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## Extra-Pentateuchal Biblical Evidence for the Existence of a Pentateuch? The Case of the "Historical Summaries," Especially in the Psalms

THOMAS RÖMER

### Introduction

Were somebody able to describe in a comprehensive way the present state of the pentateuchal debate in a couple of pages, he should be given an award for scientific conciseness. It is not my aim to take up this challenge. I only want to address some important questions in the current discussion. The following paper will deal less with matters pertaining to the first stages of the formation of the Pentateuch, such as sources, documents, or redactors; it will rather focus on the problem of whether the Bible itself provides evidence for the existence of a Torah comprising five scrolls.

If one starts reading the Hebrew Bible, the death of Moses reported in Deut 34 may of course be reckoned a major conclusion, and that is the idea of the editors of the Torah. Others may reckon this narrative not a very fitting conclusion, since God's promise of the land, repeated throughout all the books of the Torah, has not been fulfilled. One should therefore add the book of Joshua, in which the conquest of the land is narrated. In this perspective, the Pentateuch is replaced by the idea of an original Hexateuch. One may also consider that there is a major narrative that runs from Gen 1 to 2 Kgs 25; as Joseph Blenkinsopp puts it, these books can be read as "a consecutive history from creation to exile."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the first book of the Latter Prophets, the chronological framework is no longer respected, since Isa 1:1 returns to the time of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. From this some scholars conclude that at some stage of the formation of the biblical books there probably

<sup>1</sup> Joseph BLENKINSOPP, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 34. The idea of an Enneateuch is already advocated by Benedict de SPINOZA, *A Theologico-Political Treatise and A Political Treatise* (trans. with an introduction by R. H. M. Elwes; New York: Dover, 1951), 128: "all these books ... were all written by a single author, who wished to relate the antiquities of the Jews from their first beginning down to the first destruction of the city."

existed the idea of an “Enneateuch” or a “primary history”<sup>2</sup> running from the book of Genesis to the books of Kings, from paradise lost to the loss of Jerusalem<sup>3</sup>.

The idea that the books of Genesis to Kings constitute the Bible’s first story, which is earlier than the canonical subdivision between Torah and Nebiim, constitutes an opinion shared by a number of scholars. In 1975, Clements suggested that the Former Prophets should be seen together with the Pentateuch as constituting the first corpus of Scripture in nascent Judaism.<sup>4</sup> In his analysis of Exod 32, Thomas Dozeman claims the text was written for an Enneateuch, since it merges Deut 9:7–10:11 and 1 Kgs 12:26–32 into one story. This Enneateuch existed as a Deuteronomistic and pre-Priestly composition.<sup>5</sup> This idea comes close to that of a great “Deuteronomistic history,” composed during the Babylonian exile and running from Gen 2:4b to 2 Kgs 25, as advocated by Weimar and Zenger.<sup>6</sup> H.-C. Schmitt also thinks the Enneateuch preceded the Pentateuch. According to him, one can recover in Genesis–Kings the hand of a late Deuteronomistic redactor who combines a Tetrateuch, into which the Priestly texts are already integrated, and the Deuteronomistic history, in order to create a “late Deuteronomistic historiography” (*spätdeuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk*). Schmitt finds evidence for such a work, especially in late redactional texts emphasizing the theme of faith (the root <sup>3</sup>-*m-n*, *hip’ il*, as in Gen 15:6; Exod 14:31; 19:9; Num 14:11; 20:11, running until 2 Kgs 17:14), as well as the necessity of “listening to the voice of Yhwh” (*šāma’ bēqôl yhwh*).<sup>7</sup> Konrad Schmid is also sympathetic to the idea of an Enneateuch but remains somewhat skeptical about the idea that such an Enneateuch would have ever existed without the Latter Prophets. Since Schmid believes with others that the literary link between the patriarchs and the exodus

<sup>2</sup> David N. FREEDMAN, “Pentateuch,” in *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1962; 12th ed., 1981), 3:711–27, here 713.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard GOSSE, “L’inclusion de l’ensemble Genèse–II Rois, entre la perte du jardin d’Eden et celle de Jérusalem,” *ZAW* 114 (2002): 189–211.

<sup>4</sup> Ronald E. CLEMENTS, *Prophecy and Tradition* (Growing Points in Theology; Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), 55.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas B. DOZEMAN, “The Composition of Ex 32 within the Context of the Enneateuch,” in *Auf dem Weg zur Endgestalt von Genesis bis II Regum* (ed. M. Beck and U. Schorn; BZAW 370; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 175–89, here 188–89.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance Erich ZENGER, “Theorien über die Entstehung des Pentateuch im Wandel der Forschung,” in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (ed. E. Zenger; 5th ed.; Studienbücher Theologie 1/1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), 74–123.

<sup>7</sup> Hans-Christoph SCHMITT, “Das spätdeuteronomistische Geschichtswerk Gen I-2Regum XXV und seine theologische Intention,” in *Congress Volume: Cambridge, 1995* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 66; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 261–79; repr. in *Theologie in Prophetie und Pentateuch: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (ed. U. Schorn and M. Büttner; BZAW 310; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 277–94; IDEM, *Arbeitsbuch zum Alten Testament* (UTB 2146; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 242–46.

was first created by the Priestly writer, he delineates an original pre-Priestly Enneateuch running from Exod 3 to 2 Kgs 25:21. As for Schmitt, the idea of an Enneateuch covering Genesis to Kings must therefore be a post-Priestly construction.<sup>8</sup> Another approach is taken by Erik Aurelius, who claims that the Enneateuch originated from its end, an idea that A. G. Auld has also proposed.<sup>9</sup> For Aurelius, at the beginning, there existed a first exilic edition of Samuel–Kings, the only collection to merit the title “Deuteronomistic history.” Several redactors would expand these books; at a late stage they integrated the Moses and the patriarchal traditions, thereby creating an Enneateuch.<sup>10</sup> If there were an original Enneateuch with a canonical status in Persian-period Judaism, as argued by Chapman and others,<sup>11</sup> for what reasons did this Enneateuch come to be shortened into a Pentateuch? Schmitt indicates that the concept of a Pentateuch arose first in the Hellenistic period based on the late Dtr idea that Moses was the only mediator of the Law.<sup>12</sup> Similarly John Van Seters claims that there is no clear evidence for a Pentateuch before the first century B.C.E.; therefore “the Pentateuch does not have a final ‘form’ because the division at the end of Deuteronomy was not based upon literary considerations. Unless one can convincingly demonstrate such a design by careful literary analysis, the concept of a Pentateuch remains problematic for any literary analysis of the Hebrew Bible.”<sup>13</sup>

The debate about competing literary units such as the Pentateuch, the Hexateuch, or the Enneateuch hinges on the question of whether thoroughgoing sources or redactions can be detected in these units. I would like to cast some

<sup>8</sup> Konrad SCHMID, *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments* (WMANT 81; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999); IDEM, “The So-Called Yahwist and the Literary Gap between Genesis and Exodus,” in *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation* (ed. T. B. Dozeman and K. Schmid; SBLSymS 34; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 29–50. A similar model can be found in the work of Reinhard G. KRATZ, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (trans. J. Bowden; London: T&T Clark, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> A. Graeme AULD, “The Deuteronomists and the Former Prophets, or What Makes the Former Prophets Deuteronomistic?” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (ed. L. S. Schearing and S. L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 268; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 116–26; repr. in *Samuel at the Threshold: Selected Works of Graeme Auld* (SOTSMS; Hants: Ashgate, 2004), 185–91.

<sup>10</sup> Erik AURELIUS, *Zukunft jenseits des Gerichts: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zum Enneateuch* (BZAW 319; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> Stephen B. CHAPMAN, “How the Biblical Canon Began: Working Models and Open Questions,” in *Homer, the Bible and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World* (ed. M. Finkelberg and G. G. Stroumsa; Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 2; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 29–51.

<sup>12</sup> SCHMITT, *Arbeitsbuch*, 243.

<sup>13</sup> John VAN SETERS, *The Pentateuch: A Social Science Commentary* (Trajectories; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 17.

new light on this debate by way of a short investigation of the so-called historical summaries, which may also have relevance for other issues in the present debate regarding the formation of the Torah.

### The So-Called Historical Summaries and the Formation of the Penta- or Hexateuch

As is well known, it was Gerhard von Rad who discovered the importance of texts that he called “short historical creeds” for the understanding of the formation of the first part of the Hebrew Bible,<sup>14</sup> which in his eyes corresponded to a Hexateuch.<sup>15</sup> He believed that texts such as Deut 26:5–9; 6:20–24 and Josh 24:2–13 reflected an ancient cultic recitation of the major features of Israel’s story of salvation, a story stretching from the patriarchs or the sojourn in Egypt to the entry into the promised land. The Yahwist, who knew these creeds, used them in order to write the first hexateuchal narrative. In his essay, von Rad deals briefly with some psalms, such as Pss 105 and 136, which he characterizes as “free adaptations of the Creed in cult-lyrics.” Those psalms, which do not mention the events of Sinai, confirm the fact that the Sinai tradition “remained separate from the canonical pattern and only at a very late date became combined with it.”<sup>16</sup>

During the last several decades fewer and fewer scholars have continued to share von Rad’s confidence in the premonarchic origin of Deut 6, 26 or Josh 24. For one thing, Deut 6:20–24 and 26:5–9 appear at the very earliest as the work of Dtr editors of Deuteronomy.<sup>17</sup> As for Josh 24, most scholars would still agree with von Rad’s idea that vv. 2–14 could be described as a “Hexateuch in miniature.”<sup>18</sup> In seven scenes,<sup>19</sup> Joshua retraces the story from the patriarchs and their forefathers to the gift of the land: the fathers before the patriarchs (v. 2); Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Esau<sup>20</sup> (vv. 3–4a); the installation of Esau’s offspring in Seir and the descent of Jacob and his children to Egypt,

<sup>14</sup> Gerhard VON RAD, “The Form Critical Problem of the Hexateuch,” in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (London: SCM Press, 1965; repr. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1984; German orig., 1938), 1–78.

<sup>15</sup> In his 1938 essay, von Rad uses the concept of the Hexateuch as if it were self-evident.

<sup>16</sup> VON RAD, “Form-Critical Problem,” 13.

<sup>17</sup> Jan Christian GERTZ, “Die Stellung des kleinen geschichtlichen Credo in der Redaktionsgeschichte von Deuteronomium und Pentateuch,” in *Liebe und Gebot: Studien zum Deuteronomium* (ed. R. G. Kratz and H. Spieckermann; FRLANT 190; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 30–45.

<sup>18</sup> VON RAD, “Form-Critical Problem,” 8.

<sup>19</sup> See similarly José Luis SICRE, *Josué* (Estella: Verbo divino, 2002), 483–86.

<sup>20</sup> Interestingly Ishmael, the brother of Isaac, is not mentioned, probably because he is not supposed to settle in the land, contrary to Esau’s offspring.

oppression, and deliverance from Egypt (vv. 5–7a<sup>21</sup>); the sojourn in the wilderness (v. 7b); the conquest of the Transjordanian territories, including the Balaam episode (vv. 8–10); the crossing of the Jordan and the conquest of the land (vv. 11–13). This summary seems to have in mind the construction of a Hexateuch, although some important themes are missing, especially Joseph, the Sinai, and the ongoing rebellion in the wilderness.<sup>22</sup> Many scholars consider the historical summary of Josh 24 to be a post-Dtr literary construction of the first half of the Persian period.<sup>23</sup> Joshua 24, which interrupts the Dtr transition between Josh 23 and Judg 2:6ff. and combines Dtr and Priestly style, apparently aims at the construction of a Hexateuch either as a literary device<sup>24</sup> or as a “material” alternative to the Pentateuch.<sup>25</sup>

Similar to Josh 24:2–13, the historical summary of Neh 9:6–31, which might be somewhat later, is set in the context of the “publication” of a book of the Torah<sup>26</sup> (cf. סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהִים, Josh 24:26 and סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם, Neh 9:3<sup>27</sup>). Contrary to Josh 24, Neh 9:6–31, which according to its literary

<sup>21</sup> The mention of Moses and Aaron in the MT, lacking in LXX, is probably a later addition inspired by 1 Sam 12:8 and Ps 105:26.

<sup>22</sup> The reasons for the absence of these themes may be various: the lacking of the Sinai episode may be explained by the fact that Josh 24 wants to present Joshua as a second lawgiver; the lacking of allusions to the Joseph story could indicate that this story was not yet integrated into the narration about Jacob’s descent to Egypt (see also Deut 26:5). The missing rebellion motif in the evocation of the sojourn in the wilderness may be due to the desire to present Israel’s origin in a positive light (contrary to Neh 9). An alternative solution would be to consider the transformation of the (originally positive) time of the desert into a time of ongoing rebellion as a very late development.

<sup>23</sup> John VAN SETERS, “Joshua 24 and the Problem of Tradition in the Old Testament,” in *In the Shelter of Elyon* (ed. W. B. Barrick and J. R. Spencer; JSOTSup 31; Trowbridge: JSOT Press, 1984), 139–58; Erhard BLUM, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1984), 40–61. For a detailed demonstration see Moshé ANBAR, *Josué et l’alliance de Sichem* (Josué 24:1–28) (BBET 25; Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1992). See further Reinhard ACHENBACH, “Pentateuch, Hexateuch und Enneateuch: Eine Verhältnisbestimmung,” ZAR 11 (2005): 122–54; Eckart OTTO, “Die Rechtshermeneutik des Pentateuch und die achämenidische Rechtsideologie in ihren altorientalischen Kontexten,” in *Kodifizierung und Legitimierung des Rechts in der Antike und im Alten Orient* (ed. M. Witte and M. T. Fögen; BZAR 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 71–116.

<sup>24</sup> See especially SCHMID, *Erzväter*, 225–30.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas RÖMER and Marc Z. BRETTLER, “Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch,” JBL 119 (2000): 401–19; Christophe NIHAN, “The Torah between Samaria and Judah: Shechem and Gerizim in Deuteronomy and Joshua,” in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance* (ed. G. N. Knoppers and B. M. Levinson; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 187–223.

<sup>26</sup> This text may have been written in the fourth century B.C.E. See, among many others, Manfred OEMING, “‘See, We Are Serving Today’ (Nehemiah 9:36): Nehemiah as a Theological Interpretation of the Persian Period,” in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. O. Lipschits and M. Oeming; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 571–88, esp. 572–73.

<sup>27</sup> See also in Nch 8:18.

setting (confession of sin) focuses on the people's rebellion, extends the review of Israel's history to the time in the land.<sup>28</sup> We find a major break, however, after the conquest of the land (after v. 26), since the summary of the following history remains vague and ambiguous. The first part (vv. 6–25) recalls the following themes: the creation (v. 6); Abraham, Yhwh's chosen, his way out of Ur, God's covenant with him, including the promise of the land (vv. 7–8);<sup>29</sup> the divine intervention to rescue the "fathers" in Egypt and the parting of the Sea (vv. 9–12); God's revelation at Sinai and the gift of the laws through Moses' mediation (vv. 13–15a<sup>30</sup>); gift of the manna and of water from the rock; the disobedience of the fathers and Yhwh's grace; the plan to return to Egypt and the golden calf (vv. 15b–18); divine guidance through the cloud and protection during the forty years in the wilderness (with repetition of manna and water, vv. 19–21); conquest of the territories of Sihon and Og (v. 22); conquest of the land according to the promise made to the fathers (vv. 23–25). Up to this point, the summary covers the main episodes of the Hexateuch, from creation to the entry into the land. Special emphasis is placed on the covenant with Abraham (the only patriarch mentioned in Neh 9), who appears to be the ongoing guarantee for Yhwh's mercy (v. 32).<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, the summary does not follow precisely the narrative outline of the Torah: the refusal to enter the land and the project to return to Egypt (related in Num 14) appear before the fabrication of the golden calf (related in Exod 32); the forty years in the wilderness are not connected with the denial of the land but rather appear in the sense of Deut 8 as the time of Yhwh's care for his people. These differences in regard to the narrative organization of the Pentateuch<sup>32</sup> can be explained in two ways: either the text's author lacked full knowledge of the final narrative outline of the Torah, or he chose not to follow that outline because he was more interested in selecting stories that would best support his argument (Israel's constant disobedience and Yhwh's faithfulness). In this way he would not feel compelled to adhere to a "canonical" story.

<sup>28</sup> Therefore, vv. 6–31 are not only "a hymnic repetition of the whole Torah" (OEMING, "See, We Are Serving Today" (Nehemiah 9:36)," 573).

<sup>29</sup> Neh 9:7 contradicts the P genealogy in Gen 11:27–32, where Abram is born in Haran. It conforms with Gen 15:7, where Yhwh reveals himself to Abram as "the God who brought you out of Ur of the Chaldeans."

<sup>30</sup> With special emphasis on the Sabbath.

<sup>31</sup> For the importance of Abraham, see Bernard GOSSE, "L'alliance avec Abraham et les relectures de l'histoire d'Israël en Ne 9, Ps 105–106, 135–136 et 1 Ch 16," *Transeu* 15 (1998): 123–35; and Richard J. BAUTCH, "An Appraisal of Abraham's Role in Postexilic Covenants," *CBQ* 71 (2009): 42–63.

<sup>32</sup> Another difference occurs in the summary of the Abraham narrative where the change of the patriarch's name (Gen 17) is related before the covenant that follows Abraham's faith (Gen 15).

The second part of the summary, which accomplishes the transition to the present of the prayer (v. 32: וְעַתָּה), opens with Dtr statements about the people's rejection of Yhwh's law and his prophets; contrary to the first part, however, there is no mention of any specific events or figures. Verses 27–29 apparently allude to the Dtr depiction of the time of the Judges (Judg 2:11–3:5), but nothing is said about the time of the monarchy or about a particular king. The destruction of Jerusalem and the exile also go unmentioned. The expression "you handed them over to the peoples of the lands" may allude to deportation, but it is formulated in such a general way that it can apply to any of Israel's enemies – from the Philistines to the Greeks.

Nehemiah 9 seems to support the idea that at the time of its composition there existed a qualitative distinction between a "Torah" (Hexateuch or Pentateuch) and the following history. In order to create a Hexateuch, the insertion of Josh 24 into the Dtr history also shows an attempt to distinguish the "foundations" from the following history. We now turn our attention to considering how this observation may apply to the allusions to Israel's "primary history" found in the Psalter.

### The "Historical" Allusions in the Book of the Psalms

Most commentaries on Psalms label three or four of its hymns (Pss 78, 81, 105, and 106) as "historical Psalms."<sup>33</sup> There exist many more poems, however, that contain allusions to Israel's primary history.<sup>34</sup> We also find attempts to relate the psalms to "history" in the secondary titles, which relate half of the psalms to David, some specifically to precise episodes recounted in the book of Samuel. There is no doubt that these superscriptions were added at a very late stage of the Psalter's formation, in order to foster the concept that David is the "Moses of the Psalms." Indeed, the contents of those psalms do not show any attempt to summarize events from the Davidic story.<sup>35</sup> Some psalms, however, focus on the figure of David, though not for the purpose of

<sup>33</sup> See for instance Hans-Joachim KRAUS, *Psalmen* (BKAT 15.1–2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1961), 54 (quotes Pss 78; 105–106); Manfred OEMING, *Das Buch der Psalmen: Psalm 1–41* (Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar Altes Testament 13.1; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2000), 36 (quotes Pss 78; 81; 105–106).

<sup>34</sup> Aarre LAUHA, *Die Geschichtsmotive in den alttestamentlichen Psalmen* (AASF 56.1; Helsinki: Finnische Literaturgesellschaft, 1945); Johannes KÜHLEWEIN, *Geschichte in den Psalmen* (Calwer theologische Monographien, Reihe A, Bibelwissenschaft 2; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1973); Erik HAGLUND, *Historical Motifs in the Psalms* (ConBOT 23; Malmö: CWK Gleerup, 1984); Dietmar MATHIAS, *Die Geschichtstheologie der Geschichtssummarien in den Psalmen* (BEATAJ 35; Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1993).

<sup>35</sup> Melody D. KNOWLES, "The Flexible Rhetoric of Retelling: The Choice of David in the Texts of the Psalms," *CBQ* 67 (2005): 236–49.

providing a “summary” of his deeds and life. Rather, he appears as a symbol for Yhwh’s promise of an everlasting Davidic dynasty. For example, vv. 4–5 and 20–38 of Ps 89 presuppose 2 Sam 7, a text that they quote quite extensively. These verses frame the evocation of Yhwh’s primordial creation battle against the Sea in order to petition God not to forget his strength and his “messiah.”<sup>36</sup> Psalm 132 also relates to 2 Sam 7, though here we find a rather polemical reply to the latter. Indeed, the psalmist argues that, in contrast to 2 Sam 7, Yhwh affirmed David’s plan to provide him a dwelling place and defends the traditional royal ideology according to which each important king is also a temple builder. The main concern of Ps 132 is to recall the divine election of Mount Zion, which serves as the basis for the continuation of the Davidic dynasty (see also Pss 18; 51). The only psalm that integrates the election of David into a long historical summary is Ps 78 to which we will return later.<sup>37</sup>

According to Mathias, about 20 percent of the Psalms refer to traditions known from the Pentateuch and the so-called historical books of the Bible. It is indeed not always easy to decide whether and in what way some short comments or predications contain allusions to precise events related in the Torah or Nebiim, or in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, or whether we have to do with general hymnic expressions, as for instance in Ps 68:7–8: “O God, when you went out before your people, when you marched through the wilderness, *Selah*, the earth quaked, the heavens poured down rain at the presence of God, the God of Sinai”; or in Ps 34:8: “The angel of Yhwh encamps around those who fear him, and delivers them.”<sup>38</sup>

If we take into account the quite obvious allusions to Israel’s traditions of origins, the following observations can be made: 1) several psalms pick up one or two of these traditions in relation to praise, lament, or exhortation; 2) some psalms attempt to summarize a series of events, which may encompass the time from the exodus to the desert, from the exodus to the victory against the Transjordanian kings, from the exodus to the conquest of Canaan, from the exodus to David, from the exodus to deportation, from the patriarchs to the conquest, from creation to the conquest; 3) no psalm summary encompasses all major events of the narrative structure of the Penta- or Hexateuch.

<sup>36</sup> Timo VEIJOLA, *Verheissung in der Krise: Studien zur Literatur und Theologie der Exilzeit anhand des 89. Psalms* (AASF 220; Helsinki: 1982); Hans Ulrich STEYMAN, *Psalm 89 und der Davidbund: eine strukturelle und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (ÖBS 27; Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2005).

<sup>37</sup> Besides the four psalms mentioned above, and the secondary super- and subscripts, only two other psalms contain the name of David: 122:5 (“house of David”) and 144:10 (David as Yhwh’s servant; here the name seems to be a cipher for all kings of the Davidic dynasty, as suggested by the *parallelismus membrorum*).

<sup>38</sup> The *יהוה ילאת* occurs very often in the Bible, but no passage fits exactly with the enunciation of Ps 34.

### 1) Allusions to Origin Traditions in the Psalms

The most popular tradition appearing in the psalms is the exodus tradition, which is often linked with the conquest. Except for the allusions to David mentioned above, almost all specific references concern episodes narrated in the Pentateuch. Only one psalm refers to an episode from the time of the judges (Ps 83:10–12: Sisera and Jabin; Oreb and Zeeb; Zeba and Zalmunna; cf. Judg 4–8)<sup>39</sup> and one other mentions Samuel (Ps 99:6). There are some other general allusions to the time of the judges or of Samuel in Pss 78 and 132;<sup>40</sup> these, however, are formulated in very general terms that facilitate their application to various situations in Israel’s history. The majority of allusions to specific events evoke pentateuchal traditions. Even with allusions to the gift of the land and its conquest – and in contrast to Moses or even Aaron – Joshua does not appear in the psalms or in any historical summaries of the Hebrew Bible.

Allusions to Yhwh as *creator of the heavens and the earth* occur quite often in the Psalms. Most of these texts, however, do not reference the first chapter of the Torah but refer instead to different conceptions of creation (battle against the Sea: Pss 74 and 89; the foundation [יָסַד] of the earth on the sea: Pss 24:2; 102:26; 104:5, 8; the labor of the earth: Ps 90:2; the making of the sky as a sign of Yhwh’s superiority over the other gods: Ps 96:5).<sup>41</sup> Psalm 8, however, presupposes Gen 1:1–2:4 and perhaps even Gen 3 and 6:1–4,<sup>42</sup> and the same holds true for Pss 136 and 33, which develop the idea of the creation through God’s word, offering a paraphrase of sorts of Gen 1:1–2:4.<sup>43</sup> Most evocations of the creation occur separately; only in Pss 95 and 136 does the remembrance of creation link up with other events: in Ps 95 to the people’s

<sup>39</sup> Ps 68:12–14 is often considered as an allusion to Deborah’s canticle, esp. Judg 5:16, 24–30. Yahweh’s mythological battle in Ps 68 is however not constructed as a summary of the time of the judges, and one could also ask whether the dependence goes the other way round, i.e., that Judg 5 takes up expressions from Ps 68.

<sup>40</sup> Ps 78:56–66 may allude to the time of the judges and to events related in 1 Sam 1–5, see for instance Markus WITTE, “From Exodus to David: History and Historiography in Psalm 78,” in *How Israel’s Later Authors Viewed Its Earlier History: International Conference of the ISDCL at Barcelona, Spain, 2–6 July 2005* (ed. N. Calduch-Benages and J. Liesen; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 21–42, esp. 34–35. Ps 132:6–10 allude to the ark tradition but in a very different way from the book of Sam, since this postexilic psalm portrays David as the founder of the Jerusalemite temple; see Frank Lothar HOSSFELD and Erich ZENGER, *Psalmen 101–150* (HTKAT; Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 2008), 621.

<sup>41</sup> The formula of Yhwh “maker of the heavens, the earth (and the sea)” in Pss 121:2; 124:8; 134:3, 146:6 is too general as to be related to Gen 1.

<sup>42</sup> OEMING, *Psalmen*, 87–88.

<sup>43</sup> OEMING, *Psalmen*, 192: “Es ist deutlich, daß der Dichter hier den priesterschriftlichen Schöpfungsbericht Gen 1,1–2,4a vor Augen hat und ihn frei paraphrasiert.”

misdeeds in the wilderness (Massah and Meribah) and in Ps 136 to the exodus and the defeat of Sihon and Og.

Intriguingly, reception of the *patriarchal tradition* is nearly nonexistent. The ubiquitous lexemes “Jacob” and (less frequent) “Joseph” are poetic parallels for “Israel.” Only Ps 105 pays heed to the patriarchs. In Ps 47:10 the mention of the “people of the God of Abraham” applies to other peoples; this reflects the idea of a “conversion” of non-Israelites to the God of Israel, in which case the title “God of Abraham” may function as a reminder of the universalistic promises in the Abraham story, especially Gen 12:1–3.

In contrast to the traditions of the patriarchs, the *exodus tradition* is at the very heart of the retrospectives in the psalms. The topics include the plagues: Pss 78:43–51; 105:26–36; 111:4(?); 135:8–9 [especially the destruction of Egypt’s firstborn]; and 136:10 [similar to 135:8–9]; the miracle at the Sea of Reeds, especially the annihilation of the Egyptian army: Pss 76:7(?);<sup>44</sup> 78:13; and 136:15; the repelling of the Sea: Ps 114:3–6; the partition of the Sea: Pss 77:10; 78:12; 136:13–14; as well as general allusions to the exodus in Ps 80:9–10 and allegorical language of Israel as a vine taken out of Egypt in Pss 81:5–6; 114:1–2. Besides the “historical psalms” (Pss 78; 105; 106; 136), where the exodus finds integration within an extensive summary of Israel’s origins, the other references to the exodus tradition relate it either to the wilderness or to the conquest. Psalm 77:21 evokes the guidance of the people through Moses and Aaron; Ps 81, which focuses on the Sinai revelation (see below), mentions Yhwh’s testing of the people at Meribah (v. 8) and the people’s rebellious disobedience resulting in God giving them over to the stubbornness of their hearts (vv. 11–12);<sup>45</sup> curiously, Ps 135 links the exodus tradition with the conquest of the Transjordanian territory, without mentioning the conquest of Canaan. In the allegorical Ps 80, the exodus is linked to Israel’s implantation into the land (and also to the loss of that land); Ps 111:4–6 combines Yhwh’s miracles in Egypt with the evocation of his “eternal” covenant (with the patriarchs? or at Sinai?) and the conquest of the land (if טָרַם means “food,” the psalm may also contain a reference to Yhwh’s care for Israel in the desert).<sup>46</sup> Psalm 114 parallels the partition of the Sea of Reeds and the partition of the Jordan (Josh 3–4).

<sup>44</sup> The “chariots and horses” are probably reminiscent of Exod 15:21 and are integrated here in the context of the mythological divine battle against the chaos; see Frank Lothar HOSSFELD and Ernst ZENGER, *Psalmen 51–100* (HTKAT; Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 2000), 396; ET: *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51–100* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005).

<sup>45</sup> These two verses are ambiguous. From the following verses one may conclude that they allude to the fall of Jerusalem and the exile.

<sup>46</sup> See HOSSFELD and ZENGER, *Psalmen 101–150*, 227–28: the unusual word טָרַם was probably chosen because of the alphabetic structure of the psalm. The authors think that the covenant alludes to the Priestly covenant with the patriarchs; see however Charles Augustus BRIGGS and Emilie Grace BRIGGS, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the book of*

Episodes from the *wilderness tradition* occur quite often, mostly in order to remind Israel of its disobedience. Psalm 95 is particularly interesting. After a hymnic appeal to Yhwh as the creator, the second half of the poem exhorts the audience to avoid the stubbornness of their forefathers; it does so by remembering Massah and Meribah (v. 8) and by presenting the forty years in the wilderness not as a punishment for the first generation – as is the case in Num 13–14 – but rather as a time in which the people continuously disgusted Yhwh. This might be a subtle reinterpretation of the pentateuchal wilderness narrative, since Meribah stands at the beginning (Exod 17) as well as the end (Num 20) of the forty years in the desert.<sup>47</sup> Again, in contrast to Num 14, the psalmist presents the divine oath that the people will not enter the land as having been spoken only after the forty-year wandering. This constitutes yet another reinterpretation: מְנוּחָה takes up Deut 12:9 and 1 Kgs 8:56 and may refer not only to the land but also to Yhwh’s presence in his sanctuary.<sup>48</sup> In the psalms, Meribah is mentioned also in Pss 81:8 and 106:32–33, which is an interpretation of Num 20: the people made “Moses’ spirit bitter, so that he spoke words that were rash.” Psalm 106 begins the quite extensive summary of the wilderness by calling to mind the people’s covetousness (vv. 14–15; Num 11:1–3), followed by Dathan and Abiram (vv. 16–18;<sup>49</sup> Num 16), after which follows only the episode of the golden calf (vv. 19–23) and, after Moses’ intercession, the refusal to conquer the land (vv. 24–27). Contrary to the book of Numbers, the apostasy of Baal-Peor (vv. 28–31; cf. Num 25) precedes the events at Meribah (vv. 32–33; cf. Num 20). Whereas Ps 78 evokes the divine cloud and firelight, the gift of water, manna, and meat (vv. 20–26) in contrast to Israel’s disobedience and divine punishment (vv. 17–19, 27–33), Ps 105:39–41 cast the same episodes in an entirely positive perspective. Psalm 136:15 also speaks positively of Yhwh’s leading Israel through the wilderness. The same perspective applies to Ps 99:6–7, which recalls Yhwh’s speaking to his priests Moses and Aaron – and Samuel – in the pillar of cloud.<sup>50</sup>

Psalms (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909), 2:383, who argues that this is an allusion to the covenant of Horeb.

<sup>47</sup> Georg BRAULIK, “Gottes Ruhe: Das Land oder der Tempel? Zu Psalm 95,11,” in *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn: Beiträge zur Theologie der Psalmen* (ed. E. Haag; SBAB 13; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1986), 33–44; repr. in *Studien zum Deuteronomium und seiner Nachgeschichte* (SBAB 33; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2001), 203–11, here 206.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 209–10.

<sup>49</sup> The formulation of these verses presupposes probably also the revolt of the Levites and the 250 men.

<sup>50</sup> Coming from the Pentateuch, the pillar of cloud only fits with Moses and Aaron. According to Jer 15:1, Moses and Aaron were intercessors par excellence, and v. 6b may refer to this function.

It has often been claimed that the historical allusions in the psalms do not refer to the *Sinai tradition and the giving of the law*.<sup>51</sup> The only mention of Sinai in Ps 68:9, 18 occurs in a theophanic context unrelated to the law, and the sole evocation of Horeb in Ps 106:19 introduces the golden-calf episode. There are, however, psalms that allude to Yhwh's giving of the law as part of Israel's foundation traditions. This applies especially to Ps 81, which closely connects the exodus and Yhwh's decree for "Joseph" (likewise Jer 11:3–4). The quotation of the beginning of the Decalogue in vv. 9–10, which is preceded by Yhwh's speaking to Israel in the thunder (v. 7), is best understood as a summary of Exod 19–20 (in which the psalmist integrates Exod 17 with Meribah). Psalm 78 opens its summary with a similar expression as in Ps 81 (Ps 78:5: "decree in Jacob, ... law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers"), and Ps 147:19 mentions God's *הקים* and *משפטים* for Israel. Psalm 99:7 speaks of *ערת* and *חק* that Yhwh gave to Moses and Aaron, and Ps 103:7 of the "ways" God revealed to Moses.

Several summaries end with the *conquest* of the Land. In Ps 136, the only conquest refers to the Transjordanian territory subsequent to Israel's victory over the kings Sihon and Og (Ps 136:16–22). The author of Ps 135, who apparently depends on Ps 136, takes up this theme, but by adding to Sihon and Og "all the kingdoms of Canaan" he transforms the pentateuchal perspective of Ps 136 into a hexateuchal perspective.<sup>52</sup> Psalm 105 ends with Yhwh's gift of "the lands of the nations" to Israel, which in Dtr perspective is predicated on Israel's obedience to the divine commandments (see for instance Josh 23). It is worth noting that Ps 106 carries no explicit mention of the conquest, which is presupposed in the paragraph that follows the allusion to Meribah (vv. 34–39). Psalm 78 briefly mentions the chastising of the nations (vv. 54–55). In this psalm, the conquest relates to the Zion tradition in that Yhwh brings his people to his "holy hill" (v. 54). Psalm 44:3 also recalls the expulsion of the nations and Ps 111:6 characterizes the land as the "heritage of the nations." Except Ps 114, which evokes the parting of the Jordan River, the other references to the conquest tradition remain very vague and do not allude to specific events related in the book of Joshua.

Summing up our investigation so far, it can be said that allusions to traditions belonging to the construction of Israel's early history seem to privilege episodes from the Torah; this datum may indicate a special status of the pentateuchal traditions at the time of those psalms' composition. On the other hand, the appropriation of those traditions appears to have been done with some lib-

<sup>51</sup> MATHIAS, *Die Geschichtstheologie der Geschichtssummarien in den Psalmen*, 41.

<sup>52</sup> HOSSFELD and ZENGER, *Psalmen 101–150*, 668: "Ps 135 zieht also anders als Ps 136, der mit der ostjordanischen Landgabe schließt ... und somit den Geschichtsbogen des Pentateuchs wiedergibt ..., seinen Ereignisbogen weiter aus und spiegelt das hexateuchische Geschichtskonzept wider."

erty, whether by casting some pentateuchal episodes differently than in the narrative context of the Torah or by disregarding the chronology of the pentateuchal narrative. This observation brings us to our next point.

## 2) *The Scope of the Historical Summaries in the Psalms*

Psalms that set out to summarize several periods of Israel's early history cover a variety of different time periods. Only one psalm starts with the creation:<sup>53</sup> Ps 136. This psalm apparently summarizes the narrative extent of the Pentateuch, but, remarkably, it lacks the patriarchs. After the mention of the creation, which apparently takes up expressions from the P account in Gen 1 (vv. 4–9),<sup>54</sup> the psalmist switches directly to the exodus (vv. 10–15), the wilderness period (v. 16<sup>55</sup>), and the conquest of the Transjordanian territories exemplified by the victory over Sihon and Og (vv. 17–22). In vv. 23–25 the hymnic recital of the Torah engenders a cultic response by the community,<sup>56</sup> which takes up the Priestly theme of Yhwh's remembering (see Gen 8:1; 9:15; Exod 2:24; 6:5). The fact that Ps 136 intends to summarize the Pentateuch (though without the patriarchs!) would gain further importance if Christoph Levin were correct in claiming that this psalm was originally conceived as a conclusion for the book of Psalms.<sup>57</sup>

Psalm 105 is the psalm that begins with Abraham and treats in detail the patriarchal period (including Joseph). As in Neh 9, Yhwh's promise to Abraham functions in Ps 105 as the trajectory for the entire, subsequent history. This is shown by the fact that references to the divine promise to Abraham frame the historical summary in vv. 8 and 42–43. Following the evocation of the patriarchs, which contains the themes of their status as *גרים* and the promise of the land (vv. 8–15), the summary shifts to the Joseph story (vv. 16–23), which is related in quite a detailed way. This may be an indication that this story was less well-known than the other traditions of the Pentateuch, which would in that case support the theory of the late insertion of the Joseph story

<sup>53</sup> One could add Ps 95, but in this psalm the evocation of Yhwh as creator and of the time of the wilderness are not put in a continuous chronology.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *ארים גדולים*. For further details see HOSSFELD and ZENGER, *Psalmen 101–150*, 679.

<sup>55</sup> According to Ruth SCORALICK, "Hallelujah für einen gewalttätigen Gott? Zur Theologie von Psalm 135 und 136," *BZ* 46 (2002): 253–72, here 266–67, this verse also contains allusions to the Sinai tradition. But this idea is not totally convincing.

<sup>56</sup> Christian MACHOLZ, "Psalm 136: Exegetische Beobachtungen mit methodologischen Seitenblicken," in Mincha (ed. E. Blum; Neukirchen Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000), 177–86, here 185.

<sup>57</sup> Christoph LEVIN, "Ps 136 als zeitweilige Schlußdilogie des Psalters," *SJOT* 14 (2000): 19–27; repr. in *Fortschreibungen: Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (BZAW 316; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 314–21.

into the narrative framework of the Pentateuch.<sup>58</sup> The evocation of the plagues opens with the mention of Moses and Aaron. In the same way as Ps 78, Ps 105 also limits the account of the book of Exodus to seven or eight signs<sup>59</sup> and reflects the Priestly interpretation of Yhwh's signs in Egypt.<sup>60</sup> The relating of the exodus includes an allusion to the Egyptian silver and gold but lacks the crossing of the Sea (vv. 37–38). The guidance in the wilderness (vv. 39–41) is illustrated by the pillar of cloud and fire and by the provision of quails, manna, and water. The Abraham frame followed by the recall of Israel's joyful exodus (vv. 42–43) gives the impression that the historical summary has come to an end. The gift of the land in vv. 44–45, which is conditioned by Israel's obedience to Yhwh's laws, stands somewhat outside the recapitulation. The astonishing and singular expression אֶרֶץ צִוְוֹת נְיָיִם does not really fit the conquest of Canaan; it evokes moreover a situation of Diaspora (cf. the expressions in Ezek 12:15; 20:32, 41). Psalm 105 therefore concludes with "an open end," which may be understood either as the possibility of a new entry into the land or as a valorizing of the Diaspora situation.

Most of the historical summaries in the psalms commence with the exodus: Ps 77:12–21 recalls Yhwh's liberating action, the passing through the sea and the guidance through the wilderness by Moses and Aaron. Psalm 81 also begins with the exodus and ends in the wilderness, though it focuses on Yhwh's law and the people's disobedience. Psalm 135, which depends on Ps 136 (see above), contains the exodus and the defeat of Sihon and Og. It corrects the pentateuchal extent of Ps 136 into a "hexateuchal" extent by adding a short addition, namely "the kingdoms of Canaan."<sup>61</sup> The short summary of Ps 111 also contains a short retrospective from Egypt to the possession of the land: Yhwh's signs, the desert and the covenant (of Sinai?), and the heritage of the

<sup>58</sup> As is well known, Ps 105 is the only text in the HB outside the Hexateuch that mentions the Joseph story. For the current discussion about the composition of the Joseph story and its insertion in the Pentateuch, see Christoph UEHLINGER, "Fratrerie, filiations et paternités dans l'histoire de Joseph (Genèse 37–50\*)," in *Jacob: Commentaire à plusieurs voix de Gen 25–36* (ed. J.-D. Macchi and T. Römer; MdB 44; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2001), 303–28; Konrad SCHMID, "Die Josephsgeschichte im Pentateuch," in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (ed. J. C. Gertz, K. Schmid and M. Witte; BZAW 315; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 83–118. Israel Knohl (private communication) suggests that Ps 81:6 also may contain an allusion to the Joseph story. In my view the idea of lawgiving to Joseph does not fit with the Joseph narrative. The parallel between "Jacob" and "Joseph" indicates that the latter should be understood here as an eponym for (Northern) Israel; see similarly KRAUS, *Psalmen*, 564.

<sup>59</sup> This depends whether one counts v. 31 as alluding to one or to two plagues.

<sup>60</sup> Archie C. C. LEE, "Genesis I and the Plagues Tradition in Psalm CV," *VT* 40 (1990): 257–63.

<sup>61</sup> On the importance of the Sihon and Og tradition see also Rolf RENDTORFF, "Sihon, Og und das 'israelitische Credo,'" in Meilenstein (ed. M. Weippert and S. Timm; *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 30; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 198–203.

nations. Even shorter is Ps 114, which after a brief mention of the exodus sets in parallel the parting of the Sea of Reeds and the Jordan. The mythological presentation of exodus and *eisodos* refers to the "second" exodus and the restoration of Zion.<sup>62</sup>

Two psalms extend the summary beyond the Penta- or Hexateuch. Psalm 106 focuses on the sin of the fathers and the present generation (v. 6). Therefore the description of the exodus already integrates the idea of Israel's rebellion predating the exodus (vv. 7–12; cf. Ezek 20; for the rebellion at the Sea of Reeds, cf. Exod 14:11–12). The main emphasis is placed on the description of the time in the wilderness (vv. 13–33), which, as in the book of Numbers, is depicted as a time of ongoing rebellion (see above). The negative perspective also helps explain why all examples, except the golden calf, refer to events taking place in Numbers: the food as punishment (Num 11), Dathan and Abiram (Num 16), the golden calf and the refusal of the conquest (Num 14<sup>63</sup>),<sup>64</sup> Baal-Peor (Num 25, here reckoned among wilderness events) and Moses' sin at Meribah (Num 20), the blame for which Ps 106 places on the people. After this event an important break occurs. The conquest of the land finds no mention; the verses following the Meribah episode pertain to the situation in the land. Thereby, and as Hossfeld has astutely observed, "the presentation changes radically: no more names of places, of persons, and no more evocation of specific scenes."<sup>65</sup> One could therefore surmise vv. 7–33 as a presentation of events from the "life of Moses" spanning the time in Egypt up to the announcement of his death. Verses 34–39 describe in Dtr terminology Israel's misconduct in the land, though imprecisely (the mixing-up with the nations, vv. 34–36, may refer to the time of the judges, and the sacrifice of children, vv. 37–38<sup>66</sup> to the time of the kings; v. 39 has a parallel in Ezek 20:7, 18, 30). Verses 40–42 relate the handing-over of Israel to hostile nations with such general contours that the event could belong to the time of the judges, the kings, or even the destruction of Israel and Judah. Verses 43–46 recall Yhwh's pity for his people despite their rebelliousness. Yhwh's compassion is explained by his remembrance of his covenant (v. 45 has its nearest parallel in Lev 26:45), which leads to the ingathering of the Israelites from the peoples

<sup>62</sup> HOSSFELD and ZENGER, *Psalmen* 101–150, 273.

<sup>63</sup> Likewise Ezek 20:23; the punishment is formulated to reflect the events after 587: "he would disperse their descendants among the nations" (106:27).

<sup>64</sup> These episodes may have been related because of the fact that both provoke Moses' intercession in the Pentateuch. Intercessions seems also be a concern for the author of Ps 106, see v. 23 (Moses) and v. 30 (Pinchas).

<sup>65</sup> HOSSFELD and ZENGER, *Psalmen* 101–150, 132.

<sup>66</sup> The mention of the blood of the sons and daughters in v. 38 is often considered to be the product of a late copyist. Then this verse would accuse the people of transgressions of the law of asylum as formulated in Deut. 19:10 and Num 35:33 (see HOSSFELD and ZENGER, *Psalmen* 101–150, 133).

holding them captive (v. 46, cf. Lev 26:44). The twofold structure of Ps 106 shows that for this author the Pentateuch (or at least the Moses story) was considered as a distinct unit from the following books, which he certainly also knew.

The case of Ps 78 is both similar and dissimilar. This poem apparently spans an arc reaching from Egypt to David and Zion. The structure of the psalm resists precise delineation; the confusion may stem from different redactions that a majority of scholars believe the text underwent.<sup>67</sup> The retropection begins with a reminder of Yhwh's law for "Jacob" (v. 5). The notably obscure critique of the "sons of Ephraim" (vv. 9–11) prepares for the rejection of Joseph-Ephraim (vv. 67–69).<sup>68</sup> The time of the wilderness is framed by two sequences recalling the exodus tradition (vv. 12–13: the parting of the sea; and vv. 43–51: a lengthy recapitulation of seven<sup>69</sup> plagues<sup>70</sup>). Similar to Ps 106, the wilderness (vv. 14–42) represents a time of continuous rebellion and of divine compassion (the following episodes are mentioned: the divine cloud, water from the rock [this miracle is placed against the exodus narrative before the food from heaven], manna and quails [the evocation mixes Exod 16 and Num 11], a general comment about the time of the wilderness [the rejection of the covenant in v. 37 may allude to the Sinai tradition]). Contrary to Ps 106 is Ps 78's recounting of the entry into the land after a final comment on the divine guidance (vv. 52–53). Verse 55 seems to allude to the two parts of the book of Joshua ("he cast out nations before them and he appointed them for an inheritance": וַיִּפְּלֵם בְּהַכֵּל נְחֻלָּה). The previous verse (v. 54), however, perceives, contrary to Joshua, the entry into the land as an event in which the people congregates around Yhwh's holy mountain. This theme anticipates the election of Zion. The description of the events in the land is, like Ps 106, quite general, even "paradigmatic,"<sup>71</sup> with the exception of the rejection of Shiloh (v. 60, which is not explicitly stated in Samuel or Kings; cf. 1 Kgs 2:27 and Jer 7:14); vv. 56–59 is very general and, in Dtr perspective, may encompass the whole time of the judges to the kings, although vv. 61–66 may refer to the ark narrative and the defeat of the Philistines, one may also

<sup>67</sup> For a summary of different opinions and a reasonable proposal, see WITTE, *From Exodus to David* (see n. 40, above), 22–24.

<sup>68</sup> According to WITTE, "From Exodus to David," 23, and many others (Hermann SPIECKERMANN, *Heilsgegenwart: Eine Theologie der Psalmen* [FRLANT 148; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989], 134; HOSSFELD and ZENGER, *Psalmen 51–100*, 422, etc.) these verses are a later insertion.

<sup>69</sup> The number seven does not presuppose an older plague account but is a synthesis of the final (P and non-P) Exodus narrative.

<sup>70</sup> These verses are also often considered as a later addition, see WITTE, "From Exodus to David," 22–23.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 34–36.

think of the events of the siege of Jerusalem.<sup>72</sup> The rejection of Joseph-Ephraim and the election of the Zion (vv. 67–69) may allude to 2 Kgs 17; it may also reflect an anti-Samaritan polemic, especially if the psalm dates to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century.<sup>73</sup> At any rate, for the author of this poem, the election of David (vv. 70–72) constitutes the greatest gift of Yhwh to his people. It is not by accident then that – and in contrast to other historical summaries – this psalm makes no mention of Abraham, Moses, or Aaron. Rather, the Davidic time appears as the "golden age," and apparently the psalmist nurtured hopes of a *David redivivus* similar to what we find in Ezek 34:23–24 and 37:24–25. Psalm 78 remains the only text in the Psalter that offers a summary of the "salvation history," which clearly finds its fulfillment outside the Pentateuch or the Hexateuch. Nevertheless, the psalmist also marks a hiatus between the exodus-*eisodos* narrative and the following history, which is treated in a much more general way.

To sum up it can be said that most of the historical summaries demonstrate the special status of the pentateuchal narrative (often focusing on the Moses story) compared to the Former Prophets. Psalms that tend to include the entry into the land, moreover, arguably reflect the debate between Penta- or Hexateuch in the Persian period.

### 3) *The Psalms and the Pentateuch*

We have not addressed in detail the complicated question of the date of composition of the different psalms treated above. Independently of these considerations there is evidence that these psalms, whose authorship probably does not date much later than the third century, seem to recognize a special status for the Pentateuch. This status is also recognized at the very beginning of the Psalter in Ps 1:1–2, which closely parallels Josh 1:8: "Happy are those who do not follow the advice of the wicked ... but their delight is in the Torah of Yhwh, and on his Torah they meditate day and night." As in Josh 1:8, daily meditation on the Torah is the condition for success and happiness; like the Prophets, the Psalms (or perhaps even the Writings as a whole) are related to the Pentateuch in such a way that they cannot be read apart from the first five books.<sup>74</sup> The fact that the Psalter has been divided into five books provides another hint for the existence of a Pentateuch at the time of the formation of the Psalter.

Returning briefly to our analysis of the historical summaries, we may conclude that the authority of the idea of a Pentateuch (or even a Hexateuch) does

<sup>72</sup> HOSSFELD and ZENGER, *Psalmen 51–100*, 438–40.

<sup>73</sup> WITTE, "From Exodus to David," 38–39.

<sup>74</sup> Alexander ROFÉ, "Piety of the Torah-Disciples at the Winding-Up of the Hebrew Bible: Josh 1:8, Ps 1:2, Isa 59:21," in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition* (ed. H. Merklein et al.; BBB 88; Frankfurt a. M.: Anton Hain, 1993), 78–85.

not imply a “static” or “canonical” idea of the Torah. None of the historical psalms recalls all major narrative events of the Torah, and as we have seen, a certain freedom to arrange or to understand some episodes differently than in the Pentateuch is clearly in evidence. Some other psalms seem even to introduce into the Psalter critical views of main issues of the Torah. This is particularly the case in psalms that, similar to some prophetic passages, criticize the sacrificial cult (Pss 40:7; 50:8–15; 51:18–19 against 20–21; 69:32–33).<sup>75</sup>

Finally, certain observations regarding the use of the pentateuchal traditions also provide support for recent theories pertaining to the formation of the Pentateuch. The fact that creation is often related to (in knowledge of the P account) but seldom integrated into a comprehensive summary confirms the independence of the origin tradition in Gen 1–11, which was apparently linked to the patriarchs only at a late stage. The same holds true for the patriarchs. The fact that only one psalm integrates the patriarchs into the recapitulation of the pentateuchal tradition, and that another psalm can jump from creation to exodus may offer some support for interpreting the patriarchs and the exodus as competing origin traditions. The relative popularity of the Sihon-Og tradition (see also Neh 9) may indicate the importance of the conquest of the Transjordanian territories, the minimizing of which may have been a concession made to the Dtr conquest tradition.

To be sure, in and of themselves these observations cannot support the full weight of a hypothesis. Nonetheless, I think it has been demonstrated that allusions to “history” in the Psalms indeed belong to current pentateuchal research.

<sup>75</sup> Interesting also is the case of Ps 44, which recalls the gift of the land and the handing-over of Israel to its enemies (destruction of Jerusalem?). The psalmist contradicts the Dtr history by claiming that Israel has not broken the covenant; see Dalit ROM-SHILONI, “Psalm 44: the Power of Protest,” *CBQ* 70 (2008): 683–98.

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# The Pentateuch

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