

THE EARLY COMPOSITION OF THE PSALTER  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SUPERSCRIPTS

by

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## Introduction

For over a hundred years there has been consensus among the critical scholars that the superscripts in the Psalter are later additions and therefore unreliable data for establishing the original historical setting of the psalms.<sup>1</sup> The impact of their critique was so great that, for many decades, the superscripts as a whole in the Psalter have been treated as having no value. This is evidenced by the fact that most Bible translations have either omitted the superscripts or discounted them with smaller or italic fonts. There have been very few publications on this subject. Some scholars, who tried to restore the authenticity of superscripts in the Psalter, did not receive adequate attention.<sup>2</sup> Recent studies in Ancient Near East (ANE) literatures,<sup>3</sup> discoveries of the Qumran scrolls of the Psalter,<sup>4</sup> and the advancement in the literary criticism<sup>5</sup> have put this field of study in a different context.

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Brevard S. Childs, "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16/2 (1971): 137-50, 137.

<sup>2</sup>

N. H. Tur-Sinai, "The Literary Character of the Book of Psalms," *O. T. S.* VIII (1950), 263.

<sup>3</sup>

See the recent three volume works edited by William Hallo and K. Lawson Younger Jr. ed. *The Context of Scripture Vol. I- III* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

<sup>4</sup>

It was found along with The Dead Sea Scrolls in the cave of Khirbet Qumran (1947-56). Out of the eleven caves, seven caves had 36 distinct Psalm text. Their extent varied from few words to thirty-five columns and they are dated from 175 B.C. to A. D. 68. Other three texts and some similar texts were also found at Masada (1963-65), Nahal Hever (1960-61) and Wadi Seiyal (1960-61). For details see Introduction in Peter W. Flint's Notre Dame dissertation of 1993 "The Psalter at Qumran at the Books of Psalm."

<sup>5</sup>

Childs, Gerhard H. Wilson, James L. Mays, David M. Howard, J. Clinton McCann Jr., Patrick D. Miller, and G. T. Sheppard have shown extensive compositional interconnectedness of the texts in the Psalter.

### Divergent Views on the Superscripts

In the absence of explicit data that supports the dating of the superscripts, scholars have found the freedom to speculate and to propose theories of every kind. James H. Fraser, in his carefully wrought dissertation,<sup>6</sup> outlines seven divergent views on the value of superscripts. First, some believe that the superscripts, irrespective of their date of origin, are part of the inspired Scripture. The “older catholic authorities”<sup>7</sup> including Augustine and Theodoret<sup>8</sup> held this view. Nevertheless, this is not a popular view among the scholars. Second, some believe that though they may not be part of the original text and may lack proof, the superscripts are an authentic part of tradition. They allege that responsible leaders of Israel such as Ezra, who wanted to preserve the history and traditions, must have added the superscript to make the text meaningful to the post-exilic community. Proponents of this view are R. D. Wilson,<sup>9</sup> H. C. Leupold,<sup>10</sup> Henry W. Green,<sup>11</sup> and Merrill F. Unger.<sup>12</sup> Third, some scholars believe that since the tradition is ancient, not all superscripts can be treated as

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<sup>6</sup>

James H. Fraser, *The Authenticity of the Psalm Titles* (A dissertation submitted at Grace Theological Seminary, 1984), 4-9.

<sup>7</sup> Charles J. Callan, *The Psalms* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1944), 7.

<sup>8</sup> C. H. Spurgeon, *The Treasury of David*, 3 vols. Reprint ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1966), 1:25.

<sup>9</sup> R. D. Wilson, “The Headings of the Psalms,” *The Princeton Theological Review* 24, (1926): 395. To distinguish him from H. G. Wilson he will be referred to as Wilson<sup>R</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of the Psalms* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1959), 6.

<sup>11</sup> Henry W. Green, “The Titles of the Psalms,” *Methodist Review* 72 (1890): 506.

<sup>12</sup> Merrill F. Unger, *Unger’s Commentary on the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Moody Press, 1981), 1:740.

trustworthy and their value must be tested through critical process. A. F. Kirkpatrick,<sup>13</sup> J. J. Stewart Perowne,<sup>14</sup> and Leopold Sabourin<sup>15</sup> are the proponents of this view. Fourth, some scholars think that the superscripts are unreliable data for determining date and authorship; however, they are useful in establishing how the Psalter was composed to the present form.<sup>16</sup> Fifth, the superscripts are not independent historical tradition but part of the tradition of rabbinic midrash in which the Jewish exegete extracted the superscripts from the text itself. Proponents of this view are Brevard S. Childs,<sup>17</sup> Elieser Slomovic,<sup>18</sup> and F. F. Bruce.<sup>19</sup> Sixth, Herman Gunkel<sup>20</sup> and Sigmund Mowinckel<sup>21</sup> whose concern was to locate the psalms in the

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A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Book of Psalms*, Book I, the Cambridge Bible for Schools and colleges (Cambridge: University Press, 1897), 29-30.

<sup>14</sup> J. J. Stewart Perowne, *The Book of Psalms*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976), 101-03.

<sup>15</sup> Leopold Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning* (New York: Alba House, 1974), 16-17.

<sup>16</sup> Charles Augustus Briggs and Emilie Grace Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, vol.1 ICC (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 63. See also J. W. Rogerson and J. W. McKay, *Psalms 1-50*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 3; George R. Berry, "The Titles of the Psalm," *JBL* 33 (1914): 199.

<sup>17</sup> Childs, "Midrashic Exegesis," 142.

<sup>18</sup> Elieser Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms," *ZAW* 91 (1979): 380.

<sup>19</sup> F. F. Bruce, "The Earliest Old Testament Interpretation," in *The Witness of Tradition*, *OTS* 17 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), 52.

<sup>20</sup> Herman Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933) 436, 447.

<sup>21</sup>

Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 2 Vols. (Translated by D. R. Ap-Thomas, Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 2:99, 210-17.

cultic settings, saw the superscripts as valuable notations only for the cultic services of the temple rather than part of the original historical composition. In their methodology superscripts were simply used to serve their cultic agenda. Finally, the seventh view is the higher-critical view, which has caused greater damage to the value of the superscripts than any other views. The proponents of this view<sup>22</sup> date the superscripts later than the time of David and suggest that they were never a part of the original composition; hence the superscripts are spurious, uninspired, untrustworthy additions. This is reflected explicitly in C. H. Troy's comment: "The statements of the titles are worthless; that is though they may be in some cases be right, they may always be wrong, and are therefore of no use as critical guides."<sup>23</sup>

### **Thesis Statement**

Such blanket over statement concerning the superscripts is derived through selective textual examination, doubtful exegesis, and over emphasis on the textual variants. This paper do not intend to argue for a specific date of the superscripts of the Psalter; however, it will attempt to show that there is ample evidences within and without the biblical text, that can be presented to illustrate the antiquity of the superscripts. In doing so, I will assert that the evidence in favor of the early date of the superscripts is far more convincing than the late date and therefore it is highly probable that the superscripts may have always

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<sup>22</sup> The early proponents of this view are C. H. Troy, S. R. Driver and Thomas Kelly Cheyne. See C. H. Troy, "On the Asaph-Psalms," *Journal of the Exegetical Society* 6 (1986): 73; S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1897; reprint ed., Cleveland: The Word Publishing Co., 1956), 378; Thomas Kelly Cheyne, *The Origin and Religion Contents of Psalter* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, & Co., 1891), 190.

<sup>23</sup> Troy, "On the Asaph-Psalms," 73.

been part of the Psalter text.

### **The Superscripts in the Psalter**

Of the 150 psalms, 116 have superscripts ranging from one word (Ps. 98) to a lengthy comment (Ps 18). These superscripts contain five different types of information: (a) the majority of them has the identity of a person or group of persons (e.g. Ps 3, 72, 90 etc); (b) some contain historical information concerning the psalm (e.g. Ps 18, 34); (c) some contain the information on music (Ps 4, 5 etc); (d) others contain liturgical information (e.g. Ps 38, 100); and (e) still others designate the type of psalm (e.g. a hymn or song, Ps 32, 120, 145). There are 34 psalms (Ps 1, 2, 10, 33, 43, 71, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 104- 107, 107, 111-119, 135-137, and 146-50) that are without superscripts. A great majority of them are in Book IV (10 Psalms) and V (18 psalms), but in book III all the psalms have superscripts. In the Septuagint, only 17 psalms are without superscripts. In addition, an apocryphal psalm is appended at the end and its title explicitly asserts its authenticity (οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυιδ καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ . This means, “This psalm is a genuine one of David, though outside the number”). The discrepancies between the superscripts of the Masoretic Psalter (MT150) and the Septuagint are another complex field of research and debate. Interestingly Syrian Peshitto Version does not have any superscripts. However, Wilson<sup>R</sup>, who made the comparative study of the superscripts in the ancient versions (The Aramaic Targum, Jerome’s Version, Aquila, Symmachus, and Syrian Peshitta Version), asserts that the material variation with the superscripts of the Hebrew Bible is less than one per cent.<sup>24</sup>

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Wilson, “The Headings of the Psalms,” 390.

According to H. G. Wilson,<sup>25</sup> the function of superscripts was originally to connect the individual psalms with various historical narratives and for pietistic purpose but the absence of the superscripts was intended to provide a transition between the groupings.<sup>26</sup> His study reveals how the uncharacteristic occurrences of isolated “untitled” psalms in book I-III are editorially designed.<sup>27</sup> Undoubtedly, the pattern observed in the presence or absence of the superscripts in the Psalter may give some insights into the editorial organization and the structure of the Psalter; however, asymmetry and exceptions in the pattern make the case unpersuasive and difficult.

At the same time, H. M. I. Gevaryahu purports that in the Psalter all superscripts were originally written as colophons, but later the editors decided to transpose them at the beginning.<sup>28</sup> He makes this case based on his comparative studies of Akkadian and ancient Greek literature as well as the biblical texts. He points out the transference of the colophons הַלְלֵנוּ יְיָ in Ps 104, 105, and 115 as the superscripts αλληλολογία in the subsequent psalms in the Septuagint. But, Wilson<sup>G</sup>, who did comparative study of Mesopotamian sources, disagrees with him on the function of colophons.<sup>29</sup> In Wilson<sup>G</sup>'s

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<sup>25</sup> Here onward he will be referred as Wilson<sup>G</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Gerald H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBLDS 76; Chico CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 173.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>28</sup> H. M. I. Gevaryahu, “Biblical Colophons,” in *Congress Volume: Edinburgh, 1974* (VtSup 28; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 42:59. See also in Bruce K. Waltke, “Superscripts, Postscripts, or Both,” *JBL* 110/4 (1991): 583-596, 583.

<sup>29</sup>

According to Wilson<sup>G</sup>, “Colophons seem always to be concerned with the *process* of transmission rather than the actual composition.” See Wilson, *Editing*, 151.

view, the difference in the two textual traditions is not due to shifting of colophons to superscripts but it is due to selective editorial activity. He avers some colophons are almost exclusively concerned with scribal credential, while the superscripts in the Psalter gives information about the nature of composition and their recitation.<sup>30</sup> The difference in their function could be due to cultural, geographical, historical, or political information. In agreement with Childs, Wilson<sup>G</sup> ascribes a pietistic purpose to the superscripts. He writes, “[T]here is a clear move to obscure the precise cultic origins of the individual pss and to build a new context for their interpretation: a context which emphasizes the private life of devotion and individual access to YHWH. The treatment of these obscure, cultic reference in the pss-headings is further confirmation of that movement.”<sup>31</sup> Wilson<sup>G</sup>, however, addresses neither the Greek colophons nor the internal biblical evidence. He also does not comment on time and occasion of such usage. Like Childs, Wilson<sup>G</sup> is concerned with their canonical view of the biblical text, but Roger T. Beckwith views the change in the superscripts as a sign for an early date. I will discuss Beckwith’s view later in this paper.

### **Midrashic Exegesis and the Canonical Process**

Childs suggests that the superscripts represent “an early reflection of how the Psalms as a collection of sacred literature were understood.”<sup>32</sup> Originally, the titles established a secondary setting, but later they became “normative for the canonical tradition.”

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>32</sup> Childs, “Midrashic Exegesis,” 137.

Hence, superscript is “an important link in the history of exegesis.”<sup>33</sup> In other words, superscripts “do not appear to reflect independent historical tradition but they are the result of exegetical activity which derived its material within the text itself.”<sup>34</sup> Through comparative study of the OT passages and the superscripts, Childs shows the exegetical process and the inner biblical hermeneutics that preceded the derivation of the Psalm titles. In his opinion this hermeneutic method of inner biblical interpretation may be a type of pre-midrashic exegesis.<sup>35</sup> Childs also permits other factors in the formation of the superscripts, which according to him, “can no longer be determined with certainty.” Regarding the precise dating of the superscripts, the circumstances and the purpose of their composition, Childs is unable to give any specific date; however, he demonstrates some interesting parallel historical connections. First, according to him, “the titles reflect an approach in Hebrew tradition in terms of literary composition which has its closest parallel to Is 38 and Hab 3:1.”<sup>36</sup> Second, it is significant to notice that the Chronicler contains many passages that have connections with the psalms titles yet, do not have superscript form. This observation obviously advocates a date after the Chronicler, but since the precise dating of Chronicler itself is debatable the dating of psalms has become difficult.<sup>37</sup> Third, the studies of the Qumran Psalm titles reveal that the technique of the title formation was fully developed prior to the composition of

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 142.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

Qumran. This leads Childs to consider the superscripts as more likely to be late postexilic phenomena, therefore locating the midrashic method also to the post-exilic period. However, Childs argues: that (1) the function of the Psalms titles are different from the “pesher type” midrash of Qumran, which do not intend to actualize the past traditions by means of superscript; that (2) the psalm titles do not reflect the rhetorical device of Hellenism as that of Aristobulus; and that (3) it points to a scribal school that reveals the pietistic interest of scribes in taking the reader into inner life of David rather than academic pursuit.<sup>38</sup> Thus for Childs, the superscripts of the Psalter is not a post-biblical “Jewish-distortion,” but part of the biblical tradition, and must be taken seriously.”<sup>39</sup>

Parallel works in textual criticism have led the scholars to place midrash exegesis prior to proto-Masoretic period (i.e. 2<sup>nd</sup> century), when the tradents actively engaged in modifying or adapting a passage to fit the later use not only in citation, but also in translation and in copying. The intent of this period was to make the ancient text understandable to the contemporary reader. The textual fluidity is evidenced by many pseudo-variants in the pre-Masoretic MSS and translations. This phenomenon is followed by gradual development of greater textual stability and even rigidity in the second century Greek translation. According to James A. Sanders, though the tradents could no longer modify or adopt a passage of Scripture to make its message clear in this period, “they could and did engage in all sorts of midrashic techniques to render the stable text adaptable and relevant commentaries to the ongoing believing communities.”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

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Pre-Masoratic Period=> Proto-Masoratic Period => Masoratic Period  
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 Comparative Midrash

Sanders borrowed this idea of midrashic technique from Renée Bloch<sup>41</sup> and Roger le Déaut,<sup>42</sup> who intended to place this function in early communities rather than later. This technique, which Sanders calls comparative midrash, was used by the tradent to cite, or quote earlier texts and bind them together into some sort of authoritative mode.<sup>43</sup> He avers that that phenomenon of comparative midrash is part of the canonical process that eventually resulted in MT150.<sup>44</sup> But canonical process to him does not necessary mean a closed text.

### **The Superscripts and the Division of Books**

There are great similarities in the identity and the order of the Psalms between MT150 and the Septuagint except for a few (see Table 1).

TABLE 1  
 THE MT150 AND THE SEPTUAGINT BOOK DIVISION

	MT 150	The Septuagint
Book I	Pss 1-41	Pss 1-40 (Ps 9 and 10 merges as Ps 9)

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James A. Sanders, “The Modern History of the Qumran Psalms Scroll and Canonical Criticism,” *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible Septuagint and Dead Sea Scroll in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 408.

<sup>41</sup> Renée Bloch, “Midrash,” *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (SDB), vol. 5 (1957): 1263-81.

<sup>42</sup> Roger Le Déaut, “Apropos a Definition of Midrash,” *Int* 25 (1971): 259-82, translated by Mary Howard Collway.

<sup>43</sup> Sanders, “The Modern History of the Qumran Psalms Scroll,” 410.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 411.

Book II	Pss 42-72	Pss 41-71
Book III	Pss 73-89	Pss 72-88
Book IV	Pss 90-106	Pss 89-105
Book V	Pss 107-150	Pss 106-150 + Ps.151 (Pss 113 and 114 merges as Pa 113; Ps 116 splits into 114 and 115; Ps 147 splits into 146 and 147)

This means that the division of the Hebrew Psalter into five books must have taken place prior to early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, before Septuagint was translated.<sup>45</sup> Wilson<sup>G</sup> argues that these divisions are editorially induced and not accidental.<sup>46</sup> The doxologies (Ps 41:14, 72:19; 89:53; and 106:48) are not an editorial insertion but an integral part of the Psalter and part of the collection. They are employed by the editors to indicate the bounds of the books. Others contend that the five-book division is a midrashic influence of the Pentateuch. One may read explicitly about this tradition in the rabbis in the midrash of the psalms.<sup>47</sup>

According to Roger T. Beckwith the textual evidence within the MT150 suggests that it was originally composed of only three books rather than five.<sup>48</sup> He presents

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I assume here the commonly accepted view on the copy and origin of the Septuagint. There are nine versions of Septuagint, which can be referred for the superscripts in the Psalter. Wilson<sup>R</sup> has done a comprehensive analysis on it. See Wilson, "The Headings of the Psalms," 384. Concerning the discussions on the original copy of Septuagint, see Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000).

<sup>46</sup>

Wilson, *Editing*, 199.

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William G. Braude writes, "As Moses gave five books of laws to Israel, so David gave five books of Psalms to Israel, the books of Psalms entitled *Blessed is the man* (Ps 1:1), the book entitled *For the Leader: Maschil* (Ps 42:1), the book, *A Psalm of Asaph* (Ps 73:1), the book, *A Prayer of Moses* (Ps 90:1), and the book, *Let the redeemed of the Lord say* (Ps 107:2). See William G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 5.

<sup>48</sup>

Roger T. Beckwith, "The Early History of the Psalter, *Tyndale Bulletin* 46 (1999): 1-27, 7.

three arguments in favor of this. First, the small size of the book III and IV signifies a programmatic division—both books contain only seventeen psalms.<sup>49</sup> Second, two divine names, yhwh (ʔādōnāy) and ʔēlōhîm, are evenly distributed in the Psalter. In book I, the name yhwh (ʔādōnāy) occurs 275 times against 48 occurrences of ʔēlōhîm whereas in book II and III, ʔēlōhîm occurs 248 times against 75 occurrences of yhwh (ʔādōnāy).<sup>50</sup> But, in book IV and V the pattern returns to 329 occurrences of yhwh (ʔādōnāy) and only 47 occurrences of ʔēlōhîm. Furthermore, there are great similarities between Psalms 14 (book I), 53 (book II & III) and 40: 13ff (book I) with that of Ps 70 (book II & III). There are high concentration of *hallel* psalms both in book IV (Ps 104-106) and V (Ps 11-13, 115-17, 135, 146-50).<sup>51</sup> Third, the titles of the psalms show great correspondences. When the titles are divided into three divisions of the books, they show greater harmony and unity in the pattern. Book I is composed of high concentration of the Psalms of David, book II and III are composed of Psalms of David and Levites, and book IV and V are composed of Psalms of David and other Psalmists. Thus, according to Beckwith's arguments, there existed a historical time, when the MT150, prior to its five book divisions, was a composition of three books only. It was a result of a single collection with a single mind and based on simple rational principles.<sup>52</sup> If his

<sup>49</sup> The number seventeen is derived from the divine name yhwh (ʔādōnāy). Duane L. Christensen explains the numerical derivation: {Y(10)+H(5)+W(6)+H(5)=26; and sum of all digits 1+0+5+6+5=17}. See Duane L. Christensen, "The Book of Psalms Within the Canonical Process in Ancient Israel," *JETS* 39/3 (1996):421-432, 422. See also C. J. Labuschagne, *Vertellen met getallen: Functie en symbolisk van getallen in de bijbelse oudheid* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij, 1992).

<sup>50</sup> Beckwith, "The Early History of the Psalter," 7.

<sup>51</sup>

Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>

Ibid., 10.

arguments are correct then the historical date for the composition of the three books into five books has to be much prior to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. This means the individual psalm along with the superscripts must be located to a date earlier than the probable date of the composition of the three books.

### **Evidence of Chronicle, Ezra, and Nehemiah**

Based on the explicit statement in the books of the Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which has correspondences with the superscripts of the Psalter, Beckwith contends for a date prior to 400 B.C.<sup>53</sup> First, he establishes the correspondence of the ten passages (1 Ch 6:31-47, 15:16-28, 16:4-42; 2 Ch 5:12-14, 20:19, 29:25-30, 35:15; Ezra 3:10-11; Neh 11:17, 12:45-46)<sup>54</sup> with the superscripts of the Hebrew and the Septuagint of which following are few examples (see in Table 2):

TABLE 2  
THE CORRESPONDENCES WITH CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH

Text	Connection with the Psalter
1 Ch 6:31-47	The identity of Heman, Korah, Kohath, Asaph and Ethan are explained.
1 Ch 15:16-28	At David's command the Levitical singers Heman, Asaph and Ethan accompany the bringing of Ark to Jerusalem
1 Ch 16:4-42	David appointed Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (Ethan)
Ezra 3:10-11	Sons of Asaph were assigned to praise the Lord
Neh 11:17	Names Mattaniah the son of Asaph, Abda the son of Jeduthun

The connections between Chronicles and the Psalter is further strengthened by the portions of Ps 96:1-13, Ps 105:1-15, and Ps 106:1, 47-48 that have parallels in 1 Chron

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

16:23-33, 1Chron 16:8-22, and 1 Chron 16:34-36 respectively. Some scholars argue that these correspondences between psalms and the Chronicler present a proof of the five-fold divisions of the Psalter and even the final closure of the whole MT150 in the fourth century B. C.<sup>55</sup> But, Wilson<sup>G</sup> asserts that this is a proof for the reverse: “The perfect verb form is clear evidence of the dependence of Ps 106 on 1 Chr 16.”<sup>56</sup> Since these connections only show literary dependence and do not give explicit evidence for the primary source, some consider this data as arbitrary. Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier, the dating of the Chronicler itself has been the subject of polemic.

Nevertheless, Beckwith contends for pre-exilic provenance of the Psalter. He puts forward two arguments which are noteworthy: First, he shows that although there are many correspondences between the superscripts of the Psalter and the Chronicles, there are no less than eleven other superscripts (Ps 5, 8, 9, 22, 45, 53, 56-9, 60, 69, 75, 80, 81, and 88) of which the Chronicles does not say anything. This implies that the composer of the Psalter knows greater details about the musical expressions than the Chronicler.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, there are textual evidences in the Chronicles itself which proves the multitude of prophetic sources (1 Ch 9:29; 2 Ch 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 13:22; 20:34; 26:22; 32:32; 33:18-19) and to the book of the Kings of Israel and Judah (1 Ch 9:1; 2 Ch 16:11; 24:27; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 35:27; 36:8). Thus, placing the entire text of Chronicles in 400 B.C. will be going against the inner textual evidence.

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<sup>55</sup>

Wilson, *Editing*, 185.

<sup>56</sup>

*Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup>

Beckwith, “The Early History of the Psalter,” 13.

Second, the Septuagint translations of the superscripts of the psalms reflect that the meaning of the musical directions in the superscripts of the psalms were either unknown or confusing to the translators. Beckwith, in his “Analysis of Psalm Titles” shows sixteen superscripts in Septuagint as “misunderstood,” and twenty-five of them as altered by addition or omission.<sup>58</sup> For brevity of space I am listing below (see Table 3) only six of them<sup>59</sup>:

TABLE 3  
COMPARING MT150 AND THE SPETUAGINT SUPERSCRIPT

Pss	MT Superscript	LXX Superscript
Ps 5	For the choir director; for flute accompaniment. A Psalm of David.	For the end, a Psalm of David, concerning her that inherits
Ps 6	For the choir director; with stringed instruments, upon an eight-string lyre. A Psalm of David.	For the End, a Psalm of David among the Hymns for the eighth.
Ps 8	For the choir director; on the Gittith. A Psalm of David	For the end, concerning the wine-presses, a Psalm of David.
Ps 9	For the choir director; on Muth-labben. A Psalm of David.	For the end, a Psalm of David, concerning the secrets of the Son.
Ps 12	For the choir director; upon an eight-stringed lyre. A Psalm of David.	For the end, A Psalm of David, upon the eighth

This is unusual especially when psalms were meant for use in the temple on a daily basis. This ignorance is reflected in Aquila and the Midrash of the Psalms, too. What must have happened in the history of Israel’s liturgy that caused this big generation gap? Why

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<sup>58</sup>

Taken from the “Analysis of Psalm Titles.” See *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>59</sup>

Beckwith has done comprehensive analysis. See *Ibid.*, 25-27.

were the rabbis of the Hellenistic and the Semitic circles disconnected from the traditional knowledge of musical directions? According to Beckwith, this could not have happened from 400-200 B. C. He asserts that this must be because of the time spent in Babylonian exile. Since, during this period the temple was in ruin for two generations and the Israelites hung up their instruments. The psalmist reports that they could not sing the Lord's song in a foreign land (Ps 137:4).<sup>60</sup> Babylonian exile had such a great impact on the community that they forgot even their language. It would be obvious then for the translators of the Septuagint to misunderstand the superscripts. This means that the superscripts of the Psalter had provenance in pre-exilic Israel. And if the superscripts are from pre-exilic period, then the authorship of the Psalter also dates pre-exilic.

Duane L. Christensen also argues for the pre-exilic provenance of the MT150, but differs in his view of the canonical process.<sup>61</sup> Unlike Beckwith, he sees only two books (book I and V of MT150) as the original compilation. He contends for the three stages in the canonical process of the MT150 as follows:

Pre-exilic Davidic Psalter => Deuteronomic Psalter => Pentateuchal Psalter  
 (Book I & V)                      (Book I, III, IV & V)                      (Book II was inserted)

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<sup>60</sup>

Ibid., 16.

<sup>61</sup>

Duane L. Christensen, "The Book of Psalms Within the Canonical Process in Ancient Israel," *JETS* 39/3 (1996): 421-432, 421.

However, Christensen's argument, primarily based on the three-year lectionary cycle, is not convincing. Wilson<sup>G</sup> rightly expresses his doubt: "The widespread variation in enumeration of *sedarim*, the large discrepancy between *sedarim* and the distribution of pss in the five books, the large amount of "reconstruction" necessary to achieve agreement, and the strained nature of parallel readings adduced in the end fail to convince."<sup>62</sup>

### Word Study of the Superscripts

Wilson<sup>R</sup>, in his article *The Heading of the Psalms*,<sup>63</sup> performs an extensive study of some lexemes in the superscripts of the Psalter. First, he studies the eleven kinds of words that represent songs (*Shûr*, *z mar*, *hillêl*, *r nan*, *n*, *n gîn*, *mikt m*, *maskîl*, *t phil*, *tôda*, *shiggaion*). Second, he studies the four words associated with musical instruments (*N gîn*, *n hîlôth*, *haggittîth*). Third, he studies the word concerning references and directions (*Lam na ē*, *Shoshannim*, *al-mûth-labbēn*, *al-mûth*, *al- al môth*, *labbēn*, *Al ayyeleth hashsha ar*, *Al ma alath le annôth*, *Al yônath elem rehôkîm*, *Al tash ath*, *Ma alôth*, *Halleluyah*, *shinn eth a mô*, *L lammēd*, *L hazkîr*, *Edûth*, *Y didôth*). He analyzes their occurrences in the Psalter, in other books of the OT, in the ANE literatures, and in various translations. In his extensive research, Wilson<sup>R</sup> draws three conclusions. First, the extant of certain word cannot be used as proof for dating the Psalter either late or early. Second, the absence of certain words in other writing of the OT and other translation rather supports the antiquity of the document. He claims that the absence of

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<sup>62</sup>

Wilson, *Editing*, 203.

<sup>63</sup>

Wilson, "The Headings of the Psalms," 353-95.

certain words are because “the meaning of the word was unknown to the early translators; and this leads us to suppose that the word was so old when they translated, that its special meaning was already lost.”<sup>64</sup> Third, the word study reveals that there are nothing in language of the Psalter and the superscripts that can go against their trustworthiness.<sup>65</sup>

### **Parallels in the ANE Literatures**

There was a time when the evidence in favor of early date for any biblical writing was often disputed, but now modern archaeological findings have changed this position. P. J. Wiseman has rightly concluded, “The early origin of writing needs to be emphasized again. It is scarcely possible to put too strongly the importance of the fact that the archaeological museums of the world now possess thousands of tablets from the Ancient Near East. Hundreds of them were written before Abraham’s day and many before the birth of Moses.”<sup>66</sup> There are numerous textual evidences in the OT that shows that there was a tradition of psalmody in ancient Israel: The Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1-18); The Song of the Ark (Num 10:35-36); The oracles of Balaam (Num 23-34); The Song of Moses; The Blessing of Moses (Deut 33); The Song of Deborah (Judg 5); and the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1-10).<sup>67</sup> The Song of Sea, which D. A. Robertson claims to be one of most ancient text, is not

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<sup>64</sup>

Ibid., 359.

<sup>65</sup>

Ibid., 370.

<sup>66</sup>

P. J. Wiseman, *Clues to Creation In Genesis* (ed. Donald J. Wiseman, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1977), 68.

<sup>67</sup>

Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50* (Vol. 19 of Word Biblical Commentary. Edited by Bruce M. Metzger; Texas: Word Books, 1983), 25.

incorporated into the Psalter; however, its usage in Exodus suggests its preexistence in the ancient Israel.<sup>68</sup> There are other evidences that also suggest that from an early date songs were written down in “books” (probably scrolls or tablets): *Book of the Wars of the Lord* (Num 21:14); and *Book of Yashar* (2 Sam 1:18).<sup>69</sup> Scholars have begun to agree that writing and composition of poems was an established practice in ancient Israel.

According to Wilson<sup>R</sup>, the textual evidence in several OT texts (Ex 15:1; Deut 31:30-32:1; Deut 33:1-2; Judg 5:1-2; 1 Sam 2:1; 2 Sam 1:17; 2 Sam 22:1; Jon 2:1-2; Hab 3:1; Prov 1:1; 10:1; 25:1; 30:1; 31:1) outside the Psalter affirm that the phenomena of writing superscripts was ancient (See Table 4).<sup>70</sup>

TABLE 4  
INNER BIBLICAL EVIDENCE FOR ANTIQUITY

Sl.	Ref.	The Superscripts in Italics
1.	Ex 15:1	<i>Then Moses and the sons of Israel sang this song to the Lord, and said, “I will sing to the Lord, for He is highly exalted; The horse and its rider He has hurled into the sea.”</i>
2.	Deut 31:30-32:1	<i>Then Moses spoke in the hearing of all the assembly of Israel the words of this song, until they were complete: “Give ear, O heavens, and let me speak; And let the earth hear the words of my mouth.”</i>

<sup>68</sup>

Craigie suggests four conclusions out of his discussions on the ancient texts: First, poetry was native to early Israel. Second, it was a natural medium to express human feelings. Third, music and poetry was natural accompaniment. Fourth, it may have been composed orally; however, it was transmitted to subsequent generations. See *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>69</sup>

*Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>70</sup>

Wilson, “The Headings of the Psalms,” Jan 1926: 33-34.

3.	Deut 33:1-2	<i>Now this is the blessing with which Moses the man of God blessed the sons of Israel before his death. He said: "The Lord came from Sinai and dawned over them from Seir; he shone forth from Mount Paran. He came with myriads of holy ones from the south, from his mountain slopes."</i>
4.	Judg 5:1-2	<i>Then Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam sang on that day, saying, "That the leaders led in Israel, That the people volunteered, Bless the Lord!"</i>
5.	1 Sam 2:1	<i>Then Hannah prayed and said, "My heart exults in the Lord; My horn is exalted in the Lord, My mouth speaks boldly against my enemies, Because I rejoice in your salvation."</i>
6.	2 Sam 1:17	<i>Then David chanted with this lament over Saul and Jonathan his son</i>
7.	2 Sam 22:1	<i>And David spoke the words of this song to the Lord in the day that the Lord delivered him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul.</i>
8.	Jon 2:1-2	<i>Then Jonah prayed to the Lord his God from the stomach of the fish, and he said, "I called out of my distress to the Lord, And He answered me. I cried for help from the depth of Sheol; You hear my voice."</i>
9.	Hab 3:1	<i>A prayer of Habakkuk the prophet, according to Shigionoth.</i>
10.	Prov 1:1	<i>The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel:</i>
11.	Prov 10:1	<i>The proverbs of Solomon. A wise son makes a father glad, But a foolish son is a grief to his mother.</i>
12.	Prov 25:1	<i>These also are proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, transcribed.</i>
13.	Prov 30:1	<i>The words of Agur the son of Jakeh, the oracle. The man declares to Ithiel, to Ithiel and Ucal:</i>
14.	Prov 31:1	<i>The words of King Lemuel, the oracle which his mother taught him.</i>

The study of the ANE context and the comparative study of editorial activity pertaining to the superscripts and colophons in other ANE text have also been found useful.<sup>71</sup>

For an example, an inscription found in one of the tombs at Kirbet el Qom, which dates from late eighth century B.C., contains both superscripts and colophons. This inscription is perhaps a prayer by or for the man buried there. The transliteration and the translation given by Patrick D. Miller are as follows (see Table 5).<sup>72</sup>

TABLE 5  
THE HEBREW INSCRIPTION: KIRBET EL QOM

Sl.	Transliteration	Translation
1.	<i>`ryhw h šr ktbh</i>	(for) the Uriyahu the rich: his inscription (or has written it)
2.	<i>brk ryhw lyhwh</i>	Blessed is Uriyahu by Yahweh
3.	<i>wmsryh l šrth / hwš / lh</i>	Yea from his adversaries by his asherah he has saved him
4.	<i>L nyhw</i>	(written) by Oniyahu
5.	<i>wi šrth</i>	(...?) and by his asherah
6.	<i>r h</i>	?

Miller claims that this inscription has a similar social, historical, and geographical setting to that of many of the psalms.<sup>73</sup> According to Fraser, there are several

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Wilson writes, "The cuneiform hymnic literature of Mesopotamia has long been recognized as a valuable source for comparative insight into the milieu of the Old Testament in general and the Psalter in particular. Sumerian, Akkadian and Babylonian hymns have frequently been used in comparison to individual Hebrew ps and the isolation of similar features and genres has proven extremely fruitful." See Wilson, *Editing*, 6. Also see, C. G. Cumming, *The Assyrian and Hebrew Hymns of Praise* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934); Nahum Sarna, "Psalm XIX and the Near Eastern Sun-God Literature," *Papers of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1967).

<sup>72</sup>

Patrick D. Miller, "Psalms and Inscriptions," *Congress Volume VTSup 32* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957), 315-19. See also Hallo and Younger Jr. ed. *The Context of Scripture Vol. III*: 179.

<sup>73</sup>

*Ibid.*, 315-19. See also Fraser, *The Authenticity of the Psalm Titles*, 32.

ANE parallels that contain superscripts.<sup>74</sup> Like the superscripts of the Psalter, they also contain information concerning author, purpose, god addressed, musical instruments and the notes that are similar to the Psalter.<sup>75</sup> For an example the Sumerian Psalms from the time of Hamurabi, which has technical classifications such as *balbale*, *adab*, *tigi*, and *sagaru* and whose meanings are unknown, are like the Hebrew superscripts *miktam*, *maskil* and *shiggon*.<sup>76</sup> In the Stephen Langdon's translation of some Sumerian colophons (see Table 6) similar parallels are seen:<sup>77</sup>

TABLE 6  
SOME SUMERIAN COLOPHONS

Liturgical hymn to Sin	"It is a <i>sagar</i> melody. Sung on the flute to Sin."
Liturgical hymn to Enlil	"A prayer for the brick walls of Ekur, that it returns to its place: A Song of supplication."
A hymns to Enlil	"Copy from Barsippa, according to its original and collated. Tablet of Beliksur son of Belishkunni son of Iddin-Papsukkal worshipper of Nebo."

According to Fraser, there are Egyptian hymns and prayers from the second millennium B.C. that contain information such as the name of the author, god addressed, and the occasion of the hymns. Unlike the superscripts of the Psalter, this information is often lengthy and functions as prologue to the main text. However, the practice itself is ancient.

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<sup>74</sup>

Fraser, *The Authenticity of the Psalm Titles*, 32.

<sup>75</sup> R. D. Wilson, *A Scientific Investigation of the Old Testament* (Revised by Edward J Young, Chicago: Moody Press, 1959), 141.

<sup>76</sup>

Fraser, *The Authenticity of the Psalm Titles*, 33.

<sup>77</sup> Stephen Landon, *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms* (Philadelphia: Published by the University Museum, 1919), 279.

John F. A. Sawyer also finds similarities in the Akkadian ritual text dating from third century B.C.<sup>78</sup> He observes the following five similarities with the superscripts of the Psalter:

- the cultic occasion when the composition to be uttered;
- the official appointed to utter it;
- the type of composition (prayer, incantation, lamentation);
- the title of the composition;
- the instrument(s) to accompany it.<sup>79</sup>

According to N. M. Sarna, as early as third millennium B.C., the professional singers and musician were a part of the temple personnel in Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilization.<sup>80</sup> David Toshio Tsumura in his article *Hymns and Songs with Titles and Subscriptions in the Ancient New East* claims that the hymns and songs with titles in the Mesopotamian texts, which dates from the third and second millennium B.C., reflects similar literary tradition as that of the Psalter.<sup>81</sup> Wilson<sup>G</sup>'s analysis of the superscripts leads him to conclude that the superscripts of the psalter have closer analogies to Babylonian text than any other language. These claims based on the studies done on the parallel ANE texts cannot be disregarded. Therefore, the arguments in favor of the early date for the superscripts of the Psalter are more conceivable than late date.

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<sup>78</sup>

Sawyer, "An Analysis of the Context and Meaning of the Psalm-Headings," *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society* 22 (1967-68): 28-29.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 28-19.

<sup>80</sup>

N. M. Sarna, "The Psalm Superscriptions and the Guilds," in *Studies in Jewish Religions and Intellectual History*, ed. Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (Alabama: University of Alabama, 1979), 287.

<sup>81</sup> The information is obtained from the OT abstract on Tsumura's work, which is in Japanese language. See David Toshio Tsumura, "Hymns and Songs with Titles and Subscriptions in the Ancient New East" [Japanese] in *Exegetica* 3 (1992): 1-7.

### The Witness of the Qumran Psalms Scroll

The superscripts of Qumran Scrolls are essentially in agreement with the MT150 except for few variations (See Appendix A). Unfortunately, many of the Psalms found in 11PQS<sup>a</sup> are without any superscripts and therefore are not relevant for this research. Nevertheless, there are fourteen of the psalms that can be compared with the superscripts of the MT150 (See Appendix A). Eleven of these superscripts (Ps 121, 122, 126, 127, 129, 130, 133, 138, 140, 143, and 145) are similar to MT150, but three of them have some differences. In Ps 144, the superscript is omitted while in Ps 104 and 123 it is added. The Manuscripts portion from Masada, which contains Ps 81:3-85:10, also has similar superscripts as that of the MT150. These similarities imply that the superscripts were considered an integral part of the text in both the traditions.<sup>82</sup> One of the texts found in cave 4 contains a commentary on Ps 45 (4QpPS45). The commentary is attached to superscripts which signifies that even the commentator considered the titles a part of the sacred text.<sup>83</sup>

Nevertheless, the scholarly debate on the witness of Qumran Psalms Scroll is not without contention. Sanders, who is one of the pioneering Qumran Psalms Scholar and who had the privilege to unroll and translate the original scroll from cave 11, “sees in the QPssMss a variant Psalter tradition which is as authoritative for its adherents as the MT Psalter was and still is for its own community.”<sup>84</sup> According to Wilson<sup>G</sup>, Sanders advances

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<sup>82</sup>

Fraser, *The Authenticity of the Psalm Titles*, 20.

<sup>83</sup>

*Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>84</sup>

Wilson, *Editing*, 64. Sander’s works are: “The Scroll of Psalms (11QPss) from Cave 11: Preliminary Report,” *BASOR* 165 (February 1962): 11-15; “Ps 151 in 11 QPss,”

three hypotheses.<sup>85</sup> First, the process of stabilization of the Psalter was interrupted when the Qumran sectarian was started. Second, the fluid final text was expanded at Qumran by the “Hasidic and proto-Essene.” Third, the Jerusalem group was pushed towards early stabilization to preserve their own position, which resulted in the compilation of the MT150. Thus, the Qumran Psalms scroll, according to him, is the representative of the Hebrew Bible at a point prior to fixation. This view is greatly opposed to the commonly accepted thesis that the Psalter was “canonized” by the fourth century B.C. The most contended text of Sanders, 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, is dated on paleographical as well as on archaeological ground to the first half of the first century.<sup>86</sup> Of course for Sanders, canonicity is both authoritative and “open ended.”<sup>87</sup>

Contrary to Sanders, Patrick W. Skehan does not see the variant material at Qumran to be authoritative “canon” rather they are not only secondarily dependent on the MT150 but also subsequent to it.<sup>88</sup> He denies “the existence of a single, consistent Qumran tradition of pss which could and should be recognized as the Qumran Psalter.”<sup>89</sup> Unlike Sanders, Skehan’s “canon” is a closed list of books.<sup>90</sup> Goshen-Gottstein argues that the

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*ZAW* 75 (1963); “Two Non Canonical Psalms in 11Ps,” *ZAW* 75 (1964): 57-75; *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967); “Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon,” *McCQ* 21 (1968); “The Dead Sea Scrolls—A Quarter Century of Study,” *BA* 36 (1973).

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>88</sup> Patrick W. Skehan, “Qumran and Old Testament Criticism,” *Qumrân: sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, edited by M. Declor; *Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium* 46 (Louvain: Duculot, 1978).

<sup>89</sup> Wilson, *Editing*, 67.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 77.

collection of the Psalter was simply a liturgical function.<sup>91</sup> If this is so, then inclusion of eleven superscripts, which have nothing to do with the liturgical function, signifies the importance of the superscripts as part of the text. Wilson<sup>G</sup>, after thoroughly engaging both with Sanders, Skehan, Shemaryahu Talmon<sup>92</sup> and M.H. Goshen-Gottstein<sup>93</sup> in his book *Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, proposes three possible developments in the Psalter's compositions (See Appendix B).<sup>94</sup> The first two possibilities may support the relatively late date for the fluidity of the Psalter while the third one for the early date. Although these propositions do not absolve the ambiguities on the date of the superscripts of the Psalter, they may be helpful at least to estimate the plausible nature of a relationship between the Qumran Psalms and the MT150. One can contend here, by virtue of reason, for the first and third possibilities. Since the process of stabilization demands more linear development rather than proliferation of parallel editions, second probability is eliminated. The distance and the differences between the first and third possibilities can be primarily attributed to the incomprehensive analysis of Qumran Psalms scroll, which constitutes fragmented and incomplete documents. Wilson<sup>G</sup> rightly cautions, "One must be careful in making judgments based on fragmentary texts."<sup>95</sup> Therefore, one may tentatively date the existence of proto-

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<sup>91</sup> M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalm Scroll (11QPS<sup>a</sup>): A Problem of Canon and Text," in vol 5 of *Textus* (Jerusalem: Magnus Press, Hebrew University, 1966), 29-33.

<sup>92</sup>

Shemaryahu Talmon, "Mimôrîm Hî ônim ball šôn h ibrît miqqûmân," *Tarbiz* 35 (1966). An English translation is available in "Pisqah be em a pasuq and 11Qps<sup>a</sup>," *Textus* 5 (1966): 11-21.

<sup>93</sup>

Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11Qps<sup>a</sup>)," 22-23.

<sup>94</sup>

Wilson, *Editing*, 91.

<sup>95</sup>

*Ibid.*, 68.

Massoratic Psalter prior to the Qumran writing and the existence of individual psalms prior to both of them. There is textual evidence that suggests that the individual psalms in this period ever existed without their superscript. Furthermore, there is no warrant for taking the editorial activity of the Qumran Psalters and the Septuagint as a basis for dating the superscripts to a late date.

### **Conclusion**

Scholars would agree that all conclusions concerning the dating of the superscripts are provisional and subject to change until more explicit data and more convincing arguments appear on the horizon of biblical research. But while the game of speculation, based on hint and logics, goes on, one must look for a judicious, pragmatic, and more obvious suggestion. From the discussions so far on the probable date of superscripts, I have shown that the arguments in favor of early date for the superscripts holds much more reason and sense. The critical scholar's view on the late dating of the superscripts and its unreliability needs to re-examined. Such view not only has failed to show adequate data, but also has failed to present a rational and judicious speculation. In my opinion, the superscripts should be considered as a part of early biblical tradition rather than later editorial assertion. They should not be ignored as non-canonical but should be valued for its content in the reading of the Psalter.

## APPENDIX A

### Comparison of MT150 and Qumran Psalms Superscripts

[Adapted from James H. Fraser, *The Authenticity of the Psalm Titles*. A dissertation submitted at Grace Theological Seminary, 1984, p.89-91]

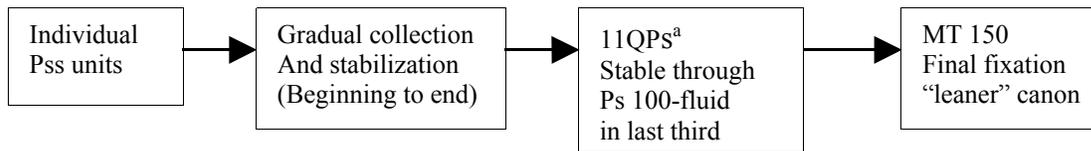
Psalm	MT	11QPS <sup>a</sup>	Col. Line
121	<i>Syr lm lwt</i>	<i>Syr hm lwt</i>	III 1
122	<i>Syr hm lwt ldwd</i>	Same as MT	III 7
123	<i>Syr hm lwt</i>	[ ] <i>dwyd lm lwt</i>	III 15
126	<i>Syr hm lwt</i>	Same as MT	IV 9
127	<i>Syr hm lwt lslmh</i>	[ ] <i>lslwmh</i>	IV 16
129	<i>Syr hm lwt</i>	[ ] s	V 4
130	<i>Syr hm lwt</i>	Same as MT	V 10
133	<i>Syr hm lwt ldwd</i>	Same as MT	XXIII 7
138	<i>ldwd</i>	Same as MT	XXI 1
140	<i>Syr hm lwt ldwd</i>	Same as MT	XXVII 12
143	<i>mzmwr ldwd</i>	Same as MT	XXV 6
144	<i>ldwd</i>	No title	XXIII 12
145	<i>thlh ldwd</i>	<i>Tplh ldwyd</i>	XVI 7
104	Not title	<i>Ldwd</i>	Fragment E1
133	<i>Syr hm lwt ldwd</i>	[ ] <i>wt ldwd</i>	
		<b>4 QPs<sup>b</sup></b>	
103	<i>ldwd</i>	[ ] <i>d</i>	
		<b>4 QPs<sup>a</sup></b>	
33	No title	<i>Ldwyd syr mzmwr</i>	
		<b>4 QpPs45</b>	
45	<i>Lmn l ssnym lbny-qrh mskyl syr ydydt</i>	<i>lmn l [ ] ym [</i>	
		<b>Nahal Hever Fragments</b>	
16	<i>mctm ldwd</i>	[ ] <i>tm ldw [</i>	
		<b>Masada Scroll</b>	
82	<i>mzmwr l sp</i>	A Psalm of Asaph	
83	<i>Syr mzmwr l asp</i>	A Song. A Psalm of Asaph	
84	<i>Lmn l hgtyt lbny qr mzmwr</i>	To the Chief Musician (Upon Gittith, a Psalm for the Sons of Korah)	
85	<i>Lmn lbny qr mzmwr</i>	To the Chief Musician, a Psalm for the Sons of Korah	

## APPENDIX B

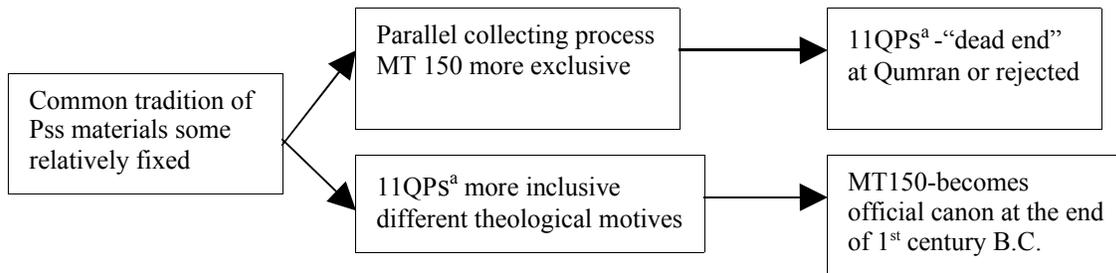
### Three Possible Routs of Development of the Palter

[Adapted from Gerald Henry Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*. Chico: Scholars Press, 1985, p.91]

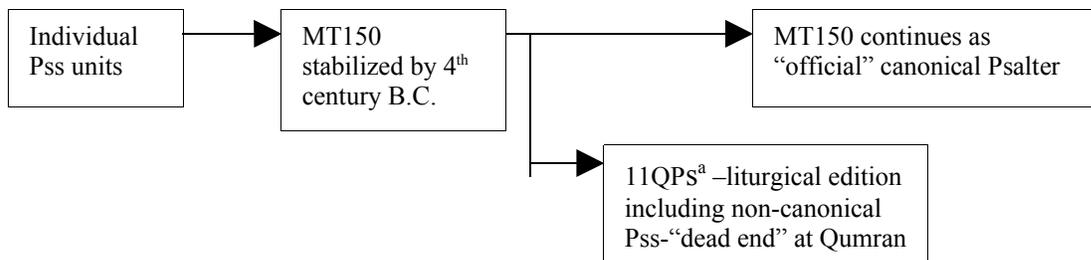
#### A. Direct-Sequential Linkage-[11QPs<sup>a</sup> Prior]- Sanders



#### B. Parallel Collection



#### C. Library Edition-[MT150 prior-11QPs<sup>a</sup>]-dependent Skehan



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