 88, 89 and Isa. 25:1; 29:14 also point to the historical deeds of Yahweh, though it is hard to determine the special historical events referred to, if the authors did have them in mind. (9)

The phrases נאדר כקדש נורא תהלת עשה פלא in Exodus 15:11 introduces us to two other words (נורא, תהלה) which are important in the historical psalms. נוראות (the terrible deeds of God) is used in Ps. 106:22 to describe the salvation at the Reed Sea. This word in the plural appears 9 times in the Old Testament (Deut. 10:21; II Sam. 7:23 - I Chron. 17:21; Isa. 64:2; Ps. 45:4, T [5]; 65:5, [6]; 139:14; 145:6). It is used primarily in passages in which salvation from enemies is referred to. (10) תהלה which occurs three times in Ps. 106 (vv. 2, 12, 47) and once in Ps. 78 (v. 4) is a word frequently adopted by the psalmists (28 times) and Deutero-Trito-Isaiah (11 times). It simply denotes the praise of God's saving acts.

Finally, the word נוראות found in Ps. 106 is used to describe various aspects of God's mighty deeds. (11) The variety of terms used in describing the wonderful work of God in His deliverance of the people shows the living memory of God's saving acts in the experience of the people. Such memory and experience form the ground of

(8) In this psalm, the description of God's work in creation and of the Exodus share similar linguistic features.

(9) Ps. 88:11-13 פלא , אמונתך , חסדך , צדקתך ;
 89 : 5 [6] פלאך , אמונתך ; Isa. 25:1
 אמן אמונה מרחוק פלא עשית

(10) Ps. 139:14 is an exception; the creation of God is praised. Ps. 145:6 sings praise to God's saving deeds in general. Eichrodt defines the terms in simple language : פלא , נפלאות — awaken astonishment; נורא — evokes terror. ETOT, p. 162.

faith in God who is still actively saving them. The Qumran writings confirm this. R.E. Murphy points out the importance of 'the mighty deeds of the Lord' in the Qumran literature : "saving intervention is a continuation of the series of strong deeds (*gbwrwt* 'l) that characterize Old Testament history and belief. As of old Israel was delivered, so now the author experiences the divine strength." (12)

In the parenetic parts of Deuteronomy the mighty acts of Yahweh in history stand out as a witness to the incompatibility of Yahweh; no other gods can be likened to Him (Deut. 3:24) and a unique position is given to Israel as a result of God's presence in and election of Israel (Deut. 4:7, 24). Labuschagne (13) believes that this kind of preaching is a response to the widespread idolatry which challenged yahweh's incomparability in Israel. Through Yahweh's miraculous intervention on behalf of Israel in Egypt, Pharaoh and the Egyptians may know that He is Yahweh (Exod. 7:5, 9:14, 29; 14:4, 18) and Israel may acknowledge Yahweh as God (Exod. 6:7; 10:2; 14:31).

The Plagues performed by Yahweh upon Pharaoh and the Egyptians are referred to as "signs and wonders" (*אוֹת וּמוֹפְתִים*). Out of the 36 occurrences of *מוֹפְתִים* in the O.T., 18 are used in close connection with *אוֹת* . (14) They are found together especially in Deuteronomy. (15) "Signs and wonders" is the means of confirmation of God's might and His presence in His chosen people. It is most frequently adopted to designate the Plagues in Egypt. This is clearly shown in Exodus 7:3, the only example of "signs and wonders" in Exodus, where Aaron is chosen to be the mouth of Moses and both of them carry out God's word, bringing plagues to the Egyptians. The three

(11) The plural form *גבורות* appears 11 times in O.T. : Deut. 3:24; Job. 26:14; Ps. 20:7; 7:16; 106:2; 145:4, 12; 150:2; Isa. 63:15. In 9 of these occurrences it refers to the mighty acts of God's salvation; whereas in Ps. 90:10 and Job 41:4 it refers to His works of creation and His acts toward man in history respectively. See Kosmala, " *גלג*," TDOT, II, pp. 367-382.

(12) R.E. Murphy, "GBR AND GBWRH in the Qumran Writings," Lex Tua Veritas, 1961, pp. 137-43.

(13) Labuschagne, op. cit., pp. 72ff.

(14) S. Vernon McCasland, in analysing the LXX, concludes with a different set of figures: " *σημεία και τέρατα* " appears 23 times with 8 in Deut. (4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 13:2; 13:3; 26:8; 28:46; 29:3; 34:11); in 4 in Exodus (7:3, 9; 11:9; 10). "Signs and Wonders," JBL, 76, 1957, pp. 149-152.

(15) 9 times, Rengstorff, TDNT, " *τέρας* ," VIII, p. 211.

examples in the Psalter (78:43; 105:27; 135:9) are undoubtedly making reference to the Plagues. Furthermore, confession in Neh. 9:10 also confirms such usage in the Plagues tradition. (16)

There is a high probability that Deuteronomy also uses the phrase to point to the Plagues though it is used in connection with the other familiar terms to describe the Exodus deliverance : a) כִּי־תִזְכֹּר b) כִּי־בָרַחְתָּ מִן־מִצְרָיִם c) בְּמִצְרָיִם d) לְעֵינֵינוּ e) הַיּוֹצֵא . These elements are in combination with the phrase "signs and wonders" in the formulae of Exodus events (Deut. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 26:8; 29:2; 34:11-12. cf. Jer. 32:20-21) (17) In his full analytical account of Deuteronomic phraseology, M. Weinfeld observes that the phrase is rooted in the tradition of the Plagues in Exod. 4:21 (מִסִּפְתֵּימָהּ only), 7:3 (אֶת־תִּי וּמוֹפְתֵי), 10:1,2 (אֶת־הַיּוֹצֵא only), 11:9,10 (מִסִּפְתֵּימָהּ only); Num. 14:11, 22 (אֶת־הַיּוֹצֵא). (18) Similarly Noth writes, "Whenever in the Old Testament summary references to the mighty deeds of God at the beginning of the history of Israel speak in an apparently stereotyped phrase of the 'signs and wonders' at the Exodus from Egypt (Deut. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; Pss. 105:27; 135:9 etc.), it is the Plagues that they primarily have in mind." (19)

B.S. Childs, while identifying 2 formulae of the Exodus traditions from their present positions of being juxtaposed or fused together, suggest that "both formulae include the entire experience of Israel in Egypt which is viewed from a slightly different perspective in each." (20) The formula, "Yahweh brought you out of the land of Egypt" becomes the basis for the development of the Deuteronomic concept of election

(16) Exceptions : the 2 occurrences in Isa. 8:18; 20:3 are about the "signs and wonders" of Yahweh in the prophet; whereas in Deut. 13:1-2 the reference is to signs and wonders performed by the prophets to divert the people to the worship of unknown gods.

(17) B.S. Childs, "Deuteronomic Formulae of the Exodus Traditions". SVT, 16, 1967, pp. 30-39.

(18) Moshe Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic School, 1974, p. 330.

(19) M. Noth, Exodus, (OTL), 1962, p. 69. B.S. Childs, "Deuteronomic Formulae of the Exodus Traditions", p. 31 objects to the restriction of the terms "signs and wonders" to designate plagues and "by His mighty hand" to refer to the sea miracle. R.de Vaux, however, observes that P uses the terms in a narrow sense. EHI, p. 372, n. 32.

(20) B.S. Childs, ibid., p. 34.

e.g. Deut. 7:6ff.) while "Yahweh showed signs and wonders" emphasizes the great power of Yahweh in His continuous action of preserving Israel. The latter has its setting in the parenetic sections. The addition of the Sea tradition to the traditional Deuteronomistic material narrowed the broad meaning of the "signs and wonders." (21)

From the above analysis we can conclude that the term "wonderful deeds" (פלאות) carries a general, basic meaning of the wondrous things done by Yahweh in creation as well as in history. As for the phrase "signs and wonders", priority, however, would be given to the Plagues over the Sea crossing event. The saving intervention of Yahweh, which exhibits His might and strength, is usually expressed by the term "mighty deeds" גבורות (ps. 106:2) and תהלה (Ps. 78:4; 106:2). Both Ps. 78 and Ps. 106 have their own terminology in reference to the saving deeds of Yahweh at the sea. Ps. 78 follows Exod. 15:11 to adopt the term פלא (v. 12) while Ps. 106 uses נוראות (v. 22) in the account of the event at Reed Sea. In the latter psalm the same event is said to be performed to show the might of Yahweh (Ps. 106:8). In the rest of this chapter we shall examine the "mighty act of God" at the crossing of the Sea and the "signs and wonders" in Egypt.

2. The Crossing of the Reed Sea

The crossing of the Sea of Reeds (יַם סוּף) is undoubtedly significant in the whole understanding of Israelite religion and history. J. Coert Rylaarsdam describes it as "the normative redeeming and revealing act of God." (22) Though an exact historical reconstruction of the event is impossible, by faith Israel acknowledged that Yahweh delivered them from slavery. (23)

Two traditions of God's saving deeds in Exodus are represented by Pss. 105 and 106. In the former psalm the Plagues are regarded as Yahweh's redemptive acts which come to the climax at the slaying of the

(21) "The Sea tradition is a secondary development in the Deuteronomistic corpus." ibid., p. 38. The Sea tradition is alluded to only once in the Book of Deuteronomy (II:2ff.).

(22) J. Coert Rylaarsdam, "The Book of Exodus," IB, I. p. 935.

(23) James Muilenburg, The Way of Israel, 1961, p.49. M. Noth refers to the fixed formula "Yahweh who brought Israel out of Egypt" as "a primary confession of Israel" and "the kernel of the whole

(to be cont'd)

first-borns of the Egyptians (v. 36). The Plagues are the cause of the Exodus in vv. 37-38 ($\text{דָּאָרְשׁוּ$, $\text{עָלְמָה$). In Ps. 106, the decisive redemptive act in Egypt, by which God made His power and His name known, is the crossing of the Sea of Reeds and the destruction of the enemies by water (vv. 9-12). The wilderness traditions are recited after the redemption at the Sea (vv. 13ff.). Both the Plagues traditions and the Sea traditions are saving acts of Yahweh.

Ps. 78 on the other hand, includes both the Sea tradition and the Plagues tradition (vv. 13, 53; vv. 44-51). The problem posed by this psalm is the division of the Reed Sea traditions : v. 13 depicts the Sea standing like walls and forming a passage through which Israel passed and v. 53 pictures the destruction of the enemies by the sea in the wilderness context. The questions whether the Sea tradition and that of Plagues belonged to different cultic settings or whether they are different aspects of the same traditions, and the issues concerning their functions within the history of traditions are the main areas for the present inquiry.

To proceed first of all with the 'Song of the Sea' (Exodus 15) will surely lead us into a complicated issue; but on the other hand, it seems inevitable because Ps. 78 exhibits a great affinity with the Song. (24) The recitation of the great acts of redemption in the Song "appears to be a prototype of the Historical recitals found in the Psalter (78, 105, 106)". (25) Cross, who dates the song to late 12th century or early 11th century, expresses similar views : "It is the primary source for the central event in Israel's history, the Exodus-Conquest". (26)

We start with an outline of the literary form and some of the vocabulary of the Song.

- (23) subsequent Pentateuchal tradition." HPT, p. 49. The original confession referred to the "destruction of the Egyptians in the Sea." p. 50.
- (24) There is an extensive literature on the Song. The titles can be obtained in B.S. Childs, Exodus, (OTL), 1974, p. 240. Most of the literature from the Albright School deals with linguistic problems and the early dating of the Song. Mowinckel dates it to the 10th century, PIW, I, pp. 126, 177, II, p. 247.
- (25) B.S. Childs, ibid., p. 244.
- (26) Cross, CMHE, p. 123. cf. P.D. Miller, Jr., The Divine Warrior in Early Israel, 1973, p. 171. Exod. 15 fuses in partial fashion the themes of cosmic warfare and holy war. He proposes that though
(to be cont'd)

vv.	I-3	Praise the victory of Yahweh
	4-10	Recite the Reed Sea victory
	II-13	Transition : Sea-Wilderness-Conquest
	I4-I6	Conquest (crossing of Jordan?)
	I7-I8	Settlement (land) and temple
v.	5	the deeps covered ($\text{וְהַיַּמִּים} \text{ כִּסְּוּ} \text{ אֶת} \text{ אֲרֵצֵי} \text{ מִצְרָיִם$) the enemies. (cf. Exod. 14, 28; 15:5; Jos. 24:7; Ps. 106:11).
v.	8	the wall of water ($\text{וַיִּבְרָא} \text{ אֱלֹהִים} \text{ חֵטְבַּיִם} \text{ וַיִּבְרָא} \text{ אֱלֹהִים} \text{ חֵטְבַּיִם}$)
v.	10	the sea covered the enemies ($\text{וַיִּכְסֶּה} \text{ הַיָּם} \text{ אֶת} \text{ אֲרֵצֵי} \text{ מִצְרָיִם}$)
v.	16	till the people passed by ($\text{וְעַד} \text{ שֶׁ} \text{ יֵצְאוּ} \text{ מִן} \text{ הַיָּם}$)

B.S. Childs considers that the allusion to the wind is from J and the wall of water from P. This is hardly convincing especially because the word used by P (וַיִּבְרָא) is different from the unusual word in 15:8 (וַיִּבְרָא). Furthermore, the description of the victory of Yahweh at the Sea has no mention of the splitting of the sea and Israel's crossing in vv. 4-10. The passing over (וַיִּבְרָא) in v. 17b has no association with any references to the victory over enemies and is probably the crossing of Jordan which is alluded to.

This poem represents a remarkable independent tradition separated and older than the prose account. (27) Freedman and Cross see the Song as independent of JE and P and earlier than the parallel prose narratives. (28)

(26) the language and understanding of God as warrior dominated Israel's faith from the every beginning, it becomes most elaborated at a later time when myth and history came together in the religious expression of the earlier theological formulations. Thomas Mann too shows that the Sea narrative has a strong stamp of holy war imagery. "The Pillar of Cloud in the Reed Sea Narrative", JBL, 90, 1971, pp. 15-30.

(27) S. Herrman believes that the Miriam Song (Exod. 15:19f.) is the oldest fragment in the Exodus tradition, but as to the content and form of the Song of the Sea itself, it is late. Only verse 1 may come from the earliest and shortest testimony: the Miriam Song. Israel in Egypt, 1973, p. 57.

(28) "The priority of the poetic form of the tradition over the prose form is normally to be expected in this cultural milieu." Cross and Freedman, Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry, 1975, p. 47cf. "Most of the prose sources have reminiscences of Exod. 15, but the Song cannot be derived from any of them." CMHE, p. 134. See also James Muilenburg, SBS, p. 234. Exod. 15:1-18 cannot be assigned to any of the courses J.E. D.P.

Ps. 78 has marks of influence from Exod. 15 and Josh. 3.

Exod. 15:8	נצכו	כמו-נד
Ps. 78:13	יצב-מים	כמו-נד
Josh. 3:13	ויעמדו נד	אחר
	קמו נד	אחד 3:16
Exod. 15:16	עד יעבר עמך יהוה	
Ps. 78:13	בקע	ים ויעבירם
Josh. 3:13	יכרתון	המים
		לעבר את הירדן 3:17
Exod. 15:5	תהמת יכסימו (אויב)	
	כסמו ים	15:10
Ps. 78:53b	כסה הים (אויביהם)	

Not only does the Sea tradition in Ps. 78 betray close parallel with Exod. 15:1-18, but it cannot be denied that vv. 53ff. of Ps. 78 were modelled on Exod. 15. Many of the differences are clearly evidences of the psalmist's rearrangement and re-interpretation.

	<u>Ps. 78</u>	<u>Exod. 15:1-18</u>
v. 13	בקע ים ויעבירם ויצב מים כמו-נד	(Exod. 14:16 יכקעו המים) v. 16 עד-יעבר עמך v. 8 נצכו כמו-נד
v. 53	וינחם לבטח ולא פחדו כסה הים	v. 13 נחית כחסדך v. 16, 9 (אויב) פחד בגדל v. 10 כסמו ים
v. 54	אל-גבול קדשו הר-צה קנתה	v. 13 אל-נוה קדשך v. 17 הר נחלתך
v. 55	ויגרש גוים נחלה	v. 14-15 Inhabitants of Palestina, duke of Edom, mighty men of Moab, inhabitants of Canaan. v. 17 נחלתך

The Sea traditions in Ps. 78 reflect two different sequences of historical events. In v. 13 the dividing of the sea (בקע) and the leading through the heaps of water (נד) proceed the guidance

in the wilderness (vv. 14ff.). ל is a rare word used only in a few related passages : Exod. 15:8; Josh. 3:13, 16 and in here. (29) The word שָׁפַט , "split", which also appears in Neh. 9:11; Exod. 14:16, 21; Isa. 63:12; Ps. 74:14f. is "more appropriate to the smitting of the sea dragon than to the drying up of the sea." (30) שָׁפַט is the only word which is not derived from Exod. 15. The explanation for its presence in Ps. 78 goes to a number of direction. First, it may have its source from Exod. 14:16, 21 (P). (31) In this case P is then earlier than Ps. 78, either P is pre-Exilic or, Ps. 78 is post-Exilic and P is pre-Exilic or Exilic. Less rigid than this is to suppose that Ps. 78 receives שָׁפַט from the oral stage of P. However, Ps. 78 does not show any influences from P. The second alternative is to argue for a living source common to both Ps. 78 and P. Ps. 74 may prove some probability for this pre-supposition in its use of mythological language to describe creation and historical events (v. 14 (v. 15)). (32) Better still, a moderate position is to see that Ps. 78 provides the source for P who comes to know the tradition of the psalmist through the pre-Exilic cult or instruction. Wherever the psalmist gets the insight from, he uses the term שָׁפַט to describe the acts of God in dividing the sea that the people may pass through (v. 13) and in the bringing forth of water from rocks that the people may have drink (v. 15). "Both the power to release and the power to restrain water is celebrated." (33)

The smitting of the sea in v. 13 is the marvellous thing Yahweh performed in the sight of the fathers in Egypt (v. 12). The tradition v. 13 preserves is similar to that in Josh. 3:13ff. However, the

(29) Giving no strong arguments to support his position, Cross takes ל in Ps. 78:13 as secondary, CMHE, p. 135. He believes that ל in Josh. 3:13 is evidently a gloss, p. 138, n. 90. de Vaux, on the other hand, suggests that Exod. 15:8 and Ps. 78:13 are dependent on Josh. 3:13-17, especially regarding the primitive word ל , EHI, p. 387.

(30) CMHE, p. 135.

(31) de Vaux, EHI, p. 387.

(32) Isa. 34:15; 35:6; 48:21. Ps. 74 uses the two verbs of Ps. 78:13 in close proximity (vv. 15, 17). שָׁפַט is used to mean "to fix", "to establish boundary" in Ps. 74(הַצַּבֵּת כָּל-גְּבוּלוֹתַי). cf. Deut. 32:8.

(33) M.K. Wakeman, God's Battle with the Monster, 1973, p. 126.

covering of the enemies in v. 53 (את-אוֹיְבֵיהֶם כִּסָּה הַיָּם) is set in the wilderness tradition. The people have already left Egypt after the slaying of all the first-born of the Egyptians (v. 51). The leading forth of the people and the guiding of them like sheep in the wilderness (v. 52) clearly indicate the wilderness wanderings. Furthermore, the following verse (v. 54) describes the people arriving at His holy border (אל-גְּבוּל קְדֻשׁוֹ). The conquest is in the mind of the psalmist in vv. 55ff. In sequence, the Sea tradition in v. 53 corresponds to the crossing of Jordan but the content of it, "the sea covered their enemies", does not permit us to equate the two. Therefore, we have in Ps. 78 two accounts of the sea traditions; one is pre-wilderness (v. 13) and the other places the Sea event in the wilderness before the conquest (v. 53). An outline of the text helps us to make further comparisons.

vv. 10-11	Israel's disobedience	vv. 40-42	Israel's rebellion
vv. 12	God did wonders עֲשָׂה פִּלְאָ	vv. 43	God set signs and wonders אֲתוֹת וּמוֹפְתִים
v. 13	Sea Crossing/dividing	vv. 44-51	Plagues
vv. 14-31	וַיַּחַד -wilderness	vv. 52-53	וַיַּחַד , וַיַּחַד , וַיַּחַד -wilderness
		vv. 54-55	Conquest

In this case the dividing and crossing of the sea have the same function as the Plagues, the wonderful deeds of Yahweh, by which He brings the people out of Egypt.

B.S. Childs is of the opinion that "the imagery of crossing through a path in the sea stems from the crossing of Jordan in the conquest tradition." (34) It is the language of the Jordan tradition which the Reed Sea tradition employed. The intermingling of the two events is attested in Pss. 66:6; 74:13; 114:3-5; Josh. 4:23 and Psalm of Habakkuk. Understood in this way the Reed Sea is the out-going of Egypt and the

(34) B.S. Childs, VT, 20, p. 414. Coats, Rebellion in the Wilderness, 1968, p. 259, Cross, "The Song of the Sea and Canaanite Myth," JTC, 5, 1968.

Jordan crossing becomes the in-coming to the Promised Land. The Sitz-im-Leben of the transmission and fusion is believed to be sought in the cultic celebration at Gilgal. (35) According to Kraus, the liturgical actualization of the ancient tradition of Exodus and the sea crossing was linked with the sanctuary of Gilgal. (36) In Josh. 3-5 the historical events are connected with the Passover celebration which, unlike the case in Exodus, follows the crossing. (37)

As a result of the Spring Passover Festival at Gilgal, the Reed Sea event is being pulled away from its original setting in the wilderness-conquest and attached to the cycle of the Exodus. (38) The forces behind the movement are the new role assumed by the Passover and the concern of P to make the deliverance at the Reed Sea central to the

- (35) The sacred legend of the festival ceremony at Gilgal, e.g. H-J Kraus, Worship, 1966, pp. 181-187. Cross reconstructs the Gilgal cult from Josh. 3-5 and concludes that "Exodus and entrance, the sea-crossing from Egypt and the river-crossing of the conquest were virtually fused in these cultic acts." CMHE, p. 138. G.W. Coats is convinced that the entire poem of the Song of the Sea reflects a Sea-conquest or Sea-river parallel. The Jordan crossing influences that of the Sea, Coats, VI, 1967, pp. 260-261; CBQ, 31, 1969, pp. 1-17. E. Day has already remarked that the crossing of the Sea and the crossing of Jordan marked the beginning and closing of the desert life, "The Reminiscences of the Psalter," AJSL, 37, 1921, p. 286.
- (36) J.A. Soggin also seeks the Sitz-im-Leben of Josh. 3-5 at Gilgal; Joshua, 1972, p. 51. "Thus the terminology is not absolutely alike, but the fundamental conception is the same, apart from certain adaptations to the new geographical setting, where the miracle of the Reed Sea is realized once again in the present in the cult." p. 60. Josh. 3:13 has "cut" (כרת in the niphal), "stand" (נבט) and a single "heap" (תל). The historical continuity is emphasized in Josh. 2:10; 3:7; 4:14; 4:22-24.
- (37) J.R. Porter's conclusion that Josh. 3-5 provide evidence for a pre-Israelite festival at Gilgal needs substantiation. "The Background of Joshua III-V," Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok, 36, 1971 pp. 5-23. An outline of the position of scholars with helpful comments and analysis is given by de Vaux, EHI, p. 384ff.
- (38) B.S. Childs, Exodus, 1974, p. 223.

deliverance from Egypt.

G.W. Coats concludes from the textual evidence that the tradition of the Sea event cannot be regarded as the nucleus of the Exodus theme but is essentially part of the wilderness theme. The textual supports he obtains are: the pillar of cloud and fire in 13:20ff., the conclusion of the Plagues and the leadership of Yahweh in the wilderness in 13:16ff., the camp sites in 13:1-2 and the murmuring motif in 14:11-12; all indicate that the Reed Sea event is the post-Exodus event, its setting is in the wilderness. (39) Outside the Pentateuch he cites the support from the theme that Yahweh leads the people through the way of the sea like in the image of leading through the wilderness. (40)

In a number of passages, the crossing of the Reed Sea and the crossing of Jordan are in parallel without any allusion to the destruction of the enemies (Josh. 2:10; 4:23; Ps. 114). (41) This sea-river pattern within the wilderness-conquest tradition is one of the supports for Coats' thesis. (42)

Childs, however, criticizes Coats for not taking sufficient account of the inconsistency between the different sources in the narrative. (43) The lack of consistency reflects a complex development of tradition. It is correct that the pre-P account takes the rescue at the Sea as post-Exodus and, therefore, belonging to the wilderness tradition. P, however, following the earlier sources in setting the departure of Israel from Egypt before the Sea event in Exod. 12:41, 51, adds that the Israelites are commanded to return and camp within Egypt in Exod. 14:1f. The wilderness wanderings only begin after the Sea event. P

(39) G.W. Coats, "The Traditio-historical Character of the Reed Sea Motif," VT, 17, 1967, pp. 253ff.; Israelites in Exod. 14:5 have already fled and no longer under the authority of the oppressors. The ל'צו formula is used in Exod. 12:41-42.

(40) Isa. 43:16; 51:9ff.; Ps. 77:20f. There is no allusion to the motif in the pre-Exilic prophets and in the post-Exilic period the motif was taken out of the context of the wilderness and identified with mythological creation theme. In that case, the crucial element of destruction of enemies (e.g. Exod. 15) is missing from the texts. (e.g. 74:13; 77:17ff.; Isa. 51:10).

(41) The River-sea parallel : Ps. 66:6; Isa. 44:27.

(42) Coats, ibid., pp. 259-261. We may explain the language of Ps. 78:53 by the fact pointed out by de Vaux that in later texts the crossing of Jordan was overshadowed by that of the Sea. Ps. 106:9-11; 136:13, 14; Isa. 63:12, 13; Neh. 9:11; Wisd. 10:18, 19; 19:7-8. EHI, p.88.

(43) Childs, Exodus, p. 222.

reintroduces the Plagues imagery in the account of the Sea event. (44)

It is worth examining into the factors which help to shape the vocabulary of P and cause P to join the rescue at the Sea to the Exodus tradition. (45) Childs has already discussed the influence of the mythological language, the influence of the Jordan tradition and the new role assumed by the Passover, which contribute to P's understanding of the Sea event. As a result of such an understanding, the Sea event gradually became identified with the departure from Egypt. (46), thus, the Sea event, together with the slaying of the first-born, form the two phases of the Exodus. The effort of P in making the Sea event central to the deliverance from Egypt reached its final stage in Neh. 9:

- v. 9 Egyptian afflictions and cry at the sea.
- v. 10 Deliverance with signs and wonders (אתת ומפתים)
- v. 11 Deliverance at the sea (בקע, עכר, בתוך הים)
P's vocabulary.
- v. 12 Wilderness

The two motifs of P : splitting the sea and the way through the midst of the sea, are included in the description of the redemption at the sea, which, together with the Plagues, are saving deeds of God in Egypt before the wilderness wandering. Childs then rightly refers to Ps. 78 as marking the transitional phase towards the thorough identification of the Reed Sea with the Exodus itself.

The lack of reference in Ps. 105 to the Sea tradition requires further investigation. (47) The problem can be solved by the understanding

(44) The hardening of Pharaoh's heart, Exod. 14:4, 7. Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, 14:21. The Egyptians shall know Yahweh, 14:4, 18, cf. 7:5. Martin Noth observes that the raising of the rod has played a similar role in the Plagues narrative in P. Exodus, p. 114. Martin Noth's scheme :

J 14:19b-20, 24, 25a (J or E), 25b, 27ab, 30.

E 14:19a, 25a (J or E).

P 14:15-18, 21ab, 22-23, 26-27a, 28-29.

15:1-19 is relatively late, impossible to date

15:20-21 is very early, often associated with J, also impossible to date.

S. Herrmann follows Martin Noth's view, Israel in Egypt, 1973, pp. 56ff. Fohrer has a different scheme, Überlieferung und Geschichte, 1964, pp. 97ff.

(45) B.S. Childs, VT, 20, 1970, p. 410.

that the Exodus from Egypt at one time consisted of the Plagues and victory at the Sea. Then, the facts that Ps. 105 recalls the Plagues but not the Sea, and Ps. 106 the Sea victory but not the Plagues reflect that understanding. Pss. 105 and 106 regard both the Plagues and the victory as the two supreme saving acts of God. These two psalms can thus be taken as twins.

Ps. 106 brings forth a comprehensive picture of development of the Reed Sea tradition. The mythological vocabulary is striking: "to rebuke" (רָעַל) and "the deeps" (תְּהוֹמוֹת). The rebuke of the Sea, its being dried, the crossing of the Sea as through the deeps and through the dry land (or desert) (מַדְבָּר), God's saving His people from the enemy (אֹיֵב and שׂוֹנֵא) and the covering of the latter by water ($\text{כִּסּוֹ-הַיָּם צַרְהֶם}$) all display the links with Exod. 14-15. Believing in His word and singing praises (v. 12) have close association with Exod. 14:31 and Exod. 15:1. The words used for the crossing of the Sea are $\text{וַיֵּלְכּוּ בְּתַהוֹמוֹתַי}$, which depict walking through the deeps. (48) The hiphil form of לָלַךְ is usually adopted in the description of God's guidance through the wilderness (Deut. 8:15; Ps. 136:16; Isa. 48:21 and Jer. 2:6, 17). (49)

The root רָעַל is employed by the psalmists "almost entirely with a mythological or metaphorical significance". (50) A.A. Macintosh shows that when God is the subject of רָעַל , its connotation is both His anger and the effective working out of His anger. (51) The word רָעַל is applied in a few cases to the rebuke of sea or water. The most appropriate examples in connection with Ps. 106:9, in the meaning of rebuke of the sea, are Ps. 18:16; Isa. 50:2 and Neh. 1:4. In the Isaiah passage God's rebuking and drying up the sea are cited as an example of His saving power. Israel was sold not because God's hand was

(46) Ibid., p. 417, Also Childs, Exodus, 1974, pp. 223-224.

(47) Coats, VT, 17, 1967, p. 264.

(48) The qal of לָלַךְ is used in Exod. 14:29; 15:19 while the hiphil of it is employed in Ps. 106:9 and Isa. 63:13.

(49) Note that רָעַל is used in Pss. 66:6; 78:13; 136:13; Neh. 9:11 and Exod. 15:16. cf. P.J. Van Zijl, "A Discussion of the Root רָעַל ("Rebuke")," Biblical Essays, 1969, pp. 56-63.

(50) John H. Patton, Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms, 1944, p. 35. cf. Ps. 9:6; 18:6; 68:31, etc.

(51) A.A. Macintosh, "A Consideration of Hebrew רָעַל ," VT, 19, 1969, p. 479.

shortened nor because God had no power to redeem His people, but because of the iniquities of the people, which deserved punishment. The saving acts of God at the Sea of Reeds in Ps. 106:9-11 are also set against the sinfulness of Israel. Moreover, the similar ideas and linguistic parallels are noticeable :

Isa. 50:2	חן בגערתי אחריב ים אשים נהרית מדבר	
Ps. 106:9	ויגער בים-סוף ויחרב ויוליכם כהמות כמדבר	(52)

The same reference to the drying up of the sea in mythological imagery is also found in Isa. 51:10. (53)

Ackroyd agrees that in addition to the identification of Egyptians as the enemy of God, the use of the phrase "the great deep" to describe the crossing of the Sea reminds us of Yahweh's victory in creation (Gen. 1; Ps. 104:5ff.; Isa. 51:9-11). (54) The word גער, besides its usage in the Wisdom Literature (Prov. 13:1, 8; 17:10; Exod. 7:5 cf. Gen. 37:10; Ruth 2:16; Deut. 28:20), is predominantly adopted to describe God's work in creation (Job 26:11; Ps. 18:15 [16] - II Sam. 22:16; Ps. 104:7). The motif of "subjugation of the waters" expresses Yahweh's control over creation especially over the sea. (55) Creation myths and the historical events are interwoven in the later poems. Ps. 136 presents the founding of the earth upon the waters (v. 6) and the division of the Reed Sea in sunder (v. 13). The identification of Egypt

(52) cf. Neh. 1:4

גוער בים ויבשהו
וכל הנהרות החרבו

Other occurrences of גער in Isaiah: 17:13, the rebuke of the nations in terms of the rebuke of the waters; 30:17; 51:20; 54:9, in connection with Noah's flood; 66:15.

(53) See C. Westermann, Isaiah, 40-46, (OTL), 1969, pp. 24ff.; Whybray, Isaiah 40-66, (NCB), 1975, pp. 158f. For the motif of rebuke in creation see Ps. 104:7.

(54) Ackroyd, IBP, p. 129. The same mythological coloured vocabulary also appeared in Isa. 63:12 (נהרות תהמות). In this latter passage the saving act of God is said to be for the establishment of His name. This is the concern of Ps. 106:8 as well as Exod. 14:17-18 (P); "The Egyptians shall know that I am Yahweh".

(55) A.H.W. Curtis, "The 'Subjugation of the Waters' Motif in the Psalms; Imagery or Polemic?" JSS, 23, 1978, pp. 245-256.

and Rahab is made in Isa. 37; 51:9b-10. (56)

S. Norin maintains that the mythological colouring in Ps. 106 is lighter than Pss. 74, 89 and Isa. 51. The mythological language is regarded as the remains or a colour spot of the whole picture of salvation history. (57) He also suggests that the old mythological Exodus flourished during the Exilic period. (58)

From the event at the sea, it is confirmed that Ps. 106 is a late Psalm. (59) Norin is right that the psalm refers to many events also described in the Books of Exodus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. The psalmist seems to have access to the Pentateuch in more or less the form as we today have. Deuteronomic influence in terminology and Deuteronomistic view of history cannot be denied. (60) It is, however, difficult to accept Norin's opinion that in this psalm the Reed Sea is rebuked but the Egyptians are not mentioned in connection with the salvation of Israel from the enemies. (61) But, from the verbal parallels with Exod. 14-15, the psalmist has in mind unmistakably the redemption from the Egyptians, who are probably the enemies as hinted.

Ps. 106 seems to presuppose the sequence of Exod. 14 - 15. There are numerous parallels between them. James Muilenburg considers that "the final verse (14:31) serves not only as a climax to all that has gone before, but also as a superb introduction to the words of exultant singing and epic recounting that follow". (62) A comparison of Ps. 106:8-11

(56) Cross identifies two groups of passages of Yahweh's battle with the Sea : 1. mythic - with no historical references, Ps. 89:9f. [10f.]; 93: 1-4; Neh. 1:4; Isa. 27:1; Job. 7:12; 9:8; 26:12; 38:7-11.
2. Creation battle with the monstrous Sea combined with historical traditions of the Exodus, Pss. 77 : 16-79 [17-20]; 106:9; 114:1-5; Isa. 51 : 9-11; 43:15f.; 50:2. He points to the recrudescence of myth in late Israel's history when the battle with the Sea is identified with the historical battle of salvation for Israel.

(57) The trembling of the deeps in Ps. 77 refers to the sea event. The Exodus are recounted in mythological language in Ps. 66:4-6 [5-7]. Norin recognizes that Pss. 106 and 77 have common mythological terminology and both have only the water personified. Er Spaltete das Meer, 1977, p. 123. cf. Childs, VT, 20, p. 414.

(58) S. Norin, op.cit., p. 169.

(59) S. Norin points to vv. 40-46 as indications of post-Exilic dating, ibid., p. 121.

(60) ibid., p. 123.

and Exod. 14-15 reveals their similarities :

Ps. 106:8 He saved them for His name's sake.

Exod. 14:18 the Egyptians shall know the Lord.

Ps. 106:9 He rebuked and dried the sea, let the people through.

Exod. 14:21-24 He divided and dried the sea, let them through.

Ps. 106:10 He delivered them from hostile hands.... enemies.

Exod. 14:24-25 He fought against the Egyptians on Israel's behalf.

Ps. 106:11 ויכסו-ג'ם צריהם אחד מהם לא נותר

Exod. 14:28 וישכו הג'ם וכסו לא נשאר כהם עד-אחד

Ps. 106:12a ויאמ'נו כדבריו

Exod. 14:31 ויאמ'נו ביהוה

Ps. 106:12b ישירו תהלתו

Exod. 15:1-2, 11 ישיר , תהלת

Finally the verbal parallels between Isa. 63:7ff. with Ps. 106 lead us to another clue to the nature of the Reed Sea traditions of Ps. 105-106.

Isa. 63:13 ויוליכם בתהמות Ps. 106:9 בתהמות
כסוס במדבר כמדבר
לא יכשלו 105:37 ואין... כושל

Ps. 105:37-38 recite the leading out of the people from Egypt. The verses are placed between the killing of the first-born of the Egyptians (v. 36) and the cloud and fire in the wilderness (v. 39). It is natural to expect that the deliverance at the Reed Sea should be mentioned in these two verses especially in 37b. Its absence poses problems to many scholars (e.g. Coats). From Isa. 63:13 we can tentatively conclude that Ps. 105:37b is making implicit reference to the Reed Sea event. If the Plagues traditions and the Reed Sea traditions are accepted as two major acts of God, then the reservation of the Reed Sea traditions for Ps. 106 is justified. In this respect, Ps. 105 and 106 are complementary

(61) Ibid.

(62) James Muilenburgh, SBS, p. 234, His use of the rhetorical analysis of Exod. 15 enables him to conclude that Exod. 15 is a liturgical hymn belonging to the autumn festival, pp. 236ff.

to each other. (63)

To summarize, Ps. 78 preserves in vv. 43-55 a tradition similar to that of Pre-P source. Verse 55 presents the destruction of the Egyptians as an event in the wilderness after Israel has left Egypt. It embodies most probably the most original element of the Reed Sea traditions.

(64) The destruction of the enemies is the basic motif in the short formulation of the Sea traditions in the Song of Miriam (Exod. 15:19-21) which is agreed by most scholars to be the oldest version of the event.

(65) The Song of the Sea (Exod. 15:1-18), like the Pre-P strata, pictures the victory of Yahweh over the enemies without mentioning the crossing of the people at the Sea. (66) The crossing in v. 16, which is described before the entry into the land, probably refers to the

Jordan crossing. (67) The destruction at the Sea and the crossing of

Jordan are two separate events set in the wilderness after the Exodus and before the entry into the land respectively. They are first found together in Josh. 2:10; 3:7; 4:22-24, which all bear Deuteronomic influence. Even in these verses in Joshua the destruction motif is

missing. (68) On the other hand, attention must be drawn to the fact that the description of the destruction of the enemies is fashioned in a language more appropriately adopted to the crossing of Jordan : the waters stopping and piling up like a heap (Exod. 15:8). This is where Ps. 78:13 comes in, using more or less the same vocabulary as Exod. 15:8, but describing the crossing of the Sea instead of the destruction of the enemies. Thus both v. 13 and v. 53 of Ps. 78 represent a transitional phase of the development of the tradition. On one hand we have the

(63) Zimmerli rightly terms these two psalms "twin psalms." The reasons given are different from the one mentioned here; but they are convincing reasons which can be found elsewhere in this thesis.

(64) The destruction of the Egyptians is believed by von Rad to be "the primary and most certainly the oldest datum in the confession concerning the deliverance from Egypt". OTT, p. 176.

(65) M. Noth, Exodus, p. 121; Westermann, Handbook to the Old Testament, p. 59.

(66) The other passage which witnesses to the same basic conception of the Event is Josh. 24:6-7. See also Deut. 11:4.

(67) de Vaux, EHI, p. 387: "the people of Yahweh 'pass' and the rulers of the surrounding territories are frightened as they were after the crossing of the Jordan in the account given in Jos. 5:1."

(68) Another Jordan crossing incident is recorded in II Kings 2: 6-14 where Elijah strikes the water and then goes over on dry ground.

original version of the destruction of the enemies set in the wilderness, and on the other hand the later version of the crossing of the Sea at the beginning of the sojourn in the wilderness. This is only a step before the total merging of the destruction and crossing, both of which form the basic elements of the event at the Sea. (Ps. 106:9-II; 136:13-14; Isa. 63:12-13; Neh. 9:11; Wisd. 10:18-19; 19:7-8).

Furthermore, the Sea event, which is later linked together with the Plagues traditions, becomes one of the two climaxes of the Exodus. The other being the last Plague. Ps. 106 : 9-II regard the event at the Sea as a decisive redemptive act in Exodus, by which God makes known His power and saves His people. B.S. Childs observes that "it is only in the crossing that the phrase 'Egyptians will know....' occurs in P. Although it functions in J in connection with the Plagues, P confines its use to the crossing." (69) The concern of P to link the Sea event with the Exodus itself (Exod. 14:1b-2) results in pulling the event out of its setting in the wilderness to a closer proximity with the Exodus. The growing importance of the Passover rite in its historical connection with Exodus, which we shall discuss in the following section, also contributed to the development of the Reed Sea traditions.

(69) B.S. Childs, Exodus, p. 141.

3. The Traditions of Plagues

Besides the Plagues narrative in Exod. 7-12, Ps. 78 and 105 are the only two examples of a complete presentation of the Plagues in Egypt known to us. (70) Ps. 78 and Ps. 105 do not exactly correspond to the Pentateuchal traditions. (71) Just by looking at the number of Plagues and their sequence in Ps. 78 and 105, one may easily be led to conclude that they come from independent traditions. (72) A closer look at these two psalms and the Pentateuch will reveal that they cannot be totally independent of the Pentateuchal traditions. Moreover, they represent stages in the traditio-historical development of the Plagues and each of them in turn reflects the historical-theological situations with which they are closely connected.

Many scholars consider that the tradition behind Ps. 78 belongs to the older J (E) stratum while Ps. 105 is based on the P Plagues narrative. In Ps. 78:43-52 seven Plagues are stated as compared to eight in Ps. 105 and ten in the Book of Exodus. (73) B. Margulis (74) has a detailed study of the Plagues tradition of Ps. 105, in which he is convinced that Ps. 105 is based on the P tradition while Ps. 78 independent of the P influence, probably the J Stratum is preserved by Ps. 78. (75) But the question arises as to the absence of the sixth plague of Exod. 9:8-12 (P) in Ps. 105 and the transposition of the darkness plague to the beginning. From the Psalm Scroll of Qumran Cave II (76) B. Margulis finds out that in the Scroll line 5 of Ps. 105:28-29 has more space than is required by the MT, and the final word of line 4, □Ψ, cannot be reconciled with MT. Therefore, he reconstructs the two lines, counting 32 letters in line 5 instead of 9 (while the other lines have 28 to 32 letters.)

(70) Ps. 135 and 136 mention only the killing of the first-borns of Egyptian men and animals.

(71) A. Lauha, Gesichtsmotive, pp. 49ff.

(72) Ibid., pp. 53, 56.

(73) J.L. Mihelic and G.E. Wright, IDB, 4, p. 823.

(74) B. Margulis, "The Plagues Tradition in Ps. 105", Biblica, 51, 1970, pp. 491-496.

(75) Mihelic and Wright are content that "P provides no independent account of every plague; his work is that of an editor or supplementer of JE". op.cit., p. 822. cf. G. Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1968, p. 191.

(76) J.A. Sanders, The Psalm Scroll of Qumran Cave II, p. 34.

] 4

חפך את מימיהם ל [דם שם^{v.29}

5] יאורם לכאוש ויך בדבר מקנן וימת את דגתם^{v.30} ש [רצה

v. 29 He turned the waters to blood,
 made their Nile stink,
 He smote their livestock with כַּבֵּד ,
 caused their fish to die.

He then explains the omission of the plague of boils (שחין) as due to the כַּבֵּד (v. 29) which destroyed all the Egyptian livestock (Exod. 9:6). The psalmist could "retain the Exodus version of the hail only at the price of consistency." (77) He transmutes the hail and deletes the animal-affecting boils (Exod. 9:10) altogether in favour of consistency. (78)

Margulis is rightly criticized by Samuel E. Loewenstamm who argues that if the psalmist relying on the Pentateuch could take the freedom of transferring the plague of darkness to the beginning of the pericope, then he is "not concerned with a faithful reproduction of his allegedly authoritative source, the story of the Plagues in Exodus." (79) It is true that "canonization" or rather the established authority of the Pentateuch did not stop the development of the Plagues tradition. Its remaining fluid in the Second Temple Period is seen in the Plagues narrative in the Wisdom of Solomon. Furthermore, Margulis' proposed reconstruction violates the psalmist's technique in presenting the Plagues; who deals with all other plagues in at least two stichoi. The insertion of כַּבֵּד in v. 29 interrupts the plague of "water turns to blood." Loewenstamm counts seven plagues in Ps. 105 taking 105:31 כַּבֵּד and כַּבֵּד as referring to one plague. (80)

(77) B. Margulis, op. cit., p. 496.

(78) The boils plague (Exod. 9:8-12) is in a serious tension with Exod. 9:1-7 (Murrain) and 9:13-35 (Hail).

(79) S.E. Loewenstamm, "The Number of Plagues in Ps. 78," Biblica, 52, 1971, p. 35.

(80) Loewenstamm's argument is as follows :

Exod. 8:1-28	I. כַּבֵּד	2. כַּבֵּד	3. כַּבֵּד
Ps. 78:45	one plague : I + 3.		
105:30:31	two plagues : I. כַּבֵּד	2. כַּבֵּד	3. כַּבֵּד
		(v. 30)	(v. 31)

He suggests that seven is a traditional number of a climactic series leading finally to the slaying of the first-born. Unfortunately we are still facing the problem of the sequence of the Plagues in Ps. 105.

As compared with Exod. 7-12, Ps. 105 leaves out the fifth and sixth plagues. Moreover, the ninth plague, darkness (cf. Exod. 10:21ff.) comes first in the list in Ps. 105. Kirkpatrick explains the importance of this plague by pointing out that the plague of darkness was used chiefly to attack the sun-god worship of the Egyptians. (81) Barnes adds that Yahweh is more than the sun-god since He creates light and darkness (Isa. 45:7). Darkness, according to Barnes, is the chief sign of God's displeasure. (82) As recognized by Douglas A. Fox, the darkness plague in Exodus is the keystone to the whole series of plagues :

"It is by suppressing the power of Re (the Sun) as no rival Egyptian deity had ever been able to do that Yahweh most strikingly demonstrates His authority." (83)

Thus it is possible that the darkness plague is placed first in the list of plagues in Ps. 105 because of its significance; but such a suggestion needs to be further substantiated. As regarding the fifth and sixth plagues (גַּרְדִּי, J ; חַרְבֵּי, P), both affecting animals and men in Exodus, it is surprising to find that both of them are omitted in Ps. 105 which is supposed to have embodied traditions of the Plagues found in the Pentateuch. (84) A comparison of the literary and structural frameworks of the creation account in Gen. I and the

(80) I do not see why, except for the poetic technique of dealing with one plague in at least two stichoi, כַּרְבֵּי and דַּבְּרוֹת should be counted as one plague. These two words are used in Exodus דַּבְּרוֹת (8:16-19, P); כַּרְבֵּי (8:20-32, J). The position that v. 31 refers to one plague ($\text{דַּבְּרוֹת} + \text{כַּרְבֵּי}$) can be maintained if we emend כַּרְבֵּי to עָפָר ("dust"), since כַּרְבֵּי is used together with דַּבְּרוֹת four times in Exod. 8:16-19: "All the dust of the earth became gnats throughout all the land of Egypt" (v. 17). Moreover, the plague of gnats (P) seems to continue into the plague of flies (J) without the former being stopped. The number of plagues may not be the psalmist's concern.

(81) Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 621.

(82) Barnes, op. cit., p. 505.

(83) Douglas A. Fox, "The Ninth Plague : An Exegetical Note, "Abstract, JAAR, 14, 1977, p. 219. Similar idea is expressed by Cassuto, Exodus, 1968, p. 129.

Plagues narrative in Ps. 105 may help us to solve the above two problems with less difficulty.

Gen. I: 1st day	Light is created	- 4th day Sun, Moon, stars
Ps. 105:v. 28a	Darkness sent	- 28b It became dark
Gen. I : 2nd day	Waters separated	- 5th day Life populates water
Ps. 105:v. 29a	Waters turned blood	- 29b Fish died
Gen. I: 3rd day	a) Dry land made	- 6th day a) Living creatures according to kinds
	b)Vegetation multiplies	b) Man is made
Ps. 105:v. 30-31	a) Land and borders swarmed with frogs, flies and gnats.	
32-36	b) Vegetation destroyed, death of Egyptian first-born.	

From the above chart it can be seen that the creation story of Genesis I can be divided into two parallel parts (vv. 3-13 and vv. 14-31), each of which has its own climactic point with a focus on the fertility of the earth as a result of God's creativity, the multiplication of vegetation and the creation of man. B.W. Anderson has already recognized the literary structure of Genesis I in his summarizing sentence on his study of Genesis I which "discloses an overall literary design, based on a double movement, in two triads of days, from heaven, to waters, to earth." (85) The Plagues narrative of Ps. 105:28-36, in comparison to Gen. I, reveals similarities in literary structures. The same movement from heaven, to waters, to earth is clearly discerned and the focus of concern is also on the earth. Both the creation and the Plagues are demonstrations of the might and power of Yahweh in nature and on earth. In creation, the creative order comes into being at God's demand, and in the case of the Plagues the whole creation is under His order and control. While He creates the light in the beginning and sets the luminaries in heaven to rule day and night, He also has the power to send darkness in Egypt. In the second day of creation, He separates waters and in the corresponding panel in the fifth day He makes sure that life

(84) D^1D , regarded by almost all scholars as belonging to P, is absent from the list in Ps. 78 and attached to the same verse with D^1D in Ps. 105:31.

(85) B.W. Anderson, "A Stylistic Study of the Priestly Creation Story," Canon and Authority, 1977, p. 159.

populates waters. An exact parallel in the Plagues of Ps. 105 is the turning of waters to blood, as a result of which fish in waters died (v.29). The third and the sixth day of creation can be seen as having two acts each: the dry land is made - upon which vegetation multiplies; and living creatures according to their kinds are created - followed by the creation of man and woman respectively. It cannot be a mere coincidence that Ps. 105 displays the same structure as Gen. I. The land is swarmed with frogs, flies and gnats, which is a disruption of the created order which designates "according to their kinds" (Gen. I:24-25). The presence of frogs, flies and gnats in excessive number and in places other than their original assigned ones can be understood as disturbing the order. These swarms of creatures filled the land (שֵׁרָץ אֶרֶץ v. 30) ⁽⁸⁶⁾, even in the king's chambers and the borders of the Egyptians (כָּכַל גְּבוּל v. 31). As corresponding to the multiplication of vegetation on earth, Ps. 105:32-35 presents a picture of the total consummation of every plant (עֵשֶׂב) in the land and the fruit of the earth (פְּרִי אֲדָמָה) by locusts and grasshoppers (vv. 34-35). All the plants (עֵשֶׂב) and every fruit of the tree (פְּרִי עֵץ) are given to mankind for food (נָתַתִּי לָכֶם... לֶאֱכֹלָה) in Gen. I:29. But in Ps. 105 God delivered (נָתַן v. 32) the vines, fig trees to the destruction of hail and fire ⁽⁸⁷⁾ and He let plants and fruits to be devoured by locusts and grasshoppers. Lastly, while the climax of God's creative activity presented in Gen. I as a whole, is the creation of the first man, the last plague, the final and most fatal blow to the Egyptian gods (Exod. 12:12) is the slaying of the Egyptian first-born. It is really this plague which demonstrates Yahweh's power over the Egyptian gods and shows Yahweh's judgement upon Egypt (Exod. 7:4).

From the above comparison of the structure of the creation account in Gen. I and the Plagues narrative in Ps. 105, we may be able to appreciate

(86) Of all the fourteen occurrences of the Qal of שֵׁרָץ, Ps. 105 is the only one found in the Psalter. It appears five times in Genesis, mainly in the creation story (Gen. I:20-21, P) and the flood narrative (Gen. 7:21; 8:17; 9:7, P). In Exodus it is used to describe the multiplication of the people (Exod. I:7, P) and the frog plague in Exod. 7:28 (P). The only occurrence in Ezekiel (47:9) describes the sacred stream from the sanctuary in the new age - "conditions return to what they were at the beginning". J. Muilenburg, "Ezekiel," PCB, p. 590. The remaining five, all found in Lev. II (vv. 29, 41, 42, 43, 46, שֵׁרָץ) refer to the swarming creatures. Driver: Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, 1907, p. 131, includes to swarm" (שֵׁרָץ) into the Priestly phrasology.

the psalmist's effort in his sequencing of the plagues. The movement from heaven, to waters, to earth guides the arrangement. The primeval chaos, darkness and the deep, are at Yahweh's command. Furthermore, the unexpected omission of the plague of כֹּחַ (J) and פִּגְעוֹן (P) can be explained more satisfactorily than merely suggesting that Ps. 105 is an independent tradition free from any influence of the Pentateuch. It is these two plagues which present discrepancies in the final form of the Exodus narrative. ⁽⁸⁸⁾ The animal pestilence in Exod. 9:6 causes the death of all cattle, but cattle appear again in the plague of boils (Exod. 9:9), in the plague of hail (Exod. 9:22, 25) and in the slaying of the first-born (Exod. 12:5; 12:12, 29). Ps. 105 limits the destructive power of hail only to the vegetation and omits altogether the plague of pestilence (J) and Boils (P), the last of which also affects men in the Exodus narrative. The psalmist, following the structure of the creation account in Gen. I, has to save the life of cattle and omit any plague upon men in order to have the cattle and men destroyed in the slaying of the first-born; "all the first-born in their land" ($\text{כָּל-כֹּחַ הָאָרֶץ}$) includes both men and animals as is clearly stated in Ps. 135:8 : "He who smote the first-born of Egypt, both of man and of beast." and in Exod. 12:12, 29 (P).

The literary style of the Plagues account also betrays its affinity with the priestly style of Gen. I. As has been noted by scholars, P presents the fulfilment of God's demand in close connection with the command itself. ⁽⁸⁹⁾ In Gen. I, the command "Let there be...." is followed immediately by the report of its realization, "And it was so." ⁽⁹⁰⁾ This word-fulfilment style or word-event pattern is also the literary style of the Plagues narrative in Ps. 105. The following

(87) The Plague of hail and the Plague of thunderstorms, which bring about the destruction of cattle in Ps. 78:48, only struck vegetation in Ps. 105.

(88) Noth, HTP, p. 69.

(89) McEvenue calls P's report of "the fulfilment of God's commands in the same words as the commands themselves" as fulfilment "in nuce". "Word and Fulfilment : A Stylistic Feature of the Priestly Writer," Semitics, I, 1970, pp. 104-110.

(90) B.W. Anderson, op. cit., pp. 151ff.

verses provide good examples for consideration :

- v. 28 שלח חשך ויחשך He sent darkness and it became dark.
31 אמר... ויבא He spoke and there came.
34 אמר... ויבא He spoke and there came.

Verse 28 presents the fulfilment in the same word as the executive command, "He sent darkness and it became dark." In addition to its crucial position in the structure of the Plagues of Ps. 105, this verse certainly links with P's style. Therefore, both the literary style and structure confirm the link between the Plagues narrative of Ps. 105, especially v. 28, and Gen. I. What is more, new insight can be gained in the translation and understanding of the problems in v. 27 and v. 28b, as a result of taking such a perspective.

The difficulty of v. 27 is in the phrase "דברי אתותיו", literally translated as "words of His wonders". The word דבר is unexpectedly constructed with אתות . Also the subject of the plural form of the verb, שמעו, which is followed by כם is not at all clear, probably Moses and Aaron are the subjects. However, the singular form represented in LXX and Vul is more suitable in the context. Yahweh is then the subject of the sentence. כמצר'ם... is sometimes read כמצר'ם... in parallel with בארץ חם. (91)

From the understanding of creation as taking place by word-fulfilment events, (92) the "word of wonders", which refers to the execution of the Plagues as fulfilment of God's word, is no longer a strange phrase. (93)

The phrase ואלא מרו את דבריו, "and they did not rebel against His word" (v. 28b) is especially significant in the Plagues account in Ps. 105, though the third person plural of מרה has presented difficulty to scholars, Judging from the context the phrase seems to refer to Moses and Aaron. But this does not make very good sense. Most probably

(91) cf. Ps. 78:43. B. Margulis, Biblica, 50, 1969, pp. 49ff, Dahood reads כמצר'ם = wilderness (cf. Exod. 16:1-12), which cannot be accepted. Neither the translation of the verse in "They were His mouthpiece to announce His signs" nor that of Oesterley: "He brought about among them his signs by their word: (שם-כם כדברם אתותיו) (Psalms, p. 447) is correct.

(92) B.W. Anderson, op. cit., p. 151.

(93) Ps. 145:5 has דברי נס לאותיו.

the phrase is the summing up statement of the Plagues narrative in Ps. 105: "He sent darkness and it became dark" (v. 28a); darkness is under God's command and control. The phrase "They did not rebel against His word" refers to the word-fulfilment event of God's signs and wonders (אָמוֹת 'וּבְרָא v. 27). The appearance of the phrase in the first plague is significant; it may be used to anticipate the following plagues (ps. 105:29-36). Not only darkness, but waters, frogs and hailstorm etc. obeyed His word.

Though the word "to create" (אָרָא) is not employed in Ps. 105 in the account of the Plagues which are the destructive forces opposing to creation, the way the redemption of Israel is presented, and that the Exodus immediately followed the slaying of the first-born give an impression that the very saving activity of God on behalf of Israel is a creative redemption. Yahweh brings out Israel, His first-born, by slaying Pharaoh's first-born son (Exod. 4:22-23).

If the proposal that the creation story of Gen. I provides the model for the structural organization, stylistic fashioning and theological understanding of the Plagues presented in Ps. 105 can be accepted, great implications are to be drawn concerning the dating and the historical connection between Ps. 105 and the priestly tradition on one hand, and the psalmists' criteria of material selection and organization on the other. Moreover, light may be shed on the proper conception of both the faith in a creation God and the faith in a God in history. The present position of the two historical psalms, which immediately follow the creation hymn of Ps. 104, may also be connected with the priestly sequencing of creation-history in the Pentateuch. The recitation of history in Pss. 135, 136 and Neh. 9 is also structured in the similar picture of creation-history. We shall return to the above mentioned issues in the next section.

The Plagues narrative in Ps. 78 is very different in intention and in style from that of Ps. 105. On the whole the effects which are produced by the Plagues recorded in Ps. 78 are more severe. The Plagues are taken as punishment by God while those of Ps. 105 are regarded as demonstration of God's power in nature and in history. Ps. 105 surely has the lordship of God over His people and upon the earth, "He is the Lord our God; His judgements are in all the earth." (v. 7).

The tabular division of the first nine plagues in Exodus can help

us to discern the tradition behind Ps. 78 and Ps. 105 : (94)

<u>Prelude</u>	<u>Ist Cycle</u>	<u>2nd Cycle</u>	<u>3rd Cycle</u>
Warning : Moses stands before Pharaoh in the morning (by the river).	I. Blood	4. Flies	7. Hail
Warning: Moses comes before Pharaoh (in his palace)	2. Frogs	5. Pestilence	8. Locusts
.....			
No warning	3. Lice(P)	6. Boils (P)	9. Darkness

Ps. 78 has the first two Plagues of each cycle. Cassuto goes further to group the Plagues into pairs according to their nature : a. (blood-frogs) pertain to the Nile; b. (gnats-flies) resemble each other; c. (pestilence-boils), the former affects animals only, the latter also human beings; d. (hail-locusts) damage to crops; e. (darkness-plague of the first-born) two kinds of darkness. (95) The psalmist of Ps. 105 takes the darkness plague, which is actually not a pair with the plague of the first-born, to the beginning of the list. He drops group C altogether to fit into the structure of Gen. I.

Ps. 78 preserves the Plagues of blood (v. 44), flies (v. 45a), frogs (v. 45b), caterpillars and locusts (v. 46) (96) hail and frost (v. 47) and pestilence (v. 48). (97) Verses 49-50 present some difficulties since they are not really included in the lists of the Plagues in either the account in Exodus or that in Ps. 105.

v. 49 He sent upon them His fierce anger,
rage and indignation and distress,
A sending of His messenger of destruction.

(94) This is based primarily on U. Cassuto's table, Exodus, 1968, p. 93. According to de Vaux's analysis the plagues of gnats (Exod. 8:12-15) and boils (Exod. 9:8-12) are from the Priestly source. EHI, p. 322. But Petersen thinks that the separation of the sources into JEP is not well-founded and also unsatisfactory as an explanation of the irregularities. Israel III - IV, p. 735.

(95) U. Cassuto, ibid. cf. M. Greenberg, "The Redaction of the Plague Narrative in Exodus," Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright, 1971, pp. 244f.

50 He levelled a path for His anger,
 He did not spare their life from death,
 but gave their life over to the plague.

The first line of v. 49 *ישלח-בם חרון אפו* has its closest parallel in Job. 20:23 *ישלח-בו חרון אפו* and Exod. 15:7 *תשלה חרוןך 'אכלמו בקלש'* and Exod. 15:7 expresses the divine anger with Yahweh as the subject. (98) The people of Israel are frequently the object of the divine anger (Exod. 32:12; Num. 25:4; 32:14; Jos. 7:26; I Sam. 28:18; Jer. 4:8, 26; 12:13; 25:37-38; 30:24; 49:37; 51:45; Ezr. 10:14; Neh. 13:18; Ezek. 7:12, 14). (99)

The picture presented by the only 4 occurrences of the phrase in Chronicles (II Chron. 28:11, 13:29:10; 30:8) conveys the idea that Yahweh's anger kindled upon the Northern Kingdom immediately before its destruction (II Chron. 28:11, 13) and Hezekiah made a covenant with Yahweh in order to turn His anger away from Judah (II Chron. 29:10) while he incites the remaining people of Israel to obey Yahweh so as to turn Yahweh's anger from them (II Chron. 30:8). It seems that the phrase was appropriately applied to the destruction and Exile of the people, which was regarded as a result of Yahweh's anger upon the people's rebellion. II Kings 23:26 declares that because of the sin of Manasseh Yahweh did not turn from His fierce anger but He would remove Judah as He did to Israel. Though vv. 49-50 can be interpreted as a polemic against the Northern Israel or as coming from a later hand which presupposes the Exile of both Israel and Judah, it is not probable that the psalmist should use the Plagues account to allude to the anger of Yahweh upon the

(96) Cobb, in *op. cit.*, p. 302, calls caterpillars (*חסיל*) unauthorized and grasshoppers (*קלף*) in Ps. 105 uncanonical. Both words are used in each case to be in parallel with locusts (*אכה*). They certainly refer to the same kind of creature, cf. Joel 1:4; 2:25.

(97) Briggs (*op. cit.*, p. 195), Kissane (*op. cit.*, p. 360-61), Schildenberger (p. 244) and A.A. Anderson (*op. cit.*, p. 572) follow two Hebrew manuscripts Sym. to reposit *קָרָר* (hail) in v. 48 as an error for *קָרַר* (pestilence) which forms a good parallel to *רשעים* (plagues); cf. Hab. 3:5 *רשע // קָרָר* in U.T. Reseph is the god of pestilence; e.g. J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, pp. 201f. See also Ps. 76:4; Deut. 32:24. Furthermore, *קָרָר* has just been mentioned in v. 47 and pestilence is a plague against cattle in Exodus. Also NEB. "to the plague". MT is accepted by Lauha, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

(98) *יָרָא* appears 40 times in the O.T.; 33 of which are followed by *יָרָא* with Yahweh as the subject.

(99) The nations (Ps. 2:5; Zeph. 3:8), the wicked (Ps. 58:10; 69:25) and individuals (Ps. 88:17) are also under the wrath of Yahweh cf. The day of His anger: Is. 13:9; 13; Zeph. 2:2; Lam. 1:12; 4:11; Nah. 1:6.

Israelites (Ps. 78:38ff and Hos. II:9). Briggs rightly observes that v. 49, "intensified by the heaping up of other terms", forms a striking antithesis to Yahweh's restraint of His anger toward Israel in the previous section (vv. 38f). Hos. II:9a לא אעשה חרון אפי לא אשוב לשחת presents a similar tension between the anger of God and His forgiveness as it is the case in Ps. 78:38-41 (v. 38 לא-ישחית, להשיב אפי).

Hos. II:9b	כי אל אנכי ולא-איש בקרבך קדוש
Ps. 78:39	כי בשר המה רוח הולך ולא ישוב
41	קדוש ישראל

Once again we have shown the more or less similar theological atmosphere from which Hosea and Ps. 78 got their inspiration.

Attention must be drawn to one of the most difficult but interesting passages in Isaiah, the woe oracle in Isa. 10:5-7. Assyria is surprisingly called the rod of Yahweh's wrath to punish Israel and to discipline Judah. (100) However, Assyria, being arrogant, did not think in the same terms (vv. 8-II). B.S. Childs based on the wordplay in Isa. 10:6b and 8:I, suggests that the 'godless nation' of v. 6 is Samaria and proposes the historical setting of the oracle as in the period just before Assyria attacked Jerusalem. (101)

v. 5	הוי אשור שבט אפי ומטה-הוא בידם זעמי
v. 6a	כגוי חנף אשלחנו ועל-עברתי אצוננו

These two verses exhibit some verbal correspondence with Ps. 78:49:

שלח, זעם, עברה, אף and probably also זַרְקָה which is suggested by Kittel for MT זַרְקָה (102) and forms good parallel with שלח. (103)

The connection between Ps. 78:49 and the wrath of God executed through Assyria and in turn upon Assyria is further confirmed by the

(100) J. Bright, "Isaiah", PCE, p. 498.

(101) B.S. Childs, Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis, 1967, p. 42.

(102) Kissane, op. cit., p. 361. Oesterley, The Psalms, p. 361.

(103) Dahood supported by the association of שלח with זַרְקָה in Isa. 18:2; 57:9; Jer. 49:14; Ob. I; Prov. 25:13, puts forward זַרְקָהוּ for MT זַרְקָה!
 "He sent against them his blazing anger, fury and rage were indeed his emissaries, a mission of his messengers of woe."
 The last phrase gathers up the parallel pair זַרְקָה // מלאך in Prov. 13:17; cf. Isa. 63:9 and זַרְקָה // שלח. M. Dahood, "Sir 'emissary' in Psalm 78, 49", Biblica, 59, 1978, p. 264.

phrase *אֱלֹהֵי מִלְחָמָה* (78:49c). This phrase does not have any basis in the Exodus account. (I04) It is most likely that the destruction brought about by the angels (messengers), who are commissioned by God to execute His punishment upon the Assyrians as it is recorded in II Kings, 19:35 (II Chron. 32:21; Isa. 37:36), forms the historical background of the expansion of the death of the Egyptian first-born in Ps. 78:49-51. (I05)

Judging from this perspective we can conclude that the psalmist does not necessarily possess an independent Plagues account nor are the verses 49-50 regarded as interpolation. (I06) He is creative in his interpretation of historical account and is free to relate his congregation's experience with ancient traditions reading into the latter the more recent historical happenings. In this case it is the saving deed of Yahweh to punish the arrogant Assyrians. The miraculous escape of Jerusalem from destruction by the Assyrian army (701 B.C.) certainly strengthens the 'signs and wonders' of Yahweh and the belief in the inviolability of Zion and the Davidic house (Ps. 78:68-72).

Yet we do not suggest that the psalmist worked in a vacuum nor did he rely totally upon his free speculation. He did have some basis to

- (I04) Delitzsch understands the angels as misfortune-bringing angels, "The poet thus paraphrases the collectively understands of Ex. xii 13, 23; Heb. xi 28", op. cit., p. 426. Kirkpatrick takes it as "destroying angels" (Psalms, p. 475) while Briggs, "angels of punishment, bringing evil upon men", op. cit., p. 188. Kraus does not relate it with Exod. 12:23, but regards it as "dämonischen Mächte", destroyer at work in the plagues. op. cit. p. 710. Oesterley's argument cannot be followed: 'the angels' of Ps. 78:49 represents "the step in the development of the conception of angles which precedes that of naming them, a proceeding which must be assigned to Persian influence". W.O.E. Oesterley, A Fresh Approach to the Psalms, p. 279.
- (I05) In this case *דָּבַר* should not be the fifth plague, pestilences (Exod. 9:1-7) cf. Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 426. We are in favour of taking it as death (LXX). The cognate word in Arabic signifies death, also in Rabbinic Hebrew; Cohen, op. cit., p. 256.
- (I06) Cobb, op. cit., p. 217.
- (I07) Most of the 40 occurrences of *אֵשׁ חַרֹּן* have *שׁוּב* as their verb: Exod. 32:12; Num. 25:4; Jos. 7:26; II Chron. 30:8; Ps. 85:4; Jer. 4:8; 12:13; 30:24; Jon. 3:9. E. Dhorme, Job, 1967, p. 302: *אֵשׁ חַרֹּן* 'the fire of His wrath' always alludes to the divine anger.

apply the anger of Yahweh upon the Egyptians in the Exodus tradition to the theme of punishment upon the Assyrians. In the first instance the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15) to which the psalmist owes his inspiration has described the destruction of the Egyptians in terms of the divine anger (v. 7). The verb *אָרַב* with God as the subject used together with *אֲרָב* only appears in three passages : Job. 20:23; Ps. 78:49 and Exod. 15:7.

(107) This account of the saving acts of God at the Sea, though not of the same event as the Plagues, may provide the clue for the psalmist to regard the Egyptians as the object of Yahweh's wrath.

Furthermore, the linking of the two great powers (enemies of the people) in the seventh and eighth century cannot be a surprise. Yahweh would punish the Assyrians as He did to the Egyptians. Hosea and Isaiah usually put the two names side by side (Hos. 7:11; 9:3; 11:5, 11; 12:1; 14:3; cf. Isa. 7:18; 10; 24, 25-27; 11:16; 19:23-25; 20:4-6; 27:13; 36:4-10). At a time when the Northern Israel was under the oppression of the Assyrians and the Southern Kingdom was constantly threatened by the Assyrian crisis, it is natural to find some allusion to the punishment of Yahweh upon the Assyrians on behalf of the people in order to save the latter from the hand of the former. As the destruction of the Egyptian first-born was the climax of the Exodus, the punishment of the Assyrians forms an automatic expansion of the 10th plague of Exodus. This is rightly so, since Isa. 10 has already emphasized the punishment of Yahweh upon the Assyrians (Isa. 10:16ff.) Yahweh will send disaster upon the Assyrians: "And the Lord of hosts will wield against them a scourge, as when he smote Midian at the rock of Oreb; and his rod will be over the sea, and he will lift it as he did in Egypt" (Isa. 10:26). (108)

Moreover, the great emphasis placed upon the historical traditions and the royal theology in Ps. 78 links the psalm with the Deuteronomists and the Hezekiah-Josiah's reforms. The Passover celebration (II Kg. 23:21-23;

(108) cf. Isa. 17:14; 31:8f. H.H. Rowley gives credibility to the story of the slaying of the enemy in the Assyrian camp by God's angel, who was the instrument of the plague. e.g. II Sam. 14:16f. "Hezekiah's Reform and Rebellion," BJRL, 44, 1961-62, p. 431.

II Chron. 35) may well be the occasion for the historical recital. (I09) Granted that the Passover rite were of great antiquity and originally independent of the Plagues traditions and the Exodus story. (II0), the historicization of the feast has already been established before Deut. 16:1-8. Not only is the feast closely linked with Exodus and the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Deuteronomy, but its celebration is centralized at the place designated by Yahweh. (III) It is, therefore, not at all surprising to incorporate the tradition of the deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrians into the recitation of the slaying of Egyptian first-born when the people gathered together on the spot to celebrate Yahweh's saving deeds. The Plagues, which demonstrate the overwhelming power and might of God, are regarded as divine intervention on behalf of the Israelites. M. Noth has shown that the slaying of the first-born is "the final and most decisive plague." (II2)

(I09) J.B. Segal states that the historicity of II Kg. 23 is fairly certain while that of II Chron. 35 is doubtful. The Hebrew Passover, 1963, p. 14. The historicity of the account of Passover in II Chron. is recently defended by M. Haran who, however, attributes the Hezekiel reform to the ideology of P. Temple and Temple Service in Ancient Israel, 1978, pp. 141ff.

(II0) M. Noth points to the fact that the Passover rite, a primitive sacrificial practice of the nomadic shepherds celebrated before departing for the summer pastures in the arable land, is older than the elaboration for the theme "guidance out of Egypt" and it is in the Passover rite that the Egyptian Plagues originate. He agrees to the idea advanced by Pedersen that Exodus 1-15 is a 'Passover legend', but he also realizes that the problem arises as to the story of the destruction of the Egyptians at the Sea, which in the present setting is after the Passover performance. HPT, pp. 66-67. S. Herrmann is of the opinion that "the Passover rite, into which the account of the Plagues leads, is the heart of the complex of Plagues" and the historical explanation for the rite by the event of the Exodus is late development. HI, p. 62. Jay A. Wilcoxon, "The Israelite Passover: Some Problems," BR. 8, 1963, pp. 13-27 stresses the redemption of the human first-born as the core of the sacred story. D.J. McCarthy, JBL, 85, 1966, p. 154: the story of the Passover is independent of the Exodus, only a special literary connection with the Plagues narratives. R. de Vaux, however, while recognizing that cult does not create history, accepts that the formulation of tradition is influenced by cult. EHI, p. 323, cf. AI, p. 492-3. B.S. Childs shows that the "P account in Exod. 12-13 reflects: a long history of oral tradition arising out of cultic practice, and is not simply a late literary variation from J." Exodus, p. 193.

(III) H.H. Rowley, Worship in Israel, p. 89: "Passover was celebrated at local shrines until the Deuteronomic reform in the time of Josiah centralized the celebration in Jerusalem". cf. pp. 50, 118ff.

(II2) M. Noth, ibid., p. 69.

If the Plagues are gathered together as a result of the narrator's desire to enlarge and enhance his collection, the expansion of the slaying of the first-born becomes reasonable and natural. Both the accounts in Ps. 78 and Ps. 105 reflect their own traditio-historical contexts.

4. The Exodus Event and the Exile

The event of Exodus is recalled in a variety of circumstances in the history of Israel. It is the vitality of this formative event that in different situations the event can generate praise and confession based upon the knowledge of God and His will.

The sequence of events presented by Ps. 105 with its choice of verbal expressions enables us to discern the intention of the psalmist. The last plague. "He struck every first-born throughout thier land, the beginning of all their strength (לכל-אונם)" is immediately followed by the outcoming of the Israelites (v. 36-37). What is so peculiar of v. 37 is the phrase אין בשכטיו כושל. It may point to the effectiveness of Yahweh's deliverance and guidance (Deut. 8:4; Isa. 5:27).

(II3) God so strengthened His own tribes that no one was feeble and wearied. (II4) This phrase probably reflects the Exilic situation where the people stumbled and fell (Lev. 26:37; Isa. 35:3; Jer. 6:21; Lam. 1:14; 5:13) (II5) Only faith and trust in God can strengthen those in the Exile, who were in great despair and hopelessness. The recall of the Exodus tradition often provided the necessary motivation and faith in the saving God. The allusion to the Reed Sea event in Isa. 63:13 seeks to prove that then in Exodus no one in Israel stumbled. Furthermore, Isa. 40 explicitly declares that even the young and the strong will faint, stumble and fall (כשול יכשלו), but Yahweh, the everlasting God of Israel, does not faint or grow weary. He gives power to the weak and great strength to the one who does not have might (לאין און) (Isa. 40:27-31). (II6) The prophet reminded the people of

(II3) A.A. Anderson, op. cit., p. 734.

(II4) The Servant Song sets the establishment of the tribes of Jacob (להקים את שכטו יעקב) Isa. 49:6 cf.) in the context of Israel being the light to the nations, spreading Yahweh's saving deeds to the end of the world. The national lament in Isa. 63 also appeals to God's saving deeds for the sake of His servants and the tribes of His inheritance (שכטו נחלתך v. 17).

(II5) Isa. 31:3 states that both Egyptians and those who seek help from Egypt will stumble; II Chron. 28:15, the captivity of the people of Judah by Israel, cf. Isa. 3:8:15; Ps. 31:11.

(II6) Those who were in Exile were in a state of fear, feeble and weak. Isa. 3:3-4: with weak hands (ידים רפות), feeble knees (כרעים כשליות) and a fearful heart (נמהרי לב). They stumbled and were weakened because they rebelled against the word of God (Ps. 107:10-16).

Israel in the Exile who had no might that Yahweh gives renewed strength to the faint and the powerless. (II7) It is not difficult, therefore, to establish a connection between the affliction in the days of the Exile with that of the Exodus. As an answer to the doubt of Yahweh's saving power and will, the reference to the redemption in the past will illuminate the present perplexity. (II8) With the help of Deutero-Isaiah we may be able to understand Ps. 105:36-37 from a new perspective. To the mighty oppressors, Yahweh smite their first-born and their main strength (רגשות און), but to the oppressed, the און אין (II9) Yahweh renews their strength and they shall not stumble or fall (אין בשכטין כושל).

Ps. 105:38 shows us the picture about the Egyptians who were afraid of the Israelites and who, therefore, were glad when they left Egypt. On the other side, the Israelites, under oppression and captivity in the Exile, were actually in a state of fear. This is best seen in Deutero-Isaiah 51:12-13 (cf. 44:8; 54:11-17):

Deutero-Isaiah questions the people, "Who are those of whom you are afraid?" Where is the fury of the oppressor who sets himself to destroy?" It is then obvious that it is Yahweh who comforts the people; their oppressors are but mortal men. (I20) Isa. 51:14 clearly confirms that the oppressed shall be released from the oppressors. Furthermore, Deutero-Isaiah treats the Babylonian Exile in parallel to the Egyptian sojourning (גזרים ירד-עמי כראשנה, Isa. 52:4a) and the Assyrian oppression (אשור באפס עשקו, 52:4b).

The initial link between Ps. 105 and Deutero-Isaiah is a key to open up new possibilities and show more affinities between Ps. 105-106 and Deutero-Isaiah and, in turn, to shed light on the proper relationship between Ps. 105-106, Deutero-Isaiah and the Priestly writings. We have previously shown that these three pieces of literature have creation in their outlook, though the focus on creation in Deutero-Isaiah is much

(II7) Westermann, op. cit., p. 60, 62.

(II8) R.N. Whybray, "God in the past (e.g. the Exodus) ... has come to the rescue of the faint and of him who has no might ... such help is not sporadic but always characteristic of God." Isaiah, (NCB) p. 59. J.L. McKenzie, "As Yahweh always acts with full vigor, so those who trust in him find their vigor renewed to perpetual fullness." Isaiah, (AB), p. 25.

(II9) Israel in Egypt and in Babylon.

(I20) Westermann, op. cit., pp. 243-244.

more pronounced than in P and Ps^a 105-106. (I21) It is in Deutero-Isaiah that God's redemptive acts are acts of creation. (I22) The idea of creation in Ps. 105 is implicit, and in P it is tied in with history. (I23) Carroll Stuhlmueller observes that the concept of creation is not made the central element in Deutero-Isaiah's oracles, arguments, judgment speeches and hymns - it usually appears in the introduction or conclusion. (I24)

The motif of returning to the land in the new Exodus plays a significant role in Deutero-Isaiah as the promise of land does in P and Ps. 105. (I25) The climax of the recitation of God's saving acts in Ps. 105 is the taking possession of the land promised to Abraham (v. 45). Here the verse runs *וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם אֲרָצוֹת גּוֹיִם וְעַמֵּל לְאֲנָשִׁים* (v. 45) which is expressed in the similar verb *וַיִּשָּׂא* in Deutero-Isaiah *וַיִּשָּׂא* (54:3). The promises to Abraham and his offspring are renewed to Isaac (Gen. 28:4) and to the people when they came to Canaan (Num. 33:53). (I26) The land is designated as the land of their sojourning (Ps. 105:23; Gen. 17:8; Exod. 6:4; Isa. 52:4). The promise that the people of Israel would multiply greatly (Gen. 17:8) is recalled in Exod. 1:7, Ps. 105:24 and Isa. 48:19, 54:3. (I27) The promise of the possession of the 'land of sojournings' as an eternal possession in the Abrahamic covenant (Gen. 17:8; cf. 28:1-4; 35:9-12; 48:3-7) is a central theme in Ps. 105 (vv. 11; 12, 44). Norman C. Habel remarks that the title "land of sojournings" may reflect an empathy with the Israelite sojourners in Exile among whom the priestly writer was living, or the tension between promise and fulfilment which the patriarchs and their seed in captivity knew as they savored this covenant hope. (I28) The first of the dual promise, which is fulfilled during the Egyptian captivity (Exod. 1:7), is also a reality in Ps. 105 (v. 24 *וְיִפְרֹחַ אֶת עַמּוֹ לְאֶדְרָא*). This is reaffirmed in Deutero-Isaiah (48:19) : (I29).

(I21) Brueggemann recognizes the creation in P as "a vehicle for a promise and an anticipation of a new conquest, renewed blessing, because Yahweh continues to be faithful and powerful:." ZAW, 84, p. 410.

(I22) B.W. Anderson, Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 1963, p. 191.

(I23) Ackroyd, IBP, p. 151.

(I24) Carroll Stuhlmueller, Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah, 1970, p. 233.

(I25) Ibid., p. 185.

(I26) cf. Neh. 9:15, 22, 23, 24.

"Your offspring would have been like the sand,
and your descendants like its grains,
their name would never be cut off
or destroyed from before me."

In the last few verses of Isa. 48, a direct command to leave Babylon (צאו מבבל v. 20) is followed by a recount of Exodus in a language similar to Ps. 105. (I30) A comparison of Ps. 105:37 and 43 with Isa. 48:20-21 reveals certain verbal parallels : (I31)

Isa. 48:20	צאו מבבל ... בקול רנה הגידו השמיעו זאת הוציאוה עד-קצה הארץ אמרו גאל יהוה עבדו יעקב
21	ולא צמאו בחרכות הוליתם מים מצור הזיל למו ויבקע צור ויצבו מים
Ps. 105:37	ויוציאם בכסף וזהב ואין כשבטיו כושל
41	פתח צור ויצובו מים הלכו בצות נהר
43	ויוצא עמו כששון ברנה את-כחירין

The call to go forth from Babylon is put in the same language as the description of the Exodus. The people go out with shouts of joy. Water gushed forth from the rock and flowed through the desert; thus the people are not thirsty. The use of the verb יצא for the Exodus as well as for the release from Exile clearly indicates a parallel between the Exodus and the new Exodus. The same verb is applied to the departure from the Exile, "You shall not go out (לא תצאו) in haste, and you shall not go in flight, for the Lord will go before you....." (Isa. 52:12; cf.

(I27) פרץ cf. Gen. 28:14; Exod. 1:12.

(I28) Norman C. Habel, op. cit., p. 74.

(I29) This verse which was addressed to Israel echoes the promise to Davidic kings, e.g. Ps. 89.

(I30) Douglas Jones regards the similarity as an indication of the prophet adapting the psalm. op. cit., p. 524.

55:12). It is of great significance that Ps. 105:37 presents the Exodus in a picture of the release of a slave with silver and gold. (I32) This is contrary to the Exodus-flight tradition. (I33) The release of the Israelites by Cyprus (Isa. 45:13) as setting free from captivity (Isa. 49:9) and the emphasis on the guidance of Yahweh (Isa. 52:12b) all agree with the same understanding of the Exodus in Ps. 105:37, the people are set free with silver and gold and none of the tribes stumble. The Exilic context of Deutero-Isaiah helps us to comprehend the particular traditions treasured by the psalmist who intends to deliver a message of comfort to the situation where the people find themselves in. The outcoming with gold and silver recalls the Pentateuchal traditions in Gen. 15:13-16; Exod. 3:20-22; II:1-3; 12:33-36. The intention of such a recollection in Ps. 105:37 may find its reference in Isa. 45:14. (I34)

"The wealth of Egypt.... shall come over to you and
be yours....."

A state of well-being may well be an assurance of God's all round saving acts. It completes the programme of salvation proclaimed by the prophets.

The Egyptian sojourning is mentioned in Ps. 105:23: **וַיָּבֹא יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרַיִם**. This sojourning is first introduced by God's intervention in history (v. 17: **לְפָנֵיהֶם אֵלֹהִים**). 'Joseph was sold (**מִכָּר**) to be a slave' was probably interpreted in terms of the Babylonian Exile. At least there is evidence that the selling His people to enemies means delivering them into the power of the enemy. (I35) The use of the word **עָשָׂה** in Isa. 52:4 recalls the prohibition of God against the oppression of the patriarchs by the nations (Ps. 105).

(I31) **וַיִּשְׁלַח** and **וַיִּנְחַל** are often used, individually or together, in the delivery from the Exile in Deutero-Isaiah 44:23; 49:13; 51:3; 55:12; cf. 35:10. S. Holm Nielsen, *op.cit.* pp. 26-27. Westermann, Isaiah 40-46, pp. 106-7, 128.

(I32) Daube, Exodus Pattern, pp. 55-61.

(I33) Exod. 14:5a de Vaux, EHI, pp. 370f.

(I34) Westermann regards this verse as a fragment. Its meaning can be explained in the context of Isa. 60:3-14. But he admits that the proper link with the latter is not yet known. Isaiah 40-66, (OTL), pp. 169-170. D. Jones, on the other hand, refers it to Isa. 43:3 where it is said that Egypt is given to Israel as a ransom. "Isaiah II," PCB, p. 522.

(I35) Deut. 32:30; Ps. 44:13, cf. BDB, p. 569.

S. Holm-Nielsen is of the opinion that the word presupposes the subjugation of the people of Israel by foreign powers, i.e. in Exile, Isa. 52:4; 54:14; Jer. 50:33. ^(I36) He, however, supposes that the description in Ps. 105:18 reflects Israel's sufferings under foreign yoke (Ps. 107:10, 14, 16 cf. Ps. 149:8; Deut. 28:48). ^(I37) This is further confirmed by לַכְּנָנִי and בְּרִנָּה (v. 18) used in Ps. 107:10 and 16 and Isa. 45:2b to describe Babylonian captivity and liberation. ^(I38)

Deutero-Isaiah stresses a number of times that Yahweh did not sell His people into slavery nor did He redeem them from it in order to gain benefits (51:17; 52:3-6 etc.). Ps. 105 also made this point clear that Joseph was sold as a slave in order to fulfil God's plan and, for the Exodus, Yahweh did not pay the Egyptians, but, on the contrary, the people came out of Egypt with gold and silver (Ps. 105:37).

The purpose of the delivery, according to Ps. 105, is to manifest Yahweh's judgement among all the earth (כָּל הָאָרֶץ v. 6). ^(I39) The same idea of the universality of God's judgement is illustrated in the Servant Songs, 42:1-4; 49:4 etc. The priestly tradition and Ps. 105-106 both emphasize the inviolability of the word of God, which is in control of history. The holy word of Yahweh in giving the people the land is a fulfilment of the covenant promise to Abraham (Ps. 105:42-44). This is also the central theme in Deutero-Isaiah, within the two pieces of oracle in the prologue and epilogue (Isa. 40:1ff and 55:8ff.). ^(I40) The Plagues of Ps. 105 are referred to as אֲתוֹתַי and the first in the list of Plagues, darkness, which we have shown to be connected with the priestly creation story of Gen. I, is described with שִׁחַרְחִיךְ and אֶת דְּבַר יְיָ . God's act of sending or commanding by His word represents His will which cannot be violated. Deutero-Isaiah also shares

(I36) S. Holm-Nielsen, op. cit., p. 24. 52:4-6 place the Babylonian Exile alongside the previous occasions of oppression by foreign power. Westermann, op. cit., p. 248.

(I37) Ibid., p. 25, J-J Kraus interprets figuratively Joseph's spiritual sufferings in prison. cf. J. Brinktrine, ZAW 64, 1952, pp. 251ff.

(I38) 107:2-3; 33-43 refer to the return from Exile, Jorge Mejia, BTB, 5, 1975, p. 59.

(I39) cf. Exod. 6:6; 7:4; 12:12 (all P).

(I40) The emphasis on the power of the word of Yahweh in late Israelite literature (cf. Jer. 23:28ff; Zech. 1:4-5; Isa. 59:21), see David L. Petersen, Late Israelite Prophecy, 1977, p. 21. cf. Zimmerli, ZOTT, p. 103.

this position (55:II): (I41)

כִּן יְהוָה דְּבַרִּי אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִפִּי
לֹא יֵשׁוּב אֵלַי רִיקָם
וְהִצִּלִּית אֲשֶׁר שְׁלַחְתִּיו

The word of God which expresses His saving will and divine sovereignty is the guiding force of history. (I42)

The four appearances of *שלח* in Ps. 105 (vv. 17, 20, 26, 28) represent God's intervention at crucial points in history, he first sent Joseph to prepare the way for the multiplication of the people and the sojourning of Israel in Egypt. This act is reinforced by sending the king to set Joseph free in order that God's plan can be fulfilled through foreign kings. Then, God sent His servant Moses and His chosen Aaron to start the liberation process. (I43) Again, the initial act of deliverance by choosing His servant is further brought to fulfilment by darkness which is also under God's control. In this way we can better understand Yahweh's activity in history; He intervenes into history to achieve His will of setting things right by choosing His servant from among His own people. What is more, foreign kings and nations are also under His command. *נלש* functions as describing God's punishment; God sent (let loose) His anger upon man (Exod. 15:7 cf. Ps. 78:49). (I44) In the Psalter, the image of sending has a rather constant meaning of an intervention of God in helping and saving (Ps. 18:16 [17]; 20:2 [3]; 43:2 [3]; 57:3 [4]; 110:2; 111:9; 135:9; 144:7). The usage in Ps. 107:20 confirms the sending of God's word to bring about deliverance.

(I41) This verse is followed by recurring motif in the Exodus/New Exodus language in 55:12:

"For you shall go out in joy, and be led forth in peace."
One wonders whether Deutero-Isaiah has the Plagues narratives in mind as the event that leads to the Exodus. But at least the holy word of God through the prophetic utterance as concerning the deliverance from Exile will be fulfilled.

(I42) Isa. 40:26; 44:24; 48:13; 50:2f. Eichrodt, *ETOT*, p. 71ff.

(I43) The niph'al of *נלש* is used in Exodus in the sense of allowing Israel to leave Egypt: Exod. 3:20; 4:21, 23; 5:1, 2; 6:1, 11; 7:2, 14, 16, 26, 27; 8:8 [4], 20 [16], 21 [17], 28 [24], 29 [25], 32 [28]; 9:1, 2, 7, 13, 17, 28, 35; 10:3, 4, 7, 10, 20, 27; 11:1, 10; 12:33; 13:15; 17; 14:5.

(I44) The sending of Plagues in Exod. 3:20; Ps. 78:45; 135:9.

(I45) This continuity of God's intervention is perhaps very crucial at the time when the apparent lack of divine activity was causing despair or lack of faith in the people. (I46)

It is exactly the act of rebellion against believing in the word of God (v. 23-25) and not waiting for His counsel (v. 13) which leads to the punishment of the people in Ps. 106. The most destructive sin is the disobedience to Yahweh's commandment to exterminate the heathen peoples (v. 34). As a result, they were led to the worship of idols, followed the heathen ways, practised human sacrifice and went a whoring in their deeds (vv. 34-39). The Priestly writers, though addressing the Exilic generation, arranged their early traditions and legal materials in the framework from creation to the entry into the promised land; and, therefore, made no account of the disaster of the Exile. But, as Ackroyd rightly claims that, P "makes the same point by projecting this disobedience into the ancient traditions, particularly of the wilderness period." (I47) הַדְבָר is often found in connection with rebellion against the "mouth of Yahweh". (I48) Such disobedience to God's word is reckoned to lead to God's judgement for His word is an expression of His will; as Isaiah states that the word of God sent to achieve His will does not turn or fail (Isa. 45:23; 55:10-11). (I49)

Despite the failure and rebelliousness of the people, Yahweh still has not forsaken them because of His promise (Ps. 105:42; 106:46). For His name's sake, He delivered them at the very beginning, at the Sea of Reeds, when the forefathers did not comprehend His wondrous deeds and did not remember His loving-kindness ($\text{לֹא זָכְרוּ אֶת־חַסְדֵי־יְהוָה}$, Ps. 106:7). The account of sins and rebellious acts (vv. 13-43) is framed within the הַדְבָר which Israel

(I45) Ps. 104, praising God for His creation, employs twice the imagery of sending in the account of creation (vv. 10, 30).

(I46) P. Ackroyd, ER, pp. 122-123.

(I47) Acroyd, IBP, p. 151.

(I48) C. Westermann, Theologisches Handwörterbuch vom Alten Testament, Band I, München-Zürich, 1971, col. 928-930; Pss 78:8, 17, 40, 56; 105; 28; 106:7, 33, 43; cf. Num. 20:24; 27:14; 1 Sam. 12:15; 1 Kg. 13:21, 26.

(I49) John McKenzie, "The word of God in the Old Testament," TS, 21, 1960, pp. 183-206; cf. Oskar Grether, Name und Wort Gottes in Alter Testament, BZAW, 64, 1934: word of Yahweh is the nerve of the hinge of Biblical history.

have forgotten (v. 7) and the זכור Yahweh remembered (v. 45). Both the deliverance at the Sea of Reeds and the salvation from those who took them captive are זכור of God for Israel. In Ps. 106, the present salvation, though the process of which has not yet completed, is a reality experienced by the cultic community (vv. 44ff). That is why the invitation to praise Yahweh at the beginning of the psalm (vv. 1-3) and the praise at the end (v. 47) are justified and are spontaneous expressions of the reality of salvation.

The main motive of salvation may require special attention. In the three historical psalms, the salvation of God expressed in His saving deeds are granted regardless of the sinful rebellion of Israel. In Ps. 106, Yahweh saved the people for His name's sake (למען שמו) and in order that His might be known (להודיע את-גבורתו) (v. 8). What actually lies behind the motive to save, as we have mentioned, is the

זכור of God, which is embodied in the promise (v. 45). However, the למען שמו conveys further points of interest. The formula is used to appeal for guidance (Ps. 23:3; 31:4), salvation (Ps. 109:21; Jer. 14:7, 21), and forgiveness (Ps. 25:11; 79:9). It also helps to explain God's deferral of His anger (Ez 20:9, 14, 22, 44; Isa. 48:9). (150)

Deutero-Isaiah too has great concern with the name of Yahweh. The reason why Yahweh did not destroy His people is explained in terms of 'for His name's sake'.

48:9 למען שמי אאריך אפי
 II למעני למעני אעשה כי-אין
 יחל וכבודי לאחזר לא אתן

The other important passage from Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 52:4-5) not only relates the Egyptian sojourn (cf. 105:23), Assyrian oppression (עשע cf. 105:14) and the Exile, but also emphasizes the disgraceful effect

(150) Sheldon H. Blank suggests that Ezekiel appears to be the first to use the formula in the sense that God is disgraced because of the disgraceful condition of His people. Deutero-Isaiah follows Ezekiel in the same usage: Ezek. 20:8-10, 14, 22, 44; 36:23; 39:16ff; Isa. 48:9; II; 52:5. Prophetic Faith in Isaiah, 1958, pp. 123f. Although the formula does not appear, the appeal to God's name for the forgiveness of the people's sin in the wilderness is found in Num. 14:13-19. It is also explained that Yahweh did not strike Pharaoh and the Egyptians by one great plague because He wants to demonstrate His might and that His name be declared throughout all the earth ($\text{למען ספר שמי בכל הארץ}$ Exod. 9:16).

upon the name of God. (I5I)

נאם-יהוה כִּי-לִקַּח עִמִּי
חַנּוּם מִשְׁלוֹ יְהִי לִי
נאם-יהוה וְתָמִיד כָּל הַיּוֹם
שְׁמִי מִנְאֶץ

From the above passages, it is clear that the freedom of Yahweh to redēem Israel does not rely on the merit of Israel but mainly for upholding Yahweh's name, which otherwise would be in disgrace. He has the might to rescue His captive people (Isa. 49:24-25); His redemption of His people will show that He is Yahweh, Israel's redeemer and saviour (49:26).

The punishment of Israel is totally justified, a deserved punishment as a result of their sin; 40:2; 42:24; 43:25 etc. (I52) This is the understanding of Deutero-Isaiah and the psalmist (Isa. 47:6; 51:17; Ps. 106:39-43). (I53) On the other hand, both confirm that the anger of Yahweh upon His people would not be long because it does not aim at destruction. (I54) The promise with its דָּסָד and רַחֲמִים will be upon the people:

Isa. 54:7-8 For a brief moment I forsook you,

but with great compassion I will gather you.

(וְכִבְרַחֲמִים גָּדֹלִים אֶקְבֹּץ)

In overflowing wrath for a moment I hid my face from you.

but with everlasting love I will have compassion on you.

(וְכַחֲסֵד עוֹלָם רַחֲמֵתִיךָ)

say the Lord, your redeemer (גֹּאֲלֶךָ).

(I5I) $\sqrt{\text{א}}$ Qal, Jer. 14:21; Lam. 2:6.

Pi, Ps. 74:9 [10]; Num. 14:11, 23. Jer. 13:17;
 $\sqrt{\text{ש}}$ Hithpoel, Isa. 52:5;

Ps. 106:41;

$\square \text{ן}$ to be sold (fig. for nought (BDB, p. 336), cf. Exod. 21:2, II; צָא חָנּוּם : to go out (from slavery) freely, for nothing. Douglas Jones, "Yahweh is under no obligation to Babylon: he neither paid Babylon nor was he in Babylon's debt." He translates $\square \text{ן}$: 'gratis', a word-play of ן חָנָן . op. cit., p. 526.

(I52) Salvation is then a sheer unmerited love of Yahweh :43:25; 45:13; 55:1.

(I53) The same vocabulary is used by both the prophet and the psalmist:
 נַחֲלָה (Isa. 47:6; 10:40 cf. נַחֲלָה Isa. 49:8, 54:17; 58:14; 63:17; Ps. 78:55; 62:71; 105:11; 108:5; 135:12; 136:21; 22);
 $\text{וְאֶתְנֶם בְּיַדְךָ}$ (Isa. 47:6); $\text{וְאֶתְנֶם בְּיַד גּוֹיִם}$ (Ps. 106:41); רַחֲמִים (Isa. 47:6 and Ps. 106:46).

The request of the people to gather them together (קבצו) in Ps. 106:47 is also expressed in the promise of God outlined in Isaiah (אקבצו; cf. Isa. 43:5; 56:8a). (I55) Isa. 54:9 alludes to the promise of Noah (cf. Gen. 9:8-II, P) and the חסד & נרות are then reaffirmed by Yahweh in Isa. 54:10 (נרחמך 'הוה). When we come to Ps. 106:45, Yahweh remembered His covenant and He showed His compassion (חסדו) according to the abundance of His loving kindness (רב חסדו). He also gave them mercies (חסדו) before all those who took them captive. This brings us to the crucial idea of comfort in Isa. 40:1. The word חסדו in Ps. 106:45 should not be understood as "God repented" nor should it be "God grieved" because, as we have said, the punishment is deserved by Israel. A couple of passages from Deutero-Isaiah may well illuminate us: (I56)

Isa. 49:13 Sing for Joy, O heavens, and exult,
O earth;
break forth, O mountains, into singing!
For the Lord has comforted His people,
and will have compassion on His afflicted.
52:9 Break forth together into singing,
You waste places of Jerusalem;
for the Lord has comforted (חסדו) His people,
He has redeemed (גאל) Jerusalem.

One final indication of the affinities between Deutero-Isaiah and Pss. 105-106 is the use of the term 'chosen' and 'servant' for both individuals and the people as a whole. The references to the king as being chosen (I57) and the choice of the place, Jerusalem or Temple, (I58) are absent from Deutero-Isaiah and Pss. 105-106. The Temple itself is never

- (I54) "Hope for the future lies clearly in the willingness of God to give them again the land which was promised." Ackroyd, IBP, p. 151.
- (I55) The gathering of the dispersed people is described in the image of a shepherd gathering his flock: Isa. 40:11.
- (I56) Though one must recognize the different verbal forms, the niph'al form used in the psalm and the piel in Deutero Isaiah, one cannot deny the compassionate character of Yahweh expressed by the basic word חסדו . Yahweh is the source of חסדו, e.g. Isa. 51:3, 12 and 19.
- (I57) Deut. 17:15; I Sam. 10:24; 16:8, 9, 10; II Sam. 6:21; 16:18; 21:6; I Kg. 8:16; 11:34; I Chron. 28:4, 5, 6, 10; 29:1; II Chron. 6:5, 6; Pss. 78:67, 68, 70; 89:4; Hag. 2:23.
- (I58) Deut. 12:5; 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; 14:23; 24, 25; 15:20; 16:2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16; 17:8, 10; 18:6; 26:2; 31:11; Josh. 9:27; I Kg. 8:16, 44, 48; 11:13, 32, 36; 14:21; II Kg. 21:7; 23:27; Ps. 132:13; Zech. 1:17; 2:6; 3:2.

alluded to in the recitation of history in Pss. 105-106, and it appears only once in Deutero-Isaiah (44:28) (I59). They seem to convey the idea that the existence and the redemption of the people do not depend on the Temple and the king. This idea is contrary to the strong belief in the Davidic kingship, Mount Zion and the Temple in Ps. 78. Both Deutero-Isaiah and Ps. 105-106 refer to the people as Yahweh's chosen ones or as being chosen (I60). When applying the term to individuals, the psalmist(s) refers to Moses (106:23) and Aaron (105:26) while Deutero-Isaiah points to the servant of Yahweh (42:1). (I61) Pss. 105-106 call Abraham (105:6, 42) and Moses (105:26) the servant of Yahweh while it is well-known that the servant concept has a prominent position in Deutero-Isaiah. (I62)

The historical situation which provides the relevant atmosphere for the development of the theological reflection of Deutero-Isaiah as well as the two psalms being studied is sought in the Exile. The fall of Jerusalem in 587 was one of the great landmarks in the history of religion of Israel. It has in many ways asserted its influence upon the subsequent formation of the faith of Israel. (I63) The Exile was a test to the tenacity and vitality of the Israelites' faith. Reflection upon the present sufferings in the light of the past furthered the effort of recollection of Yahweh's past deeds toward His people. (I64) The fact that Israel lived in settlement of their own in Exile (Ezek. 3:15; Ezra. 2:59; 8:17) and was able to assemble for some sort of community life (Ezek. 8:1; 14:1) helped the people to generate spiritual support and to foster a new understanding of their faith and destiny. (I65)

- (I59) לְכַלֵּל, some scholars regard verse 28b as a late addition to the praise of God in 44:24-28. No matter what the case is, the lack of special interest of Deutero-Isaiah upon the Temple is evident. The new Exodus does not depend on the Temple nor kingship.
- (I60) Isa. 41:8, 9; 43:10, 20; 44:1, 2; 45:5; 49:7; Pss. 105:6 (בְּחֵירוֹתָי); 106:5 (בְּחֵירוֹתָי). Other references are: Deut. 4:37; 7:6, 7; 10:15; 14:2; 1 Kg. 3:8; 1 Chron. 16:13 - Is. 105:6; Isa. 14:1; 65:9, 15, 22; Jer. 33:24; Ezek. 20:5; Ps. 33:12; 65:5; 135:4. Perhaps the above passages, with the exception of those of Deuteronomy and Psalms, can be dated to the Exilic and Post-Exilic period.
- (I61) The priest (Num. 16:5, 7; 17:20; Deut. 18:5; 21:5; 1 Sam. 2:28; 1 Chron. 15:2; II Chron. 29:11); Abraham (Neh. 9:7).
- (I62) Carroll Stuhlmueller has a number of clear, outlined tables for the necessary data on Deutero-Isaiah, of which the present chapter has used as reference. Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah, 1970, pp. 264ff.

As has been noted before, the Exodus event which commemorates a great liberating act of Yahweh, is fundamental to the faith of Israel; it is therefore natural that this event should attract great attention in the time of distress. A new understanding of the first importance in the whole reaffirmation of the faith and destiny of the people.

The correlation between the Egyptian bondage and that of the Babylonian Exile is discerned by Deutero-Isaiah who proclaims the release from the latter as a new event of Yahweh, the New Exodus. (I66) As it has been recognized that there are affinities between Deutero-Isaiah and the Psalter in both the form of the oracle of salvation and that of the psalms of lamentation, particular links between Deutero-Isaiah and the historical psalms 105-106 are undeniable. Lindblom's summary of the prophecy during the Exile with particular stress upon Deutero-Isaiah confirms the same general picture shared by Ps. 105-106 and the Priestly Writers : (I67)

Deutero-Isaiah repeatedly recalls the wonderful crossing of the Red Sea and the destruction of the Egyptian army... So urgent was the need to find as many guarantees as possible for the future salvation of Israel, that a new significance was attached to the patriarchs, whom the pre-exilic prophets passed over in silence During this period Israel began to be called 'the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob'... Yahweh's faithfulness to Israel is motivated by His oath to the fathers.

The importance of the patriarchs in the faith of Israel is especially fostered in Ps. 105 and that of the wonderful crossing of the Reed Sea with the theme of the destruction of the enemies is the particular concern of Ps. 106. The future hope lies in a new act of mercy from

- (I63) Ringgren, IR, p. 297; Ackroyd designates the Exilic period as a "creative age", ER, pp. 7ff. Noth, "The Jerusalem Catastrophe of 587 B.C., and its Significance for Israel," LPOS, pp. 260-280.
- (I64) J. Bright, HI, p. 350. Hermann, History, p. 290. The latter presupposes that life continues for the people deported to Babylon as well as for those who had remained in Judah. cf. Noth, HI, p. 292.
- (I65) J. Bright, op. cit., p. 345. G.W. Anderson History & Religion of Israel, pp. 140-141.
- (I66) Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, p. 22: "Deutero-Isaiah was familiar with his nation's history in all its phases, and that he assumed a similar knowledge on the part of his hearer."
- (I67) Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, p. 357.

God "for His name's sake" (Ps. 106:8). (I68)

It is now clear that the experience of the Exile provides the background for the thought of the Priestly circle, the psalmist and the prophet, Deutero-Isaiah. What is not sure is the proper link, if there is any, between the Priestly writers, the psalmist and the prophet. Further evidence is to be sought before a convincing suggestion can be considered. One can, however, make a few observations, Kingship and the Temple do not occupy central importance in the literature being studied. The relationship between God and the worshipping community seems to be the significant theme. The second point is that Ps. 105-106 together with Ps. 104 present an all-inclusive picture similar to that of the Pentateuch. The issue of the date and the setting of the prefacing to the historical account of the Pentateuch by the primeval history not only influences the theological outlook of the faith of Israel as it is expressed in Deutero-Isaiah, but also the cultic life of the people and the arrangement of the Psalter. In addition to the primeval history, the Exilic spiritual leaders of the people had the Patriarchal narratives and the wilderness-conquest traditions attached to the Exodus story. (I69)

In the process of the above investigation, certain features of the historical development of the Exodus event have become evident to us. We are now in a better position to reconstruct some of the literary developments. In pre-P traditions, the Reed Sea is regarded as a theme in the beginning of the wilderness wandering after the Israelites have left Egypt (Exod. 14:5a). The destruction of the Egyptians was the motif of the tradition. In P the motif of crossing has already been introduced to the tradition and Exod. 14:1b-2 (P) shifts the setting of the tradition from its original wilderness setting to a closer connection with Exodus. The Reed Sea crossing and the Plagues which culminated at the Passover rite become the two climactic points of the Exodus in P.

While JE presents the death of the first-borns as yet one more

(I68) Ackroyd, ER, pp. 234, 239.

(I69) Lindblom recognises that "Israel's historical traditions, carefully preserved and eagerly studied during the Exile, now placed a rich material at the disposal of the spiritual leaders of the people." op. cit., p. 375. D.W. Thomas also suggests that the Exilic period was a creative epoch in literary development of the Old Testament. "The Sixth Century B.C.: A Creative Epoch in the History of Israel," JSS, 6, 1961, pp. 33-46.

plague (Exod. II:1f.) P ends its Plagues narrative in II:9-10, a passage which recalls the purpose of the Plagues in terms of Yahweh hardening Pharaoh's heart in order to multiply His signs and wonders in Exod. 7:3. (I70) The Plagues are a demonstration of God's power. The slaying of the first-born which is expressed as an execution of Yahweh's judgement in I2:I2 corresponds to 7:4, stating Yahweh's intention to bring out His 'hosts', His people, the children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great judgements. (I71) Exod. 7:5 functions in P as an introduction to the Reed Sea event; the same phrase "the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord" appears in Exod. I4:4, I8. (I72) Therefore, it becomes evident that in the final literary structure of the Exodus traditions in Exod. 7-15, P understands the slaying of the Egyptian first-born, which is directed upon the gods of Egypt, and the Reed Sea, event, which is directed upon the Pharaoh and the Egyptians, as two phases of the Exodus; by the former Yahweh brought the people out of Egypt and through the latter, He made the Egyptians know that He is the Lord. (I73) This is the picture which Pss. I05 and I06 together present to us. Ps. I05 frames the saving acts of Yahweh, which culminate in the slaying of the Egyptian first-born in the acknowledgement that : "He is the Lord our God, His judgements are in all the earth" (v.7). This is similar to the expression in P (Exod. 7:4-5). The only exception is that the psalm gives a greater context for the activity of Yahweh. It is also unmistakably clear that Ps. I06:8 understands the Reed Sea event as God's saving the people for His name's sake, to make know His mighty power. (I74) The association of the theme 'making known Yahweh's might' with the Reed Sea event is further confirmed by Josh. 4:22-24.

(I70) B.S. Childs, Exodus, pp. I38-I39.

(I71) "The hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt" in Exodus I2:40-4I is probably a fulfilment of 7:4.

(I72) While J uses the phrase in the Plagues narratives, P limits its usage to the Reed Sea tradition.

(I73) D. J McCarthy refers to these as two climactic events each of which was originally a different tradition. The cultic recognition of Yahweh is the central link (Exod. 10:2; 14:31), "Plagues and Sea of Reed :Exodus 5-14," JBL, 85, 1966, pp. 143-54.

(I74) Exod. 7:5; 14:4.

V. Election and Covenant in Psalms 78, 105 & 106

I. Introduction

A synopsis of the three 'historical psalms', Pss. 78, 105 and 106, reveals interesting and significant results. One of which is in the area of "election" and "covenant". The climax of Ps. 78 is the election of Judah and David and the choice of Zion as the site of the Temple (vv. 68-70). This two-fold election is presented in the context of the rejection of Shiloh (v. 60) and the reputation of the tent of Joseph and the tribe of Ephraim (v. 67)

The use of בחר (vv. 68, 70) and בחר לך (v. 67) clearly indicates election tradition in the Deuteronomic terminology and conception. Furthermore, Ps. 78:1-67 presupposes the already existing covenant between Yahweh and the people. Yahweh's claim on Israel's obedience is best understood to have its foundation in the election of Israel at the Exodus and the subsequent covenant. The stipulations and laws are the yardstick for the behaviour and response of the people. The way the people are charged in terms of covenant transgression proves the operation of the conditional type of covenant. The rejection of the tent of Joseph and the tribe of Ephraim are consequences of the covenant terms. It is Israel's disobedience and rejection of Yahweh which lead to the expected results. But fortunately the people are not left in despair. The election of David as the shepherd of God's inheritance and people (v. 71) shows a new beginning. We shall look into each of the above mentioned aspects in detail in due course.

When we come to the recitation of Yahweh's saving deeds in Ps. 105 we recognize a different traditions of election and covenant. The survey of history starts with God's promise to Abraham. This promise comes to concrete expression in an everlasting covenant which is extended to Isaac, Jacob and Israel (vv. 8-10). The people understand themselves to be the offspring of Abraham and sons of Jacob (v. 6). The prominent elements of the promise are the gifts of land, protection and deliverance (vv. 11ff.). The sending of Joseph and the Exodus-Wilderness traditions are linked with the promise to Abraham as a fulfilment of the latter (v. 42). God's saving acts lead to the spontaneous response of the people in obedience to his laws (תורתיו) and statutes (חקיו) (v. 45). The acknowledgement of the people as God's people (עמו). God's chosen people (בחריו) (v. 43) and the confession that Yahweh is their God (הוא יהוה)

אלהינו (v. 7). are important to the understanding of election and covenant not only in this psalm but also in the following one (Ps. 106). There are many similarities in vocabulary and ideas between 105 and 106. Both Aaron and Moses are called "His Servant" (עַבְדוֹ) and are chosen by God (בָּחַר בּוֹ) in Ps. 105:26 and the designation of Moses in Ps. 106 is "His chosen one" (בַּחֲרִינוֹ) (v. 23). The familiar terms of Ps. 105 also appear in 106: עַמְךָ 106:4; בַּחֲרִירְךָ v.5; נַחֲלִיתִךָ v.5; וַיִּזְכֹּר לָהֶם בְּרִיתוֹ (v. 45); יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ (v. 47). If Pss. 105-106 are taken together then the covenant which Yahweh remembers to the people is the Abrahamic covenant. This is very likely because God remembers His covenant though the people have rebelled against Him. This covenant is now extended to the people, the offspring of Abraham/Jacob.

The idea of election, prior to but inseparable from the understanding of covenant, is the most basic motif, the initial fact and the heart of Israel's self consciousness of her faith and mission. (1) The idea itself goes beyond the primary technical term בָּחַר which is first used to formulate the concept of election by the Deuteronomists (Deut. 7:6ff., 14:2). Distinction should be made between concept and vocabulary.

G.E. Mendenhall states that the two methods accepted by previous investigations lead to two different conclusions :

- a. Those who examined the occurrences and usages of בָּחַר concluded that Yahweh's election was a concept not earlier than Deuteronomy.
- b. Others started with the meaning and definition of a chosen people and were convinced that election was central to the Israelite faith from the very beginning. (2)

(1) K. Galling, Die Erwählungs-traditionen Israels, 1928, p. 68. H.W. Robinson also affirms that "the whole idea of covenant goes back to the divine initiative, God's choice of Israel, op. cit., p. 149.

(2) "Election;" TDNT, II, p. 76, H.W. Robinson includes עָדַד (Amos. 3:2) and הִבְחַר (Deut. 32:6) and terms which express the father-son relationship or marriage motif to the concept of election, ibid. Edmond Jacob also adds a variety of images, e.g. the image of clay and the potter, the vineyard theme, the image of shepherd and flock and that of servant. JTOT, p. 20ff. Quell gives a list of verbs which convey the meaning of God's will and intention towards Israel, e.g. אִמַּן "to insist on", Hos. 5:11, I Sam. 12:22; נָחַם "to be pleased with", Num. 14:8; Is. 62:4; II Chron. 9:8; סָבַח "to separate"; קָרַא, יָדַע, לָקַח, etc. TDNT, IV, p. 146f. See also Th. C. Vriezen, Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament, 1953.

Election is prior to the idea of covenant, which is only a concrete formal expression of the independent concept of election. (3)

Though covenant and law are visible formal expressions of election, the later, however, is exercised within the framework of covenant. (4)
The essential element of election is the divine initiative in history—the Exodus. The pre-Exilic prophets^{appeal to the Exodus as the most important saving act} of God in establishing relation between Yahweh and Israel (e.g. Hos. II:1; I3:4). K. Galling, followed by H.W. Robinson, has recognized two elections (or a double tradition of election): The deliverance from Egyptian oppression as an act of election and the promises to the Patriarchs an expression of election. The former is older than the latter. (5)

It is discerned that the original basis of election is the people's experience of God's saving acts in history on behalf of the nation. He freely chooses Israel from all the nations and enters into covenant with her. The Exodus is deliverance from slavery and oppression. Amos regards the Exodus and wilderness wandering as the occasion for the election of Israel. (6)

Deuteronomic formulation in 7:6ff. sheds light on the understanding of the origin and purpose of election. The election is not conditioned by anything which was good in Israel. It was completely unmerited. It is significant that the promises to the Patriarchs are linked with the Exodus redemption. The promises are proof of God's electing love and faithfulness, which is brought to fulfilment in the Exodus (Deut. 4:37; 10:15).

(3) Galling, op. cit., p. 37; Robinson, op. cit., p. 153. G.E. Wright, The Old Testament Against Its Environment, p. 54. Ringgren conceives God's act of election in the deliverance from Egypt and the covenant upon Sinai, Israelite Religion, p. 116, cf. Fohrer, HIR, pp. 184f.

(4) Jacob, op. cit., p. 209.

(5) "Sinai covenant is simply one form, and originally by no means the dominant form, of the tradition of the choice of Israel by Yahweh. H.W. Robinson, op. cit., p. 150.

(6) Amos. 3:1-2, the two pre-Exilic southern prophets, Isaiah and Micah, however, are concerned with the covenant of Yahweh with David and his dynasty, the prominent tradition of Jerusalem and its cult.

From the above preliminary understanding of the basic concept of election, we reaffirm the affinity of election to historical saving deeds of Yahweh and the close link between election and obligation. Election which presupposes the mighty acts of Yahweh has its continuation in the covenant. Yahweh will keep His promise to care for His people and Israel too has an obligation towards Him. Bearing these in mind, we shall examine the development of the dual election of David and Jerusalem. The Davidic election has its origin prior to the Deuteronomic circle. The concept, however, was not by all means fixed once and for all. Subsequent historical occasions shaped, strengthened and transformed it to a great extent. The historical psalms, in this respect Ps. 78 in particular, bear witness to the development.

The rejection of Ephraim and Shiloh is to be seen against the background of the election of David and Jerusalem. Besides the Davidic tradition, the Abrahamic covenant play its part in the understanding of Yahweh's dealing with His people in the historical psalms. The Abrahamic covenant is heavily stressed in Pss. 105-106. From the investigation we shall see that the recitation of Heilsgeschichte is inseparable from the election-covenant theology.

2. The Election of David

We begin our investigation with Ps. 78:68-72, the election of the tribe of Judah, the mountain of Zion and the house of David. These verses reflect the oracle of Nathan to David in II Sam. 7 (cf. Pss. 89 and 132). The oracle is regarded as the basis for a royal covenant. Through it David and his house are promised the everlasting covenant which guarantees a great name (שם גדול (v. 9); God's presence (עמך בכל (v. 9); an everlasting Dynasty (v. 12); the building of the Temple for God by his son (v. 13) and the father-son relationship between God and the kings (v. 14). The יוֹן of Yahweh would never depart from his sons (v. 15). (7)

(7) Dennis J. McCarthy adds II Sam 7 to Martin Noth's list of passages with meditation on Israel's history at the turning points of history (Josh. 1:11-15, 12-23, Judg. 2:11-23; I Sam. 12, I Kg. 8:14-61; II Kg. 17:7-23) and attributes to it an important role in the structure of the Deuteronomic history as a whole. "II Samuel 7 and the structure of the Deuteronomic history," JBL, 84, 1965, pp. 131-138.

A correct understanding of II Sam. 7 is necessary for the interpretation of Ps. 78. T.N.D. Mettinger adopts a new approach to the prophecy of Nathan in his recent study, Kingship and Messiah (1976). He is dissatisfied with the previous attempts to solve the problems of the prophecy of Nathan. (8)

He follows the methodology adopted in archaeologocial excavations by first discovering the most recent layer of the passage, the Deuteronomistic redaction of a pre-Dtr. Almost all scholars agree that David's prayer in vv. 18-29 is a Dtr redaction. (9)

At least vv. 22-24 have manifested Dtr phrases and ideology. It is recognized that whereas the subject used in David's prayer and the preceding oracle is the Davidic dynasty, the theme of vv. 22-24 is the great and terrible deeds of Yahweh at the time of the Exodus. He further points out that the 'we-style' (וְאֵנִי וְעַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל) and the subject matter: "Israel", "People" of vv. 22b-24 are a contrast to the subject of the remainder of the passage-David and his dynasty.

The וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע יְהוָה בְּקוֹל דָּוִד in v. 25 is a repetition of the request for God's fulfilment of His promise in vv. 28-29 and verse 27 which opens with the same word וְהָיָה as v. 22b forms the continuation of v. 22a. (10) He then concludes that vv. 22b-26 are a Dtr interpolation to David's prayer (vv. 18-22a, 27-29) which belongs to a pre-Dtr stratum of the prophecy of Nathan. Furthermore, the same interest in the people of Israel is also found in vv. 10-IIa which repeats the theme of enemies (v. 9a). The "rest motif" in IIa is a well-known Dtr concern (Deut. 12:10; 25:19; Josh. 21:44; 23:1; I Kg. 5:18) to which also included v. 1b; "And the Lord had given him rest from all his enemies round about." Therefore, v. 1b and vv. 10-IIa may well be an insertion by the Dtr hand

(8) He gives a survey of previous research of the influential scholars who have tried to come to grips with the problem, pp. 48-51.

(9) Ibid. p. 51, Carlson, and Cross think it is Dtr throughout cf. Carlson, David, The Chosen King, 1964, p. 128, and Cross, CMHE, 1973, p. 247.

(10) Ibid., pp. 51-52. Noth is concerned with the unity of content of the whole chapter: the history of the people Israel is connected with the history of David and the Ark of Jerusalem. "David and Israel in II Samuel VII" LPCS, pp. 250-259. The Ark in the original setting of the oracle in its pre-Solomonic form.

which supplies vv. 22b-26. We have confirmation from Hertzberg that "given rest" in II Sam. 7 would fit better after the enumeration of David's victories over the neighbouring people in II Sam. 8.

There are two different layers in the pre-Dtr material of the prophecy of Nathan. They are held together by the ambiguity of בית :

a). David and the election of the Davidic Dynasty (vv. 8-9, IIb, I6).

בית in this section denotes the dynasty (vv. IIb, I6).

b). Solomon and the building of the Temple (vv. I2-I5). בית refers to the Temple (v. I3).

The idea that David is not to build the Temple in vv. I-7 is in line with vv. I2-I5 that one of his offspring will do so. (II)

Furthermore, the word איש in v. I2 is to be understood in connection with v. I3 primarily in the individual sense referring to Solomon who was to build the Temple. This is supported by I Chron. I7:II which qualifies איש with "who is among your sons." (I2) When איש in v. I2 is considered in connection with v. IIb: "the Lord will make you a house", איש then becomes ambiguous. The context of the dynasty (בית) implies a collective sense for איש . But the theme of an everlasting dynasty in vv. IIb and v. I6 does not concern vv. I2-I5 whose theme is a kingdom to Solomon who will build the Temple.

The different in the personal suffixes is clearly seen; "His kingdom" (vv. I2-I5) and "Your house" and "Your kingdom" (v. I6). (I3)

The discrepancy between vv. I2-I5 and their context (vv. IIb and I6) and the absence of the theme of the building of the Temple (v. I3) in the entire prayer of David (vv. I8-29) prompted Mettinger to the conclusion that the Solomonic oracle which primarily concerned Solomon as an individual (vv. Ia, 2-7, I2-I5, I6-I7), was later subjected to the literary imposition of a new Davidic-dynastic skopos (vv. 8-9, IIb,

(II) Mettinger connects God's question to David in v. 5: "Would you build me a house to dwell in?" with God's promise of the building of the Temple in v. I3. בית in v. 5 is corresponded to בית in v. I3. Both the LXX of v. I3 and II Chron. I7:I2 read בית . ibid. pp. 52-53.

(I2) איש refers to an individual : Gen. 4:25; I Sam. I:II. The expression איש (v. I2) is used to refer to an individual in the two other occurrences (Gen. I5:4; II Sam. I6:II).

(I3) The LXX reads "his house", "his kingdom", etc. in v. I6, referring to Solomon's house and kingdom. ibid., p. 57.

(vv. 3-9, IIb, I6, I8-22a, 27-29) which make the oracle valid for the whole Davidic dynasty (cf. Pss. 89; I32). ^(I4) The purpose of the original promise to Solomon is to legitimize Solomon's divine sonship and his building of the Temple. The Davidic dynastic redaction which was composed immediately after the death of Solomon, intends to establish the Davidic house on the throne of Jerusalem; the dynastic promise applies to every new Davidic king as having especial divine favour and holding great privileges. It is this dynastic redaction which caused the ambiguity of the word $\gamma\gamma\gamma$ in v. I2, which originally referred to Solomon and now includes the whole Davidic house.

This dynastic form of the prophecy of Nathan becomes the building stone of the "History of David's Rise to Power" (HDR. I Sam. I5-II Sam. 7). ^(I5) Mettinger's conclusion enables him to make a new understanding of the development in the royal ideology from an early interest in divine sonship (Pss. 2 and IIO; the Solomonic kernel in II Sam. 7) to an emphasis on the Davidic dynastic promise. ^(I6) This development is prophetic and pre-Deuteronomic. Unfortunately Mettinger is surprisingly weak in his analysis of the Psalms. We shall, therefore, concentrate on the development of the royal theology in the Psalms and on the contribution of the Deuteronomic - wisdom elements to royal theology.

Ps. 78:67-72 without any mention of the sonship of the king but exhibiting a strong Davidic dynastic election, may very well be in favour of the theology of the dynastic promise. The two acts of election, the election of David as shepherd of Yahweh's people and the choice of Zion as the mountain of God where the Temple is built, are considered to be parallel. ^(I7) The construction of the Temple was now complete when this psalm came into existence. The belief in God's choice

(I4) Mettinger regards v. I6 with third person singular suffixes found in the LXX as original in the Solomon promise. The verse is then brought into line with the Davidic dynastic redaction through a changed into second person singular suffixes as in the MT. ibid p. 60. H.G.M. Williamson rightly challenges Mettinger: "How could the LXX preserve a tradition of Solomon's legitimation and even escape the dynastic and the Deuteronomic reduction." Book review VT, 28, 1978, pp. 449-509.

(I5) Ibid., pp. 33-47, 62.

(I6) Ibid. p. 29I, also Ch. I2.

(I7) When referring to this psalm von Rad maintains that these two acts are clearly differentiated. But he assumes that both acts constitute the Davidic-Zion tradition which was fostered in Jerusalem, OTT I, pp. 46-47.

of Zion where His Temple was still enduring like the high heavens, firm as the earth (כמו-רמים מקדש כארץ) was so absolute that it is unlikely that Jerusalem had experienced its tragic fall. Ps. 78 cannot be later than II Kg. 23:27 in which Yahweh is about to remove Judah out of His sight as He did to Israel and to cast off His chosen Jerusalem and the Temple. The psalm is clearly pre-Exilic.

The Solomonic document in II Sam. 7 is mainly concerned with the legitimization of Solomon as the successor to David and his being accepted through divine designation to build the Temple. When we come to Ps. 78, it is not difficult to see that the mention of the Temple is not to legitimize the building of the Temple, but an indication of the inviolability of the Temple (מקדש). The building of the Temple is regarded here as the fulfilment of the promise to David's house and the existence of the Temple guarantees God's choice of Judah and His love for Zion.

The Davidic house and the tribe of Judah are chosen by God in Ps. 78 to shepherd Jacob, the people of God, and Israel, His inheritance (vv. 71-72). The use of the word לרעות in the infinitive construct in the meaning of "to shepherd" the people of Israel is found in Ps. 78:71, the prophecy of Nathan in II Sam. 7:7 and I Chron. 17:6.

The divine oracle put into the mouth of the elders of Israel in II Sam. 5:2 proclaims David to be shepherd of the people Israel and נגיד over Israel: תרעה את-עמי את-ישראל ואתה תהיה לנגיד על-ישראל. However the close parallel to Ps. 78:70-71 is the dynastic promise of II Sam. 7:8.

Ps. 78:70-71 ויבחר בדרך עבדו ויקחהו ממכללת צאן
מאחר עלות הכיאו לרעות ביעקב עמו
ובישראל נחלתו

II Sam. 7:8 אני לקחתיך מן-הנוה מאחר הצאן
להיות נגיד על עמי על ישראל

The election of David and his house to be shepherd over Israel is clearly pictured in II Sam. 5:2 and 7:7-8. It is set against the background of the rejection of Saul and his house (II Sam. 6:21; 7:8, 15). When the Ark was carried to Jerusalem, the daughter of Saul saw David dancing and so despised him (II Sam. 6:16f.). David's answer to her contempt is God's election of himself to be the נגיד in place of Saul and the house of Saul (II Sam. 6:21). II Sam. 5:2 not only reflects I Sam. 16:1-13 where David as shepherd is called from the sheep, but also fore-shadows the prophecy of Nathan (7:7-8). These

passages are framed within the "History of David's Rise to Power" (HDR, I Sam. 15-II Sam. 7). ⁽¹⁸⁾ HDR comprises the rejection of Saul and the election of David with the conclusion in the dynastic promise of assurance that God will establish the Davidic house. David is regarded as the chosen legitimate successor of Saul (I Sam. 25:28-31; II Sam. 3:9-10; 5:1-2; 6:21). The major concern of the author of HDR according to Mettinger, is the justification of "the claims of the Davidic kings in Jerusalem to supremacy not only over Judah but also over Israel." ⁽¹⁹⁾ In HDR Ishida recognizes the two-fold "defence of David." On the one hand David is seen as the founder of a dynasty in Judah by his own initiative. The election is an inevitable consequence (I Sam. 13:14; 15:28; 16:1; 28:17; II Sam. 6:21; 7:15). On the other hand David is to be legitimized as king of Israel, the successor to Saul. The offer of kingship over Israel by the elders of Israel, who came to see David at Hebron, was based on three grounds. ⁽²⁰⁾

- a) The people of Israel were bone and flesh to David (II Sam. 5:1).
- b) David was the leader of the army of Israel under Saul (II Sam. 5:2a).
- c) The divine legitimation: Yahweh designated him over Israel as successor to Saul (II Sam. 5:26).

The consolidation of David's successorship to Saul is his election by Yahweh incorporated in the prophecy of Nathan in which an everlasting dynasty in Israel is promised to him.

(18) There is a lack of agreement among scholars as to the beginning and end of HDR:

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|---------------|---|
| A. Alt: | I Sam. 16:14 - II Sam. 8.
"The Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine,"
<u>Essays on Old Testament History and Religion</u> , 1966
p. 187, n. 35. |
| M. Noth: | I Sam. 16:14 - II Sam. 5:25
<u>The History of Israel</u> , 1960, 179 n. 1 |
| A. Weiser | I Sam. 16 - II Sam. 7
"Die Legitimation des Konigs David's," <u>VT</u> , 16,
1966, pp. 325-354. |
| Tomoo Ishida: | I Sam. 16 - II Sam. 8
<u>The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel</u> , 1977, p. 56. |
| T. Mettinger: | I Sam. 15-II Sam. 7
<u>op. cit.</u> p. 46. |
| J. A. Soggin: | I Sam. 16-II Sam. 5-8
"The Davidic Solomonic Kingdom." <u>IJH</u> , pp. 332ff. |

(19) Op. cit., p. 46 The aims of HDR are theological and apologetic rather than historiographical. cf. J.A. Soggin, IJH, p. 335.

(20) Ishida, op. cit., pp. 74f.

The strange fact is that though the title מְבֹרָךְ is so important for the divine election of Saul and David in HDR, it is not used in this sense in the Psalter, not even in Royal Psalms or Psalms which echo Nathan's oracle. (21) Instead בְּחַרְתִּי ('My elect', Is. 41:8; 43:20; 45:4; 'My elect ones', Is. 43:10; cf. 65:9, 15, 22) and מְבֹרָךְ (Ps. 89:4; 78:70) are frequently used. (22)

Mettinger arrives at the conclusion that מְבֹרָךְ is 'the proclaimed' or 'the one designated' from the observation of I Kg. : I where David is urged to proclaim (לְהַגִּיד v. 20) successor and then Solomon is proclaimed מְבֹרָךְ (v. 35). (23)

Mettinger supposes that the prophetic circles of the Northern Kingdom captured this word in its secular usage from the Jerusalemite court and a theological meaning of divine designation is given to it. (24) The title is first used for Jeroboam (I Kg. 14:7) and then applied to Saul (I Sam. 9:16; 10:1). "To give Saul the same prophetic designation as nagid created a theological continuity between two Northern Kings who were not dynastically connected." (25)

The occurrences of the title in the HDR are in one way or the other related to David's kingship (I Sam. 25:30, II Sam. 5:2; 6:21; 7:8). It is motivated by the need to counteract the claim of the North, to establish a link between Saul and David with a negative idea of the former being rejected. The HDR regards David as chosen by God (I Sam. 16:8-10; II Sam. 6:21). The rejection of Saul is understood in the previous, divine election of him in I Sam. 10:24.

(21) Mettinger, op. cit., p. 155.

(22) מְבֹרָךְ appears six times in the Prophecy of Nathan. מְבֹרָךְ occurs 12 times for 7 kings in the O.T. : Saul (I Sam. 9:16; 10:1), David (I Sam. 25:30; II Sam. 5:2; 6:21; 7:8; cf. I Sam. 13:14), Solomon (I Kg. 1:35), Abijah (II Chron. 11:22); Jeroboam (I Kg. 14:7), Baasha (I Kg. 16:2), and Hezekiah (II Kg. 20:5). All except the last are used in connection with the designation of a future king. Ishida (op. cit., p. 50f. n. 128). Four of these kings received divine designation in advance. Saul's anointing as מְבֹרָךְ (I Sam. 9:1-10:16) and his election as king by lot-casting at Mizpah (I Sam. 10:12-27). David's anointing by Samuel (I Sam. 16:1-13), and his being chosen by God as מְבֹרָךְ (II Sam. 10:7:8 cf. I Sam. 25:30; II Sam. 5:2; 6:21). Jeroboam was given an oracle by Ahijah (I Kg. 11:19-39). Prophetic oracle concerning Baasha (I Kg. 16:2) and anointing of Jehu (II Kg. 9:1-13). Mettinger, op. cit., p. 151f.

(23) Ibid., pp. 171 and 182. מְבֹרָךְ has not been used in the pre-monarchical period prior to Saul. Ishida discards the theory that it was originally the title for the charismatic war-leader. He translates (to be cont'd)

In the HDR the election of David is framed by an account of the rejection of Saul, departure from him of the charismatic gift (I Sam. 16:1, 14) and a prophetic oracle proclaiming the dynastic succession of the Davidic house (II Sam. 7).⁽²⁶⁾ This prophetic utterance of divine election has immense influence upon the idea of kingship and the cultic life of Jerusalem. The Royal Psalms bear witness to its long felt effects, even the fall of the Monarchy does not stop its power from transforming the faith and cult of Israel. Kraus is probably right to suppose the antiquity of the "last words of David" (II Sam. 23:1-7).⁽²⁷⁾ The "everlasting covenant" spoken of in this passage has its basis in the prophetic oracle of Nathan. The sources of Pss. 89 and 132 also go back to the divine promise in II Sam. 7.⁽²⁸⁾ In Ps. 78 we have an additional aspect of the election of David.⁽²⁹⁾ II Sam. 6 and II Sam. 7 from the literary point of view are considered two different complexes, but from the consideration of the cultic actualization the two election in these two chapters are two acts of an election.⁽³⁰⁾

The election of the Davidic house in Ps. 78 is described with the word בחר. Unlike Ps. 89, where the word בחרית (v. 3, 28, 34, 39 [4. 29, 35, 40]) is actually adopted, the prophecy of Nathan and Ps. 78 do not use the terminology to refer to the Davidic promise.⁽³¹⁾

(23) it the "king designation", Ibid., p. 50. R.A. Carlson takes it as a synonym for מלך, "a form of Deuteronomic definition of the national leader". David, the Chosen King, 1964, p. 52ff. T.C.G. Thornton also denies its association with charismatic leadership and his rendering is "hair apparent to the throne". "Charismatic kingship in Israel and Judah," JTS, NS 14, 1963, p. 8.

(24) Mettinger, op. cit., pp. 162-171.

(25) Ibid., p. 168.

(26) Kraus regards the support of the divine election by means of a prophetic message as a secondary development. He takes vv. 11b and 16 to be the oldest elements which may come from the time of David. Worship in Israel, 1966, p. 180.

(27) Ibid., pp. 180-81.

(28) Mowinckel, "Israelite Historiography," ASTI, II, pp. 4-26, suggests that II Sam. 7 is a prose "historicization" of Pss. 89 and 132, p. 10.

(29) Kraus: "the election of Jerusalem could be explained and justified only by the election of David." II Sam. 6:21 narrates the transfer of the Ark of Jerusalem, which reaches the climax in the election of David, op. cit., p. 182.

This strange absence of the term is also found in Dtr. The only instance of ברית (I Kg. 8:23) is most probably connected with the Mosaic covenant in I Kg. 8:21.

Mettinger concludes from this evidence that the use of ברית to designate the Davidic covenant is from the Exilic and post-Exilic period (II Sam. 23:5; II Chron. 13:5; 21:7; Ps. 89:3, 28:34; 39:4, 29, 35, 40 and Jer. 33:21). He suggests that the term is only applied to the unconditional formulation of Davidic promise in the Exile. (32) The lyrical forms of the prophecy of Nathan (Pss. 89; 132; II Sam. 23:1-7) are most probably taken to be in agreement with the dynastic version. But Mettinger's assertion that the psalms (89 and 132) are from the Exilic period is totally unwarranted. The celebration of the Davidic covenant naturally took a significant role in the cultus of Jerusalem. It is, however, difficult to conceive that such a celebration, which is alluded to in Pss. 89 and 132, originated from the Exile when the Temple was destroyed and the Davidic dynasty collapsed. Furthermore, we have to be careful to draw any conclusion from the evidence of whether the word ברית occurs or not. The great concentration on the use of ברית in the Deuteronommic circle and writings showing Deuteronommic influences has induced a great number of scholars to assign the whole concept to the invention of the Deuteronommic school. However, despite their effort the contradiction still exists; the antiquity of the word and concept in ancient texts cannot be easily reconciled with the seventh century Deuteronommic "creation". Still more there is an increasing number of scholars who defend the pre-Deuteronommic covenant theology. (33) On the aspect of whether any conditions are involved in the dynastic promise

(30) Kraus supports his idea by the unity of the two acts in Ps. 132 and II Kg. 8, ibid. pp. 183ff. See also, John H. Hayes, "The Tradition of Zion's Inviolability," JBL, 82, 1963, p. 420.

(31) Ishida: "It has been recognized that Nathan's prophecy is a 'covenant' despite the lack of the word berit in it." cf. G. Widengren, "King and covenant," JSS, 2, 1957, p. 22. J. Muilenburgh "The Form and Structure of the Covenantal Formulations," VT, 9, 1959, p. 356.

(32) Ibid., pp. 275-283. "It should be noted that berit is only used when the promise is unconditional.... This stress on the eternal validity of the covenant found in different exilic texts is probably to be understood from the exilic situation." pp. 282-283.

(33) D.J. McCarthy asks, "Was there nothing in history which prepared the word and the idea of berit for its role in the Deuteronommic writings?" in "berit in OT History and Theology," Biblica, 3, 1972 pp. 110-21.
(to be cont'd)

we have at least two forms: unconditional (II Sam. 7:14-15; Ps. 89:31-34 [32-35]) and conditional (ps. 132:12).

II Sam. 7:14 I will be his father, and he shall be my son.
When he commits iniquity, I will chasten him
with the rod of men, with the stripes of the sons
of men.

II Sam. 7:15 But I will not take my steadfast love from Him,
as I took it from Saul, whom I put away from before
you.

Ps. 132:12 If your sons keep my covenant and my testimonies
which I shall teach them, their sons also for
ever shall sit upon your throne.

Mettinger assigns II Sam. 7:14-15 as the original unconditional formulation which becomes conditional through the Deuteronomist's redactional work. Even Ps. 132 reveals Deuteronomistic influence. (34) The original formulation is later reverted to as the normative form (Ps. 89; II Sam. 23; Jer. 33) in the Exilic period. It is true that the Exilic and post-Exilic situations gave rise to the stress of the eternal validity of covenant (*ברית עולם*) in the Priestly code and in the Prophets. (35) But this does not in any case support Mettinger's position that Ps. 89 is a return to the unconditional formulation of II Sam. 7:14-15 in the Exile. It is rather natural that the pre-Exilic cultic formulation of Ps. 89 provides the basis for the Exilic reverberation.

(33) Soggin questions Perlitt's work which denies the antiquity of the concept of covenant and which assigns the concept to a theological creation of Deuteronomy. He charges Perlitt of post-dating some passages which are surely to be considered pre-Deuteronomistic: e.g. Gen. 15:18; Josh. 24-25; II Sam. 23:9; Hos. 6:7; 8:1; Pss. 44:18; 89:7; 35, 40; 132:12. Introduction to the Old Testament, 1995, pp. 130f. Zimmerli also remarks that "to shift all theological creativity regarding the assertion of a *berit* into the single century in which *berit* demonstrably played a large part represents an unmistakable shortening of the perspective." Tradition and Interpretation, 1979, p. 380. Eichrodt, who attributes so much weight to the covenant theology in the understanding of the Old Testament as a whole, has to struggle with the issue in "Prophet and Covenant," Proclamation and Presence, pp. 1ff. and "Darf man heute noch von einem Gottesbund mit Israel reden?" TZ 30, 1974, pp. 193-206.

(34) Mettinger, op. cit., p. 276.

(35) The phrase is applied by P in connection with Sabbath (Exod. 31:16; Lev. 24:8), with Aaron (Num. 18:19), with Phinehas (Num. 25:13), with Noah (Gen. 9:16) and with Abraham (Gen. 17:7, 13, 19; cf. Ps. 105:8-10). The covenant with David is renewed to the people after the dethronement of the last Davidic king (Isa. 55:3; 61:60; Jer. 32:40; 50:5).

In Ps. 132 the idea of David's original intention to build for Yahweh the Temple is accepted favourably. There is no mention of Solomon as the one who supervised the building itself. The oath of David to establish his son on his throne. The sign of Yahweh's promise is confirmed by His choice of Zion. The psalm probably is used by a reigning king of David's line. The verse: "For Thy servant David's sake, do not turn away the face of thy anointed one." (v. 10) clearly illustrates the reference to the reigning Davidic king. Besides the presence of a Davidic king there is the existence of the Temple of Zion.

Therefore, Ps. 132 is most likely a Royal Psalm for festal-processional use to commemorate David's bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem. (36) At the time of Solomon, when the Temple was dedicated the festive procession requires a psalm like Ps. 132. Not only that the act of transference is commemorated, but Yahweh's promise of a Davidic dynasty (vv. 11-12) and the choice of Zion (vv. 13-16) are celebrated. II Chron. 6 understands the cultic occasion of this psalm at the dedication of the Temple. (37) II Chron. 6:41-42 are quoted from Ps. 132:8-10a. Though the quotation is absent in II Kg. 8 which does not show interest in cultic usage of the Psalms, a definite date for the Psalm's original composition is very possibly to be fixed at the time of Solomon. The psalm can be used repeatedly from the time of Solomon onward. The existence of the Temple (e.g. vv. 5, 7, *למנוח*) and that of the monarchy is essential to the meaning of the psalm which contains the celebration of the translation of the Ark, Davidic promise and choice of Zion.

Basing his argument upon the Dtr affinities in Ps. 132 and the concept of the conditional character of the Davidic promise, Mettinger assumes a late date for Ps. 132. (38) It is, however, never convincing to think that poetic texts that contain allusions to the dynastic promise (Pss. 89, 132) are necessarily later than II Sam. 7. Still it is a mistake to argue that since the unconditional promise of II Sam. 7 is supposed to be original, therefore, the conditional formulation of

(36) A. Bentzen, "The Cultic Use of the Story of the Ark in Samuel," JBL, NS. 15, 1964, pp. 161-73.

(37) Cross, CiHE, defends a date in the early monarchical period, pp. 232f.

(38) Ibid., pp. 256, 275ff. He asserts that the stipulation for the dynastic promise of v. 12 is later than II Sam. 7:14b-15.

Pss. 132:12 is a secondary development related to Dtr. Following his own logic, Mettinger is to account for the strange expression of the unconditional nature of the promise in Pss. 89:33-34 "one can hardly escape the conclusion that Ps. 89 offers a deliberate alternative to the conditional formulations known from Dtr. H. and Dtr. N." (39) Mettinger, therefore, has to consider Ps. 89: 33-34 as a reverberation of II Sam. 7:14-15 in the Exilic period. The outcome of Mettinger's research is that II Sam. 7 is the original Davidic promise and is the only text which is dated to the time of Monarchy. The poetic and cultic texts of Pss. 89, 132 and II Sam. 23:1-7 are all from a much later period, the time of Exile. This gives an impression that when the Temple and kingship were in existence, there was no cultic celebration or at least no such texts which survived in the OT; but when the Temple and kingship ceased to exist, cultic-poetic formulations were composed, based on II Sam. 7. This is inconceivable. We should at least consider the oracular psalms of Ps. 89 and Ps. 132 to be delivered by a prophetic personality in the Jerusalem Temple, where the canonical prophets (e.g. Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah) received their insights and cultically formulated expressions of the Davidic promise.

As to the Dtr affinities attested in the two psalms, we should not jump to the conclusion without any reservation that since Dtr influences are found, therefore, the psalms are from a time later than the seventh century. Can the psalms be regarded as the forerunner or the cultic expression of the Dtr circle? Certainly Mettinger's argument is not sound at all when he considers that as Ps. 89 exhibits traces of the final Dtr redaction of the policy of Nathan (II Sam. 7:10), therefore, "the inescapable conclusion is that the psalm cannot be dated to before the late pre-Exilic period." (40)

Should we give the psalms their proper due in the development of the royal theology in II Sam. 7., from the Solomonic promise of sonship and Temple to the dynastic redaction of a Davidic house to the Dtr formulation of the Davidic covenant? We cannot in any way accept Mettinger's preconceived idea that II Sam. 7 is the yardstick for the study of the psalms that the psalms are post II Sam. 7 development.

(39) Ibid., p. 278.

(40) Ibid., p. 256.

Ps. 132 as we have seen could possibly be composed for the occasion of the translation of the Ark to the Jerusalem Temple at the time of Solomon and from then on was used by the Davidic kings in Jerusalem. The role of Ps. 132 is therefore seen in the connection of the Ark narrative of II Sam. 6 and the Dynastic promise in II Sam. 7.

Ps. 89 reveals the concept of the kingship of Yahweh (v. 18 (19)) and His אמונה/חסד (each seven times, vv. 1, 2, 5, 8, 14, 24, 28, 33, 49 [2, 3, 6, 9, 15, 25, 29, 34, 50]) concerning His ברית/שבועה (together seven times, vv. 3, 28, 34, 35, 39, 50 [4, 21, 40, 51]). The promise to David is guaranteed by the אמונה and חסד of Yahweh (vv. 1-4 [2-5]) to the divine oracle (vv. 19-37 [20-38]). Yahweh as the king is the father of the Davidic king (vv. 26-27 [27-28]).

The unity of the psalm, often disputed, is established by the theme of the Davidic dynastic promise outlined in vv. 1-4 [2-5] which runs through the psalm. Nahum Sarna succeeds in presenting a strong case for the unity of the psalm by identifying the psalmist's techniques and literary device in welding together the three parts: a hymn, an oracle and a lament, into a cohesive whole. (41) The hymn (vv. 5-18 [6-19]) praises kingship and the creativity of Yahweh in the world. The kingship is linked with the promise of sonship to the reigning king: "I will make him the first born, the most high of the kings of the earth" (v. 27 [28]). The creativity of Yahweh ensures order of the world and peace for the king: "I will crush his foes before him and strike down those who hate him" (v. 23 [24]). Thus in the

(41) Nahum M. Sarna, "Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," Biblica and Other Studies, 1963, pp. 29-46. He sets in two tables the use of key words/phrases in the hymn and the oracle and the lament. The transition from one part to another is smooth and harmonious. A.R. Johnson, CPIP, pp. 73-81. cf. Sacral Kingship and G.W. Anderson in his review article, (JTS, 20, 1969, pp. 261-263) on Lipinski's book. Le poëme royal du Psaume LXXXIX 1-5, 20-38 supports the position of the unity of the Psalm.

psalm we recognize that the creativity of God actually is cast in terms of both victory over the cosmic chaos and over enemies in history (vv. 10, 13-14, 22, 23, [11, 14, 15, 23, 24]).

The mention of enemies and Yahweh's strong arm together with the Hebrew words קדש, שש, טהר (v. 14 [15]) are indication of historical intentions. The victory of Yahweh assures His power to uphold the covenant to David. ⁽⁴²⁾ The crushing of the enemies in the past forms the basis of the plead for deliverance from the present suffering from the enemies (v. 38-52 [39-53]) and the promise that "the enemy shall not outwit him" (v. 22 [23]). The last section of the psalm also echoes the divine oracle in vv. 18-37 [19-38] which is a significant link between the hymn and the lament. The oracle functions to reassure the promise of both sonship and dynasty whose very existence is threatened by enemies. This element of threat from enemies connects the past saving deeds of Yahweh, the present oppression of enemies and the assured words of Yahweh's covenant to David.

The concept of rest from enemies in the Dtr redaction of II Sam. 7 (vv. 1b, 10-IIa, 22b-26) as identified by Mettinger is especially meaningful when seen against the threat of enemies in Ps. 89. Besides the same use of the phrase "who is like thee?" or "there is no one like thee" (Ps. 89: 8 [9]; II Sam. 7:22b), there are affinities in the divine designation: יהוה צבאות אלהים (II Sam. 7:26), יהוה אלהי צבאות (Ps. 89:8 (9)). Also the appeal to the name of Yahweh in the Psalm (Ps. 89:12, 16, 24 [13, 17, 25]) is attested in the Dtr interpolation to the prayer of David in II Sam. 7 (vv. 23, 26). It is both in the psalm and in the Dtr form of the prophecy of Nathan that the Temple is not even assigned a single mention. In the psalm the threat of enemies and the assurance of the Davidic covenant are the two determinative element.

The theme of enemies concerns mostly "David" and his present humiliation while in II Sam. 7 the enemies are regarded as national ones. Nahum Sarna observes that "The lament in the psalm refers to some danger to the ruling dynasty, but passes over in silence Jerusalem, the Temple, and the people at large". ⁽⁴³⁾ Furthermore, the repeated stress upon יהוה and יהוה אלהים is contrasted with the psalmist's recognition of the sin of the ruling royal descendant of David and there is no complaint on the

(42) Johnson, CPIP, p. 75.

(43) Nahum Sarna, op. cit., p. 43.

injustice of the present humiliation. Nahum Sarna concludes from these features that the psalmist adapts exegetically the divine oracle of II Sam. 7 to fit a specific historic situation: "the Aramean-Israelite invasion of Judea in 735-34 B.C.E. when an attempt was made to depose Ahaz and to replace him by a non-Davidic king." Nahum Sarna's solution has, among other things, the merit of dating the psalm to the pre-Deuteronomic movement and giving the psalm its due share in the development of royal theology. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ The Dtr redactor of II Sam. 7 goes a step further to relate the promise to the people's history of salvation. Yahweh does "great and terrible things" - to redeem the people from Egypt and to drive out the nations before the people (v. 23). ⁽⁴⁵⁾ The redemption of the people and the upholding of Yahweh's promise to the Davidic house become inseparable; Yahweh establishes the people Israel as His people for ever (v. 24 וְתִכֹּן לְךָ אֶת עַמּוֹךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְךָ לְעַמְּךָ עַד עוֹלָם) and holds fast His promise to David for ever (v. 26, לְעַלְּמָּד יִהְיֶה דָּוִד יְהוֹה וְנִכּוֹן לְפָנֶיךָ).

This connection of the divine promise to David is also connected with the past saving deeds of Yahweh in Ps. 78. The Dtr redaction of II Sam. 7. The element of victory over enemies is present in Ps. 78:65-66. The love of Zion, the building of the Temple, the choice of David. are elements found in Ps. 78. These elements are presupposed by Pss. 89 and 132. The application of the above elements to the people Israel (Ps. 78:71-72) is only seen in II Sam. 7:10-IIa, 22b-26. The picture is now relatively clear that Ps. 132 provides the early stage of the Ark tradition and the Davidic promise in II Sam. 7 while Pss. 89 and Ps. 78 are closer to the Dtr redactor and probably assert great influences upon the Dtr redaction of II Sam. 7. Both Pss. 89 and 132 are cultic ritual while Ps. 78 is didactic.

With the above discussion in mind we may come to a better understanding of the traditio-historical formulation of Ps. 78 : 61-72. In contrast to the passages with conditions of the promise, Ps. 78 presupposes the prophecy of Nathan in the Davidic dynastic redaction. The Solomonic promise of sonship and the building of the Temple (II Sam. 7:1a, 2-7, 12-15, 16-17) are no longer the concern of the psalmist. It is very likely that

(44) Johnson, CPIP, p. 80, is in favour of a ritual, dramatic interpretation.

(45) Yahweh is also described as to be greatly dreaded and feared (אָרַךְ) in Ps. 89: 7 אַרְכָּהּ.

the HDR forms the basic theology of Ps. 78:69-72. Both texts share the common concern - the election of David. If the choice of Zion by Yahweh and the building of the Temple in II Sam. 6-7 are in the earliest stage of the development of the tradition of Zion, Ps. 78 represents a decisive point in the later theological formulation.

Pss. 78, 89 and 132 are production of the pre-Exilic Jerusalem Temple.

Considering both the affinities between the two royal psalms with oracles (Pss. 89 and 132) and Ps. 78, as well as the differences in the mood and intention between them, we may regard Pss. 89 and 132 as dramatic rituals while Ps. 78 a didactic admonition. Most probably as Johnson suggests, all three psalms exhibit prophetic functions of representating the past for didactic purpose. (46)

The question we should put forward to the election/rejection idea of Ps. 78 are: "who" was being rejected? What was the connection between Shiloh and the "group" which was rejected? What was the link between Shiloh and Jerusalem in Traditio-historical development? Who was the Davidic king at the time of the composition of Ps. 78? What was the occasion for the psalm? We shall try to tackle these questions in the following section.

3. The Rejection of Ephraim

Ps. 78, as a recital of the historical based relationship of Yahweh and Israel (vv. 9-72), ~~contains two rejections: Israel rejects Yahweh (vv. 9-72),~~ contains two rejections: Israel rejects Yahweh (vv. 9-58) and Yahweh rejects Israel (vv. 59-64). The last section is

(46) Johnson, Cultic Prophet, 1979, p. 83. On the role of the cultic prophet in intercession and cultic oracle, p. 166.

a recital of the election of David, Zion and Judah (vv. 65-72). ⁽⁴⁷⁾ The culmination of the sin of Ephraim is idolatry (v. 58): "For they provoked him to anger with their high places (כַּמֹּתָם), they moved him to jealousy with their graven images (פְּסִילֵיהֶם)." In Jtr, Jeroboam, an Ephraimite (I Kg. I:26), is accused of leading the people of the North to great sins. He is the first king of the North, who disrupted the United Davidic Monarchy. He provoked the anger of Yahweh with high places and idols (I Kg. I3:33-34; II Kg. I7:7-18). The word for graven images (פְּסִילֵי), used 23 times in the Old Testament, usually appears in passages where 'election' is the central theme: choice of Israel; Deut. 7:5; 25; choice of the place; Deut. 18:3; election of Ephraim at Egypt; Hos. II:12. ⁽⁴⁸⁾ These passages convey the idea of the requirement of Yahweh's election; to separate from the people of Canaan, to renounce all their idols and to make no covenant with the peoples (Deut. 7:1-5, 25). The reason given is: "For you are a people holy to the Lord your God; the Lord your God has chosen you to be a people for his own possession, out of the peoples that are on the face of the earth." (Deut. 7:6). The commandment to destroy their idols is connected with Yahweh's command to worship at the place which the Lord chooses out of all the tribes to put His name and make His habitation there. (Deut. 12:3-6; of II Sam. 7:5, 13). Under this criterion, Jeroboam's making of two calves at Dan and Bethel for the Israelites is regarded as the greatest sin of the Northern Kingdom (I Kg. I3:33; I4:16; etc.). ⁽⁴⁹⁾

According to the oracle of the prophet, the Shilonite, (I Kg. II:29ff.) Jeroboam is taken (וַאֲתֶךָ אֶקַח) by God to be king over Israel (מֶלֶךְ עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל) (v. 37). God promises to build him a sure house as He did for David (v. 38). However, God still keeps His promises to the Davidic house for the sake of the obedience of His servant David (v. 34) and because of His chosen place Jerusalem (v. 36). There would still be a house for

(47) Antony F. Campbell, The Ark Narrative, 1975, pp. 213f.

(48) II Chron. 34:3, 4, 7 describe Josiah's seeking the God of David, his father, and breaking down high places and destroying graven images in his reformation of the cult.

(49) "The ultimate and crowning wickedness of the Northern Kingdom, according to the Deuteronomic compiler, was the break-away from the Southern Kingdom, involving worship elsewhere than in Jerusalem." N.H. Snaitch, "I and II Kings," IB, III, p. 281.

David, but it was only limited to the tribe of Judah while the house of Jeroboam was promised the tribes of Israel. Both houses have the divine designation and both promises become conditional.

II Sam. 7:8 אני לקחתיוך... להיות נגיד על-עמי... ישראל

I Kg. II:37-38 ואתך אקח... והיית מלך על ישראל

I Kg. I4:7 ואתוך נגיד על-עמי ישראל

Yahweh took away from the house of David ten tribes because Solomon forsook Him and worshipped Ashtoreth and the gods and did not walk in His way nor did he keep His *קח* and *משפט* (I Kg. II:33). Yahweh punished him; but for the sake of David and His promise He did not utterly wipe off the Davidic dynasty (vv. 34-36, 39). The keeping of *קח* and *מצות* and walking in His way are conditions of the promise to Jeroboam.

The promise to Jeroboam was fulfilled when he became king of Israel. This is thought to be worked out according to the word of God through the prophet Ahijah (I Kg. I2:I5). The first task of Jeroboam was the setting up of two calves, which not only led the people of Israel into the sin of idolatry (I Kg. I2:28-29), but was also a breach of the Deuteronomistic principle of centralization at Jerusalem, the place which Yahweh has chosen. This is why a prediction of doom is immediately announced, which also forecast the reform by Josiah (I Kg. I3:Iff.), and his sin is punished by being replaced by another king (I Kg. I4:7-9, I4).

Ps. 78 attempts to debase the election of Israel, Ephraim-Joseph and Shiloh in favour of that of Judah, David and Zion. The psalm is post-Ahijah. Ephraim-Joseph most probably represents the house of Jeroboam in the Northern Kingdom, since the first king of the North was from the tribe of Ephraim and he was appointed to be head over all the forced labour of the house of Joseph before becoming king of Israel. (50)

It is also suspected that the Shilonite priesthood played the leading role in bringing political changes from Solomon to Jeroboam. (51) It may

(50) "Ephraim" is used 22 times in Isaiah of Jerusalem to refer to Israel. Usually in apposition to Judah: Ephraim departed from Judah (7:I7); Manasseh-Ephraim are against Judah (9:2I); pride and arrogance of Ephraim 9:8-I2; cf. 28:I, 3. Only in the passage where the prophecy of salvation is proclaimed are Judah and Ephraim seen to be in harmony (II:I3). The name 'Ephraim' is frequently used to refer to Israel in the Book of Hosea.

(51) M.A. Cohen, "The Role of the Shilonite Priesthood in the United Monarchy of Ancient Israel," HUCA, 36, 1965, pp. 58-59.

be significant that the oracle to Jeroboam concerning the divine election is delivered by the Prophet Ahijah, a Shilonite. (52)

Shiloh, in the area of Ephraim, housed the Ark in the time of Samuel (I Sam. 4-6). The Philistines captured the Ark in the battle with Israel when the Israelites took the Ark to the war as a military symbol. It did not return to Shiloh after its being captured by the enemies (I Sam. 6:12-15). Saul was not interested in the Ark. I Chron. 13:3 records the people's confession at the time of David, "let us bring again the Ark of our God to us; for we neglected it in the days of Saul." Saul founded his capital at Gibeah and "never attempted to renew the tradition of the Shiloh-Samuel tribal confederation."

(53) Saul's regime was based mostly on the tribe of Benjamin from which he came. The transfer of the Ark by David, therefore, indicates his effort to renew the Shilonite tradition. The act itself represented Yahweh's migration from Shiloh to Jerusalem and hence His election of Jerusalem. Ps. 78 admits that Shiloh was once the dwelling place of God (אלהל שכן באדם, v. 61).

The psalm replaces Shiloh with Jerusalem, the example of the abandonment of Shiloh as the house of the Ark. The translation of the Ark signified the succession of the house of David to the ancient tradition of Shiloh. It also acted as "a token of the unification of Israel and Judah under the House of David." (54) At a time when the Northern Kingdom has fallen to the Assyrians, Jerusalem and the house of David stands as symbols of hope. Later the link between Shiloh and Jerusalem was also drawn to set an example of threat to Jerusalem and Judah; the Temple itself could not give any guarantee of the security of Jerusalem (Jer. 7:12-14; 26:1-9).

The conflict between Jeremiah's view and the views of his contemporaries can only become intelligible when we discern Ps. 78 as providing the background for the clash. Ps. 78 signifies an attempt

(52) Solomon expelled the priest Abiathar who was a descendant of the priestly family of Shiloh.

(53) Ishida, op. cit., p. 141. On the tradition of the Ark and Shiloh, see G. Fohrer, HJR, pp. 91-92, 106-111, 125-126. A.F. Campbell suggests a close link between Ps. 78 and the Ark Narrative in his book The Ark Narrative. Recently he maintains that Ps. 78, presenting the legitimation of the Davidic dynasty and the election of Zion and theology, "passes over the period of Samuel and Saul, just as the Ark Narrative does." in "Yahweh and The Ark: A Case study in Narrative," JBL, 98, 1979, p. 42.

(54) Ishida, op. cit., p. 146. M. Harran, Temples and Temple Services, p. 27.

to bring together the Mosaic traditions of the North preserved in Hosea and the Davidic tradition of Jerusalem, giving priority to the latter. The affirmation of the inviolability of the Temple of Jerusalem may spring from the experience of the deliverance of the city from the Assyrian siege (II Kg. 18:17; 19-37). (55)

The inviolability of Jerusalem is proclaimed in the speech of Yahweh to Hezekiah: "I will defend this city, to save it, for my own sake, and for my servant David's sake" (II Kg. 19:34; 20:6). After the composition of Ps. 78 and the repeated use of the Psalm in the Temple an exaggerated emphasis upon the inviolability of Jerusalem and the unconditional promise of Davidic covenant emerged at the time of Jeremiah who then had to risk his life in attacking directly the root of the popular belief. (56)

Jeremiah drew the same analogy from Ps. 78, but using Shiloh as an example of the judgment of Yahweh, Jerusalem could not escape the fate of Shiloh. R. de Vaux concludes from the analysis of the two parallel accounts of the attack of Sennacherib (II Kg. 18:17-19:9a & 19:9b-36) and the words of Isaiah that the affirmation of the inviolability of Jerusalem ~~only~~ comes from the hand of the disciples of Isaiah. Isaiah himself, a century before Jeremiah, demands faith as the condition for protection (Isa. 7:9b; cf. 30-35; 31:1) and conceives the assault of the enemies against Jerusalem as the action of God (Isa. 28:21; cf. 10:5, 29:3). (57)

The book of Isaiah witnesses the terrifying scene of the siege (29:8) and the joyfulness of the people as a result of the miraculous escape of Jerusalem (22:1-2). Such an experience would no doubt insert its impact upon the development of the religion of Israel. It certainly strengthens the legitimacy and authority of Jerusalem and the house of David. The beliefs in the election of David and Jerusalem shaped the Northern traditions which had been poured into the city. (58) Furthermore, a lesson could be drawn from the experience of 701 B.C., a lesson in theological terms: sin leads to punishment, and repentance brings about deliverance. This teaching is prominent in the Deuteronomistic presentation of history.

(55) Nicholson, Jeremiah, (CBC), p. 77; R. de Vaux, "Jerusalem and the Prophets," Interpreting the Prophetic Tradition, Harry M. Orlinsky (ed.) pp. 277-300 also AI, pp. 327-28, J. Bright HI, 1972, p. 297, Fohrer, HIR, p. 135.

(56) John Bright's Currie Lectures, Covenant and Promise, considers this very question of the clash between Jeremiah and his contemporaries who, Bright presumes, were just as sincere as Jeremiah and just as committed to the traditions of the people, pp. 16-17.

(57) R. de Vaux, "Jerusalem and the Prophets," Interpreting the Prophetic Tradition, pp. 288-293.

Ps. 78 is closely linked with the cultic traditions of Jerusalem. To appreciate this link we may cite a few examples in parallel with Isaiah, the prophet of Jerusalem. The designation of Yahweh as עליון (v. 17), אל עליון (v. 35) and אלהים עליון (v. 56) in Ps. 78 is unmistakably embedded in Jerusalemite tradition. Pss. 89, 132 and other Zion Psalms bear witness to it. The other three designations of Yahweh in Ps. 78 have special significance and emphasis in Isaiah. The "Mighty Ones" (אבירים, 78:25) appears in Isa. 1:24: the "Mighty One of Israel" (cf. Ps. 132:5; "the Mighty One of Jacob"). Ps. 78 refers to the God of the people as אלהים צומים (v. 35) while Isaiah also understands Yahweh in the same way (30:27). Finally the "Holy one of Israel" in Ps. 78, 41 has ten occurrences in Isaiah (1:4, 5:19, 24; 10:17; 29:19; 30:11f., 15; 31:1; 37:23).

At present we need to address ourselves to the question of the historical relationship between Jerusalem and Shiloh. Ps. 78 portrays the migration of Yahweh from Shiloh to Zion, while Ps. 68 describes Yahweh coming to Zion directly from Sinai. II Sam. 7 openly denies the existence of any Temple prior to that of Solomon's. But from the biblical evidence we are told that both Shiloh and Jerusalem are called שילה (Shiloh: Judg. 18:31; I Sam. 1:7; 3:15; Jer. 7:14; Jerusalem: I Kg. 6:11f.; Isa. 2:2) or הכל (Shiloh: I Sam. 1:9; 3:3; Jerusalem: II Kg. 18:16; Jer. 7:4). It is not possible to deny the fact that both Jerusalem and Shiloh are connected with the Ark. (59) What II Sam. 7 wants to communicate is that

(58) Sanders, Torah and Canon, p. 30, "the southern traditions were enhanced by the 'historical proof' of Jerusalem's seemingly miraculous salvation. Put in another way, Israel was assimilated to Judah but Judah accommodated to Israel." Th. C. Vriezen also refers us to the role of Jerusalem as the tangible link that binds the people to the distant past of David and Moses, The Religion of Ancient Israel, p. 244.

(59) T. Ishida, op. cit., p. 96.

(60) It should be noted that the extravagant splendour of Shiloh Temple is hardly historical. See Haran, "Shiloh and Jerusalem", JBL, 81, 1962, pp. 14-24. de Vaux also regards the reference to the Temple of Shiloh in Joshua (18:1; 19:51; 22:19, 29) as late, EHI, II, p. 708. Nielsen too believes that these texts were originated from later traditions, Shiloh, 1969, p. 57. cf. H.A. Cohen, "The Roll of the Shilohite Priesthood," HUCA, 36, 1965, pp. 59-98, argues for Shiloh's historical significance. H. Noth supposes that Shiloh was the central sanctuary of the sacral confederacy of the twelve tribes. Jerusalem was linked with the common cult of the tribes through the transportation of the Ark of Yahweh, "The laws in the Pentateuch," LPOS, pp. 29-30.

Yahweh has not dwelt in a Temple (בית), but that, up to the time to which II Sam. 7:6 refers, He has inhabited in a movable tent or tabernacle (אהל חשן). This point is to compare with Ps. 78:60 which relates the rejection of Shiloh as אהל and חשן. (60)

Martin Noth as shown that before David's political move to set up the royal capital in the geographically neutral Jerusalem and before his cultic-religious step taken to turn Jerusalem into a central sanctuary by transferring the Ark, "Jerusalem signified absolutely nothing for the tribes of Israel, their faith, or their life." (61) Of the two fold strategy of David, the cultic-religious aspect became more and more significant in the history of Jerusalem. Its growing impact and continuing recognition did not terminate after its fall (e.g. Jer. 31:6). The eschatological orientation of Jerusalem-Zion transcends its historical reality. Even at the initial development the vital religious position of Jerusalem did not depend on the presence of the Ark. Noth remarks that "it is very significant that the Ark is not even mentioned in the records of the experiences of 587 B.C., and no word of complaint about its loss is to be found anywhere, not even in the Book of Lamentations," (62) Therefore, the increasing religious importance of Jerusalem did not rely on the Ark but on Yahweh's election of Zion and the Davidic house. (63)

The close historical link of Shiloh and Jerusalem is further seen in the "Shiloh Oracle". The enigmatic words עַד כִּי יָבֹא שִׁילֹה in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:10) are interpreted as "till he comes to Shiloh" by Nielsen, who even paraphrases it: "as soon as the Judaeen ruler arrives at Shiloh his kingship shall be firmly established. It shall even surpass the narrow tribal borders." (64) This line of interpretation

(61) Noth, "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition," LPOS, pp. 132-144, esp. p. 133.

(62) Ibid., p. 143.

(63) See Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: The Growth of a Symbol," Living the Mystery, pp. 93-III.

(64) Nielsen, Shechem, 1955, p. 321. M. Treves speculates that the phrase was added after Solomon's death as a sarcastic remark pointing to Ahijah of Shiloh: "As a man of Shiloh come" in "Shiloh (Genesis 49:10)", JEL, 85, 1966, pp. 353-356. LXX has εἰς "Until he comes into his own" or "Until that which belongs to him comes", while most medieval Jewish authorities read יָבֹא "tribute to him" (cf. Isa. 18:7). See E.A. Speiser Genesis, (13), 1964, p. 366. von Rad, Genesis, (CTL), 1972, p. 425.

has already suggested and argued convincingly by Joh Linblom. (65) First of all Linblom determines that Gen. 49 is a tribal poem with prophetic utterances. He compares the oracles about Joseph (vv. 22-26) and those about Judah (vv. 3-12). The tribes of Joseph are described in the perfect tense as brave and skilful in warfare. They battled with the archers which Linblom regards as referring to the Philistines against whom the Israelite fought in the time of Saul. (66) The oracle about Judah begins with Gen. 49:8 which proclaims the superiority of Judah over the other tribes. The ascription of royal power and kingship to Judah and the lack of information on the kingship in the Northern tribes direct Lindblom's attention to the epoch of David. Lindblom puts forward his thesis that "the poem was composed during the seven years and six months that David was king in Judah and resided in Hebron." (67) As Shiloh represents a cultic place of central significance and the most distinguished place in the territory of Ephraim, "till he (Judah) comes to Shiloh" foresees the extension of the kingship of David to all Israel. The enigmatic words $\text{עד-כִּי} \text{שִׁלַח}$ (68) express not the end but the climax of the royal power of Judah. In this prophetic oracle no accusation of Joseph is attested. Joseph is lauded for his military strength because of the help from the Mighty one of Jacob (אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב), the shepherd (רֹעֵה) and the Rock of

(65) Lindblom, "The Political Background of the Shiloh Oracle," SVT 3, Congress Volume, 1953, pp. 78-06.

(66) Ibid. pp. 81f.

(67) Ibid., p. 84, c.f. Buhl & Nielsen, Shiloh, The Danish Excavations at Tall Sallun, 1969, p. 57.

(68) Lindblom cites examples of similar use of עד עשה, עד כִּי : Gen. 26:13; 41:49; Num. 11:20; Judg. 4:24; II Sam. 23:10; I Kg. 17:17; II Kg. 17:20; Ezek. 34:21, ibid. p. 83. M. Treves, op. cit. interprets עד כִּי as expressing the end. E.M. Good, "The 'Blessing' on Judah, Gen. 49:8-12," JBL, 82, 1963, pp. 427-432, proposes that only Joseph was unambiguously lauded while an element of irony is attached to the 'blessing' on Judah. He regards Gen. 49 as a piece of Ephraimite nationalism. For a different interpretation see H. Cazelles, "Shiloh, The Customary Laws and the Return of the Ancient Kings," Proclamation and Presence, eds. Durham and Porter, 1970, pp. 239-51.

לְיִשְׂרָאֵל (אֵל אֲבִיךָ) (Gen. 49:24). The stress upon the religious connection of Joseph with the past is manifested in the blessing from "the God of your father" (אֵל אֲבִיךָ) and "God Almighty" (אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם) (v. 25). Furthermore, אֲחִיךָ in v. 26 denotes the cultic aspect of Joseph as one who is consecrated to divine service. Taking all those points into consideration Lindblom, probably rightly, gives a date before David was made king over all Israel and before Jerusalem became a cultic place of unique significance (II Sam. 5-6).

The situation of Joseph has deteriorated in Ps. 78: the bravery and success of Joseph in battle have been turned into cowardice and defeat (Ps. 78:9, 57), the perseverance in paternal religion and the consecration to God among his brothers have turned into rebellion and idolatry. The military power of Joseph as symbolized by the strong and tough bow (Gen. 49:24) is now pictured as "a treacherous bow" or "a slack bow" (Ps. 78:57); cf. Hos. 7:16). The "house of Joseph" played an important role in the Israel/Judah struggle. Besides I Kg. II:26;40, the conflict between the house of Joseph and the house of Judah is well attested elsewhere. In I Chron. 5:2 (cf. Gen. 49:8ff): "Though Judah became strong among his brothers and a prince was from him, yet the birthright belonged to Joseph." B.J. van der Merwe discovers that the Blessings of Jacob (Gen. 49:1-27), which pictures Judah as the premier tribe of Israel (vv. 8-12), interrupts at a very crucial stage of the death-bed narrative (Gen. 48:1-22). The narrative regards Joseph and his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, as the successor of Jacob. (69) Gen. 49 was taken to be a way to obscure the obviously so deep-rooted tradition in the national folk-lore which could not simply be omitted in favour of the Judah-tradition at the time of the Davidic-era. The favourable oracle for the tribe of Joseph in Gen. 49:22-26 is explained by B.J. van der Merwe that "The author of the poem did not want to give unnecessary offence to the tribes of Joseph. Seeing that the primacy of Judah had been established by the oracle for Judah (Gen. 49:8-12), there was nothing to lose by giving a favourable oracle to Joseph (Gen. 49:22-26)." (70) However, if the tense relations between Judah and Israel are in equilibrium the situation must be

(69) B.J. van der Merwe, "Joseph as successor of Jacob," SBS, pp. 221-232.

(70) Ibid., p. 230. B.J. van der Merwe regards the fact that the Joseph story is left out in the citing of Ps. 105 in the translation of the Ark in I Chron. 16:7ff and the lack of allusion to the story of Joseph in Egypt in Ps. 78 as indicating the unfavourable criticism of Joseph. This is not very convincing.

different from that of Ps. 78 where Israel is said to be utterly rejected by God (v. 59) cannot appear. Without the historical reality the destruction of the North, Ps. 78 would have lost its powerful force in inviting the North to the covenant renewal. The historical recital under a Davidic king in Jerusalem would not be convincing. Ps. 78 cannot be later than 587 B.C., but also cannot be earlier than 722. The disclosure of the mystery of history in Dtr terms has its great occasion in Hezekiah-Josiah's reform.

In the Book of Hosea, the election of Israel and her redemption are traced to the period of the Wilderness (2:14f. 9:10; II:1; 13:4-5). The description of election in Ch. 9 is followed by that of rejection because Israel rebelled against Yahweh.

"My God will reject them (אֲסֹא) because they did not listen to him. They shall be wanderers among the nations." (v. 17)

The two most significant but difficult verses in Ps. 78 (vv. 9, 57) can only be understood in comparison with Hosea 7:8-16, the political move of the Northern Kingdom to seek help from Egypt and Assyria is condemned severely in Hosea (7:11; 8:9, 13; 9:3; 11:5, 11; 12:1 [2] 14:3). The leaders of Israel, whether priests or princes, who led the people astray, are accused of lacking in knowledge and they are rebellious (4:6ff; 7:16; 8:4; 9:15). Ephraim was so powerful that its name is repeatedly used to refer to the kingdom of Israel as a whole. She was exalted in Israel (אֲשׁוּר, 13:1). But she led the nation in deserting Yahweh, instead of listening to the divine call to return to Yahweh (5:15, 7:7, 10; 14:1; etc). They turned to Egypt and Assyria. (71) Ps. 78:8-10 and 56-67 have parallels in Hosea :

	<u>Ps. 78</u>		<u>Hosea</u>	
v. 8	דֹר סוֹרֵר וּמֵרָה		וּסוֹרוֹבֵי	7:14
			כֹּל שָׂרֵיהֶם סֹרְרִים	9:15
v. 57	וְהִפְכוּ כִקְשֵׁת רַמִּיהַ		'שׁוֹבוּ- כִקְשֵׁת רַמִּיהַ	7:16
v. 10a	לֹא שָׁמְרוּ בְרִית אֱלֹהִים		עָבְרוּ בְרִית	8:1c
v. 10b	וּבְתוֹרַתוֹ מֵאֲנוּ לִלְכֹת		וְעַל-תּוֹרַתִי פִשְׁעוּ	8:1d

(71) J.L. Mays, Hosea, (OTL), p. 108.

(72) The translations of the verse vary : RSV: "Their return to Baal," NEB: "They relapse into worship of their high god", Ackroyd: " Their return to the High one" in "Hosea," FBC, p. 609. Wolff: "They turn themselves, but not to me" in Hosea, (HERM), p. 108, etc. But the meaning is plain that the people of Ephraim turn away from God.

Hos. 7:16, though obscure in its Hebrew original is very instructive in connection with Ps. 78. The meaning is clear. Ephraim did not turn to Yahweh (7:16). (72) Military catastrophe, therefore, is bound to fall upon them.

Besides the above parallels between Hosea and Ps. 78 there are further contacts which are significant to both. First of all, great interest in Israel's cultic life is shown by them. We have the severe condemnation of the sin of idolatry (פסילים, Hos. II:2) and especially the multiplication of altars and high places (במות) in Hosea IO:I-8 (also 8:II; I2:I2) and Ps. 78:58 (פסילים/במות). Wolff draws our attention to Hosea IO:I-8 which "represents the development of a type of prophetic speech which is reflective or didactic in nature." (73) The didactic intention of Ps. 78 is by no means less obvious. Secondly, both share common traditions of the early history of Israel. The traditions of the early history of Israel. The traditions of Exodus from Egypt and of wilderness wandering are known to Hosea (2:I4; II:I; I2:9 [IO]; I3 [I4]; I3:4-6) and Ps. 78. Hos. I3:6 and Ps. 78:29 use the same verb (שכע) to describe the provision of food to the people in the wilderness. Both speak about the response of the people to the gift of food as sin. Therefore God sends punishment for their satiety, desire and pride. The covenant/law traditions of the ancient community of faith are highly valued by the prophet and the psalmist. (74) The appeal of תורה and כרית in Hos. 4:6; 6:6-7; 8:I-3 and Ps. 78:5, IO, 37, 56 cannot be mere coincidence. Israel is accused of lying to God in Ps. 78:36 (לכזבו לו) and in Hos. 7:I3 and I2:2 (כזב, כזבין). The use of סרר and מרה is found in Ps. 78:8, and Hos. 4:I6; 9:I5; I4:I. Lastly the prophet and the psalmist do not make the accusation for its own sake; the future of the people does not escape their concern. The psalmist presents the fate of the people skilfully by connecting the past history of Mosaic traditions with the Davidic-Zion traditions. (75) The prophet, on the other hand, perceives a kind of tension between judgment and the compassion

(73) Wolff, op.cit., p. I72.

(74) On the "amphictynic" orientation of Hosea, see Rendtorff, "Reflection on Early History of Prophecy in Israel," History and Hermeneutic, I967, pp. I8-2I and Wolff, op.cit. pxxii. On the Dealogic tradition, Martin Buss. The Prophetic Word of Hosea. pp. 98ff.

(75) On the link between Davidic covenant and Sinaitic covenant, see the most recent discussion by Joh. d. Levenson, "The Davidic Covenant and Its Modern Interpreters," CPQ, 4I, I979, pp. 205-2I9.

of Yahweh. (76) The original prophetic words of accusation and threat in Hosea were addressed to the people of the Northern Kingdom in the eighth century. The Judaeen references (c.f. I:7; 3:5; 9:4bb) which were added secondarily indicated that the prophetic words were used and applied to the Southern Kingdom. Both Wolff and Childs recognize two different levels of Judaeen redactions, but they hold different view-points when coming to detail. Wolff sees in the Judaic salvation redaction (I:7; 3:5; 9:4bb) a relatively early supplement and only secondarily were Hosea's accusations and threats applied to Judah (4:5ab; 4:15; 5:5bb; 6:11a; 8:14; 11:10). (77) Childs on the other hand distinguishes two groups of material Chs. I-3 and Chs. 4:14. In the latter group Judah is paralleled with the disobedient Israel (12:2a [3a]) while in the former Judah is contrasted positively with Israel and inherited the promise and hope which disobedient Israel has rejected. (78) Considering the layers of redaction of II Kg. in connection with those of Hosea we may discern the application of the accusation to Judah to come later than the contrast between the hope in Judah and punishment of Israel.

It is more acceptable to the southerner if traditions of the North, coming south after the fall of Samaria had no accusation against Judah and the southerners subsequently regarded themselves as the remaining hope for the northern traditions.

The idea of rejection which must be seen in the context of Yahweh's election of Israel is a shocking message of the prophet. (79) Because the election expressed in the mighty acts of Yahweh to save His chosen people is manifested in history, the idea of rejection also was expressed in the historical situation of judgment which is the result of the disobedience of the people to the claims of Yahweh. One unique characteristic of the prophets of Israel is the tension between Yahweh's mercy and His wrath. Rejection is therefore not identical with total and final doom. This tension did not originate from the cult but from the basic religious witness

(76) M. Weinfeld outlines the common concerns of Hosea, Deuteronomy and Ps. 78:a. The condemnation of idolatrous and syncretistic ways of worship. b. the establishment of sincere relationship with God. Deuteronomy and Deuteronomical School, pp. 364-370.

(77) Wolff, Hosea, p. xxxi.

(78) Childs, IOTS, p. 381.

(79) Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, p. 312f. Amos 8:2, "The end (ץן) has come upon My people Israel...."; Hos. 1:9 "Not-my-people (לא אתי); Jer. 7:29, "the generation of His wrath" (דור עכרתם).

inherited from the past. (80)

Divine rejection can be understood properly in connection with human rejection of God. It is almost always a response to human abomination (e.g. Ps. 53:5 [6]). The reaction of Yahweh to having been first rejected by men is illustrated in the case of Saul (I Sam. 15:23) and the priest in Hosea (4:6). The rejection of Israel (II Kg. 17:20) and of Jerusalem-Temple-Judah (II Kg. 23:26-27; Jer. 7:29) are good examples. (81)

II Kg. 23:26-27 which is later than Ps. 78, models the rejection of Judah and Jerusalem upon that of Israel. Despite Josiah's reform the wrath of God was still upon Judah because Josiah's predecessor, Manasseh, provoked God's anger.

'I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I have removed Israel and I will reject (וּמֵאַסְתִּי) this city which I have chosen (בַּחֲרֵתִי), Jerusalem, and the house of which I said, my name shall be there,' (II Kg. 23:26-27).

In the book of Jeremiah the motif of rejection is emphasized first as a threat to Judah and Zion (6:50; 7:29; 14:19) and then as an assurance of His election and covenant to the two houses of Israel and Judah (31:37; 33:19-26). (82) All the above passages, though later than Ps. 78, (83) maintain the same principle; men are rejected by God because they rejected Him first. This is also true in the case of God's rejection of Saul (I Sam. 15:23; 26; cf. 16:1).

"For rebellion is as the sin of divination and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because you have rejected (נִאָסַתְתָּ) the word of the Lord, he has also rejected you (וְנִאָסַתְתִּיךָ) from being king".

This motif of rejection is always contrasted with God's election in HDR (cf. I Sam. 16:1-13). All these principles are found in Ps. 78. The rejection of Saul (Benjaminite) and the election of David in HDR

(80) Ibid. p. 321.

(81) II Kg. 23:26-27 is taken as from the Dtr redactor on the irrevocable wrath of God, see J. Gray, I & II Kings, (OTL), p. 745.

(82) At the time of Deutero-Isaiah, the election of God is affirmed by the non-rejection (Isa. 41:9; לֹא נִאָסַתְתָּ). God does not reject but elect Abraham and his seed (Is. 41:8-10).

(83) The traditional chronology that Jeremiah began his ministry in 627/626 B.C. has been discarded by many in favour of 609 B.C. when Josiah was killed. The 13th year of Josiah (627/626) in Jer. 1:2 would be the date of Jeremiah's birth, see W.L. Holladay, "Jeremiah the Prophet." IBS Suppl. pp. 470, 72.

is taken up and reapplied in Ps. 78 with the House of Jeroboam (Ephraimite) and that of David as the objects of rejection and election. (34)

F.M. Cross distinguishes two editorial layers of Deuteronomistic history (Dtr^I and Dtr²). (85) Dtr^I which he assigns to the late pre-Exilic period (86) has two themes running through the whole structure, the sin of Jeroboam and the promise to David. Jeroboam led the people of Israel into apostasy and idolatry by making two calves at Bethel and Dan (I Kg. 12:25-33). (87) The oracle delivered by a man of God to Jeroboam in I Kg. 13:1-51 predicts the destruction of the altars and the house of Jeroboam (I Kg. 13:33-34). In it Josiah's reform is already anticipated (vv. 2-5). The fulfilment of it finally comes at the fall of Samaria II Kg. 17:1-23. Dtr^I views the fall of the Northern Kingdom in the shadow of Jeroboam's sin and, therefore, the destruction is regarded as Israel's judgment (II Kg. 17:20-23). The second theme of Dtr^I is the promise of David; "for the sake of David my servant and for the sake of Jerusalem which I have chosen" (I Kg. 11:12, 13, 32, 34, 36; 15:4; II Kg. 8:19; 19:34). Cross' observation helps to summarize the central themes of Dtr^I: (88)

"The crucial event in Judah, comparable to the sin of Jeroboam was the faithfulness of David. Through much of Kings this theme of grace and hope parallels the dark theme of judgment. David established Yahweh's sanctuary in Jerusalem, an eternal shrine on chosen Zion, Jeroboam established the rival shrine of Bethel, a cultus abhorrent to Yahweh, bringing eternal condemnation."

- (84) For a different view, see Antony F. Campbell, The Ark Narrative pp. 213ff. He discovers that Ps. 78:59-72 corresponds in surprising detail with the whole Ark Narrative in I Sam. 4-6; II Sam. 6 (78:59-64 // I Sam. 4; 78:65-66 // I Sam. 5:6-12; 78:67-72 // II Sam. 6). The parallels are there, but his conclusions on the date (10th century) and the interpretation (rejection of pre-Davidic Israel) cannot be accepted. He is, however, right to observe the differences between Ps. 78 and the Ark narrative, pp. 225f.
- (85) Cross, CMHE, Ch. 10, pp. 274ff. cf. also, "The Structure of the Deuteronomic History," Perspectives in Jewish Learning, 3, Chicago: College of Jewish Studies Press 1967.
- (86) The expression "to this day" assumes the existence of Judaeen state, CMHE, p. 275, e.g. II Kg. 8:22; 16:6.
- (87) It is the accusation of the Southern Kingdom against the North that Yahweh was regarded as being worshipped in the bull image. Albright and Ringgren are more sympathetic to the historical reality: the bulls served only as a pedestal upon which the invisible God was thought to have his throne. cf. FSAC, p. 299 and Israelite religion, p. 63 respectively.

The second theme reaches its fulfilment in the reform of Josiah II Kg. 22:1-23, 25. Josiah is highly praised by Dtr^I. Only he can escape the criticism passed by the Deuteronomistic historians even upon David, Solomon and Hezekiah. Therefore it is likely that the two contrasting themes in Dtr, the sin of Jeroboam and the faithfulness of David (and Josiah), represent threat and promise with the final fulfilment in David and his son Josiah. The new possibility of salvation rests upon the ancient covenant of Yahweh to David. Cross is of the opinion that Dtr^I is the propaganda document of the Josianic reformation speaking to the North, "calling Israel to return to Judah and to Yahweh's sole legitimate shrine in Jerusalem, asserting the claims of the ancient Davidic monarchy upon all Israel." (89)

Cross' proposal for Dtr^I is supported by the structure and themes in Ps. 78. His concluding statements can as well be a summary of the purpose and intention of Ps. 78 (90) :

"the historian has combined his motifs of the old covenant forms of the league and of the North, with those taken from the royal theology of the Davidids to create a complex and eloquent program, or rather, one may say, he has written a great sermon to rally Israel to the new possibility of salvation, through obedience to the ancient covenant of Yahweh, and hope in the new David, King Josiah."

Ps. 78 emphasizes the sins of Israel in forgetting what God has done in the sight of their fathers (vv. 17-18, 40-41; 56-66). But time and again their disobedience is set in a context of God's forgiveness and further mighty deeds. God always overcomes Israel's rebellion by His repeated forgiveness. (91)

The two Deuteronomistic ideals, (92) the purification of the cult and the cult centralization at the one legitimate sanctuary, are implied in Ps. 78 (vv. 58-60:68). According to II Kg. 18:4 Hezekiah launched a

(88) Cross, CMHE, p. 282.

(89) Ibid., p. 284. At the time of Josiah the Northerners were drawn into closer relation to the South. A union of North and South under Josiah points to the revival of the old Davidic kingdom. cf. A.C. Welch, Deuteronomy, The Framework to the Code, 1932, p. 205.

90) Cross, CMHE, p. 285.

91) B.S. Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, 1962, p. 49.

(92) G.W. Anderson, The History and Religion of Israel, 1966, p. 38; cf. Fohrer, HIR, p. 297.

programme of cultic - reforms in which he destroyed the high places and pagan practices. Hezekiah is praised in this cultic purification and his observance of the Law of Moses (vv. 5-6). He also rebels against the Assyrians and fights against the Philistine (vv. 7-8). Against these good deeds the Deuteronomistic historian explains the reasons for the fall of Israel (vv. 11-12). Hezekiah invited the Northern Israelites to join in worship and to participate in the Passover at Jerusalem (II Chron. 30:13, 18-19, 21). Similar reform was carried out by Josiah (II Kg. 22-23). The project to repair the Temple was extended to involve Manasseh, Ephraim and Simeon (II Chron. 34:6-9). In II Kg. 22-23 the entire reformation of Josiah is supposed to be motivated by the discovery of the "Book of the Torah" in 622 B.C. The supposition does not agree with the analysis of II Chron. 34-35 which described the reform in 3 stages : I. In the 8th year of his reign (632 B.C.) Josiah began to seek the God of David (34:3). 2. In the 12th year (628), he purified the cult of Judah (34:34-5) and of Israel (34:6-7). 3. In the 18th year of his reign (622) the discovery of "Book of Torah" led to a conclusion of covenant (34:29-33) and celebration of Passover (35:1:-18). (93) Therefore, great reform measures were launched before the discovery of the Book. The political reason which lies behind the religious reform of Josiah is recognized by scholars. (94) M. Weinfeld assumes that the gradual political deterioration of the Assyrian Empire provided the occasion for the gradual takeover of the Northern territories by Josiah who had the union of North and South in mind (II Kg. 23:19-20; II Chron. 34:6). G.W. Anderson rightly puts it : (95)

"The extension of the reform to the Northern territory (II Kg. 23:15) was a religious measure with obvious and understandable political implications: the conditions which favoured the purification of cult were also an encouragement to Josiah to attempt to restore the lost unity of the Davidic Kingdom."

(93) M. Weinfeld also divides II Kg. 22-23 into 2 sources: II Kg. 22 and 23:1-3, 21-23 he attributes to Deuteronomistic writing, II Kg. 23:4-20 which does not mention the "Book of Torah" he attributes to the archives of Josiah's Court. cf. "Josiah," EJ, X, 1971, pp. 288-93.

(94) F.M. Cross & D.N. Freedman "Josiah's Revolt Against Assyria," JNES, 12, 1953, pp. 56-58; E.W. Nicholson, "Josiah's Reformation and Deuteronomy," TGUOS, 20, 1963-64, pp. 77-84. The latter tells against Cross & Freedman's relying too much upon external material and date which are disputable, p. 81.

(95) G.W. Anderson, op.cit., p. 125. "Canonical and Non-Canonical," CHS, p. 120.

. The reunion of the alienated half-kingdom of Israel and Judah under the reign of Josiah is probably the aim of Ps. 78 in which both judgment and hope are interwoven together. (96) It is an explanation for the fall of the Northern Kingdom and the choice of the house of David and Zion.

R.P. Carroll maintains that Ps. 78 is a vestige of a tribal polemic, "a polemic directed against the holders of the older faith in favour of the more recent claimants." (97) It is difficult to accept that the intention of the psalmist was to alienate part of the people of Israel or to promote hostility against the Northern Kingdom. With this conception I do not mean to undermine the tension and controversy between Israel and Judah. The address in the introduction (vv. 1-8) points to "our fathers" as the rebellious generation of the wilderness (vv. 8; cf. 17ff.; 40-41) and the stubborn generation of the conquest (vv. 9-11; 56-58). They were referred to as the ancestors of the audience. This suggests the presence of the Northerners among the audience and/or the identification of the people of Judah with the Northern traditions. In either case the discriminations and polemics are inapprehensible. Furthermore R.P. Carroll proposes that the occurrence of לא נחמנו (v. 67) suggests a polemical intent. (98) It is also possible to take it as an interpretation of the contemporary events of the fall of the North (782 B.C.). The verse only states what is obvious, indeed the hard fact and mystery of history (v. 2), with the intention to give religious teaching to Northern Israel and an invitation to join in the future hope in Judah, Zion and the Davidic house. (99)

The central teaching to Israel is summed up in the phrase לא יהיו כאבותם. The intention of the psalm is not rejection but re-election. A.F. Campbell rightly remarks that "so terrible a statement of rejection might never have come to expression were it not to be followed by the claim of election. (100)

(96) Cross, CMHE, p. 287.

(97) Carroll, "Psalm 78: Vestiges of a Tribal Polemic," VT, 21, 1971, p. 144.

(98) Carroll, op. cit., p. 136.

(99) Norman Snaith's view is also unacceptable: "Ps. 78 belongs to a pre-Exilic group of Southerners accused of insufficient loyalty to Zion", Hymns of the Temple, p. 52, neither is M.J. Buss' interpretation acceptable: "The psalm may well have been adapted or formulated by former North Israelites in order to clarify the reason for their new worship in the south." The Psalms of Asaph and Korah, JBL, 82, 1963, p. 385.

(100) A.F. Campbell, CEQ, 41, 1979, p. 57.

The Deuteronomistic historian worked in the shadow of the two great events, the catastrophes of 722 and 586 B.C. (101)

When referring to the homiletic and catechetical character of Dtr in Kings, Alberto Soggin suggests that the desire of Dtr was not to produce history or chronicle, but to comment on known facts of the "chronicles of the Kings of Israel" or of "Judah,". Dtr's intention was to explain the known facts in a theological context. It is anachronistic because Dtr takes as a model of evaluation the work of a king from the end of the period of the monarchy. "This theological criterion is made up from the standards given by the reform of Josiah : the rejection or suppression of the syncretistic or Canaanite sanctuaries." (102) Therefore even the foreign policy of a monarch is taken as a testimony of faith. The kings of Israel are summarily judged to be guilty of the 'sin of Jeroboam' (I Kg. 12:26ff).

It may be desirable to draw parallels between Ps. 78 and II Kg. 17 which contains an explanation of the fall of the Northern Kingdom and which Norman H. Snaith calls 'a Deuteronomic Homily' (vv. 7-23). (103) Though there are evidences of later insertion (e.g. vv. 19-20), the Dtr interpretation of the destruction of Samaria is recognized in the condemnation of the worship of the golden calf, an unforgivable sin for the Deuteronomist (v. 16) and high places (vv. 8-11) other than the Temple of Jerusalem (vv. 21-23). (104) II Kg. 17 exhibits the central concern of the Deuteronomists : cultic purity and the centralization of the cult of Jerusalem. The opening verse of the homily (v. 7) traces the disruption of

(101) von Rad, PHOE, p. 207. For a structural analysis of II Kg. 17 and comments on works by scholars, see J. MacDonald, "The Structure of II Kings, xvii," TGUOS, 23, 1969-70, pp. 29-41.

(102) Alberton Soggin, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1976, p. 200. J Mauchline, too, recognizes that the two-fold demand is the main objections of Josiah's reform. The Dtr belief in the doctrine of retribution is also at work in I and II Kg. "I and II Kings," PCB 1962, pp. 338-356.

(103) Norman H. Snaith, "I and II Kings," IB, III, p. 280f. von Rad, Studies in Deut. pp. 74-91, J. Muilenburgh, "Baruch the Scribe," Proclamation and Presence, pp. 218 and Soggin, Introduction to the O.T. p, 162, view the Dtr as giving a theological explanation and retrospective historical reason of the fall of the two kingdoms. Deuteronomistic history comments on events in terms of Deuteronomistic teaching II Kg. 17:7-23. G.W. Anderson, "The Historical Books of the Old Text," PCB, p. 286.

(104) The introduction of astral worship in the Northern Kingdom can be earlier (to be cont'd)

the Kingdom to the sins of the children of Israel :

"And this was so, because the people of Israel had sinned against the Lord their God, who had brought them up out of the land of Egypt from under the hand of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and had feared other gods."

This verse sums up the sins of the people recited in Ps. 78 up to v. 54.

This connection of the salvation history and the violation of covenant is noticed by John Gray when he comments ^{on II Kg. 17:7} : "The sins of Israel in violation of the covenant are emphasized in the context of the Heilsgeschichte of the deliverance from Egypt." (105)

Ps. 78:55 begins with וַיִּגְרֹשׁ מִפְּנֵיהֶם גּוֹיִם which has affinity with II Kg. 17:8; they conducted themselves according to the statutes of the nations (הַחֻקֹּת הַגּוֹיִם) whom the Lord has cast out before them (הַיְהוָה מִפְּנֵיהֶם). They built high places (בְּמִנְוֹת) in all their cities (II Kg. 17:9). This too has a parallel in the psalm : בְּמִנְוֹתֵם which provoked Yahweh to anger (לְהַכְעִיֵּס, II Kg. 17:11, 17; Ps. 78:58 : וַיַּכְעִיֵּסוּהוּ). Therefore, He cast Israel out before Him and Judah was the only tribe left (II Kg. 17:18; cf. Ps. 78:67-68). (106)

The use of the provocation formula (לְהַכְעִיֵּס אֹתוֹ) in I and II Kings, Hos. 12:15, Deut. 32 and Ps. 78:58 adds great force to the present discussion. The hiphil of the verb כָּעַס, meaning to provoke anger is mainly used by Deuteronomy, Jeremiah and the compiler of Kings. (107)

It appears in passages where the people are accused of provoking Yahweh to anger by worship of idols. It occurs once in Hos. 12:14 [15], הַכְעִיֵּס אֶפְרַיִם תַּמְרוּרִים. Ephraim's idolatry provoked yahweh's anger. In Deut. 32:16 (יַכְעִיֵּסוּהוּ) and v. 21 (אֶכְעִיֵּס אֹתוֹ) (cf. v. 21 Pi. 3 pl. suffs.

כָּעַסוּהוּ), the word is paralleled with אָנַף. This fact is especially significant because the hiphil of אָנַף occurs only four times in the Old Testament (Ezek. 8:3; Deut. 32:16, 21 and Ps. 78:58). (108)

(104) than the reign of Manasseh. There is reference to such worship in Israel in Amos 5:26. J. Gray, I & II Kings, (OTL), 1970, p. 648.

(105) Ibid., p. 646.

(106) II Kg. 17:19-21 on the apostasy of Judah and God's rejection of all the seed of Israel, probably Judah and Israel, are verses added as a comment on v. 18. It should be restated that the psalmist uses history to teach, to witness and to encourage, Leslie, The Psalms, p. 153. The basic thought is that God of Israel is a covenant God who did punish the people when they reject Him but who has never left them in total darkness and tribulation.

(107) See EBB, p. 495.

The hiphil form of $\text{וַיִּשְׁׁ$ appears 16 times in I and II Kings. All of them, except II Kg. 23:26, are applied to the condemnation of the sin of the kings of the Northern Kingdom and are used almost in connection with the sin of King Jeroboam. (109) In I Kg. the verb only appears after the condemnation of Jeroboam in chapter 14. The Israelite kings are accused of following the example of the sin of Jeroboam (15:30; 16:2, 7, 13, 26, 33 and 21:22). In II Kg. 17 it forms part of the list of terminology adopted to explain the rebellion of Israel, which led to the destruction of the Northern Kingdom. The two golden calves provide the connection between the idolatry of Israel and Jeroboam. Then the verb is used only in the reforms of Hezekiah (21:15; 22:17) and Josiah (33:19). Only toward the end of the kingdom of Judah does the verb appear again to describe the deeds of Manasseh (II Kg. 23:26; II Chron. 34:25). And God's rejection of Israel becomes the model for the rejection of Judah and His chosen city Jerusalem and the Temple upon which He puts His name. (110)

A Comparison of Ps. 78 and II Kings 17

Ps. 78:12-67

II Kg. 17:7-23

<p>12-54 Recitation of God's saving acts in Egypt (vv. 12ff, 43ff.) & the sins of the people (אֲחַת טִיָּו v. 32)</p>	<p>7. Israel sinned against God who brought them out of Egypt from under the hand of Pharaoh (אֲחַת).</p>
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(108) Furthermore, the occurrences in Deut. 32 and Ps. 78 are in parallel with וַיִּשְׁׁ . This provocation formula (אִיִּךְ/וַיִּשְׁׁ) is only found twice in Deut. and once in the whole Book of the Psalter. The Qal of אִיִּךְ and the hiphil of וַיִּשְׁׁ are used in Ps. 106. The similarities between Deut. 32 and Ps. 78 are undeniable. For a detailed comparison between Deut. 32 and Ps. 78 see Ch. 7.

(109) I Kg. 14:9, 15; 15:30; 16:2, 7, 13, 26, 33; 26, 33; 21:22; II Kg. 17:11, 17; 21:6; 15; 22:17; 23:19, 26; cf. וַיִּשְׁׁ , I Kg. 23:26; וַיִּשְׁׁ , I Kg. 15:30; II Kg. 23:26. 9 occurrences in Jeremiah 7:18; 8:19; 25:6-7; 32:29, 30, 32; 44:3, 8. cf. in other books Ezek. 8:17; 16:26; 32:9; Deut. 4:25; 9:18; 31:29; Judg. 2:12; I Sam. 1:7; Isa. 65:3; II Chron. 28:25; 33:6; 34:25; Neh. 3:37; Ps. 106:29.

(110) II Kg. 17:19f, "an obvious exilic note on the sin which brought about the final destruction of Judah, which is prompted by the statement in v. 18b that Judah survived the fall of Samaria." John Gray, I & II Kings, (OTL) 1970, pp. 8, 649. Cross, CMHE p. 285, Zimmerli, Old Testament Theology in Outline, pp. 177. 179.

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|-------|---|-----|---|
| 55-56 | Cast out nations before them (וַיִּגְרֹשׁ מִפְּנֵיהֶם גּוֹיִם)
They still did not keep His testimonies (עֲדוּתָיו) | 8. | Followed the חֻקֹּת of the nations whom God has cast out before them (הַדְּרִישׁ יְהוָה)
(מִפְּנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). |
| 58 | By their high places (בְּמִזְבְּחֹת); and by their idols (וּבַפְּסִילֵיהֶם)
they provoked Him to anger (וַיִּכְעִסֵהוּ) | 9. | They built high places (בְּמִזְבְּחֹת). (Also v. 11). |
| 59 | וַיִּמְאַסׁ מְאֹד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל | 10. | Set up images, served idols, molten images (calves v. 16, 41). |
| 5 | וַיִּקַּם עֲדוּת, וְתוֹרַת שֵׁם | 11. | Provoking the Lord to anger (לֵךְ כַּעֵס אֶת־יְהוָה) (also v.17). |
| | אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ | 20. | וַיִּמְאַסׁ יְהוָה בְּכָל זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל |
| 22 | לֹא הִאֲמִינוּ בֵּאלֹהִים | 13. | 'keep my (מִצְוֹתַי) and (חֻקֹּתַי) according to all the law תּוֹרַת which... |
| 56. | They did not keep עֲדוּתָיו | 14. | לֹא הִאֲמִינוּ יְהוָה |
| 10 | כְּרִית (v. 37) | 15. | They rejected בְּרִיתוֹ |
| | | 16. | מִצְוֹת |

If the parallels between II Kg. 17 and Ps. 78 can be established, then the great sin of Jeroboam and the captivity of Israel are also background elements of the rejection of Israel of Ps. 78. Furthermore, Ps. 78:68-72 can also be explained by the Hezekiah's and Josiah's reforms. It is not the textual parallels or independence which should be sought but the general ideology and Sitz-im-Leben. The intention was the unification of the people in the sacral traditions under the leadership of the Davidic dynasty and in the centralization of the cult as the sole legitimate cult centre. This is further supported by the last verse of the psalm. The Davidic king is to tend the people in the integrity of his heart (**בְּתָם לִכְבוֹ**) and to lead them in understanding (**בְּתַכּוּנוֹת**). The image of a shepherd is applied mainly to the reign of David in II Sam. 5:2; 7:7 and the future Davidic kings (Jer. 23:44; Ezek. 34:23). (111) But only David is said to rule in the integrity of his heart : II Kg. 9:4. Yahweh reaffirms His promise to David and to Solomon and urged the latter to walk as his father David, in integrity of heart (**בְּתָם לִכְבוֹ**). The second half of Ps. 78:72 is most probably a reference to the understanding of Solomon that Yahweh gave Solomon wisdom (111) cf. the people as flock, II Sam. 24:17, cf. Ps. 78:52.

and understanding to govern the people, חכמה... ותבונה הרבה (I Kg. 4:29-30 (5:9-10)). The psalmist looks to the two great kings of the United Monarchy, David and Solomon, as models for the present kings in his effort to unite the two families of Israel and as hope for the people. Moreover, the integrity of heart and understanding are two important elements of the wisdom traditions, which the deceitful and stubborn generation of Israel is in need of (Ps. 78:8; II Kg. 17:14). The people of Israel were urgently instructed in the mystery of history and the understanding of their sinfulness.

The above discussion can be brought into focus by considering the Deuteronomistic summary passages on Hezekiah and Josiah. The contrast between the disobedience of the Northern Kingdom and the obedience of Hezekiah, the defeat of the North by the Assyrian and the divinely supported rebellion of Hezekiah against the Assyrian and his victory over the Philistines are instructive for our understanding of Ps. 78. The Deuteronomist's praise of Hezekiah is worth quoting as follows (II Kg. 18:3-12) :

"And he did what was right in the eyes of the Lord, according to all that David his father had done. He removed the high places (*במות*) ... He trusted (*בטח*) in the Lord the God of Israel; so that there was none like him among all the kings of Judah after him. For he held fast to the Lord; he did not depart from following him, but kept the commandments which the Lord was with him; wherever he went forth, he prospered. He rebelled against the king of Assyria, and would not serve him. He smote the Philistines ... The King of Assyria carried the Israelite away to Assyria ... because they did not obey (*לא שמעו*) the voice of the Lord their God but transgressed his covenant (*בריתו*), even all that Moses the servant of the Lord commanded; they neither listened nor obeyed."

Hezekiah is highly praised by the Deuteronomist who evaluates his work in terms of the commandment of Moses and the model of David. "The Lord was with him" recalls the same promise to David in Nathan's oracle (II Sam. 7:3). Furthermore, the designation of him as (II Kg. 20:5) echoes the same designation to David (II Sam. 7:8-9). If the captivity of God's strength (*יצי*) to the enemy in Ps. 78:61ff alludes to the Philistines' capturing of the Ark, the eternal reproach to the same enemy (v. 66) may well be an indication of a final total defeat of the Philistines. One wonders whether Hezekiah's successful political activity against the Philistines may have left some traces in the recital of historical events in Ps. 78:66. Hezekiah recovered the land lost to the Philistines during the reign of his father Ahaz

(II Chron. 28:18) and pushed the Philistines to the south as far as Gaza.
 (112) This successive political activities, according to Bustenay Oded, together with the authentic reform of centralization, fit in well with the aim "to strengthen the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem and to restore the ancient borders of the Davidic kingdom." (113)

The Chronicler actually recorded a message to the north inviting the northerners to come to Jerusalem and celebrate the Passover (II Chron. 30). (114) The invitation stresses the need to return to the Lord, "Do not be like your fathers (אל תהיו כאבותיכם) and your brethren who were faithless to the Lord" (v. 7), the importance of coming to the Holy Temple (ובאו למקדש) (v. 8), the idea that the desolation was the result of Yahweh's fierce anger (חרון אפו) (v. 9a) and the gracious - merciful nature of Yahweh (כי-חנון ורחום יהוה) (v. 9b). All these emphases, hardly accidental, are presupposed by Ps. 78. The connection of Ps. 78 with the reform activity of Hezekiah is further strengthened by the similar theological perspective of the Isaianic oracles heard at the time of Hezekiah. The illuminating verse of Prov. 25:1 speaks of the "men of Hezekiah" who probably belonged to a group of

(112) Though this event is not mentioned in the account of Hezekiah's reign in II Chron. 4:34-43 (LXX reads Gerar for MT Gedor) in the annals of Sennacherib and in Sennacherib's 'Letter to God,' Bustenay Oded, IJH, p. 445.

(113) Ibid, p. 446, also Oded refers us to Rowley, "Hezekiah's Reform and Rebellion," BJRL, 44, 1962, pp. 395-431, who, however, while supporting the historicity of the account in II Kg. 23, rejects that Hezekiah's reform was ever carried out in the north, p. 429. Weinfeld, "Cult Centralization in Israel in the Light of a Neo-Babylonian Analogy," JNES, 23, 1964, pp. 202-12, F.L. Moriarty, "The Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah's Reform," CBQ, 27, 1965, pp. 399-406.

(114) S. Talmon supports the Chronicler's report of the Passover as of great historicity. He even argues for its accuracy in detail by proposing a theory for the Passover celebration in the second month, VT, 8, 1958, pp. 48-74. His proposal remains a theory and lacks substantial evidence to support it. But one thing is sure, if the Chronicler simply retrojected into the reign of Hezekiah the Passover celebration of Josiah (de Vaux, AI, p. 487) or invented it totally out of his imagination, he would not create such difficult problems of celebration at an unorthodox date which he had to explain in II Chron. 30:3 nor would he allow to take place such an observation not according to regulations, which he attempted to resolve in II Chron. 30:17-20. See F.L. Moriarty, "The Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah's Reform," CBQ, 27, 1965, pp. 404-406.

reform - minded Yahwists. Their task was endorsed by Hezekiah who "as the first king of Judah without any counterpart in North Israel..... wishes to conserve the heritage of the past, consisting of historical, prophetic and sapiential traditions," (115) Ps. 78, coming from this time, therefore, contains traditions of various kinds.

The attempt to restore the Davidic Monarchy and the effort to centralize the cult at Jerusalem should be attributed to Hezekiah. (116) But obviously Hezekiah's reform activity did not gain widespread acceptance when we read of the apostasy of his son Manasseh. This, however, does not in any way lead us to the conception that Hezekiah's attempt was a complete failure. The effective reform of Josiah would not come about without his work and the spirit of reform carried on by the Deuteronomist. The historical situation of the gradual disintegration of the Assyrian Empire facilitated extensive reform carried out even to the former Northern Kingdom by Josiah (II Kg. 23:4; II Chron. 34:6-7). (117) The celebration of Passover by people of North and South at the time was suitable for the revival of Ps. 78 to be used in an occasion which "recalled the memories of freedom from Egyptian slavery and the covenant with Yaweh." (118) The Deuteronomist exerted a stronger influence at this time. Ps. 78, however, must be seen as composed at the early stage of the Deuteronomistic movement at the time of Hezekiah.

I do not see how A.F. Campbell can justify his claim that Ps. 78 is pre-Deuteronomistic by simply dismissing the traces of Deuteronomistic theology (vv. 5-8), the expression of covenant theology (vv. 10, 37, 56b) and the accusation of idolatrous worship at high places (v. 58) as

(115) From the evidence of the negative attitude reflected in Rab-Shakkeh's speech on the destruction of high places (II Kg. 18:22) and Elijah's building of an altar on Mt. Carmel (I Kg. 19:10, 14), M. Weinfeld suggests that the sin of the high places is an "invention of the Deuteronomist : prior to him it was entirely unknown in Israel." in "Cult Centralization in Israel in the Light of a Neo-Babylonian Analogy," JNES, 23, 1964, pp. 202-212, esp. p. 203.

(117) B. Odes, IJH, p. 467, M. Cogan, Imperialism and Religion, p. 113, and still earlier F.M. Cross, Jr. and D.N. Freedman, "Josiah's Revolt Against Assyria," JNES, 12, 1953, pp. 56-58, support that the political occasion for the reform was probably the death of the king Assur-etel-ilani and the consequent disorders in Assyria.

(118) B. Oded, ibid.

from Deuteronomic redaction and reinterpretation. (119) Though he dates the psalm to the tenth century, he admits that the psalm is suitable for adaptation in the Josiah's reform.

To sum up, Ps. 78 is a didactic psalm composed in Jerusalem after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. The victory of Judah over the Philistines and the miraculous escape of Jerusalem strengthened the belief in the choice of the Southern Kingdom and the election of Zion with the holy Temple of Yahweh standing firmly in elevation. The rejection of Ephraim-Joseph became a historical reality in the catastrophe of the defeat of Samaria. The rejection of Shiloh is not meant to be an analogy of the link between Shiloh and Jerusalem, the stress is put more on the election of Jerusalem than on the rejection of Shiloh. History of the past is selected and interpreted to illustrate a puzzling historical problem of the present situation. In this case the Ark Narrative and the History of the Rise of David to Power are adopted. The Mosaic traditions of the Exodus and wilderness period are attached to the royal theology to form a whole piece of historical recitation for the didactic purpose. The historical - theological atmosphere perceived in this psalm reflects the reform of Josiah. If the historical, prophetic, sapiential and royal traditions are blended together in the time of Hezekiah, how much so should they be seen in this perspective in Ps. 78 which definitely has its role in the development of the Deuteronomistic movement. The link between Ps. 78 and II Kg. 17 may serve as a good example.

(119) A.F. Campbell, "Psalm 78: A contribution to the Theology of Tenth Century Israel," CBQ, 41, 1979, pp. 52, 79. Less convincing still is his opinion that the psalm "does not show marked signs of priestly or prophetic tendencies." He seems to convey an idea that there was a clear cut classification of priest, prophet and wise man, each has his isolated area of operation. He proposes that the psalm with the opening address, "O my people," was composed by the circles of the wise, "the counsellors or theologians of the king" for recital by a representative of the king, p. 77. But he has already pointed out that the designation of the addressee as "My people" is quite unknown in the wisdom literature. The king or a court prophet or a sage can be candidate of the speaker, p. 63. He chooses the king. Here one important issue is whether the king has ever taught or expounded the Torah. We have evidence that the king has the duty to read and keep the Torah (Deut. 17:18-20) which underlies the praises ascribed to Hezekiah and Josiah (II Kg. 18:3, 5; 23:25). G. Widengren is of the opinion that the king was the teacher of Torah. "King and Covenant," JSS, 2, 1957, pp. 1-32. But it is more likely that the duty of teaching belongs to the prophet and the priest. E.I.J. Rosenthal, "Some Aspects of the Hebrews Monarchy", Studia Semitica, I, Jewish Themes, pp. 3-20, esp. p. 17 supports the teaching function of the priest.

4. The Abrahamic Covenant

Ps. 105 regards the word of promise to Abraham, which is renewed and extended to Isaac, Jacob and Israel, as the origin of election of Israel. It also relates the Exodus tradition into the framework of oath to the Patriarchs (vv. 5-10). It stresses the fulfilment of God's word in a number of places. Pss.105-106 show the stylistic feature of the Priestly writer. (119a)

Here are some of the instances in Pss.105-106, in which the 'word' or 'commands' or 'voice' of God are in the mind of the psalmist:

105:5	משפטיו - פיו
7	משפטיו
8	דבר צוה לאלק דור
11	לאמר לך אתן את-ארץ כנען
15	אל-תגעו במשיחי ולנביאי...
19	כא-דברו, אמרת יהוה
28	לא מרו את-דבריו
42	זכר את-דבר קדשו
106:3	משפט
12	ויאמינו בדבריו
23	ויאמר
24	לא האמינו לדברו
25	לא שמעו בקול יהוה
34	אשר אמר יהוה להם

There is a great contrast between Ps.105 and Ps.106. In the former the 'promise', 'oath' and 'word' are never violated. Even the nations obeyed His command. Twice Yahweh intervened in history by sending (שלח) Joseph (105:17) and Moses-Aaron (105:26). The word of Yahweh fulfilled in Joseph (105:19) and in the first plague He brought about in Egypt, "He sent (שלח)

(119a) S. McEvenue has illustrated this feature of P with examples from Genesis - Numbers: P reports the fulfilment of God's commands in the same words as the commands themselves, Gen. 17:11-12/11:23; Exod. 14:16/14:21-22; 14:26/14:27-28; Num. 13:1-2/ 13:3,17; Num. 20:7/20:10; 20:23,25-26/20:27-28; 27:18-21/27:22-23. He refers to this as fulfilment 'in nuce'. "Word and Fulfilment: A Stylistic Feature of the Priestly Writer," Semitics, I, 1970, pp.104-110.

darkness and it became dark" (v.28). In this plague Yahweh's word are not rebelled against. God is the creator of all things, even darkness obey His words. Therefore at the end of Ps.105 His promise is referred to as 'holy' (v.42).

This is in contrast with Ps.106. The people did not believe in His word and despised the pleasant land (v.24). They did not obey the voice of the Lord (v.25). Even Moses, together with the people, sinned at the Waters of Meribah. Moses spoke words that were rash (v.33). Yet God still listened to them when they cried to Him (v.44).

In this respect Pss. 105-106 must be seen together. Moreover, the Priestly covenant with Abraham in Gen. 17 is clearly shown in Pss. 105-106. The most important proof of the Priestly covenant is the proclamation of God to be the God of Abraham's offspring in Pss. 105-106:

105:6	זרע אברהם עבדו
7	בני יעקב כחיריו
	הוא יהוה אלהינו
106:47	הושיענו יהוה אלהינו

A comparison of Ps. 105 and the Priestly narrative of Gen. 17 and Exod. 1 confirms the Priestly feature of Ps. 105-106.

	<u>Ps. 105</u>		<u>The Priestly Narrative</u>
v.6	זרע אברהם	Gen.17:7	זרעך אחרריך
v.7	הוא יהוה אלהים		להיות לך לאלהים
		v.8	והייתי להם לאלהים
v.8	לעולם בריתו...לאסף דור	v.7	לדרתם לברית עולם
v.10	ברית עולם		
v.11	אתן את-ארץ כנען חבל נחלתכם	v.8	ונתתי...את כל ארץ כנען לאחזת עולם
v.12	וגרים בה (ארץ)		ארץ מגריך

vv.12-15 God protects the sojourners

vv.16-22 God intervenes (שלח) -
the Joseph story

v.23	ויבא ישראל מצרים ויעקב גר בארץ חם	Exod.1:1	הכאים מצרימה את יעקב איש וכיתו באו
v.24	ויפר את עמו מאד ויעצמהו מצרים	v.7	פרו וישרצו וירבו ויעצמו במאד מאד

v.25 להתנכל בעבדיון
 vv.26-36 God intervenes (שלת)-

v.13 ויעברו... את בני ישראל

Moses and Aaron,
 the Plagues

v.37 ויצ'אם בכסף ונחב Exod.11:2; 12:35-36; Gen.15:14 (120)

The covenant promise, "I will be your God" found only in P's formulation of the Abraham covenant (Gen. 17) is echoed in Ps.105:7 and Ps.106:47. This formula in Gen.17:8 is applied to the children of Israel in Exod.6:7. Understood in this context, the covenant which God remembered to Israel in Ps.106:43 could well be the covenant which He swore to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob (Exod.6:8).

A preliminary survey of all the references to Abraham and God's promise to him in the Old Testament reveals interesting results. In the pre-Exilic prophetic literature, 'Abraham' (Isa.29:22) which is, according to C.R. North, texturally suspect, and in the last verse of Micah (7:20), which is regarded by North and others (e.g. H.H. Rowley) as a late passage. (121) Amos and Hosea do not even mention Abraham at all. (122)

(120) The connection between Gen.15:14 and Ps.105:37, which are the only two places referring to depouling of the Egyptian outside Exodus (3:21-22; 11:2-3; 12:35-36), is very significant. It is probably right that both the psalm and Gen.15:13-16 are from the same source.

Gen.15:13 :	Sojourners in a foreign land	-Ps.105:23
	They will be slaves and oppressed	- 25
14	Judgment on the nation they served	- 26-36
	They shall come out with possessions-	37

Gen.15:13-16 "are obviously out of place in J, because they presuppose the promise of the land. They are generally assigned to a redactor, although it is difficult to conceive a motive for their insertion." Skinner, Genesis, (ICC), p.293. Von Rad also admits that it is an insertion (from E?). "The concern of these verses is clear, they are 'aetiological', designed to clarify a riddle: Abraham had received the promise, but it was not fulfilled for many generations." Genesis, (OTL), p.182. Eissfeldt supposes that Gen.15:13-16 belongs to E; Exod.3:21-22 to L; Exod.11:2-3 to E; and 12:35-36 to L. Skinner, however, observes that ברכש גדול (v.14) is from P and perhaps also אלקים (v.13), p.282

(121) C.R. North, The Old Testament Interpretation of History, 1946, p.43. J.L. Mays, Micah, (OTL), p.30.

(122) Amos does not allude to any of the Patriarchal stories. The names 'Isaac' (Amos 7:9,16); 'Jacob' (3:13;6:8;7:2,5;8:7) and Joseph (5:6, 15;6:6) are designations of the people of Israel. 'Joseph' appears in only three other prophets (Ezek.37:16,19;47:13;48:32; Ob.1:18; Zech.10:6) and five Psalms, four of which are Asaphite psalms:77:15; 78:67; 80:1; 105:17. Ps.105 is associated with the Asaphite singers in I Chron.16.

It is clear that only in and after the Exile does the Patriarchal tradition take on a great prominence in the utterance of the prophets. And then the first forefather, Abraham, becomes even more important. (123)

The prophetic tradition before Deutero-Isaiah demonstrate the elections of Israel in terms of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt (Amos 3:1f.; Hos. 11:1f.; 13:4; Ezek. 20:5ff.; Jer. 2:4ff.). Only Deutero-Isaiah who gives to the Exodus theme an important role in understanding God's dealing with Israel in history, associates God's election with the choice of the Patriarchs. Abraham is designated as the friend of God (Isa. 41:8f.; cf. II Chron. 20:7). The other reference to Abraham is in the message of comfort, Isa. 51:2. Here the calling of the one in order to bring blessing to many (ארבה) reflects the tradition of Gen. 12:1-3, which may also form the basis of the appeal made by the people of Jerusalem in Ezekiel's time : the land promise to Abraham who was one is the natural basis for the people who are many to receive the land (ואתה נתת לנו ארבה , Ezek. 33:24). Ezekiel repudiates the popular appeal to Abraham as the basis for the possession of the land by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Ezekiel's view of the gift of the land is conditional upon obedience to the law. God poses a number of questions to those who hold the false belief in the promise of the land in Ezek. 33:23-26.

Ezekiel understands that obedience to God alone and the promise of the land are two aspects of the oath which Yahweh made with the forefathers of the Exodus-wilderness generation when He brought them out of Egypt (Ezek. 20:5-7, ... לְהוֹצִיאֵם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם). When Ezekiel refers to the forefathers, most of the time he has the Exodus generation in mind (אבותיכם , Ezek. 20:42; 36:28; 47:14; אבותיך , Ezek. 20:18, 27, 30, 36; 37:25; אבותם , Ezek. 20:4, 24).

The only reference to Abraham in Jeremiah is in the renewed promise of the future return of the Exiles and the restored community. Yahweh reconfirms His covenant with David (33:14-22). If we examine the 'forefather' passages in Jeremiah, we shall discover that Jeremiah usually associates the 'forefathers' with the Exodus-wilderness tradition (2:5; 7:22, 25; 11:4, 7; 31:32; 32:22; 34:13, 14). Those passages which are connected with the promise of the land carry a strong accusational sense (2:4ff.; 7:14, 22f.; 11:7, 10; 16:10-13; 23:39; 24:10; 34:13; 44:9, 10). In Jeremiah 2:4ff. the אבותיכם of עקב and בית ישראל are those who were brought up from Egypt by Yahweh and who ^{went} far from Him after the entry into the land (vv. 6-7).

(123) C.R. North, op.cit., p.43.

From the evidence above, it is clear that Jeremiah and Ezekiel are only concerned with the 'fathers' from the time of the Exodus onward when they demonstrate the sinfulness of Israel. There was a continuity of disobedience from the forefathers to the children up to the present generation. Therefore they uphold the idea that possession of land is subject to the condition of obedience and loyalty.

Deuteronomy also makes possession of the land conditional upon obedience to the covenant and law as also in the reference to the promise of land to the Patriarchs (1:8; 6:10, 18ff; 9:3-5; 29:12-16; 30:20). These passages are either connected with the saving acts of God in the Exodus (6:10; 29:12-16) or the conquest (9:3-5; 30:18ff). Van Seters concludes from his examination of the references to the land promise in Deuteronomy in which the fathers' names are given that the names are always in apposition to the term "fathers", e.g. "the land which I swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob to give them".⁽¹²⁴⁾ He claims that in JE, including Deut. 34:4, the reference to the Patriarchs is direct, non-appositional (Exod. 33:1; Num. 32:11; 34:4).⁽¹²⁵⁾ He then jumps to the assertion that the names of the Patriarchs in Deuteronomy are later additions and the fathers would then mean the forefathers of the Exodus generation;⁽¹²⁶⁾ as he claims that:

"The Deuteronomic tradition, apart from these late Exilic additions, also made Yahweh's self-disclosure, election, covenant, promises begin with the Exodus just as in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the modification of the promise theme to make it patriarchal is secondary and Exilic."⁽¹²⁷⁾

Van Seters draws his conclusion that the JE corpus is post-Deuteronomic and Exilic at the earliest on the scarcity of references to the Patriarchs in the eighth century prophets and in Ezekiel and Jeremiah.⁽¹²⁸⁾ "A date for the first literary formulation of the tradition, by the Yahwist, to the time of the United Monarchy has been rejected."⁽¹²⁹⁾ He believes that the Yahwist's version dates to the Exilic period. The divine name connected with the Patriarchs is regarded by him as non-existent in pre-Exilic period in any cultic confession, or prophetic speech (I Kg. 18:36; I Chron. 29:18; II Chron. 30:6; Ps. 47:10; Ps. 105:6ff).

(124) Van Seters, "Confessional Reformulation in the Exilic Age," VT, 22, 1972, pp. 448-59, esp. p. 451.

(125) Deut. 9:27 appeals to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as God's servants, the reference is direct.

(126) Ibid., p. 452, the other references to the Patriarchs in Deut. 9:27; I Kg. 18:36 & II Kg. 13:23 are late exilic additions.

(127) Ibid., p. 454, Frederick V. Winnett's examination of the Primeval (to be cont'd)

Objections against van Seters' proposal can be raised.⁽¹³⁰⁾ The 'people of God of Abraham' used in the pre-Exilic enthronement psalm (Ps. 47:9) contradicts van Seters' conclusion that the divine name connected with the Patriarchs is not used in the pre-Exilic period in any cultic, confession or prophetic speech.

If van Seters' proposal is repudiated, we still have to account for the surprisingly few references to the Patriarchal traditions in the pre-Exilic prophets, especially to the Abrahamic covenant. Scholars have recognised the problem for a long while. "If the prophets knew of any covenant with Abraham they do not mention it. Indeed, their allusions to any covenant at all are fewer than might have been expected."⁽¹³¹⁾ Assuming that the classical prophets of the pre-Exilic period have knowledge of the Patriarchal traditions through oral transmission or access to written forms of them, there are at least two possible considerations to help us in solving the problem. Either it is due to the liberty of the prophets who are free in the choice of material which is relevant to their concept of election and the nature of their message, or it is because of the close association of the Abrahamic covenant with the Davidic covenant.⁽¹³²⁾

The canonical prophets frequently appeal to traditions to support their messages or to make their messages easily understood by expressing them in terms of the historical traditions familiar to their listeners.⁽¹³³⁾

history, the Patriarchal narratives and the Joseph story leads him to the conclusions that Genesis is of late origin than the early part of the book of Exodus and Number and the late J came from the post-Exilic period. "Re-examining the Foundations," JBL, 84, 1965, pp. 1-19.

(128) Hosea and Amos do not mention Abraham. There is only one reference in Isaiah 29:22 and Micah 7:20.

(129) Van Seters, Abraham in History and Tradition, p. 310.

(130) The Abrahamic covenant is ancient and not a late invention or development. John Bright: "the covenant with Abraham can hardly be regarded as a later retrojection of the Sinaitic covenant into the more distant past", Covenant and promise, the Future in the Preaching of the Pre-Exilic Prophets, 1977, p. 27.

(131) C.R. North, The Old Testament Interpretation of History, 1946, p. 50, cf. W.A. Irwin, "The Hebrews," The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, 1946, p. 327. "Since the old narrative documents incorporated in the Pentateuch, commonly designated J and E, according to orthodox criticism were already in existence before the age of the prophets, it is strange that these writers should pass over the impressive account of Abraham's call and the promise to him."

(132) W.A. Irwin suggests that "the J-E stories of Abraham represent a little-known tradition which only through the growing prestige of the proto-Pentateuch won general acceptance about the time of the Exile", ibid.

The selection of material is primarily determined by the content of the prophetic message and the prophetic understanding of the origin of the election of Israel. The Exodus-Wilderness-Conquest traditions are central to the prophets because many of them see the existence of Israel in terms of the gracious deliverance from Egypt. H.H. Rowley identifies two points of view on the election of Israel. The election of the Israelite slaves in Egypt through Moses is far greater in significance in the history of religion.⁽¹³⁴⁾ It is not until the post-Exilic period that we find mention of promise to the fathers in the prophets (Isa. 41:8f; 51:2; cf. Mic. 7:20 which is commonly ascribed to the post-Exilic period). It is noted that Deuteronomy associates the deliverance from Egypt with the election in Abraham.

"It was just because Yahweh loved you and because He kept the oath which he swore to your fathers that Yahweh has brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you from the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt." (Deut. 4:37; 10:15)

Amos implies that God comes to know the whole family of Israel only at the Exodus (3:1-2):

v. 1. Hear this word that the Lord has spoken against you, O people of Israel, against the whole family which I brought up out of the land of Egypt:

2. "You only have I known
of all the families of the earth;
therefore I will punish you
for all your iniquities.

He refers to the Exodus deliverance (2:10a), wilderness guidance for 40 years (2:10b) and the possession of the land of the Amorite (2:10c) in this sequence. Yahweh's special relationship to Israel was initiated by God's saving acts in Egypt. Amos ironically deals with the people's confidence in God's election and their claim to be the 'first of the nations' (Amos 6:1-7) by announcing His determination to punish Israel for all her iniquities and by His denial of the primacy to God's deliverance from Egypt (Amos 9:7).⁽¹³⁵⁾

Hosea also goes back to God's calling out of His son from Egypt (Hos. 11:1; cf. Hos. 8:13; 11:5 return to Egypt). Yahweh loves, nurtures and comforts Israel in the desert (2:15; 9:10; 12:9(10); 13:4-5), the desert is the place of renewal and training. Hosea contrasts God's gracious election with Israel's stubborn response (11:2; 13:6). He recalls

(133) Walter Brueggemann illustrates this point clearly in his study of Hosea, Tradition and Crisis, 1968, p. 26.

(134) H.H. Rowley, The Biblical Doctrine of Election, 1950, p. 35.

(135) Fohrer, HIR, pp. 184-6.

the great saving deed of God to testify against Israel's failure and to justify the devastation she has brought upon herself (11:5-6; 12:7-14; 13:7-8). (136) Walter Brueggemann explains that the prophets do not employ the Patriarchal traditions until the Exilic period for they do not want to stress the tradition about God's free promise. (137)

To Hosea, Israel was chosen at the Exodus and the Wilderness. It is not a Patriarchal election but an Exodus election. (138) The 'fore-fathers' whom God elects are those in the Wilderness generation (Hos. 9:10):

v. 10. Like grapes in the wilderness,
I found Israel.
Like the first fruit on the fig tree,
in its first season,
I saw your fathers.
But they came to Baal-peor,
and consecrated themselves to
Baal,
and became detestable like the thing they loved.

Both Ezekiel and Jeremiah expressed a similar idea. God made Himself known to Israel in Egypt when He chose her (Ezek. 20:5; Jer. 2:5-7; 7:22ff; 16:14f; 23:7f). The Wilderness period is to Jeremiah as it is to Hosea a time of honeymoon for a bride and her bridegroom, a period of obedience and grace (Jer. 2:2f; Hos. 2:2-23 (4-25)). God brought Israel through the wilderness and gave her the land but she forgot Him when they entered the land (Hos. 9:10; Jer. 2:7). She has broken the covenant (Hos. 8:2; Ezek. 16:59f; Jer. 11:3ff; 14:21).

Jeremiah is familiar with Yahweh's covenant with the Davidic dynasty (Jer. 23:5f; cf. 22:30). However, he opposes to the false belief in the Jerusalem Temple (7:1-5; 26:1-24). Ezekiel also knows both the Exodus and the Zion traditions, the former functions as more decisive and fundamental to the understanding of the sinfulness of Israel and the grace of Yahweh (Ezek. 20:1-44). Israel rebelled against Yahweh even at the beginning of the election (Ezek. 20:5-8). The Davidic-Zion tradition is important especially in the future restoration (Ezek. 34:23-30; 37:15-28).

(136) Walter Brueggemann, op.cit., p.26.

(137) Ibid., p.29. Hosea does incorporate the tradition of Jacob in his oracle. An extensive amount of attention has been paid to this tradition. H.L.Ginsberg, "Hosea's Ephraim, More Fool than Knave: A new interpretation of Hosea 12:1-14," JBL, 80, 1961, pp. 339-347; Ackroyd, "Hosea and Jacob," VT, 13, 1963, pp. 245-259. E.M. Good, "Hosea and the Jacob Tradition," VT, 16, 1966, pp. 137-151, etc. E.M. Good suggests that Hosea's failure to give evidence of knowledge of the entire Jacob tradition cannot be sufficient reason to doubt the existence of the tradition as we have it.

Since these prophets are concerned with the justification of indictment upon Israel, they draw Israel's attention to her past history, which reveals Yahweh's saving activities and man's predominantly sinful deeds. A history of disobedience serves as a basis for God's punishment. Therefore, calamities are then proclaimed to be sent to match with the people's rebellions.⁽¹³⁹⁾ This accounts for the few references to the Abrahamic traditions which are more naturally associated with oracles of salvation and the proclamation of the future restoration as in the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah. The evidence also shows the liberty of the prophets in their selection, interpretation and application of historical traditions which are meaningful to their situations and the messages that they are summoned to deliver.

We now come to the second consideration: the connection of the promise to Abraham and the covenant with David. The covenant to David in II Sam. 7 is remodelled on the pattern of the Abrahamic covenant.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The former is the fulfilment of the latter⁽¹⁴¹⁾. The three-fold promise to Abraham, possession of the land of Canaan by Abraham's descendants, growth into a great nation and blessings to the nations of the land in Gen. 12:1-3, gets its historical fulfilment in the Davidic monarchy. Furthermore, Clements identifies certain royal motifs behind Gen. 12:1-3 and Gen. 15.⁽¹⁴²⁾ The land promised to Abraham in Gen. 15:18-21 reflects the boundaries of the Davidic empire. In Gen. 17:6, 16, future kings are promised to Abraham as his descendants.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Furthermore, the terminology used to express the Davidic covenant also serves as a definition of the covenant with Abraham: חסד (II Sam. 7:15; Deut. 7:12; Isa. 54:10; 55:3); שבועה (Ps. 132:11 [12]); ברית עולם (II Sam. 23:5; Gen. 17:7, 13, 19; Ps. 105:8-10). The description of the Davidic covenant in Ezek. 37 (vv. 24-28) has its parallel in that of Abraham's covenant

(138) W. Brueggemann, op.cit., p. 151.

(139) Fohrer, HIR, pp. 275-276.

(140) R.E. Clements, Abraham and David, p. 56ff.

(141) G.E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," BA, 17, pp. 50-76.

(142) Clements, op.cit., pp. 15-19.

(143) Clements, op.cit., p. 5f. This looks like a promise of dynasty. Weinfeld, DDS, p. 80. The Abrahamic and Davidic covenants are a promissory type and "land" and "house" (dynasty) are the most prominent gifts of the suzerain in the Hittite document. See Weinfeld, "Covenant, Davidic," IDB, Suppl., p. 189f.

in Lev. 26 (vv. 11-13, 42-45): the land He promised to the forefathers (37:25-26; 26:42); His dwelling place among the people (37:26-27, *אֶשְׁכְּנֵנִי עִלְיָם*; 26:11, *אֶשְׁכְּנֵנִי בְּתוֹכְכֶם*); He will be their God and they shall be His people (37:27; 26:12). John Bright correctly points out that in its essential features, the covenant with David follows the pattern of the Patriarchal covenant." (144) Therefore, Clements believes that the Yahwist sees an important connection between Abraham and David. (145) H.H. Rowley brings Abraham and David in an interesting parallel: "Abraham who recognizes the priesthood of Melchizedek corresponds to David who recognizes the priestly office of Zadok, and the Melchizedek who blesses Abraham corresponds to Zadok who blesses David." (146)

Moshe Weinfeld draws our attention to the fact that the promise of land and descendants to Abraham come as a reward for his faithfulness (Gen. 22:16-18; 26:5) and, similarly, the covenant to David is also a reward for David's loyalty (I Kg. 3:6; 8:25; 9:7; 11:4, 6; 14:8; 15:3 etc.) (147) Moreover, he indicates that the covenants with Abraham and David are based on a common pattern, both have similar literary formulation; their promise of progeny in Gen. 15:4-5 is formulated in the same way as the promise of the dynasty in II Sam. 7:12, and the promise of great name to Abraham in Gen. 12:2 resembles II Sam. 7:9. Based on this evidence, he concludes that Genesis traditions are crystallized under the impact of the United Kingdom. (148) It is recognized by many scholars that the traditions of the Patriarchs, the Exodus, the Wilderness and the Conquest were put together in the Davidic-Solomonic period under the framework of Yahweh's promise of land to the Patriarchs. The Conquest was then viewed as the fulfilment of the promise. The blending of traditions can be seen in Gen. 15:7 where "I am Yahweh who brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldeans" reflects the formula in Exod. 20:2: "I am Yahweh thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt".

(144) John Bright, op.cit., p. 70.

(145) The Patriarchal traditions are widely preserved in popular folk tales only secondarily connected with the covenant tradition of Heilsgeschichte. R.E. Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, 1965, p. 67: "the older covenant tradition of Israelite amphictyony was subsumed by a new covenant ideology centering in the divine election of David and of Mt. Zion." P. 121.

(146) Gen. 14:18-24; Ps. 110:4, H.H. Rowley, Melchizedek and David, "VT, 17, 1967, p. 485; see also another article by Rowley, "Melchizedek and Zadok," Festschrift für A Bertholet, 1950, pp. 461-472.

As mentioned above, the land Yahweh promised to Abraham reflects the boundaries of David's empire. (149)

The remarkable lack of reference to the Abrahamic covenant in Israel's classical prophets of the pre-Exilic age is then explained by Clements on the ground that the Abrahamic covenant is behind the royal covenant. It is not necessary to go behind the latter until the fall of the Davidic house. (150) For this very reason, he claims a post-Exilic date for Ps. 105. Ishida also summarizes the relationship between the two covenants in the following words:

"The present shape of the Abrahamic covenant was moulded in the Davidic-Solomonic period by reinterpreting the ancient tradition of the Patriarchs to show that in David, the promise to the Patriarchs is fulfilled, and renewed." (151)

The great stress on the importance of the Abrahamic covenant and the figure of Abraham began in the Exile. It is the ground for a firm belief in a national restoration and repossession of the land (Ezek. 33:23-24; Jer. 33:26; Isa. 41:8; 51:2; 63:16). It is within this same belief that the Priestly writers re-interpret the history of Israel. Its permanent validity and unconditional character are two of the significant features of P's understanding of God's covenant (Gen. 17).

P gives the ancient covenant tradition a new meaning for the Exilic age: the fulfilment of God's purpose in election and anticipatory re-occupation of the land. (152) Israel stands in the Patriarchal promise as the seed of her forefather Abraham. Therefore, it is clear that P's interest is not directed merely to the past but also to the present situation and to the greater fulfilment in the future. It uses older materials with the intention of the reconstruction of the restored com-

(147) M. Weinfeld, DDS, p. 74. He shows the close affinities between the grant terminology in the Assyrian text, the grant of Assurbanipal to his servant Baltaya and the covenant with Abraham and that with David, pp. 75-78.

(148) DDS, p. 80.

(149) Gen. 15:18-21, "The size of the promised land corresponds to the extent of Solomon's kingdom at the period of its greatest extent (I Kg. 4:21)." von Rad, Genesis, p. 183.

(150) Clements, op.cit., p. 61-63.

(151) Ishida, The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel, 1977, p. 117.

(152) The theme of promise and fulfilment is first found in early sources. Otto Eissfeldt and others, including Ackroyd, IBP, p. 151, take the allocation of territory (Josh. 13-19) as belonging to P. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament, An Introduction, p. 223.

munity of faith after they return from the Exile. The Priestly account of the promise to Abraham seems to impute a royal status to descendants of Abraham: "kings shall come out of thee" (Gen. 17:6). In Ps. 105:15 the Patriarchs are assigned the title "anointed ones" which may refer to the kingly or Priestly figures in the Exile. It is in the Exile that the appeal to Abraham becomes significant. ⁽¹⁵³⁾ To carry back Israel's election to the Patriarchs in Isa. 51:2 gives a great hope to the present state of defeat and humiliation. When the doubt upon the Davidic promise is mounting because of the national distress, the promise to Abraham is meaningful. But the fulfilment of that promise still depends on Yahweh who is king (Isa. 41:21; 43:15; 52:7), while Israel's proper relationship with Him is one of "elect one" and "servant" (Isa. 41:8-9; 42:19; 43:10; 44:1-2; 45:4 etc. cf. Ps. 105:8, 25, 26, 42, 43). Israel is God's servant because their ancestors were God's servants (Ps. 105:6, 25). ⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

The materials of P can be classified, according to Brueggemann into three categories: ⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

1. The laws and regulations
2. The genealogies
3. The narrative elements scattered throughout the Pentateuch.

He regards Gen. 1:28 as one of the most significant verses in P. The use of the five verbs in the blessing of Gen. 1:28 points to "a statement about the radical claim of God to establish His will for well-being and prosperity." ⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ The proclamation fits the situation of the Exile well: homeless and rootless, alienated from the land and traditions. The form of the blessing in Gen. 1:28 echoes throughout the P narrative, especially at some critical stages: in the flood narrative, Gen. 8:17; 9:1, 7; in the covenant to Abraham, 17:2f; to Isaac, 17:20f; to Jacob, 28:1-4; 35:11; to Joseph, 47:27; 48:3-4 and finally to the Israelites in Egypt, Exod. 1:1-5, 7. Brueggemann suggests that the formula of P is derived from an old land-possession tradition (Deut. 6:3, 7:13, 8:1,

(153) Commentators realize the importance of appealing to Abraham in Isaiah: J. McKenzie, Second Isaiah (AB), pp. 31, 125, R.N. Whybray, Isaiah 40-66, (NCB), p. 63f, Westermann, Isaiah 40-66 (OTL), p. 70f.

(154) John D. Levenson perceives that the ground of hope for the pre-exilic Dtr. 1 is the covenant with David while the Exilic Dtr. 2 which confesses that "There is no one who does not sin" (II Kg. 8:46) builds its hope on the covenant with the fathers, "Who Inserted the Book of the Torah," HTR, 68, 1975, p. 232.

(155) Walter Brueggemann, "The Kerygma of the Priestly Writers," ZAW, 84, 1972, pp. 397-403.

13, 11:21; 28:63; 30:16) (157) and probably from the conquest tradition. The thread running through P is the promise of land, "the moment when the word is spoken is precisely the moment of landlessness, the Exile." (158)

The legal material would then be related to the reconstructing and ordering of life after the re-entry. Cult is the guarantee of holiness required to retain the land. The genealogies give an expression of "continuity between the fathers and the present generation of exile." (159) This fits into the idea of the people being the offspring of the Patriarchs. The theme of promise and fulfilment also underlies the genealogies. (160)

The twofold promise, land and posterity, is very old in the history of the tradition. (161) In P the promise of land seems to occupy a more prominent position (Gen. 17:4ff, 8, 19; 28:3f; 35:11f; 48:4 etc.). As time went by this element assumed a greater importance. (162)

D.J. McCarthy supposes that in the restored community "an appeal to the promissory and absolute kind of covenant which had been given to David's line and to the Patriarchs" was made. (163) Chronicler gives prime importance to David and his covenant at the expense of the Exodus and Sinai covenant. It seems that P has dropped a formal covenant making at Sinai. (164) Covenant in P is, therefore, independent of the law at Sinai. This eternal validity of the covenant promise which is transformed and re-applied to the people, has its anchorage point in the

(156) Ibid., p. 401. The five verbs are taken as a refutation of the opposites: (פִּרְיָא) be fruitful - no more barrenness, (רַב־רָב) multiply - no more lack of heirs, (כִּבְשָׁה) subdue - no more subservience, (יָרַד) have dominion - no more being dominated, (מִלֵּא) fill the earth - no more being crowded out.

(157) P.D. Miller, Jr., "The Gift of the Land, the Deuteronomistic Theology of the Land," Interpretation, 31, 1969, pp. 451-465.

(158) W.Brueggemann, op.cit., p. 410.

(159) Ibid., p. 412.

(160) The Patriarchs lived in the land which was referred to as the "land of their sojourning" (Gen. 17:8; 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; 47:1; Exod. 6:4) because it is only promised to them. The purpose of the first plot of the land (Gen. 23, Machpelah) was a partial fulfilment. Von Rad says that P gives an even weightier expression to the idea of the "great Israel" as compared to J. P uses the word נַחֲלֵינוּ with the intention of anticipating a future fulfilment of the land as a unified whole. He perceives that "The promise of the land itself was proclaimed ever anew, even after its fulfilment, as a future benefit of God's redemptive activity." "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch," PHOE, 1966, p.93.

(161) von Rad, OTT, I, p. 168.

(162) Islwyn Blythin, "The Patriarchs and the Promise," SJT, 21, 1968, pp. 56-73, p. 64.

(163) D.J. McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant, p. 46.

Davidic covenant (II Sam. 7:16; 23:5; Pss. 89:29-30,37; 102:12) and is thereby founded on God's word to Abraham. The reorientation of the religion of Israel in the P document gives rise to the subtle tension between law and God's love; both are reality and both are the experiences of the people. This tension is also seen in Ps. 105, the last verse of which tries to harmonize the grace of God and His demand by pointing to the obedience to the law as the ultimate aim of God's saving action. When Ps. 105 and Ps. 106 are read together, the elements of the people's disobedience in their response to God's saving deeds are obvious. Nevertheless God would not forget His promise to their forefathers. Lev. 26:40ff is a good example of the thought of the Priestly stratum.

- v. 40. But if they confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their fathers in their treachery which they committed against me, and also in walking contrary to me,
41. so that I walked contrary to them and brought them into the land of their enemies; if then their uncircumcised heart is humbled and they make amends for their iniquity;
42. then I will remember my covenant with Jacob, and I will remember my covenant with Isaac and my covenant with Abraham, and I will remember the land.

The rebellion of the people results in the banishment from the land. But God will restore them if they repent and return. He will remember the covenant with the Patriarchs and David. John Bright sums up the proper relationship of the Abrahamic/Davidic Covenant with the Mosaic (Sinaitic) covenant:

"The Mosaic covenant reminded Israel of God's grace to her which had saved her and made her his people, and of her obligation to live in obedience to his commandments if she wished to continue in his favour and receive his blessing. The promise to Abraham and to David assured her that, in the final analysis, her future rested ultimately not in what she was - or had, or had not, done - but in the sure, immutable purposes of God which nothing could cancel. Without the one, Israel could not have been God's people; without the other, she might well have lived - to despair." (165)

This summary by John Bright is supported by passages which report the sins of the people and only because of the covenant of God with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob do the people have any hope of restoration (Exod. 32:13; Lev. 26:41f; Deut. 9:27; Neh. 9:8; Isa. 41:8; 51:3; Mic. 7:22 and Sir. 44: 19-22).

(164) Ibid., p. 48, Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration, p. 95.

(165) John Bright, op.cit., 1977, p. 196.

VI The Religious Function of Historical Review

1. The Role of History in the Old Testament Faith

What we have so far shown is, firstly, the tendency to incorporate into the historical recital of the past the present experience of the people. The recounting of the past in every generation is not simply a repetition of the bare facts of historical events. Every generation participates in the continuity and growth of historical heritage. The Exodus, being the exemplary deliverance, embraces each later deliverance from enemies as its extension and enlargement. ⁽¹⁾ We must, therefore, reconsider the idea that the historical traditions of a nation are the creation of some individual genius. At least this is hardly the case in Ancient Israel. Secondly, it is clear that the theology of election is sustained by a covenant notion which has its source in the divine saving deeds of Yahweh. In this chapter we shall engage ourselves with the issue of the continuation of the covenant. This will involve an investigation of the didactic recollection of the basic facts of election - the Heilsgeschichte, and the cultic rehearsal of the foundation of the covenant - the ָּוְרָת which is manifested in history. Equally important is the question of the breach of covenant. When a breach has taken place, the possibility of covenant renewal depends very much on the forgiveness of God. Ps. 106 acknowledges the role of confession of sin and that of petition for help as essentials of covenant renewal.

Albrektson has skilfully and convincingly argued for a modification of one aspect of contemporary Old Testament theology, "the exaggerated emphasis on historical events as a distinctive and supreme medium of revelation." ⁽²⁾ He discovers that the idea of divine acts in history is a common heritage of Ancient Near East and Israel. His two concluding remarks are remarkably suitable for our discussion on the role of history in Israelite's faith and cult in this chapter. Firstly, after a great

(1) J.N.M. Wijngaards, The Dramatization of Salvific History in the Deuteronomic Schools, 1969, p. 59.

(2) B. Albrektson, History and the Gods, 1967, esp. 122. Saggs also disputes the view that "Israelites saw their God as active within history in an immediate and direct manner not found in the thought of other ancient Near Eastern peoples." The Encounter with the Divine in Mesopotamia and Israel, 1978, pp. 64-92.

effort to demonstrate through comparison with extra-biblical material that the emphasis on historical events is not distinctively Israelite, but Israel share a common theology with the Ancient Near East in the concept of historical events as divine revelation, Albrektson positively states that history "has marked the Israelite cult in a way that lacks real parallels among Israel's neighbours." (3) This means that the distinctiveness of the idea of historical events as divine revelation is sought in the centrality of the idea in worship and its capacity to influence the cult. We shall occupy ourselves with the role of historical events and historical recitation in the Israelite cult in this chapter. Secondly, Albrektson discusses the absolutely essential aspect of historical events - the divine word about history given to His chosen messengers without which one does not know for sure God's purpose behind the occurrences: "the Old Testament view of the divine deed is not possible without the divine word." (4) That means that an authoritative word in the direct divine speech or delivered through the prophet as a subsequent interpretation of events which have already occurred is needed and this in turn gives a specific character to the Hebrew faith. The Israelites have to listen, to learn and to remember the word and the event which the prophet intends to communicate from generation to generation. Therefore, in order to understand the importance of word and knowledge in Israel, we shall also investigate the review of history in the historical psalms to see the role of the word, the word which interprets historical events and communicates the inner meaning of the events. In addition to providing a knowledge of God's purpose in history, the word also reveals an understanding of the true nature of Yahweh, the intention and the innermost thought of His heart. Ps. 78 will be examined with this aspect in mind while Pss. 105-106 are good examples for studying the function of historical reviews in the cult.

Ps. 78 illustrates that Israel sustains her "memorial" of Yahweh's deeds through instruction. In addition to the didactic aspect of covenant, Israel, as a cultic community, has the obligation as well as pressure to praise Yahweh (Ps. 105). The act of praise is substantiated by the people's

(3) B. Albrektson, op.cit., p. 115.

(4) Ibid., p. 122. He gives an example that the notion of election (Deut. 7:6ff; 10:14ff) "cannot be discovered from the course of events or from the deeds themselves, but has to be revealed in a verbal communication, in words." p. 118.

historical experience. Every generation is to acquire this experience through the re-presentation of the Heilsgeschichte in terms of recital and cultic dramatization. Therefore it is significant to observe Israel's response of praise behind which is the actio Dei. Besides instruction and recital, Heilsgeschichte functions as justifying the present punishment and providing the ground for future restoration (ps. 106). Therefore, the recitation of the history of salvation can function in psalms of different forms and character. The three historical psalms 78, 105 and 106 are quite different: Ps. 78 recounts history in order to teach the people a lesson in the covenant, Ps. 105 with its hymnic introduction, represents her history of the Abrahamic promise to evoke praise of God and Ps. 106 resembles a national lament of the people in cultic confession of sin. (5)

The very concept of covenant implies a historical consciousness. (6) Yahweh is the God of Exodus (Hos. 11:1; 12:10; 13:4) the forgetfulness of whose deeds in history is regarded as sin. Any feast which does not lead the people to be mindful of the great deed of Yahweh is not acceptable (Isa. 5:12). In Judg. 2:7 we learn that Israel remained a faithful worshipper of Yahweh as long as there was somebody who witnessed the entire sequence of great deeds in the Exodus. But when there was no one who knew what He had done for Israel the people worshipped Baal (Judg. 2:10). (7) That is why a preservation of the historical tradition is repeatedly insisted on (Exod. 13:8, 14f). Gideon also witnesses to such a practice of transmission from father to son (Judg. 6:13). We shall go into more detail on this point.

The place of history in the Israelite faith can be illustrated in the progressive historicization of the festivals which originally had no connection with the commemoration of Israel's historical events, but were simply agricultural feasts and celebrations of nature's productivity by people whose lives were dependent so much upon the seasonal cycle and the land. (8) The redemption from the house of bondage is

(5) Hans Zirker, Die Kultische Vergegenwärtigung der Vergangenheit in den Psalmen, 1964, pp. 35f.

(6) H. Gese puts forward this idea of covenant and history in the Old Testament in "The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East and the Old Testament," JTC, I, 1965, p.52. The Exodus event actualized the covenant which became a historic event, p. 60.

(7) Östborn, Yahweh and Baal, 1956, pp. 39-40.

(8) E. Jacob states the double relationship between history and faith; "history provides faith with its object" and "faith gives to history (to be cont'd)

celebrated at the festival of Passover (Deut. 16). (9) The festival did not create history of salvation but only commemorated that history. The formulation of the historical tradition, however, is deeply influenced by the cultic celebration. (10) G.E.Wright suggests that:

"the priority must belong to the historical tradition which gave rise to the celebration in the first place, a tradition transformed and shaped by the liturgical needs. History has surely given the Israelite cult its peculiar form, while the cult in turn has used and refashioned the tradition to fit the needs of worship." (11)

Hosea is fully aware of the history of the past and, moreover, the psalmists bear witness to the cultic recital of history (Pss. 78, 105, 106, 135, 136). Therefore a balanced perception of the proper link between historical traditions and cultus in ancient Israel must take account of the potentiality of historical experience and the vitality of the cultus. History of salvation contributes to the content of the cultic drama and recitation. By the cult the faith of Israel in the redemptive act of Yahweh and His righteousness is transformed and reinforced. Ultimately the cult develops not so much along the myth and ritual pattern of manipulating or limiting Yahweh. The people appeal to Yahweh for His intervention as He did in the past. The $\gamma\omega\mu$ of God does not depend on the cultic pattern. (12)

- (8) its orientation." JTOT, p. 184. It is history in this very sense that is meant when Jacob discusses the process of historicization which has transformed "realities that are nevertheless foreign to it in origin." pp.197-28. Cf. R. de Vaux, EHI, p. 323, on the historicization of feast. Pedersen advances his belief in Exodus 1-15 as a cult legend in Israel, III-IV, pp. 728-37.
- (9) W. Harrelson, "The Religion of Israel," A Companion to the Bible, p. 341. Also Snaith's article "Worship in the Old Testament," in the same book, pp. 537ff. H.H.Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, 1967, pp. 88f. See M. Haran, Temple & Temple-service in Ancient Isarel, 1978, ch. 16.
- (10) E. Hammershaimb, "History and Cult in the Old Testament," Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W.F. Albright, 1971, pp. 279ff. G.E. Wright assumes that "the epic was the product of the cultus" in "Cult and History," Interpretation, 16, 1962, pp. 8, 13.
- (11) G.E.Wright, ibid., p.14. He summarizes the position of Wellhausen, pp. 6ff.; of Alt and Noth, pp. 8f; of Pedersen, p.9f.; Kraus, pp.17f.
- (12) On the strong unsolved dialectics between history and mythico-sacral elements, see Soggin, "God and History in Biblical Thought," Old Testament and Oriental Studies, 1975, pp. 59-66.

2. The Didactic Review of Israel's History of Salvation

The very nature and essence of Yahwism as a faith requires an absolute obedience. Obedience to Yahweh and to His commandment necessarily presupposes a knowledge of Yahweh. This knowledge is never expressed in speculative, abstract ideas since Yahweh comes to Israel in history, in the decisive redemption of Exodus and in the proclamation of His will at Sinai. Israel should know her God from His own revelation in His saving acts on behalf of her. Therefore, the knowledge of Yahweh originated in history. The historical deeds as works of salvation are not merely external events but are "seen, understood and handed down to posterity" as experience through recitation which in turn nourishes and renews the faith of the people. (13)

The demand to understand properly, to remember firmly and to pass on faithfully that understanding of the mighty deeds of Yahweh is never an independent additional requirement to the covenantal traditions. The demand itself is actually an integral part of the covenant which is itself grounded on the mighty acts of Yahweh in the past. Religious instruction should function to bring the present generation to an understanding of the mystery of history. (14) Yahweh's deeds upon which His claims on Israel are grounded, provide the substance for acquiring the knowledge of Yahweh. Yahweh makes Himself known through His deeds of bygone days and continues to act on behalf of Israel (Ps. 77:11ff. [12ff.]).

Baltzer confirms this idea by his study on the covenant formulary. He outlines the relationship between historical knowledge and covenant in these words: "Knowledge of history is necessary because the basis of Israel's life in the covenant with Yahweh depends on this knowledge." (15)

(13) See the fundamentals of faith in C.F. Barth, Introduction to the Psalms, 1966, pp. 56f.

(14) Fohrer, HIR, p. 100: "What was basic to Israel, however, was not the b_erit but the deliverance from Egypt."

(15) K. Baltzer, Covenant Formulary, p. 91, n. 6. "It might also be possible to draw a more exact picture of the Sitz-im-Leben of the great historical works of the Old Testament. They function as expanded 'antecedent histories', corresponding to the antecedent histories in Joshua 24 and Nehemiah 9."

The content of knowledge (דעת) includes Yahweh's covenant and its teaching (Hos. 4:1, 6; 8:1-2). The psalmists are familiar with the obligation to know and to pass on the knowledge of that covenant (Pass. 40:5-10 [6-11]; 78:1-7; 81:4ff. [5ff.]; 105:1-5; 111:4; 135:13). It is natural that "the knowledge of the words of the covenant was from the very outset a part of the covenant." (16) This knowledge comprises, after all, knowledge of Yahweh's saving deeds in history. The Exodus was one of the objects of the children's question and the fathers' instruction (Exod. 12:26ff.; 13:14ff.; Deut. 6:7ff., 20ff., 11:19ff.; Josh. 4:6ff., 21ff.) (17)

A confirmation for the remembrance of historical traditions of the great saving deeds of Yahweh is found in the Book of Exodus. The redemptive event is to be celebrated cultically in a perpetual observation wherein the future generations of Israelites may participate (Exod. 12:14, cf. vv. 17, 42). In addition to cultic remembrance there is the emphasis upon the oral instructional transmission of the rite and the story. Parents have to explain to their sons the meaning of the rite (12:24-27). In chapter 13 the command to observe the decisive act of redemption from Egypt looks forward to the settlement in the land (v.5). The telling of the act is anticipated to be a significant aspect of that tradition as they are chronologically far away from the act (vv. 8, 14). (18)

Exod. 12-13 reflect the tradition of the ongoing participation of Israel in the historical experience of the forefathers, a tradition which is known to and practised by the psalmists. Ps. 111 witnesses to this permanent institution of remembrance of Yahweh's wonderful saving deeds (v. 4: זכר עשה לנו לאתיו). The successive generations of Israel admitted that they came to know the Heilsgeschichte from oral transmission. "Our fathers have declared to us" (אבותינו ספר לנו) (Pss. 44:1 [2]; 78:3). Judg. 6:13 and Joel 1:3 confirm the practice of handing down that knowledge. Soggin in the above mentioned article on the Catechesis of

(16) Ibid., p. 88.

(17) Soggin, "Aetiological legends and Catechesis in the Hexateuch," Old Testament and Oriental Studies, 1975, pp. 72-77.

(18) On the education of children in family, see de Vaux, AI, p. 49. On the educational role of the father, M. Weinfeld, DDS, p. 305.

the Hexateuch suggests that the traditional answers to the children's question were handed down from antiquity and learned in the cult. (19)

The obligation laid upon Israel by Yahweh to transmit the knowledge of historical deeds is, therefore, first and foremost the duty of the father. The historical deeds of Yahweh at Exodus should be passed from father to son and commemorated in every generation (Exod. 10:2; 12:24-27; 13:8-14; cf. Ps. 78:5-6). Among other tasks, the priests too have special responsibility to uphold the knowledge of Yahweh by their instructions. It is precisely because of the neglect of this responsibility that Hosea accuses the priests of rejecting the knowledge of God and of forgetting Torah (Hos. 4:6, 10). (21)

Ultimately it is the people who are charged with the obligation to cherish the traditions of covenant. The Psalter itself gives enough indications for us to discern the duty of passing on the knowledge of the covenant traditions. (22) The people recite in worship as an open acknowledgement of the goodness of Yahweh in history. The psalmists express the practice by the use of "recount" (גָּדַל) and the "wonderful deeds" (פְּלִאיוֹת). (23) The faithful Israelites promise to proclaim (גָּלַל , גָּדַל) the wonderful deeds of Yahweh to the worshipping community and to the nation. This proclamation of the deeds of Yahweh is carried out in the morning and at night (Ps. 92:3). Jeremiah bears witness to the recitation of the work of Yahweh in Jerusalem in his description of the future restoration of Israel which consists of such a recitation, "come and let us declare in Zion the work of the Lord our God" (Jer. 51:10). (24)

The Book of Deuteronomy illustrates the close connection of the recitation of history and instruction in a marvellous way. The parenetic, didactic intention of the book is self-evident from a cursory reading of the text. The past history forms the frame of reference which the addressees are constantly reminded of. (25) The use of the imperative mood of the

(19) Soggin, op.cit., p. 77.

(20) Fohrer, HIR, p. 119 and O. Kaiser, Introduction to OT, p. 21.

(21) The "knowledge of God" is subject to interpretation. Wolff precisely sums up the content of this knowledge: the basic deeds of salvation in previous history and the divine law, Hosea, (Herm), p. 79, cf. W. McKane, Prophets and Wise Men, p. 86.

(22) See J. Kühlewein, Geschichte in den Psalmen, 1973.

(23) Pss. 9:1 [2], 14 [15]; 22:30 [31]; 26:7; 40:5 [6] etc.

(24) The recitation turns out to be in the negative in Ezek. 12:16; Yahweh spares the life of some Israelites and scatters them among the nations that they may declare their own abominations.

verb ("hear" or "listen"), usually at the beginning of an instruction delivered by the teacher is itself a pedagogical expression (Deut. 4:1; 5:1; 6:3; 9:1; 27:9). M. Weinfeld explains the strong didactic temper of Deuteronomy by the observation that "in order to strengthen the Israelite loyalty to the covenant the author of Deuteronomy not only relied on covenant typology but also employed modes of expression and imagery taken from the sapiential sphere". (26)

The didactic purpose of Deuteronomy, therefore, opens up the scope of the book instead of limiting the choice of material. All sorts of material function for teaching, regardless of their origins, whether they are of the prophetic, priestly, cultic, wisdom, Northern or Southern provenance. There is a subtle fusion of law, history and wisdom. C.M. Carmichael summarizes his observation that the Book of Deuteronomy "uses the past history of Israel for the purpose of inculcating instruction in matters social, moral, legal and religious. It, therefore, uses traditional wisdom teaching wherever convenient, in its own peculiar didactic way as a means both of illustrating the truth of the traditional teaching and also gleaning more instruction from past history." (27)

In its final form Deuteronomy presents the teaching (תורה) of Moses to the coming generations. The teaching includes a review of the history of salvation (Deut. 4-11) and an explanation of the Torah (Deut. 1:5). The book presupposes an earlier Torah received at Horeb (4:9ff.; 5:22ff. etc.) upon which a reinterpretation is given for the instruction of later generations. The incidents of history are chosen to serve as illustrations of Yahweh's deliverance and as warnings against the rebellions of the people. The book expounds the Torah and the exposition itself is a Torah. The purpose of the Torah is to make sure that the covenant may be known and hence kept. (28)

Deuteronomy can be seen to incorporate in a marvellous way the proper link between history, covenant and law. Yahweh's demand upon the community

(25) S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy, (ICC), pp. ii, xvii. A. Welch, Deuteronomy, the Framework to the Code, 1932, p. 108.

(26) M. Weinfeld, DDS, p. 298.

(27) C.M. Carmichael, "Deuteronomic Laws, Wisdom and Historical Traditions," JSS, 12, 1967, pp. 198-206, esp. p. 200.

(28) Baltzer, ibid., p. 84 does not agree with Krause, Worship in Israel, pp. 19ff., that Deut. 31:9ff. should be considered as a covenant renewal description.

is founded securely upon the historical events of the past. (29) The law book discovered in the Temple was put into operation by means of a covenant which was concluded in the Temple and mediated by King Josiah (II Kg. 22-23). The association of the law and covenant is illustrated in the special, significant place of the law in every of the historical occasion of covenant event between God and the people, whether the covenant is mediated by Moses (Exod. 24, 34), by Joshua (Josh. 24) or by Josiah (II Kg. 23).

It is, therefore, not surprising that the didactic word *תורה* in Deuteronomy tends to become so enlarged as to include the meaning of various words for law, to the extent that consequently in Deuteronomy, *תורה* equates with the covenant law. (30)

In Exod. 34 the covenant renewal is based upon the words of the stone tables. It was upon the basis of these words that Yahweh made a covenant with Israel (v. 27). Östborn rightly remarks that the words are to be "didactically disseminated after the covenant had been entered into." (31) This didactic aspect of covenant is embodied in the *תורה* which is always the foundation of a covenant (I Kg. 2:3; II Kg. 14:6; 17:13; 21:8; 23:3) and every member of the community has to be familiarized with the Torah.

There are two levels of the meaning of *תורה* expressed in Ps. 78. In v.1, *תורה* is the oral instruction of a priest, a teacher of wisdom or even a prophet. Vv. 5 and 10 use *תורה* in parallel with *עדות* and *ברית* to designate a body of written law. Both usages are presumably ancient, but the increasing dominant position of the written law was secured after the fall of the Temple. (32)

(29) M. Noth brings this point to light in his discussion in "The Laws in the Pentateuch: Their Assumptions and Meaning," LPOS, pp. 20ff.

(30) B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy," Words and Meanings, 1968, pp. 117-136, esp. pp. 128-131. The concept of *תורה* interpreted as "a gift of God to his people with a pledge (*Verpflichtung*) on the part of the people" cannot be independent of the law and obligation. Even the gift of land in the promise is not the end in itself, but what follows the gift is Yahweh's claims upon Israel. See Henri Cazelles, "Theological Bulletin on the Pentateuch," BTB, 2, 1972, p. 17, cf. E. Kutsch, "Gesetz und Gnade," ZAW, 79, 1967, pp. 18-35, and W. Brueggemann, The Land, Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith, 1978, pp. 59ff.

(31) Östborn, op.cit., p. 102.

(32) Ibid., p. 171; also E.W. Nicholson, Preaching to the Exiles, pp. 117-120, and B. Lindars, op.cit., p. 135.

What we have so far been trying to show is the didactic aspect of covenant. If the covenant is to be maintained the knowledge of the antecedent history which brings about the covenant must be acquired. By His previous saving deeds Yahweh entered into a covenant with the people. The people in turn owed Him an obligation, the fulfilment of which requires proper knowledge of Yahweh. The unity of history and law in covenant is illustrated in Ps. 78. V.4a continues the theme of oral transmission from father to son while v.4b specifies the content of the transmission: the wonderful deeds (נִפְלְאוֹת), the praises (תְּהִלּוֹת) and the strength (יָיָו) of Yahweh. These three Hebrew words embrace the Heilsgeschichte. V.5 shifts to another aspect of the transmission: the עֲדוֹת and תּוֹרָה which Yahweh established in Jacob/Israel. If v.4 refers to the previous history as the revelation of the nature of Yahweh, v.5 directs us to the proclamation of His will. Both constitute the two aspects of the knowledge of God, which is basic to covenant. Verses 10-11 accuse the forefathers of not keeping God's covenant (בְּרִית), refusing to walk according to His law (תּוֹרָה) and forgetting His wonderful deeds (נִפְלְאוֹת). A similar concentration on history and covenant obligation is apparent in prophetic literature (Amos 2:10; 5:25; 9:7; Hos. 2:15; 9:10; 11:1, 5; 12:13; Jer. 2:6 etc.)⁽³³⁾ Hosea holds a theology which integrates the divine תּוֹרָה and the divine בְּרִית (8:1). This theology is central to Deuteronomy but its origin is pre-Deuteronomic. The didactic recount of history of salvation has its place in covenant theology. The forgetting of Yahweh's saving deeds, therefore, brings judgement on the community.

3. A Breach of Covenant and Covenant Renewal

Both Pss. 78 and 106 presuppose a breach of covenant on the part of Israel. In Ps. 78 Israel is accused of not keeping God's covenant (v. 10a), not believing in His covenant (v. 37b) and not walking according to His laws (v.10b). But the paramount sin of Israel is idolatry (v. 58) which necessarily leads to the breaking of God's covenant. This breach results in Yahweh's rejection of Israel (vv. 59-60). Israel in Ps. 106 confesses the sins of her forefathers and those of the present generation (vv. 6ff.). The major sin is also that of rebellion expressed in idolatry which defiled the people themselves (vv.28, 34-38). The recitation of the history of Israel's sinfulness is to be understood in the context of

(33) R.C. Dentan, The Knowledge of God in Ancient Israel, pp. 52f.

covenant. Thus, Ps. 78:8 sums up Israel's sinfulness: a stubborn and rebellious generation ($\text{לֹא אֱמָנָה דַּלְמַתּוֹתָם}$) whose heart is not upright and whose spirit is not faithful to God.

Most of the rebellious acts of the people in Pss. 78 and 106 are connected with forgetting and not remembering God's previous saving deeds (Pss. 78:11, 22, 32, 42; 106:13a, 21-22). They did not remember His abundant love (Ps. 106:7b). They forgot His works (Ps. 106:13a, 21). Failure to remember God's acts is seen as rebellion in the Deuteronomic theology. (34)

In many cases the disobedience of the people is expressed in concrete terms, in a specific historical event: they grieved God in the desert (78:40). They lusted in the wilderness (106:14), they worshipped the Calf (106:24), they despised the pleasant land and murmured in their tents (106:25). Ps. 106 views Israel's sinful acts as going back to their rebellion at the Sea of Reeds (v.7). They rebelled because they did not comprehend God's wonderful works ($\text{לֹא יָדְעוּ אֱמוּנָתוֹ}$, v.7a). This reminds us of the demand for a good knowledge of God's saving deeds as prerequisite for the maintenance of the covenant.

Furthermore, Ps. 106 records the grave sin of not exterminating the nations as commanded by God. This very disobedience led to mixing with the nations, learning their deeds and worshipping their gods (vv. 28, 34-39). Though the Deuteronomic principle of purification and centralization of the cult are not explicitly stressed, the accusation against idolatry is very strong. Ps. 106 is the only psalm which mentions the worship of the Calf image at Horeb (v. 19). The most distinctive element of the description of the Calf incident is the forgiveness as a result of Moses' intercessory prayer. We shall return to this point later.

Ps. 78 (vv.18, 41, 56) and Ps. 106 (v. 14) describe Israel's sin of tempting God by the verb נִסָּה . (35) Israel's desire for food and drink in the wilderness is regarded as a sin of testing God.

(34) B.S. Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, 1962, p. 49.

(35) נִסָּה appears 33 times in OT, of which 23 are to describe the testing or tempting between God and man. God tests an individual like Abraham (Gen. 22:1), Hezekiah (II Chron. 32:31) and the psalmist (26:2). There are 9 occurrences in which Israel is the object of God's testing (e.g. the tribe of Levi in Deut. 33:8). The occasions for God's testing are the Exodus and the Wilderness (Exod. 15:25; 20:20; 17:12; 16:4; Deut. 8:2, 16) and the Conquest (Judg. 2:22; 3:1, 4). In Deut. 13:14 God uses the false prophets or dreamers to test Israel to know whether the latter loves the Lord whole-heartedly. The very same occasion of God's testing Israel is referred to as Israel's testing God instead, the incident of Massah and Meribah (Exod. 17:2,7; Deut. 6:16; Ps. 95:9).

Another common word in Pss. 78 and 106 to describe the sin of Israel is "rebellion" (הִתְנַחֵם). Ps. 78, in addition to referring the Israelites as "a stubborn and rebellious generation" (v.8), draws examples of the rebellion of Israel from the period of the Wilderness (vv. 17, 40). The people tempted and rebelled against God the Most High as they did not observe His testimonies (v.56) . הִתְנַחֵם is used mostly in the sense of rebellion against God by the Deuteronomists and ⁱⁿ related texts (Deut. 1: 26, 43; 9:7, 23, 24; 21:18, 20; 31:27; cf. I Sam. 12:15; I Kg. 13:21, 26; Jer. 4:17; Hos. 14:1 etc.). Ps. 106 applies the word to the rebellion at the Reed Sea (v. 7), and the rebellion against God in the people's own counsels (v. 43). The historical recitation in Ezek. 20 and in Neh. 9 are familiar with הִתְנַחֵם as denoting the sin of the people (Ezek. 20:8, 13, 21; Neh. 9:26). The common use of הִתְנַחֵם , among other similarities, in the national lamentation of Isaiah 63 (vv. 7-19) may be of significance in understanding the common background of Isa. 63 and Ps. 106.

As salvation history was gradually clouded over with the history of Israel's sin, history was from then on "understood as a collection of historical examples for human conduct with respect to the law and its consequences". (36)

The Wilderness period is a time of testing of the loyalty of Israel. The outcome of the test is that no one, not even Moses, can stand faithful and be blameless. (37) As a result of Israel's rebellion in the desert, dispersion becomes the punishment (Ps. 106:27). A similar idea of God's punishment is expressed in Ezek. 20:35-36. In Ezekiel the refrain, "and they rebelled against me" (Ezek. 20:8, 13, 21), provides the chance for a compilation of the rebellions of Israel into a history of sin, the major one of which is the sin of idolatry (vv. 30-31).

The consequences of sin are rejection and destruction which are so clearly expressed in Pss. 78 and 106. The rejection of the Northern Kingdom and the destruction of the South are the historical focus of the

(36) Noth, LPOS, p. 72. This tendency can be illustrated by the treatment of the Patriarchal narratives in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Book of Jubilees, Baltzer, op.cit., pp. 92, 144ff.

(37) W. Harrelson, "'Guidance in the Wilderness': A Theology of Numbers," Interp, 13, 1959, p. 32. Ps. 106:13-33 is regarded by S. Talmon as "a condensed catalogue of the nations' iniquities", in "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," Biblical Motifs, pp. 31-63, esp. p. 56.

Dtr. What is, however, so unusual about the covenant concept and its historically based faith is the expectation of a future hope beyond the ashes of destruction. The two psalms make it comprehensible that the ground for forgiveness and restoration lies outside Israel, in God Himself.

The basis of forgiveness in Ps. 78 is the compassion of Yahweh (v. 38: וְהוֹאֵל רַחוּם יִכַּפֵּר עֵוֹן וְלֹא יִשְׁחִית) who also remembers that men are flesh and like wind shall pass and shall not return (v. 39). His forgiveness leads to further saving acts.

The forgiveness of sin is also present in Ps. 106, though the word itself is not used. It is clearly shown in the Golden Calf incident alluded to . Because of the intercession (v. 23, cf. Jer. 22:30), total destruction did not come to Israel. And again in the worship of Baal of Peor (vv. 28-31, cf. Num. 25:1-13) the zeal of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, turned God's wrath from the people and the plague stayed from them. At the end of Ps. 106 the idea of God's abundant love (v. 45, יְרַחֵם) provides the transition from punishment to forgiveness and from present distress to future restoration.

Surprisingly, forgiveness of sin is usually based on the covenant רַחֲמֵי upon which the covenant is preserved (Exod. 20; 34; Deut. 7). רַחֲמֵי is taken as forgiveness and as deliverance by K.D. Sakenfeld in her recent study (38). Yahweh's willingness to forgive entails further saving deeds; therefore, it is appropriate to speak of the specific action content of רַחֲמֵי . (39) Forgiveness has its sure source in God Himself because He is also the source of punishment for His unfaithful covenant people. He is, however, always faithful to His covenant which is expressed in His continuous saving and protecting power to the obedient and in His merciful forgiveness for the penitent. (40) The latter expression of רַחֲמֵי becomes more dominant after the Exile when the covenant threat has been realized; the people, away from the land, could only rely upon God Himself and His unfailing רַחֲמֵי which issues in forgiveness and deliverance. The pleading for forgiveness in the intercessory prayer of Moses clearly illustrates the basis of Moses' appeal to the former saving deeds of Yahweh (Exod. 32:11), to the name of Yahweh (v. 12) and to the promise .

(38) A detailed study of רַחֲמֵי by K.D. Sakenfeld, The Meaning of Heseḏ in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry, 1978.

(39) Ibid., pp. 210ff.

(40) Ibid., p. 237.

to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (32:13). Yahweh at the end relented (׀ןן') of the punishment He thought to bring upon His people (32:14 cf. vv. 7-10).

Though neither the verb פָּרַק (to break) nor לָבַד (to transgress), used in the description of covenant violation by P and D respectively, appears in Ps. 106, the confession of sin indicates that the people were in a situation of despair which was the result of Yahweh's justifiable punishment for their transgression of the covenant stipulations. The confession of sin embodies covenant terminology: כּוּבַד , כּוּבַד (v.1); מִשְׁפָּט (v. 3); עֲמַךְ (v. 4); וַחֲלַתְךָ (v. 5) and נִחֲרִיתָּם (v. 5). What God remembers for the people is not founded upon Israel's faithfulness but is an intimation of God's רַחֲמֵי and His forgiveness of sin.

Yahweh's forgiveness is the fruit of His being compassionate and His consideration that men are flesh, and that, like wind, they pass away and do not return (Ps. 78:38-39). He also remembers His promise to David His servant and His love towards Judah-Zion (Ps. 78:68-72).

In the process of restoration the people too must first come to terms with the fact that the judgment upon them was justified because they have rebelled against the word of Yahweh. The new hope can only be grounded upon Yahweh's promise to David and to Abraham. The כּוּבַד is usually associated with the Davidic and Abrahamic covenant (Deut. 7:9, 12; II Sam. 7:15; 22: 51; Ps. 89:24, 49 [25, 50]; Isa. 54:10; 55:3). The covenant God remembers for Israel in Ps. 106:45 is very likely to be the Abrahamic one which is already recited in Ps. 105.

Ps. 106 piles up three terms for sin in the introduction to the confession of sin (v. 6). The use of the three terms, מִשְׁפָּט הִרְשָׁעוּנוּ , in confession represents a cultic formula incorporated into the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple (I Kg. 8:47; II Chron. 6:37) and also into the prayer of Daniel (Dan. 9:5).⁽⁴¹⁾ All three formulae are to be regarded as being uttered in the Exile by the covenant community which has broken the covenant (I Kg. 8:21, 22-26).⁽⁴²⁾ The people confessed their own sins along with their fathers (e.g. Lev. 26:40). There is a strong sense of community identification and solidarity in apostasy as well as in claiming to inherit the promise to the Patriarchs. Ringgren

(41) The identical formula cannot be disputed; Ps. 106:6 and I Kg. 8:47 (II Chron. 6:37) are exactly identical while Dan. 9:5 differs only in the form of the second word, a qal form (׀ןן') is used instead of a hiphel (׀ןן').

(42) Ringgren assigns this type of confession as a liturgical formula in the prayer of repentance of the post-Exilic community, " כּוּבַד , " TDOT, pp. 14-16.

remarks that Isa. 51:2 represents a positive attitude while in Jeremiah "allusion to the promises to the fathers and the covenant which Yahweh made with them serve only to emphasize the apostasy (7:22; 11:3,7)" (43)

But due regard must be given to the earlier existence and transmission of the traditions of Israel's rebelliousness as Coats and other have already recognized (44) It is still possible to see a special significance in the sinfulness of Israel in the Exile. The confession of sin in Ps. 106; I Kg. 8; Dan. 9; Neh. 9 and Ezra 9 indicate a widespread mood of confession and recognition of sin.

There is an increasing importance of the role of prayer and confession with the above mentioned cultic stereotyped phrase "We have sinned...".

This may reflect the need of the Exilic period when a shift has taken place in the future hope of the people. It is no longer the kinship of David, (45) the land or the Temple of Jerusalem which will ensure salvation and hope; (46) but the covenant ברית and Yahweh's willingness to forgive. The genuine confession of sin from the people who, under justifiable punishment, can secure Yahweh's hearing and compassion (I Kg. 8:46-53). Prayer in Chronicles represents a method of instruction and exhortation the source of which, according to the analysis of J.M. Myers, is prophetic rather than priestly. (47)

The recitation of Yahweh's deeds in Neh. 9, beginning with a call to praise God's saving acts in creation (v. 6) before the account of the election of Abraham, and the promise of the land of Canaan (vv. 7-8), suggests the existence of the primeval history of Gen. 1-11. The salvation of Exodus (vv. 9-11) and the guidance in the Wilderness (v. 12, 15a) lead up to His proclamation of the Law at Sinai (v. 14) and the commandment to possess the land which He has sworn to give the people (v. 15b). Up to this point the content of the recitation is totally positive and more or less in agreement with that of Ps. 105.

(43) Ringgren, ibid., p. 15.

(44) Coats, Rebellion, pp. 24, 78, 231-241; cf. murmuring and traditions: were originated in the North: A.C. Tunyogi, "The Rebellions of Israel," JBL, 81, 1962, pp. 385-90.

(45) G.W. Anderson notes that no reference to the restoration of the Davidic house is found in the Chronicler history. "The Historical Books," PCB, 247h.

(46) B.S. Childs, IOTS, p. 294. Ackroyd, ER, p. 27.

(47) Prayers in Chronicles: e.g. David's prayer in I Chron. 29:10-19; Jehoshaphat's prayer in II Chron. 20:6-12 and Ezra's prayer in Ezra 9:6-15. (to be cont'd)

Neh. 9 goes on from v.16 with both a confession of sin and a confession of the mercy of God. They acted presumptuously, stiffened their neck, did not obey commandments, did not remember the wonderful saving deeds and appointed a leader to return to the Egyptian bondage (vv. 16-17). To contrast with this confession of sin Neh. 9 presents a confirmation of who Yahweh is - "But you are (ואתה , v.17b) a God of forgiveness (סליחות), gracious (חנוּן), merciful (רחום), slow to anger (ארך - אפ'ים), abounding in steadfast love (רב - חסד) and did not forsake them (ולא עזבתם)". The contrast is clearly demonstrated. The same is true in Ps. 106:6-12. The contrast is made by describing the rebellion of Israel and the unexpected response of Yahweh's redemptive act at the Reed Sea - " Yet He saved them" (וישועם , v. 8). The twofold use of "abounding in steadfast love" (רב חסד , v. 7; רב חסדו , v. 45) at the beginning and at the end of the confession strengthens the contrast.

In Neh. 9 the major sin to be singled out is the Golden Calf apostasy which is understood to be committed by all-Israel (v. 18). Curiously enough, for such a grave sin no punishment comes to Israel. A parallel is found in Ps. 106 which narrates the averting of destruction by Moses' intercession. Neh. 9 goes a step further to attribute the non-punishment to Yahweh's great mercy (ברחמיהם הרבים , v. 19). Instead of destruction, protection, provision, instruction and victory in the land are given (vv. 19-25). But the reaction of the people after they settled in peace and prosperity was disobedience. They cast the law behind their back and killed His prophets (v. 26). Yahweh, therefore, time and again delivered them to enemies, but saved them repeatedly whenever they cried to Him (vv. 26-30). This process is summed up in v. 31: "Nevertheless in thy great mercies thou didst not make an end of them or forsake them; for thou art a gracious and merciful God." Then follows a prayer of confession and an appeal to God's covenant (vv. 32-37). Finally, a covenant is made by the people and sealed by the priests (v. 38).

This covenant renewal ceremony includes a recital of God's saving deeds and an account of the people's sinful deeds with a prayer for deliverance. It provides the same Sitz-im-Leben for Pss. 105-106. ⁽⁴⁸⁾

(47) (cont'd) See Myers, Ezra. Nehemiah, (AB), 1965, pp. 166-70. Services of prayer is central in the synagogue. H.H. Rowley notes that "the Exiles sought to preserve their religion by meeting for prayer and meditation in a simple and informal way, and the very humbleness of the synagogue would explain why its origin is unrecorded." Worship in Ancient Israel, 1976, p. 225.

(48) When taken together with Neh. 8 as a unity, Neh.9 associates the confession of sin with the Feast of Tabernacles. The rejection of the original continuation of the chapters on ground of the shift from rejoicing to repentance (Coats, Rebellion, p.244) cannot hold in face of the evidence of the Manual of Discipline.

From the Qumran community we have an explicit description of a ceremony of renewing the covenant. The document is found in the Manual of Discipline in which a procedure of entering the covenant is outlined:

"... The priest shall recount the righteous acts of God in his mighty works and tell all the acts of steadfast love and mercy upon Israel; and the Levites shall recount the iniquities of the sons of Israel and their guilty transgressions and sin in the domonion of Belial. Then all those who are passing into the covenant shall confess after them, saying, 'we have transgressed, we have sinned, we have done evil, we and our fathers before us, in walking contrary to the statutes of truth; but righteous is God, and true is his judgment on us and our fathers; and the mercy of his steadfast love he has bestowed upon us from everlasting to everlasting.'" (49)

We may immediately recognize the close parallels between this piece of Qumran literature and those of Pss. 105-106 and Neh. 9. It is beyond any doubt that these three pieces of literature are cultically oriented and most probably from the same cultic occasion - that of covenant renewal. Their forms and essential contents are outlined below:

- | | | | |
|----|--|-------------|-------------------|
| a) | <u>Invocation and praise of God</u> | | |
| | Ps. 105:1-6 | Neh. 9:5-6 | 1QS1:18-20 |
| b) | <u>Account of the saving acts of God</u> | | |
| | Ps. 105:7-42 | Neh. 9:7ff. | 1QS1:21-22 |
| | (Ps. 106:1-3) | | |
| c) | <u>Confession of sins</u> | | |
| | Ps. 106:6-43 | Neh. 9:34 | 1QS1:22-23 |
| d) | <u>Prayer for God's mercy</u> | | |
| | Ps. 106:4-5, 47 | Neh. 9:32 | |
| e) | <u>Response of the community</u> (יבX) | | |
| | Ps. 106:48 | | 1QS1:19-20, 24-25 |

The saving acts of God indeed find their place in the cultic occasion of covenant renewal. God's previous salvation testifies against the sinfulness of the forefathers and the present generation. It further forms the ground upon which the confession and the prayer of the community can be well founded. Yahweh was merciful and gracious then. Can He not be so now in the people's distress? The faithful covenanter perhaps believes that He is more so (Lev. 26:40-45).

It is hardly possible to dispute the close connection of the covenant formulary in Israel with the treaty forms of the Ancient Near East. Evidence illustrates that Israel was acquainted with the scheme of the latter. The

(49) M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, 1956, p. 372.

Sitz-im-Leben which contributes to the preservation of the covenant form is found in worship. ⁽⁵⁰⁾ K. Baltzer discerns in his study that "the Israelite covenant is as far removed in content from the international treaties as it is closely related in form." ⁽⁵¹⁾ There is little difference in the formal structures preserved in worship in the Manual of Discipline and the Old Testament covenant formulary; the latter could well be the prototype of the former. The most important common new element in the later texts of OT and LQS is the confession of sin with a prayer for forgiveness (Neh. 9:8,17,32,33; Ezra 9:6-15; Dan. 9:4b-19; LQS1:26;2:8). There are traces that show how historical recitation gradually turns into a review of the history of Israel's sins. Ps. 106 pictures the sins of Israel as going back to the fathers at the Reed Sea and even Moses does not escape the influence of the sinfulness of Israel. The process of understanding history as becoming increasingly clouded with the sins of the people reaches its most extreme in IV Esdras. ⁽⁵²⁾ Ps. 106 may well represent a point in the process when a list of the sins of Israel becomes a separate part of the cultic document, only connected with a list of the saving deeds of Yahweh (Ps. 105) in the ceremony of covenant renewal, as it is preserved in the Qumran community. ⁽⁵³⁾

In texts where the making of covenant is described past history is usually recited and the people repond by promising to keep a law in written form (e.g. Josh. 24:2-13: history, 14ff., 25-26:law). The promise is usually concerned with the rejection of foreign gods and the service of Yahweh alone (Josh.24: 23,26; cf. Exod. 19:3-8; 24:3-4a,7; Deut. 28:69-30:20,etc.).

When we come to the texts on covenant renewal there appears a new element of sin-prayer-forgiveness to which great emphasis is attributed (Exod.34; Neh. 9-10; Dan. 9:4b-19; LQS 1:18-2:18). The explanation for the inclusion of the new element is that the covenant has been broken as a result of sin and the threatened curse of the covenant has taken place (Lev. 26:25; Deut. 28:47-48; Neh. 9:27). Exod. 34:1,4 signify the breaking of the covenant in the breaking of the two tablets. The recognition of sin and the intercessory prayer for forgiveness cannot be omitted if the covenant has to be renewed. Renewal or

(50) K. Baltzer, op.cit., p. 89.

(51) Ibid., p. 91.

(52) Ibid., p. 92.

(53) In later texts there is a tendency to incorporate the creation into the 'antecedent history'. Neh. 9:6 begins the account of God's saving acts with His creative deeds, cf. Pss.135,136. Baltzer considers this as corresponding to the arrangement of Gen. 1-11, ibid., p. 100.

not depends totally upon Yahweh's תּוֹרָה . In Exod. 34 the response of Yahweh to the repentance is "Behold, I make a covenant" (34:10). The renewed covenant is also sealed with recitation of Yahweh's saving deeds and the proclamation of תּוֹרָה (34:11ff.). What is significant here is that the reference to the saving deeds of Yahweh is future oriented (פְּלִאָה $\text{הַבָּאָה$). The occasion of this covenant renewal may very well be that of the Exile when there is an assurance of the forthcoming wonderful acts of Yahweh and the re-giving of the land lies in the future. But the forgiveness of Yahweh is certain. As it stands, Exod. 34 functions as giving a new hope of restoration for the desert generation and, indeed, for the future generations. Exod. 32-34 add a new element of sin and forgiveness to the general structure of history/law in the Pentateuch. So, instead of two pillars the canonical Pentateuch embodies the third pillar, sin and forgiveness. This third pillar can best be visualized as a bridge which connects the covenantal recitation of history and the covenantal obligation. Sin represents a breach of covenant while forgiveness leads to restoration. Yahweh will surely punish the people's apostasy but He will not withdraw His covenant. Punishment, in a real sense, shows the operation of the covenant threats.

Both the examples of the practice, in Neh. 9 and in the Qumran community, are from a date much later than Pss. 105-106. But the late dating of such a practice does not necessarily exclude the possibility of the existence of earlier tradition in the Exile or possibly in the pre-Exilic time. Whether there is a covenant renewal ceremony in the Exilic community is beside the point. What is obviously central to our concern is the occasion of an assembly of people in the Exile, in which the historical traditions are kept alive in recitations and the recognition of the sinfulness of the people in contrast to the salvation history is expressed in a communal act of confession. We have fortunately an illustration in the Book of Ezekiel (14:1-11; 20; 33:10-20) of an assembly during the Exile. The prophet testifies and instructs the people in the historical traditions of Israel.

Furthermore, the cry to God in distress can hardly be understood not to have taken place. The cry is sure to be voiced in private and in a communal setting. The admonition and the assurance that Yahweh will listen to them if they return to Him and cry to Him when they are in tribulation support our opinion that the praising and crying to Him must have been intensified during the Exile. The very form of the covenant renewal ceremony in the post-Exilic community (Neh. 9) would take shape during the Exile. Pss. 105-106 are the forerunners of the form of the covenant renewal ceremony.

4. Recitation of History in Praise and in Lament

As we have underlined the significance of the recital of Yahweh's saving deeds for the covenant faith of Israel, we are now to relate the response of praise in the form of a recital to the lament of the people in the form of confession and prayer when they are in distress. The two acts, praise and lament, are by nature strangely but closely related. Westermann rightly observes that the cry of distress, which accompanied Israel through every stage of her history, essentially looks forward to Yahweh's intervention and therefore belongs to the events of the deliverance. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ In a lament Israel refers to the former saving acts of Yahweh which are the foundation of appeal to His compassion and the basis of both positive and negative confession of sin (Pss. 44; 74; 80; 83; etc.). So far as the positive confession of sin as a constituent part of the lament is concerned, Ps. 106 is unique. It looks forward to the further saving acts of Yahweh in the immediate future to gather together the dispersed people. When it is seen together with the hymn of praise for Yahweh's promise and His former deeds of salvation, the intimate link between the cry of joy and the cry of deep anguish to God is immediately evident. The kinds of cry are described by the same word ($\eta\eta$, Pss. 105:43; 106:44) ⁽⁵⁵⁾ and represent the one and the same human longing for the divine $\eta\eta$ which issues in salvation and forgiveness. Therefore, praise and the cry of distress are human confession in relation to the activity of the divine as saviour. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

Ps. 105 is distinctively a hymn of praise which begins with the exclamation 'Hallelujah'. The imperative verbal form in the plural functions to bid the congregation to praise Yahweh (vv. 1-6). The people being addressed are the offspring of Abraham and sons of Jacob and the God to whom the praises are directed is the God of history whose saving acts are remembered and witnessed by the worshippers. Usually in a hymn of praise the introductory section and the main corpus are linked with 'ו', a transitional particle, but in Ps. 105 this form of transition is wanting. The placing side by side of the two

(54) E.g. Exod. 3:7; Deut. 26:5-11. C. Westermann, "The Role of the Lament in the Theology of the Old Testament," Interp. 28, 1974, pp.21ff., also p. 27: "In the Old Testament lamentation and praise are juxtaposed to each other: just as lamentation is the language of suffering, so the praise of God is the language of joy. One is as much a part of man's being as the other."

(55) $\eta\eta$ in supplication, used with $\eta\eta$: I Kg. 8:28 = II Chron. 6:19; Jer. 7:16; 11:14; Pss. 17:1; 61:2; 88:3. $\eta\eta$ in joy : Isa. 35:10; 51:11 etc.

(56) This divine-human relationship provides the first step in the appreciation of the combination of praise and lament in a single psalm and of the hymnic introduction/conclusion to a psalm of lament. Josh. 7:19 is a good example of confessing sin by praising Yahweh. See Zimmerli, OT Theology in Outline, p. 149.

sections, the introduction and the main corpus, is seldom, though examples can be attested. (57) In Ps. 105 Yahweh is not addressed directly but is referred to throughout in the third person. The recital of history functions as motivation and substantiation. Historical retrospect brings alive the past experience to the people of the present. Kühlewein, in his analysis of Exod. 15, describes a kind of time gap separating the worshippers from the historical happenings. His analysis of the chapter (vv. 2-18) is as follows:

A. General descriptive sentence of praise : vv. 2-3, 6-7, 11, 18

B. Development and substantiation : vv. 4-5, 8-10, 12-17

Ps. 105 shows a similar structure with v. 7 stating the general descriptive praise to be substantiated in vv. 8-11 and further enlargement of the theme of fulfilment in the historical process (vv. 12-41) until the people come into the land (vv. 42-44). (58) This kind of historical looking back forms the background of many sentences of praise in the Psalms (e.g. Ps. 66) and is able to mix with other forms, e.g. lament (Pss. 74 and 89). In many cases, as Kühlewein points out, though no one sentence of historical reference is found in one single psalm, yet the historical experience lies behind it. This point is confirmed by R. Rendtorff who suggests that the composer of hymn does "not confine himself to the event in question but went far beyond it in praise of God's saving acts that had taken place during Israel's history." (59)

Ps. 105 together with a confession of sin in penitential prayer (106) are part of a liturgy having their setting in life as we have seen, in the renewal of covenant. Bentzen comments that the change of mood and style in liturgy is "accounted for by the progress of the ritual". (60) Liturgies of this kind are written in a combination of types and are familiarized by the prophets (Jer. 14; Mic. 7; Isa. 33; 63-64; Ps. 89 etc.). Priority should be given to the litugies with the prophetic books as imitation of them. (61)

(57) See Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, I, p.151.

(58) Kühlewein, op.cit., pp.79-80. He supposes that v. 45 of Ps. 105 is not original.

(59) R. Rendtorff, Men of the Old Testament, p. 117.

(60) Bentzen, ibid., p. 162. cf. Mowinckel, PIW, II, p.74.

(61) Bentzen gives as an example the imitation of Ps. 89 by Isa. 63:7- 64:19, ibid., p. 164. Deutero-Isaiah has been recognized as composing with litugies and psalms. When Bentzen deals with Pss. 78; 106 and Deut. 32, he says: "versified penitential addresses of this kind are again presupposition for prose sermons, just as ordinary psalms are prototypes of the prose prayers, or as the cult-prophetic oracles of Ps. 2 or 110 are reproduced in prose in Nathan's speech to David in II Sam. 7. Sermons of this kind we find above all in the parenetic sections of Deuteronomy and similar passages of Deuteronomic or Aaronite kind in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel." p. 160.

In addition to the duty of the worshipping community to know and to profess the Heilsgeschichte (Pss. 9:1, 14; 22:22ff.; 30f.; 26:7; 40:9-10 [10-11]), the responsibility to praise God for ever, to celebrate and commemorate the Heilsgeschichte in the cult is equally significant (Pss. 34:1 [2]; 35:28; 75:1 [2], 9 [10] etc.). It is not a duty on the part of the people, Yahweh too will perpetuate praise to Him. In the Exilic promise for a future Israel in the Book of Consolation of Jeremiah the people were assured that there would again be praises of God in Jerusalem:

"In the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem that are desolate... there shall be heard again... the voices of those who sing, as they bring thank offerings to the house of the Lord:

'Give thanks to the Lord of hosts,
for the Lord is good
for his steadfast love endures forever.'" (Jer. 33:11)

Jeremiah does not bear testimony to the use of the formula in the praise of Yahweh (e.g. Ps. 136) as Soggin points out. ⁽⁶²⁾ The restoration cannot be understood as complete without this element of the psalm singing and praises. This element is the essence of the pre-Exilic cultic community, so much so that its absence cannot be conceived in the future restoration. Jeremiah does not impose it as a duty in the sense of a burden or demand upon the people. Praising Yahweh is a genuine outflowing of the gratitude to the saving acts of Him who will make possible the singing of praises in the restored Jerusalem community.

This singing of the psalms is reported to be practised in Ezra and Nehemiah. When the foundation stone of the Second Temple was laid, the priests and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, praised and gave thanks to the Lord by leading the people in the same liturgical formula "For He is good, for His steadfast love endures for ever toward Israel" (Ezra 3:11). The new element is added, "toward Israel", an emphasis upon the witness of the Israelites who responded in a great shout (v. 12).

The cultic obligation of the priests and Levites, the sons of Asaph, recalls the occasion of the bringing the Ark into Jerusalem in the time of David. David, according to tradition, first ordained the sons of Asaph in the service of praise and singing (I Chron. 16:7f.). Both Pss. 105:1-15 and Ps. 96:1-13 are quoted as being sung by the Asaphite choir. Ps. 106 has v. 1 and vv. 47-48 recorded as being used. The prayer (vv. 47-48) is said by the Levites (I Chron. 16:35-36) while the people as a community responded in "Amen" and praised the Lord.

(62) Soggin, Introduction to the OT, (OTL), p. 365.

This passage indicates that the Levites, the sons of Asaph, are in possession of some of the psalms which they sang in worship. On the basis of this passage Jasper links the Asaphite psalms (Pss. 50, 73-83), most of which are communal psalms of lament (74, 77, 79, 80, 83) having historical allusions, and the two historical psalms 105-106. ⁽⁶³⁾ The fact that I Chron. 16 does not include the prayer for salvation in Ps. 106:4-5 and the confession of sins with historical justification (vv. 6-46) does not warrant the idea that the Chronicler has no knowledge of the whole Ps. 106 nor that the opening (v.1) and the ending (vv. 47-48) of the psalm did not belong to Ps. 106. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ It is the joyous occasion of the introduction of the Ark to Jerusalem which the Chronicler was aware of that determined the subject matter. The Chronicler leaves hints of his knowledge of Ps. 106 and its place in the cult by quoting the beginning and closing verses of it. V.1 and vv. 47-48 indicate that the psalm is intended for liturgical use. This is further supported by vv. 6ff., a communal confession of sin.

The liturgical occasion of Pss. 105-106 in I Chron. 16 is the thanksgiving set in the time of David when he transferred the Ark to Jerusalem. This new setting has transformed the content of the combined portions of the psalms. ⁽⁶⁵⁾ Only the section of Ps. 105 which mentions a people few in number, wandering among the nations but nevertheless possessing the everlasting covenant of Yahweh is quoted in Chronicles. The circumstances of the people in the time of the Chronicles is reflected in their selection of the section of psalms. "Touch not my anointed ones. Do my prophets no harm" (105:15) in I Chron. 16 is given a new context: the international politics. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ The leaders of Israel, the anointed ones, ⁽⁶⁷⁾ and prophets, were wandering among the nations. The introduction at this point of the sovereign kingship of Yahweh and the affirmation of Yahweh's judgement upon the earth functions as a basis of confidence for the wandering leaders and people. The final section is very appropriate when the plea for deliverance from the nations is cited from Ps. 106:1, 47-48 with a closing doxology. The theological motifs within I Chron. 16:8-36,

(63) Jasper, "Early Israelite Traditions and the Psalter," VT, 17, 1967, p. 53.

(64) The Chronicler used a liturgical structure taken from the worship of the people. Ackroyd, IBP, p. 310.

(65) T.C. Butler, "A Forgotten Passage from a Forgotten Era (I Chron. XVI 8-36)," VT, 28, 1978, pp. 142-50. Cf. for the priority of the Psalter text, see C.C. Keet, A Liturgical Study of the Psalter, p. 39.

(66) Ibid., p. 144.

(67) Butler supposes that the 'anointed ones' refers to the king, which is to me not likely. It probably, as the original text of Ps. 105 intended, points to the priests.

the God of the fathers, the God of covenant, the kingship, God's sovereignty over other gods and the judgement upon the nations are shown by T.C. Butler as leading motifs for the Chronicler's history as a whole. Finally, the textual alteration of Ps. 105:6, replacing "Abraham" by "Israel", indicates a theological interpretation which identifies the congregation as the children of Jacob/Israel.

There is a great probability that the three psalms consisted in I Chron. 16 were used in a special cultic occasion. Mowinckel draws his conclusion that the Chronicler has taken the psalms "from one of the early collections or from his own knowledge of the Temple library of the liturgical psalms". (68) Furthermore, he regards the psalms as being used "at some point of the ritual on that day during the festival of Tabernacles". (69) We have good reason to believe that the Chronicler does not select the psalms at random. These psalms are probably employed in the same liturgical occasion in the Chronicler's own time, in the post-Exilic period. They represent the practice at his time, in which music and recitation play an important role in worship. (70)

The literary context of the psalms is David's commissioning of the Levites and their leader Asaph (I Chron. 16:4-7) whose duty is spelled out in four Hebrew words which are rendered by RSV as: "to minister" (לשרת), "to invoke" (להזכיר), "to give thanks" (להודות), "to praise" (להלל). To the Chronicler, the bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem is taken as a fulfilment of God's promise to Abraham. This fulfilment took place at the time when the people coming back from the Exile assembled once again at Jerusalem to praise and to give thanks to God. The word להזכיר provides the link with the marvellous deeds of God recited in Pss. 105-106. Recently, E. Slomovic has rightly translated it as "to commemorate" which is one of the duties of the Asaphites to recall God's acts in a recital in a public worship. This duty includes a recitation of history in praise and thanksgiving.

(68) Mowinckel, PIW, II, p. 199.

(69) Ibid., p. 200. Goulder goes further to show that the whole Book Four of the Psalter (Pss. 90-106) is a liturgical collection for Tabernacles, "The Fourth Book of the Psalter," JTS, NS 26, 1975, pp. 268-89.

(70) E. Slomovic has an appendix "The Psalms in the Book of Chronicles" in his article, "Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms," ZAW, 91, 1978, pp. 350-80, esp. pp. 378f.

Therefore, in Israelite worship the element of history exerts its influence; the historical dimension of the faith of Israel, the basic stance of trusting in Yahweh who has brought Israel out of Egypt, naturally shapes the worship life. In confessing the marvellous saving deeds of Yahweh, the praising of Him should come as a spontaneous outburst of joy. The hymn of praise in the Psalter must not be regarded as only a literary "type" but the form has life experience behind it which in turn gives vitality to the form. The form survives all generation simply because it reflects life. The content of praise was first of all the specific acts of deliverance at the Exodus and the Sea of Reeds. It is then enlarged and strengthened by the continuous acts of God in the deliverance of Israel from enemies.

If what is so far said about praise is true, much more so is the case for petition. Petition has its Sitz-im-Leben first and foremost in distress which issues in lament and prayer. The language of suffering and that of joy are rightly juxtaposed and reflects the history of the people. (71) Instead of an expression of confidence and confession of sin, the psalms of lament usually appeal to God's earlier saving deeds and praise His past salvation (Pss. 44:1-8 [2-9]; 74:12-17; 80: 8-11 [9-12]; cf. Isa. 63) .

Pss. 105-106 reaffirm, first of all, as a basis for the confession of sin, the saving deeds of Yahweh and His promise to Abraham. The psalmist praises God's salvation in Ps. 105 and the beginning of Ps. 106 (vv. 2, 12). The praises provide the framework for the prayer in Ps. 106:46 which promises to give thanks to Yahweh's holy name and to triumph in His praise. The holy name in Ps. 106:47 echoes Ps. 105:3, "Glory in His holy name". The confession of the sin of Israel is necessary for a plea for forgiveness and restoration.

(71) Fohrer reckons that the history of salvation and the history of the people's sin counter-balance each other and are closely interwoven. HIR, p. 276.

Summary

Ps. 78, which incorporates the basic elements of historical motifs for didactic purposes, forms a model for the later development in the historical recitation. It represents a rather comprehensive understanding of the historical situations:

- a) The saving acts at the Sea and the rebellion of the people in the Wilderness, vv. 12-42.
- b) The Plagues narrative, Exodus, Wilderness guidance and the giving of the land, vv. 43-45.
- c) Idolatry and disobedience which led to God's repudiation of Israel, vv. 56-67.
- d) The future hope: election of David-Zion, vv. 68-72.

It is of great interest to see in Pss. 105-106 that all these themes are either picked up again or reformulated. Ps. 106 picks up a) and c), both of which are presented in negative terms, while Ps. 105 expounds the two positive themes, b) and d). The reinterpretation, shaped by the Exile, lays great emphasis on the confession of sin in Ps. 106 even to the extent of blaming Israel for rebellion even at the Reed Sea; and even Moses cannot escape the blame because of the people's disobedience. More over, the royal theology centered around the house of David and the Temple is replaced by the promise of land to Abraham and the covenant with Israel. At the end of the day, Pss. 105-106 preserved the two essential aspects of the covenant renewal ceremony, the recitation of the saving deeds of Yahweh and the confession of the people's rebellion culminating in their idolatry, which is the fatal cause of the breaking of covenant. The covenant requires on the part of the people knowledge of Yahweh and cultic realization of the past in the present. The former is expressed to teach and the obligation to listen, and to remember. The latter is brought into recognition in Pss. 105-106, the recitation of Yahweh's Heilsgeschichte and the confession of the whole chain of rebellion both of the fathers and that of the present generation.

The three psalms illustrate the threefold function of recitation of history as basic historical information to motivate praises of God (Ps. 105) as supporting ground to appeal for help or forgiveness when in distress (Ps. 106) and as historical model for teaching (Ps. 78). In each case, history is not merely past events isolated from the present, but that which affects the present generation. The past continues into the future as the same God who gave to Israel His covenant acts.

VII. The Place of the Historical Psalms in the Canon of the Old Testament

1. The Canonical Significance of the Psalter

The canonical significance of the Psalter is first seen in its transmission in the cult from one generation to another, dissociated from any particular historical occasion or cultic setting from which the composition of the Psalms was originated. The cult tends to be conservative, keeping ancient cultic formula and concept alive through the ages.

Moreover, the Psalter professed a religious experience in which echoes were heard from successive generations. The worshipping community of Israel treasured the Psalter which was the expression of the faith of the community and by which members of the community were nurtured. Since the religious experience is renewed or made present for every generation through instruction and cultic celebration in the community, the Psalter can never be fully understood in isolation from the historical community's faith and the cultus.

The above observation indicates that the Psalter and indeed, the Old Testament as a whole are confessional documents.⁽¹⁾ Confessional in its nature, the Old Testament can no longer be regarded as entirely a scribal creation, though scribal compilation did significantly contribute to the collecting and shaping of the literary corpus.⁽²⁾ The historical experience and the cultic practice of the religious community proved the essential source and the literary form of the Old Testament. This connection between text and community is more intimate in the case of the Psalter.⁽³⁾ It is in this presupposition that the canonical significance of the Psalter is to be appreciated. The statement, "the Psalter is representative of practically the entire range of Old Testament literature" is never an exaggerated one.⁽⁴⁾

(1) G.W. Anderson, "Israel's Creed: Sung, Not Signed," SJT, 16, 1963, p. 279. Cited by G.W. Anderson to illustrate the significance of the Psalms in the Old Testament is H.W. Robinson's statement that "the Book of Psalms is not only the living and passionate utterance of Israel's piety at its highest, but also supplies the data for an epitome of Old Testament theology". Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, p. 269, cf. Von Rad on the confessional nature of Israel's history, OTT, I, p.122.

In the Canon of the Old Testament there is an inner connection between history and law, the two foundation pillars, according to A. Weiser, of the revelation of Yahweh. Yahweh reveals His nature in the Heilsgeschichte and His will in the proclamation of the Law at Sinai (Josh. 24:2-26; I Sam. 12).⁽⁵⁾ 'History and Law' become two focal points of the covenant tradition kept alive in the cultic celebration (eg. Pss. 78:5ff.; 81:3ff.; 111:4,6). A. Weiser, having stressed the importance of the history of traditions and the history of cultus in the Old Testament in shaping the history of the Psalms,⁽⁶⁾ warns against assuming the literary dependence of the historical Psalms on the Pentateuch. What he suggests as an explanation for the close parallels between the Psalms and the Pentateuchal historical narratives is "the existence in priestly circles of an oral tradition which had been fostered by means of its cultic recital"⁽⁷⁾ It is beyond any dispute that the cultic recital of the tradition of the Heilsgeschichte existed as an integral part of the Temple worship. A long list of psalms testifies to the importance of historical recital (Pss. 9:14; 40:9f; 44:1ff; 47:3f; 48:13; 66:5ff; 71:16ff; 75:1; 76:4ff; 77:16ff; 78:3ff; 98:1ff; 99:44ff; 105; 106; 107:32ff; 111:6; 135; 136; 145:6).⁽⁸⁾

Fundamentally the combinations of the elements of history and law in the cult is a significant factor in perceiving the shaping of the Canon. We are not, however, to construct a coherent narrative of the Pentateuchal story from the Psalms as F.N. Jasper attempts to do in his article "Early Israelite Traditions and the Psalter".⁽⁹⁾ What it is intended to achieve in this chapter is the identification

- (2) On scribal edition of the Pentateuch, G. Vermes, "Bible and Midraah : Early Old Testament Exegesis", CHB, I. p.209.
- (3) G.W. Anderson, "It is when a document is accepted as normative for the religious life of a community that the idea of Canonicity emerges." from "Canonical and Non-Canonical", p.117, CHB, p.117.
- (4) G.W. Anderson, "Israel's Creed: Sun, Not Signed," SJT, 16, 1963, p. 281. Further on in his article, Anderson attributes to the Psalter the status of "the first of all O.T. theologies". p.285
- (5) A. Weiser, Psalms (OTL), p.31. Also Introduction to the Old Testament, pp.88f.
- (6) Psalms, p.24.

of the canonical potential of the historical psalms and their canonical significance in the shaping of the Deuteronomistic history and the Pentateuch as a whole.

There are many proposals on the issue of the formation of the Canon. Von Rad and A. Bentzen look for the root in the Israel's ancient credo,⁽¹⁰⁾ while G.E. Wright attributes the formation to the confessional recitals of God's mighty acts.⁽¹¹⁾ These proposals are open to criticism. A recent attempt by Sanders gives credit to the Torah story which exists in many forms from early days and survives itself in historical situations.⁽¹²⁾ The story transforms itself and meets the need of the time; it generates life and "survival power to the community that recites it". The concept of *ḥayim* is primarily understood by Sanders as a story rather than as a body of written law, and only secondarily altered to being a body of literature.

According to Sanders, the destruction of the Solomonic Temple raised a crucial issue of the identity of the people in the midst of radical discontinuity as a result of the Exile.⁽¹³⁾ Traditions, which subsequently shaped the Canon were collected. The Torah is basically presented as a story of God's dealing with the people in history and the people's continuous rebellion against their God. The recitation of the Torah story provides the insight into the formation of the Pentateuch. The same group of traditions basic to the Pentateuch/Hexateuch is included in the recitals of Dtr. (Deut. 26: 5-9; Josh. 24 and I Sam. 12:8)⁽¹⁴⁾.

- (7) Ibid., p.43. His overconfidence in the annually celebrated covenant Festival as the bearer of the sacral tradition of the Heilsgeschichte misleads him to the identification of so many psalms with this one Sitz-im-Leben. On the cultic liturgy of the Psalms in covenant festival, see A. Lauha, op.cit., pp.45-99. On the connection of law with covenant renewal, see de Vaux, AI, p.502.
- (8) The primeval history of creation and the Patriarchal history came to be associated to the Exodus tradition secondarily and they did not occupy the same significance in the pre-Exilic cult of the covenant, A. Weiser, The Psalms, (OTL), pp.59ff.
- (9) F.N. Jasper, VT, 17, 1967, pp.50-59. David N. Freedman endeavours to construct the early Israelite history from the early poems in "Early Israelite History in the Light of Early Israelite Poetry", Unity and Diversity, 1975, pp.3-35. S. du Toit has shown that the historical data in the Psalms are not meant to be facts for historical construction but they are seen in the light of the spirit of prophecy, "The Psalms and History", OTWSA, 1963, pp. 18-29.

As the combination of the rehearsal of history with the proclamation of the divine will, so central to the historical psalms, is recognised to be the basic pattern which shapes much of the literary material of the Canon, ⁽¹⁵⁾ we may formulate some canonical relations between the formation of the Old Testament and the historical psalms. The prophetic teaching exhibits a deep concern with history and law. This concern is also stressed in Dtr (e.g. II Kg. 17). Perhaps the prophets of Israel with their claim for divine authority which was especially derived from the formula, "thus said Yahweh", have contributed to the development of normative traditions for the immediate audience as well as for the future generations. Furthermore, Moses, the central figure of the Pentateuchal traditions, is portrayed as of "the prophet" (Exod. 3: 1-4:17; 24:1, 15-18; 33:7-11; 34:5-7; Num. 12:1-8; Deut. 15-18). R.E. Clements points out the distinctive conception of the prophetic office in Deuteronomistic tradition (Deut. 18: 15-22; II Kg. 17:13-14) that the prophet is regarded as one after Moses who repeatedly summoned Israel to be obedient to the יהוה of Yahweh.⁽¹⁶⁾ This development in the Deuteronomistic movement and its concern with prophets and law may allow us to perceive the emergence of the "Canon" which according to B.S. Childs, is defined as "that historical process within ancient Israel - particularly in the post-Exilic period - which entailed a collecting, selecting, and ordering of texts to serve a normative function as Sacred Scripture within the continuing religious community"⁽¹⁷⁾

(10) Von Rad, PHOE, pp.1-78, A. Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1952, p.24.

(11) G.E. Wright, God Who Acts, cf. Noth, HPT, pp.261-276.

(12) Sanders, Torah and Canon, pp.31ff., also "Adaptable for Life", The Mighty Acts of God, pp. 539-40.

(13) Sanders, Torah and Canon, p.7.

(14) Ibid, p.19.

(15) "This combination of the recital of divinely ordered events, which were held to be constitutive of the community's very existence, with the enunciation (by command, reproof, warning, or appeal) of the divine will which is regulative of the community's life, and the relation of both these elements to the community's worship, help to account for the shaping of much of the literary material contained in the Canon." ibid, pp.119-20.

We, therefore, start our investigation with the prophetic form of the presentation of history and then compare it with that of the Deuteronomist. In the light of the prophetic - Deuteronomic usage of history, the place of Ps. 78 within the traditions - historical development of the Canon can be evaluated. An attempt is then launched to examine the Psalms of Asaph, of which Ps. 78 is counted as one, and the role of the so-called "cultic prophet". At the end, a parallel of Pss. 105-106 with the Pentateuch is drawn to facilitate a better perception of the Canon.

2. Prophetic - Deuteronomic Recitation of History

One of the findings of Claus Westermann on the basic forms of prophetic speech is that in prophetic collections before those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, salvation speeches like Jer. 30-33 and Ezek. 33 - 39, 48 are not found on their own but are often joined to the end of a group of judgment - speeches to produce a clear contrast (e.g. Amos 9: 8b-15 at the end of chs. 3-9).⁽¹⁸⁾ In addition to the above finding, he points out that the prophetic announcement of judgment is always grounded upon a reason, an "accusation necessarily belongs to the announcement of judgment as a reason"⁽¹⁹⁾.

These two basic theses give us initial points of contact between the prophetic form of speech of history and the historical retrospect in the historical psalm. The accusation of Ephraim in Ps. 78 is based firmly upon history, and salvation is announced at the end of the recitation of history with a great contrast between the saving deeds of Yahweh and the rebellion of the people. The praise of the wonderful works of Yahweh (v.4, cf. vv.12ff.) and the warning against imitating the sin of the fathers (v.8, cf. vv. 17ff.) indeed set the tone for the psalm and limit the selection of traditions.

(16) R.E. Clements, Prophecy and Tradition, 1975, pp.50f.

(17) B.S. Childs, "The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament", SVT Congress Volume, 1977, p.67. Also his book Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture (IOTS), 1979.

(18) Claus Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, p. 96. The same is true of the salvation speeches in Isaiah 2:1-4; 4:2-6; 9:1-6; 11:1-9.

(19) Ibid., p.97.

The mighty acts of Yahweh and the rebellious deeds of the fathers are set in contrast with each other. The accusation of Ephraim in Ps. 78 is first stated in general terms (vv.9-11). Then the concrete events follow; first the mighty acts of Yahweh (vv. 12-16) and then the sinful deeds of the people (vv. 17-20). This contrast provides the necessary motivation for punishment (vv. 21-22). A pattern can be discerned:⁽²⁰⁾

A. General accusation	9-11		41-42
B. Saving Acts	12-16	23 -29a	43-55 65-72
C. Sinful deeds	17-20	29b-30a 32	36-37 56-58
D. Punishment	21-22	30b-31 33	59-64
E. Return & forgiveness		34-35 38-40	

Verse 32 seems to break the pattern with *לַחַי כְּכֹל וְיָוֵעַ*, introducing further sins and punishment. A new element of "returning to God" sets in (vv. 34-35), but this "returning" serves to characterise yet further sinfulness (vv. 36-37) because the people were not sincere in their return. Instead, they only flattered Yahweh and lied to Him (v.36). Forgiveness, an unexpected way of Yahweh's dealing with His rebellious people, comes in at a time when punishment is inevitable and at a place where judgment is most appropriate (vv. 38-39). The psalmist, too, expresses some sort of impatience: "How often did they rebel against Him..." (*כַּמֶּה יָגִידוּהוּ*) (v.40). The Psalmist, however, goes back to the pattern again; but this time he introduces more saving acts (vv. 43-55) probably to contrast them with an unforgivable sin (vv.56-58). The occurrence of *כְּאַבֹּתֶם* (v.57) echoes the *וְאֵל ה' יְהוָה וְיַדוּ אֲבֹתֶם* (v.8). Yahweh has set up *עֲדוּת* and *תּוֹרָה* in Jacob/Israel and commanded the people to pass on and to make known His *עֲדוּת* and *תּוֹרָה* to every generation so that their children do not act like their fathers (vv.5-8). But their children did exactly what their forefathers did. Their sin is summed up in v. 58: "they provoked Him to anger with their high places and aroused His jealousy with graven images". The rejection and destruction described in vv. 59-64, starting with "When God heard ... ", are

(20) For a similar analysis of Ps. 78 with different verse division and heading classification : I Jahwes Heilstat, II Sünde des Volkes, III Strafe Jahwes, IV Schreien der Väter zu Jahwe, Johannes Kühlewein, Geschichte in des Psalmen, 1974, p.87.

justifiable punishments. Though God did vindicate the people by fighting back the enemies (vv. 65-66), the rejection of Joseph/Ephraim becomes a fact and is not averted (v.67). However, a new hope has been prepared which indeed is a great one - the election of Judah, Zion and David (vv.68-72). The psalm ends with Yahweh's saving deeds, yet history and the historical pattern do not end there (cf. II Kg. 23: 26-27); Jer. 7:29). Anyhow, what the psalmist believes in and intends to convey is the ultimate triumph of Yahweh's saving deeds.

The great contrast between salvation and sin outlined in Ps.78 is also familiar to the prophets. We may start with an example of the prophetic accusation speech in Amos 2:6-16:⁽²¹⁾

A. Accusation	vv.6b-8
B. Saving acts of God (... 'כַּלֵּי, yet I ...)	9-11
C. Sins of the people (... וְתַשְׁקוּ, but you ...)	12
D. Judgment announced	13-16

The accusation or indictment being in great contrast to the recitation of the saving acts of Yahweh, functions to strengthen the accusation and to justify the punishment, making the latter more acceptable⁽²²⁾.

The apparent difference between the prophetic accusation in Amos and the recitation of history in Ps. 78 is that the announcement of punishment in Amos points to the future whereas punishment in Ps.78 lies in the past. For the prophet the messenger formula (וְאֵלֶּיךָ יְהוָה) is frequently used to join the announcement of punishment with the

(21) See Kühlewein, ibid., pp.94ff. D.L. Christensen regards the recitation of the mighty acts of Yahweh on Israel's behalf (vv.9-11) as an interruption of the pattern:

- A. Indictment vv.6-8
- B. Recitation of Magnalia Dei vv.9-11
- C. Indictment resumed V.12
- D. Announcement of Judgment vv.13-16

Transformation of the War Oracle in Old Testament Prophecy, 1975, pp.66

J.L. Mays also designates B. as an expansion of the form (vv.10-12)

Amos (OTL), p.23; "Between reproach and announcement stands a recitation of the deeds of Yahweh, the classic events of the salvation - history (vv.9f)" p.44. Verse 10 shifts from the 3rd person in v.9 to 2nd person direct address. Wolff attributes v.10 to a Deuteronomistic redactor, Joel and Amos, pp.141, 169.

(22) C. Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, p.97; Wolff, Joel and Amos, pp.98, 139, 171; Kühlewein, op.cit., p.94.

preceding part⁽²³⁾. In the case of Ps. 78 the conjunction וְ is adopted (v.21). Amos is also familiar with וְ or וְלִי as a transition to the announcement⁽²⁴⁾.

Amos makes use of a proclamation formula of commanding attention of the addressees in 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 7:16; 8:4; the first three examples of which are not immediately followed by the oracle of Yahweh, but by the prophet's own utterances. Wolff refers to the proclamation formula "Hear this word ..." as corresponding to a simple form of "pedagogical introduction" of the teacher of wisdom⁽²⁵⁾. Since the prophets are speakers who often deliver public sermons, their speeches need to begin by calling their listeners to be attentive. This exhortation to listen is attested in nearly all the canonical prophets⁽²⁶⁾.

Ps. 78 also begins with such a formula to demand attention. Though it is not easy to draw distinction between prophetic admonition and wise man's teaching on the sole basis of the use of this "pedagogical introduction" formula, there is other evidence to substantiate the prophetic character in Ps. 78; to this evidence we shall come back.

The prophets acknowledge the responsibility of the priests as the real custodians and authentic transmitters of torah. Such teaching function of the priest is clearly shown in Hosea and we have already commented on this in the previous chapter. Moreover in the prophetic writings we can easily recognise the prophets engaging in powerful instructional activity. To use Lindblom's words, the prophets "arrogated to themselves the function of the priests who were the real custodians of torah".⁽²⁷⁾ Lindblom makes the distinction (though we realise that an absolute distinction of this kind is impossible and sometimes misleading) that priestly torah aims at

(23) The formula is often adopted in Amos, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, seldom in Isaiah and entirely missing in Hosea, Westermann, ibid, p. 189.

(24) 3:2b, 11 cf. 5:16-17; 6:7; Note the use of וְ in Hos.2:5-7; Isa. 8:6-8; 30:12-14. Wolff has a discussion of the use of conjunction in the judgment oracle of Amos in Joel and Amos, p.98.

(25) Wolff, ibid, p.93.

(26) Amos, 3:13; 4:1; 5:1; Hos. 5:1-2; Mic.1:2; 6:1; Isa. 1:2, 10; 28:23; 32:9; 49:1; 51:4; Jer. 13:15. Lindblom, op.cit., p.154, Wolff, Hosea, p.97.

(27) Lindblom, op.cit., p.157, Th.C. Vriezen, An Outline of OT Theology, 1970, p.223.

imparting direction in cultic matters and the prophetic torah is of "a religious and ethical nature".⁽²⁸⁾ It may be sufficient at this point to accept a general view that the priest, the temple prophet and perhaps later the Levites have, in one way or another, given instruction in the Temple⁽²⁹⁾.

However, what interests us is the instructional activity of the prophet in the community exemplified in II Kg. 17:7, 14 and Hosea 12:13. We have illustrated in the previous chapter the apparent connection between the Deuteronomistic comment upon the fall of the Northern Kingdom in II Kg. 17:7ff. as well as the historical traditions embodied in Hosea on the one hand and the recitation of history in Ps. 78 on the other. At this point it is beneficial to our investigation to analyse the recitation in the Book of Hosea. The allusions to Yahweh's historical saving deeds in Egypt and in the wilderness are clearly set forth in the context of prophetic accusation in Hosea. The basic structure and principle of indictment by contrast, placing the sin of the people against the earlier saving acts of God, are attested.

	9:10-13	11:1-7	13:4-8
A. Accusation			
B. Saving Acts of God	10a	1,3a,4	4-6a
C. Sins of the people	10b	2, 3b	6b
D. Judgment announced	11-13	5-7	7-8

The structure of the prophetic historical review shares a close connection and common heritage with Ps. 78⁽³⁰⁾. In the prophets the historical review functions to substantiate the accusation and the punishment. At first, at least as it is shown in Amos and Hosea, the review is short and precise (Amos 2: 6-16; 3: 1-2; Hos. 9: 10-17; 11:1-7; 12:11f; 12:13-15; 13:4-8; Isa. 5:1-7). But when we come to Jeremiah and Ezekiel the historical recitation is enlarged (Jer.2:1-31; Ezek. 16; 20; 23). Nevertheless the basic structure is recognisable,

(28) He hints that the cultic prophet may sharply reduce the difference, *ibid.*

(29) Th.C. Vriezen, *op.cit.*, p. 248. On the Levites taking over the functions of the pre-Exilic cultic prophets, see Eissfeldt, *The OT, An Introduction*, p.114. Eissfeldt assumes that the "cultic singing was in the earlier period the responsibility of these cult prophets", p.109.

(30) Köhlewain supports this view with more examples, *op.cit.*, pp.95ff.

though a new element of the unfulfilled commandment of Yahweh is added. It is in Jeremiah that a strong Deuteronomistic element of historical presentation is held to be present (Jer. 7:21-28; 11:1-14; 16:10-13; 17:19-27; 25:1-14; 32:26-35; 34:8-22; 35). Kühlewein supposes that from Jeremiah there is just a small step to the long historical retrospect of Ezek. 20⁽³¹⁾. Westermann discerns a development from Amos 2 to Hos. 9-11 to Jer.2 and to Ezek. 16; 20; 23, where the negative response of Israel predominates⁽³²⁾. From this development Westermann concludes that the Deuteronomistic critique of history has its origin in the prophetic appeal to history, and in this connection Hosea provides a transitional phase from the judgment speech to a critical view of history⁽³³⁾.

It has long been recognised that Hosea shows a familiarity with the historical acts of Yahweh and upon this salvation history he builds his whole preaching (1:4; 6:7; 9:9; 10:1, 9, 11f; 11:1-4; 12:4f, 10, 13f; 13:4-6)⁽³⁴⁾. But if the prophet was the first person who grasped the meaning of history for the people and proclaimed a message from that meaning relevant to the situation of the addressees, it is hard to imagine that Hosea, who was far away from the event of Exodus, did not have some other prophetic figures who passed on to him the traditions and their interpretations. Hosea can only be understood as in the tradition of a whole chain of prophets who saw it as their task to teach the people the salvation history and measure

(31) Ibid, p.97; cf. Isa 5:1-7; Mic. 6: 1-4; Jer. 2:1-13; Ezek.16; 20. Isaiah passes the indictment of Yahweh with the same pattern of contrasting the history of salvation with the rejection and forgiveness of the people, 5: 1-7, 12, 24; 30:8-14.

(32) Westermann, Basic Forms, p. 183. The basic form of judgment speech of the people Israel is outlined and illustrated with examples in pp.171ff. He also shows the vitality of the form in its possible expansions, modifications and variant wordings, p.176. "Because of this greater freedom, the basic structure of the prophetic judgment - speech, which remained the same from Amos to Ezekiel, does not hinder the formulation of the speech in personal language, the assimilation of different traditions, or the adaptation of the speech to the ever-changing situations of the different prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries", p.173.

(33) Ibid, p.183. Wolff regards the form of speech as a new pattern from Amos, Joel and Amos, pp.148f.

(34) See Von Rad, OTT, II, pp.140ff.

the people's rebellion against the saving deeds of Yahweh. Micah serves as a good example when he sums up his task: "to declare to Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin" (3:8b).

Ps. 106 and Isa. 63:7ff provide two good examples of historical recitation in lament. Westermann considers these two psalms as the lament of the people with a constant element of retrospect into the previous saving activity of God⁽³⁵⁾. The function of the historical retrospect in the lament is to compare the present distress with the past salvation and to appeal to God's mercy.

Ps. 106 incorporates a recitation of history (vv. 7-46) which is framed within a corporate confession of sin in the first person plural, "We and our fathers ..." (v.6) and a prayer, "Save us! O Yahweh our Lord..." (v.47), addressing God in the second person. The historical retrospect itself uses entirely the third person in reference to the people and to God. The structure of the historical retrospect follows the prophetic form of recitation we have examined so far, but expansion is made when relating the sins of the fathers:

Ps. 106: 8-46

A. The Saving Acts of God	8-12	(23b)	(30-31)	43aa	44-46
B. The sins of the fathers	13-14	16	19-22	24-25	28 32-39 43ab
C. God's Anger-Punishment	15	17-18	23a	26-27	29b 40-42 43b

It is at the end of the recitation that the cry of distress and Yahweh's response in salvation are exemplified (vv.44-46). This ending provides the hope of salvation for the present and the prayer itself has lament in the background. The people, though having great confidence in Yahweh's compassion are in great distress.

Isa. 63:7-14 is also modelled upon a prophetic recitation of history:

A. The saving acts of God	8-9	11-14
B. The sins of the fathers	10a	
C. Yahweh's anger	10b	

This piece of recitation of history functions not so much to witness

(35) Westermann, The Praise of God in the Psalms, pp.141f.

against the sin of the people but to serve as an example of Yahweh's saving acts in the past when Israel returned to Him. Hence, for those who in the present distress (vv.15ff) may find comfort and hope in Yahweh's saving acts.

Besides similarities in the form of historical recitation, there are a great number of striking affinities in the mode of thought between Isa. 63 and Ps. 106. The former recalls the mighty works of God (vv.7-14), which forms the basis for the appeal in lament (vv.15-19). The saving deeds of God are described as God's praises (v.7 cf. תהלת יהוה); God's steadfast love (v.7 cf. 106:2, 12, תהלתו); and "Thy mighty deeds" (v.15 cf. 106:2, v.8, גבורתו). God's saving deeds to Israel are granted according to the mercy and the abundance of God's steadfast love (v.7; cf. 106:7 כרב חסדיו) (36) Both passages begin with a hymnic introduction which recalls the חסד of Yahweh in the past (isa. 63:7; Ps. 106:1ff).

Is. 63:7-19

Ps. 106

v.9	הושיעם גאלם	v.10	ויושיעם / ויגאלם
v.10	המה מרו ועצבן	v.7	וימרו
	רוח קדשן (רוח יהוה v.14)	(v.33	המרו את-רוחן
	ויהפך להם לאויב הוא נלחם-בם	v.43	והמה ימרו בעצתם (78:8, 40, 56)
		v.42	וילחצום אויביהם
		v.40	ויתעב את-נחלתו
		v.41	ויתנם ביד גוים
v.12	לעשות לו שם עולם בוקע מים מפניהם	v.8	ויש יעם למען שמו
		v.9	ויגער בים-סוף
v.13	מוליכם בתהמות... במדבר		ויוליכם בתהמות כמדבר
v.15	הבט משמים וראה ורחמיך	v.44	וירא בצר להם
		v.46	לרחמים
v.16	כי-אתה אבינו אברהם לא ידענו וישראל לא יכירנו אתה יהוה אבינו גאלנו	v.45	ויזכר להם בריתו אברהם עבדו בני יעקב בחירין הוא יהוה אלהינו
		v.47	הושיענו יהוה אלהינו

It is clear that both Ps. 106 and Isa. 63 only allude to the first great act of redemption at the Exodus as the proof of God's saving purpose and His power⁽³⁷⁾. The saving deeds of God are referred to in the context of the people's rebellion (Isa. 63:10; Ps. 106:10) to show that it is not because of the loyalty, obedience or greatness of Israel that God saves them. They do not deserve God's $\gamma\sigma\eta$ and $\eta\gamma\eta\gamma$. The election and covenant form the only ground for salvation (Isa. 63: 8-9; Ps. 106:45). God shows his love and deliverance for His name's sake (Isa. 63:12, 14; Ps. 106:8). Israel is designated as God's servants and inheritance. John L. McKenzie comments that "the ultimate basis of the plea is that Israel is still the people of Yahweh whom he may punish but cannot reject"⁽³⁸⁾. This idea of "not rejecting" is confirmed by Deutero-Isaiah in reference to the election of Abraham and Jacob (41:8-10).

Furthermore, the basis for the appeal and lament for the present distress is God's past salvation in the days of difficulty (Isa. 63:9-10; Ps. 106-44). Both Isa. 63 and Ps. 106 are confession of the sins (cf. Isa. 64:4) of the present generation and those of the forefathers. Eissfeldt assigns Isa. 63:7-64:11, among other passages from the prophets (Hos. 6:1-6; 14:3-9; Jer. 3:22b-4:2; 14:7-10; 14:19-15:4 and Lam. 5), as "passages which show strong reminiscences of the national songs of lamentation both in form and content, and these must be understood as imitations of the already existing type by the prophets"⁽³⁹⁾. On another occasion he dates this national lament, which stands much nearer to the lament in Lam. 3 than to the poems in Isa. 56-66, to the period shortly after 587.⁽⁴⁰⁾

We have shown that the pre-Exilic prophets possess a deep awareness of history and furthermore they draw lessons from history for the teaching of the people. They present their teaching in the form of a speech of accusation. A contrast is made between the mighty acts of

(36) There are 12 cases where the plenteousness (or greatness) of God's $\gamma\sigma\eta$ is associated with words or ideas of mercy and forgiveness. Exod. 34:7; Num. 14:19; Isa. 63:7; Jer. 32:18; Lam. 3:32; Neh. 13:22; Pss. 5:7 [87]; 69:13 [147]; 86:5; 106:7; 45; 145:8, Norman H. Snaitch, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, p. 102.

(37) Douglas R. Jones, "Isaiah - II and III", PCB, p. 534.

(38) J.L. McKenzie, Second Isaiah, p. 193

(39) Eissfeldt, The Old Testament, An Introduction, p.113.

Yahweh and the sinful deeds of the people. What follows is an attempt to understand the Deuteronomistic work of history (Dtr) in terms of the form and function of the recitation of history. The primary contact is that both Dtr and prophecy are interested in history⁽⁴¹⁾.

It is the lack of knowledge or the forgetfulness of the people that leads them to the rebellion against Yahweh. This is the central theological outlook of Dtr. Dtr labours upon the view that the catastrophic fall of the two kingdoms is due to the guilt of the people. The disaster comes upon the people not because of God's impotence; far from it, God indeed shows His power in the destruction of the people. The structure of Dtr includes speeches put in the mouths of the leaders at the turning points of history. The speeches provide a theological prospect and retrospect of the historical events⁽⁴²⁾. These historical summaries function as the last testament to the people. Deuteronomy provides a new context for the ancient song of Moses (ch.32). The song serves as a written 'witness' for the coming generations, testifying to the punishment which befalls them when they violate the covenant⁽⁴³⁾.

Similarly the psalmist intends to draw a lesson from the past; his concern is didactic rather than presenting history for its own sake.⁽⁴⁴⁾ As we have shown Ps. 78 has its original setting in the enlargement of the prophetic accusation. The formal elements are there : teaching, praise, admonition and warning⁽⁴⁵⁾.

vv. 1-3	The wisdom teaching
vv. 4	The praise of God
vv. 5-6	The teaching of the law
vv. 7-8	The warning, not to follow the fathers

Deut. 32 has all the formal elements found in Ps. 78. It also begins with the opening call of the teacher (vv. 1-2), followed by the

(40) Ibid., pp. 334-45. There are a number of national laments in the Psalter: 44; 60; 74; 79; 80; 83; 89, etc. The use of it is also found in Lam. 1:18, 20; 3:42.

(41) Cf. H.W. Wolff, "The Understanding of History in the O.T.", Essays in O.T. Hermeneutics, pp.336-355.

(42) Kaiser, Introduction to the OT, p. 170. Childs, IOTS, p.234. Farewell speech of Moses, Deut. 4:44-30:20; of David, I Sam. 22-23; speech and prayer of Solomon, I Kg. 8:12-53; comments on the fall of the North, II Kg. 17:7-23; on the final catastrophe of the South, II Kg. 22:16f; 23:26f.; 24:3f.

assertion that Yahweh is to be praised (vv. 3-4 cf. V.43). A contrast is then made between the perversion and corruption of the people and the deeds of Yahweh made known to the elders (vv. 5-7). An outline of both Ps. 78 and Deut. 32 shows the common content and form:⁽⁴⁶⁾

<u>Ps. 78</u>		<u>Deut. 32</u>	
v.1	Exhortation to listen (Introduced by first person singular)	vv. 1-2	Demand to listen (Introduced by first person singular)
vv.2-12	Expound the mysteries from aforetime The duty of the father to instruct his children - God's deeds, wonders and might. Stubborn and rebellious generation.	3-7	Remember the days of old Ask your father he will tell you - God's work, perfect ways and greatness. Perversed and crooked generation.
vv.13-16 43-54	The Most High redeemed Jacob/Israel through Exodus, Wilderness and brought them to the holy border	8-14	The most High took and guided His people/Jacob through the desert and gave them inheritance.
vv.17-42 55-58	They forgot Yahweh their Rock and Redeemer. God smote their strong ones ($\text{D}^{\text{h}}\text{h}^{\text{h}}\text{h}^{\text{h}}\text{h}^{\text{h}}$). They provoked His anger with idolatry and high places	15-18	They forsake God their Rock of salvation when they became fat ($\text{h}^{\text{h}}\text{h}^{\text{h}}\text{h}^{\text{h}}$) They provoked His anger with idols and foreign gods.

(43) M. Weinfeld, DDS, p.10. Since the Deuteronomistic instruction aims at hortatory ends the precise historical exactness and historical order are generally disregarded. The historical fragments selected suit particular purpose of instruction. A.C. Welch calls the Deuteronomistic presentation of historical incidents from the past "a semi-historical form". The Deuteronomistic writers "used the past of their people in order to impress principles which they had greatly at heart". Deuteronomy, the Framework to the Code, 1932, p.12.

(44) Kissane, The Psalms, 1964, p. 35 1cf., Cobb, The Psalms, p. 215.

(45) See Kühlewein, op.cit., p.99.

vv.59-64	God heard and was enraged, He rejected them, delivered them to enemies (v.63 Young men/virgins suffered)	19-25	The Lord saw and was angry, abhorred them, gave them to the nation (v.25 Young men/virgins suffered)
vv.65-67	God awoke as from sleep	26-35	God's deliberations
vv.68-72	Hope for the people in God's election of David/Zion.	36-43	He will vindicate His people and save them.

The Deuteronomic and wisdom elements of Ps. 78 are also found in Deut. 32⁽⁴⁷⁾. It is noteworthy that not only is there a common form shared by Ps.78 and Deut. 32, the style and vocabulary are remarkably similar. The paraenetic tone is evident throughout both poems. The witness to the duty of the father to make known to his son the mighty acts of God is especially striking, so is the accusation of the addressees as a "stubborn", "rebellious", "perverse" and "crooked" generation. Recitation of history functions similarly in both cases.

Thus the recitation of history as teaching for the present is illustrated in their common form:

(46) O. Eissfeldt has suggested some common features of Ps.78 and Deut. 32. Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32, 1-43 and das Lehrgedicht Asaph Psalm 78, 1958, pp.5-7. He, identifying the enemy in Deut. 32 as the Philistines, gives an early date of 1200-1020 B.C. to the Song (pp.8-25); this date is accepted by Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy XXXII", VI, 9, 1959, pp.239-246. D. Robinson too considers the song to be one of the oldest texts in the O.T. together with Judg. 5; Exod. 15 etc. Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry, 1972. Eissfeldt places Ps. 78 to a time before the split of the Kingdom, prior to 930 B.C., the enemy being the Philistine too. Recently late dating of Deut. 32 is suggested by Sten Hidal: "an archaic, post exilic poem with mythological elements". The "Rock" of Deut. 32:18 is supposed, without real strong reasons, to point to the Temple rock in Jerusalem which becomes of real importance with the rebuilding of the Temple. "Some Reflections on Deut. 32," AST 1, 11, 1977/78, pp.18, 20f. As to the wisdom characteristics of Deut. 32, see M. Weinfeld, "The Origin of Humanism in Deuteronomy", JBL, 80, 1961, pp.241-47, J.R. Boston, "The Wisdom Influence upon the Song of Moses", JBL, 87, 1968, pp.198ff. The Rib pattern is identified by G.E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God. A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 1962, pp.40ff., 54ff., 62. S. Norin draws our attention to the formal similarities between Deut. 32 and Ps. 18; Isa.51:9f; Nah. 1:2-9; Ps.74. En Spaltete das Meer, 1977, p. 169.

- A. vv. 8-14 historical saving deeds of Yahweh
- B. vv. 15-18 fall of Israel
- C. vv. 19-25 the anger of Yahweh

The scheme repeats itself a few more times. There are two remarkable features, (1) the sudden change from the reference to the people in the third person to the second person singular in vv. 14b, 15 ab, 17bb and 18. (2) the anger of Yahweh is reported in a direct speech by Him (vv. 20-25). Von Rad comments on (1) that vv. 15-18 appear to be a prophetic indictment woven into this prophetic recital of history⁽⁴⁸⁾. Kühlewein also observes in connection with point (2) that hidden behind vv. 20-25 is the prophetic word of judgment:

- vv. 20b-21a the prophetic accusation
- vv. 21b-25 the announcement of judgment

Besides supporting the prophetic origin of the recital of history, Deut. 32 further permits us to identify the prophetic speech of accusation and announcement of judgment, which, in comparison with Ps. 78, indicate that it possibly has an earlier date than Ps.78⁽⁴⁹⁾.

From vv. 26-35 Yahweh argues with Himself in a soliloquy. Von Rad translates " ׀אמח " as "Then I thought" indicating "a detailed deliberation in the heart of God"⁽⁵⁰⁾. This pause in deliberations on the part of God has parallels in O.T. (Gen. 6:5-7; Hos. 6:4; 11:8f). It appears in occasions when "a decision for salvation or for judgment is at stake"⁽⁵¹⁾. Ps. 78 also expresses such a situation when it seems that Yahweh suddenly realises that He has to do something about the enemies who are overpowering His people: "Then the Lord awoke as from sleep ..." (Ps. 78:65f). What follows then in Ps. 78, as well as

(47) Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, pp.188-89, remarks that Deut. 32 shows "a mixture of various formal elements of historical reflection, prophetic proclamation, and wisdom instruction".

(48) Von Rad, Deuteronomy, (OTL), pp.198, 200.

(49) Kühlewein, op.cit., pp.118f. Johnson assumes that Deut.32 and Ps. 78 are from the circles of cultic prophets, CPIP, pp.35, 45ff., 150ff. Jack R. Lundblom believes that Deut. 32 is the scroll of the Josianic Reform, "The Lawbook of the Josianic Reform", CBO, 38, 1976, pp.293-302.

(50) Von Rad, op.cit., p. 198.

(51) Ibid., p.199.

in Deut. 32, is a prophetic announcement of salvation (Deut. 32:36ff; Ps. 78:67ff). The function of the recitation of history in Ps. 78 and Deut. 32 is to be understood as supplying a negative example of warning for the present and a positive model of Yahweh's great deeds of salvation⁽⁵²⁾. The rejection of Israel by God in Deut. 32 and Ps. 78 is not the end but the beginning of a new salvation designed by God⁽⁵³⁾. In its present context of the Song of Moses (Deut. 31: 16-22 and 32: 44-47), the Song is understood as a testimony (עֵדוּת). This very notion of a testimony is also found in Pss. 78:4-5 and 81:4-5 [5-6] (cf. Josh. 24:25-27).

Presumably Dtr receives its inspiration on the recitation of history from the prophetic traditions. The judgment, being a part of the speech of accusation announced by the prophet, now belongs to the past. The deeds of punishment of God which came upon the fathers are recounted in the present structure as a warning to the present worshippers not to follow the negative example of disobedience set by their fathers. In this way, a dependence of Dtr upon the ancient prophetic tradition of recitation of history is clearly shown⁽⁵⁴⁾. Kühlewein further observes that in the post-Exilic prophets the same basic structure is preserved in the recitation of history; in relation to the previous deeds of Yahweh, the fall of fathers, the anger of Yahweh and the return of the fathers (Zech. 1:2-6; 7:1-14; Mal. 3:6-12). Only the prophetic announcement of judgment is entirely missing from the late prophetic words. The original function of the recitation of history, that is, the intensification of the accusation, has been transformed into an instructional one. History becomes, for the present, an example or a lesson. Ps. 78 in fact stands at a transitional stage as it still keeps the original functions of the recitation of history as motivation for punishment but at the same time it is intended for a religious teaching by example⁽⁵⁵⁾.

(52) See the discussion by Kühlewein on the development of the function of history in connection with praise and wisdom from Deut. 32 to Wisd. 10-12, op.cit., p.120.

(53) A similar conception is expressed by Westermann in his comment on Deut. 32., The Praise of God in the Psalms, p. 141.

(54) Kühlewein, op.cit., p.98.

(55) We cannot accept Kühlewein's view on the post-Exilic dating of the Psalm, op.cit., p.99.

When we come to Ps. 106 the elements of accusation and announcement of punishment have been discarded. Instead the worshipper has accepted the historical lesson and furthermore uses the form of recitation of history to pile up the sinful deeds of the fathers and of the present generation for a genuine confession of sin. History, then, is no longer used in accusation but functions as showing the great compassion of God. What will prove to be illuminating in connection with this last point is a comparison of Ps. 106 and I Kg. 8:

Ps. 106		I Kg.8	
v.6	We have sinned (חטאנו)	v.47	We have sinned (חטאנו)
	with our fathers; we have		and have committed
	committed iniquity (העווננו)		iniquity (והעווננו).
	we have done wickedly		We have done wickedly
	(הרשענו)		(רשענו)
v.44	When He heard their outcry	v.49	Then He heard their prayer
	(בשמעו את רנתם)		and their supplication
			(ושמעת ...)
v.46	And He gave them compassion	v.50	And grant them compassion
	before all who carried them		before those who carried
	captive (ויתן אותם לרחמים)		them captive, that they may
	(לפני כל שוביהם)		have compassion on them
			(ונתתם לרחמים)
			(לפני שביהם ורחמם) .

The above verbal correspondences between the two passages are striking and furthermore both use 'people' and 'inheritance' in parallel to designate the congregation (Ps. 106:4-5, 40; I Kg.8:51, 53). Between v.6 and v.44 the psalm has a recitation of the sinful deeds of Israel headed by the great saving act of Yahweh in releasing them from Egypt (vv.7-12). I Kg.8 also reminds Yahweh of His saving deed in Egypt, by which He brought the people to be His inheritance (v.51). Verse 53 further refers to Moses, Yahweh's servant, by whose hand the forefathers were brought out of Egypt; Moses also takes the same role in Ps. 106.

I Kg. 8:46-53 is regarded by most scholars as a late expansion from the Dtr redactor in view of the experience of the Babylonian Exile⁽⁵⁶⁾. The situation of Exile is explicitly mentioned in vv.46-48.

(56) J. Gray, I & II Kings, (OTL), p.226.

The adaption of the term 'furnace of iron' for the Egyptian oppression is most commonly used in the Exilic situation (Deut. 4:20, Isa. 48:10; Jer. 11:4). The ideas of election (Isa. 48:10) and covenant (Jer. 11:4) are associated with the saving from the 'furnace of iron'. Both Deut. 4:20 and I Kg. 8:51 express the same idea of Yahweh taking Israel as His people by the Exodus in the same set of vocabulary:

Deut. 4:20 ואתכם לקח יהוה ויצא אתכם מכור הכרזל
ממצרים להיות לו לעם נחלת כיום הזה

I Kg. 8:51 כי - עמך ונחלתך הם אשר הוצאת
ממצרים מתוך כור הכרזל

This very link provides the initial step for the enquiry into the relationship between the two texts. Deut. 4 has long been recognised as an expansion of the introductory chapters of Deut. 1-3. Martin Noth, followed by many, advocates that Deut. 1-3(4) is the introduction to Dtr (Deut.-Kings). His view has met challenges from various points.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The shift in the focus of Moses' address from the 'evil generation' of the desert time who refused to take possession of the land (Deut.1:35) to the 'second' generation of their children who would enter the land (1:39) and finally to the future generation who would be driven out of the land because of their own corruption (4:25ff) is recognised by Childs as important to the understanding of the continuity of the canonical shape of these chapters. But, nevertheless, we should not deny the Exilic expansion of Ch.4. This Exilic updating of the prologue, Ch.4 together with Chs. 29-32, probably from the same Deuteronomistic redactor, forms a new framework to the Deuteronomistic Code (Chs. 12-26). J.D. Levenson has demonstrated this point through lexical correlation, stylistic analysis, tradition-history investigation and theological consideration⁽⁵⁸⁾. He confirms Cross' identification of two strata of Dtr, a pre-Exilic layer (Dtr 1) written to glorify King Josiah and an Exilic layer (Dtr 2) which presupposes the events of 587, usually attributed to the sins of Manasseh⁽⁵⁹⁾. Deut. 4:1-40 and Deut. 29-32 are from Dtr 2.

(57) Childs with his canonical perspective judges that Noth's hypothesis "seriously misunderstands the function of these chapters within the book of Deuteronomy, and destroys the basic link to the preceding Pentateuchal tradition". IOTS, p.215.

(58) J.D. Levenson, "Who Inserted The Book of the Torah?", HTR, 68, 1975, pp.203-233.

Deut. 4 provides a good example of the instruction given by a prophetic figure. Moses, taken as the greatest prophet, teaches the people (vv. 1-2, 5-8, 14) using history as an illustration to serve as a deterrent (vv.3-4). The event of Baal-peor, a terrifying example from salvation history⁽⁶⁰⁾ is singled out because serving other gods and making graven images are main threats to the commandment of Yahweh (vv. 15-19) and to the covenant (v.23). Redemption at the Exodus (v.20) is the motivation for the observance of the law and the ground of the covenant.

The duty of the father to instruct his children and his children's children is essential to that covenant and is divinely ordained at Horeb (vv.9-13). At the point when the people are about to go over Jordan to possess the land Moses instructs them in all these ways. But Deut. 4 looks beyond the crossing and reflects an experience of corruption by graven image (v.25). Von Rad calls vv. 25-28 a prophetic passage against the worship of idols⁽⁶¹⁾. For this sin the people are to be scattered. They are driven from the land (vv. 26-27) to serve other gods (v.28). Moses' instruction acts as a sort of warning of punishment. But more than that, Moses reassures the people that even should they be corrupted and driven away, the merciful God (אל לך ה', v.31) would not forget His covenant (cf.Ps. 106:45). They can be saved if they seek the Lord, return to Him and obey His voice when they are in tribulation in a foreign land (vv. 29-30, in Ps. 106:44; Deut. 4:30). What follows is a recitation of history (vv. 32-39) and admonition to keep His commandments and His statutes (v.40). The chapter is especially appropriate for those in Exile, to whom a message of an open door for their return is of great comfort. It is not difficult to see the parallels between Deut. 4 and Pss. 105-106. The admonition to seek God and search for Him in Ps. 105:5 (בקש / שך) becomes meaningful when the verse is seen together with Deut. 4:29 (... תדרשנו) though it is not necessarily the only meaning of בקש / שך in Ps.105:5.

(59) Cross, CMHE, pp. 281ff.

(60) Von Rad, Deuteronomy, p.40.

(61) Ibid, p.59.

Yahweh is a compassionate God (אל רחום, Deut. 4:31) and He would give them compassion (רחמים) before all who took them captive (cf. Ps 106:46).

In Judges 2:11-23 there is a summary of the past history in a cyclical pattern which is applicable to each period of the judges.

A.	Yahweh's former deeds	vv. 10b, 12
B.	People's rebellion	vv. 11-13
C.	Anger/punishment of Yahweh	vv. 14-15
D.	People's cry to Yahweh	v. 16a
A1.	Yahweh's saving deeds	v. 16b
B2.	New rebellion	vv. 17-19
C3.	Anger/punishment	vv. 20-23

The chapter ends with Yahweh's anger upon the people. He did not drive out the nations in order to test Israel's faith. That is why Joshua did not or could not take all the land. The existence of the nations among Israel accounted for the great idolatry and apostasy of the coming generations. Eventually Israel was under the oppression of the nations and driven out of the land.

Just from the arrangement of the form we can understand the intentions of Dtr : to explain the catastrophe that befell the two kingdoms, to justify Yahweh's rejection of Israel, and to communicate a hope of restoration to Yahweh⁽⁶²⁾.

The Deuteronomic fermentation of Samuel's farewell speech (I Sam.12) testifies to the ancient tradition of recital of Yahweh's saving acts (v.8, תְּסַפֵּר). The function of the recital is twofold : to demonstrate Yahweh's past redemption as a model for continuous acts of salvation for His people and the sin of Israel is made apparent in contrast to Yahweh's redemption. The model of Yahweh's intervention is initiated by a situation of distress out of which the people cry to God (קָרָא, vv.8,10) and He responds by sending (אֶשְׁלַח, vv.8,10) His servants to bring about His salvation; a model which is exemplified in Ps. 105 and presupposed by Ps. 106. Notice the slight difference in the use of אֶשְׁלַח in Ps. 105: 17,26 for Yahweh's intervention without the cry, and the cry of Israel in Ps. 106:33 as being heard by Yahweh which results in Yahweh's responsive act of salvation.

(62) cf. Kühlewein, op.cit., p.92.

The striking contrast made between Yahweh's righteous deeds and Israel's forgetfulness, helps to encourage the confession of sin by the people in I Sam. 12 (יַיְאֹחַזֵּן , v.10a) and prayer for deliverance (חַצ'לָנִי , v.10b) from the enemies. This contrast is, as we have seen, a method adopted in the prophetic speech of accusation and is central to Ps. 78. The short account of I Sam. 12 contains the essential features of Pss. 105-106; among other things, the sending of Moses and Aaron to lead the people out of Egypt and the confession and prayer for deliverance using the same words: יַיְאֹחַזֵּן and חַצ'לָנִי . The understanding of the salvation of Yahweh in terms of 'for His name's sake' (I Sam. 12:22), is found also in Ps. 106:7.

What is more, the role of Samuel in I Sam. 12 can be seen as similar to that of a prophet : he assures the people of the covenant of Yahweh (v.22), regards his duty in prayer for the people (v.23a) and takes upon himself the responsibility of instructing the people in the good, right way (v. 23b) by urging them to consider the saving deeds of Yahweh. An examination of the didactic intention of Ps. 78 (with concern for historical traditions and reaffirmation of God's covenant with David), the recitation of salvation history (as a motivation for praise) in Ps. 105 and the stress upon the intercessory role of Moses in Ps. 106 would naturally permit us to link the psalmists, whoever they are, with a certain prophetic figure.

One of the accusations raised against Israel, as a reason for the fall of Samaria, is the people's disregard of the admonitions of the prophets who inevitably dwell upon the traditions of deliverance from Egypt and the covenant with its prohibition of idolatry (II Kg. 17:7ff). The neglect of the instructions of the prophets and their expounding of the mystery of history is fatal to Israel. The prophet is the custodian of תוֹרָה (II Kg. 17:13):

"The Lord warned Israel and Judah by every prophet and every seer, saying, 'Turn from your evil ways and keep my commandments (נְצַוֹתַי) and my statutes (חֻקֹתַי) in accordance with all the law (הַתּוֹרָה) which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent to you by my servants the prophets'(63)

The admonition to turn back is the essence of the teaching of the pre-Exilic prophets. The accusation of the worship of idols at high places as a threat to the covenant is also characteristically prophetic. Therefore, the similarity in the content of the teaching in II Kg. 17 and Ps. 78, which we have illustrated before adds great

(63) The inclusion of Judah in the doom of Israel is an indication of an Exilic date, J. Gray, I & II Kings, (OTL), p. 647.

weight to the supposition that the didactic poetic sermon of Ps. 78 would be from a poet who is associated with the prophets.

The roles of the prophet are to preserve and transmit the tradition faithfully as explicitly stressed by Hosea (12:10 [11], 13 [14], cf. 6.5), the tradition of deliverance from Egypt and that of covenant, to instruct the people according to the traditions and to testify against Israel when she walks contrary to the traditions, which is regarded as against Yahweh their God. In this respect, it is understandable that Hosea should refer to Moses as the prophet who brought Israel out of Egypt⁽⁶⁴⁾. Hosea was in the line of prophets who designated Moses as their forerunner in their prophetic proclamation of Yahweh's will. The Deuteronomic interpretation of the office of Moses to be continued in the role of the prophet is represented in Deut. 18:15f. R.E. Clements, who is against the position that behind the text lies a historical recollection of an office of covenant-mediator,⁽⁶⁵⁾ credits the prophets as preachers of the law 'like Moses'⁽⁶⁶⁾. In this way, Hosea and his disciples who accused the people in terms of covenant and law (8:1) certainly contributed to the development of the Deuteronomic movement⁽⁶⁷⁾. But this view does not attribute the origin of Deuteronomic theology totally to the prophetic circles, let alone to Hosea. A vast variety of national and international, religious and secular traditions from various ages has been collected and a Deuteronomic focus was given in the seventh century Jerusalem. It is, therefore, most natural and possible that in the Deuteronomic literature there are motifs which belong to the

(64) Wolff, Hosea, p.216, assumes that the origin of the Deuteronomic circles is to be traced back to Hosea and the group he associated with, who are probably the first ones to call Moses a prophet cf. Deut. 18:15f. Moses was traced back to be the leader of the group composed of prophets and Levites (Exod. 2:1; 32:25ff; cf.Num.11:24ff). See objection to Wolff's view by Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, pp.73f.

(65) R.E. Clements, Prophecy and Tradition, p.14.

(66) Ibid., pp. 50, 85. This function of the prophet as one after Moses is taken up by the Levites in Chronicles (II Ch. 35:3; Neh. 8:7).

(67) R.E. Clements dismisses the authenticity of Hosea 8:1 and ascribes it to Deuteronomic redaction; ibid., pp. 41ff.

circles of prophet, priest and wise man and spread across a great span of time ranging from the remote past up to the Exilic period.

Though Weinfeld is right in reminding us of the ancient origin of wisdom and its being assimilated by Deuteronomy, but I do not see why the prophetic element in Deuteronomy, especially in Dtr which cannot be denied out of hand, should be rejected by Weinfeld, "Deuteronomy drew on or was directly influenced by wisdom literature, and not by prophecy"⁽⁶⁸⁾ Would it not be quite natural that the form of prophecy is accommodated too in the formation of Deuteronomy?⁽⁶⁹⁾

There is a solid ground for believing that the wisdom circle exerted influence on the canonical prophets. This is seen in the latter's use of certain features of wisdom teaching, both in style and in form. The prophetic recognition of the existence of a definite group designated "the wise" further strengthens the possibility that the prophets were acquainted with the wisdom circle. In the contact there was not always harmony and agreement (Jer. 18:18). But this does not necessarily stop the adoption of proverbial expressions, parables, comparisons and similes which are commonly found in prophetic literature and wisdom literature (e.g. Isa. 5:28; Jer. 31:29; Ezek. 18:2; Hos. 7:4f; Amos 6:12; etc.). There is no reason to believe that while the prophets were open to influences from many other circles (for instance, cultic life, popular poetry, and so on) they were especially indifferent to wisdom teaching⁽⁷⁰⁾.

The evidence of several late additions or redactions in the prophetic books from wisdom circle proves the activity of the latter upon prophetic literature. Hos. 14:9 [10] is an excellent example⁽⁷¹⁾. In its final form Hosea is framed in wisdom understanding, "Whoever is

(68) Weinfeld "The Origin of Humanism in Deuteronomy", JBL, 80, 1961, p.246.

(69) Prophetic influences upon Deuteronomy are suggested by Driver, Deuteronomy, (ICC), p. XXVI, and Pfeffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 180. W.O.E. Oesterley has already noted that "There are good grounds for the belief that the Book of Deuteronomy emanated from scribal - prophetic, not priestly, circles". The Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament, 1927, pp. 75-76

(70) J. Lindblom, "Wisdom in the Old Testament Prophets", in SVT, 3, pp.192-204, has clearly shown the wisdom influences in the prophets. R.B.Y. Scott, The Way of Wisdom, suggests mutual influence between wise men and prophets, pp. 122ff.

discerning, let him know them; for the ways of the Lord are right, and the upright walk in them, but transgressors stumble in them" (14:9, [10]). This recognition of the importance of knowledge and understanding is presupposed by Ps. 78:4ff. The fathers are commanded to make known to their sons the knowledge of God's wonderful saving acts and the *תורה / עדות* so that the coming generations shall know (*למען יראו*) and shall not be rebellious as their fathers were. The lies and deceitfulness of the people in Hos. 12:1 also echo the same sinfulness of the people in Ps. 78:36-37.

Let us proceed to analyse the meaning of *משל* and *חידה*. A.R. Johnson gives a relevant analysis of the use of *משל*. He accepts the basic meaning of the word as "likeness" (72). In the didactic poems which embodied a *משל* (Pss. 49: 12 (13, 20 (21); 78:2) he puts forward the meaning of "object-lesson" or "public example". Ps. 78 "turns out to be a sketch of Israel's history which is presented in such a way as to make it an object-lesson in obedience to Yahweh!" (73) The psalmist intends to draw a historical experience of Israel and uses the lesson for admonition. G.W. Anderson also renders *משל* for moral instruction (74) Ps. 44 complains that Israel's national disaster would be a "byword among the nations" (v. 13 [14] RSV). The *משל* here is to be understood as a public example, an object of ridicule, for the other peoples.

The use of *משל* and *חידה* in parallel is very instructive for Ps. 78. The psalmist is about to teach a lesson from historical examples. The *חידה* from afore-time points to the history of the past as "an enigma, a puzzling, baffling mystery, truly a riddle" to many of the congregation (75). As *חידה* carries mysteries difficult to be solved and understood, an explanation or an interpretation is needed as in the case of the *משל / חידה* delivered by Ezekiel (17:1-10 and 12ff) (76).

(71) R.E. Clements points to the ancient tradition of wisdom widely spread in Israel's society, Prophecy and Tradition, pp. 80f.

(72) Johnson, " *משל* ", SVT, 3, 1955, pp.162-63 cf. Bentzen, Introduction, I p. 168, ^{who} prefers the root meaning "to rule" and therefore translates "sovereign saying" or "word of power".

(73) A.R. Johnson, " *משל* ", SVT, 3, 1955, p.165. cf. W. McKane, Proverbs, pp. 25-31, who renders "to be like" as more primary than "to rule". *משל* is rooted in popular wisdom and has the openness to interpretation.

It has been recognised that מִשָּׁל and חִידָה are commonly associated with a teacher of wisdom. But as Ezekiel clearly shows, prophets also employ the words and the method of teaching (חִידָה מִשָּׁל וּמִשָּׁל חִידָה, 17:1ff)⁽⁷⁷⁾. The prophetic office of Moses is described in the way Yahweh spoke with him, "mouth to mouth, clearly, and not in dark speech (כַּחֲדָת)" (Num. 12:8). This special form of 'mouth to mouth' communication is contrasted with the ordinary prophetic utterance which supposedly is in חִידָת .

The teaching in Ps. 78 as מִשָּׁל and חִידָה probably refers to the recounting of historical events in the past as an example (מִשָּׁל) to lighten the current mysteries (חִידָת), namely the fall of the Northern Kingdom. Therefore the ancient events are expressed in concrete terms and also by personal and place names, e.g. Shiloh, by which the contemporary situations of the defeat of Ephraim - Joseph and the fall of Samaria are generally alluded to. Ps. 78 is a poetic summary of Israel's history given as an instruction. Forgetting the instruction would be dangerous to the nation as a whole as is illustrated in II Kg. 17.

It is most likely that the poetic reflection upon the apostasy of Israel in Ps. 78 is prior to the prose narrative of the account of the fall of the Northern Kingdom in II Kg. 17:7-23. The prophetic, Deuteronomistic interpretation of history in Ps. 78 would constitute part of the prophetic torah referred to in II Kg. 17:13, 23. This is possible as we maintain that the psalm which contains wisdom elements, Deuteronomistic thinking and prophetic spirit was composed during the period from Hezekiah to Josiah, a time when the prophetic-Deuteronomistic

(74) G.W. Anderson, A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, 1959, pp. 226.

(75) Leslie, The Psalms, p. 154.

(76) BDB explains חִידָת as "a riddle, enigmatic, perplexing saying or question" p. 295 (Köhler-Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 296). R.B.Y. Scott also comments on חִידָת in Prov. 1:6 where מִשָּׁל is also used: originally means puzzles. Proverbs & Ecclesiastes, (AB), p. 36, The Way of Wisdom, p. 55. G.W. Anderson, A Critical Introduction to OT, p. 226 "a medium of instruction in wisdom". Bentzen, Introduction, I, pp. 177f and Eisfeldt, The OT, An Introduction, pp. 84-6.

(77) A.R. Johnson, Cultic Prophet and the Psalter, p. 46 and " מִשָּׁל," SVT, 3, 1955, pp. 162-9.

element coming from the North was revised, modified and familiarised in the wisdom and cultic circles of Jerusalem. Muilenburg argues that there was a scribal age in the latter part of the seventh century both in Judah and in Assyria⁽⁷⁸⁾. This prophetic-Deuteronomic interpretation becomes a significant factor in the Hezekiah-Joseph reforms and contributed to the Deuteronomic redaction of Hosea and Amos, especially the hope of the future restoration of a unified people of Israel under the house of David (Hos. 2:5; Amos 9:11-15).

The political factor for the reformation of Josiah has been underlined by a number of scholars. M. Noth has commented that "Josiah had taken advantage of the decline and collapse of the mighty Assyria to strive for the restoration of the rule of the Davidic dynasty over the whole of 'Israel'"⁽⁷⁹⁾. But without the religious motivation and theological foundation the restoration programme could have been very much weakened. The centralisation of the cult at Jerusalem and the Davidic covenant provided the main principles, while reflection upon the tragic downfall of the Northern Kingdom furnished the right motivation. Ps. 78 and II Kg. 17:7-23 are the remains of the prophetic-Deuteronomic teaching necessary for the occasion of the reformation (II Kg. 22-23). It is precisely the disobedience of Israel to the covenant and law of Yahweh, and their apostasy at high places and worship of graven images which are the concerns of Ps. 78 and II Kg. 22-23. Josiah's reformation extended even to the Northern Kingdom (II Kg. 23: 15, 19), the high places and graven images of which have provoked the anger of Yahweh (Ps. 78:59; II Kg. 17:11, 17; II Kg. 23:19).

We must, then, take into account the concern for the covenant, the didactic tradition that is integrated into the maintenance of the covenant as part of the obligation, as we have seen in the last chapter, and the adaptation of the prophetic form of speech in regard to the appeal to the saving acts of Yahweh which form the justification for the judgment and the assurance of salvation, we have to assign

(78) Muilenburg, "Baruch the Scribe", Proclamation and Presence, pp.219f.

(79) M. Noth, "The Jerusalem Catastrophe of 587 B.C., and Its Significance for Israel", IPOS, pp.260f. cf. Th.C.Vriezen, The Religion of Ancient Israel, p. 232.

Ps. 78 to the teaching of a prophet of the Jerusalem Temple who had constant contact with the Temple scribes. The wisdom elements and the Deuteronomic elements are certainly characteristic features of the period of Hezekiah-Josiah, especially in the latter part of it⁽⁸⁰⁾.

The type of instruction in Ps. 78 is not so much cultic-ritualistic direction given by a priest nor is it the social-moralistic teaching of a wise man, but an explanation of the historical situation obtained from insight into history. It is a lesson drawn from historical events and supported by previous acts of Yahweh's salvation and the people's rebellion. The drawing of the contrast between the saving deeds of Yahweh and the disobedience of the people characterises the prophetic-Deuteronomic teaching.

Ps. 78 was most probably composed by the prophetic-Deuteronomic scribes for the teaching of the people when they assembled in the court of the Temple. The example of Jeremiah (Chs. 7 and 26) illustrates one of those occasions of the prophetic teaching⁽⁸¹⁾.

Though the apparent lack of interest in the historical traditions in Wisdom literature is generally recognised, there is, however, some evidence in the Psalter indicating that historical traditions are incorporated into the psalms which exhibit an acrostic structure and strong wisdom motifs. Ps. 111 can be cited. As a hymn, it praises Yahweh for historical deeds (vv. 2-6); Exodus, the Wilderness wandering and the conquest form the background of praise. The giving of the law and an everlasting covenant is related to His nature as יְהוָה יְהוָה

יְהוָה יְהוָה (vv.4f). The mention of a remembrance of His wonderful deeds may indicate a cultic/didactic institution, such as the Feast of Passover, to ensure that the salvation of Yahweh can be known and experienced in every generation (v.4). The assurance that His praise (תְּהִלָּתוֹ) shall stand forever (v.10) characterises the hymn of praise with historical information to substantiate the motivation of His praise. To this whole range of historical allusion and outpouring of praise is attached the wisdom mark of the fear of the Lord as the beginning of wisdom (v.10). The themes of wisdom and praise with

(80) Proverb 25:1 attributes to King Hezekiah the interest in wisdom. G.W. Anderson, A Critical Introduction, p. 188f.

(81) Eissfeldt groups into "sermons" Jer. 7:1-8:3; Ezek. 20; Deut. 1-11; 29-31 and Pss. 78, 105, 106, The O.T., An Introduction, pp.15-17.

substantiated historical information do not merely attach one to the other but are also united in a coherent whole. There are no major difficulties in seeing a natural outcome of the influences of the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah in the psalm.

In the following section we shall venture to find out whether this prophetic-Deuteronomic movement in Hezekiah-Josiah's time has any connection with the cultic prophets of Jerusalem and, furthermore, whether the 'Asaphite psalms' is a collection of this group of cultic prophets.

3. The Prophetic Traditions in the Asaphite Psalms

Since it is evident that the canonical prophets were familiar with the cultic formulas, it is likely that some of their prophetic insight was derived from the cult, presumably sharing the same concern of the cultic prophets. In a way, their prophetic speech, either admonitory or accusatory, has its background in the cult⁽⁸²⁾. Mowinckel states quite clearly that "the religion of the psalms is the spiritual background of the prophets who always stood in close connection with the temple and the cult"⁽⁸³⁾.

Strict analysis of the texts and traditions into priestly or wisdom characteristics is misleading, since the prophets were dependent upon and only adapted older motifs and traditions⁽⁸⁴⁾. This is also true of the priests who were part of the social-cultic community. The wise men and scribes were not separationists, but participants in the ongoing life and thought of the people. Their participation included giving and taking - they took up traditions which were the people's heritage and integrated their wisdom elements into almost all aspects of the people's life and literature. R.B.Y. Scott notices

(82) The appearance of prophets at a sanctuary has been recorded in Amos 7:10ff; Isa. 6; Jer.7; 26; 19; 20; Lam. 2:20. Cf. Kaiser, Introduction to OT, p.213.

(83) "Literature", IDB, III, p.142. Engnell, Critical Essays, p. 108. R.P. Carroll also agrees that the cult is the focal point and background of prophetic activity; When Prophecy Failed, pp. 10-11, 61-63.

(84) G. Fohrer, "Remarks on Modern Interpretation of the Prophets", JBL, 80, 1961, p.313

the constant interactions between the priest, the prophet and the wise man and the distinction which they continued to maintain: "each appears to claim priority and they are held together in creative tension"⁽⁸⁵⁾.

Prophets, priests and scribes were in close connection and co-operation during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah. Hilkiah, the priest and Shaphan, the scribe of Josiah, participated actively in the Josiah reform. The prophetess too had her part to play (II Kg. 22-23). Shaphan's sons, Ahikam (Jer. 26:24), Elasaah (Jer. 29:3) and Gemariah were associated with the prophet Jeremiah in one way or another⁽⁸⁶⁾.

Judging from the role played by the earlier priest - seer figures in Babylonia and Israel, Mowinckel concludes that there were from the early times Temple prophets subordinated to the priests⁽⁸⁷⁾. The evidence of Chronicles fully supports this position. On the issue of the personalities involved in the cult, Chronicles not only reflects the contemporary scene but also preserves traces of the pre-Exilic Jerusalem Temple tradition. Scholars generally agree that there were cultic prophets among the Temple officials⁽⁸⁸⁾ but whether any of the canonical prophets were cultic officials is still a matter of debate. At least it is certain that in a number of texts priest and prophet are mentioned together as though they are closely associated in the same endeavour (Hos. 4:4-5; Jer. 23:11; 26:10-11; Lam. 2:20). There were prophets, according to Johnson⁽⁸⁹⁾, who co-operated with the priests as cultic officials. These prophets were responsible for the music and singing of the Temple. It is not surprising that prophesying and playing on musical instruments are described as being

(85) R.B.Y. Scott, "The Knowledge of God", JBL, 80, 1961, p.4. Mowinckel suggests that Samuel was a priest/prophet and he rejects an absolute distinction between priest, prophet and wise man. PIW, II, p.55. G.W. Anderson, "Psalms", PBC, p.412.

(86) Ahikam saved the life of Jeremiah and Elasaah took Jeremiah's famous letter to the Exiles. E.W. Heaton, Hebrew Kingdoms, p. 120.

(87) PIW, pp.53ff, Temple prophet and priest in earlier times may be one and the same person, p.58.

(88) Despite his clear summary of the reasons for the existence of cultic prophets in Israel, de Vaux still is not convinced that prophets are cultic officials. What he can accept is that prophets are attached to the cult. Ancient Israel, pp.384ff.

(89) A.R. Johnson, Cultic Prophets in Ancient Israel, 1962, pp.69-73.

by one and the same group of people (I Sam. 10:5ff.; II Kg. 3:15; I Chron. 25:1-6; cf. I Chron. 6:31-47 [16-32]; 15:16-24; Ezra 3:10; Neh. 12:45f). In Chronicles, Asaph is called the seer whose psalms are used by Levites in the reform of Hezekiah (I Chron. 29:30) and the sons of Asaph prophesy with musical instruments (I Chron. 25:1f). David is said to institute three musical guilds under the leadership of Asaph, Heman and Jeduthum (or Etham)⁽⁹⁰⁾.

There is much to contemplate upon the view that the Asaphite guild was originally a group of Jerusalemite cultic prophets and only later being confided to the role of Temple singers⁽⁹¹⁾. In the report upon the reformation under Hezekiah, Asaph was explicitly designated "the seer" (II Chron. 29:30). Thus, it would not be a far-fetched idea to regard Ps. 78, dated from the time of the reforms of Hezekiah or Josiah, as authentically linked with the prophetic Asaphite guild of Jerusalem.

The Chronicler depicts the Levitical singers as prophets and substantiates this claim with their appointment as singers by David (I Chron. 20:1-30) and with examples of their prophetic role (II Chron. 20:1-30). The replacement of the phrase "the priests and the prophets" (II Kg. 23:2) by "the priests and the Levites" (II Chron. 34:30) illustrates the inter-relationship of the prophets and the Levites.⁽⁹²⁾ In both cases the prophets or the Levites are in close connection with the priests. It is very likely that "the priests and the prophets" in Kings and "the priests and the Levites" in Chronicles refer to cultic personnel in the ceremony of covenant renewal. The deliberate replacement of "prophets" by "Levites" on the part of the Chronicler indicates the similarity in the role of the prophet and the Levite at least at the time of the Chronicler⁽⁹³⁾. The issue is whether the prophetic role

(90) I Chron. 15:17,19. There are psalms attributed to Asaph (Pss.50,73-83) and Etham (Ps.89). See Johnson, CPIP, pp.130,175,179ff,264.

(91) Mowinckel, PIW, II.pp53ff. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, pp.78ff., 184ff. 206ff. 215, 218,277. Th.C. Vriezen, An Outline of OT Theology, 1970, p.235. F.N. Jasper, "Early Israelite Traditions and the Psalter" VI, 17, 1967, p.54.

(92) Peterson, Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles, 1977, p.85.

(93) Since the didactic and hortatory functions of the Levites are recorded only in Chronicles, M. Weinfeld accepts that the Levites became the interpreters and teachers of the law only from the post-Exilic period onward. As to the pre-Exilic time he attributes the role of teachers to the priests. No discussion on the role of prophetic teaching is given. DDS, p.54.

of the Levitical singers is a totally new invention of the Chronicler or that the latter has a historical basis for his claim. We incline to take the Chronicler's claim to be a revival of a prophetic-cultic tradition of a much earlier age.

The connection between many of the ancient poems and prophetic personalities lends support to our assumption. First of all, poetry is the central medium of prophecy in the Old Testament. D.N. Freedman suggests that "many of the poets of the Bible were considered to be prophets or to have prophetic powers and, in some cases at least, the only tangible evidence for this identification is the poetry itself"⁽⁹⁴⁾. Moses, as prophet par excellence, is said to lead the people to praise Yahweh in the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15) and to write songs which embody a prophetic accusation to witness against Israel (Deut. 32). The Song of Miriam (Exod. 15:20) and that of Deborah (Judg. 5) are associated with the two named prophetesses⁽⁹⁵⁾. The connection of cultic singing with prophets in early poems is taken seriously by Otto Eissfeldt who assigns cultic singing to the responsibility of the cultic prophets in the earlier period⁽⁹⁶⁾.

The family of Asaph must have been very active in Jerusalem during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah. Joah, the son of Asaph, was the recorder (ר' כוֹחַ) to Hezekiah (II Kg. 18:18, 37; Isa. 36: 3, 22). Also at this time Zechariah and Matta, sons of Asaph, were among the Levites at the Temple sanctification of Hezekiah (II Chron. 29:13). The Chronicler traces the appointment of Asaph over the service of song to David (I Chron. 6:39; 15:17, 19; 25:1, 2, 6, 9; cf. II Chron. 5:12, at the time of Solomon, and Ezra 3:10). Asaph is said to be the chief singer (I Chron. 16:5, 7, 37) and the overseer of the Levites (Neh. 11:22). Hezekiah commands the Levitical singers to use the words and songs of

(94) D.N. Freedman, "Pottery, Poetry and Prophecy. An Essay on Biblical Poetry", JBL, 96, 1977, pp.5-26, esp. p.21.

(95) On the early dating of the above poems, see D.N. Freedman, "Canon of the OT", IDB, Suppl. p.130. H.H. Rowley also regards the poetic passages embodied in the Pentateuch to be among the earliest sources. "The Literature of the Old Testament", PBC, pp. 86-90. Johnson dates these poems to the time of Exodus and Judges and sees in them the earliest evidence of the function of cultic prophet. The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody (CPIP).

(96) Eissfeldt, The Old Testament, An Introduction, p. 109.

David and Asaph to praise God (II Chron. 29:30). The Asaphite singers appear at Josiah's reform too (II Chron. 35:15). Thus it is evident that they are the chief singers of thanksgiving and praise (Neh. 11:17; 12:35; 46).

Liturgical singing was part of the Temple worship in the pre-Exilic Temple. Evidence can be found in the Psalter (Pss. 48; 65; 95; 96; 118; 134; 135) that liturgical singing was performed by a group of singers. This Temple choir became more important after the Exile, as Chronicles shows.⁽⁹⁷⁾ A group of Asaphite singers was among the returned Israelites from Exile (Ezra 2:41; Neh. 7:14). De Vaux assumes that the Asaphite singers must have been in existence before the Exile⁽⁹⁸⁾. It may also be said that by virtue of the singers being counted as a group among those who returned they should not be regarded as individuals scattered in different lands, but as an identifiable group of Asaphite singers, probably still performing certain liturgical functions among the Exiles.

The Chronicler not only inherits the traditions and sources embodied in Dtr, but also shares a cultic and liturgical interest common with P⁽⁹⁹⁾. The exaltation of the Temple singers in the Chronicles is matched with the emphasis on the prophetic inspiration. Sources on prophetic personalities are inserted in the Chronicler's writings (I Chron. 29:29 on Nathan God; II Chron. 9:29 on Abijah; 12:15 on Shemaiah and Iddo; 20:34 on Jehu and 32:32 on Isai). To the Chronicler the prophetic guild of Temple singers is responsible for the praises of Yahweh. It is not difficult to see the connection between praising Yahweh and the concern for tradition history in the prophets. As we have noted before, the recitation of history functions to ground the praises of Yahweh upon His mighty deeds. The worshipper is motivated by the recitation of Yahweh's previous deeds of salvation to sing praise to Him. This motif of praise is always present in recitation. Exod. 15:1-18, Deut. 32, Pss. 9:14; 51:15; 66; 78:4; 79:13; 145:21 etc. confirm the link between praises and the historical deeds of salvation by Yahweh.

(97) Mowinckel attributes to the Temple singers and scribes in Jerusalem as the transmitter and redactor of the Psalter "Psalms and Wisdom", SVT, 3, pp.205-224.

(98) Ibid., p.382, cf. p.391-2 on the interest of the Chronicler in sacred music.

(99) Anderson, "The Historical Books", PCB, p.287.

Engnell, accepting the originality of the heading $\eta\sigma\lambda$ in Pss. 50, 73-83, assumes that the psalms of Asaph originated in the Northern Kingdom and were re-interpreted in a Jerusalemite spirit. These psalms show common characteristics: an interest in Israel's history, the use of the names Jacob and Joseph, a strong prophetic tone, a deep personal involvement - emotional and almost passionate, mostly national psalms of lamentation and giving prominence to the idea of covenant⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

Three of the thirteen Asaphite psalms (Pss. 50, 81 and 82) incorporate divine oracles. The supposition that these are oracles exemplifying the divine voice in the cult and delivered by cultic prophet is "both plausible and illuminating"⁽¹⁰¹⁾. The fact that these three Asaphite psalms are oracular strengthens our belief that the Asaphite psalms are somehow related to the cultic prophets of the Jerusalem Temple.

Weiser's comment that Ps. 50 is "a divine utterance of judgment delivered in the style of a prophetic rebuke" is applicable to Pss. 81 and 82 too⁽¹⁰²⁾. The oracular utterance in Ps. 50 contains rebukes against the practice of sacrifice which does not conform to the law and the covenant of God (notice the similar tone of accusation in Hosea). What seems to be the acceptable sacrifice is the offering of thanksgiving (v.14 [15], זבח לאלהים תודה, v.22 [23], וכן תודה' ככדן). The psalmist finds it more appropriate to cite the activity of Yahweh in creation in order to contrast Yahweh's self-sufficiency with the distorted conception that offering seems

(100) Engnell, Critical Essays on the Old Testament, pp.79-80. He further supposes that the $\eta\sigma\lambda$ is the Northern counterpart to the Jerusalemite $\eta\sigma\lambda$, p.186. The importance of Jerusalem in the collection and transformation of both Northern and Southern traditions is reckoned by Mowinckel, "Tradition, Oral," IDB, IV, pp.683-685.

(101) G.W. Anderson, "The Religion of Israel", PBC, p. 164. Engnell also accepts the role of cultic prophet in mediating and proclaiming oracles in the cult, Critical Essays, p. 108.

(102) Weiser, Psalms, (OTL), p.393. There are in Ps. 50 two accusations; one against the covenant people in admonitory form on the nature of worship (vv.7-15 [8-16] and one against those who have broken the covenant (vv.16-22 [17-23]. cf. K. Nielsen, Yahweh as Prosecutor and Judge, 1978, p.38.

to presuppose that Yahweh needs anything. It is beyond comprehension that the singing of praises and the offering of thanksgiving be isolated from the Heilsgeschichte. The offering of thanksgiving and the right ordering of conduct are the basis for the salvation of God (v.22 [23]). The right relationship between the people and Yahweh is grounded upon the historical saving deeds of Yahweh and the covenantal obligation⁽¹⁰³⁾. Ps. 107 supports our view that the offering of thanksgiving has its content the saving deeds of Yahweh (v.22):

וְיִזְכְּחוּ זְכוֹתֵי תוֹדָה
וְיִסְפְּרוּ מַעֲשֵׂיוֹ כְּרָנָה

The refrains (vv.8, 15, 21, 31) of Ps. 107 are rooted securely in the Heilsgeschichte: דָּסָד / נִפְלְאוֹת.

Therefore, we should not expect the psalmist to follow rigidly the same structure in every psalm and to dwell upon the same historical tradition in all the psalms. Certainly, the psalmist, especially if he is an inspired personality or a prophetic figure as the author of Ps. 50 seems to be, has the freedom to enlarge or reduce certain elements of the inherited structure as the situation and subject matter demand.

Ps. 81 is structured in the same form of recitation of history as we have shown in Ps. 78 and in Amos 2: 6-16⁽¹⁰⁴⁾.

I	Yahweh's deed of salvation (admonition for the present:	vv.6-10 [7-11] 8-10 [9-11]
II	Disobedience of the fathers	vv. 11 [12]
III	Yahweh's punishment	v. 12 [13]

That Ps. 81 has the recitation of history, the punishment and announcement of salvation in a prophetic oracle is significant (cf. Deut.32). It confirms our finding that the recitation of history, though it is cut short in Ps. 81, has its place in prophetic accusation, making a contrast between the salvation of Yahweh and the rebellion of the fathers.

(103) Ringgren claims that "with the exception of Ps.50, there is no 'covenant renewal psalm' in the Psalter". in "Enthronement Festival or Covenant Renewal?" BR, 8; 1962, p.47. Though his claim is unrealistic there is justification for placing Ps. 50 in the covenant tradition and the Heilsgeschichte of the Jerusalem Temple.

(104) Kuhlwein's, pp. 126ff, dating of Ps.81 to the post-Exilic age is a very unlikely alternative to the pre-Exilic date.

History serves as an example for the present.

Ps. 81 gives us the insight into the unity of many psalms which appear to be composite, having praise and lament side by side. The psalm is introduced with a call to praise (vv.1-5 [2-6]) and concluded with a lament expressed in divine admonition (vv.11-16 [12-17]). The historical information in the middle (vv. 6-10 [7-11]) unites the whole psalm. It provides the ground for deliverance from the present distress, as Yahweh formerly redeemed the forefathers when they cried to Him in distress. To the present suffering generation the message is clear: if they return to Yahweh and listen to Him, He will subdue their enemies as they shall praise Him. The deliverance from Egypt is a model for Yahweh's acts of salvation.

Moreover, the prophetic oracle in Ps. 81 identifies Joseph with Israel. 'Joseph' appears in the Psalter only four times; three of them are found in the Asaphite psalms 77:15 (16); 78:67; 81: 1(2) and the fourth is in Ps. 105 which is associated with the Asaphite singers as in II Chron. 16. The synonymous use of the names Israel, Jacob and Joseph may be an indication of the Northern origin. S. Holm-Nielsen and many others hold the view that the Asaphite psalms preserve ancient tradition of the North (105).

Among the Asaphite psalms there are a few national psalms of lament with the cultic cry "How Long?" ('לך לך) (74:9 [10]; 80:4 [5]; 82:2; cf. 74:8 [9] and 79:5 have לך-לך instead cf. Pss. 4:2 [3]; 6:3 [4]; 89:46 [47]; 90:13; 94:3). It is significant to note that the cry appears also in the prophets closely connected with the Temple (Isa. 6:11; Jer. 4:14, 21; 12:4; 23:26; 47:5; Hab. 1:2; 2:6; Zech. 1:12) (106). The cultic prophets are responsible to intercede with Yahweh on behalf of the people. Ps. 74 suggests that the situation of the people is disastrous because the Temple is in ruins and there is no longer any prophet; nobody knows "How Long?" (v.9). Johnson points out that the

(105) S. Holm-Nielsen regards Pss. 77, 80, 81 and part of Ps.89 as originated in the Northern Kingdom and transferred for use in the temple of Jerusalem. Cf. "The Importance of Late Jewish Psalmody for the Understanding of Old Testament Psalmic Tradition", ST, 14, 1960, p.5.

(106) Not to be found in prophets before Isaiah, except once in Hos. 8:5. It is also absent in Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah.

cry is a feature of prayers for deliverance. It is the function of the cultic prophet to answer the people in a divine response to their supplication⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. The cultic prophet is expected to act as an intermediary between the people and Yahweh in any national crisis and time of great trouble. Ps. 80 with its cry of 'לן 7י can be cited to support this function of the cultic prophet⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

This role of cultic prophets to intercede with Yahweh on behalf of the people is confirmed in Ps. 74. The psalmist laments for the total destruction and desecration of the Temple (vv. 1-9). But he still appeals to God and reminds Him of His covenant and His past mighty deeds (vv. 18-23). Psalm 75 calls upon the name of Yahweh and recounts His wondrous deeds. The call is directly addressed to Yahweh in the second person (v.1 [2]). In vv. 2-6 [3-7] the psalmist turns to the worshippers and addresses them in the first person "as the actual mouthpiece of Yahweh"⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. This is followed by the speech of the psalmist to the people, referring to God in the third person (vv. 7-8 [8-9]). Thus we see the psalmist as an intermediary between God and the worshipper.

Ps. 106 presents Moses as the intercessor for the people (v.23). This understanding of the role of Moses is in accordance with the picture in the Pentateuch (Exod. 10:16-18; 32:11; 30:32; Num. 11:2; 21:7; Deut. 9:14; 18; 20). Though the task of intercession is not monopolised by the prophet, prophetic figures often act as intercessors for the people. So much so that Moses and Samuel, who are regarded as prophets, are exemplified as intercessors (Jer. 15:1, Ps.99:6. On Samuel, I Sam. 2:25; 7:5f; 12:19; 15:24f.) Lindblom is quite right to call the prophets intercessors par excellence⁽¹¹⁰⁾.

(107) CPIP, pp. 134f. 192.

(108) Ibid., pp. 137, 196.

(109) CPIP, p.319.

(110) Examples of the role of prophet in intercession: Gen. 20:3,7; Amos 7:2f, 4ff; Hos. 9:14; Isa. 22:4; 37:4; Jer. 7:16; 11:14; 15:1; 18:20; Ezek. 9:8; 11:13; 13:14. Jeremiah understood that the prophets whom he opposed also interceded for the people, 27:18; Lindblom, Prophecy, p. 204, Mowinckel, PIW, II, p.63: "It was a part of the ministry of the cult prophet to act as an intercessor". On the issue of Jeremiah's ministry and Moses' prophetic office, see W. Holladay, "Jeremiah and Moses: Further Observations", JBL, 85, 1966, pp.17-27.

Ps. 73 is a didactic poem from wisdom circle expressing the importance of communion with God which outweighs the afflictions and sorrows of life; even death cannot destroy that communion⁽¹¹¹⁾. The existence of the Temple (v.17, מִקְדָּשׁ אֱלֹהִים)⁽¹¹²⁾ does not necessarily indicate a pre-Exilic date in Jerusalem. The use of מִקְדָּשׁ to refer to the Temple is common in the Asaphite Psalms (74:3 [4], 6 [7], 77:13 [14]; 78:69; 79:1 [2]). This is matched with the naming of Zion or Jerusalem (74:2 [3]; 76:2 [3]; 78:68; 79:1 [2]). We are not told what happened in the Temple which strengthened the psalmist's trust in the Lord in Ps. 73, probably the recitation of the salvation - history of the nation. The last verse of the psalm seems to confirm a recitation of that history promised by the psalmists (מִלֵּאכֹתַי ... לְסֹפֵר , v.28). The interest in what God did in history is obviously shown in most of the Asaphite psalms. The words which are used to describe God's deeds of salvation are :
 נִפְלְאוֹת (75:1 [2]; 78:4, 11, 32); פֶּלֶא (77:11 [12], 14 [15]; 78:12); עֲלֵלוֹת (77:12 [13]; 78:11); - מַעֲלָלִים (77:11 [12]; 78:7); מַעֲלָלוֹת (77:12 [13]; תְּהִלָּה (78:4; 79:13). The use of סֹפֵר for the recitation of God's mighty deeds is found in 73:28; 75:1 [2]; 78:3, 4, 6; 79:13. The delivery at the Exodus and the subsequent events are the themes in Pss. 74:12, 13, 14, 15; 77:11 [12], 15 [16], 16 [17]; 78:12ff; 80:1 [2], 8 [9]; 81: 6-7 [7-8]. This interest in the history of the nation is in line with that of the cultic prophets.

Ps. 78 as a prophetic teaching finds further support from its parallels with oracular psalms. The admonition in the prophetic oracles in Ps. 50:7, and Ps. 81:8 [9] draw the attention of the people by addressing them as "O my people":

50:7 Hear, O my people, and I will speak.

81:8[9] Hear, O my people while I admonish you.

This introduction to a prophetic oracle appears in Ps. 78, though the psalm does not contain an oracle proper.

78:1 Give ear, O my people, to my teaching.

(111) G.W. Anderson, "Psalms", PBC, p. 428.

(112) The plural form functions as amplification or intensity, e.g. Jer. 51:51. A.A. Anderson, Psalms, II, pp. 533f.

The parallel may give weight to the prophetic character of Ps. 78. The prophetic teaching calls upon the Psalmist's contemporaries to learn the lesson of history. It justifies Johnson's view of the teaching aspect of worship⁽¹¹³⁾. Teaching is then an additional function to the twofold responsibility of the cultic prophet; representing the people in prayer and mediating the divine will in oracle⁽¹¹⁴⁾. Kaiser also understands the role of cultic prophet in worship as intercessor and giver of oracles⁽¹¹⁵⁾.

The images of Yahweh as the Rock of salvation and as shepherd leading his flock in Ps. 78:35, 52 are used in the oracular part of Ps. 95 (vv. 1, 7). Furthermore, the affinities of Ps. 78 with two other oracular psalms, Ps. 89 and Ps. 132, cannot be mere coincidence, and Ps. 78 is very likely to have come from the cult prophetic circles which are responsible for making known God's will in worship.

The obligation to come together to celebrate and to bear witness to the great act of salvation is confirmed in both Ps. 78 and Ps. 81. An נִסִּיּוֹת is established in Israel (Pss. 78:4-5; 81:4-5 [5-6]). This נִסִּיּוֹת denotes the historical saving deeds of Yahweh and the teaching of it to the coming generations. In Ps. 78 it is used in parallel with תִּוְרָה and in close connection with declaring the praises of Yahweh (תְּהִלּוֹת יְהוָה), His strength (יָסוּרֵי) and His wonderful deeds (נִפְלְאוֹתָיו). In Ps. 81 this נִסִּיּוֹת is established in the Exodus and $\text{אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְךָ חֶק}$ appear in close proximity to נִסִּיּוֹת (vv. 4-5 [5-6]).

The worship of Israel was not an independent activity separated from historical traditions and verbal communication. Through worship traditions were preserved as well as transformed and the lesson of the past was perpetuated. Johnson rightly perceives this important element of the nation's worship and he designates it the educational aspect of worship⁽¹¹⁶⁾. The people were to remember the past, to transmit the lesson to the next generation; but in worship they also bore witness and told the wonderful deeds of Yahweh. The witness

(113) CPIP, pp. 21, 29, 46-47.

(114) Ibid., pp. 15, 21, 29, 45-47, 68.

(115) Kaiser, Introduction, p. 213.

(116) Johnson, CPIP, pp. 29, 46f., 61ff., 75f., 109ff., 270, 151ff.

sometimes becomes a witness against the people. This is how the Song of Moses is to be understood in the present context in Deuteronomy (Deut. 31:20).

Our observation is that the composers or collectors of the Asaphite psalms who associated themselves with Asaph were active in Jerusalem during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah. They were sympathetic to the prophetic traditions of the fallen Northern Israel; therefore, they preserved them and incorporated them in the cult of Jerusalem. The wisdom element and the Deuteronomic teaching are characteristic of the time. They appealed to the common history of ancient time as the basis for the unity of the people and the ground for Yahweh's further acts of salvation. The national psalms of lament have their setting in the fall of Samaria, and a threat of destruction of Jerusalem itself. The sons of Asaph were cult prophets and temple singers of Jerusalem. Ps. 74 may represent the lament of the nation shortly after the destruction of the Temple in 587 B.C.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ when all prophetic activity is threatened to cease.

From the viewpoint of Gattung, Pss. 78, 105, 106 are not homogeneous⁽¹¹⁸⁾. The only common characteristic is the presentation of the past for the present. Westermann recognises that Ps. 105 is to be taken with Isa. 63:7-14; and Neh. 9 and Ps. 81 are to be classed as "Mischformen"⁽¹¹⁹⁾. Ps. 78 is also a mixed psalm while Ps. 105 can be classified as a hymn of praise. Ps. 78 differs from the hymn of praise in its change from salvation of God to the sins of the fathers and vice versa. Although it is not a hymn, neither is it a lament; there is no distress or complaint of the worshipper being felt or mentioned. The defeat by the Philistines lies in the past and the oppression has been vindicated by Yahweh (vv. 65-66). The review of history functions to draw the attention of the people to an example of the past in order to illustrate the present mystery (vv. 104). Such an intention is didactic - admonitory. The psalmist wants to teach a lesson⁽¹²⁰⁾. A lesson which is historical but at the same time meant to be understood and passed on from generation

(117) CPIP, p. 236.

(118) Kraus, Psalmen, p. iiv, and H. Zirker, op.cit., p. 35f reckon that Pss. 78, 105 and 106 are of a special Gattung.

(119) Ibid., p. 107.

(120) See Kühlewein, op.cit., p. 89.

to generation. One further characteristic of Ps. 78 is that the wisdom element is not diffused in the whole psalm but can only be found at the beginning and the end of the psalm.

Taking into account the presence of prophetic oracles, the influence of wisdom motifs and the traces of Deuteronomic theology in the Asaphite psalms, the most appropriate date for the composition of some of them is the seventh century. We are fully aware of Johnson's repeated word of caution against the view that the psalmists are dependent upon the Deuteronomic school and the canonical prophets. On his postscript to CPIP Johnson once again declares his position for the antiquity of Israel's psalmody. The Psalms which are far from being influenced by the thought of the canonical prophets, the Deuteronomic school and wisdom literature exert their impact upon the thinking of the religious teachers and their respective literature⁽¹²¹⁾. However, we are also aware of the tendency, as followed by Johnson, that the above observation would easily, though not automatically, lead to the dating of the psalms to the period of the Judges (e.g. Pss. 78, 81 etc.)⁽¹²²⁾. It is more likely from our point of view grounded upon the arguments already advanced that most of the Asaphite psalms, with the exception of perhaps Ps. 74, are to be dated to the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah. We would also assign to the Northern traditions their proper share in the development of an all-Israelite tradition in the long process of assimilation beginning just after the fall of Samaria in the setting of Jerusalem. The formation of the Deuteronomic school in its confluence of cultic and prophetic as well as wisdom traditions from Israel and Judah shows beyond the possibility of doubt that such a process took place. Ps. 78 is a forerunner in this direction while Pss. 105-106 are in the interim of the process.

To sum up, the single basic act of salvation of Yahweh on behalf of His people is adapted to many forms of psalms and it penetrates into every level of Israel's faith in various historical situations. The pre-Exilic prophet as well as the cultic prophet "exploit" the mighty acts of Yahweh's salvation to contrast it with the sin of the people in order to bring home the idea of justifiable punishment from Yahweh. The recitation of history, short and long, appears in prophetic

(121) CPIP, p.433.

(122) Ibid., pp.17.

oracles, in teaching, in praise and in lament. Then the keeping of the covenant with the observance of Yahweh's commandment is the focal point of the recitation.

The historical retrospect and admonition (e.g. Ps. 78 and Pss. 105-106) provide the link between the development from short oracle to long prose sermon of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the parenetic parts of Deuteronomy⁽¹²³⁾. Much later, the prayers of penitence were written in a mixture of types (I Kg.8; Dan.9; Neh.9; Ezra 9). In the following section we will show that the historical retrospect has a role in the literary composition of the Pentateuch which is the climax of the same creative process of enlargement of both the recitation of Yahweh's mighty deeds and the account of the sinful acts of the people. These two aspects are held in tension by yet another force, the forgiveness of sin.

4. Pss. 105-106 and the Structure of the Pentateuch

What prompted me to be so interested in the issue of the canonical role of Pss. 105-106 in the final redaction of the Pentateuch is the fact that from the outset the psalms present an all-inclusive picture of most of the traditions in the Pentateuch story and a most comprehensive framework of all the historical recitals. On the other hand the content of traditions in Pss. 105-106 is hardly identical with that of the Pentateuch. In addition to this fact, Ps. 105 narrates the fulfilment (v.44) of the promise of the land to the Patriarchs (v.11). For the first time in the Psalter the Patriarchal promise is linked with the Exodus traditions by the Joseph story. Ps. 105 tells the positive aspect of the whole Torah story. This Torah story, most significant of all, is the basis for Israel's observation of God's laws and commandment. Furthermore, Ps. 106 presents the history of Israel mainly in the negative side. The events recounted in Ps. 106 are found in the latter part of Numbers and the first part of Deuteronomy. Ps. 106 also embodies a prediction of dispersion (v.27) and a fulfilment of it (v.47). Finally, the arrangement of stories in doublets and the placing of

(123) Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, I, pp.189ff., 207ff.

them before and after the Sinai corpus with those after Sinai accompanied by punishment are points of interest for our present investigation.

We start with an examination of the most recent attempt to tackle the Pentateuchal problem by Rolf Rendtorff⁽¹²⁴⁾. Rendtorff's thesis is by no means final nor has it been generally accepted. He re-opens the discussion of the Pentateuchal problem with fresh insights. First of all, he raises the methodological inconsistency of the Documentary Hypothesis and denies that continuous consistent literary sources run through the (JE and P) Pentateuch as it is often argued. There are no original direct cross-connections between the larger literary units, e.g. between the stories of the Patriarchs and those of Moses and the Exodus. He finds it necessary, therefore, to trace the development of the traditions from the smallest units to the larger ones and to outline the formation of the Pentateuch from these larger units⁽¹²⁵⁾. The prominent formulation which finds the Patriarchal narratives together and unites them with the Exodus story is the divine promise of the land. There are traces of a comprehensive reworking of the Pentateuch in the divine promise in the linking passages in Genesis (24:7; 26:3; 50:24)⁽¹²⁶⁾. No doubt there are points which are open to dispute in Rendtorff's refreshing and critical viewpoint⁽¹²⁷⁾. A more thorough study of the problem is necessary for a balanced evaluation, and such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis. Yet we appreciate his discernment of a final comprehensive

(124) Rolf Rendtorff, "Traditio-Historical Method and the Documentary Hypothesis", Proceedings, 1969, pp.5-11 and Das Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch, 1977.

(125) Rendtorff finds no assurance for a comprehensive theological scheme and a literary unification of the J.E.P. sources. There are only priestly legal materials, priestly redaction and a more comprehensive stratum of Deuteronomic Bearbeitung. Proceedings, p.10, Das Pentateuch, pp.19ff., Review article of Das Pentateuch by W. McKane, VT, 28, 1978, pp.371-382

(126) Das Pentateuch, pp.65f., 76-79.

(127) See the articles by scholars responding to Rendtorff's approach outlined in "The 'Yahwist' as Theologian? The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism", (A paper read at the Edinburgh Congress); JSOT, 3, 1977. And also reviews by R.E. Clements of Das Pentateuch in that issue.

reshaping and a theological framework of the whole Pentateuch. The theme of divine promise of the land elucidates the message of the Pentateuch. Such a divine speech in the promise formulation is incorporated in Ps. 105:11: לֵאמֹר לְךָ אֶתֵּן אֶת אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן
 "Saying, 'To you (sing.) I will give the land of Canaan, a portion, for your (pl.) inheritance'".

In Ps. 105 the Patriarchal stories of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are linked by this promise of the land of Canaan. Yahweh's will guarantees that the promise works its way through difficulties in history to its own fulfilment. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are not called "father". They are servants of Yahweh together with Joseph, Moses and Aaron in bringing about that fulfilment⁽¹²⁸⁾.

The sequence of events in Ps. 105 seems to presuppose the literary form of the short credos (Deut. 26:5-9) and, more closely, the structure of the Hexateuch: Promise to the Patriarchs - Oppression in Egypt - Liberation - wilderness - land giving. Both texts portray a working out of history from the divine promise to its final fulfilment.

The formal structure of the last chapter of the Hexateuch, Josh. 24, which comprises the recitation of the saving deeds of Yahweh from the time of the Patriarchs to the present settlement in the land, is exactly the framework upon which the psalmist of Ps. 105 builds his recitation of history with the traditions available to him. Even the pledge of the people to listen to the word of God and serve him alone (Josh. 24:24-25) does not escape the attention of the psalmist. God's statutes (חֻקֵּי) and His laws (תּוֹרֹתַי) become the climax and the natural ending of the psalm (v.45) as the statutes (חֻקֵּי) and ordinances (מִשְׁפָּט) written down in the book of the Torah of God (סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהִים) in Shechem (Josh. 24:24-26) are regarded as the climax of the covenant making after the settlement.

What seems to be the core of the commandments of God in the decision of the people in the assembly of Shechem is the abolition of foreign gods and the whole-hearted service of Yahweh (Josh. 24:14, 15, 16, 20, 23). The decision is based on what Yahweh had done so far. The people give a precise summary of the reason for their choice⁽¹²⁹⁾.

(128) In Ps. 106, however the "our fathers" (vv.6-7) refers to the sinful generation of the Exodus.

(129) Josh. 24: 16-18.

Far be it from us that we should forsake the Lord, to serve other gods (אלהים אחרים); for it is the Lord our God (יהוה אלהינו) who brought us and our fathers up from the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage, and who did those great signs in our sight, and preserved us in all the way that we went, and among all the peoples through whom we passed; and the Lord drove out before us all the peoples, the Amorites who lived in the land; therefore we also will serve the Lord, for he is our God (כִּי-יהוה אלהינו).

Up till this point the history narrated in Josh. 24 is totally positive and in agreement, in form at least, with Ps. 105. The detailed context of the recitation is different. Ps. 105 is more concrete in the account of events, especially the signs and wonders, (the Plagues) and the giving of water and food in the wilderness. The main expansion is the whole episode on Joseph in the psalm (vv.17-22). The other striking difference, is the psalmist's omission of the Red Sea deliverance.

On the whole, Ps. 105 is structured in the same form, as the Pentateuchal material in Genesis-Exodus. If we allow ourselves to see in V.45 the whole Sinai-Horeb corpus, the legal materials, and in V.7 a summary of God's creative activity on earth, then Ps. 105 may cover the framework from Gen. 1 - Num. 10.

The most significant observation is that, except the Red Sea and the Calf incidents, Ps. 106 shows evidence that its historical traditions are common to those covered by the narrative sections in the latter part of the Book of Numbers (mainly ch. 11-36). Pss. 105-106 together give us a literary structure and many historical traditions similar to the Pentateuch.

Ps. 105 framed the wonderful works and the judgment of God with the promise to Abraham, the content of which is clearly stated in God's word: "I shall give you the land of Canaan, to be the portion of your inheritance"(v.11). The promise is extended to Isaac, Jacob and the children of Israel (vv.8-10). The fulfilment of this holy word of God is witnessed at the end of the psalm (v.42). From the framework of this psalm, the evidence is provided for the link between the Patriarchal stories and the Exodus narratives.

As we have seen, the promise to the Patriarchs, especially that of the land, functions in the Book of Genesis as well as the Pentateuch at large as future-oriented, looking forward to its fulfilment not in the immediate future of the time of the Patriarchs but in the

distant future. It focuses the attention of Genesis upon the future generation of the Exodus and the settlement. Gen. 15:13ff explicitly points to this understanding of the future hope as a confession of faith in the divine word⁽¹³⁰⁾. This passage shows a lot of similarities with Ps. 105 and, probably should be taken as a summary statement in connection with Ps. 105.

The unique canonical function of the Joseph story is readily recognised in Gen. 50:24, among other characteristics of the story⁽¹³¹⁾. Joseph is not seen as "the bearer of the promise in the same way as his forefathers"⁽¹³²⁾. Many modern scholars see the story as providing a connecting link between the Patriarchal narratives and the Exodus event⁽¹³³⁾. Filling the gap is at most a minor role of the story. From reading Ps. 105 one can easily get the impression that the sending of Joseph by Yahweh is an important phase in the final fulfilment of the salvation history⁽¹³⁴⁾.

When the promise of Yahweh becomes very unlikely to be fulfilled because of famine in the land followed by the oppression of the Egyptians Yahweh has already prepared an unexpected way by sending Joseph, who, instead of Judah, "became the means of preserving the family in a foreign country (50:20), but also the means by which a new threat to the promise of the land was realised"⁽¹³⁵⁾.

Ps. 105 still allows us to conceive this distinctive role of the Joseph story in the Pentateuch. The ancient traditions behind the versions of the story can be held together to assume a new significant

(130) Childs, IOTS, pp.150f.

(131) Strong didactic motive, von Rad, PHOE, pp.292-300 cf. R.N. Whybray, "The Joseph Story and Pentateuch Criticism", VT, 18, 1968, pp.522-528.

(132) Childs, IOTS, p.156.

(133) cf. von Rad, PHOE, p.292 n.2, Gen. 50:24 gives a summary reference to the link between Joseph and the Patriarchs.

(134) Contrary to von Rad who sees in the story of Joseph no specifically theological interest in redemptive history, p.299.

(135) Childs, IOTS, p.157.

function not only in the canonical shape of the Pentateuch, but also to revive the promise of Yahweh to the Patriarchs for the Exilic community in the foreign land⁽¹³⁶⁾.

One may get from this example a support for the thesis that the Psalter, as it is being used in the cultic life of the people, preserves traces of the formation of the canonical shape of the O.T. and further exercises its influence upon the theological view which led to the final form of the faith in the literary expression.

Following the line adopted by H.W. Wolff in the discussion of Gen. 12:1-3 as the key transition in the Yahwist's work, G.W. Coats puts forward his proposal that Exod. 1:1-14 is a structural transition in the Book of Exodus⁽¹³⁷⁾. Coats suggests that all of vv.1-7 belong together to form the Priestly transition which is completed in vv.13-14⁽¹³⁸⁾. The Priestly transition links the Patriarchal traditions with the Exodus traditions⁽¹³⁹⁾. The growth and transformation of Israel (לְיִשְׂרָאֵל) from a limited group of Jacob's sons in Exod. 1:1-6 to a people strong enough to be a threat to the Egyptians in Exod. 1:7 seems to be an attempt to recall the promise of God in Gen. 17:6 (cf. Gen. 1:22; Deut. 26:5; Num. 14:12; Ps. 105:24).

The oppression motif in vv. 8-12 provides the occasion for the mission of Moses and Aaron (cf. Ps. 105:25-26) to the Pharaoh and for the Exodus theme (departure from Egypt)⁽¹⁴⁰⁾. Exodus 1:1-14 then, concludes the Patriarchal traditions and at the same time anticipates the Exodus events and the liberation from the Egyptian oppression⁽¹⁴¹⁾.

(136) Leslie, The Psalms, p.162. "the psalmist's recall of the whole Joseph legend is in order that the congregation of Israel, a people now humbled under a foreign power and fettered in spirit, if not in iron, may feel that God has not forgotten His covenant. They too, like Joseph, will be released."

(137) H.W. Wolff, "The Kerygma of the Yahwist", Interpretation, 20, 1966, pp.131-158. G.W. Coats, "A Structural Transition in Exodus", VT, 22, 1972, pp.129-142.

(138) Vv.8-12 (J), Coats, op.cit., p.133. G. Fohrer:1-5(P), 6(J), 7(P), 8, 10b and 12a(J), 9, 10a and 11(N), 12b(E), Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus, 1964, pp.124-5. De Vaux: Exod.1:1-5,7, 13-14(P), EH1, p.322.

(139) The death notice of vv.1-6 reflects on Gen.50:22-26.

(140) V.9 is J's understanding of the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham in Gen.18:18. B.S. Childs regards vv.8-12 as a unit, Exodus, (OTL), p.7.

Ps. 105 also has the same structure; the story of the Patriarchs, the Exodus and the land-giving are connected by the promise and covenant made to the forefathers⁽¹⁴²⁾. Would it then be concluded that only at a later date did the complete story of the Pentateuch assume its present form? Did the psalmist provide the model for the Pentateuchal story? Or was it the other way round? Our proposal, which perhaps still needs to be further substantiated, is that the Priestly redactor follows the overall framework of the story which is shared by the psalmist who applies and interprets the ancient traditions.

Exod. 1:1-6 and 1:7 involve a long period of time during which the 'sons of Israel' (v.1) have multiplied (1:7) and have even been transformed into a great people 'Israel' dwelling among the people of Egypt (v.9). A sense of historical continuity is presented in v.6, pointing back to Genesis, and in v.7, a transitional verse linking what is said before in the fulfilment of the promise of blessing to Adam (Gen. 1:28; 9:1) and to Abraham (12:1ff)⁽¹⁴³⁾.

According to the biblical traditions, Israel's long sojourn in Egypt (430 years in Exod. 12:40 and four hundred years (אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה) in Gen. 15:13) is not of a particular concern. Very little is known about what the Israelites did in these four hundred years. The oppression of the people provides the framework for the Exodus in the historical summaries or the confessions of faith (Deut. 26:5-9; 6:20-24; Josh. 24:2-13; I Sam. 12:8-11). The Priestly editor has connected the descent into Egypt in the story of Joseph⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ and the tradition of the oppression of Israelites because of their growth in number (Exod. 1:1-9, 5:7).

(141) Coats sees that release from the oppression comes before the Sea Event. For J. the death of the first born of all Egyptians and the depouling motif, which are set in the context of the Pharaoh's sending (מִצְרַיִם) them away with a blessing request (12:29-36), bring the Egyptian oppression to an end while P sets the conclusion of the oppression at the proper execution of the ancient traditions to form a message for the people in Exile.

(142) The present form of the Pentateuch presents us with exactly the same overall idea, R. de Vaux, EHI, p.166.

(143) B.S. Childs, Exodus, pp.2-3.

P's interest, however, is not what actually took place, but the rapid multiplication of Israel, ... פרו ושרצו וירכו ויעצמו בלאד בלאד (v.7).

In Ps. 105 the leading out of the people from the oppression of Egypt if immediately followed by Yahweh's constant preservation of the people in the wilderness. The genuine needs of the people in the dangerous desert are attended to without any complaint from the people. Yahweh protects them with a covering of cloud by day and He guides them with light at night (v.39). This corresponds to the narrative in Exod. 13:20-22. The punishment of the Egyptians with plagues and the liberation with great possessions lie in the past. Yahweh provides them with bread from heaven and quails. This brings us to Exod. 16 where the positive provision of food from Yahweh is reported. The emphasis is on the manna from heaven with the quails mentioned only in Exod. 16:13a. Ps. 105 either does not know the murmuring of the people in Exod. 16 or it chooses to select the positive aspect of the narrative. But what is sure is that though murmuring is reported in Exod. 16, punishment of any kind is missing. Actually this feature is retained in those narratives before the Sinai episode.

We have been following Ps. 105 in its parallel with the account of the story in Exodus up to Exod. 16. From then on Ch.17 starts with the gift of water from the rock, which corresponds exactly with v.41 of Ps. 105:

He opened the rock so that water gushed out,
and ran in the desert like a river.

The story in Exodus is framed in the murmuring (Exod.17:3, ה'עם | ל')
ה' (ל') of the people and their testing God (את' - ה'הוה).

(144) Gen. 37-50, cf. R. de Vaux, EHI, pp.292f. D. Redford concludes from his survey of the Joseph story that the chronological limits of the story are 650-425 B.C. He rejected the presence of the sources J & E in the story. "The only hand which can with certainty be detected throughout the entire Book of Genesis is a priestly one, viz. that of the Genesis editor". Joseph story, p.253. Fohrer designated the nomadic group under the Egyptian oppression, who really experienced the Exodus deliverance, as the Moses host, to be distinguished from the house of Joseph which had a secondary connection with the Patriarchal and Mosaic traditions. HIR, p.70. Von Rad, "The Joseph Narrative and Ancient Wisdom", PHOE, pp.290-300. R.N. Whybray, "The Joseph story and Pentateuchal Criticism", VT, 18, 1968, pp.522-528.

Nevertheless the thirst of the people was a genuine need in the desert ("Give us water to drink" v.2) and therefore God responded favourable by giving them water from the rock. What is so significant is that there is no punishment at all for their murmuring and tempting God. Furthermore the two questions (vv.3-7) seem to have their answers in the psalm. Yahweh did not bring them out of Egypt to let them die of thirst in the desert. He led them out because "He remembered His holy word to Abraham, His servant" (Ps. 105:42) and therefore He provided water like a running river in the desert. The question, 'Is the Lord among us or not?' (Exod. 17:7) is clearly put in the affirmative, 'He led out His people with rejoicing' (Ps. 105:43).

The liberation of the people in Ps. 105 has its goal in the giving of the land by God who gave the land of the other peoples to Israel so that Israel may inherit the fruit of the peoples' toil (v.44). This particular understanding of the Exodus with the goal to be fulfilled in the land seems to presuppose the structure of the Hexateuch and that of the short historical recitals. This may be the case in one stage of the traditions incorporated in Ps. 105. But as the verse on the land-giving theme is immediately followed by the observance of the laws of God and as the psalm itself is now better seen to be in complementary with Ps. 106, the theme of land giving is framed within the Pentateuch. As Exod. 17:1-7 has parallels in Ps. 105:41, Exod. 17:8ff may function to represent the theme of land giving in Ps. 105:44.

The passage on the Amalekites (Exod. 17:8ff) appears to many as not being placed in a satisfactory position within its literary context. Scholars have indicated that there are difficulties in the interpretation of the passage (vv.8-16)⁽¹⁴⁵⁾. The antiquity of the tradition behind the story cannot be denied. But it is different from that which is preserved in Deut. 25:17 and I Sam. 15:2. The latter two passages, giving no report on the battle and the victory of Israel, indicate that the Amalekites attacked Israel and humiliated them instead⁽¹⁴⁶⁾.

(145) Coats has struggled with this passage in a paper read at the Edinburgh Congress, 1974. He treats the aetiological elements in the story as secondary, SVT, 24, pp. 30-31.

(146) Num. 14:39-45 gives an account of Israel's defeat by the Amalekites and are forced to retreat to Hormah.

The Amalekites' lack of mercy becomes the ground for the punishment sworn by God. The Exodus passage, on the other hand, narrates a total defeat of the Amalekites as a result of Moses' activity of hand raising (vv.11-12), probably with the rod of God in his hand (v.9)⁽¹⁴⁷⁾. The instruction to Joshua to select a smaller band of men and the dependence of the result of the war not so much upon Joshua but upon the action of Moses' outstretched rod and hand indicates that the outcome of the battle does not lie in the achievement of military strength. It is the power of Yahweh mediating through the action and faith of Moses, which determines the victory⁽¹⁴⁸⁾. Another indication of the participation of Yahweh in the event is His will to blot out the name and the remembrance of it (v.14). The altar which was built to commemorate the victory was named 'Yahweh is my banner' (׀) for ׀כ). Does this not bear witness to Yahweh's involvement to bring about the victory? Coats⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ is surely right when he points out that the passage looks to the future : v.14 נַחַה אֶמְחָה and v.16 נִדְרָךְ דָּר . Also the appearance of Joshua, though his role is not very decisive, seems to anticipate the conquest⁽¹⁵⁰⁾. Moreover, the record of God's intention and its being particularly read to Joshua should shed light on our understanding of the text in the context of the conquest⁽¹⁵¹⁾. We note that in Ps. 105 Yahweh simply gave the land to Israel without any military action taken on the part of Israel (v.44).

(147) It is not clear whether God's rod, which has been mentioned in the plagues and the Red Sea narratives (Exod.4:20; 7:19; 8:12; 14:16) is symbolic of Yahweh's help, but the idea of a holy war cannot be denied.

(148) Childs takes the action of Moses as a sign of God's direct intervention, Exodus, (OTL), p.315.

(149) Coats' thesis that the Moses shewed himself to be a wonder worker in this passage which stresses the heroic motifs is hardly adequate. The will of Yahweh and His strength should be recognised as the underlying theme of the passage.

(150) The promise that Yahweh will wipe out the Amalekites prompts Coats to the remark that "the reference to Yahweh's relationship with the Amalekites develops a promise for what Yahweh is going to do, not what he has already done". ibid., p.31.

(151) Joshua is mentioned for the first time in Exod. 17 in the Pentateuch. Other occurrences of Joshua in Exodus are: 24:13 (which according to Noth as a preparation for Exod. 33:11) is connected with Num.11:28, Joshua as ministering to Moses, and 32:17, 33:11. Probably the occurrences of Joshua may provide a hint to the original sequence of the Golden Calf event of Exodus 32-34 to be followed by the Spies Story of Num.13-14. Ps. 106 is an example of this Golden Calf - Spying out the land sequence.

Amelekites are referred to a number of times in the period of the settlement and thereafter (I Sam. 14:48; 15:2f; 27:8f; 28:18; 30:1-20; II Sam. 8:12 and I Chron. 4:43). The passage in Deuteronomy gives us confirmation that the fulfilment of the oath of Yahweh is to be sought in the land:

When the Lord your God gives you peace from your enemies on every side, in the land which He is giving you to occupy as your patrimony, you shall not fail to blot out the memory of the Amalekites from under heaven (Deut. 25:19).

It is in this passage that the blotting out of the Amalekites is put in close connection with the giving of the land from God and peace from all enemies⁽¹⁵²⁾. From this connection and the future orientation of the passage in Exod. 17:8-16 the passage itself functions in Exodus as an indication for the giving of the land by Yahweh. This story may then be used by a late editor to represent the conquest theme. This editor may follow an historical recital with similar structure as Ps. 105 in his arrangement of the Torah story.

Up till now we have shown that the structure of Ps. 105 is parallel to Gen. 12 - Exod. 17. The theme of law in Ps. 105:45 may embrace the Sinai revelation presented in Exod. 19 - Num. 10. In a way the Sinai revelation or the legal-covenant corpus has its introduction in Exod. 18⁽¹⁵³⁾. It provides the connection between Exodus and Sinai⁽¹⁵⁴⁾. The two parts of the chapter, the meal with Jethro (vv.1-12) and the tradition of sharing Moses' burden (vv.13-27) are loosely joined together. The tradition behind the second part is presented independently of the role of Jethro in Num. 11:14-17 and Deut. 1:9ff. Verses 1-12 pick up a number of loose ends in Exod.3-4. The passage as a whole functions as a concluding statement of the Exodus - an occasion for grateful remembrance of God's saving deeds. Moses witnessed to Jethro what Yahweh did to Pharaoh, saved and protected Israel (vv.8-9). Jethro was enthusiastic; filling with

(152) The Amalekites are also mentioned after Israel despised of the land of Canaan in the story of the spies Num. 14:39-45.

(153) There may be a displacement on chronological ground: The existence of the tabernacle is usually not considered pre-Sinai. The appointment of leaders to lighten Moses' burden is mentioned in Num.11:14-17 and Deut. 1:9ff.

(154) B.S. Childs, Exodus, p.326.

great joy, he praised God in the form we find in Ps. 135. Certainly Childs is right in his comment on the function of Exod. 18, "Just for a moment the writer pauses in the story to look backward and to rejoice"⁽¹⁵⁵⁾. Along the same line, it does not escape our notice that the second part of the chapter functions as an anticipation of the Sinai narratives. The role of Moses is to make known the statutes of God (חק' האלהים) and His laws (תרתין) (v.16b, cf. v.20). This role of Moses is different from that of making decisions in civil disputes (v.16a) and that of organising the military hierarchy (vv.21, 25, cf. I. Sam. 29:2; II Sam. 18:1 etc.). It is probable that Moses' role of proclaiming the will of God and giving instruction in it is added to the tradition of a long and complex history of development; and the whole passage is then taken to serve as an introduction to the following chapters. The recital of Yahweh's redemption and the praise which becomes the natural response to the recital are followed by proclamation of Yahweh's will in His statutes and laws. What an enlargement of the themes and an expansion of the ideas in Ps.105⁽¹⁵⁶⁾.

Therefore, though Exod. 17:8-16 and 18:1-27 appear to be wrongly placed⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ their present positions in the whole arrangement of the Exodus are justified if the redactor of Exodus purposes them to function as we have presented above and to be framed in the pattern or recital similar to that of Ps. 105. Exod. 17:8-16 anticipates the conquest while Exod. 18 functions as a transition from the history of salvation to the law which forms the basis for judgment and law observance. The Sinai pericope (Exod. 19 - Num. 10) then naturally follows.

(155) B.S. Childs, Exodus, p.327

(156) The special attention given to the names of Moses' two sons: "stranger in a foreign land" and "My father's God was my help" (Exod.18:3-4) may be an indication that the redactor makes use of an old account to allude to the situation of the people in Exile (Moses has only one son in Exod. 4:20). Furthermore, the common language of Exod. 18:2b and Ps.105 is supported among others by "to seek Yahweh" Exod. 18:15 and Ps.105:3-4.

(157) D.M.G. Stalker justifies his opinion that Exod. 17:7-16 should come after the departure from Sinai by the reasons that Joshua is mentioned for the first time, without introduction, as if he were already well known and the Amalekites are to be placed in the Negeb, Num.13:29; 14:25; 43:45; cf. Gen. 14:7, near Kadesh. "Exodus", PBC, 189e. On the basis of Deut. 1:3-18, he also assigns Exod. 18:1-27 a place after Horeb.

If Ps. 105 has been shown to provide the basic form from Gen.12 to Num. 10, it is now the turn of Ps. 106 to claim its contribution to the formation of the second half of the Book of Numbers⁽¹⁵⁸⁾.

Ps. 106 contains a catalogue of the rebellious acts of the people. The most striking feature of this collection of sinful deeds is that except for two, the Red Sea story and the Golden Calf incident, most of the events are recorded in Num. 11-33 and Deut. 1-11. This may bear some significant implications for the formation of the latter part of Numbers and the opening chapters of Deuteronomy. To these implications we have to devote some space after we have examined the textual evidence.

The omission of the Red Sea story in Ps. 105 and the very fact that Ps. 106 begins the historical account with the Red Sea redemption, the only saving deed of Yahweh presented in concrete terms in Ps. 106, may point to the complementary character of Pss. 105-106.

The Red Sea event is almost always seen in a positive way as a deed of salvation and liberation which Yahweh has done on Israel's behalf. Only in Ps. 106 and Exod. 14:11-14 do we find the rebellion theme attached to the redemption at the Red Sea. Coats admits that this shift from the motif of aid to the murmuring (Exod. 14:11-12) may be attributed to the nature of the tradition behind J; but a satisfactory account for the shift is difficult to obtain⁽¹⁵⁹⁾. The evidence is in favour of the view that the rebellion motif is a secondary development of Yahweh's victory at the Red Sea, as Coats points out that Exod. 14:11-12 represents foreign material completely unrelated to the context⁽¹⁶⁰⁾. There is a certain tension in the text, the accusation of the people has a setting in the wilderness (vv.11-12) but Israel is still under the threat of the pursuing Egyptians (v.10). The parallel between Exod. 14:11-14 and Ps. 106 is that in both cases the rebellion is not punished and they are to be followed by the wonderful redemption of Yahweh. Actually Yahweh's punishment only becomes serious after the Sinai pericope (Exod. 19 - Num.10). The Red Sea redemption functions in Ps. 106 primarily as an example of delivery from enemies.

(158) Ps. 105 also presupposes the theme of creation as we have demonstrated in the sequence of Plagues in the psalm and moreover the verse before the recitation of covenant with Abraham in Ps. 105:7 may be a summing up statement of the creation theme: "For He is Yahweh our Lord, His judgements are throughout the earth".

(159) Coats, Rebellion, p.181.

(160) Ibid., pp.132, 136.

The actual beginning of the account of the traditions of the wilderness period in Ps. 106 is from vv. 13ff on. The first rebellion is putting God to the test in the desert ($\text{שׁוֹמְרֵי$, מִדְּבָר), by their desire (v.14). This directs us to the resumption of the wandering narratives in Num.11 after the disruption in Exod. 18 and the insertion of the Sinai pericope (Exod. 19 - Num.10). The people are still in the wilderness and they set out from the wilderness of Sinai (Num.10:11).

The craving for food in 106:14 is framed in the people's forgetfulness of Yahweh's works (v.13) on the one hand and the punishment brought to them (v.15) on the other. The negative elements of sin and punishment prevent one from identifying the tradition behind this food narrative with that of Exod. 16 where God meets the need of the people and provides them with quails and manna. The use of the phrase $\text{וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם$ unmistakably reminds us of Num. 11:4a ($\text{וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם} \text{ } \text{וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם}$). There are marked differences between Num.11 and Exod. 16. The most prominent element in Num. is quails while that of Exod. 16 is manna⁽¹⁶¹⁾. Num.11 presents the picture that manna has been given for quite a while and the people desire for meat much later. In Exod. 16, manna and quails are given at the same time. Also the theme of judgment is absent from Exod. 16. G.B. Gray notices the difference, within Num.11, between the actual plague in v.33 and the warning that the people might get to loathe the flesh which came to them in abundance⁽¹⁶²⁾. Noth, who recognises the composite nature of Num.11 and admits that division into sources is not satisfactory, takes the surfeit 'fulfilment' (v.19) to signify only disaster (v.20a)⁽¹⁶³⁾. Combining the insights of both Gray and Noth, we can at least identify two fragmentary stories, one ends with the punishment of the Plagues (vv.31-35), the other in the disaster of having too much flesh (v.20a). The beginning of the stories may be found in v.4, on the one hand we have the reasons for the rebellion in 1) a strong craving (v.4a) and on the other 2) the weeping of the people and their wish: 'Who shall give us meat to eat?'

(161) Ps 78:20-31 preserves both the traditions of Exod. 16:4-5 (cf.78:20-25) and Num. 11:31-35 (cf.78:26-31) while Ps. 105:40 has a tradition paralleled to Exod. 16:4-5.

(162) G.B. Gray, Numbers, (ICC), p.100.

(163) V.20b is, according to Noth, a more recent addition. Number, (OTL), p.88.

(v.4b). The other elements of the two stories can hardly be distinguished so definitely⁽¹⁶⁴⁾.

Both RSV and NEB present Ps. 106:15 in two separate actions, the giving of food and the sending of a wasting sickness (ׁ1177). We do not have any tradition to support the sending of wasting sickness. LXX implies an alternative reading, πλῆσμον ἦν = ׁ1177 , which is translated as 'plenty'⁽¹⁶⁵⁾. The sending of food in great abundance so that the people get to loathe the excess food is in itself a punishment for their desire as is stated in Num. 11:20⁽¹⁶⁶⁾. Though there are still many unsolved complicated literary and tradition-history problems in the relevant texts, Exod. 16 and Num. 11, we should be satisfied that the traditions which lie behind our three psalms are all represented in the Pentateuch, the tradition of positive aid of Yahweh in Ps. 105 is found in Exod. 16. The traditions of the rebellion of the people and their punishment by a plague in Ps. 78 and by sheer excess in 106 appear in Num. 11. To trace the history of tradition of Exod. 16 and Num. 11 is beyond the scope of this present investigation⁽¹⁶⁷⁾.

In the comparison of literary form between Ps. 106 and Num.11ff. the two pieces of tradition. the Dathan-Abiram rebellion (Ps.106:16-18) and the Golden Calf incident (Ps. 106: 19-23), are found to be placed in between the lust for food (Ps. 106: 14-15) and the rejection of the land (Ps. 106:24-27), but they are not so found in Num.11ff. Instead, Numbers has the rejection of the land in chs. 13-14, following the desire for food in ch.11. The Dathan-Abiram rebellion is attached to the rebellion of Korah and his congregation in Num.16. The Golden Calf traditons are grouped together in a block of literary

(164) Coats sees the natural continuation of v.18 in vv.31-35 Rebellion, p.105.

(165) Also S,Vul., cf. Kissane, Psalms, pp.489,491 and Boylan, The Psalms, p.202. ׁ1177 from ׁ117 meaning abundant provisions (Gen.45:23, II Chron. 11:23) cf. Briggs, op.cit., p.356, Oesterley, op.cit., p.450. Gunkel and Kittel are in favour of ׁ1177 derived from א77 (Num.11:20) meaning 'something loathsome'.

(166)"The meat which they wanted will be theirs, but in a greater amount than they ever expected. That this response is to be considered punishment for the rebellion cannot be doubted". Coats, Rebellion, p.107.

units and placed in the context of the renewal of the covenant (Exod. 32-34). We shall see that these latter traditions assume a new canonical function in the Pentateuch. The Book of Deuteronomy shows knowledge of all the historical traditions of the psalm, though presumably they presuppose different forms and a theological emphasis from those in the psalm. A tabular outline of the sequence of events in Ps. 106 and their order in the Pentateuch is here necessary.

	Ps. 106	Exod.-Num.	Deut.
Red Sea Event	vv. 8-12	Exod. 14	11:4
Lust for Food	13-15	Num. 11	11:(5)
Dathan-Abiram	16-18	Num.12,(16)	11:6
Golden Calf	19-23	Exod.32	9:6ff
Land Rejection	24-27	Num.14:26-38	9:23; 1:19ff
Baal of Peor	28-31	Num.25	4:3
Moses and Miribah	32-33	Num.20; 27	4:21; 1:37; 3:26
Apostasy & Idolatry	34-39	Num.33:50-56)	4:25-31 32:1-43
God's Anger & Enemies Oppression	40-43)	
Cry and Deliverance	44-46)	

One particular point of interest is that the tradition of the Dathan-Abiram rebellion has its place in the historical review in Deut. 11:2-7, as it is in Ps. 106, after the Red Sea redemption (v.3) and the great deeds in the wilderness (v.4). The fact that Israel is especially reminded of the judgment upon Dathan and Abiram in the historical account of Deut.11 is remarkable. Ps. 106 and Deut. 11 preserve the judgment of Dathan and Abiram independently of the

(167) Coats has a detailed analysis of Exod.16 and Num.11, Rebellion, pp.83ff.; 96ff. He, however, is not concerned with the Pentateuch. Mayer, in his article on תִּבְחָה, underlines the importance of Num.11:4-35 for determining J's usage of תִּבְחָה - "The ta'avah is an expression of man's self assertiveness. It manifests itself as guilty rebellion against God which must be punished". He also states that Pss.78:29f; 106:14 take up Num.11; but unfortunately no further comments and analysis are given. " תִּבְחָה ", TDOT, pp.134-137, esp.p.137.

tradition concerning Korah⁽¹⁶⁸⁾. The difference between Ps. 106 and Deut. 11 is that the latter, in contrast to the former, regards the saving deeds of Yahweh in Egypt and in the wilderness as totally positive. The punishment of Dathan-Abiram is praised as part of the great work of the Lord (v.7). The recitation of the great work of Yahweh functions to exhort the people to keep His commandment (vv.8ff). Ps. 106 seems to know one of the recitations similar to that followed by the author of Deut. 11, but it further substantiates Deut. 11:6 with reference to the event of rebellion against Moses and Aaron.

Ps. 106:16 ascribes the opposition to Moses and Aaron to jealousy ($\chi\lambda\psi$). This verse is usually taken with the following verses to refer to the event of rebellion by Dathan and Abiram as it is recorded in Num. 16. But the reason for the opposition in Num. 16 is not jealousy. $\chi\lambda\psi$ with $\text{~} \text{~}$ person is used in Num. 11:29 where Moses rebukes Joshua's desire to forbid Eldad and Medad from prophesying⁽¹⁶⁹⁾.

The theme of relief from the burden carried formerly by Moses alone (Num. 11:14-17) and the theme of the division of the 'spirit' among the elders (Num. 11:24b-30) have been interwoven with the episode of craving for food. Noth, regarding these two units as insertions, also takes Num. 12 in which Moses is reproached on two charges - his marriage with a Cushite woman (v.1) and his unjustified claim to special privileges - as a secondary addition to J.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ Num. 11-12 would be an appropriate place to narrate the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram. Ps. 106 preserves such a sequence of craving for food and the people's jealousy of Moses.

The wish of Moses that all the people should be prophets actually dissociates him from every jealousy, occasioned on his account⁽¹⁷¹⁾. It would be inappropriate that the mentioning of a rebellion should be found after Num. 11-12. But if Ps. 106:16b is considered, Aaron has also been included as object of the people's jealousy. Furthermore,

(168) The Korah tradition presumably belongs to P. Driver, Deuteronomy, (ICC), p.128; G.E. Wright, "Deuteronomy", IB, II, p.403.

(169) Usually the use of $\chi\lambda\psi$ in the meaning of 'envious of' is followed by $\text{~} \text{~}$ person: Gen. 30:1; 37:11; Ps. 37:1; 73:3; Prov. 3:31; 23:17; 24:1; 19 etc. see, BDB, p.888.

(170) Noth, Numbers, (OTL), p.92-93.

(171) Ibid., p.89.

Aaron is called by the psalm the 'holy one of Yahweh' (קדוש יהוה). The phrase indicates his special relationship to Yahweh, probably in his being the designate priest of Yahweh. The rebellion of Dathan and Abiram does not adequately signify the importance of that phrase. Only the rebellion of Korah does that. The incident is narrated in Num. 16. It is not difficult to see the composite nature of this chapter. The two original independent accounts are interwoven together to form one piece. Their blending together becomes natural if one wants to bring in Moses and Aaron as the two objects of the rebellion of the people, as Ps. 106:16 does. Thus, this psalm provides the step towards the combination⁽¹⁷²⁾. The judgment of Dathan and Abiram, as we have seen does not have any concrete context in Deut. 11. In Ps. 106, it is attached to the rebellion against Moses and Aaron but in Num. 16 it is combined with the incident of Korah. Then the newly formed composition is given a place in the context of the cultic regulations and the religious duties of the priests and levites (Num. 17ff.).

The next unit in Ps. 106 is on the Golden Calf event at Horeb. It is also a tradition known to Deut. 9:7ff and Exod. 32. In these two latter passages Aaron is singled out to be blamed (Deut. 9:20; Exod. 32:21ff; 35). But Ps. 106 is silent with regard to the part played by Aaron⁽¹⁷³⁾. Only the people are held responsible, e.g. Exod. 32:8ff; Deut. 9:12. Coats holds that the blame upon Aaron is secondary in Exod. 32:21-4 and Deut. 9:20. Both Coats and Beyerlin regard Exod. 32:1-6 in a thoroughly positive sense, and as a cultic aetiology⁽¹⁷⁴⁾.

(172) We should also consider that the psalm uses "in the camp" (במחנה) to describe the place of the incident (16a). The word is found 9 times in Num. 11, 2 times in Num. 12 and Num. 16-18.

(173) Noth is of the opinion that the people, not Aaron, was the original subject of the episode. Coats thinks that there is a positive account lying behind Exod. 32 and that Aaron seems to know nothing of the Calf's creation in v. 5. Rebellion, p. 184.

(174) Beyerlin, Origin and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions, "The people's request for an elohim who would go before them need not have incurred reproach in the tradition from the very beginning. Similarly, the fact that the calf-image was made out of the Israelites' jewels, which is regarded as un-Yahwistic in Gen. XXXV. 4, need not imply condemnation of what happened, especially since Exod. XXXII. 5, judging by all the evidence, makes the same ornaments the source of a legitimate shrine. Nor does the word 'egel' (calf) necessarily imply contempt, as used to be thought. At most, the verbal form lešahēk (v. 6) may contain a polemical note". p. 127.

Exod. 32 is not a literary unit, but a composite chapter based on ancient traditions and shows traces of subsequent reworking⁽¹⁷⁵⁾. It is put in the context of the Sinai account in order to bring out the breach of the covenant (cf. Deut. 9:16-17) symbolised in the smashing of the Tables of Covenant in vv.15, 16, 19. To participate in the Calf worship meant to break the Sinaitic covenant.

Beyerlin regards Moses' prayers of intercession in vv. 7-14, 30-34 as one of the explanations for the continued existence of the people although they have been disloyal to the covenant and also the continuation of the state-shrines in the Northern Kingdom. He is partly correct; but something more is probably intended. The prayer of intercession in vv. 7-14 is one of the latest pieces of tradition in Exod. 32⁽¹⁷⁶⁾. It parallels Deut. 9:12ff and 26ff. But the account of Deuteronomy does not portray Moses offering his first prayer on the mountain when Yahweh informs him of the rebellion of the people. Moses goes down the mountain, breaks the tables of covenant and then offers his first prayer. Von Rad does not think that the presentation is very skilful : "for the result is that the destruction of the golden calf is delayed for forty days"⁽¹⁷⁷⁾. In Deuteronomy, Moses offers a separate prayer for Aaron before the destruction of the calf and then a prayer reported in detailed words is offered for the people again for forty days (Deut. 9:20-21, 25-29). Exod. 32, however, presents the first prayer of intercession of Moses immediately after Yahweh disclosed the rebellion to Moses (vv.7-14). The content and style of the prayer in Exod. 32 are similar to those of Deut. 9 and presumably it has been inserted into the Exodus text. The prayer and God's disclosure of the sin to Moses are not known to the author of 32:15ff., who reports that Moses does not realise what the great noise is. Before the insertion of 32:7-14, there is the description of the people who are told to receive punishment (vv.26ff,35) and the response of Yahweh to Moses' intercession is not totally positive (vv.31-33)⁽¹⁷⁸⁾.

(175) A. Cody, A History of Israelite Priesthood, p.147.

(176) Coats attributes vv.7-14, together with Exod.33:1-6, to the Deuteronomist, Rebellion, p.188.

(177) Von Rad, Deuteronomy, (OTL), p.78.

(178) The intercession is unfulfilled. Coats, "The King's Loyal Opposition: Obedience and Authority in Exodus 32-34", in Canon and Authority, pp.91-109, esp. p.100.

Exod. 32:7-14 in its present form conveys the theme of sin and forgiveness. Yahweh forgives the people because of Moses' intercessory prayer on behalf of them. Moses appeals to Yahweh's oath to Abraham, Isaac and Israel, which embodies the promise of the land to the people (Exod. 32:13). Yahweh listens to the intercession of Moses and confirms His oath made to the forefathers that He would give the land to their descendants as a possession (Exod. 33:1). The purpose of vv. 7-14 of Exod. 32 is then to reaffirm the forgiveness of Yahweh based totally upon His covenant with Abraham and His own nature as the God who saves Israel. The prayer is positively heard.

The same idea is expressed in Ps. 106. Moses, the chosen one of Yahweh, intercedes for the turning away of His anger from destroying the people (v.23). This idea is very central to the psalmist's theology. He recites the sins of Israel in the form of confession. Every single sin is followed by a punishment of God except the rebellion at the Red Sea and the Golden Calf incident. It is exactly these two sins which are outside the framework of Num. 11ff. The Red Sea rebellion is transformed into an act which shows the wonderful deeds of Yahweh as a model for liberation and redemption; whereas the most unforgivable sin in the conception of the Deuteronomists, the Golden Calf apostasy, is an example of Yahweh's forgiveness. This very element of forgiveness expressed so vividly in Ps. 106, is also added to Exod. 32 with the intercessory prayer offered immediately as Moses was informed of the event. Yahweh forgave the people then for the sake of His mercy (vv.9-14), He forgives His people now when they confess their sin. Therefore, as the text of Exod. 32 stands, though without tension, the element of forgiveness strikes the reader. Thus the redactor of this chapter shares the same view with Ps. 106 in this respect.

B.S. Childs' commentary on Exod. 32-34 confirms our finding :
 "Chs. 32-34 were structured into a compositional unit in one of the final stages of the development of the book of Exodus"⁽¹⁷⁹⁾. The

(179) Childs, Exodus, (OTL), pp.557-58. Chs. 32-34 give a framework of sin and forgiveness: tablets received and smashed in ch.32 and tablets re-cut and restored in ch.34, the intercession of Moses are in chs.32, 33, 34 and the theme of the presence of God, which is central in ch.33, joins the theme of disobedience in ch.32 and the theme of forgiveness in ch.34. The redactor expands the original story, which, according to Childs, is found in 32:1-6, 15-20, 35, by the addition of a successful prayer of Moses.

episode in chs. 32-34 has taken an unusually important role in the Pentateuch; it is decisively placed right in the middle of the divine instruction at Horeb-Sinai. As a result of this, sin and rebellion are then embedded at the heart of the sacred tradition, which thus is true to the forgiveness and covenant of Yahweh⁽¹⁸⁰⁾. Ps. 106 with its stress on the forgiveness of Yahweh and the intercessory role of Moses contributes to the redaction of Exod. 32-34, in which the two elements are very outstanding. Moses' role is further strengthened in the revelation of God's glory in 33:18-23 and in the covenant making mediated by Moses alone without any covenant ceremony involving the people (34:10ff, 27)⁽¹⁸¹⁾. In the restoration of the broken covenant, the mediator, Moses, requests that the glory of God, which has been exchanged for the image of a calf by the sinful people (Ps.106:20), should be revealed (33:18-23) and he intercedes on behalf of the people for the pardoning of their sins (34:9, ... *שלחת לעוננו ולחטאתנו*).

Thus far we can be sure that the redactor of the Pentateuch, whoever he is, shares the same theology and follows the same framework as that of Pss. 105-106. He attaches the tradition of rebellion against Moses and Aaron in the judgment of Dathan and Abiram to the event concerning Korah (Num.16), and uses the composite unit as an introduction to the cultic regulations on priesthood and holiness. As regarding the Golden Calf episode, he places it together with ancient complex traditions in Exod. 32-34 in the content of sin and restoration at the heart of the Sinai episode.

Before we press on to examine the Spies Story of Num.13-14 in relation to the following verses of Ps. 106:24-27, several points of interest should be noted between the Golden Calf report in Ps. 106 and Deut. 9:6ff. First of all Deut. 9 introduces the Golden Calf incident in an instructional exhortation:

"Remember and do not forget how you provoked
the Lord your God to wrath in the wilderness;
from the day you came out of the land of Egypt..."
(v.7)

(180) Noth, Exodus, (OTL), also insists that ch.32 must be seen in the present context of the whole complex of chs.32-34. p.243. He also holds that the apostasy of the Golden Calf of I Kg.12:28f has its prototype in Exod. 32. It is "transferred to Sinai so as to have it condemned there by the appointed spokesman Moses as a breach of the covenant", HPT, p.143.

(181) Childs, Exodus, p. 608.

It is exactly the people's forgetfulness of God, their saviour, who has done great things in Egypt and terrible deeds in the Red Sea, which is given in Ps. 106 as the very reason for the rebellion at Horeb. Secondly, Ps. 106 is in contrast to Deut. 9 in its silence with regard to the responsibility of Aaron in the whole incident. The effort to exonerate Aaron in Ps. 106 is clearly observable in the reference to Aaron as the "holy one of the Lord" (v.16), in praising the righteousness of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest (vv.28-30) and in the silence on Aaron's participation in the incident at the waters of Meribah as a result of which even Moses incurred Yahweh's displeasure (v.32)⁽¹⁸²⁾. Lastly, the forgiveness at Horeb is significant for the continuation of the journey in the wilderness from Horeb to the land. Without that forgiveness the wilderness generation would end at Horeb. Therefore the land motif is attached to the Golden Calf incident in Exod. 32-34, Deut.9:6; 22-24; 10:6ff and Ps. 106:24ff. In Deut. 9:6 the author undoubtedly stresses that the land is about to be given to the people for a possession not because of their faithfulness to God:

"Know, therefore, that the Lord your God is not giving you this good land to possess because of your righteousness; for you are a stubborn people ... you have been rebellious against the Lord. Even at Horeb you provoked the Lord to wrath, and the Lord was so angry with you that He was ready to destroy you"
(Deut. 9:6, 7b, 8)

It is clear that the Golden Calf incident is associated with the land motif as in Ps. 106:19-23 and 24-27. Deut. 9, furthermore, has the tradition of the command to go up to take the land in the midst of the Golden Calf narrative (9:22-24). In Deut. 9:23, the phrase

לא האמנתם לו ולא שמעתם כקולו
לא האמינו לדברו and לא שמעו בקול יהוה⁽¹⁸³⁾. When

forgiveness was granted the people continued in their journey (10:6ff). Exod. 32-34 also mentions the promise of land in and after the Golden

(182) Aaron's role in Exod.32 is not deeply rooted in the story. Noth regards vv.21-24 and the subordinate clauses in v.25 and v.35 as secondary additions. Exodus, (OTL), p.244.

(183) Deut. 9:22ff clearly interrupts the flow of the narrative; von Rad, Deuteronomy, (OTL), p.78.

Calf narrative (32:13; 33:1-3; 34:11). We suspect that the sequence of Golden Calf - Land-taking (Spies Story) as shown in Deut. 9 and Ps. 106 is near to the original. The prayer of Moses in the Spies Story (Num.14:13-19) resembles and presupposes Exod. 32-34.

Num.14:17: "And now, I pray thee, let the power of the Lord be great as thou hast promised, saying"

Verse 18 of Num. 14 is more or less quoted from the prayer of Moses in Exod. 34:6-7⁽¹⁸⁴⁾.

Verse 19 assumes the forgiveness of Yahweh granted formerly to the people from Egypt even till then. The appeal to God's pardon of iniquity "according to the greatness of Thy steadfast love" (כגדל 7707) echoes the appeal of the psalmist in Ps. 106:7 (רב הסדיך), 45 (1707 כרכ).

From the above discussion we may be able to conclude that Ps. 106 is familiar with the tradition of Deut. 9 and it stresses once again the forgiveness of Yahweh and Moses' role as intercessor. Both Ps.106 and Deut. 9 preserve a tradition of Golden Calf incident in close connection with the gift of the land. The redactor of the Pentateuch probably has Ps. 106 at his disposal. He, realising the importance of the Golden Calf episode, transfers it to the Sinai-Horeb account in order to create the covenant breaking and covenant renewal situation.

Num. 13-14 contain ancient traditions in a composite literary presentation⁽¹⁸⁵⁾. The positive side of the story, namely the promise of possession to Caleb, which appears in three versions in Josh.14:6-15 15:13-19 and Judg.1:9-15 is only alluded to in Numbers. The older material narrates the punishment which came on the next day when Israel was defeated by the Amalekites and Canaanites (Num.14:39-45). P, on the other hand, sees the forty years wandering of the desert generation as a judgment on Israel's contempt for the land and their murmuring to Yahweh (Num. 14:26-38)⁽¹⁸⁶⁾.

(184) Noth suggests that the verbal counterpart of Num.14:13-19 is to be sought in the Deuteronomistic passage in Exod.32:9-14. Numbers, (OTL), p108.

(185) The spies' report only secondarily acquires the element of murmuring in its already negative character of an abortive attempt to enter the land. Coats, Rebellion, pp.142, 155.

(186) Both Gray, Numbers, p.161 and Noth, Numbers, p.110 agree that Num. 14:26-38(P) should follow v.10(P).

The content as well as the language of Ps. 106:24-27 are similar to those of Deut. 1:19-40 and Num. 14:26-38(P) "They rejected the pleasant land" (וַיִּמְאַסוּ בְּאֶרֶץ הַמְּדִינָה, Ps.106:24a) has its parallel in Num.14:31 (הָאֶרֶץ ... מְאֻסָּתָם כֹּה). Deuteronomy uses 'good land' (הָאֶרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה, Deut. 1:35; also Num. 14:7). The phrase "They did not believe His word" (לֹא-הֵאֱמִינוּ לְדְבָרָיו, 106:24b) and "they did not listen to the voice of Yahweh" (לֹא-שָׁמְעוּ, 106:25b) found their expressions in Num.14:11: "How long will they not believe me" (כִּי לֹא יֵאֱמִינוּ בִּי) and 14:22 "they did not listen to my voice" (וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ-בְּקוֹלִי). The meaning of the expressions is also found in Deut. 1:29, 32. "They murmured (וַיִּגְלוּ) in their tents" (106:25a) is reproduced exactly in Deut. 1:27 while the murmuring is a central theme in Numbers 14 (vv.2:27, 29, 36, all P)⁽¹⁸⁷⁾. Ps. 106:26, "He lifted up His hand to them to strike them down in the wilderness," (וַיִּשָּׂא יְדוֹ לְהָמָם), has its second half put in the same verb in Num. 14:29, 32 (בְּמַדְבַּר הִזָּה יִפְּלוּ פְגַרְיִכֶם) and the unusual phrase "to life up one's hand" in the first part of the verse is used in the positive way in a negative context, "you shall not enter the land which I swore to make you dwell therein". (הָאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁכֹּן) (Num.14:30). Deuteronomy uses the verb שָׁכַע to express the same idea (1:34). As a result of the people's disbelief, they are denied possession of the land. Ps. 106:27 alludes clearly to the Exile when their people are among the nations and scattered in the lands. Numbers, however, predicts the death of the desert generation, (Num.14:29-30) and the 40 years' wandering in the wilderness (vv.33-34). Deuteronomy includes also the refusal to Moses his right to enter the land (Deut. 1:37). But these two Pentateuchal traditions leave hope to the seed of the people though they may know of the Exile (Num.14:31; Deut. 1:39). Yahweh responds to the people's murmuring that their children, who the people said would be a prey,⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ may enter the land and know the land promised by God but will be despised by the enemy.

(187) The word used for murmuring in Num.14 is גִּלְגַּל which is found only in Exod.15,16,17 and Josh.19:18. See BDB, p.534.

(188) לִבְזָהוּת is used in contexts reflecting the Exile: Isa.42:22; Jer.2:14; 30:16; Ezek.25:7 Qr(Kt לִבְזָהוּת, meaningless); 26:5; 34:8; 22; II Kg.21:14, see BDB, p.103.

The sending of spies to spy out the land, preserved in Deut.1:22-24, was suggested by the people and accepted by Moses. The word used is

לָגַד which indicates an intention of going about to spy out in order to conquer with military means⁽¹⁸⁹⁾. This is clearly stated in the text itself: "Let us send men ahead to spy out the country and report back to us about the route we should take and the cities we shall find" (Deut.1:22, NEB). The original version of Num.13-14 may probably presuppose this intention (13:17bff) which has given way to that of the Priestly account (13:1-3)⁽¹⁹⁰⁾. In P Yahweh commands Moses to send representatives one from each tribe, "to explore the land of Canaan which I am giving to the Israelites" (13:2a). This NEB translation of the verb יָדָע by 'explore' is preferable to the traditional rendering 'spy' from which the designation of 'the Spy Story' (Num.13-14) originates. The duty of the leaders chosen from each tribe is "to know with their own eyes the good thing which Yahweh is about to give them, and they are to evaluate it, giving a favourable evaluation of it to the people"⁽¹⁹¹⁾. The judgment of Joshua and Caleb is expressed in the form of a "declaratory formula": "The country we penetrated and explored is very good land indeed" (טוֹבָה הָאָרֶץ

הַזֹּאת (Num.14:7b) which is obviously contrast to the discouraging report of the other explorers: "The country we explored will swallow up any who go to live in it" (אֶרֶץ אֹכֵלָת יוֹשְׁבֵיהָ

הַזֹּאת , 13:32b; cf. 14:36b; 37a : דַּבַּת - הָאֶרֶץ רַעָה). McEvenue rightly comments that the story in Num. 13-14 can be called "Israel's self-condemnation at Paran"⁽¹⁹²⁾ because the representatives of Israel's tribes made the judgment upon the promised land and therefore a judgment upon the people themselves.

Ps. 106 also singles out this aspect of the story. It is not the people's cowardice or their lack of faith in conquest which results in the punishment, but their despise of the pleasant land (אֵימָסוּ כֹּחַ) and their lack of trust in His promise (לֹא הֵאמִינּוּ) (v.24). The oath to strike the present generation down in the wilderness is a

(189) McEvenue, The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer, p.120.

(190) Ibid., p.100.

(191) Ibid., p.121.

(192) Ibid., p.123.

tradition in Numbers and Deuteronomy, but that of scattering their descendants in the nations which implies that of the Exile (v.27) only has its parallels in Ezek. 20:23 and Deut. 4:27. These parallels are rather significant in the dating of Ps. 106. Deut. 4 is supposed by many to come from the redactor of the Deuteronomic writings.

Ps. 106 continues with the story of the execution of judgment by Phinehas, which, as recorded in Num. 25, displays a juxtaposition of elements of tradition⁽¹⁹³⁾. A timespan of 38 years has gone by and passed over in silence. Israel was then in Moab. The narrative on Phinehas in Num. 25:6ff presupposes the existence of vv.1-5 but the two units are not really in complete agreement and are only connected in a loose way⁽¹⁹⁴⁾. There are two independent traditions located in the same region and situation in Num. 25:1-5: (1) adulterous relationship with Moabite women (v.1b) and making sacrificial offerings to Moabite gods (v.2). (2) worshipping the Baal of Peor; 'to yoke oneself to' ($\sqrt{\text{7DZ}}$) is only found in Ps. 106:28 and Num. 25:3a,5b⁽¹⁹⁵⁾. Probably the punishment for the sin of (1) is the death of the 'chief' of the people (v.4) and that for (2) is the execution of the men concerned by the judges (v.5). The plague (vv.8-9), which is usually brought about directly by God, comes without any explicit hints of its link with the judgment carried out by men in vv.4-5. Also the Midianite women (v.6b) brought home by a certain Israelite, is hardly identical with the Moabite women in v.1b. Furthermore, the setting and reason for the lament of Moses and the people are not exactly known. One thing is clear: the action of Phinehas, for which he is rewarded with the everlasting priestly office, is an atonement for Israel and so the plague is subsequently removed.

(193) Gray, Numbers, (ICC), pp.380ff and Noth, Numbers, (OTL), pp.195ff. Both of them realise the combination of varied sources in Num.25:1-5: The Moabite god is not named in v.2 but in vv.3,5 'Baal of Peor' appears without warning and the punishment(s) in vv.4,5 is not smoothly connected.

(194) G.B. Gray calls Num. 25:6ff "a fragment lacking the commencement, which must have related the outbreak of the plague and the assembling of the people at the tent of meeting". The original introduction to the unit beginning in vv.6ff must have been suppressed in favour of vv.1-5, op.cit., p. 384.

(195) Noth, presupposes that Ps. 106:28 is dependent on Num. 25, op.cit.,p.197.

The picture in Ps. 106 is more straightforward. The Israelites yoked themselves to the Baal of Peor and ate sacrifices offered to the dead. Therefore, the Lord was angry and sent among them a plague, which was removed only after Phinehas stood up and interposed. So Yahweh reckoned his act as righteous.

As compared with the composite narrative in Num. 25, Ps. 106 knows of the plague, rather than the punishment of men carried out by Moses and the judges (Num. 25:4-5), as the result of the wrath of Yahweh. The plague may form an appropriate setting for the lament in Num. 25:6. The divine punishment must have been given up in favour of Num. 25:4-5. Though it is not possible to disentangle the complex traditions in Num. 25, Ps. 106 preserves one of the traditions before it is interwoven into Num. 25. The juxtaposition of לֹא־יָשָׁא and דָּוָן may be indications for the identification of the two fragmentary units in 25:1-5 : (1) 1a, 3, 4bb, 5bb. (2) 1b, 2, 4abb, 5abb. In vv.6-18 the term " לֹא־יָשָׁא 'יָי' " is used (5 times). Ps. 106 represents the missing link between sections (1), (2) and vv.6-18⁽¹⁹⁶⁾.

The role of Phinehas in the tradition of the Baal of Peor incident which contains the outbreak of a plague as the punishment is pretty secure as is shown in Josh. 22:13-18 (cf. Num. 31:16). The incident is known to Deuteronomy (4:3), and to Hosea (9:10). Therefore, there is no substantial reason to confine it to P, though only Ps. 106 and Num. 25 associate the apostasy with awarding of priesthood to Phinehas. The authors of Deuteronomy and of Hosea only allude to it and presume the reader to have good knowledge of it. The incident of Baal of Peor was a popular story. The psalmist does not necessarily depend on the Pentateuch for his sources. But the selection and arrangement of this event before the allusion to the guilt of Moses do indicate the Priestly perspective of the psalmist who, rather skilfully designates Aaron as the 'holy one of Yahweh' without involving the conflict between Aaron and the Korahites, exonerates Aaron in the Golden Calf incident, honours the achievement of Phinehas, the descendant of Aaron, and finally excludes Aaron's participation in the event of Meribah⁽¹⁹⁷⁾.

(196) Noth is on the right track when he comments that Num. 25:1-5 contains old sources attributed probably to J and that vv. 6-18 contain late additions. Numbers, (OTL), p. 8.

(197) M. Noth suggests that P makes Aaron to come to the fore very prominently alongside Moses, HPT, pp. 158, 178ff.

The present text of Numbers has an unresolved tension; the denial of the possession of the Promised Land to the desert generation because of the people's disobedience with the exception of Joshua and Caleb, even Moses and Aaron do not escape this judgment, but Eleazar is allowed to enter and blessed with priesthood over the people and Joshua (Num.20:27-28; 27:48-23)⁽¹⁹⁸⁾. Num. 27:18-23 stresses the point that Joshua has to stand before Eleazar (vv.19,21,22) and listen to the latter's voice (v.21). While Moses does not need a priestly mediator, the passing of part of his $\gamma\eta\eta$ (v.20) to Joshua renders Joshua to be dependent upon the priest to know the will of Yahweh⁽¹⁹⁹⁾.

The same tendency to exalt the Aaronite priesthood is shared by Ps. 106. In contrast to the punishment of death in the desert and that of scattering among the nations (v.30ff), the psalmist recalls the award of priesthood to Phinehas and his descendants (vv.30ff), a tradition preserved in Num. 25 where Phinehas is always introduced as "son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest (v.7,11)"⁽²⁰⁰⁾. Moses, even he, suffers exclusion from the land on behalf of the people.

Phinehas appears for the first time in Num. 25:7, being designated as the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest. Besides Num.25 he is also found in Num. 31:6. Josh. 22:13, 31, 32 and Judg. 20:28⁽²⁰¹⁾. We are not sure when he was priest over Israel. In the Book of Numbers

(198) Caleb is not mentioned in connection with Joshua in this matter.

(199) Noth, Numbers, (OTL), p.215.

(200) Num.17:10-13 reports on Aaron's role in making atonement for the people and therefore, the plague stopped. Notice the same activity of Phinehas in Num. 25 and Ps. 106. cf. Sir. 45:23.

(201) Judg. 20:28 records Phinehas 300 years (Judg.11:26) after the wilderness period. J.D. Martin, seeing that the question of an Aaronic priesthood only became a burning issue after the Exile, attributes to Judg.20:28 as "another sign of late editorial work"; The Book of Judges (CBC), p.213. The mentioning of "the Ark of Covenant", the only occurrence in the Book of Judges (20:27-28), may also point to the same direction. From the Deuteronomistic theological framework of the book as a whole, Ch.1 describes the disintegrating state of the people and chs.19-21 conclude with Israel being reunited, though for most strange reasons. Boling attributes the framework to the updating of the sixth century edition; Judges (AB), p.30. "In the Book of Judges the main "Deuteronomistic" contribution was to revive during the exile some previously neglected traditionary units, which now provide the entire book with a tragicomic framework: Chs. 1 and 19-22 (Sc.21)" p.37.

Eleazar was the priest (16:37, 39; 19:3,4; 20:25-26; 26:1, 3, 63; 27:2, 19, 21, 22; 31:12, 13, 21, 26, 29, 31, 41, 51; 32:2, 28, 34:17). There are two reports of the death of Aaron and the succession of Eleazar to the priesthood (Num. 20:25-26; Deut. 10:6). Eleazar is playing a significant role along with Moses in Numbers and along with Joshua in Num. 32:28; 34:17; Josh. 14:1; 17:4; 19:51; 21:1. His death is reported at the end of the book of Joshua (24:33) and in the introduction of Judges (2:6). Just from the appearance of Eleazar, Joshua and Phinehas we may have an impression that the latter part of Numbers, the first eleven chapters of Deuteronomy and Joshua 14-22 share some common traditions.

Ps. 106 recites the event at the Water of Meribah in vv.32-33 in between the story of Phinehas' righteous act of execution and the entering into the land. Clearly enough, like the account of the same event in Num. 20:1-13 and the announcement of the coming death of Moses in Num. 27:12ff, Ps. 106 perceives the function of the event as to explain why Moses died before the entry to the Promised Land.

In the JE narratives the people arrived at Kadesh before the period of wanderings (Num. 13:26), but P brings the people back again, "and the people stayed in Kadesh" (Num. 20:1) after 40 years of wandering⁽²⁰²⁾. The complex history of traditional and literary development of the Water event is easily recognised by simply taking note of the existence of striking doublets; the positive Water event at Marah (Exod. 15) and at Messah-Meribah (Exod. 17), and after Sinai at Meribah (Num. 20) where both Moses and Aaron are accused of unbelief and not sanctifying God in the sight of the people (Num.20:12).

The difference between the Meribah incident of Ps. 106 and that of Num. 20 is that in the latter Moses and Aaron are involved, whereas Ps. 106:32-33 is only concerned with Moses. Without further explanations of the nature of the sins of Moses and Aaron, Num. 20 accuses them of unbelief and not sanctifying Yahweh while Ps. 106:32-33 simply states that Moses suffers for the people's sake and that he spoke rashly (בְּשֹׁפֵתִי)⁽²⁰³⁾.

(202) Miriam and Aaron died in that year (Num. 33:38f), Miriam before and Aaron after the event at the Water of Meribah, Num.20:1, 22ff.

(203) An expression used in Lev.5:4, cf.Num.30:7,9 (בְּשֹׁפֵתִי). E. Arden, "How Moses Failed God," JBL, 76, 1957, pp.50-52, when discussing the incident recorded in Num.20:1-13, says that the reason for Moses' and Aaron's exclusion from the land is inconsistent with the heroic proportions / (to be continued)

The reason given by Deuteronomy why Moses is not allowed to enter the land is that he bears the guilt of the whole people in their disobedience (Deut. 1:37; 3:25f; 4:21). P, however, explains the fact in terms of the personal guilt of Moses. The final redaction of Deuteronomy exhibits the same Priestly understanding (Deut. 32:48-52; cf. Num. 27:12-14)⁽²⁰⁴⁾. While D does not relate the exclusion of Moses from the land to the incident at the Waters of Meribah, P explains the death of Aaron and that of Moses by the same event and even adds the element of sanctification into the account; Moses and Aaron did not sanctify God but God manifested Himself holy among them 'Num.20:12-13)⁽²⁰⁵⁾.

(203) contd: proportions ascribed to them elsewhere. He tries to solve the problem by reading the "we" in Num.20:10 as blasphemous on the part of Moses and Aaron and therefore they did not sanctify God in the eyes of the people (Num.20:12,24). Arvid S. Kapelrud, on the other hand, while stating that Arden reads a little more into the text, explains the difficulty facing the author of Num.20:1-13. The author attempts to provide the answer for the two irreconcilable demands why Moses and Aaron did not lead the invasion into the Promised Land but at the same time they must not be incriminated in an intolerable way. See "How Tradition Failed Moses", JBL, 76, 1957, p.242. M. Margalith, seeking to prove the uniformity of the text as one piece, states that the transgression is clearly indicated in Num.20, "the short speech of verse 10b not the hitting of the rock, constituted the transgression". In this respect, he refers to Ps. 106 as the most ancient comment on Num.20. See "The Transgression of Moses and Aaron - Num.20:1-13", (Hebrew) Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies, 1969, pp.224-225 (English Summary).

(204) The relationship between these two texts is not easy to determine. Noth suggests that Num.27:12-14 originally belongs to P and is repeated in Deut. 32:48-52. The installation of Joshua in Num.27:15-23 is added when Pentateuch linked with Dtr (cf. Deut.3:23-29; 31:1-8; Josh.1:1f). See Numbers, (OTL), p.213. Engnell assumes that Deut.32:48-52 originally belonged to "P work" conclusion of Numbers. Critical Essays, p.208.

(205) "P has consciously altered this tradition of the water-miracle as it appears in its original JE form in Ex.17 in view of the purpose with which this story is told in P, namely the necessity for an instance of 'unbelief' on the part of Moses and Aaron in order that a basis may be found for the divine decision that Moses and Aaron are not to enter the promised land". Noth, Numbers, (OTL), p.146. Noth also explains P's use of $\psi\tau\pi$ as a play of word on the place name Kadesh, p.147. For a different view on the role of the Moses' death reports, see Coats, "Legendary Motifs in the Moses Death Reports", CBQ, 39, 1977, pp.34-44.

Ps. 106 provides the transitional phase; on the one hand, it recognises the element of vicarious suffering on account of the people (v.32, $\square \text{ב} \text{ע} \text{כ} \text{ר}$) put forward by D (Deut. 1:37, $\square \text{כ} \text{ל} \text{ל} \text{כ} \text{ם}$; 3:25f; $\square \text{ל} \text{ע} \text{נ} \text{כ} \text{ם}$; 4:21, $\square \text{ע} \text{ל} \text{-} \text{ל} \text{כ} \text{ר} \text{כ} \text{ם}$), on the other hand, it historicises the harsh judgment by attaching it to the event at Meribah and places the narrative of the event at the end of the wilderness wandering immediately before the entry to the land. In Num. 20:1-13, two versions appear to lie side by side; "in one Moses' rod plays the really decisive role, while according to the other, Aaron and Moses are said to summon water from a rock by addressing it"⁽²⁰⁶⁾. The first is similar to the account in Exod. 17 except that Num. 20:8ab uses a different word for 'rock' ($\square \text{ל} \text{ע}$) from that adopted in Exod. 17 ($\square \text{ל} \text{ז}$) and that the 'twofold' striking of Num. 20:11a does not have any parallel in Exod. 17. According to the second version (Num.20:7; 8ab) the instructions are 'to address' the rock. The question put to the 'rebels' by Moses and Aaron (v.10) may be regarded as an instance of their unbelief, but further information on the nature of the unbelief is not given. Viewed from the tradition of Moses' rash speech preserved in Ps. 106 it is possible that the detail of the second version is cut short in favour of the element of the two-fold striking of the rock (v.11) and in order that P's idea of 'unbelief' and 'not sanctifying' Yahweh in the eyes of the people can also be accommodated.

Putting all the evidence together we may be able to reconstruct the development of the tradition in a more comprehensive way. The central concern of D is to explain the exclusion of Moses from the land in terms of his vicarious suffering. The psalmist picks up this idea and succeeds in combining it with probably an ancient tradition of Moses' rash speech at the water miracle of Meribah. The Priestly writer, with his chief concerns of belief and holiness, develops the idea further and combines the ancient traditions together in the event of Meribah. He also explains the exclusion of Aaron from the land in the same manner. At the end, the people (Num.20:10), Aaron and Moses (Num.20:24; 27:14) are rebellious against God, irrespectively of their roles and positions; an understanding which reflects the experience of the Exile.

(206) Noth, op.cit., p.145.

The sympathy shown upon Aaron and Phinehas and the lack of interest in the leadership of Joshua in Ps. 106 may indicate the psalmist's close association to the priesthood. There is, however, a tension within the structure and theology of Ps. 106 as well as the Pentateuch as a whole. At the beginning of the wilderness wandering Moses, perhaps Aaron as well, are regarded as faithful to God but at the end of the wandering they too are portrayed as being unbelief and therefore are banned from entering the land (Num. 20:1-13; 22ff; 27:12-14).

Ps. 106 continues; the apostasy and idol worship in the later age when they have settled in the land is thought to be mainly due to their disobedience to God's commandment to destroy the people of Canaan (Ps. 106:34-38). The Israelites mingled with the peoples, adopted their conduct and worshipped their idols. Therefore they become a snare to them (v.36b). The use of 'snare' (שִׁבְרָה) implies that the Israelites are attracted to the worship of idols and as a result, destroyed. The image is used in connection with idols and idol worship as these are becoming a snare to Israel (Exod.23:33; Deut. 7:16, 26; Judg. 2:3; 8:27), as well as Israel's mingling with Canaanites (Exod. 34:12; Josh 23:13).⁽²⁰⁷⁾

The mixing together with Canaanites, includes intermarriage and settling among them (Judg. 3:5-6; Ezra 9:1f)⁽²⁰⁸⁾. The people of Israel copied the way of living of the Canaanites; she adopted human sacrifice, especially sacrifice of sons and daughters (Ps. 106:37, 38) which was forbidden and regarded as sinful (Lev.18:21; Deut. 12:31; 18:9, 10; II Kg. 16:3; 21:6; 23:10; Jer. 7:31). Ezekiel, in his historical retrospects, also stresses this aspect of Israel's sin and apostasy and sees in this as the very reason for the punishment of Exile (Ezek. 16:20, 21; 20:31), a view shared by the psalmist.

The theological idea of sin that leads to Yahweh's rejection of the people and His delivering them to the oppression of the enemies, which reflects the situation of Exile, is similar to the understanding of the Book of Judges, especially that in the introductory summaries which form the framework of the Book, (Judg. 1:1-2:5 and

(207) See BDB, p.430.

(208) Dahood derives the root of וַיִּתְעַרְבוּ (v.35) from עָרַב with the meaning 'to enter', and therefore to enter into marriage. e.g. Ps.104:34 'enter His presence', Psalms II, pp.47,74.

2:11 - 3:6; cf. 10:6-16), Israel neglected the commandment of God to drive out the Canaanites ('Judg. 1:21, 27, 29ff; 2:1ff), therefore, the gods of the Canaanite became a snare to them (2:3) and Yahweh did not drive the Canaanites out of the land so as to test Israel's faith (2:21-22). The people of Israel served (ויעבדו) the gods and forgot the God who brought them out of Egypt. The anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel (ויחר-אף יהוה) and He gave them over to the hands of the enemies (ויתנם...כיד אויבם) and Israel could no longer withstand their enemies (לא-יכלו עוד ... לעמד לפניו); she was then in real misery (ויצר להם נאד) (2:11-15). The similarity in idea and phraseology, in addition to the form analysis; reveals the connection between this Deuteronomic framework of the Judges and Ps. 106.

In relating Yahweh's deliverance of the people, the psalm does not mention any cry or repentance of the people : "Many times He delivers them, but they rebel in their counsel" (v.43). This is also the case in Judges; v.16 starts with "then the Lord raised up judges to save them ..." It is said that Yahweh was moved to pity (כי-יחנה יהוה , Judg. 2:18; cf. Ps. 106:44), by their groaning in front of those who afflicted them and oppressed them (לחציהם ודחקיהם v.18; cf. 106:41-42). But they did not listen to the judges; for they went a whoring (v.17, ויי ; cf. 106:39, ויי) during the lifetime of the judges and they behaved even worse, more corrupt than their fathers, after the death of the judges⁽²⁰⁹⁾.

The summary statement in Judg. 10:6-16 shows a close affinity with Ps. 106. Here, unlike ch. 2, the appeal to Yahweh in times of hardship is explicitly stated (vv. 10, 15). A confession is also included, חטאנו...הצילנו (v.10), and חטאנו...הצילנו (v.15).

The inter-relationship between the neglect of Yahweh's commandment to drive out the Canaanites, which leads to apostasy, and His delivery of them to foreign oppression is a point made by both Ps. 106 and the introductory remarks of Judges. The punishment through neighbouring

(209) Verses 16, 18-19 give the impression that they remained faithful in the lifetime of the judges, but v.17 asserts that apostasy goes on in the time of the judges. J. Gray proposes that v.17 is probably secondary "having been prompted as an after thought", Joshua, Judges and Ruth, (NCB), 1967, p.257. Boling, however, distinguishes three hands at work in ch.2; vv.19-21 and ch.1 are the Exilic updating of the Deuteronomic work, Judges, (AB), 1975, p.76.

nations has its cause in the worshipping of the gods, for which Yahweh's anger was kindled against Israel. Ps. 106 shares many similar theological views and phraseology with Judges. But they differ from each other in accounting for the presence of the Canaanites. Judg. 1 states clearly that Israel did not drive out the people of Canaan and 2:1-5 has the idea that it was Yahweh who did not drive out the Canaanite in order to let them become a snare to Israel, a punishment for the disobedience of Israel. However, the end of ch. 2 and the beginning of ch. 3 present two different pictures; the remnant of the Canaanites is no longer a punishment, but a test of the faith of Israel (2:22-23) and a way for Israel to learn the art of war (3:1-2). Ps. 106 is definite in this respect, Israel did not destroy the nations; instead, she so mingled with them that their gods become a snare to Israel and finally idolatry caused the defilement of the land through the blood shed in the sacrifice of Israel's sons and daughters to idols and demons.

The often repeated warning against assimilation and syncretism, neglected by Israel as described in Judg. 1-2 and Ps. 106, is found in a number of significant points in the Hexateuch. It is set in the speech of Joshua after the conquest (Josh. 23) and in the speech of Moses before the conquest (Deut. 7:1-5, 16, 17-26). Furthermore, it is placed at the end of the Holiness Code (Exod. 23:20-33), as commandment in the covenant restoration (Exod. 34:11-16); and at the beginning of the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 12:1-2). Most important of all, it is found at the end of Num. 33 (vv. 50-56), a warning before the people are about to enter the land⁽²¹⁰⁾. The last mentioned passage seems to anticipate the disobedience of the people and the subsequent trouble which comes to Israel. This crucial commandment is attached to the instructions for the future land-division. It is put at the end of the wilderness journey while the people are on the plain of Moab overlooking the land of Canaan. The redactor of Numbers, following the framework of Pss. 105-106, views the hope for the gathering of the people as a re-entry into the land from outside. The oppression

(210) Noth thinks that there are two pieces of traditions intertwined:
 1. the allocation of land vv. 53-54; 2. the destruction of idolatrous objects vv. 50-52, 55-56. They form part of the final instructions before entering the land. Numbers, p. 248.

and distress of the people presented in Ps. 106 should not be unknown to the redactor because he re-traces his experience in the summing-up verse of Num. 33, 'And I will do to you as I thought to do to them' (v.56). That can hardly mean less than the expulsion from the land, an indication of Exile. The warning against defiling themselves is set in the context of Lev. 18:24-30 that Yahweh punished the former inhabitants of Canaan by driving them out because they defiled the land as well as themselves. The land will vomit Israel out of it if she does the same as the inhabitants did. This is also the orientation of Josh. 23:12ff: if the people join the nations and make marriage with them, God will not drive out the nations. The latter will become a snare and a trap for Israel until she perishes from off the good land. The commandment to be separated from the evil deeds of the nations becomes a warning and a threat to the returning people.

The remarkable abundance in examples of correspondence between Deut. 1-3 and the latter part of Numbers does not escape the attention of von Rad who lists some of the parallel narratives.

Deut. 1:9-18	-	Num. 11 and Exod. 18
Deut. 1:20-46	-	Num. 13-14
" 2:2-7	-	Num. 20:14-21
" 2:26-33	-	Num. 21:21-31
" 3:18-22	-	Num. 32
" 3:23-28	-	Num. 20:12; 27:12

However, he is not unaware of the differences between the traditions behind these passages. For example, as we have noted above, the reason given for Moses' death before the entry in Num. 20:12 differs completely from that recorded in Deut. 3:23-28. Von Rad is in favour of the hypothesis that Deut. 1-3 depends on a considerably shorter account not preserved for us. One of the main reasons for his rejection of the literary dependence of Deuteronomy upon the older JE traditions in the Pentateuch is the homogeneity of the narrative of the appointment of judges, which contains half of the story of Exod. 18 (vv. 13-27) and half of that of Num. 11 (vv. 14-17)⁽²¹¹⁾. It is quite impossible to cut the two far apart stories into halves and then combine the two halves into one again.

(211) Von Rad, Deuteronomy, (OTL), p. 38-39.

Von Rad perceives only two alternatives: either Deuteronomy depends on Exodus - Numbers or the independence of the two. Therefore, he comments that "whoever supports the former of the two hypotheses must explain the striking divergence from the tradition of the Pentateuch; whoever supports the second one, the equally striking correspondence"⁽²¹²⁾. It appears to us, in the process of our discussion up till now, that a third alternative may be sought in the poetic formation of the epic traditions in the cult and through which an overall reworking of the Pentateuch is brought about.

Deuteronomy preserves a simpler account of the story of the spies than Num. 13-14. The event is to follow the departure from Horeb (Deut. 1:19-46). Ps. 106 too presents mainly the events after Horeb. Von Rad notices that the preferential treatment of Caleb and the aetiological concern to explain how the Calebites get to Hebron are lacking⁽²¹³⁾. The report of the spies is much more straightforward: "It is a good land" (Deut. 1:25). Then a contrast is made between the favourable report and the rebellious reaction of the people: They murmured in their tent and did not obey God's commandment to go up to take the land (1:26-27). The arrangement undermines the agitation of the people in vv. 28f. The result of the disbelief is the denial of the present generation to enter the land (v.34). The essentials of this narrative is found in Ps. 106, only that in the psalm the people of the present generation and their seed are to die in the wilderness and to be dispersed, an indication of the Exilic situation.

The historical retrospective of Moses in Deut. 1-3 ends with the refusal to his own request to enter the land. The reason given is that he bears the sins of the people (3:23-29; cf. 1:37; 4:21f). In addition to describing a minor sin of Moses; Ps. 106 retains the concept of Moses substituting for the people. The Priestly Document too associates Moses' sin with the event at Meribah (Num. 20:12; Deut. 32:51). Phases of the traditio-historical development of the event are represented in these three pieces of literature.

(212) Ibid., p.39.

(213) According to von Rad "vv. 36-38 are a later addendum from the older account" ibid., p.40.

In Deut. 1-3 the old 'evil generation' refuses to enter the promised land but nevertheless the promise will be fulfilled in their children, the 'second' generation who will possess the land. The Exilic layer in Deut. 4, however, though recognises the fact that their children would enter the land, witnesses that the future generation would be corrupted by their idolatry (4:25) and would soon utterly perish from the land (v.26); 'the Lord will scatter you among the peoples' (v.27). The scattering of Israel among the peoples is then an outcome of a whole series of land taking - the people's refusal to enter (1:26), Yahweh's denial of their entry (1:35), Yahweh's promise to lead their children to enter (1:39) and finally the scattering which indicates the Exiles (4:27). Both the psalm and Deut. 1-4 persistently declare that Moses is not allowed to enter the land. The difference lies mainly in the vicarious suffering of Moses for the people (1:37; 3:26; 4:21) whereas the psalm accounts for the fact of the sin of Moses, which Moses committed due to the rebellion of the people.

Finally, when we come to the idea of "When Yahweh saw (אָרָא)... and He was moved to compassion (רָחַם)" in Ps. 106:44-45 we recall the same conception at the end of the Song of Moses (Deut. 32:36 אָרָא כִּי רָחַם). As we have already discussed that Deut. 4 and Deut. 32 form the second framework to the Book of Deuteronomy, there is no point in repeating it here. One significant feature is the elements shared in common by Deut. 4 and Deut. 32 in Ps. 106. It is not only that Ps. 106 shares a similar theological outlook and historical situation, even the use of vocabulary is in common. The unusual word for demons (אֱלִילִים) can be found nowhere else in the Old Testament than Ps. 106:37 and Deut. 32:17. In both cases the verb used is רָחַם . The most enlightening is the same theological understanding shared by Ps. 106 and Deut. 32. Israel's lack of insight into Yahweh's mighty acts of salvation and punishment is expressed in Deut. 32:28-29 as an accusation in a divine speech.

"For they are a nation void of counsel (עֲצוּת) and there is no understanding in them. If they were wise, they would discern this (אִם־יָדְעוּ), they would understand their latter end."

Ps. 106 puts the same idea at the beginning and at the end of the confession of sin:

"Our fathers in Egypt did not discern (לֹא הִשְׂכִּילוּ)
the wonderful acts of Yahweh." (v.7)
"Many times He delivered them, but they were
rebellious in their counsel (רָבְדוּ)". (v.43).

The people of Israel rebelled and sinned because they did not grasp the meaning of Yahweh's acts of salvation and they lacked the "religious insight into the mighty acts by which Yahweh shapes history"⁽²¹⁴⁾.

The framework of Ps. 105-106 helps to illuminate the issue within the structure of the Pentateuch, the existence of two blocks of wilderness wandering tradition (Exod. 15-18 and Num. 10ff) separated by the Sinai corpus. Also it explains the striking feature of the remarkable doublets, the food narratives in Exod. 16 and Num. 11 and the Meribah Water miracle accounts in Exod. 17 and Num. 20, in a consistent view that those events before Sinai are positive, a gracious gift, whereas punishment accompanied the murmuring element in those events after Sinai⁽²¹⁵⁾.

Though it remains difficult to account for the origin of the murmuring motif satisfactorily, Childs may be right to see its origin to be much older than what Coats supposes it to be in the Divided Monarchy serving as a polemic against the Northern Kingdom⁽²¹⁶⁾. The growing importance of the motif may very well reflect later periods when the rebellion of the people is self-evident. Hosea and Jeremiah preserve a positive interpretation of the wilderness wandering (Hos. 2:14 [16]; Jer. 2:2).

Judging only from the food traditions in our three psalms, we are convinced that a complicated process of development lies behind the traditions. Both manna and quails rained from heaven in Ps. 78 (vv.24, 27), but the gift of manna is considered positive (vv.23-25) while the quails account is followed by the anger of Yahweh and His punishment (vv.26:31). Ps. 78 reflects the J tradition of Exod. 16 (vv.4-5) and that of Num. 11 (vv.31-35). Ps. 105 praises the gift of both manna, bread from heaven, and quails. The miraculous gift of manna

(214) William McKane, Prophets and Wise Men, p.91.

(215) Unresolved tensions are present in Exod. 15-18 after the final redaction.

(216) Childs, Exodus, (OTL), p.256.

from heaven is very likely from the J Tradition of Exod. 16. Exod. 16 has half a verse on the quails (v.13a, 'In the evening quails came up and covered the camp') which is not mentioned up till then and not dealt with again in the whole chapter, not even in Exodus nor in such a positive way in Numbers. There is hardly any legitimate reason to deny the connection between Exod. 16:13a and Ps. 105. The negative connotation of Ps. 106 on the 'food' tradition is clearly shown in the use of the words 'lusted after a desire' (v.14 cf. Num.11:4). This is far from the gracious gift of Yahweh in response to the genuine need of the people in the wilderness. As we have shown, the connection between Ps. 106:14 and Num. 11:4 is justified.

As for the Water miracle, we have seen that Ps. 106 attaches the event at Meribah to Moses' exclusion from the land and similarly the redactor of the Pentateuch places the miracle at the latter part of the Numbers. Pss. 78 and 105, however, view the provision of water as a great wonder of His providence in the dry land of the wilderness. The image of abundant water coming from the rock (Pss. 78:15-16; 105:4) bring the traditions close to Exod. 17:1-7⁽²¹⁷⁾.

In view of Ps. 106's indebtedness to Deuteronomy, the psalmist's selection and arrangement of the traditions may be understood. The historical traditions are mainly taken from the three historical retrospects of Moses, narrated in the first person singular, in Deut. 11:2ff; 9:6ff and chs. 1-3(4). In addition to the three historical retrospects, Ps. 106 alludes to the sermon which deals with the future relationship (7:1-5, 16, 17-26). It ends with the hortatory section of Deut. 4 (vv.25-31); the people have corrupted themselves by making graven images, scattered among the nations; furthermore, they serve the gods of the nations. But they will seek the Lord when they are in tribulation and will find Him because "the Lord your God is a merciful God; He will not fail you or destroy you or forget the covenant with your fathers which He swore to them" (Deut.4:31). This very last verse exhibits the same theology of the closing verses of the psalm (106:44-46).

(217) Von Rad attributes the positive category of the wilderness period to the confessional concern "exclusive concentrations upon the action of God" (OTT, I, p.281) and the negative reflection to a later state of the wilderness tradition (*ibid*, I. p.284). Coats also struggles with these different levels of the wilderness tradition, Rebellion, p.13ff.

In summary, we must stress that the continuous account of the Pentateuchal tradition was not initiated by the psalmist, but grew out of a complex history of development and living traditions which were gradually put together. The historical traditions have gone through different stages of oral and written transmission before they are incorporated into the books. This accounts for the disunity and diversity of the Pentateuch⁽²¹⁸⁾. The linking with Pss. 105-106 brings Numbers to a wider context of the whole Pentateuch;⁽²¹⁹⁾ the peculiar position and function of the book are to be seen within the framework of the Pentateuch. The traditions in the latter part of Numbers seem to be, as Noth describes, "a great incision" made when Dtr was joined.

Ps. 106 preserves many ancient traditions of the Wilderness period, which have been ignored because of the limitation set out by the JE framework, but which, nevertheless, became significant as a result of the Exile. It was during the Exilic period, with the increase in the nation's interest in the people's heritage and the reflection upon the catastrophes that came upon both the Northern Kingdom and the Southern Kingdom alike that the wilderness rebellion and disobedience received greater importance. The people came in contact with more historical traditions which till then were in the possession of certain groups⁽²²⁰⁾.

The recognition of sin, judgment and forgiveness facilitated the

(218) The historical traditions in Num.10ff and Deut.1-11 are interwoven with many ancient laws which are independent of the narratives of history and are interspersed in various parts of the Pentateuch. Engnell makes the point that the desert wandering narratives, which begin again in Num.10 after the interruption of the Sinai legal material, are interspersed and interrupted occasionally. Critical Essays on the Old Testament, pp.63-65, 209-210. M.H. Segal admits that the arrangement of Numbers shows no obvious reason than, perhaps, "on aesthetic grounds for the sake of literary variety". The Pentateuch, p.58.

(219) Noth also warns against treating Numbers in isolation. Numbers, (OTL), pp.4-5.

(220) Noth recognises that "old sources" find expression for the first time in Numbers. Ibid., p.6. De Vaux also apprehends such a phenomenon when he deals with the Book of Judges: "At the time of the Exile or during the post-Exilic period, various early traditions that had been ignored or rejected by the deuteronomistic editors were added". (e.g. Judg. 1:1-2:17-18; 19-21), EHI, II, p.689.

collection of historical traditions for the expansion of the wilderness period. The confession of the people's sin embodied in Ps. 106 includes old but living traditions, disregarding their original sources. Ps. 106 probably represents a stage before the final formation of the Pentateuch by the redactor⁽²²¹⁾.

The character of the last chapters of Numbers have shown a process of progressive supplementation. A number of studies by A.G. Auld related to these chapters have been made⁽²²²⁾. If Num. 35:9-15 belongs to the progressive supplementation, much more so do the verses which come at the end of that chapter (vv.30-34)⁽²²³⁾.

The assertion of the section on the concept of pollution of the land by bloodshed (vv.33-34) seems to ignore the unintentional killing and the granting of asylum. Though the land defilement is expressed in Isa. 24:5 and Jer. 3:1, 2, 9 its being defiled (חנף) by blood is found only in Num. 35:33-34 and Ps. 106:38-39, notice especially the verbal affinity between the later two passages.

33. לא-תחינו את הארץ	... וישפכו דם נקי	38.
כי הדם הוא יחניף	ותחנף הארץ כדמים	
את הארץ		
כי אם כדם שפכו		
34. ולא תטמא את הארץ	ויטמא כמעשיהם	39.

It is possible and very likely that Num. 35:33-34 may be a supplement from Ps. 106:38-39. In the case of the latter the pollution has been a reality and this reality is projected once again to the time before the entry into the land at the end of the Book of Numbers, which is a

(221) Ps. 106 tends to be inclusive in its description of Israel's sins, Coats, Rebellion, p.22f. On p.230 Coats suggests that Ps. 106 represents a point between Deuteronomy and P. Noth assumes that there is no continuous Deuteronomistic redaction in Gen-Num. The passages which exhibit traces of ancient tradition and Deuteronomistic style are expansions taken from the first eleven chapters of Deuteronomy. These expansions are mainly in the book of Exodus (e.g.23:20-33; 32:9-14; 34:11-16) and Numbers (e.g.14:13-19 etc). J.A. Soggin gives an Excursus on the issue of Deuteronomistic passages in Gen-Num, Introduction to the Old Testament, p.132ff.

(222) Auld, "Cities of Refuge in Israelite Tradition", JSOT, 10, 1978, pp.26-40, "The Levitical Cities': Texts and History", ZAW, 91, 1979, pp.194-206.

(223) Noth sees these as "loosely attached, additional statements", Numbers, p. 256.

place for later materials to be accommodated. The projection functions as a warning and a threat to the present generation. A hopeful future is also implied when the people do right this time according to what is written down.

After the above analysis the picture of the redactional formation of Numbers is relatively revealed. We are now in a better position to appreciate Noth's statement that the significance of Numbers is seen "within the framework and context of the greater Pentateuchal whole"⁽²²⁴⁾. A number of chapters in the latter part of the Book of Numbers contain conquest traditions shaped within the wilderness theme and it is in these chapters that a link with Dtr is evident (e.g. Chs. 31-32, 34)⁽²²⁵⁾.

The theme of the apostasy in the land (Ps. 106:34-38; cf. Judg. 1-2) are not the central concern of the Pentateuch, but they are incorporated into the framework of the Pentateuch as threats and warnings for future generations. The conquest theme which is closely related to Joshua is found in Num. 21, 31, 32, 34. In the Pentateuch as well as in Pss. 105-106 the role of Joshua is played down. Perhaps this is because God Himself will take up the role in the new conquest, the return from Babylon. The conquest theme independent of Joshua is found in the Pentateuch in anticipation of the future hope. We must, therefore, acknowledge the impact or "canonical force" of Deuteronomy and Dtr upon the shaping of Numbers and the final redaction of the Pentateuch⁽²²⁶⁾.

(224) Numbers, p.11.

(225) Coats, "Conquest Traditions in the Wilderness Theme", JBL, 95, 1976, pp. 177-190, on Num. 20-21.

(226) This does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that D is the last redactor of the Pentateuch, Childs dismisses the existence of a Hexateuch: "If there were a unit such as a Hexateuch, it is difficult to imagine why there is so little trace of Deuteronomic influence on the first four books, and such a very strong one on the final book", IOTS, p.231. J. Sanders accepts the existence of a Hexateuch before the final redaction; the Pentateuch excluding Joshua is truncated: A promise which is yet to be realised in the future; Torah and Canon, pp.25f. S. Mowinckel suggests that the final form of the Pentateuch reflects that Gen-Num and Deuteronomy were telescoped into each other, "Literature", IDB, III, p.141.

It may not be too far away from reality if we conclude that Ps. 106, basing on the historical narratives of Deut. 1-11, perceives the Golden Calf idolatry as significant in understanding the rebellion of the people and the constant forgiveness of Yahweh (Deut. 9:6ff). Using 9:6ff as the central theme in the structuring of the psalm, the psalmist puts the Reed Sea redemption at the very beginning. It is exactly in Deut. 11:2-7 that the historical review contains the Reed Sea redemption, the wilderness guidance and the Dathan-Abiram punishment. Therefore the psalmist arranges his material in this order: a) Deut. 11:2-7: b) Deut. 9:6ff. What falls in c) is then the historical retrospect and prospect in Deut. 1-4. This re-arrangement of the material of Deuteronomy results in a reverse order of Deuteronomy which narratives the history from Horeb to Moab. The allusion to the catastrophe of the Exile and the appeal to the mercy of Yahweh in Deut. 4:25-31 come nicely at the end of the psalm and fit perfectly the purpose of the psalmist.

The redactor of the Pentateuch, governed by the concern to attach the Book of Deuteronomy to the first four books, finds it necessary to insert the ancient traditions preserved by Deuteronomy to the setting of the wilderness. Since Deuteronomy is set out to be a retrospect of the history from Horeb to Moab for the purpose of instruction (Deut. 1:5). An actual description of the events from Horeb to Moab is very much desired at the end of Numbers in order to read the two books together smoothly⁽²²⁷⁾. Then what has happened in the land becomes a threat, a warning and an admonition to the present and the future generations (Deut. 31:20ff). The central motifs of sin and forgiveness are exemplified in the Golden Calf incident. This centre piece around which many other ancient traditions are collected is inserted in the midst of the Sinai episode (Exod. 32-34).

The picture of the final reaction of the Pentateuch we get so far is roughly that the psalmist of Pss. 105-106, while assuming the theological framework of promise - fulfilment and the basic materials of the Torah story, in turn influences the bringing together of Genesis-Numbers and Deuteronomy to form the Pentateuch, and also the restructuring of some sections of Genesis-Numbers (e.g. Exod. 32-34).

(227) B.S. Childs discerns the canonical force of Deuteronomy upon the shaping of Numbers. IOTS, p.197.

Thus, the psalms are seen to have a canonical role in the final shape of the Pentateuch in general and in the supplementation of the latter part of Numbers in particular. Their role may assume what B.S. Childs describes as "a canonical reading of the whole in its final stage of editing"⁽²²⁸⁾. Pss. 105-106, reflecting a comprehensive knowledge of the Pentateuch, attribute to the reworking of the whole Pentateuch in terms of promise and fulfilment as well as in terms of sin and forgiveness. The process of reworking goes beyond the mere combination of various literary sources and collection of ancient traditions. A brief but comprehensive presentation of the Pentateuchal story 'theologically framed is significant for the formation of a continuous narrative out of the massive and diversified historical and legal traditions as we have in the Pentateuch.

The final form of the Pentateuch with a hymn of praise summing up the mighty acts of Yahweh at Exod. 15 and a prophetic-Deuteronomistic accusation - instruction poem concluding the post-Wilderness experience at Deut. 32 may denote the influence of the cultic expression of the worshipping community upon the Pentateuchal literature⁽²²⁹⁾. The praise

(228) Childs, IOTS, p.132.

(229) Eissfeldt isolates the ancient poems of the Pentateuch (e.g. Gen.49; Exod.15; Deut. 32-33) from the narrative strands and views them as secondarily inserted into the narrative. The Old Testament: An Introduction pp. 189ff., 210ff., 226ff., 229. He groups them under the designation "Amplification of the Narrative Strands". The Song of Moses (Deut.32:1-43) is assumed by him as added together with its prose framework (31:19-22, 32:44) at a very late date as summarising the Deuteronomistic law. Ibid, pp.176-227. The prose framework adopts words which are preferable for a legal document to the presentation of the Song: 'write', 'teach', 'put in their mouths' and 'may be a witness' (Deut. 31:19). See von Rad Deuteronomy, (OTL), p.189. J.A. Soggin does not accept the difference in sources between the prose narrative and the "Ancient Yahwistic Poetry". The differentiation, according to him, is only due to their independent transmission. He attributes Gen.49 and Exod. 15 to J, Exod. 15:21 and Deut. 32-33 to E. See SVT, 14, 1974, pp.190. Fohrer also supports the late date of Deut. 32 becoming part of Deuteronomy by citing the fact that Deut. 32 is found independently at Qumran, Introduction to the Old Testament, p.189. From our research it appears more likely that the cultic poetry in the Pentateuch has an important role in the formation of the Pentateuch. Therefore the view that the ancient poems are inserted to the Pentateuch after the latter has been more or less shaped is very doubtful.

of Yahweh in Ps. 105 can be seen as expressing that aspect of joy and thankfulness of the community exemplified in Exod. 15. Ps. 106, on the other hand, embodied the failure and forgetfulness of the people in history, as a result of which disasters have fallen upon them: anger of Yahweh, punishment in the hands of enemies etc. Both Ps. 106 and Deut. 32 witness to that aspect of the rebellion of the people. And luckily, both affirm the forgiveness of Yahweh and His vindication for His people. In sum, the liturgies of Pss. 105-106, having presented the Pentateuch in a nutshell, can be said to have played a vital canonical role.

The Wilderness Wandering in Numbers (10:11ff) and in Ps. 106.

Further Sojourn in the Wilderness

(Num. 10:11-20:13)

Israel forgot, tempted God, lusted

Num. 11

(Ps. 106:13-15)

Dispute against Moses and Aaron's leadership

Num. 12, 16

(Ps. 106:16-18)

Golden Calf idolatry and Moses' intercession

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(Ps. 106:19-23)

Israel despised the land : therefore dispersed

Num. 13-14

(Ps. 106:24-27)

Num. 15, 17-20

Preparation for Conquest

(Num. 21-24)

Baal of Peor and perpetual priesthood

Num. 25

(Ps. 106:28-31)

Num. 26-27:11

Moses at the Waters of Meribah

Num. 27:12-14 cf.
20:1-13

(Ps. 106:32-33)

Num. 27:15-33:49

Idolatry and the former inhabitants

Num. 33:50-56

(Ps. 106:34-38)

Num. 34:1-35:33

Defilement of the land

Num. 35:34

(Ps. 106:39)

Num. 36

A Comparison between Pss. 104 - 106 and the Pentateuch

	<u>Psalms 104-106</u>	<u>Pentateuch</u>
Creation Epic	Ps. 104: 1-35	Gen. 1-11
Patriarchal Promise	Ps. 105: 5-15	Gen. 12-36
Joseph Story	Ps. 105:16-22	Gen. 37-50
Exodus Oppression	Ps. 105:23-25	Exod. 1-6
Plagues Narratives	Ps. 105:26-36	Exod. 7-12
Exodus Event	Ps. 105:37-38	Exod. 13
Wilderness Providence	Ps. 105:39-41	Exod. 16-17
Land Giving	Ps. 105:42-44	Exod. 17:8-16
Laws - Commandments	Ps. 105:45	Exod. 18 - Num. 10
(Red Sea Redemption)	(Ps. 106: 9-12)	(Exod. 14-15)
Lust for Food	Ps. 106:13-15	Num. 11
Dathan-Abiram	Ps. 106:16-18	Num. 12, 16
(Golden Calf)	(Ps. 106:19-23)	(Exod. 32-34)
Land Rejection	Ps. 106:24-27	Num. 13-14
Baal of Peor	Ps. 106:28-31	Num. 25
Moses at Meribah	Ps. 106:32-33	Num. 27 (20)
Apostasy and land-defilement	Ps. 106:34-39	Num. 33:50-56, 35:34
God's Anger and Enemies' oppression	Ps. 106:40-43	Deut. 4; 32
Cry and Deliverance	Ps. 106:44-46	(Judg. 2:6ff)

VIII Conclusion

The investigation of the context and function of the recitation of history exemplified by the three historical psalms, 78, 105 and 106, results in certain implications for further research in the field of Psalms study, especially in the Psalms' connection with covenant - law tradition, the prophetic-Deuteronomistic theology of history and the Canon of the Old Testament.

The Psalter, which has its ultimate source in the cultus of Israel, embodies the life and faith of the people in the traditio-historical context. From the historical review of the early history of Israel, namely the Exodus-Wilderness-Settlement traditions, we discovered that historical allusions were not drawn nor simply listed at random. They served a definite purpose relevant to the historical background. They are structured in the context of a covenant theology. Ps. 78, as a teaching psalm with a didactic recital of history, emphasizes the importance of knowing תּוֹרָה and לְבוֹנָה (vv. 5-6). Such a knowledge includes the remembrance of the mighty acts of God, without which Israel could not observe the covenant (בְּרִית) of God and His law (תּוֹרָה). Covenant imposes on Israel an obligation in the form of תּוֹרָה . The recital of history in Ps. 78 is therefor, framed in a covenant theology (v. 10 and v. 37) and has its climax in the election of David who will lead the people in integrity of heart and in understanding (v. 72). It is beyond doubt that the teaching poem of Ps. 78 provides an instruction and admonition in the prophetic-Deuteronomistic theology of history. In Pss. 105-106, the hymnic recital of God's mighty acts (105) and the penitential review of the people's sinful deeds (106) are also structured in a covenant context, God's covenant with Abraham and with the people (Pss. 105:8-10; 106:45). The Qumran community preserved a covenant renewal liturgy which resembles the form of Pss. 105-106. We can arrive at the first conclusion that the recitations of history in the three historical psalms whether didactic, hymnic or penitential in form and intention, are grounded in covenant-law tradition. The psalmist teaches the community in its obligation and in law. In the case of a violation of the covenant, he reminds the community of the saving deeds of God and invites them to a confession of sin.

The second observation is that contemporary events and the historical experience of the psalmists also found their ways into the recitation of past history. They influenced and shaped the way the past is related. Ps. 78 reflects the historical situation of the fall

Of the Northern Kingdom and the miraculous escape of Jerusalem. The former event is alluded to in the Ark Narrative taken from the time of Samuel and the latter finds expression in the Plagues account and the David-Zion theology as well as in the inviolability of the Zion-Temple. The contrast between the punishment upon the Northern Kingdom (vv. 60-64) and the renewed intervention of Yahweh on behalf of Judah (vv. 65-66) illustrates the rejection of Joseph-Ephraim (v. 67) and the election of Judah-Zion (v. 68). Hezekiah-Josiah's concern for the unification of the whole people of Israel under a Davidic king fits well the purpose of Ps. 78 (vv. 70-72). The wisdom introduction recalls the wisdom-Deuteronomistic concern in the literary activity of Hezekiah (Prov. 25:1). Considering such a reflection of contemporary events, we may say that the recitation in Pss. 105-106 is most probably inspired by the Exile; and the sojourn of God's prophets and God's anointed ones, the oppression of Joseph, his final release, his teaching of wisdom to the nation and the portrayal of the Exodus in language and spirit similar to those of Deutero-Isaiah, all undoubtedly echo the Exile, which has certainly cast a great impact on Israel's historical consciousness. In these two psalms the promise of land to Abraham functions to encourage the despairing and landless people of the Exile, who were longing for return and restoration. The situation of dispersion can further be seen in the account of the wilderness incident in Ps. 106:27 and in the prayer for reassembling the people in v. 47.

The third result of our investigation is in the area of the canonical role of the Psalter. By virtue of the close parallels between Pss. 105-106 and the Pentateuch and of their striking differences one cannot ignore the function of the two psalms in the literary and structural development of the final form of the Pentateuch. And indeed what we have demonstrated in the analysis in Chapter VII is the canonical contribution of the psalms in bringing together the Priestly oriented books of Genesis-Numbers and the Book of Deuteronomy. Since the prophetic-Deuteronomistic teaching of history in Ps. 78 provides the model of recitation in Pss. 105-106, the latter two psalms embodied elements of history, law, covenant, rebellion and forgiveness. These elements are central to the whole Pentateuch. When Pss. 105-106 are considered together with the hymn of creation in Ps. 104, the whole Pentateuch in its present form and theology is presented in Pss. 104-106.

All in all, the recitation of history plays the role of maintaining the remembrance of Yahweh's dealing with the people for pedagogical purpose, of enlightening the present enigma in the whole process of Yahweh's intervention in history, of contrasting the mighty acts of Yahweh with the sinful deeds of Israel in the context of covenant so as to lay down obligations and warnings to the people and to justify God's punishment upon them; and, above all, of providing the ground of petition for forgiveness and deliverance from peril as Yahweh has done before. No wonder the recitation of history, so significant for the well-being of the whole people, has left its mark on the formation of the Old Testament canon. Recitation of history in this way presents the past for the present and is always oriented toward the future.

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