here to read the epistle from another perspective with regard to the possible meanings of *pistis*. Especially have we considered whether or not it was possible to understand the word as referring to something of God's or of Jesus' where it often has been taken as referring to something in the believer. Seemingly the greater probability for the correctness of such an understanding of *pistis* is found in Rom 3:22, 25 and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in Rom 4:14, 16. At times it is quite difficult to make a choice between the various possible meanings of the word, but the word can mean "belief" on the part of the subject, "trust," "fidelity," and the body of the content of belief. If even some of the proposed interpretations of the use of *pistis* in Rom be correct, Paul stresses even more than has been usually thought God's part in man's justification.

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A LITURGICAL COMPLEX IN 11QPs[a]

The order of the Psalms and related materials in the 11QPs[a] scroll[1] presents a challenge; perhaps especially to those who are convinced[2] as is the present writer[3] that the canonical number and grouping of the Psalms has priority over this particular Qumran arrangement. The writer has suggested earlier[4] that a twofold explanation is needed for the 11Q manuscript: first, a grouping in view of liturgical considerations; and secondly, a more all-inclusive compilation in honor of David, the Psalmist *par excellence*. It is with the clearest of the liturgical groupings that the present paper has mainly to do: namely, the complex that goes from col. xiv, line 7 to col. xvii, line [23],[5] comprising Pss 135, 136, parts of 118, and 145, in that order, with inserts and a (largely missing) subscription.

To begin with the last item, it is here understood that the *zō't l^ezikkārôn* at the end of col. xvii, line 17 is the beginning of a notation having to do with liturgical use[6] not merely of the preceding Ps 145 with its inserted response, but of the whole group beginning with Ps 135. The notation, which is extant for these two words only, presumably contained something over five, and up to six, lines of text in col. xvii, lines 17 to [23]. The beginning of "Psalm 154," represented in col. xviii, can be reconstructed

[1] J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan. IV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965); *idem, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1967).

[2] M. H. Goshen-Gottstein in *Textus* 5 (1966) 22-23; S. Talmon, *ibid.*, 12-13; F. M. Cross, *HTR* 57 (1964) 286; R. A. F. MacKenzie in *Bib* 51 (1970) 223 n. 2. For references to divergent or contrary positions, see J. A. Sanders, "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," *McCormick Quarterly* 21 (1968) 288, n. 10; reprinted in D. N. Freedman and J. C. Greenfield, eds., *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969) 105, n. 10 (also Anchor paperback A 753, 1971, 118, n. 10).

[3] "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Text of the Old Testament," *BAR* 3 (1970) 253 (reprinted from *BA* 28 (1965) 100). See also n. 4.

[4] "The Scrolls and the Old Testament Text," *McCormick Quarterly* 21 (1968) 278; reprinted in *New Directions* (see n. 2 above) 95; Anchor edition, 106.

[5] The seventh line of col. xiv is in fact a blank line after the end of Ps 119; to avoid confusion, the line references will be those of Sanders, which tend to ignore blank lines. Hence line 7 is the eighth ruled line of col. xiv.

[6] Following the writer's oral presentation of this viewpoint in Los Angeles on Sept. 2, 1972, Dr. Jonathan Siegel called attention to the use of *zikrônôt* as a liturgical category in the Jewish New Year's liturgy for example; see J. Levy and H. L. Fleischer, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch* (4 vols.; Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1876-89) 1, 538.

from the extant Syriac of the composition,[7] and will have occupied the last two lines (24, 25) of col. xvii; line 23 may have been blank. The presumptions are all against another poetic composition in lines 18-23: so short a Psalm as 133 is accorded five full lines (col. xxiii, 7-11) in this scroll.

Whatever the "memorial" was used for, its structure is clear enough. In the manuscript, it follows two blocks of material presented with very little variation from our standard biblical text. Col. ii, line 20 to col. vi, line 10 contained the *šîrê hamma'ălôt* from the beginning of this group[8] to Ps 132, inclusive.[9] From col. vi, line 11 to col. xiv, line 6 there follows the long alphabet acrostic Ps 119. Nothing about this latter suggests any liturgical application that may have been devised for it. Beginning with Ps 135, however, the evidences of deliberate liturgical grouping, with a primary *locus* in the Jerusalem temple precincts (Ps 135:2,21), and a presumptive origin earlier than the 2d century B.C. (the insert in Ps 135:6), seem unmistakable. The arrangement calls for a single voice urging the worshipers of the Lord (*'abdê Yhwh*, Ps 135:1) to praise the *name* of the Lord, to praise *and exalt* the Lord (*hallᵉlû Yāh wᵉrômᵉmû Yāh*, 11QPsᵃ at the end of Ps 135:1), and finally, to bless the Lord (*bārᵉkû 'et Yhwh*, Ps 135:19-20). The assembly is presumed at this point to be made up of priests, levites, Israelites, and god-fearers. They manifest their presence first by interrupting the precentor at Ps 135:6 with an acclamation (see below). At the end of the Psalm in its 11Q form they respond to the individual singer with "May the Lord bless *thee* from Zion: He who dwells in Jerusalem" (Ps 135:21).[10] Then the precentor begins again, with Ps 136, which repeats the theme and much of the language of Ps 135, but this time with the congregational response *kî lᵉ'ôlām ḥasdô* after each colon or phrase. The *hôdû*

[7] See Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 64-66; *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 103-105.

[8] Ps 148 will have ended in col. ii, line 19, with *hllwyh* on the right margin. There can be no serious doubt that lines 20-25 of the same column contained Ps 120. See Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 23.

[9] Ps 133 follows Ps 141 in 11QPsᵃ, as it does in the very fragmentary 11QPsᵇ; Pss 140,134, in that order and followed by Ps 151, occur at the end of 11QPsᵃ after the prose summary of David's compositions. The analogy of Pss 141-133 suggests that the combination of Pss 140-134 was also deliberate; the placement of the two latter in 11QPsᵃ, however, suggests that failure to include them at some earlier point was by way of oversight.

[10] The Qumran reading *yᵉbārekᵉkā* at this point is therefore not an indeliberate variant (MT *bārûk* [*Yhwh*]); it is the appropriate response of the assembly to the repeated exhortations of the single voice, before the alternating chants that follow. Of course the response has its origin in Ps 134:3, for which a variety of liturgical settings has been proposed. How and by whom the final *hallᵉlû Yāh* of Ps 135 would have been sung in the Qumran arrangement is an open question: most easily, by the assembly, as a continuation of the response?

lᵉYhwh kî ṭôb: kî lᵉ'ôlām ḥasdô in 11QPsᵃ col. xvi, line 1 is not a random choice from Ps 118:1: rather it is a return at the end of the alternating Ps 136 to the thematic line with which it began (Ps 136:1). The precentor then calls, in the words of Ps 118:15, for another acclamation by the assembly: "The glad cry of victory in the tents of the just." He is answered (with Ps 118:16) on the same pattern as in the outbreak after Ps 135:6, by a threefold acclamation, "The Lord's right hand does valiantly, the Lord's right hand is exalted,[11] the Lord's right hand has done a mighty deed (11Q: *'āśᵉtâ gᵉbûrâ*)." The following threefold utterance (compare Ps 118:8-9) is by no means random, either. We may suppose it divided between the precentor (*ṭôb libṭōaḥ . . . laḥăsôt . . . libṭoaḥ bYhwh*) and the assembly (*mibᵉṭoaḥ bā'ādām . . . binᵉdābîm . . . bᵉ'elep 'ām*). The five-fold recurrence of *bᵉṭoaḥ* as against *ḥăsôt* only once (MT Ps 118 *laḥăsôt* twice, *mibᵉṭoaḥ* twice; LXX similarly) is dictated by the fact that this verb picks up the last verb employed in the descriptive part of Ps 135 *kōl 'ăšer bōṭēaḥ bāhem*, Ps 135:18).[12] Thus the contrast between Yahweh, the idols, and their respective followers is explicitated, and Pss 135-136 are bound together; compare Ps 115:8-11. The central portion of this complex, begun in Ps 136:1 with *hôdû . . . ḥasdô*, now concludes with a third occurrence of that thematic line, followed (as was Ps 135) by *hallᵉlû Yāh*.

Finally, the precentor picks up the themes prepared for in Ps 135:1,6 and 19-20 by beginning in solo voice a responsorial treatment of Ps 145. For *'ărômemᵉkā* in vs. 1a compare *wᵉrômᵉmû Yāh* introduced by 11QPsᵃ into Ps 135:1. For *'ĕlōhāy hammelek* compare *kᵉmelek 'ĕlōhîm* in the acclamation at Ps 135:6 in the same scroll. For *wa'ăbārăkâ* we recur to Ps 135:19-20, the fourfold *bārᵉkû*; for *šimᵉkā*, again to Ps 135:1 (*hallᵉlû*) *'et šēm Yhwh*. As the precentor concludes the first line of Ps 145 (*lᵉ'ōlām wā'ed*) the assembly picks up this final element with the response it will then continue to echo after each line of the Psalm: *bārûk Yhwh ûbārûk šᵉmô lᵉ'ôlām wā'ed*. Ps 145:2 then echoes the theme of *praise* of the name of the Lord (*wa'ăhallᵉlâ šimᵉkā lᵉ'ôlām wā'ed*) announced in Ps 135:1; and it ties this also to the assembly's response. The heading, *tᵉpillâ lᵉDāwîd*, given to Ps 145 in 11QPsᵃ, was surely not recited (it is incongruous in this liturgical context) and is certainly wrong as against MT and LXX *tᵉhillâ lᵉDāwîd*, compare vss. 2,3 and 21a (*tᵉhillat Yhwh yᵉdabber-pî*). This last provides for the precentor a made-to-order inclusion with his opening

[11] Understanding this in a passive sense: if necessary, *rômāmâ*.

[12] The twofold corruption *bᵉṭôb b-* for *bᵉṭōaḥ b-* in 11QPsᵃ col. xvi, lines 4,5 is of course most easily explained if this scribe (1) did not pronounce *ḥeth* and (2) ran his words together, hence the tendency to double the *b*.

exhortation of Ps 135:1; and Ps 145:21b then ties this, with *wîbārēk kol-bāśār šēm qodšô*, to the final response of the assembly.[13]

Special interest attaches to the acclamation inserted into Ps 135:6 in this arrangement. In fact the scroll (col. xiv, lines 12-13) first offers the customary reading of this verse, *'šr ḥpṣ Yhwh 'śh bšmym wb'rṣ*, omitting only the initial *kol-* of MT. This is followed at once (col. xiv, lines 13-14) by an alternative reading for *'śh*, namely *la'ăśôt ya'ăśeh*,[14] and by the triple acclamation

'ên kᵉYāh
'ên kᵉYahweh
'ên šeyya'ăśeh kᵉmelek 'ĕlōhîm.

Since the resumption of *ya'ăśeh* in this utterance defines clearly the place at which it is intended to be used, it must be recognized as an interruption to the continuity of the Psalm—it separates *'šr ḥpṣ (Yhwh) l'śwt y'śh* from the development (6bc) *baššāmayim ûbā'āreṣ, bayyammîm wᵉkol-tᵉhōmôt*. It calls for a new speaker; and in view of the general trend in this and the following Psalms, and the nature of the utterance itself, that speaker can only be the collective voice of the assembly.[15] This popular outcry in the Psalm has been fitted into place (1) very skilfully; (2) not by the copyist of 11QPsᵃ; and (3) at a comparatively early date.

1. The linking of this acclamation to the context of which it forms a part is skilfully done: compare

[13] Ps 145:21b MT ends with *lᵉ'ôlām wā'ed*, deferred in 11QPsᵃ to form the conclusion to the assembly's response. In fact, the two words overweight the poetic line in MT and suggest an underlying refrain pattern even there (see Sanders, "Cave 11 Surprises," 290-291; *New Directions*, 107-108; Anchor edition, 120-121). That the *nun* line of the alphabetic Ps 145 is secondary as it appears in 11QPsᵃ (created out of the *ṣade* line to fill a gap witnessed to by MT) is evinced by the scroll's use of *'ĕlōhîm* as the divine name in this line, whereas the related vs. 17 and the similar vss. 3,8,9,14,18,20 all have *Yhwh* in the same position in the line. Cf. the writer in "The Scrolls and the O.T. Text," 279; *New Directions*, 96; Anchor edition, 107-108.

[14] 4QPsⁿ reads [*ḥp*]*ṣ l'śwt y'ś*[*h*] as all that is extant in it of Ps 135:6. What remains of 4QPsⁿ is from Ps 135:6-8,11-12, with an immediate transition from 135:12 to Ps 136:22-23, where it breaks off.

[15] This is suggested also by the way the acclamation echoes Dt 33:5 *wayᵉhî bišūrûn melek* and 33:26 *'ên kā'ēl yᵉšūrûn* (so MT; read *kᵉ'ēl*). The first specific reason for praising the Lord offered in Ps 135, is, as the scroll gives vs. 4, *kî Ya'ăqōb bāḥar lô, wᵉYiśrā'ēl lisᵉgullâ lô*. The names Jacob and Israel occur in close context with each of the Dt cola referred to, and (see above) Ps 135:4 begins the sequence of lines on which the acclamation is based. The outcry is that of the people Israel.

		Psalm 135	acclamation
(MT)	4a	*kî Ya'ăqōb bāḥar lô Yāh*	*'ên kᵉYāh*
	5a	*kî 'ănî yāda'tî kî gādôl Yhwh*	*'ên kᵉYahweh*
	5b	*wa'ădōnênû mikkol 'ĕlōhîm*	
(11QPsᵃ)	6a	*'ăšer ḥāpēṣ la'ăśôt ya'ăśeh*	*'ên šeyya'ăśeh kᵉmelek 'ĕlōhîm*

It will be observed that the acclamation picks up the word at the caesura of three successive Psalm lines, builds toward a climax with the assonance they provide, then in that climax sums up the thought of the intermediate colon 5b with an alliterative echo: *kᵉmelek ('ĕlōhîm)* after *mikkol ('ĕlōhîm)*. We have seen above (note 15) that *'ên kᵉ* . . . and *melek* evoke Dt 33; and that *melek* prepares in this complex for Ps 145:1a *'ădōnāy hammelek*. It would be hard to do more with so few words.

2. The copyist of 11QPsᵃ found, and did not create, this effect; in fact, he tends to obscure it. In Ps 135:4a he omits *Yāh*; in 6a he gives the received MT reading *'āśā*, and only after continuing with 6b does he recall that (*la'ăśôt*) *ya'ăśeh* is necessary for his arrangement.

3. The acclamation has a popular character (*še-*), but it depends for its effect on the actual utterance of the *šēm hamᵉpōrāš* by the assembly; hence it is very difficult to suppose that it originated much later than 200 B.C. Also the expression *melek 'ĕlōhîm*, while quite in keeping with Ps 136:2-3 as well as Ps 135:5, would be less likely to be chosen in times of active conflict with Hellenistic or Roman polytheism.[16]

As already said, Ps 118:16 in this part of the scroll is introduced and arranged in such a way that it must be taken for another acclamation. Many diverse functions have been conjectured for it in its own context in the Psalm; but here its kinship in form to the utterance just discussed, in the complex we are examining, points clearly to a similarity of use:

yᵉmîn Yhwh 'ôśâ ḥayil
yᵉmîn Yhwh rōmēmâ
yᵉmîn Yhwh 'āśᵉtâ gᵉbûrâ

The final turn given to it, with *'āśᵉtâ gᵉbûrâ*, where MT repeats rather *'ôśâ ḥayil*, need hardly be "primitive," any more than the *ya'ăśeh* in Ps 135:6 as against MT *'āśâ*. But the possibilities of the threefold pattern, as illustrated here, should caution against the drastic surgery of, for example,

[16] The *Hôdāyôt* (1QH col. 10, line 8) does have *hinnēh 'attâ śar 'ēlîm ûmelek nikbādîm wᵉ'ādôn lᵉkol rûaḥ ûmōšēl bᵉkol ma'ăśeh*; but the very word *'ĕlōhîm* seems to be avoided in *Hôdāyôt*. The liturgical insert (related to the *šᵉmōneh 'eśrēh*) after Sir 51:12 in the Cairo B MS, is on internal evidence pre-Hasmonean; it concludes with *hôdû lᵉmelek malkê mᵉlākîm kî lᵉ'ôlām ḥasdô* plus Ps 148:14; again no *'ĕlōhîm* occurs.

the *New English Bible*, which (following suggestions to that effect in BH[3] and BHS) excises the third element altogether from the Psalm.

Naturally, a threefold formula is susceptible of a variety of rhetorical uses; but there are enough instances in Christian liturgy, in pagan Latin and Greek texts, and even in the book of Isaiah, to suggest such a pattern was thought particularly appropriate for popular acclamations of a king, and of the divine King in particular. We may compare:

Laudes gallicanae[17]	Suetonius, *Caligula* VI[18]
Christus vincit	Salva Roma
Christus regnat	Salva patria
Christus imperat	Salvus est Germanicus

Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 524-526[19]	Oxyrhynchos papyrus 41, line 4[20]
ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων	Ὠκαιαναὶ πρύτανι
μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων	Ὠκαιαναὶ δόξα πόλεως
τελειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ·	Ὠκαιαναὶ Διόσκορε πρωτοπολῖτα

[17] J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum solemnia*[4] (2 vols.; Vienna: Herder, 1958) 1, 498-99. The passage in the greater doxology, *quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus Jesu Christe* has the appearance of fitting the pattern here discussed: but the *tu solus altissimus* is late and secondary, from Vulgate Ps 82:19, see Jungmann, *ibid.*, 1, 456-57.

[18] B. Brissonius, *De formulis et solemnibus populi Romani verbis libri viii* (Frankfurt, 1592) 719; Suetonius (ed., tr. J. C. Rolfe; 2 vols.; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1913-14 and reprints) 1,410-411. This popular outcry, said to have awakened Tiberius on the night in A.D. 19 when Germanicus had been poisoned, was mistaken: Germanicus died. For our purposes, it is of no little interest that in the Spring of the same A.D. 19, Germanicus wrote to the people of Alexandria, indicating appreciation of their kindly dispositions, but rejecting the acclamations by which they were according him godlike honors (*tas epiphthonous emoi kai isotheous ekphōnēseis*). Such acclamations, he said, should be directed only to the true *sōtēr* and *euergetēs* of the whole human race, his adoptive father (Tiberius) and the latter's mother (Livia). See T. Klauser, "Akklamation," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Theodor Klauser, Band I (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950) cols. 216-234, esp. 220-221; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and F. Zucker, "Zwei Edikte des Germanicus auf einem Papyrus des Berliner Museums," K. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. zu Berlin, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1911, 794-821 and plate V.

[19] Aeschylus (ed., tr. H. W. Smyth; 2 vols.; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1922, 1926) *Suppliant Maidens* 524-526, vol. 1, 58-59. The lines are by the chorus, beginning a prayer. I owe this reference to Dr. Hermigild Dressler, O.F.M.

[20] This acclamation at a town meeting in Oxyrhynchos about 300 A.D. connotes no more than sheer flattery of the generosity of a civil official. See L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* I,2: *Chrestomathie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912) no. 45, pp. 69-70; E. Peterson, "Die Bedeutung der Ōkeane-Akklamation," *Rheinisches Museum* 78 (1929) 221-223.

Trisagion[21]	Is 33,22[22]
Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός	(*kî*) *Yhwh šōpᵉṭēnû*
Ἅγιος ἰσχυρός	*Yhwh mᵉḥōqᵉqēnû*
Ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς	*Yhwh malkēnû hû' yôšîʿēnû*

In the tradition, Ps 136 is characterized as the "great Hallel." The use in conjunction with it, in the complex we have been discussing, of selected portions of Ps 118 (vss. 15-16,8-9) leads us to look at the position occupied in 11QPs[a] by the other occurrence of Ps 118: namely, in fragment E, where vss. 25-29 occur at the top of the first extant column.[23] This suggests that the Psalms of the Passover Hallel (113-118), which are otherwise not in evidence in 11QPs[a], may have occurred as a fixed block ending at this point, comparable to the sequence of Pss [120], 121-132 in cols. ii-vi in the continuous portion of the scroll.[24] Be that as it may, in fragment E and cols. i-ii which were contiguous to it, we have a sequence of Pss 104,147,

[21] *Missale Romanum*, Good Friday *Improperia*. The use of this in the Byzantine liturgy is dated to the patriarchate of Proclus (A.D. 434-446); it is widespread in the Christian Orient, see E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*[2] (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1847) 1, 209-211.

[22] It is, of course, tempting to try to identify other acclamation formulas in the biblical text. As pointed out to me by Aloysius Fitzgerald, F.S.C., Jer 10:6-7 is a striking and obvious candidate. Similar passages in Pss 86, 89 are more fully integrated into the prayers of which they form a part. In Ps 86, vss. 5,15 contain other praises of God as grounds for the petition of the Psalmist, besides that which is in vss. 8-10; and in Ps 89, the *'ĕmûnāᵗᵉkā* of vss. 6,9 integrates the four lines thus bonded together, with the main theme of the Psalm, compare vss. 2-3,25,34,50. Useful related materials can be found in C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1966).

[23] Y. Yadin, "Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a])," Textus 5 (1966) 1-10; Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* 155-165 (*Postscriptum*).

[24] A further extrapolation may be in order. Fragments A-C contain Pss 101-103. Enough is extant of Ps 101, which is the first Psalm in book 4 of the Psalter captioned (in MT) *lᵉDāwīd*, to establish that it began on the right hand margin at the top of the column. This may easily have been the beginning of the scroll. In the gap between fragments C and E there is extant only frgt. D with Ps 109:21-31; what else is missing of the scroll we have no way of knowing—frgt. D can hardly be from a column contiguous to either frgt. C or frgt. E—but of Pss 101-150, once we posit that Pss 113-118 may have been treated as a unit in this scroll, only Pss 106-108,110-112 remain unaccounted for, to the end of the canonical Psalter. Before Ps 101 in the canonical order, only Ps 93 is represented in 11QPs[a]. If the grouping of Pss 104-105,146-148 has a liturgical explanation—see above—then the presence of Pss 149-150 toward the end of the scroll (col. xxvi, of xxviii) may suggest that what we have basically in 11QPs[a] is a collection of Pss 101-150 with liturgical regroupings and "library edition" expansions. Pss 101-103 plus 106:1-118:24 would fit rather neatly on two skins of leather, one containing five, the other six columns of text in the format of this scroll.

105,146,148 in that order. While not as closely knit as the complex of Pss 135-136,145 we have been examining, this group of five Psalms gives the impression of a collocation for a service of praise. One slight token of this is the introduction (frgt. E, col. iii, line 4) of the familiar refrain *hôdû . . . ḥasdô* at the beginning of Ps 105. Another possible trace of such a tendency would be the witness of the unpublished ms. 4QPs[d], of the 1st century B.C. In its five fragmentary extant columns, this gives us first Ps 147, preceded only by *hllwyh* as the end of some other text now lost; Ps 147 is followed by Ps 104, as far as vs. 35b at the bottom of the last extant column. The juxtaposition of Pss. 147,104 seen again here, though in the reverse order, suggests a practice of employing these Psalms together. A similar indication is the borrowing, in the LXX, of Ps 104:14b as Ps 147:8d (MT numeration) to repair the seeming lacuna at that point in the Hebrew text. Less helpful are the other fragmentary Qumran MSS which contain either Ps 104 or 105. 2Q14 contains bits of Pss 103 and 104, only;[25] 4QPs[1], of Ps 104 only; 4QPs[e] contains both Pss 104 and 105. This last had its text of Ps 104 preceded by *hôdû . . . ḥasdô*, in which it could correspond to 11QPs[a]; but though the column alignment of 4QPs[e] would seem to call for some other composition between Pss 104 and 105, the space available would be overrun by Ps 147, which would be 4 full lines too long in the format of that (as yet unpublished) MS. No other MS evidence from Qumran bears on our problem; and in the last analysis, the strongest argument for a liturgical purpose underlying 11QPs[a]'s grouping of these five Psalms is the nature of the Psalms themselves, and the analogy of the other group discussed in detail earlier in this paper.

A clearer instance of the molding of successive Psalm elements into a larger unity occurs in 11QPs[a] col. xxv, line [21] through col. xxvi, line [16]. The elements involved are Pss 149,150 and the "Hymn to the Creator," as Sanders has characterized this extrabiblical piece. Though this body of material is defective at beginning and end because of the missing lower third of each column, its scope is definable within very narrow limits. Thus Ps 143, which begins with col. xxv, line 6, will have ended with line 20 of that column. Ps 149:1-6 would require the remainder of the column, lines [21-25]. The extant ending of Ps 149, vss. 7-9, and Ps 150, occupy col. xxvi, lines 1-8. The "Hymn to the Creator," beginning with line 9, is extant through line 15. Since the "Last Words of David," 2 Sam 23:1-7, will have required 8 lines [18-25] at the bottom of col. xxvi, before its

[25] Ed. M. Baillet, in M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumran* (2 vols.; Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan. III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 69-71 and plate XIII.

extant conclusion at the top of col. xxvii, all that is left for the missing ending of the "Hymn" is lines [16-17] of col. xxvi; and line 17 may easily have been blank. We have therefore nearly all of this unfamiliar piece extant. For the sake of convenience, its text is reproduced here, by poetic lines (the scroll is in prose format), with the three modifications explained in the notes.

גדול וקדוש הוא
לפניו הדר ילך
חסד ואמת סביב פניו
מבדיל אור מאפלה
אז ראו כול מלאכיו וירננו
מעטר הרים תנובות
ברוך עושה ארץ בכוחו
בתבונתו נטה שמים
[ברקים למט]ר עשה
[יהוה צבאות שמו הללויה ?]

קדוש קדושים לדור ודור
ואחריו המון מים רבים
משפט[26] וצדק מכון כסאו
שחר הכין בדעת לבו
כי הראם את אשר לוא ידעו
אוכל טוב לכול חי
מכין תבל בחוכמתו
ויוצא [רוח][27] מאו[צרותיו]
ויעל נשיא[ים מ]קצה [הארץ][28]

When one studies this text in the light of its place in the scroll, it becomes evident that it has been composed to serve as a pendant to Pss 149,150 as they are given in 11QPs[a]. In the first colon, *gādôl* is drawn from Ps 150:2 *gudlô*; while *qādôš* comes from Ps 150:1 *qodšô*. What is more, the *qādôš* element, reemphasized in the second colon of the "Hymn," has been carried back into the ending of Ps 149, where 11QPs[a] expands vs. 9 with the words *libnê Yiśrā'ēl 'am qodšô*. This is based of course on the similar ending of Ps 148:14, *libnê Yiśrā'ēl 'am q[e]rōbô*: but the variation is deliberate.[29] What confirms this is the linkage in the other direction provided by *hādār* of the same Ps 149:14, taken up into the third colon of the "Hymn." At this point,

[26] The scroll at this point reads *'mt wmšpṭ wṣdq*, where the extra term *'mt* (compare Ps 89:15; 97:2) repeats a word from the preceding colon and unbalances the line; it must be intrusive, a fault in transmission.

[27] With this word, the first in line 15, the scroll text becomes fragmentary; enough is left, however, to restore this and the two following cola with certainty on the basis of Jer 10:13; 51:16; compare Ps 135:7.

[28] This (following the *q[e]rê* in Jer) will have been the first word in line 16 in the scroll. As indicated above, something less than two lines of text, possibly only one, are missing after it; the Jer parallels (see Jer 10:16; 51:19) and the scroll context suggest something like the last line given above.

[29] The end of Ps 148 in col ii of the scroll is no longer extant. It is the more interesting therefore that vs. 14 does occur, with the exact consonants of MT including *'m qrbw*, as the conclusion to what internal evidence suggests is an early 2d-cent. B.C. community hymn of praise, appended to Sir 51:12 in the Cairo B (medieval) ms of Sirach. See R. A. F. MacKenzie, "Psalm 148bc: Conclusion or Title?" *Bib* 51 (1970) 221-224.

the eclectic compiler of the hymn indicates the turn he intends to take by introducing as the parallel to *l^e^pānā(y)w hādār yēlēk* the colon *w^e^-'aḥărā(y)w hămôn mayim rabbîm*, based (as Sanders has noted) on Jer 51:13,16; 10:13. This prepares for the last three full lines (six cola) now extant of the "Hymn," which are taken from the same context in Jer.[30] Whatever limited quantity of text for the "Hymn" may have followed, we have here in effect an inclusion, based on the employment of six of the seven cola in Jer 51:15-16(= 10:12-13) near the end of the "Hymn," in the order *a,b,c,g,f,e*, to reflect the fact that the missing colon *d* (with its jarring syntax: *l^e^qôl tittô hămôn mayim baššāmayim*) has already been alluded to near the beginning.

Should we wish to discern the personal preoccupations of the writer of the "Hymn to the Creator," we are practically reduced to the content of lines 4-6, since all the rest is in view of stitching the early hymnic material in Jer to the combined Pss 149-150. He is interested in creation from the standpoint of an opposition between light and darkness (line 4); in angels as the witnesses of creation, praising God as he displays creation to them (line 5); and in the Creator's gift of sustenance for human and animal life (line 6). This last element is the final note struck in the "great Hallel" (Ps 136:25), and at least its first colon in the "Hymn" (*m^e^'aṭṭēr hārîm t^e^nûbôt*) could have quite early hymnic origins—though the assonances of *t^e^nûbôt* with *t^e^bûnātô* in the following borrowed material known to us from Jer suggest that the line *may* have been developed to fit its present context. The other two lines seem pretty close to the preoccupations in the Qumran community writings (*Serek haYaḥad, Hôdāyôt*), and would seem to relate to the last, or "library edition" stage of compiling the collection found in 11QPs^a^. A comparable expansion on the Psalm text is that in col. ii, lines 1-4 of the scroll, where between Ps 146:9 and the concluding vs. 10 (*yimlōk Yhwh l^e^'ôlām: 'ĕlōhayik ṣīyôn l^e^dôr wādôr*) are inserted, first, Ps 33:8

[30] Ps 135:7 matches only the last three units of this. The first three lines of the "Hymn," in addition to the elements drawn from Pss 149,150 and Jer 51, reflect the near abstractions into which the imagery of theophany tended to dissolve in the course of time. The *q^e^dôšîm* are from Ps 89:6,8, but the heavenly council no longer convenes; *l^e^dôr wādôr* is from the same context, vss. 2,5. To integrate the term *hādār* into this construct, the older imagery of Hab 3:5 or Ps 97:2a,3, in which plague or fire advances before God in a theophany of movement, yields to the more static and idealized language of Pss 89:15; 96:6; 97:2b, which between them provide the building blocks for lines 2a,3 of the "Hymn." Why in line 2 does God's majesty go *before* Him, while the sound of many waters *follows* Him? Seemingly because the *hādār* is equated by the writer with the strength, wisdom and understanding that brought about creation, lines 7,8a of the "Hymn," which the wind, lightning, rain and storm clouds *follow* in lines 8b,9; the "Hymn" has found its theophany in literature (Jer 51) rather than in nature.

yîr^e^'û mYhwh kol hā'āreṣ: mimmennû yāgûrû kol yôš^e^bê tēbēl; and then a fragmentary poetic line which the present writer, on the basis of Ps 145: 10-12, reconstructs as follows:

בהודעו לכול מעשיו בר[אתו לכול בני האדם] גבורותיו

This is to be read *b^e^hiwwād^e^'ô l^e^kol ma'ăśā(y)w: bar'ōtô*[31] *l^e^kol b^e^nê hā'ādām g^e^bûrôtā(y)w*, "When he makes himself known to all his works; when he shows all men his mighty deeds." Here we have the eschatological fulfillment for man of the vision first granted to the angels at creation in line 5 of the "Hymn," *'āz rā'û . . . 'ăšer lō' yādā'û*. The praise of the angels (*way^e^ran^e^nû*, cf Job 38:7) is the liturgical function in which man even now joins (cf. Ps 149:5). But the expanded 11QPs^a^ texts are in these instances a reflection on the liturgy, rather than composition for a directly liturgical purpose, as in the grouping of Psalms with which we began. The liturgy is viewed now through the theology of the *Hôdāyôt*, in particular of the hymn in 1QH xi,3-14, from which we may quote: "Because you made known to them your unchanging secret plan, and instructed them in your wondrous mysteries; and for your glory's sake you purified man of sin, sanctifying him for yourself from all filthy abominations and criminal guilt, that he might join in with the sons of your truth, and in the same lot with your holy ones—raising up from the dust the mortal worm to the [holy] council . . . stationing him in your presence with the eternal host and the [heavenly] spirits, to be renewed with all creation (*kol nihyâ*), and with those knowledgeable in community song (*w^e^yôd^e^'îm b^e^yaḥad rinnâ*)."

This kind of delicate retouching of the last Psalms in the traditional Psalter gives us every reason to suppose that the standard collection of 150 Psalms was fixed before the 11Q form was derived from it.

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[31] With the elision of *h* from the *hiph'il* infinitive construct, as occurs sporadically at Qumran.