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Note: The following is Appendix IV from *The Structure of Psalms 93-100* (University of California at San Diego Biblical and Judaic Studies 5 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), pp. 200-207. It specifically interacts with Gerald Wilson's and others' deemphasizing of the royal-Davidic-Messianic motifs in the Psalter.

WISDOM AND ROYALIST / ZION TRADITIONS IN THE PSALTER

The focus of the present work is limited: it deals with the internal structure of Psalms 93-100. Definitive higher-level conclusions must await further work. However, this Appendix is devoted to some brief comments about viewpoints found in the final shape of the Psalter. In general, we are in agreement with Wilson's and others's analyses of the Psalter about the larger contours of the Psalter. However, at one point, namely, in their strong deemphasis of the royalist/Zion traditions,¹ we disagree. This Appendix deals with points raised by this deemphasis.

I. THE DEEMPHASIS OF ROYALIST/ZION TRADITIONS IN THE PSALTER

The general thematic content of the Psalter -- in terms of a collection heavily laced with traditions or motifs dealing with Jerusalem, Zion, Temple, and the Davidic covenant alongside others emphasizing YHWH's kingship -- has usually been agreed upon by most scholars. The locus of the composition of most psalms appears to have been in the Temple circles, and the use of most of the psalms appears to have been for liturgical

¹We are aware of Ollenburger's work (1987), which, among other things, attempts to separate the Zion traditions from the Davidic/royalist ones. However, in their final forms, the psalms do merge Davidic and Zion traditions (see Psalms 2, 78, 132, etc.). In this regard, see, e.g., the work of Roberts (1973; 1982; 1987) and Weinfeld (1976; 1985, especially pp. 95-115). In his 1976 work, Weinfeld went so far as to state that "the Davidic dynasty cannot be separated from Zion" (1976: 189).

purposes (either in the first instance, or else as they were collected into groups that eventually became part of the final Psalter).

However, as we have noted in Chapter One, many scholars have argued more specifically for wisdom hands as being responsible for the *final* form of the Psalter (see especially Brennan, Sheppard, Reindl, Wilson, Ceresko, Seybold). In the process, many scholars have seen the subordination of the royal and Zion motifs in the Psalter to wisdom motifs. Reindl and Sheppard did this in their emphasis on the wisdom redaction of the Psalter, and Wilson has done this, as well.

Wilson has gone farther than most other scholars, in specifically emphasizing the "failure" of the Davidic Covenant (see Wilson 1985a: 209-28, especially 212-14; 1986; 1993b). Positively, he makes much of evidence that highlights YHWH's kingship (as opposed to the earthly king exalted in the royal psalms). He also makes much of the placement, nature, and function of Psalm 1 as signalling a move away from a liturgical and royalist perspective to a wisdom and eschatological one. He sees a final wisdom frame consisting of Psalms 1, 73, 90, 107, and 145, that brackets -- and thus offsets or negates the influence of -- the strategically placed royal psalms (Psalms 2, 72, 89, 144) (Wilson 1993b: 80-81). He also notes the very different character of Books I-III (where royal "frame" psalms are more prominent) vis-à-vis Books IV-V. Negatively, he highlights the pessimistic notes about the Davidic Covenant especially found in the pivotal Psalm 89 (Wilson 1985a: 212-14).

Similarly, McCann (1993a: 98-99) has argued that

an analysis of the final form of Book III reveals an arrangement that serves to assist the community not only to face squarely the disorienting reality of exile, as Wilson would suggest, but also to reach a reorientation based upon the rejection of the Davidic/Zion theology that had formerly been Judah's primary grounds for hope. The canonical juxtaposition of the traditional

Davidic/Zion theology with community psalms of lament serves to signal the rejection of this basis for hope.

Millard (1994: 230-34) has argued that the Psalter presents David, Israel's greatest king, as poor and needy (through the Davidic laments), which highlights all the more the greatness of YHWH's kingship.

II. A POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF ROYALIST/ZION TRADITIONS IN THE PSALTER

Despite impressive evidence brought to bear by Wilson, McCann, and others, the view here is that the Psalter does not, in the end, speak of the "failure" and "rejection" of the Davidic Covenant. Rather, the Davidic kingdom and YHWH's kingdom coexist in complementary roles throughout the Psalter. Of the two, YHWH's kingdom is clearly the more important and the one from which the Davidic kingdom derives its legitimacy and authority. Yet, Zion and the Davidic kingdom are the earthly expressions of YHWH's kingdom in important ways. Furthermore, the placement of the royal psalms, along with other considerations, argues, in our view, for a continuing hope in the Psalter focused on both Zion and the Davidic Covenant, despite the many flaws associated with the kings and people who were heirs of that covenant. This is for several reasons, enumerated below.

A. Psalms 1 and 2 as the Introduction to the Psalter

First, Wilson and others have emphasized the nature, placement, and function of Psalm 1 *alone* as an introduction to the Psalter, to the detriment of the nature, placement, and function of Psalm 2. Rather than functioning as the first psalm of Book I (after the introductory psalm), Psalm 2 more properly should be seen as a companion psalm to

Psalm 1, the two in tandem introducing the Psalter.² Just as Wilson has (correctly, in our view) identified Psalms 146-150 as the concluding "Appendix" or climax of praise to the Psalter (and not just Psalm 150),³ so also Book I more properly begins with Psalm 3, and Psalms 1-2 function as an introductory summary or statement of themes for the entire Psalter, not just Book I.

Wilson has well noted the Davidic character of Book I (all of Psalms 3-41 can be seen as Davidic: Wilson 1985a: 173-76). However, Psalm 2 more properly belongs with Psalm 1 as an opening introduction to the entire Psalter, rather than divorced from it as an introduction merely to Book I.

This is for several reasons.⁴ First, as many have noted, Psalm 1 speaks about the two ways (the way of the righteous vs. the way of the wicked) for individuals, while Psalm 2 speaks of the same thing for nations. Second, YHWH's anointed king in Psalm 2 functions as the ideal exemplar of a divinely appointed king; he exemplifies in his own person the qualities of the righteous one in Psalm 1. In Psalm 1's focus on study of the Torah, the link is made back to the Charter for Kingship in Deut. 17:14-20, where the ideal king likewise was to make the study of Torah his all-consuming concern, leaving military and other concerns to YHWH.⁵ Third, Psalm 1 begins and Psalm 2 ends with an **a*rê* clause, which further binds the two psalms together. Fourth, the root *hgh* "to meditate" is a key word linking both psalms: in Ps. 1:2b, the righteous one "meditates" on YHWH's Torah, whereas in Ps. 2:1b, the peoples "plot" (*hgh*: lit.: "meditate") against YHWH and his anointed one, i.e., the Davidic king. Fifth, the twin motifs of wisdom and

²This is not to argue for the single *authorship* of the two psalms (see Willis 1979a), only for their editorial function as a two-part introduction to the Psalter. They *have* been read in various manuscript and literary traditions throughout history as companion psalms (see, e.g., Millard 1994: 9-10).

³Thereby showing Book V more properly to conclude with the modified doxology at Ps. 145:21.

⁴Some of the connection between these Psalms 1 and 2 were noted in Chapter One, in connection with Sheppard's work; see also Auffret 1977: 31-34, and, from a different perspective, Brownlee 1971, for discussion and bibliography.

⁵See Gerbrandt 1986; Howard 1990.

Davidic Covenant introduced here in Psalms 1-2 are indeed found throughout the Psalter, affirmed, and not (in the case of the latter) merely rejected. The juxtaposition of wisdom and royal psalms noted by Wilson (e.g., Psalms 1 and 2; 72 and 73; 89 and 90; 144 and 145) can just as easily be seen as the Psalter's *affirmation* of both traditions, rather than the subordination or negation of one of them. Sixth, the untitled nature of Psalm 2 makes it more naturally a companion to Psalm 1 than to the Davidic collection following.⁶

When we compare the Hebrew text of the Psalter with the OG, this becomes even more striking: whereas 116 of 150 psalms have superscriptions in the MT (131 of 150 if one counts *hllwyh* as a superscription, as Wilson does [see Wilson 1985a: 238-44]), 148 of 150 do so in the OG; the only two untitled psalms are Psalms 1 and 2, which lends credence to the view that sees the two together as an introduction to the entire work.

The wisdom outlook in the Psalter rightly seen by many scholars emphasizes (among many other things) an eschatological view of YHWH's kingship, and focuses on YHWH as King, not on any human king. That is certainly an undisputed focus in Book IV. However, it must be remembered that the human king was a vice-regent for YHWH, that he was YHWH's anointed one, installed and blessed by YHWH to represent him (Ps. 2:2, 7; cf. 2 Samuel 7). The royalist outlook in the Psalter and elsewhere was not *inherently* negative, at least in its theoretical underpinnings.⁷ Thus, the two views of kingship -- divine and human -- should be seen as complements to each other, not contradictions of one another. As Mays stated (1986: 155),

The relation of the Psalms to David brings out and emphasizes the organizing, unifying subject of the psalter, namely, the Kingdom of God...

Yet the Davidic connection directs the reader to think of each psalm and the

⁶See Wilson's arguments about the Davidic character of Book I (1985a: 173-76).

⁷Many have argued that most biblical texts favor of the idea behind the Davidic kingship, as the earthly complement to YHWH's kingship, or as the earthly expression of it. See my review of much of this literature in Howard 1988; 1990.

entire psalter as an expression of faith in the reign of the Lord as the sphere in which individual and corporate life is lived. It does so because it is quite impossible to separate David from his identity as king chosen to be the regent and agent on earth of God's reign over God's people and the nations of the world.

Mays has developed this idea further in a recent work, in which he states that "the declaration `YHWH *malak*' involves a vision of reality that is the theological centre of the Psalter (1994b: 245). An integral part of this is that "YHWH has a special person. The person is called his king, his anointed, his son, his chosen, David his servant" (1994b: 241).⁸

Seen in this way, the introduction to the Psalter (Psalms 1-2) states that what follows is indeed Torah, to be studied (Psalm 1), that YHWH is king (Psalm 2), and that he has vested a human king with kingly authority (Psalm 2).⁹

Miller's 1993 essay focuses especially upon Psalms 1 and 2 in this way. However, his emphasis here (and in his 1994 essay, as well) is limited primarily to their function in signalling a royalist interest in Book I. In both essays, he tantalizes the reader with suggestions that these two psalms may indeed go beyond being a "royalist" introduction to Book I to being such an introduction to the entire Psalter. For example, he states that "Psalms 1 and 2 were to be read together as an *entrée* into the Psalter" (1993: 85), and he concludes his later essay by stating (1994: 141):

It almost seems as if we are once more before the Deuteronomistic theology of kingship. It may be that all of this in fact reflects a Deuteronomistic influence on the redaction of the Psalter. I do not know. If it does, then we are made even more aware of the centrality of that particular stream in

⁸See also Mays forthcoming.

⁹See now also Zenger's 1993 essay, which argues for Psalms 1 *and* 2 as the editorial introduction to the Psalter. (See the comments on this essay above, in Chapter One.)

biblical theology and its influence on the theology of kingship and the royal idea.

However, Miller appears to be so convinced by Wilson's point about Psalm 89's marking the "failure" of the Davidic Covenant (1994: 140-41) that he is unable to follow his instincts to what should be their logical conclusion, namely, the point argued here, that a royalist outlook can be traced throughout the *entire* Psalter, not just in Book I (or Books I-III).

There is a delicate interplay between trust in and focus upon the human king (seen in the royal psalms) and trust in and focus upon YHWH the King (seen in the Kingship of YHWH psalms). The transition from Book III to Book IV emphasizes that, if God's people were to focus too much on salvation from a human institution (the Davidic monarchy), then they were bound to be disappointed (see the discussion of Psalms 88-92 above, in Chapter Five). However, the point in the Psalter is not that the Davidic Covenant itself had failed; it was a gift from YHWH to David and to his own people Israel. Rather, YHWH's *people* had failed, and thus the Davidic Covenant necessarily took a back seat historically (and in the Psalter) for a time. In the Psalter, focus upon this covenant yielded after Psalm 89 to a focus upon YHWH's infinitely greater Kingship, but it did not completely disappear (see, e.g., Psalms 132, 144).

We should remember that another biblical work that is indisputably post-exilic (as is the Psalter in its final form) is 1-2 Chronicles, a work that is overwhelmingly positive about the Davidic kingship.¹⁰ Thus, just because Judah had experienced exile does not mean that it had abandoned all hope in the promises and benefits of the Davidic Covenant.

The presence in Book V of the Psalter of eight concluding psalms of David (Psalms 138-145) serves as a reminder that, despite the pessimism of Psalm 89, David still was an

¹⁰See Howard 1988: 26-30 and bibliography there.

important figure in the outlook of the book.¹¹ The juxtaposition of a royal psalm (Psalm 144) with a Kingship of YHWH psalm (Psalm 145) to conclude that book makes the same point that Psalm 2 does: human and divine kingship are *both* important in the Psalter. If the two were to be weighed, obviously YHWH's kingship is, in the end, infinitely more important,¹² but it nevertheless does not negate the significance of the ideal expression of the human kingship.¹³

B. The Merging of Wisdom and Royalist/Zion Motifs

A second reason that the Psalter does not in the end reject the royalist outlooks contained within it is that wisdom and royal outlooks had much in common, despite obvious differences. The tension between the two is eased somewhat, for example, by the viewpoint advanced in Psalm 15, which states that the one who lives a life in accordance with precepts commonly found in the Torah -- and carried over in the wisdom literature at large -- is the one who will dwell on YHWH's holy hill, Zion. Zion was the site of the earthly expression of YHWH's heavenly kingdom, and it was here that human and divine kingship met. Psalm 101 -- a royal psalm -- also brings together the two perspectives, in couching the king's responsibilities in sapiential terms.¹⁴ Furthermore, a late passage such as Sir. 24:8-12, which shows Dame Wisdom finding a locus for her dwelling on earth in Israel, and specifically at Jerusalem, on Zion, likewise functions in bringing the Zion and wisdom motifs together in the intertestamental period.¹⁵

¹¹The attribution in the Psalter to David of 73 of 150 psalms also shows David's importance.

¹²See Millard's point, cited above. His point need not argue that David or royal motifs are *insignificant* in the Psalter, but only that YHWH's kingship is indisputably greater than any human kingship.

¹³See especially Howard 1990.

¹⁴See the discussion of Psalm 101 in Chapter Five.

¹⁵Geese has made this point as part of a wide-ranging essay (1981: 32-35).

C. Royalist/Zion Motifs in Book IV

Wilson (1985a: 187-88, 215) and Goulder (1975: 274-75) have noted correctly that Mosaic and Exodus motifs appear to concentrate in Book IV. We have noted in the course of this work the presence of extensive wisdom motifs, as well.¹⁶

However, despite these valid observations, we must also point to indications that Zion, Temple, and royalist perspectives were also important in Book IV. We will focus here primarily on Psalms 93-100.

For example, Zion and YHWH's holy mountain are important in Ps. 97:8 and especially Psalm 99 (vv. 2, 5, 9).¹⁷ Zion is YHWH's footstool (99:5). The reference to YHWH's holy mountain in Ps. 99:9 can only be Zion, given the reference in v. 2.

References to the Temple include Ps. 93:5 ("your house, [your] holy habitation"),¹⁸ Ps. 95:11b ("my rest"),¹⁹ and Ps. 100:4 ("his gates...his courts"). Again, Psalm 99 emerges as an important passage here. Not only are Zion and YHWH's holy mountain mentioned (vv. 2, 9), but the material of vv. 6-8 serves to bring early motifs from the Mosaic period down into the time and perspective of the monarchy. As noted in Chapter Three,²⁰ the reference to Samuel alongside Moses and Aaron in v. 6 serves to loosen the ties in the psalm to the period of Moses, and to bring the perspective of the psalm down into a later period. Since Samuel was the inaugurator of the period of the monarchy, and since the psalm otherwise focuses on Zion, this psalm's outlook (along with Psalm 100's) appears to be firmly rooted in Temple worship on Zion.

¹⁶See the summary in Chapter Five.

¹⁷They are also prominent in Ps. 102:14, 17, 22 [Eng 13, 16, 21].

¹⁸Despite the early parallel with Exod. 15:13; see discussion in Chapter Three on 93:5b.

¹⁹See discussion in Chapter Three on this understanding.

²⁰Under "Form-Critical Genre and Structure."

Furthermore, in Psalms 97 and 99, the references to the theophanic cloud (**nn*: 97:2; 99:7) also serve to bring the reader's attention away from the Mosaic period exclusively. In 99:6, the reference to Moses and Aaron in conjunction with a reference to the cloud obviously refers back to the wilderness cloud; however, the references to Samuel in v. 6 and Zion in v. 2 broaden the meaning of the **nn*; as noted in the discussion of the "Key-Word Links" between Psalms 97 and 99 in Chapter Four, **nn* is used in Biblical Hebrew to refer to more than just YHWH's appearance in the Mosaic period, and so it is here.

Psalm 95 is also important in bridging the gap between Mosaic and later periods. We noted in Chapter Three Braulik's contention (1987) that the reference in 95:11b to "my rest" points beyond the land of the inheritance to the Temple, where YHWH's presence and true rest are to be found, a point that is well taken.

Thus, despite many obvious Mosaic motifs in the original forms of individual psalms among Psalms 93-100,²¹ the psalms as they now stand display much more of a focus upon Zion and traditions associated with the monarchy than many scholars have allowed.

III. CONCLUSION

We conclude, then, with Mays (1986: 155), that the organizing principle of the Psalter ultimately has to do with the reign of God as King. This manifests itself in the dual expressions of YHWH's divine kingship and the Davidic kings's human kingship, both of which find their earthly expression at Zion. The Zion, royal, and Davidic traditions displayed prominently and placed strategically throughout the Psalter take their place

²¹And, if this analysis were extended in detail, such would certainly be the case elsewhere in Book IV (and Book V).

alongside the traditions of YHWH as King to point to the fact that YHWH's rule extends everywhere: to the nations, the cosmos, nature, and even Israel. Its expression in Israel is through the Davidic kingship, which is centered at Zion and focused upon YHWH through worship there. The faithful reader of the Psalter will do as the king is supposed to do: study and meditate upon YHWH's disclosure of himself in both the Torah *and* the Psalter (Deut. 17:18-19; Psalm 1). The final wisdom editing of the Psalter does not obliterate these important components of the Psalter's message.