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## THE HEADINGS OF THE PSALMS

The present article is the second part of a discussion of the headings of the Psalms which was begun in the January number of this REVIEW. In that article the evidence from comparative literature and history bearing on the headings was examined, with the result that the weight of the evidence was seen to favor the probability that psalms were composed in Hebrew as early as the time of David, of Moses, and even of Jacob. An examination of the contents of the psalms themselves shows no indications of post-captivity origin sufficient to impugn the direct and explicit evidence of the headings as to the authorship and occasions of the psalms. I then commenced a consideration of the historical character of the headings of the psalms, by giving first of all a classification of the different kinds of headings. I shall now proceed to test the headings further by examining in the second place, the vocabulary of the headings, and last of all, the evidence in support of the text of the headings as found in the Textus Receptus.

## II. VOCABULARY OF THE HEADINGS

### I. *Words for Different Kinds of Songs.*

(1) *Shûr*, "to sing," occurs 87 times in the Old Testament. 27 of these are in the Psalms; 5<sup>1</sup> in Book I. (vii. 1, xiii. 6, xxi. 14, xxvii. 6, xxxiii. 3); 6 in Book II. (lvii. 8, lix. 17, lxv. 14, lxxviii. 5, 26, 33); 2 in Book III. (lxxxvii. 7, lxxxix. 2); 8 in Book IV. (xcvi. 1 *bis*, 2, xcviii. 1, ci. 1, civ. 33,

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<sup>1</sup> Where the Arabic numerals are written in *italics* the reference is as here to *times* of occurrence.

cv. 2, cvi. 12); 6 in Book V. (cviii. 2, cxxxvii. 3, 4, cxxxviii. 5, cxliv. 9, cxlix. 1). In the headings, it occurs once in Book I. (vii. 1); 1 in Book III. (lxxxix. 1); 3 in Book IV. (xcvi. 1, xcvi. 1, ci. 1); 1 in Book V. (cviii. 1); i.e. six times in all.

Elsewhere the verb occurs in Jud. v. 1, 3, 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 2 Sam. xix. 36 *bis*, 1 Kings x. 12, Is. v. 1, xxvi. 1, xlii. 10, Zeph. ii. 14, Ez. xl. 44, Ex. xv. 1 *bis*, 21, Num. xxi. 17, Jer. xx. 13, Prov. xxv. 20, Job xxxiii. 27, xxxvi. 24, Ecc. ii. 8 *bis*, 1 Chron. (7), 2 Chron. (10), Ezra (6), Neh. (16), or 60 times in all.

The noun *shîr*, "song," is found 77 times in the Old Testament, of which 42 occur in the Psalter, as follows: 4 in Book I. (xxviii. 7, xxx. 1, xxxiii. 3, xl. 4); 9 in Book II. (xlii. 9, xlv. 1, xlvi. 1, xlviii. 1, lxv. 1, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 1, lxviii. 1, lxix. 31); 5 in Book III. (lxxv. 1, lxxvi. 1, lxxxiii. 1, lxxxvii. 1, lxxxviii. 1); 3 in Book IV. (xcii. 1, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 1); 21 in Book V. It occurs elsewhere 35 times: Gen. (1), Judges (1), Kings (1), Chronicles (14), Neh. (3), Ecc. (2), Canticles (2), Prov. (1), Is. (5), Ezek. (2), Amos (3).

*Shîrâ*, "song," occurs in Ex. xv. 1, Num. xxi. 17, Deut. xxxi. 19 *bis*, 21, 22, 30, xxxii. 44, 2 Sam. xxii. 1, Ps. xviii. 1, xlii. 3, Am. viii. 3, Is. v. 1, xxiii. 15.

Further, the root and its derivatives seem to be found in the other Semitic languages only when derived from the Hebrew. Thus, in Onkelos and the Syriac Pentateuch it does not occur but is translated always by *shabbah*, or a derivative of it. In Samaritan the verb is rendered by *shabbah*; the noun, in Gen. xxxi. 27 is translated by *rabban* and in Num. xxi. 17, Deut. xxxi. 19, xxxii. 44 is transliterated. In Syriac, it is transliterated to denote the "Song of Songs" and the noun *shîrâ* is found once in Ephraim Syrus. In the Syro-Palestinian, *shîrâ* occurs in Ps. xcvi. 1 and elsewhere; and the verb is found in the causative stem (*Aphel*) in Ex. xv. 1, Ps. xcvi. 1 and in other places. It does not occur in Arabic in either root or derivative, nor in Babylonian. It

may be derived from the Sumerian *sir* "song."<sup>2</sup> From the above evidence, it is clear that *shîr* and its derivatives were used in all parts of the Old Testament and in all periods of the literature; so that no argument for the age of a document can be based on its occurrence in that document.

(2) The verb *zāmar*, "to sing (praises)," is found 9 times in Book I. (vii. 18. ix. 3, 12, xviii. 50, xxi. 14, xxvii. 6, xxx. 5, 13, xxxiii. 2); 14 in Book II. (xlvii. 7 *bis*, 8, lvii. 8, 10, lix. 18, lxi. 9, lxvi. 2, 4 *bis*, lxviii. 5, 33, lxxi. 22, 23); 1 in Book III. (lxxv. 10); 6 in Book IV. (xcii. 2, xcvi. 4, 5, ci. 1, civ. 33, cv. 2); and 9 in Book V. (cviii. 2, 4, cxxxv. 3, cxxxviii. 1, cxliv. 9, cxlvi. 2, cxlvii. 1, 7, cxlix. 3); 39 times in all. It occurs, also, in Jud. v. 3, 2 Sam. xxii. 50, Is. v. 6, xii. 5, Lev. xxv. 3, 4, 1 Chron. xvi. 9.

*Zimrā* in the sense of "psalm" or "melody" occurs once each in Book III. (lxxx. 3) and in Book IV. (xcviii. 5); and also, in Gen. xliii. 11, Amos v. 23 and Is. li. 3.

*Zimrāth* occurs once in Book V. (cxviii. 14); also in Ex. xv. 2 and in Is. xii. 2.

*Zāmîr* occurs in Cant. ii. 12.

*Zemîr* occurs once each in Book IV. (xcv. 2) and Book V. (cxix. 54); and also in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, Is. xxiv. 16, xxv. 5 and Job xxxv. 10.

*Mizmôr* occurs only in the titles of the Psalms; Book I. (22); Book II. (12); Book III. (12); Book IV. (4); Book V. (7); altogether, 57 times.

In Babylonian, we have the verb *zamāru* "to sing, or play," *zamaru* "song," *zammeru* "singer," and *tazmertu* "song." In Aramaic, we have *z'mar* "to sing," *zammār* "singer," *zemer* "song," *zimra* and *z'mara* "music" and *z'mera* "song" and *mizmora* "psalm." In Syriac, we have *z'mar* "to sing," *z'moro* "song," *mazmura* "psalm," *zammoro* and *m'zammerono* "singer," *sumoro* "chant" and *zamruro* "tibia." In

<sup>2</sup>*Sir* "song" is found in Langdon's work, pp. 68, 70, and is translated by the Babylonian *zamāru*, and on pp. 286, 316, is a synonym of *eršemma* "psalm." Especially significant is the phrase *sir Dingir addamu*, where the word *sir* is followed by the name of the author.

Arabic, *zamara* means "to play," *zamr* "sound," *zammār* "flute-player," *zamarah* "piping," *zammarah* and *mizmarah* "reed instrument" and *mazmuran* "psalm."

Since, therefore, the root *zmr* and its derivatives are found in all four families of the Semitic group of languages and in all stages of Semitic literature, no argument for age can be drawn from its use in the Hebrew documents of the Old Testament.

(3) *Hillāl*, "to praise," is found in the Psalms 74 times, to wit: Book I. (5); Book II. (7); Book III. (2); Book IV. (5); and Book V. (55). It is found, also, in Jud. (1); Samuel (1); Isaiah (3); Joel (1); Jeremiah (2); Proverbs (4); Chronicles (19); Ezra (3); Nehemiah (2); in Genesis xii. 15 and Cant. vi. 9.

*T'hillā*, "praise," is found in the Psalms in Book I. (7); Book II. (8); Book III. (2); Book IV. (5); Book V. (8). Also, in Ex. xv. 11; Deut. (2); Isa. (11); Jer. (6); Hab. (1); Zeph. (2); Chron. (2); and Neh. (2). The verb and its derivatives do not occur in the Targum. In Onkelos, the verb and its derivatives are always rendered by *shabbah* and its derivatives. The verb occurs in Syriac, also the noun *hulolo* "hymn." It corresponds to the Babylonian *alālu* or *elēlu*, "to rejoice, or play music." In Arabic, we have the verb *hallal* "to praise God," (cf. *tahlīl* "act of praising," and *tahlul* "shout of joy").

In view of the evidence, it cannot therefore be held that the use of the verb or its derivative in a Hebrew document is evidence of age.

(4) *Rānan*, "to shout or sing for joy," occurs in the Psalms 26 times:—in Book I. (5); Book II. (6); Book III. (4); Book IV. (6); Book V. (5). Besides it is found in Lev. ix. 24; Deut. xxxii. 43; Isa. i-xxxix. (6), xl-lxvi. (8); Jer. (3); Lam. (1); Zeph. (1); Zech. (1); Prov. (3); Job (2); and in 1 Chron. xvi. 33.

*Rinnā*, "cry or singing," occurs in the Psalms 15 times:—in Book I. (2); in Book II. (3); in Book III. (1); in Book IV. (2); in Book V. (7). It occurs, also, in Kings

(2); Prov. xi. 10; Is. i-xxxix. (2); xl-lxvi. (7); Zeph. (1); Jer. (3); 2 Chron. (2).

*R'nānā*, "singing or triumphing," occurs in Book II. (lxiii. 6) and in Book IV. (c. 2); also in Job (2).

The root is not found in Syriac; and in Babylonian and Arabic it has a different sense. Onkelos renders it by *shabbah* "to praise," as does the Samaritan in Lev. ix. 24. *R'nan* occurs in New Aramaic and *r'nānā*, "song," in New Hebrew and New Aramaic.

Unless one is prepared to put Proverbs, Deut. xxxii. 43, all of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zephaniah and the Books of Kings down after the Captivity, he will be compelled to admit that this root and its derivatives offer no proof of the lateness of the documents which contain it.

(5) The verb *ānā* is translated "to sing" in Hos. ii. 17, Num. xxi. 17, 1 Sam. xxi. 11, xxix. 5, Ezra iii. 11, and Ps. cxlvii. 3. Since nearly all critics put Hosea, 1 Samuel, and Numbers xxi at an early date, the use of this word in a psalm would give no evidence that the document is late. Onkelos in Num. xxi. 17 renders it by *shabbah* "to praise."

(6) *N'gīnā*, "song" or "music," will be treated in 2 (1).

(7) *Miktām* occurs in the heading of Psalms xvi., lvi., lvii., lviii., lix., and lx. The form is common to all the Semitic languages. A root in the sense of "hide" occurs in Babylonian and Arabic; but in Hebrew and Syriac the root means "to mark or spot." *Miktām* itself is found in no other language except Hebrew and there only in the headings of these six psalms. The LXX rendered it by *στυλογραφία* which Jerome in his version of the LXX renders by *tituli inscriptio*. In his *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos*, he renders by *humilis et simplex* (xvi, lvi-lix) and by *humilis et perfectus* (lx. 1). He evidently follows the Targum which ordinarily divides *miktām* into two words *mak* and *tam* which it renders by *makik ushelim* "tender and perfect" (lvi. 1, lvii. 1, lviii. 1, lix. 1); by *parshegen* "copy or explanation" (lx. 1); and by *g'lifa t'riša* "an emended inscription" (xvi. 1). Aquila and Symmachus agree with the Targum in dividing

the word into two. Evidently, even when the earliest versions were made, the word was so old that it had passed out of use and its meaning had been forgotten. This argues for the antiquity of the headings.

(8) *Maskil* occurs in the headings of twelve psalms, seven of which are in Book II. (xlii, xlv., xlv., lii, liii., liv., lv.); four in Book III. (lxxiv, lxxviii., lxxxviii., lxxxix.); and one in Book V. (cxlii). The verb is found in Arabic, Babylonian, Aramaic and Hebrew. The form is good Semitic and good Hebrew. The root is found in the *Ḳal* stem in 1 Sam. xviii. 30; in the *Piel* in Gen. xlvi. 14; in the *Hiphil*, in Gen. (1); Deut. (2); Jos. (1); Sam. (3); Kings (2); Is. (3); Jer. (6); Amos (1); Dan. (9); Prov. (13); Job. (3); Chron. (2); Neh. (2). The derivative *sekel* is found in 1 Sam. (1); Prov. (6); Dan. (1); Job (1); Chron. (4); Ezra (1); Neh. (1). It is obvious, therefore, that the word may have been used in any period of Hebrew literature. That its exact meaning was unknown to the earliest translators and that it does not occur in either the Hebrew or Aramaic of the Targums or Talmud, or in any Semitic language, or dialect, except the Hebrew of the Old Testament, argue in favor of the headings having been written long before the first versions were made.

(9) *T'phillā*, "prayer," occurs in 2 Sam. vii. 27, Kings (10); Prov. (3); Isa. (5); Jer. (2), and Lam. (2); Dan. (3); Jonah (1), and Hab. (1); Chron. (12); Neh. (3), and Job (1). In the Psalms, it occurs in Book I. (6); Book II. (9); Book III. (6); Book IV. (4); Book V. (6). In the sense of "to pray" the verb is used only in the *Hithpacl* where it occurs in Gen. (2); Num. (3); Deut. (2); Sam. (11); Kings (16); Is. (7); Jer. (10); Jonah (2); Dan. (2); Job (2); Chr. (15); Ezra (1); Neh. (4). The root and derivative occur in New Hebrew; but not in Arabic, Babylonian or Syriac, nor in the same sense in the Aramaic of the Targum and Talmud. It follows, therefore, that no argument for late date can be made from the appearance of this word in a Hebrew document.

(10) *Tôdâ*, "thanksgiving," occurs in Psalms xxvi. 7, xlii. 4, l. 14, 23, lvi. 13, lxix. 31, xci. 2, c. 1, cvii. 22, cxvi. 17, cxlvii. 7; also, in Is. li. 3, Am. iv. 5, Jon. ii. 10, Jer. xvii. 26 (?), xxx. 19, xxxiii. 11; Chr. (3); Ezra x. 11 (?); Neh. (4). The *Hiphil*, in the sense of "give thanks," occurs in the Psalms in Book I. (11); Book II. (13); Book III. (4); Book IV. (4); Book V. (24); elsewhere, in Gen. (2); Sam. (1); Kings (1), Is. (5); Jer. (1); Job (1); Prov. (1); Chr. (15); Ezra (1), Neh. (3). In Syriac, the Causative of the verb and its derivatives alone are used, but always in the sense of "confess" or "promise." In New Hebrew and New Aramaic the Causative is used in the sense of "thank," but not the noun in the sense of "thanksgiving." In Arabic and Babylonian, neither root, nor derivative is found. Here, again, no argument for date can be found in the use of this word in a Hebrew document.

(11) *Shiggaion*<sup>3</sup> is found in the Hebrew Bible only in Ps. vii. 1 and Hab. iii. 1. The verb in Hebrew means "to err"; but in Arabic and Babylonian "to lament." The Babylonian has, also, *shigu* "lamentation" a synonym of *takribtu* and *tanihu*. The LXX renders it in Ps. vii. 1 by "psalm" and in Hab. iii. 1 by "ode." Jerome in his version of the Hebrew of Ps. vii. 1 and Hab. iii. 1 renders it by *ignoratio*. The Syriac omits and the Targum paraphrases both verses, so that their testimony amounts to nothing. Aquila and Symmachus render by "error" or "an unknown thing." We are forced to conclude, therefore, that 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. The generalization "psalmos" of the LXX and the variations of the meaning "error" favor an early date for the heading.

<sup>3</sup> Some commentators compare this word to *Haggaion* (Ps. ix. 17, xix. 15, xcii. 4, Lam. iii. 62) a word meaning "meditation." The form is the same and this would slightly favor the meaning of "lamentation." Many of the Sumerian hymns are called lamentations. (See Langdon both in his introduction and in the psalms, especially the subscriptions.)

## 2. *Words for Musical Instruments*

(1) *N'gînā*, "song," or "music," occurs in Psalms iv. 1, vi. 1, liv. 1, lv. 1, lxi. 1, lxvii. 1, lxix. 13, lxxvi. 1, lxxvii. 7; or Book I. (2); Book II. (5); Book III. (2); and in Is. xxxviii. 20, Hab. iii. 19, Lam. iii. 14, v. 14 and Job xxx. 9. *Nôgēn*, "player on an instrument," is found only in Ps. lxviii. 26. The verb is found in 1 Sam. (7); Kings (3); Is. (2); Ezek. (1), and Ps. xxxiii. 3. *Nāgan* and *n'gînā* are found in New Hebrew and New Aramaic in the sense of "to play an instrument" and "music." The root and derivatives are absent from Arabic and Syriac; but in Babylonian the noun *ningutu* or *nigutu* is of frequent occurrence.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. A. Cowley of Oxford in his work, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, gives the root the meaning "to inflict suffering" and suggests that the word *n'gînā* in the headings of the psalms may mean "affliction." This may be so or not; but it is certain that it was not so understood by the translators of any of the great primary versions of antiquity. The Aramaic Targum renders it by *h'nag*, *shab-bah*, *z'mar*, or *n'gan*; the Syriac by *z'mar*, *n'faḡ*, *n'ḡash*, *ḡaddi* and *ranni*; Aquila by some form of *zmr*; Symmachus by *kinnor*, *zmr*, and *h'go*; LXX by *ψάλλειν*, *ψαλμός*, *ᾠμος*, or some similar word; Jerome in the direct translation from the Hebrew by *psallo* and *psalmus*. However, whether it be taken in one sense, or the other, or both, it is clear that its use is no indication of the age of the document in which it occurs.

(2) *N'hîlôth* occurs in the Bible only in v. 1. The Targum interpreted it as meaning "musical instruments," perhaps deriving it from the root of *ḡalîl* "flute." All the other versions, LXX, Jerome, Aquila and Symmachus, derive it from the root *nāḡal* meaning "to inherit." In this latter sense the root occurs, according to the division of the critics themselves, in E, D, H and P. It occurs also, in Jos., Jud., Sam., Is., Zep.,

<sup>4</sup> See Muss-Arnolt's Dictionary, Streck's *Assurbanipal*, p. 542, and Winckler's *Sargon*. In the last named book "to make music" seems to have become equivalent to "to make a festival."



Jer., Ek., Zech., Prov., Job, in 1 Ch. xxviii. 8 and in Psalms lxix. 37, lxxxii. 8, cxix. 3. The noun *n'hālā* occurs in E, J, D, P, Jos., Jud., Ru., Sam., Kings, Is., Jer., Lam., Ek., Joel, Mi., Mal., Chr., Neh., Job and in the Psalms, Book I. (4) : Book II. (2) ; Book III. (5) ; Book IV. (3) ; Book V. (6). It is evident, therefore, that in this sense, the word of the heading may have been used at any period of Hebrew literature. If we take the sense "musical instrument," the closest analogies containing the radical *hal* are the *halil* "pipe" of the Old Testament, which occurs in Sam., Kings, Is. and Jer.; *maḥōl* and *m'hōlā* "dance or dancing" which occur in Ex., Jud., Sam., Cant., Jer., Lam. and Pss. xxx. 12, cxlix. 3, cl. 4. With these is to be compared the *maḥalath* of the titles of Pss. liii. and lxxxviii.<sup>5</sup> In Babylonian we have the verb *halālu* "to play the flute"; *melilu* "flute-player" and *halhalatu* "flute." In this sense, also, the word may have been used at any period of Hebrew literature.

(3) *Haggittith* (viii. 1, lxxxi. 1, lxxxiv. 1) is translated in the Targum and by Aquila in viii. 1 by "the harp (*kinnōr*) which was from Gath." They have derived the word from the name of the city of Gath, a city in which David resided for some time with Achish, the king. The LXX, Jerome and Aquila (in lxxxi. 1, lxxxiv. 1) render it by "winepress" as derived from *gath* a word occurring in Jud. vi. 4, Joel iii. 13, Is. lxiii. 2, Lam. i. 15 and Neh. xiii. 15.

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<sup>5</sup> *Maḥalath* itself, however, is of very doubtful meaning as is evidenced by the great variety of interpretation shown in the ancient versions. Thus, the Targum in liii. 1 paraphrases by "concerning the retribution of the wicked who blaspheme the name of the Lord" (*dekiris*—Greek *κρυπιος*). The LXX transliterates by *Μαελαθ* and Jerome translates by *per chorum*. In lxxxviii. 1 the Targum is doubtful; but may possibly translate the phrase by "for a prayer." The LXX transliterates as in liii. 1 and Jerome renders by "per chorum." Aquila renders the phrase in liii. 1 by "for an antiphony" and Symmachus by "for a musical chorus" and in lxxxviii. 1 Aquila translates by "for her who is quick to respond."

In either case, the derivation may easily have been used at least as early as David.<sup>6</sup>

(4) *Sh'mînîth* (vi. 1, xii. 1) is probably a harp or lyre of "eight strings," as the Targum translates. According to Frank<sup>7</sup> the old Sumerians and Babylonians and Assyrians had lyres with from five to twelve strings (or even twenty-two or more!). The Egyptians had stringed instruments with from one to at least fourteen strings,<sup>8</sup> long before the time of David. So there is no reason why David may not have had a harp with eight strings.

### 3. *References and Directions.*

The strongest proof, if possible, of the early date of the headings lies in the fact that the directions and references found in them had ceased to be understood when the earliest translations were made. Even when the separate words were understood, the meaning of the phrases was not clear to them.

(1) *Lam'naššē<sup>a</sup>h* "to the chief musician" is the most common of these directions. It is found at the head of Psalms iv. 1, v. 1, vi. 1, viii. 1, ix. 1, xi. 1, xii. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 1, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xx. 1, xxi. 1, xxii. 1, xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 1, xxxix. 1, xl. 1, xli. 1, xlii. 1, xlv. 1, xlv. 1, xlv. 1, xlvii. 1, xlix. 1, li. 1, lii. 1, liii. 1, liv. 1, lv. 1, lvi. 1, lvii. 1, lviii. 1, lix. 1, lx. 1, lxi. 1, lxii. 1, lxiv. 1, lxv. 1, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 1, lxviii. 1, lxix. 1, lxx. 1, lxxv. 1, lxxvi. 1, lxxvii. 1, lxxx. 1, lxxx. 1, lxxxiv. 1, lxxxv. 1, lxxxviii. 1, cix. 1, cxxxix. 1, cxl. 1. The Greek uniformly translates the phrase by εἰς τὸ τέλος and adds it in xxxvii. 1, xliii. 1, xlviii. 1, l. 1. It will be seen that it occurs 19 times (in Greek 20 times) in Book I, 25 (Gr. 28) in Book II., 8 in Book III. and 3 in Book V. Of these 55 psalms (59 in Greek) 39 (Gr. 41) are by

<sup>6</sup> Three cities of the name of Gath (nos. 44, 63 and 70, of Mueller's lists) seem to be mentioned on the lists of Thothmes III, and one or two in the Tel-el-Amarna letters. See *Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III* by W. Max Mueller and the *Tell-el-Amarna Letters* by Hugo Winckler.

<sup>7</sup> See *Studien zur babylonischen Religion*, 229-235.

<sup>8</sup> See Erman's *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, 340 f.

David, 9 (Gr. 10) are Korahite, 5 (Gr. 6) are by Asaph, and 2 are anonymous.

In Babylonian the verb means "to arrive;" in New Aramaic and Syriac "to conquer"; in Syriac, also, "to preside," or "be over"; in New Hebrew, "to conquer" and "to praise." The Greek translation seems to be connected with the sense of the Babylonian root.<sup>9</sup> Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus and Jerome's version from the Hebrew all give it the sense of "victor," or "victory." The Targum translates it "to praise."

If many of the psalms were written in Greek times, and especially in the second century B.C., it is hard to see why a word of such doubtful meaning should have been used in the heading and how the meaning could have passed out of the knowledge of the Jews who made all of the early translations. The translations of the "later books of the Greek Psalter may be assigned to the second half of the second century" B.C.<sup>10</sup> If so, the headings of the so-called Maccabean psalms must have been added within a few years of their composition; and it is difficult to see how the translators, who so brilliantly and, on the whole, accurately rendered the Hebrew of the body of the Psalms, should have fallen down so completely in their understanding of the significance of titles which, if this theory were correct, must have been added by their own contemporaries.

(2) *Shoshannim* (xlv. 1, lxix. 1, lxxx. 1) is in ARV margin translated "lilies." This is the rendering of Jerome's version of the Hebrew, of Aquila's version of lxix. 1 and lxxx. 1 and, in the more general sense of "flowers," of Symmachus for xlv. 1, lxix. 1. The LXX and its versions take the first *sh* to be the relative pronoun and point the rest of the word *shenuyim* as the passive participle *kal* and render by "for alternate strains" or "for those who are deranged, or estranged." The Targum in its rendering "the members of the Sanhedrin" (xlv. 1, lxxx. 1) or "the cap-

<sup>9</sup> See Muss-Arnolt, p. 713.

<sup>10</sup> See Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 25.

tivity of the Sanhedrin" (lxix. 1) points to a reading *sh* followed by the *kal* participle active, *shônim*, "teachers," since the *Great Sanhedrin* was intrusted with the duty of sitting and passing judgment.<sup>11</sup> These various readings and renderings indicate that the meaning of this word was not certain even at the time when the earliest versions were made.

(3a) *'al-mûth-labbēn* (ix. 1) AV. "upon (RV. "set to) Muth-labben"; LXX "over the secrets of the son"; Jerome and Symmachus, "pro morte filii"; Targum "concerning the death of the man who went out from the midst of the camp"; Aquila, "of the youth of the son."

(b) The phrase *'al-mûth* occurs, also, in xlvi. 15 where AV and RV render "unto death" but the RV margin says "Or, according to some ancient authorities, forever more." The LXX renders "for ever"; Jerome and Aquila, "unto death"; Syriac, "over death"; the Targum "in the days of our youth."

(c) The phrase *'al 'alāmôth* (xlvi. 1) is rendered by the AV "upon Alamothe"; by the RV. "set to Alamothe." Luther has "von der Jugend"; LXX "about secret things"; Jerome "pro juventutibus."

(d) *Labbēn*. The AV and RV did not venture to translate this word, which the LXX, Jerome, Aquila and Symmachus have rendered "of the son." The Targum paraphrases it by "the man who went out from the midst of the camp." This word may perhaps be explained from the Babylonian where *labnu* means "thrown down, bowed down, fallen, lowly, frail."<sup>12</sup> There are many words in Hebrew whose lost

<sup>11</sup> See Lewy's *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* II. 175, 499.

<sup>12</sup> See Muss-Arnolt under *labanu*, p. 470. The verb means "thrown down, prostrate"; *labnu*, "fallen, lowly, frail"; *lubnu*, "downfall, oppression." See the use of the noun *lubnu* in birth-omens (Dennefeld, *Geburts-Omina*, pp. 52 and 214). In the prayer to Ishtar published in King's *Seven Tablets of Creation*, line 91, we have the phrase *mugri liben appia šime supca kiniš naplisinnima* "accept the lowliness of my face, hear my prayer, truly pity me." In a bilingual inscription in King's *Letters and Inscript-*

meanings can be learned through the Babylonian.<sup>13</sup> If we take this *labnu* as meaning the "humble," or "lowly," it would be equivalent in meaning to the '*anî* "afflicted" of the heading of Ps. cii.

(4) '*Al'ayyeleth hashshaḥar* (xxii. 1) is rendered "Upon Aijeleth Shahaḥar" (AV), or "set to Aijeleth hash-Shahaḥar" (RV), "concerning the morning aid" (LXX). The Targum has "for the strength (t'kôf) of the continual offering of the morning." Jerome has "for the morning stag" (*pro cervo matutino*). The word in Aquila may mean either "stag," or "aid"; in Symmachus, it means "call" or "petition." One is tempted to connect it with the Babylonian *alu* "to lament" and to refer it to the morning lamentation. The "set to" of the English *Revised* is an interpretation, not a translation. As long as the best interpreters are unable to agree on the sense of the phrase, it is evident, that no argument for the date of the psalm can be based upon it.

(5) '*Al maḥalath le'annôth* (lxxxviii. 1). "Upon Mahalath Leannoth" (AV), or "set to Mahalath Leannoth" (RV, marg. "*for singing*"). LXX "upon Maeleth to respond," Luther "of the weakness of the miserable," Targ. "for a prayer." Aquila "who is over her who is glad to respond," Jerome "per choram ad praecinendum." Here again, the disagreement of the different translators shows the impossibility of arguing from these words as to the date of the document. My opinion is that Jerome's translation is to be preferred, since dances and instruments of music are mentioned in connection with the psalms of Israel as early as the time of Moses

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*tions of Hammurabi* p. 176 we read: "May mankind in its myriads address supplications unto thee; may they *bow down* their faces (*appašina lilbinaku*) in reverence before thee." If Laban were from this root then Rachel was the daughter of humility (*laban*) and the mother of affliction ('*anî*).

<sup>13</sup> See my article on "Lost Meanings of Hebrew Roots" in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for 1902. In this article I have attempted to show that many renderings of the LXX are derived from meanings of Hebrew roots that are still preserved in Babylonian, but which were lost from view after the time when the translation of the LXX was made.

(Ex. xv. 20, xxxii. 18), and also, in the time of Jephthah (Jud. xi. 34, xxi. 21) and David (1 Sam. xxix. 5) and even in the Psalms (cxlv. 3, cl. 4). Further, there is no doubt that *ad praecinendum* is a good rendering of *le'annôth*.<sup>14</sup>

(6) '*Al yônath 'elem rehôkîm* is rendered: "Upon Jonath-elem-rechokin" (AV); or, "set to Jonath elem rehokim" (RV); or, "the silent dove of them that are afar off" (RV, 1st marg. note); or, "the dove of the distant terebinths" (RV second marg. note), LXX has "for the people who were removed from the sacred places (or saints)," Luther has "von der stummen Taube unter den Fremden," Jerome reads "pro columba muta eo quod procul abierit." The Targum comments: "For the assembly of Israel which is like a silent dove at the time when it is far from its cities." Aquila reads: "For the silent dove of the far removed"; Symmachus, "for a dove when it is far from its own family." The meaning of the clause is the despair of our best scholars. Olshausen and Bochart suggest "the dove of the distant terebinths." Maurer says "this mute dove of the distant ones may be the exiled people of Israel," his version being substantially the same as Perowne's. Hitzig transposes the first two letters of the word for "silent" or "dumb," and gets a word for "people." He might have gotten the meaning just as well by pointing the text as if equivalent to the Arabic '*âl* "family, kinsfolk." He translates "the dove of the people in the distant places." Murphy reads: "on the silent dove afar off." Schultz translates "Taube der Verstummung (stillen Ergebung) der Fernen," Delitzsch and Hengstenberg render "the mute (or dumb) dove among strangers."

Why such a sentence could not, or should not, have been used of, or by, David, as well as later in the history of Israel, is for the critics to show. Surely, doves were in Palestine before the captivity. Hezekiah mourned like a dove (Is. xxxviii. 14) Jeremiah tells the inhabitant of Moab to be like a dove (xlviii. 28), Hosea says Ephraim is like a

<sup>14</sup> The English version translates the word by "sing" in Num. xxi. 17, Ps. cxlvii. 7, 1 Sam. xxi. 12, xxix. 5, Ezra iii. 11.

silly dove (vii. 11) and Nahum speaks of the voice of doves (ii. 7). Besides, Noah's dove is mentioned in the part of Genesis assigned to J and according to the critics J hails from somewhere about 800 B.C. Dove's dung is mentioned also in 2 Kings vi. 25 and elsewhere. *'Illēm* "dumb" occurs in Is. xxxv. 6, lvi. 10, Hab. ii. 18, Ex. iv. 11 (J), Prov. xxxi. 8 and Ps. xxxviii. 14. *Rehōkîm* is found in Babylonian, as well as in Gen., Ex., Num., Deut., Jos., Jud., Sam., Kings, Isa., Jer., Ek., Dan., Joel, Mi., Hab., *et al.* How, then, can any evidence for late date be derived from this sentence? It cannot.

(7) *'Al tashhath*, "destroy not," seems to be clear as to meaning. At least, all the ancient versions render it with substantial agreement. Whether it refers to a tune, or to a series of like kind of poems, or is a catch-word, is immaterial. No argument for post-captivity usage can be based upon it, since the same phrase is found in Deut. ix. 26, 1 Sam. xxvi. 9, Is. lxxv. 8.

(8) *Ma'alôth*, "ascents," is from a root *'ālā* "to go up." Thus, in Num. xiv. 40 the children of Israel said "we will go up to the place which the Lord has promised." In Deut. xvii. 8 the Israelites are told "to go up to the place which the Lord God shall choose." In Jud. xx. 3, xxi. 5 they went up to Mizpeh. In 1 Sam. i. 21 it is said that Elkanah and all his house went up to offer unto the Lord the yearly sacrifice. In Ex. xxxiv. 24 it speaks of Israel as going up three times in the year to appear before God. In 1 Kings xii. 27 Jeroboam says, "If this people continue to go up to make sacrifices in the house of Jehovah at Jerusalem the heart of this people shall return unto their lord Rehoboam." In Is. ii. 3 and in Mi. iv. 2 it is prophesied that in the last days many people will say: "Come ye and let us go up to the mountains of Jehovah to the house of the God of Jacob." In Jer. iii. 6 we read: "Arise ye and let us go up to Zion."

There is no doubt, therefore, that "go up" was the ordinary term in use for the yearly, or other, ascents to the house of the Lord at Jerusalem; and that these ascents were

made to the sanctuary even before it was placed in Zion. It is futile, therefore, to attempt to restrict the use of the "ascents" to the going up of Ezra from the captivity in Babylon. The burden of proof that this general term, used in the plural number, must be confined to a particular journey, namely that of Ezra, rests upon those who assert it in direct contradiction of the fact that the Hebrew Bible assigns four of these songs of the ascents (cxxxii, cxxxiv, cxxxvi and cxxxviii) to David and one (cxxxvii) to Solomon.

(9) *Halleluyah*, "praise Jehovah." In view of the use of the verb in Babylonian and in Gen. xii. 15 (J), Jud. xvi. 24, 2 Sam. xiv. 25, xxii. 4, Prov. xii. 8, xxvii. 2, xxviii. 4, it is impossible to show that this title may not have been employed as early as the time of David. Besides, even in the psalms the verb is not used merely in the titles; for we find it in Ps. xxii. 23, 24, xxxv. 18, lvi. 5, 11 and lxix. 31, 35, lxxiv. 21, lxxxiv. 5, cii. 19, cvii. 32, cix. 30, cxv. 17, cxix. 11, 15, 16, cxlv. 2, cxlvi. 2, cxlviii. 5, 13, cxlix. 3, cl. 6 *et al.*, as well as in the headings. No argument for date can be made, therefore, from the use of this phrase.

(10) *Shinnā 'eth ṭa'mô* (xxxiv. 1). David is said to have "changed his behavior," or to have "feigned madness" (RV margin), before Abimelech. This phrase is copied, with the proper changes for a citation, from 1 Sam. xxi. 13. The phrase occurs frequently in Babylonian and Assyrian from the time of Hammurapi (Abraham) down. Thus in the Birth Omens *ṭem mati išanni* "the behavior of the land will change" (I. a. o. 5, VI. a. o. 8) and *ṭim niše išanni* "the behavior of the people will change" (V. b. R. 23).<sup>15</sup>

(11) *L'lammēd* (lx. 1), "to teach" or "for teaching," is certainly no sign of lateness; for the verb is used 19 times in the inscriptions of Hammurapi published by L. W. King, and, also, in Jud. iii. 2, 2 Sam. i. 18, xxii. 35, Is. i. 17, ii. 4, xxvi. 9, 10, xxix. 13, xxxi. 12, Hos. x. 11, Mi. iv. 3 and the

<sup>15</sup> See, Dennefeld, *Babylonish-Assyrische Geburts-Omina* (Leipzig, 1914), also many examples in Muss-Arnolt's *Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, p. 1068.



Psalms (5 times in Book I, 2 in Book II, 16 in Book IV) and often elsewhere in the Old Testament.

(12) *L'haskîr*, "to bring to remembrance" (xxxviii. 1, lxx. 1), is found in this form in 1 Sam. iv. 18, 2 Sam. xviii. 18, 1 Kings xvii. 18, Am. vi. 10, and in the same stem and sense in Is. xii. 4, xix. 17, xxvi. 13, xxxvi. 3, 22, 2 Sam. viii. 16, xx. 24, and in Psalms xx. 8, xlv. 18, lxxi. 16, lxxvii. 12, lxxxvii. 4. No argument for the post-captivity period can be derived, therefore, from the use of this phrase.

(13) *'Edûth*. The AV and RV transliterate this word in lx. 1 and lxxx. 1, though they translate it by "testimony" in xix. 8, lxxviii. 5, lxxx. 6, cxxii. 4 and nine times in Psalm cxix. In lx. 1, the Targum renders it by *saḥadutha* "testimony" and in lxxx. 1 it adds *orayetha* "the law." The LXX in lxxx. 1 renders by "testimony," but in lx. 1 by "yet" (ἐτι). Jerome in his translation from the Hebrew renders by *testimonium* in both headings; but, in his translation of the LXX, he ignores the ἐτι. The word in the sense of testimony occurs in 1 Kings ii. 3, 2 Kings xv. 12 (?), xvii. 15, xxiii. 3, Jer. xliv. 23. The first of these texts (1 Kings ii. 3) is in the final directions of David to Solomon.

(15) *Y'didôth*, "loves" (xlv. 1), is found, also, in Deut. xxiii. 13, Is. v. 1 *bis*, Jer. xi. 15 and in Psalms lx. 7, lxxxiv. 2, cviii. 7 and cxxvii. 2; and a word from the same root occurs in Jer. xii. 7. The root probably appears in the Babylonian *shudadu*, a synonym of *raimu*, from *ramu* "to love."<sup>16</sup> It will be noted that it is found in the Old Testament records in no document that is certainly post-exilic.

#### *Conclusion of the Argument from Vocabulary.*

From the evidence to be derived from the vocabulary of the headings and the psalms, we must conclude, therefore, (1) that no proof of the age of a psalm can be derived from the presence in it of words found elsewhere in all stages of the Old Testament literature; but (2) that on the contrary, the presence in the psalms, and especially in the headings, of

<sup>16</sup> Muss-Arnolt, p. 1015a.

many terms which are not found elsewhere in either the Old Testament, the Talmud, or the other Semitic languages, and whose meaning was not understood by the early translators, argues in favor of the antiquity of the documents in which they occur; and finally (3) that there is nothing in the language of the psalms and their headings that can overthrow the *prima facie* evidence for their trustworthiness.

We can, therefore, reasonably believe that they are what they purport to be. It is only on the ground of indirect or internal evidence that anyone can possibly deny that psalms were written by Moses, David, Solomon and the other authors whose names are found in the superscriptions of the psalms, unless it can be shown that these superscriptions themselves are not supported by the direct evidence of the manuscripts and versions. We shall now consider the direct evidence in favor of the integrity of the *text* of the headings of the psalms, as found in our Hebrew Bible and in the Versions.

### III. THE TEXT OF THE HEADINGS

#### A. *The Hebrew Manuscripts*

Kennicott in his great collection of the variants of 272 Hebrew manuscripts and printed editions of the Psalter down to 1526 A.D.<sup>17</sup> shows conclusively that all manuscripts but one have substantially the same headings as those in our Textus Receptus. No. 222 of his collation omits the whole, or part, of 81 headings found in the Textus Receptus. In other manuscripts, "By David" is omitted as follows: in Ps. xxv. from MS. 133; in Ps. xxvi from MSS. 97, 131, 133; in Ps. xxvii. from MSS. 73, 97, 131, 133; in Ps. xxviii. from MSS. 97, 131, 133; in Pss. xxxii.-xxxiv. and xxxv. from MSS. 97, 131, 133; in Ps. xxxvii. from MSS. 97, 131; in Ps. lii. from MSS. 73, 171; in Pss. lxi.-lxiv. from MS. 171; in Ps. lxvii. from MSS. 89, 214; in Ps. cx.

<sup>17</sup> *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum Variis Lectionibus* (Oxon., 1777, 1780).

from MSS. 97, 133, 238; in Ps. cxxii from MS. 180; in Ps. cxxiv. from MSS. 148, 180; in Ps. cxxxiii. from MS. 117; in Ps. cxxxviii. from MSS. 97, 131, 133, 238; in Ps. cxliv. from MSS. 97, 131, 133. "By David" is added in Ps. cxxxii. in MS. 219.

Since there are 73 Psalms attributed to David in the Textus Receptus in the 271 MSS. (i.e. all but No. 222 of Kennicott's MSS. and printed psalters) there would be altogether 12,783 times where "David" should have occurred in the headings of the 73 Psalms if all of the MSS. had the ascription where it occurs in the Textus Receptus. As a matter of fact David occurs 12,738 times, being omitted 46 times and added once. It is omitted 11 times in MS. 133, 10 times in MSS. 97 and 111, 5 times in 171, 2 times each in 73, 180 and 238, and once each in 89, 117, 148 and 214, i.e., once or more in eleven MSS., and added in one. For some unknown reason K. 222 as stated above seems to have omitted the larger part of the headings.

The only other variants of any importance are (1) that על מות (ix. 1) is read עלמות in 28 MSS; and (2) that in four MSS. "Ethan" (lxxxviii. 1) is read instead of "Heman," while one MS. reads "Heman" (lxxxix. 1) instead of "Ethan." Since these two variations occur all told in 33 MSS., it will be seen that added to the 47 variations for "by David" there are 80 material variations out of 150 x 271, or 40,650 headings, i.e., less than 2 per thousand. Further, since 28 of these are due simply to spacing, there are but 52 real changes in the text, or a little over 1 per thousand.

De Rossi<sup>18</sup> treats at length all the variations of more than 400 manuscripts of the Psalter including those collated by Kennicott. As far as they affect the headings, the additional variations are as follows: "By David" is added in xliii. in 4 MSS. and in lxvii. in 3, and is omitted in cxxii. in 2 MSS., in cxxiv. in 3 and in cxxxiii in 2; in cviii. "Asaph" is read for "David" in 4 or 5 MSS; "Hallelujah" is omitted in cviii.

<sup>18</sup> *Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti* (Parma, 1784-88).

in 8 MSS. and "Solomon" in lxxii. in 5. In ix. he reads עלמות for על מות in 75 MSS.

It is manifest, therefore, that the text of the headings of the Psalms in the Textus Receptus is almost perfect so far as the evidence of the Hebrew MSS. and printed editions of Kennicott and De Rossi is concerned.

### B. *The Ancient Primary Versions*

#### 1. The Aramaic Targum.

(1) A more or less literal translation of the headings of our present Hebrew Textus Receptus is found in the editions of Lagarde and of the Walton and the Paris polyglots<sup>19</sup> in Psalms i-v, x, xiii, xv-xvii, xix, xx, xxi, xxiii-xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xl, xli, xlii, xliii, xlvi, xlviii, xlix, l, li, lii, liv, lv, lxi, lxii, lxiv, lxv, lxvi, lxvii, lxviii, lxxi, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxvi, lxxvii, lxxxii, lxxxiii, lxxxv, lxxxvi, xc, xcii, xciv, xcv, xcvi, xcvi, xcix, c, ci, cii, civ, cv. cvi, cvii, cviii, cix, cx, cxii, cxiii, cxiv, cxv, cxvi, cxvii, cxviii, cxix, cxxxv, cxxxvi, cxxxvii, cxxxviii, cxxxix, cxl, cxli, cxlii, cxliii, cxliv, cxlv, cxlvi, cxlvii, cxlviii, cxlix, cl—that is, in 96 psalms in all.

(2) Without seriously affecting the Hebrew text, a paraphrase or comment occurs in L, P and W in vi, vii, viii, ix, xi, xii, xviii, xxii, xxx, xxxviii, xlv, xlvi, liii, lvi, lvii, lviii, lix, lx, lxiii, lxix, lxx, lxxv, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxi, lxxxiv, lxxxvii, xc, xcii. These comments are substantially the same in P, L, W.

(3) A short phrase, or word, is inserted, e.g., "in the spirit of prophecy" (xiv), "David said" (xxxii), "the abyss" (cxx-cxxxiv), "all" (xviii) in P and W, and "and" in a number of cases. Compare also xxxix, lxxii, lxxviii, xcvi, ciii.

(4) A word is omitted; *lam'našše<sup>a</sup>h* (lxxxviii. 1) in L and W, but not in P.

<sup>19</sup> Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, (Leipzig, 1873), Walton's (or the London) Polyglot, (1657), Paris Polyglot (1629). They are abbreviated as L, W, P; H is used for Hebrew.

(5) "Abraham" is read in lxxxix instead of "Ethan." This is probably an interpretation of the original.

(6) "David" as author is omitted by L, W in cxxii, cxxxii, cxxxiii but is found in P, H; and as the object of praise the name is inserted in xliv by L, W, but is wanting in P, H; and the phrase "as David said" is inserted in lxxv by L, P, W. Comp. lvii, lviii, lix.

(7) "Which the first man (Adam) said" is inserted before "the sabbath day" (xcii) in P, L, W.

Having collected and compared all the variations of P, L and W from one another and from the original Hebrew,<sup>20</sup> it seems to be certain that the same Hebrew text that we now have in the headings of the Psalms was in the hands of the translators of the Targum. The translators were frequently uncertain as to the meaning of the Hebrew text; but this very uncertainty bears testimony, by the almost ludicrous results to which it led, to the reverence in which that text was held and to the accuracy with which it has been transmitted to us.

## 2. Jerome's Version from the Hebrew.

The headings of Jerome's version<sup>21</sup> from the Hebrew are

<sup>20</sup> The following are samples of the variations between the editions of the Targum of the Psalter: iv. חַנְנִיָּהּ (LP), חַנְנִיָּהּ (W and Heb.); vii. " (L), " (P), יְהוָה (W) [these are the usual ways of denoting the Tetragram in these three editions]; xviii. דָּא (WP), אֵרָא (L); xxxii adds אִמְרֵי דְרֵי (LW) omits (PH); xxxviii adds לְבִנְתָּא (L), also L and W add a clause at end; li. נְבִיאָא (P), נְבִיאָא (L), נְבִיאָא (W), also שְׁמֵשׁ (PW) שְׁמֵשׁ (L); lxx. צְרוּרָא (W), צְרוּרָא (LP).

<sup>21</sup> I have followed the text of J. M. Harden in his *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi* with which I have compared that of Lagarde. The following variations between the editions of Harden (H) and Lagarde (L) may be noted: v adds "David" (H); vii "Gemini" (H), "Iemini" (L); xviii "ait" (H), "dixit" (L); xxvi adds "psalmus" (L); xlvi "psalmi" (H), "psalmus" (L); li "Bethsabee" (H), "Bersabee" (L); lii adds "ab" (H), has "Achimelech" (H), "Abimelech" (L); liii "per chororum eruditi" (H), "pro choro intelligenti" (L); lix adds "eius" (L); lx "Soba" (H), "Sobal" (L), "סֹבָא" (H), "iii" (L); lxii "per" (H), "pro" (L); lxiii "Iuda" (H), "Iudaeae" (L); lxv "cantici" (H), "de profectio" (L); lxxx "testimonium" (H), "testimonii" (L); lxxxiv "Chore" (H), "Core" (L), in each case; cx Here both give "David Canticum"; cxix omits the Hebrew letters (L); cxxii, cxxiv, cxxxii,

the same as in our Hebrew text except that it agrees with the LXX in transferring the "Allelouia" from civ. 35 to cv. 1, from cvi. 49 to cvii. 1, from cxiii. 9 to cxiv. 1, from cxv. 18 to cxvi. 1, from cxvi. 19 to cxvii. 1, from cxvii. 18 to cxviii. 1, from cxxxv. 31 to cxxxvi. 1 and from cxlvi. 31 to cxlvii. 1, and puts "Allelouia" between verses 9 and 10 in Psalm cxvi. 3; and in some manuscripts of xxii "of David" is omitted.

### 3. Aquila.

Aquila agrees with the Hebrew against the LXX in the headings of xxxi (xxxii), xxxv (xxxvi), xli (xlii), xlv (xlv), xlvi (xlvii), lxv (lxvi), lxix (lxx), lxxv (lxxvi), lxxix (lxxx), cviii (cix), cxxi (cxxii).

Aquila agrees with LXX against Hebrew in lxxx (lxxxii) in adding "for the Assyrian," and in lxxxvii (lxxxviii) in having "Israelite" for "Ezrahite."

Aquila has read עלמות in ix instead of על מות תם; על מות מכתם in xv (xvi); and renders "yedûthûn" by "yedûthûm" in xxxviii (xxxix) and lxxiii (lxxiv). It omits "David" in cxxxvii (cxxxviii) and "for a memorial concerning the Sabbath" in xxxvii (xxxviii); and has "Judah" in lxii (lxiii).

### 4. Symmachus.

Symmachus reads מכתם as two words in xv (xvi), lv (lvi); τῶν αἰωνίων for עלמות in xlv (xlvi); renders מהלת lii (liii) by "the chorus"; מנצה xlv (xlvi) by "of the praise"; and has for the heading of xi (xii) "a psalm of victory by David," and for xxi (xxii) "a psalm of victory by David for the morning supplication." It omits "David" in cxxxvii (cxxxviii).

### 5. Theodotion.

In the marginal notes to the Ambrosian Codex of the

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cxxxiii adds "David" (H); cxlv "Hymnus" (H), "Ymnus" (L); cvii, cxiv, cxviii, cxxxvi, cxlvii, cxlix, cl "Alleluia" (H) is put by L in each case at the end of the preceding psalm.

Syriac Hexapla,<sup>22</sup> I find but four references to Theodotion's version. Only one of these occurs in a heading, to wit, in cvii(cviii). But here Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion agree in sense with the Harklensian Syriac translation of the LXX, which is here a literal rendering of the Hebrew.

#### 6. The Syriac Peshitto Version.

For some unknown reason, the earliest Syriac translators seem not to have translated the headings of the Psalms. This was probably because they did not understand them, or because they did not consider them an integral part of the Holy Scriptures, or because they deemed them unsuitable for their liturgical, or dogmatic, purposes. The printed psalters, however, all have headings derived from ancient manuscripts. These headings give one, or more, of the following items, to wit: the author, the occasion, the original significance, or the lesson for us.

a. For example, the heading of Psalm li reads as follows:

(1) In the polyglots of Paris and Walton "By David, when he sinned and killed Uriah, But to us it is said as a teaching and confession."

(2) In the Ambrosian Codex of this version: "Said by David when he killed Uriah the Hittite."

(3) Codex X (7154 Rich) of the British Museum: "A prayer on account of the sin [i.e. of David] with Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite."

(4) Baethgen gives the heading: "Spoken concerning the people in Babylon who confessed their sins and asked forgiveness and a cessation of their banishment."<sup>23</sup>

(5) In the Urmi (Ooroomiah) Psalter of the American Mission and in the Mosul Psalter: "Prophesied concerning the people who were in Babylon as those who confessed that they had sinned and were asking mercy." Codex XII (7156

<sup>22</sup> Published in facsimile by Dr. Ceriani, late curator of the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

<sup>23</sup> See "Die Psalmencommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia in Syrischer Bearbeitung" in *Zeitschr. f.d. alttest. Wissenschaft*, Vol. V, p. 95.

Rich) of the British Museum is the same as this, except that it has "a prophecy" instead of "prophesied."<sup>24</sup>

b. Another good example is the heading of Psalm lv, which reads as follows:

(1) In the polyglots: "By David, when he mourned for Absalom who had been killed, and a prophecy concerning those who raged against the Messiah."

(2) The Ambrosian Codex: "Said by David, when he mourned on account of the death of Absalom."

(3) Codex X of British Museum: "A prayer on account of his [i.e. David's] enemies."

(4) Baethgen has: "Said by David of the person of Onias when he invoked God on account of the deceit of his friends who were with him and on account of the evils which had been done against his people because of their avarice."<sup>25</sup>

(5) The Urmi (Ooroomiah) Psalter has the same heading as in (4) above except that the last clause reads "and on account of the evils which were his."

(6) Codex XII of the British Museum reads: "Sung by David before the attack of his enemies."

*Remarks on the Syriac Versions.*

1. As to the author, or authors, of the Psalms, the printed editions and the manuscripts (so far as these are known to us) may be divided into three classes.

(1) Those which ascribe all of the psalms to David. This is the case with the Ambrosian codex; and, also, with the Sachau manuscript of the National Library at Berlin edited and translated in part by Baethgen.<sup>26</sup>

(2) Those that ascribe only comparatively few of the psalms to David. Such are the Ooroomiah and Mosul editions of the Psalter.

(a) The Ooroomiah Psalter ascribes to David Psalms iii,

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<sup>24</sup> For Codices X and XII see Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 88.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 53-101.



vi, vii, ix, xi, xiii, xvii, xviii, xxii, xxviii, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii, xxxix, xli, xlii, lv, lxiv, lxviii, lxx, cxx, cxxiv, cxxxii, and cxl.

(b) The Mosul edition ascribes the same to David except that it omits xxxv, cxx (?), cxxiv, cxxxii, and cxl; and adds "David" to lxxxii, lxxxvi, cxix (?), cxxii, cxxvi, cxxx, cxxxix, and cxlii.

(3) Those which agree in general with the Hebrew in respect to the authors of the Psalms, while differing from it in other particulars. Such are the texts found in the polyglots of Paris and Walton. These editions agree with the Hebrew massoretic text, except that :

(a) They omit "David" in Psalms xiii, xxxix, liii, lxii, cxxiv (with MSS. ART of LXX).

(b) They add "David" against both Heb. and LXX in Pss. x, lxxii, cxxiii (?), cxxxiv; with LXX against Heb. in xxxiii, xliii, lxxi, xci, xciii-xcix, civ, cxxxvii.

(c) In xlii and xlvi they add "when David says"; and in lxxxiv "which David meditated," against Heb. and LXX.

(d) In lxxxvii, lxxxviii "the sons of Korah" is omitted, against Heb. and LXX.

(e) In ci "to Asaph" is added, against Heb. and LXX.

(f) Pss. xlv, xlv, are referred to the days of Moses, against both Heb. and LXX.

(g) Pss. cxlvi (cxlv), cxlvii. 1-11 (cxlvi), cxlvii. 12-20 (cxlvii), cxlviii are attributed to Haggai and Zachariah, agreeing with LXX against the Hebrew. That is, the polyglots agree with the Hebrew as to the authors in all but 28 cases, in 17 or 18 of which they agree with the LXX.

2. In other respects, that is, in respect of occasion, original purpose and significance for us, all the manuscripts and editions of the Peshitto show a deliberate departure from the text of the Hebrew. This is supposed to have been through the influence of the school of Antioch as represented by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret. While claiming and exercising their own right to sit in judgment upon the veracity of the headings, these great exegetes admitted that

the same headings that are in the Hebrew and Greek today were in the texts of their times. They asserted, also, that all of the psalms were composed or elaborated by David, through the grace of the Spirit, and that he was a prophet who foretold the great events of Israelitish history that transpired after his time. The proof of these statements will appear in the following extracts and references. Lietzmann<sup>27</sup> states Theodore's view thus: "Indeed, all of the Psalms are by David . . . and the large majority refer to definite historical events which the prophet foresaw by illumination of God." He quotes as follows from Theodore's introduction to Ps. 1: "There is no heading 'by David'; but the psalm is clearly his."<sup>28</sup> "Nowhere do we appear to have used the headings slavishly, but we have received those only which we found to be true."<sup>29</sup> And on verse 6, "Not concerning himself, then, does David say these things, not even though some one erroneously headed the psalm thus."<sup>30</sup>

Baethgen<sup>31</sup> cites the *Catena* of Corderius to Ps. lxxxi. 3 as quoting Theodore as saying: "The blessed David in the grace of the Spirit elaborated and said the psalms"<sup>32</sup>; and Baethgen himself says that Theodore thought that David "had long beforehand prophesied what should later occur to the people of Israel." He quotes Corderius further as saying: "It behooves us to know that all (the psalms) are by David; and some were assigned to Asaph, some to Jeduthun and others to the sons of Korah, who were psalmists and hymn-leaders, so that they might set them to musical instruments."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Sitzungsberichte d. K. P. Akad. d. Wissenschaften* (1902), p. 337.

<sup>28</sup> Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τοῦ Δαβίδ ἀλλὰ δηλονότι ὁ ψαλμός.

<sup>29</sup> Οὐδαμῶν γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς δουλεύοντες ἐφάνημεν, δεξάμενοι δε ταύτας μόνας ὅσας εὔρομεν ἀληθεῖς.

<sup>30</sup> Οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοίνυν ταῦτα φησὶν ὁ Δαβίδ, οὐδ' εἴ τις ἐκ πλάνης τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐπιγράφεν οὕτως.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, VI, 266 f.

<sup>32</sup> Ὁ γὰρ μακάριος Δαβὶδ τῆ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι τοὺς ψαλμοὺς εἰργάζετο τε καὶ ἔλεγεν.

<sup>33</sup> *Id.*, p. 267 from Corderius to Ps. lxxiii Ψαλμός τῷ Ἀσάφ . . . Δεῖ δε εἰδέναι ὡς πάντες εἰσὶ τοῦ Δαβίδ· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰδίδοντο τῷ Ἀσάφ, οἱ δὲ

In Theodore's exposition of the psalms as given in Migne,<sup>34</sup> David is always the author. See on vi. 2, vii. 8, viii. 3, xiii. 6, xxi., xxviii. 3, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxix, xl, xlv, liv, lviii. 8; but he prophesies of Christ (viii. 3), of Hezekiah and the Assyrians (xxxii, xl), of Jeremiah's times (xxxiv), of Babylon (xxxix), of Onias and the Maccabees (liv).

That Theodore knew and referred to Hebrew is shown by his comments on Pss. lviii. 3, x. 14.<sup>35</sup>

Theodoret's "Interpretation of the Psalms" occupies more than one thousand columns of Migne.<sup>36</sup> In his treatment he considers first of all the heading of the psalm as given in the Septuagint and frequently refers to the headings in the Hebrew, Aquila, Theodotion and especially Symmachus. All of the psalms, he tells us, were written by David.<sup>37</sup> It would be bold, he declares, to reject the headings as translated by the Seventy.<sup>38</sup> In the introduction to Ps. xxvi (xxvii), he argues against those "who have snatched the pretext for rejecting all the headings." He says that Ps. cxxxvi (cxxxvii) was without a heading in the Hebrew;<sup>39</sup> and that *Ζαχαρίου εἰς τὴν διασποράν* in the heading of cxxxviii (cxxxix) was neither in the Hebrew nor in the Septuagint. In the heading to cxxxvii (cxxxviii) he says that the divine David foretold these things.<sup>40</sup>

It is evident, therefore, that the School of Antioch and the Syrians who followed them were not ignorant of the headings contained in our Hebrew text and in the version of the Septuaginta, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. For liturgical, dogmatic, or utilitarian reasons they ceased to insert

τῷ Ἰδιουθῦμ, οἱ δὲ τοῖς υἱοῖς Κορέ, ὥστε ἀρμόσαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὄργανοις, ψαλτωδὸν ὄντας καὶ κορυφαίους τῶν ὕμνων (cf. Theodoret. Migne, LXXX, § 605)

<sup>34</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXVI, 647-696.

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*, 679.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, LXXX, 857-2002.

<sup>37</sup> Τοῦ πανευφήμου Δαβίδ εἶσιν ἅπαντες οἱ ψαλμοί (Migne LXXXIV. 562, 571.)

<sup>38</sup> Migne LXXXIV. 853.

<sup>39</sup> οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ἀνεπίγραφος παρ' Ἑβραίοις.

<sup>40</sup> ταῦτα τοίνυν ὁ θεὸς προαγορεύει Δαβίδ.

them in their psalters and introduced in their place other headings which they considered to be more edifying.

### 7. *The Greek Septuagint Version.*

For the sake of convenience, I have reserved to the last the consideration of the Greek Septuagint version. This is the earliest of all the known versions and in many respects the most important for the criticism of the Hebrew text. In treating it, I shall give (a) the principal variations of the Codex Vaticanus (B)<sup>41</sup> from the Hebrew Textus Receptus; (b) the principal variations of the Greek uncials; and (c) the more important variants of the versions of the LXX.

a. The agreements and disagreements between the Hebrew text and Codex B.

(1) There is agreement in 87 psalms, to wit: i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, xii (xi), xiii (xii), xiv (xiii), xv (xiv), xvi (xv), xvii (xvi), xviii (xvii), xix (xviii), xx (xix), xxi (xx), xxii (xxi), xxiii (xxii), xxv (xxiv), xxvi (xxv), xxviii (xxvii), xxxiv (xxxiii), xxxv (xxxiv), xxxvi (xxxv), xxxvii (xxxvi), xxxix (xxxviii), xl (xxxix), xli (xl), xlvi (xlv), xlvii (xlvi), xlix (xlviii), l (xlix), liii (lii), lv (liv), lvii (lvi), lviii (lvii), lxii (lxi), lxiv (lxiii), lxv (lxiv), lxviii (lxvii), lxix (lxviii), lxxii (lxxi), lxxiii (lxxii), lxxiv (lxxiii), lxxv (lxxiv), lxxvii (lxxvi), lxxviii (lxxvii), lxxix (lxviii), lxxxii (lxxx i), lxxxiii (lxxxii), lxxxiv (lxxxiii), lxxxv (lxxxiv), lxxxvi (lxxxv), lxxxvii (lxxxvi), xc (lxxxix), xcii (xci), c (xcix), ci (c), cii (ci), ciii (cii), cvi (cv), cviii (cvii), cix (cviii), cx (cix), cxi (cx), cxii (cxi), cxiii (cxii), cxv (cxiii. 9), cxx (cxix), cxxi (cxx), cxxiii (cxxii), cxxv (cxxiv), cxxvi (cxxv), cxxviii (cxxvii), cxxix (cxxviii), cxxx (cxxxix), cxxxi (cxxx), cxxxii (cxxx i), cxxxiii (cxxxii), cxxxiv (cxxxiii), cxxxv (cxxxiv), cxxxviii (cxxxvii), cxxxix (cxxxviii), cxl (cxxxix), cxli (cxl), cxlii (cxli), cxlv (cxliv), cxlix, cl.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*. In the discussion of the LXX, "G" is used to denote the agreement of B and A.

(2) The Differences (except transpositions<sup>42</sup>) between the Hebrew text and Codex B: ix adds *υπερ* (G); x unites ix and x of Hebrew text (G); xi(x) adds "psalm" (G); xxiv(xxiii) adds "of one of the Sabbaths" (G); xxvii(xxvi) adds "before the anointing" (G); xxix(xxviii) adds *εξοδιου σκηνης* (G); xxx(xxix) adds "to the end" (B); xxxi(xxx) adds *εκστασεως* (G); xxxiii(xxxii) adds *τω Δ* (G); xxxviii(xxxvii) adds *περι σαββατου* (G); xlii(xli) adds *εις* (G); xliii(xlii) adds "psalm of David" (G); xliv(xliii) adds "psalm" and *εις* (G); xlv(xliv) *υπερ* for Heb. genitive (G); xlvi(xlv) adds *δευτερα σαββατου* (B); li(1) *Βηρσαβεε* (G) for "Bathsheba"; lii(li) "Abimelech" (G) for "Ahimelech"; liv(liii) "he said" (G) for "they said"; lvi(lv) *λαου του απο των αγιων* (G) for *ינת אלם*; lix(lviii) "he guarded" (G) for "they guarded"; lx(lix) dative (G) for *על, עט* (G) for *עדות*, "Sobal" (G) for "Soba," omits "Edom" (G); lxi(lx) "hymns" (G), reading Heb. as plural; lxiii(lxii) "Edom" (B) for "Judah"; lxvi(lxv) adds *αναστασεως* (G); lxvii(lxvi) adds *τω Δ* and omits *שיר* (G); lxx(lxix) puts part of vs. 2 in the heading (G); lxxi(lxx) adds "of David, of the sons of Jonadab and of the first taken captive" (G); lxxvi(lxxv) adds *προς τον Ασσυριον* (G); lxxx(lxxix) adds *υπερ του Ασσυριου* (G); lxxxii(lxxx) adds "psalm" (G); lxxxviii(lxxxvii) *μαελεθ* (G) for *תהל*, and "Israelite" (G) for "Ezrahite"; lxxxix(lxxxviii) "Israelite" for "Ezrahite"; xci(xc) adds *Αινος ωδης τω Δ* (G); xciii(xcii) adds "for the day before the Sabbath when the earth was first inhabited. Praise of an ode by David" (G); xciv(xciii) adds "A psalm of David on the fourth of the week" (G);

<sup>42</sup> In the collation of variations I have usually ignored mere differences of order such as "psalms of David" for "of David a psalm." The following displacements, however, may be mentioned: in the Hebrew the last word of Pss. civ, cvi, cxiii, cxv, cxvi, and cxvii is "Hallelujah;" this word is placed in the Greek at the beginning of the following psalm. *Δανειδ*, (which is sometimes abbreviated in the MSS) is denoted by *Δ* or by "David," *ψαλμος* by "psalm," *ωδη* by "ode," and *εις το τελος* by "to the end."

xcv(xciv) adds "A praise of an ode by David" (G); xcvi(xcv) adds "When the house was built after the captivity. An ode by David" (G); xcvi(xcvi) adds "By David when his land is established" (G); xcvi(xcvi) adds "of David" (G); xcix(xcviii) adds "A psalm of David" (G); civ(ciii) adds "of David" (G); cxv(cxiv) adds "Allelouia" (G); cxix(cxviii) adds "Allelouia" (G); cxxii(cxxi) adds "by David" (B); cxxiv(cxxiii) adds "by David" (B); cxxvii(cxxvi) omits "by Solomon" (G); cxxxvi(cxxxv) adds "Allelouia" (G); cxxxvii(cxxxvi) adds "by David" (G); cxliii(cxlii) adds "when his son pursued him" (G); cxliv(cxliii) adds *προς τον Γολιαθ* (G); cxlvi(cxlv) adds "Haggai and Zachariah" (G); cxlvii(cxlv) adds "Haggai and Zachariah" (G); cxlvii adds "Haggai and Zachariah" (G); cxlviii adds "Haggai and Zachariah" (G); cli—this whole psalm is added in G. The heading reads: "This psalm is a genuine one (*ιδιογραφος*) by (*εις*) David, though supernumerary, when he fought in single combat with Goliath."

b. The principal variations from the headings of the Codex Vaticanus (B), in the Sinaitic (S), Alexandrinus (A), Zurich (T), Verona (R), London (U), and Ephraem Syrus (C) manuscripts are as follows: ii. adds *ψαλμος τω Δ* (R<sup>a</sup>); iii omits "psalm" (A); iv omits "ode" (A), *τω* (R) for *του*, "psalm" (AR) instead of "in psalms;" vi omits "in psalms" (A); ix omits *του υιου* (R); x(xi) reverses order of words (SAR); xi(xii) reverses clauses (A); xiii(xiv) reverses words (S); xxi(xxii) omits *ψαλμος τω Δ* (A); xxiii(xxiv) *της μιας σαββατων* (B), *μια σαββατου* (A), *τη μια των σαββατων* (U), omits this phrase (S); xxiv(xxv) adds "to the end" (RU); xxv(xxvi) adds *ψαλμος τω Δ* (U); xxvi(xxvii) *τω* (RU), *του* (B), *χρισθη* (S), *χρισθη* (A); xxvii(xxviii) *τω* (T), *του* (B), adds "psalm" (U); xxix(xxx) adds "to the end" (SAT), adds *υπερ* (R), *του* (B), *τω* (SA), neither (RU); xxx(xxxi) omits *εκστασεως* (S); xxxi(xxxii) reverses words (SRU), adds "psalm" (A); xxxii(xxxiii) adds *ψαλμος ανεπιγραφος παρ Εβραιους* (R<sup>a</sup>); xxxiii(xxxiv) adds "psalm" (RU), "Achim-

elech" (U) for "Abimelech"; xxxiv(xxxv) τω(B), του(U); xxxv(xxxvi) adds "psalm" and omits "to the servant of the Lord" (A); xxxvi(xxxvii) adds "to the end, a psalm" (A), τω(A), του(B); xxxvii(xxxviii) omits εις(R), omits περι(R); xxxix(xl) reverses "David" and "psalm" (A); xli(xlii) adds ψαλμος τω Δ(A), adds "psalm" (RT); xlii(xliii) reverses "psalm of David" (S), adds εις το τελος συνεσις τοις υιοις Κορε(A), adds ανεπιγραφος παρ Εβραιοις(R); xliii(xliv) omits εις συνεσιν(A), omits "psalm" (S); xliv(xlv) omits all before "ode" (A), omits "ode" (R), adds "David" (A); xlv(xlvi) adds του Δ(A), adds τω Δ(T), omits all except "psalm of David" (A); xlvi(xlvii) adds τω Δ(ART), omits "over the sons of Korah" (A); xlvii(xlviii) adds "to the end" and ψαλμος τω Δ(A); xlviii(xlix) adds τω Δ and omits all up to ψαλμος(A); xlix(l) adds "to the end" (A), adds τω Δ(AR); lxv(lxvi) omits αναστασεως(S); lxii(lxiii) Ιδουμιαις(B), Ιουδαιαις(A?ST); lxvi(lxvii) "ode" (S) instead of "David" (?); lxix(lxx) omits clause εις . . . κυριον(R); lxx(lxxi) του for τω, and "Aminadam" for "Jonadab," adds "psalm" (R); lxxi(lxxii) adds "psalm" (R); lxxv(lxxvi) του(R) for τω, omits "ode" (S), omits προς τον Ασσυριον(ST); lxxviii(lxxix) has Δ for Ασαφ(S); lxxix(lxxx) omits υπερ του Ασσυριου(S); lxxx(lxxxι) τω Δ(A), omits υπερ των ληνων(T); lxxxiv(lxxxv) adds τω Δ(T); lxxxv(lxxxvi) omits προσευχη(A), του Δ(S) for τω Δ; lxxxvii(lxxxviii) omits "to the end" (S); lxxxix(xc) του Μωυση(S,AR) for τω Μωυση; xcii(xciii) reverses clause(R) omits προ(ART); cxi(cxii) adds της επιστροφης Αγγαιου και Ζαχαριου(R), adds Ζαχαριου(T); cxxi(cxii) omits τω Δ(ART); cxiii(cxiv) omits τω Δ(ART); cxvi(cxvii) omits τω Δ(T); cxxx(cxix) omits τω Δ(T); cxxxi(cxxxii) adds του Δ(S?), τω Δ(R); cxxxii(cxxxiii) omits τω Δ(AT); cxxxvii(cxxxviii) adds "Zachariah" (AT); cxxxviii(cxxxix) reverses "psalm of David" (A), adds "Zachariah" (A), adds εν τη διασπορα(AT); cxlii(cxliii) adds Αβεσσαλωμ(R); cxliv(cxlv) τω(ART), του(B);

cxlix adds "Haggai and Zachariah" (R); cl (Subscription) "Book of psalms. cl" (B), "Book of psalms of David. cl" (T); cli (Heading) του Δ (RT) for εις Δ (B), τω Γολιαδ (B), προς τον Γολιαθ (AT), προς τον Γολιαδ (R), cli (Subscription), "psalms cl and idiograph i" (A), "psalms of David cli" (S).

c. *The Secondary Versions of the Septuagint.*

There are at least nine versions of the Septuagint which throw light upon the headings of the psalms. I shall consider these in the order of: (1) the Coptic, (2) the Syriac, (3) the Latin, (4) the Armenian, (5) the Ethiopic, and (6) the Arabic.

(1) There are two Coptic versions of the Greek which give the headings—the Memphitic of Lower Egypt and the Sahidic of Upper Egypt. Since the Greek and Coptic both flourished together in Egypt, the Coptic versions are, as might have been expected, both very accurate.

(a) For the Memphitic, I have compared the text of Schwartz<sup>43</sup> with the Greek of Codex B. The comparison shows no important variations, except that the Memphitic adds as heading of Ps. i "To the end, a psalm of David" and to Ps. ii the words "a prophecy concerning Christ." Also, it agrees with Cod. A in Ps. xlvi(xlv), cxxxviii(cxxxvii), cxxxix(cxxxviii), reads "David" for "Asaph" in lxxviii (lxxvii), and *adds* "of Solomon" in cxxvi(cxxvii) with Heb., Cod. B, Holmes and Parsons' MSS 13, 111, 140, 166, 190, 277, 264, 269, and Vet. Lat. In Ps. cxxxi(cxxx) some MSS *add* "by David," with A. In cxxxvii(cxxxvi) it has "by David of (or through) Jeremiah" (comp. EFX). It *omits* "David" in Pss. lxvii(lxvi), cxxiv(cxxiii), and cxxxiii (cxxxii).

(b) For the Sahidic version I have used the editions of Budge,<sup>44</sup> and Ciasca.<sup>45</sup> This version *adds* to the text of B:

<sup>43</sup> *Psalterium in Dialectum Copticae Linguae Memphiticam translatum* (Leipzig, 1843)

<sup>44</sup> *The Earliest known Coptic Psalter*. (London, 1897).

<sup>45</sup> *Biblorum Sacrorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani*, Vol. II (Rome, 1889).



“an ode of David” in Ps. ii; “by David” in xlvi(xlv); a long clause agreeing substantially with EFX to Ps. xlv(xliv); “a psalm of David” in cxi(cx) of Ciasca’s text; “by Zechariah in the diaspora” in cxxxix(cxxxviii) with A. It *omits* “David” from the text of B in lxvii(lxvi), cxxii(cxxi), cxxiv(cxxiii), cxxxi(cxxx), cxxxiii(cxxxii), cxxxvii(cxxxvi), and “Haggai and Zachariah” in cxlvii(cxlvi).

(2) There are two great versions from the Greek into the Syriac, the Harklensian and the Syro-Palestinian.

(a) The Harklensian Syriac is a translation of Origen’s Hexaplar edition of the Old Testament and contains in its present form the literal version of Origen’s Septuagint with marginal notes giving the variations especially of the translations of Aquila and Symmachus with occasional references to Theodotion and others. The psalms are not found in the edition of Middeldorpf;<sup>46</sup> but I have used the facsimile edition of Ceriani<sup>47</sup> for my comparisons.

The Harklensian varies from Codex B as follows: v. adds “in praises”; xxxii(xxxiii) adds “a psalm of David to which there is no title with the Hebrews”; xli(xlii) adds “Psalms” with A\*RT; xlii(xliii) adds “By David, a psalm” with S; lix(lx) reads “Shobak” for “Sobal,” also *φαραγγα* for *φαλαγγα* (comp. Peshitto in 1 Mac. vi. 35 and 38); lxi(lxii) “Idithum” for “Idithun”; lxii(lxiii) “Edom” for “Judah”; lxxvi(lxxvii) “Idithum” for “Idithun”; lxxxvii(lxxxviii) “Etham” for “Aiman”; lxxxviii(lxxxix) “Etham” for “Aithan”; ciii(civ) adds “concerning the servitude of the world because that these things it has done to you;” cvii(cviii) adds “Hallelouya”; cx(cxi) adds “an epistrophe of Haggai and Zachariah”; cxxxi(cxxxii) translates as if it had read *συνεσις*; cxxxvi(cxxxvii) adds “Hallelouya through Jeremiah”; cxli(cxlii) “Prayer” is at beginning of verse instead of at end; cxlii(cxliii) adds “Absalom” before “his son”; cxlvi(cxlvii) adds “psalm” at end; cxlviii has two “Hallelou-

<sup>46</sup> Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris . . . e Codice Mediolanensi (Berlin, 1835).

<sup>47</sup> Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus, Mediolani, 1874.

yas" at beginning; cxlix two "Hallelouyas" at beginning; cl two "Hallelouyas" at beginning.

(b) In the few psalms of the Syro-Palestinian version whose headings have been preserved,<sup>48</sup> the following variations are worthy of mention: Ps. xlv(xlv) is called "a psalm of David" with Cod. A against Cod. B and Heb.; xlix (1) "David the prophet of God" (Heb. and G. read "Asaph")<sup>49</sup>; lxxxii(lxxxiii) "a psalm of David" with Vet. Lat., but Heb. and G. have "Asaph."

(3) Of the Latin versions from the *Septuagint* I have made use of (a) the edition of the Vulgate in Stier und Theile's *Polyglotten Bibel* and in Hetzenaver's *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis* (1906). (b) I have also given the most important variations of the Codex Amiatinus, "the most ancient of all the Latin codices."<sup>50</sup> (c) For the Old Latin, I have used the notes in Holmes and Parsons.<sup>51</sup> This version, which was in use in the Latin speaking part of the church until the time of Jerome, and in some parts of the church even later, has been preserved only in fragments.

(a) The Vulgate varies from B as follows: xxv(xxiv) adds "in finem"; xxvi(xxv) adds "in finem, psalmus"; xxvii(xxvi) adds "psalmus"; xxviii(xxvii) adds "psalmus"; xxxii(xxxi) agrees with Hebrew; xxxiii(xxxii) adds "psalmus" with A; xxxiv(xxxiii) "Abimelech" with Heb. and AB (U has Αχιμελεχ); xxxv(xxxiv) omits ψαλμος with B against A; xxxvi(xxxv) A adds ψαλμος; xxxvii(xxxvi) omits εις το τελος, adds "psalmus" with A; xlii(xli) agrees with Heb. and B, but A adds "psalm of David"; xliii(xlii) agrees with B (A adds "in finem intel-

<sup>48</sup> See the "Fragmenta Syropalaestina" in Land, *Otia Syriaca*, Vol. IV, Leiden, 1875.

<sup>49</sup> According to Holmes and Parsons (*Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum Variis Lectionibus*, Oxford, 1819), 19 MSS. read "David."

<sup>50</sup> The Codex Amiatinus was edited by Bunsen, Heyse and Tischendorf and published by Brockhaus (Leipzig, 1873) under the title; *Biblia Sacra Latina V. T. Hieronymo Interprete ex antiquissima auctoritate*, etc.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*

lectus filiis Core, psalmus David"); xlv(xliii) omits *ψαλμος* with Heb. against A and B; xlv(xliv) agrees with B, but A adds "David"; xlvi(xlv) *id.*, xlvii(xlvi) *id.*, xlviii(xlvii) adds "secunda sabbati" with B, against A and Heb.; li(1) "Bethsabée" for *Βηρσαβεε* (BA); lii(li) "Achimelech" (Heb.) for "Abimelech" (AB); lx(lix) omits *ετι* of AB, adds "Idumaea" with Heb. against AB; lxiii(lxii) "Idoumaeae" with B against "Judaea" (Heb. and A); lxv(lxiv) adds "Jeremiae et Ezechielis populo transmigracionis cum inciperent exire"; lxvii(lxvi) adds "cantici"; lxx(lxix) adds "psalmus"; lxxi(lxx) adds "psalmus"; lxxii(lxxi) adds "psalmus"; lxxx(lxxix) omits "over the Assyrian" (AB) with Heb.; lxxxviii(lxxxvii) "Ezrahite" with Heb. against "Israelite" (AB); lxxxix(lxxxviii) "Ezrahite" with Heb. against "Israelite" (AB); xciii(xcii) adds "ante sabbatum" with B (A has *του σαββατου*) against Heb.; cx(cix) Latin, Hebrew and Greek all "a psalm of David"; cxii(cxi) adds "reversionis Aggaei et Zachariae" against Heb. and AB; cxxii(cxxi) omits "David" with A against Heb. and B; cxxiv(cxxiii) omits "David" with A against Heb. and B; cxxvii(cxxvi) adds "Solomonis" with Heb. against A and B; cxxxvii(cxxxvi) adds "psalmus" and "Hieremiae"; cxliii(cxlii) adds "Absalom" against Heb. and AB; cxliv(cxliii) adds "psalmus" against Heb. and AB; cxlvii. 1-11 (cxlvi) omits "Haggai and Zachariah"; cxlvii. 12-20 (cxlvii) omits "Haggai and Zachariah"; cxlviii omits "Haggai and Zachariah."

(b) *Codex Amiatinus* adds "David" in the headings of psalms i, ii, lxv(lxvi), xci(xcii), xcix(c), where Heb., Greek and Vulgate all omit it; and it omits "David" in xxiii, xxxviii, cxxx(cxxx), cxxxii(cxxxiii), cxl(cxli), and "Alleluia" in cx(cxi) where Heb., Greek and Vulg. all have it. Also in cxxxv(cxxxvi) it omits "Alleluia" with Heb. as against Greek and Vulgate.

(c) The Old Latin, according to Holmes and Parsons, mentions "David" as author in ii, cxxxv(cxxxvi), cxlix, and omits it in lxiv(lxv) against Heb., Greek, and Vulg. In

xciv(xcv) it omits "David" with Heb. against Greek and Vulg. In lxxxii(lxxxiii) it has "David" instead of "Asaph" against Heb., Greek, and Vulg. In cxlv(cxlvi) it omits "Haggai and Zachariae" with Heb. against Greek and Vulg.

(4) The Armenian translation of the headings agrees closely with that of the Septuagint from which it was made. I have consulted the Constantinople edition of 1805 and the Serampore edition of 1817.<sup>52</sup> As to the authors of the psalms the variations from Codex B of the LXX are as follows: Ps. i adds "David" (C), S omits; v omits "David" (C text), adds "David" (S and some MSS of C); ix omits "David" (C text), adds "David" (S and some MSS of C); xli(xlii), xliii(xliv) and xlv(xlvi) all have *both* "Korah" and "David" (C), all omit "David" (S); xlvi(xlvii) and xlviii(xlix) have *both* "Korah" and "David" (CS); xlix(1) "David" (C) instead of "Asaph," omits "Asaph" (S and some MSS of C); lxii(lxiii) "Judea" (C, S) with Heb. against "Edom" (B); lxv(lxvi) add "David" (C, S); lxvi(lxvii) omit "David" (C, S); lxxi(lxxii) "Solomon" (C), "Of Solomon, a psalm of David" (S); lxxix(lxxx) "Ethiopians" (C), "Assyrians" (S) with B; lxxxviii(lxxxix) "Yemanah" (C), "Yemmaneh" (S); xci(xcii) adds "David" (C), omits "David" (S) with Heb. and G.; xcix(c) adds "David" (C), omits "David" (S) with Heb. and G.; cii(ciii) omits "David" (C), adds "David" (S) with Heb. and G.; cix(cx) has "David" (CS); cxi(cxii) adds "over the repentance (or return, S) of Haggai and Zachariah" (CS) with R; cxxi(cxxii) omits "David" (CS) with ART; cxxiii(cxxiv) omits "David" (CS) with ART; cxxx(cxxxi) omits "David" (CS) with T; cxxxii(cxxxiii) omits "David" (CS) with A\*T; cxxxvi(cxxxvii) adds "through Jeremiah" (CS); cxlix adds "Haggai and Zachariah" (C). C and S *add* "David" in xlvi(xlvii), xlviii

<sup>52</sup> The Constantinople edition is indicated by "C" and the Serampore edition by "S."

(xlix), lxv(lxvi); *omit* "David" in lxvi(lxvii), cxxi(cxxii), cxxiii(cxxiv), cxxx(cxxxi), cxxxii(cxxxiii).

(5) The Ethiopic version in Walton's Polyglot and Ludolf's *Psalterium*<sup>53</sup> differs from the Greek text of Codex B as follows: Both add "David" in xl v(xlvi), xl viii(xlix) with A and in ii, lxxxiv(lxxxv) against B and A; they omit "David" in xlvi(xlvii) with B against A and in cxxi(cxxii) and cxxiii(cxxiv) with A against B, in cxxx(cxxxi) and cxxxii(cxxxiii) against A and B; they read "Aminadab" instead of "Yemini" in vii and instead of "Jonadab" in lxx(lxxi). Ludolf adds "David" in Ps. i; and he adds "Haggai and Zachariah" in cxlviii.

(6) The Arabic version in Walton's Polyglot can hardly be earlier than the tenth century. It differs from B in adding "David" in Pss. ii, lxv(lxvi), xci(xcii), xcix(c), cxviii(cxix), and in omitting "David" in xxvii(xxviii), xxviii(xxix), xxxii(cxxxiii), xxxiv-xl(cxxv-xli), xlii(xliii), cviii(cix), cix(cx), cxxi(cxxii), cxxiii(cxxiv), cxxx(cxxxi), cxxxii(cxxxiii). It omits "sons of Korah" in xli(xlii) and "alleluia" in cl; it agrees with B in adding "Haggai and Zachariah" in cxlv(cxlvi), cxlvi(cxlvii, I-II) and differs from B in omitting them in cxlvii(cxlvii, I2) and cxlviii. It has "Nathan" for "Aithan" in lxxxviii(lxxxix).

#### CONCLUSIONS

The evidence given in this and the preceding article leads to the following conclusions:

1. It has been shown, I think, that, as far as the argument from silence goes, there is no reason for supposing that psalms may not have been composed and used as early as the time of David, Moses or even Jacob.

2. The argument from analogy derived from extra-biblical sources favors the use of vocal and instrumental music in the religious services of Israel from the time when those services were first instituted.

3. The argument from the analogy of Hebrew and other

<sup>53</sup> Ludolf, *Psalterium Davidis Aethiopice et Latine* (1701).

literatures outside the Psalter, poetical as well as prose, favors the use of headings for the psalms even from the earliest times.

4. The great variety of the headings argues for a desultory and individualistic origin of them rather than for a concerted scheme of classifying editors.

5. The evidence of the background and contents of the psalms is convincing for the origin of most of them in the times preceding the hegemony of the Persians. This evidence is especially convincing in the case of the diction—the absence of all words of Persian origin in the headings or in the body of the psalms argues for a date preceding the time of Cyrus, and the absence of Greek words for a date preceding the conquests of Alexander.

6. It is easy to see how the technical terminology of the headings may have ceased to be understood, if the headings were written, or designed, for the choirs of the Temple of Solomon; but it is difficult to account for the failure of the earliest of the translators to understand them, if they had been composed for the use of the singers of the Second Temple.

7. That the names for the Deity found in some of the psalms is no evidence for their lateness has, we think, been clearly demonstrated. Before accepting the conclusions of Cheyne in his *Bampton Lectures* on the Psalms, or of Driver in his *Literature of the Old Testament*, it is necessary to show that the evidence given by them in regard to the use of these titles is true, and also that the evidence which I have collected is false.

8. That the Hebrew text, which we have, is substantially the same as that in existence when the Septuagint Greek and other ancient versions were made, is attested by all the evidence in our possession. The material variations of the Hebrew manuscripts never have the support of more than 4 out of over 400, i.e., less than one per cent. As regards the authors, Aquila always agrees with the Hebrew; Jerome, in all cases with possibly one exception; Symmachus and Theo-

dotian, in all cases but one; the Targum, in all except two instances of doubtful interpretation and three where the editions differ. The Greek Septuagint omits one author mentioned in the Hebrew, and one Greek manuscript or another adds the author's name in about 20 cases. Most of this testimony of the variations of the manuscripts of the Septuagint from the Hebrew is rendered doubtful by the fact that one or more of the ancient versions from the Septuagint are found in almost every case to differ from the Greek original as preserved in B and A and to agree with the Hebrew original. The condition and history of the Peshitto Syriac text are such as to make it impossible to use the present editions as witnesses of the original Hebrew text. Consequently, we must conclude that, so far as we can know at present, the headings of the psalms in the Textus Receptus of our Hebrew Bible must be accepted as *presumptively* correct.

9. It is often claimed that the psalms show in themselves that they could not have been written by David. Since all the information that we have as to the life of David is found in the Books of Samuel and Chronicles, a layman, especially one of literary and religious culture, is just as competent to judge of David's capacity to write such poems, as is the most scholarly critic of the Hebrew Scriptures. Surely, it cannot be an objection to his having written them, that he was a king. For most of these critics admit that he composed the lament over Saul and Jonathan; and many of them go so far as to admit that it is probable at least that he wrote the magnificent poem recorded in 2 Samuel xxii. Besides, Amenemhet I of the Twelfth Dynasty and the great Thothmes III of the Eighteenth Dynasty and Merneptah of the Nineteenth wrote three of the best poems in the Egyptian language that have come down to us;<sup>54</sup> many of the Omayyid and Abbasid Califs vied with their court poets in the divans where contests were held in the production of poems in the Arabic tongue;<sup>55</sup> and James

<sup>54</sup> See Breasted's *History of Egypt*, I. §478 f., II. § 655 f., III. § 602 f.

<sup>55</sup> See Assayûti's *History of the Caliphs*, Calcutta, 1880. Among the poets were the Caliphs Muawiyah (p. 214), Abdul Malik (pp. 225,227),

I of Scotland was among the greatest of the long list of the poets of the land he did so much to civilize. What more natural than that a king who had been a shepherd in his early youth should have written the 23rd Psalm? What more becoming than that the seducer of Bathsheba and the murderer of Uriah should have composed the 51st? What more fitting than his prayer for his son and successor in the 72nd? Besides, what right have we to assume that we know enough about the range of ideas in the mind of David, the number of his experiences, the height and depth of his emotions, and the extent of the revelations given him by God, to enable us to say: "He may have written such, or such, a psalm, but he can not have written this"? Look at the wide range of theme and thought comprehended in the works of a Shakespeare, a Wordsworth, a Browning, or a Tennyson. Yet which of these had the variety of vicissitudes, the dangerous adventures, the hair-breadth escapes, the grievous bereavements, the deathless friendships, the prophetic guidance, the immortal hopes, that stirred the imagination of the sweet singer of Israel? What a gallery of portraits might be painted from the scenes of his life. The shepherd boy with the lion and the bear; going out to fight Goliath with a sling; scribbling on the wall of Achish's palace; fleeing from Saul over the mountains of Judea; hiding in the cave of Adullam; crowned king of Judah; committing adultery with Bathsheba; murdering Uriah the Hittite; weeping over his dying son; worried by the conduct of Amnon; lamenting over Absalom, his best-beloved son; tormented by the sons of Zeruah; cursed by Shimei; conspired against by Adonijah; fearing and loving his God and rejoicing in the service and glory of Him who was his light and his salvation. Here was a hero, a saint, a penitent sinner, a poet, able to produce the prayers, the praises, the confessions and the thanksgivings expressed in the psalms attributed to David. The psalms were written.

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Omar ben Abdul Aziz (p. 247), Yazid (p. 257), Mansour (p. 275), Al Hadi (p. 287), Haroun Arrashid (p. 305), and others.



We have them in our possession. Who other than David may have been their author? No one of whom we know.

In closing it may be well to call the reader's attention to the bearing of the evidence collected upon the interpretation of one or two of the psalms whose Davidic authorship has been questioned. Take, for example, Psalm cx. According to Kennicott and De Rossi all the Hebrew manuscripts assign it to David as author. So do all the manuscripts of Jerome's version from the Hebrew; all the editions of the Aramaic Targum; the Syriac of the polyglots, and all the Greek Septuagint Uncials of Swete and all the Greek manuscripts in Holmes and Parsons (except perhaps seven, all apparently late or defective), and the Coptic, Syriac, Latin, Ethiopic, and Armenian versions of the Greek. The only versions which omit the direct ascription to David are some of the copies of the Syriac primary version and the Arabic version of the Septuagint; but, in these cases, all of the psalms are attributed to David in the heading to the Psalter as a whole.<sup>56</sup>

Further, in four places in the New Testament this psalm is said to have been composed by David (Matt. xxii. 43f.; Mk. xii. 35f.; Luke xx. 41f.; Acts ii. 34). From the passages in the Synoptics it is evident that Jesus was sure that the Jews with whom he was speaking believed that David wrote the psalm, that he wrote "in the Holy Spirit," and that he referred to the Messiah. It was the acceptance of these facts which made the conclusion inescapable that the Messiah is the Son of God. It was probably because he recalled how Jesus had used this argument that Peter appealed to this

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<sup>56</sup> In considering the evidence of the oriental versions and manuscripts, it must be kept in mind that, as stated above, the scholars of the oriental churches believed that David wrote all of the psalms. Hence, the omission of the name of David from the heading of a particular psalm does not mean that they thought that David did not write it. Thus the Syriac texts frequently use: "It was prophesied," or some similar phrase, meaning us to supply "by David"; and the Arabic version often uses "He said it," meaning David said it. Keeping these facts in mind, we may conclude that the testimony of the ancient manuscripts and versions is practically unanimous, that David wrote Psalm cx and Psalm cxxxix (see below).

psalm on the day of Pentecost. The facts to which Jesus appealed are just as firmly established by the evidence today as they were then; and the argument for the deity of Christ can be based upon them as confidently as ever. For the Christian the fact that Jesus used this argument should be sufficient; but it gives added ground for confidence that the facts to which He appeals have been unshaken by the assaults of criticism.

Theodoret in his great commentary gives a long and able argument for the deity of Christ based upon this heading and the use made of it in the New Testament. It is only in these late times that *Christian* scholars have arisen to assert that the Jews did not know who wrote it, that Peter did not know, and that Jesus did not know. They used to appeal to the presence of the word Melchizedek as proving that David could not have written it. But now that the Tel-el-Amarna letters have confirmed the testimony of the Book of Joshua to the existence of Jerusalem and of kings of Jerusalem long before the time of David, it is impossible to make out from the use of this word even a plausible case in support of the theory that David could not have written the psalm. The only reason for believing that David did not write it is to be found in the mind of those who do not believe in predictive prophecy, or who are convinced that they know more than Peter, than the Jewish scholars of the first century, than the Lord of Glory Himself.

Another example of the weakness of the attack upon the veracity of the headings is to be found in Psalm cxxxix. This is ascribed to David in all the Hebrew manuscripts, in all the editions of the Targum, in all the editions and manuscripts of Jerome's version from the Hebrew, in the Syriac of the polyglots and of the Mosul edition, in all the Uncials of Swete and in all the manuscripts of Holmes and Parsons (except two or three) and in all the versions of the Septuagint. Notwithstanding this evidence in favor of Davidic authorship, many critics place the psalm in post-captivity or in Maccabean times. This is done upon two grounds—the al-

leged presence of Aramaic words, and the presumption that the doctrines in it could not have been known till after the captivity. As to the Aramaic words, I have shown in previous articles in this REVIEW<sup>57</sup> that some of these alleged Aramaisms cannot be shown to be Aramaisms at all; and that, if they are Aramaisms, there is sufficient evidence to show that David might have used them. As to the statement that David could not have expressed a certain idea because he could not have had it, it is a sufficient answer to say that he could have had it and did have it because he has expressed it. How can any man living today know that David could not have had the thoughts expressed in this psalm? Especially how can any one, who believes that David was a prophet to whom the Rock of Israel spake, presume to set limits of time and human possibilities to the illumination and oracular sayings of David the son of Jesse, the anointed of the God of Jacob: the sweet psalmist of Israel, through whom the Spirit of Jehovah spake?<sup>58</sup> But it is not with subjective theory nor with interpretations of occasional verses, but with objective evidence that we have been concerned in this article. As far as the objective evidence goes the headings of the psalms are presumptively correct.

*Princeton.*

R. D. WILSON.

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. "The Aramaisms of the Old Testament" (April, 1925); also the first part of the present article (January, 1926), p. 31.

<sup>58</sup> Compare 2 Samuel xxiii. 1-3.

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## THE HEADINGS OF THE PSALMS

It is the purpose of this article to treat of the reliability of the headings of the Psalms; to show that, as far as the evidence goes, there is a reasonable ground for believing that the headings are what they purport to be.

No one can doubt that comparative literature and history are in favor of the probability of psalms having been composed in Hebrew as early as the time of Jacob. Before Abram left Ur of the Chaldees, the Sumerians and Egyptians had hundreds of poems used in the temple worship of their gods.<sup>1</sup> And the Hebrew language was certainly used in Palestine and Syria long before the time of Thothmes III.<sup>2</sup> That Jacob may have composed the blessing recorded in Gen. xlix. is not, therefore, a question of language so much as one of predictive prophecy. That Moses could have composed and written Exodus xv, Deut. xxxii and xxxiii and the other poetical parts of the Pentateuch and, also, the 90th Psalm may for like reason be maintained and believed. So, likewise, the songs of Deborah and Hannah (Judg. v and 1 Sam. ii) may, for ought anyone *knows* to the contrary, have been composed by these two women, as the superscriptions indicate. As to David himself 2 Sam. i. 17 expressly attributes to

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<sup>1</sup> Frequent references to songs and musical instruments used in the temples occur already in the time of Gudea. See F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften (passim)*. For music among the ancient Egyptians, see especially Erman, *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*. I. 340 f, II. 521 f.

<sup>2</sup> Thothmes III, on his inscriptions at Karnak which describe his conquests in Asia, gives a list of the cities of Palestine and Syria conquered by him. This list is still preserved on three of the pyla or gates. The names of the cities are almost all certainly Hebrew. See W. Max Müller, in *Die Palestinaliste Thutmosis III*.

him the lament over Saul and Jonathan; and in xxiii. 1 he is not merely called the sweet psalmist of Israel, but the short poem recorded in verses 2-7 are said to have been the last words of this anointed of the God of Jacob. In Chapter xxii. 1, it is said, that David spake the words of the song recorded in verses 2-51 in the day that the Lord delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies and out of the hand of Saul. Besides, whatever date may be assigned to Chronicles it is certain that the author states expressly that David delivered into the hands of the Levitical singers the psalm contained in 1 Chr. xvi. 8-36 to be sung at the services in honor of the bringing of the ark to the city of David; and it is further stated in Chapter xv that he organized the singers and players of instruments who took part in these services. Solomon his son is said in 1 Kings iv. 32 (v. 12) to have spoken three thousand proverbs and of songs a thousand and five. Isaiah, also, has left us the songs found in Chapters v, xii and xxxv; and the text ascribes the second chapter of Jonah and the third of Habakkuk to Jonah and Habakkuk respectively. But not only may these songs have been composed and written in these times, it is equally sure that they may have been copied and handed down, for it is absolutely certain not merely that poems written in Egypt and Babylonia hundreds of years at least before the time of Moses have been handed down to our day but also that the art of copying and preserving manuscripts was in vogue hundreds of years before the time of Moses.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, we find that the *prima facie* evidence of the Pentateuch, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, Isaiah, Jonah, Habakkuk, and Chronicles, assures us that lyrical poetry was in vogue among the Israelites of the earliest times and that they assign poems to Jacob, Moses, Balaam, Deborah, Hannah and David; and state that many poems were written by Solomon. Why, then, we may ask, is it intrinsically impossible to suppose that the headings of the psalms are right in assigning

<sup>3</sup> See Breasted's *Egypt* and Langdon's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*.

psalms of the psalter to Moses, David and Solomon? And why may not the headings of the psalms have been composed at, or near, the time when they were composed?

For we know for a certainty that writing was an art practised in both Babylon and Egypt for many centuries before the time of Jacob and Moses; that the Hebrew language was written in Egyptian as early at least as the time of Thothmes III, and in cuneiform as early as the El-Amarna letters;<sup>4</sup> and that documents in both cuneiform and Egyptian were handed down by copyists for hundreds or even thousands of years.<sup>5</sup>

Further, we know that the Egyptians and Babylonians had vocal as well as instrumental music in use in their temples a thousand years and more before the time that Solomon built his temple, or before David is said to have sung 1 Chron. xvi. 8-36 at the time when the ark was taken to Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup>

For anyone, especially anyone who admits that David was the author of the lament over Saul and Jonathan, to deny that he may have been poet enough to write the psalms attributed to him, is absurd. The odes and epodes of Horace are 120 in number. Burns wrote more than 500 lyrical poems, Goethe about 800 small poems and Charles Wesley more than 6000 hymns.<sup>7</sup>

To deny the authorship of any of the 73 psalms attributed to David on the ground of the form in which they are composed is exceedingly perilous in view of the multiplicity of forms employed by poets like Schiller and Browning and in view, also, of our ignorance of the principles of Hebrew

<sup>4</sup> See W. Max Müller's lists as above (note 2) and Winckler, *Tell-El-Amarna Letters*, Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, and Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarna Briefe mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kanaanismen*.

<sup>5</sup> See my article on "Scientific Biblical Criticism" in this REVIEW for July 1919.

<sup>6</sup> See Frank, *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion*, and Langdon's, Thureau-Dangin's, Breasted's and Erman's works cited above.

<sup>7</sup> Surely, the variety of subject, thought and metre, in the poems ascribed to David does not exceed that found in Cowper, Byron, Browning and Tennyson.

poetry. To deny the authorship of the psalms to their alleged composers on the ground that they contain theological ideas that were not known to the Hebrews till long after the time of the author to whom they are assigned in the headings is to assume a knowledge of the history of the Hebrew religion which the critics cannot show that they possess.<sup>8</sup> On the contrary, to justify their assumptions as to

<sup>8</sup> The precarious and subjective grounds by means of which this alleged unsuitability of the ideas of the psalms to the times when the alleged authors lived may be seen in Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 377-387. "Not unfrequently," says he, "the psalms ascribed to David presuppose the circumstances or character of a later age." "Many also of the Psalms, it is difficult not to feel, express an intensity of religious devotion, a depth of spiritual insight, and a maturity of theological reflexion, beyond what we should expect from David or David's age." "As we should not gather from the history that he was exposed to a succession of trials and afflictions of the kind represented in the Psalms ascribed to him, so we should not gather from it that he was a man of the deep and intense spiritual feeling reflected in the Psalms that bear his name. Every indication converges to the same conclusion, viz., that the 'Davidic' Psalms spring, in part, from many different periods of Israelitish history from the time of David himself downward; and that in the varied moods which they reflect—despondency, trouble, searchings of heart, penitence, hope, confidence, thankfulness, exultation; or the various situations which they shadow forth—distress, sickness, oppression or persecution, deliverance,—they set before us the experience of many men, and of many ages of the natural life." This is a perfect gem of the method of criticism pursued by the destructive critics of the Old Testament records. It is purely *psychological*. Dr. Driver uses the same kind of criticism when he says that Isaiah could not have written chapters xxiv-xxvii of the book that bears his name because they "spring out of a different (and later) vein of thought from Isaiah's" (*Ibid.* p. 220); or when he says that Obadiah 15-21 "seems to display the tone and thought of a much later age" (p. 220); or that it is not "easy to imagine" an Assyrian king like that of Jonah (p. 324); or that "a difference of tone and manner in different parts of Micah tell against identity of authorship" (p. 332); or that parts of chapter iii of Zephaniah "express the ideas and hopes of a later age than that of Zephaniah." Those who think that Dr. Driver and his fellow critics could possibly know enough about the mind and thoughts of David, Isaiah, the kings of Assyria, and the prophets of Israel to tell us what they could or could not have thought about, are welcome to their opinion. They forget that God spoke through the prophets. They have neglected to read Shakespeare; for he seems to have had occasionally a new thought and he runs the whole gamut of human experience. Why may not a poet of Israel have done the same?

the development of ideas, it is necessary arbitrarily to reject the *prima facie* evidence of nearly all the documents of the Old Testament and to change the text and meaning thousands of times, not on the ground of documentary evidence but, with malice aforethought and largely upon purely subjective reasons, in order to support their otherwise groundless hypotheses.<sup>9</sup>

These critics write as if there *must* have been a gradual and discernible development in the literature, science, art, and religion, of the ancient Hebrews. Not finding a development that suits their views of how it must have been, they proceed to rearrange the documents and to pervert their obvious sense so as to support their views. Do they not know that the most flourishing era in Egyptian literature and religion was from the 12th to the 19th dynasty?<sup>10</sup> Do they not know that the finest poetry, the most complete code of laws, the best works on magic and the worship of the gods, had reached their highest point in the age of Hammurabi?<sup>11</sup> Are

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<sup>9</sup> The writer of this article is heartily in favor of a textual criticism based upon documentary evidence or even upon analogical considerations derived from palaeography, or history; but the kind followed by Professor Cheyne in his *Critica Biblica* or by Professors Voltz and George Adam Smith in their Commentaries on Jeremiah or by Professor Moffatt in the preparation of his so-called version of the Hebrew Bible, goes beyond the bounds of common sense and of the laws of evidence. These brilliant men are all suggestive, but they do not know everything; and one thing they do not know is what these old Israelites thought and said and did, if they did not think and say and do what the documents of the Old Testament, the only records we have concerning them, say that they thought and said and did. When we professors go beyond the evidence of the documents, we are just as liable to err through ignorance as the greatest ignoramus. Truth is stranger than fiction, and no one can imagine history, or text, or document.

<sup>10</sup> See Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 322, 340.

<sup>11</sup> In his *Recueil de Lois Assyriens* Director Scheil says in comparing these Assyrian laws with the code of Hammurabi: "Les deux documents sont toutes à l'honneur de la société babylonienne de l'an 2100, et peu flatteuse pour la société assyrienne de 1400-1200 avant J. C." The Creation Tablets, the Flood Tablets, the Birth-Omens, came from, at, or before, the time of Hammurabi. Gudea's royal inscriptions are much like those of Nebuchadnezzar. (See King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, Jen-



not the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I as classical as those of Assurbanipal? Or, if they prefer classical analogies, did not Homer's works, though first of all in time among the epics of the ancient world, continue till the end to excel all other works of like character? And who so readable today along his line as Herodotus, the father of history? And was not Thucydides, one of the earliest of Greek historians, so great a master of method and style as that our own great English historian, Macauley, could find no model so fit for imitation both in style and method? No. It is not true, that even in merely human productions, we can trace in history a development from the worse to the better and the best along chronological or evolutionary lines. Dante, Cervantes, and Camoens; Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton, all cry out against any such kind of literary development.

And when we come to the great religions of the world, the same is even more true. The highest point of development among the Egyptians and Babylonians was about 2000 B.C.<sup>12</sup> The earliest writings of the Hindoos, Parsees, Buddhists, Chinese and Mohammedans were the best and purest.<sup>13</sup> Among the Hebrews themselves, there has been nothing that deserves, from either a literary, or religious point of view, to be classed among the great outstanding productions of Moses, David, Isaiah and Jeremiah.<sup>14</sup>

Among the Christians, also, the religious works of the first century have never been equalled by those that have followed and the theological system derived from the Scriptures

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sen, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Mythen und Epen*, Dennefeld, *Geburts-Omina*, Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerische und Akkadische Königsinschriften* and Langdon-Zehnpfund, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*).

<sup>12</sup> See above note 10.

<sup>13</sup> See *Hinduism* by Professor Monier Williams; *Buddhism* by T. W. Rhys Davids; *Confucianism* by R. K. Douglas; *Islam* by J. W. H. Stobart and for the Parsees Ed. Meyer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* XXI, 210.

<sup>14</sup> For confirmation of this statement, see Halper's *Post-biblical Hebrew Literature*. On page 7 of vol. II, the author says "the literary quality of post-biblical works cannot approach the sublimity and beauty of the Bible."

was almost fully perfected in the first five centuries of our era.<sup>15</sup> The creeds have changed but little in the last 1500 years.<sup>16</sup>

We see, then, how futile it is to argue as if the development of the Israelitish faith and worship must have been along a certain line and always from the lower to the higher, the better to the best, and as if the greatest of Israel's religious laws must have been at the latter end of the Old Testament times.

But it is argued, there is little trace in the books of Samuel and Kings, or even in the prophets, of the singers and their psalms. This is an argument from silence, and an argument from silence on the part of a document proves nothing with regard to either the knowledge of an author, or the occurrence of a fact. The most important point is, What is the purpose of the author?, and the next point in importance is, What are the amount and sources of his information about the matter in discussion? Take, for example, the books of First and Second Kings. The main purpose of the author certainly is to give us a short synchronous history of the kings of Judah and Israel, similar to the synchronous accounts of the kings of Babylon and Nineveh.<sup>17</sup> While not annalistic, the books of Kings may be compared not merely with the synchronistic but also with the annalistic accounts of the kings of Nineveh.<sup>18</sup> The sources of information for the author of Kings are said to have been especially the Books of the Acts (1 Ki. xi. 41), or the Books of the Chronicles (1 Ki. xiv. 19) of the various kings of Judah and Israel. The sources of the synchronistic accounts of Nineveh and Babylon were in like manner the annalistic accounts of

<sup>15</sup> The Council of Chalcedon was held in the year A.D. 451. The Greek, Roman and Protestant churches all have agreed in accepting the decrees of this and the three preceding councils.

<sup>16</sup> See Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*.

<sup>17</sup> See for the Babylonian Synchronous History *Die Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (abbrev. KB.) II 275-285.

<sup>18</sup> See Lotz for Tiglath-Pileser I; Winckler for Sargon, Streck for Assurbanipal and KB. for many other kings of Assyria.

the different reigns of the Assyrian kings (of which we have very full records for the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser I, Assurnasirpal, the Shalmanesers, and others) and various inscriptions of the Babylonian kings from Nebuchadnezzar I to Nabunaid.<sup>19</sup>

Now, when we examine the Babylonian Chronicle, we find not a single reference of any kind to music, song, or any kind of religious service.<sup>20</sup> The Assyrio-Babylonian Synchronistic History refers once to offerings;<sup>21</sup> but never to any kind of musical service or instrument. The annals and other inscriptions of the Assyrian kings speak a number of times of music in connection with the triumphal entrances of the kings into Nineveh after a successful campaign,<sup>22</sup> but seldom, if ever, of any religious service with musical accompaniment, and the records of the Babylonian kings are almost devoid of musical terminology or activities.<sup>23</sup>

Yet, we know that during the reigns of all of these kings and, indeed, from the time of the kings preceding Hammurabi and Abraham, music, both instrumental and vocal, was a usual and essential part of the religious services in all the temples both of Babylonia and Elam.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> See KB. *in loc.*, and Langdon-Zehnpfund, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften.*

<sup>20</sup> KB. II. 272-285.

<sup>21</sup> KB. I. 194-203, Vol. IV. Shamshi-Ramman king of Assyria came up to Kula, Babylon and Barsippa and made clean offerings (*kiru niki illuti lu epus.*)

<sup>22</sup> For example, when Assurbanipal returned to Nineveh with the head of Teumman, king of Elam, he entered with the prisoners and the booty which he had acquired accompanied by singers making music (*itti amêlu narê êpeš ningûti*). Cf., Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Vol. II, 125. In II. 117, Ish-tar tells the king to "eat food, drink wine, make music (*ningutu*), (and) praise my godhead." On page 267, it is said that his assembled troops went around the temple of Esaggil making music day and night, when he made his entry into the temple.

<sup>23</sup> The only word for singing in the New Babylonian inscriptions is *zamaru* and it is used of the cry of the people when Nabunaid became king: "Father of the land. There is none like him."

<sup>24</sup> See the Sumerian and Accadian royal inscriptions of the times before Abraham. See the "list" (*Verzeichniss*, etc.) of names by Langdon in

The conclusion to be drawn from this long array of parallels from comparative literatures is that it is not necessary to suppose that the psalms and instrumental accompaniments were not in use in the religious services of the tabernacle and in the temple of Solomon because such matters were not mentioned in the chronicles of the kings of Judah and Israel, or in the books of Samuel and Kings which were derived from them. On the other hand, our books of Chronicles, which give not merely the history of kings and wars, but, also, among other things, are full of matters concerning the temple, the priests, and all the religious services, give many references to the musical part in the ceremonies and worship.<sup>25</sup> The laws of Moses and the psalms of praise would be in the special care of the priests and Levites and would be kept in the temple archives or library, just as among the Babylonians and Assyrians, whereas the royal records would be kept in the library of the palace and the temple records in the libraries of the temples.<sup>26</sup> We know that the chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah survived the destruction of Samaria and Jerusalem.<sup>27</sup> Why may not the chronicles of the temple and the psalms of the sanctuary in like manner have been saved?

Words for songs, singing and singers occur in 340 pages of the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I,<sup>28</sup> Sargon II,<sup>29</sup>

Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerische und Akkadische Königsinschriften*, especially under *balangu*, "lyre." See, also, Frank, *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion*, p. 229 f.

<sup>25</sup> Thus Chronicles mentions *nēbel* 10 times, Sam-Kings only 3; *kinnôr* 12 times to 5 times in Sam-Kings; *m'siltayim* 11 times to Sam-Kings none; *h<sup>a</sup>šôš'rôth* 16 times to Sam-Kings 3; *m'shôrēr* 12 times to none.

<sup>26</sup> Assurbanipal had two great libraries at Nineveh, one in his palace, and the other in the temple of Nebo. See Streck, *Assurbanipal* II 355-375; also, Deneffeld, *Geburts-Omina*, p. 40.

<sup>27</sup> We know this because we have the synchronistic history in the books of Kings, and these can be tested from the Egyptian documents of Shishak, Necho and others; from the Mesha inscriptions; and from the Assyrian records.

<sup>28</sup> See Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I. and KB. I*, 14-49.

<sup>29</sup> See Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, and Peiser in *KB. II*, 34-81.

Assurbanipal<sup>30</sup> and other kings of Nineveh,<sup>31</sup> four times in all;<sup>32</sup> and in the New-Babylonian royal inscriptions<sup>33</sup> but once in 148 pages; whereas words of the same kind occur in the 218 pages of Samuel-Kings 12 times. Notwithstanding this silence of the inscriptions every one admits that songs were sung in the Babylonian and Assyrian worship from the earliest to the latest times. The Hebrew records mention singing, songs, or singers once on every 22 pages; the Assyrian, once on every 54 pages; the Babylonian, once on every 148 pages. Besides, the Hebrew prophets from Isaiah to Zephaniah inclusive have words for these ideas 66 times in 308 pages; whereas the post-captivity prophets have only one word and that but once in 21 pages.<sup>34</sup> Further, hymns and instrumental music are known to have been used in the temple services of the Egyptians from the earliest times;<sup>35</sup> but singers, male or female, are mentioned in the four large volumes of Breasted's *Egypt* only six times and these all from the 12th to the 22nd dynasty.<sup>36</sup>

In view of these facts, is it not time for the critics to revise some of their opinions with regard to the argument from silence? Will they not be frank enough to admit, that, for all they *know* from sources outside the psalms themselves, they may have been written and used from Moses down to Malachi?

When we come to examine the psalms themselves for indications of post-captivity origin, we are astonished at their

<sup>30</sup> See Streck's *Assurbanipal* and KB. II, 152-269.

<sup>31</sup> That is, Assurnaširpal, Shalmanassar II, Ramman-nirari, Tiglath-Pileser IV, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (KB. I and II).

<sup>32</sup> To wit, in Assurbanipal's Cylinder B. VI. 21, 46 and in Sennacherib's *Prism Inscription* I. 30 (where the singers are captives taken from the king of Babylon) and in III. 38, 39, where they refer to captives taken from Hezekiah, king of Judah.

<sup>33</sup> See *Die Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, 276, II *ema uzammaru*, "while they sang (and shouted)."

<sup>34</sup> Zech. ii. 10 (14), "Sing and be glad O daughter of Zion." The word for "sing" is *rānan*.

<sup>35</sup> See Breasted's Erman's, and Wilkinson's works on Egypt.

<sup>36</sup> See the index (vol. V) to Breasted's *Egypt*.

paucity. In order to make this clear to our readers, we have prepared the following table, which gives the names of persons, nations, mountains, rivers and cities mentioned in the Psalter.

## PROPER NAMES IN THE PSALMS

	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V
Aaron			77 <sup>20</sup>	99 <sup>6</sup> , 105 <sup>26</sup> 106 <sup>16</sup>	115 <sup>10, 12</sup> , 118 <sup>3</sup> , 133 <sup>2</sup> , 135 <sup>19</sup> 116 <sup>17</sup>
Abiram					
Abraham		47 <sup>9</sup>		105 <sup>6, 9, 42</sup>	
Amalek			83 <sup>7</sup>		
Ammon			83 <sup>7</sup>		
Assur			83 <sup>8</sup>		
Babylon			87 <sup>4</sup>		137 <sup>1, 8</sup>
Bashan	22 <sup>12</sup>	68 <sup>15 bis, 22</sup>			135 <sup>11</sup> , 136 <sup>20</sup>
Benjamin		68 <sup>27</sup>	80 <sup>2</sup>		
Canaan				106 <sup>38</sup>	135 <sup>11</sup>
David		72 <sup>20</sup>	78 <sup>70</sup> , 89 <sup>20, 35</sup> , 89 <sup>49</sup>		122 <sup>5</sup> , 132 <sup>1, 11</sup> , 132 <sup>17</sup> , 144 <sup>10</sup>
Edom		60 <sup>8, 9</sup>	83 <sup>6</sup>		108 <sup>9, 10</sup> , 137 <sup>7</sup>
Egypt		68 <sup>31</sup>	78 <sup>12, 43, 51</sup> , 80 <sup>8</sup> , 81 <sup>5, 10</sup>	105 <sup>38</sup> , 106 <sup>7, 21</sup>	114 <sup>1</sup> , 135 <sup>8, 9</sup> , 136 <sup>10</sup>
Ephratah					132 <sup>6</sup>
Ephraim		60 <sup>7</sup>	78 <sup>9, 67</sup> , 80 <sup>2</sup>		108 <sup>8</sup>
Ethiopia		68 <sup>31</sup>	87 <sup>4</sup>		
Gebal			83 <sup>7</sup>		
Gilead		60 <sup>7</sup>			108 <sup>8</sup>
Hagarenes			83 <sup>6</sup>		
Ham			78 <sup>31</sup>	105 <sup>23, 27</sup> 106 <sup>22</sup>	
Hermon		42 <sup>6</sup>	89 <sup>12</sup>		133 <sup>3</sup>
Horeb				106 <sup>19</sup>	
Isaac				105 <sup>9</sup>	
Ishmael			83 <sup>6</sup>		
Israel	14 <sup>7 bis, 22<sup>3</sup></sup> , 22 <sup>23</sup> , 25 <sup>22</sup> , 41 <sup>13</sup>	50 <sup>7</sup> , 53 <sup>6</sup> , 59 <sup>5</sup> 68 <sup>8, 26, 34, 35</sup> 69 <sup>6</sup>	71 <sup>22</sup> , 72 <sup>18</sup> , 73 <sup>1</sup> , 76 <sup>1</sup> , 78 <sup>5, 21, 31, 41</sup> , 78 <sup>55, 59, 71</sup> , 80 <sup>2</sup> , 81 <sup>4, 8</sup> , 81 <sup>11, 13</sup> , 83 <sup>4</sup> , 89 <sup>8</sup>	98 <sup>3</sup> , 103 <sup>7</sup> , 105 <sup>10, 23</sup> , 106 <sup>48</sup>	114 <sup>2</sup> , 115 <sup>9, 12</sup> , 118 <sup>2</sup> , 121 <sup>4</sup> , 122 <sup>4</sup> , 125 <sup>5</sup> , 128 <sup>6</sup> , 130 <sup>7</sup> , 131 <sup>3</sup> , 135 <sup>4</sup> , 135 <sup>12, 19</sup> , 136 <sup>11, 14, 22</sup> , 147 <sup>2, 19</sup> , 148 <sup>14</sup> , 149 <sup>2</sup>

	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V
Jabin			83 <sup>9</sup>		
Jacob	14 <sup>7</sup> , 20 <sup>1</sup> , 22 <sup>23</sup> 24 <sup>6</sup>	44 <sup>4</sup> , 46 <sup>7,11</sup> 47 <sup>4</sup> , 53 <sup>6</sup> 59 <sup>13</sup>	75 <sup>9</sup> , 76 <sup>6</sup> , 77 <sup>15</sup> , 94 <sup>7</sup> , 99 <sup>4</sup> , 78 <sup>5,21,71</sup> 79 <sup>7</sup> , 81 <sup>1,4</sup> , 84 <sup>8</sup> , 85 <sup>1</sup> , 87 <sup>2</sup>	105 <sup>6,10,23</sup>	114 <sup>1,7</sup> , 132 <sup>2</sup> , 132 <sup>5</sup> , 135 <sup>4</sup> , 146 <sup>5</sup> , 147 <sup>19</sup>
Jerusalem		51 <sup>18</sup> , 68 <sup>29</sup>	79 <sup>1,3</sup>	102 <sup>21</sup>	116 <sup>19</sup> , 122 <sup>2,3</sup> , 122 <sup>6</sup> , 125 <sup>2</sup> , 128 <sup>5</sup> , 135 <sup>21</sup> , 137 <sup>5,6,7</sup> , 147 <sup>2,12</sup> , 114 <sup>3,5</sup>
Jordan		42 <sup>6</sup>			
Joseph			77 <sup>15</sup> , 78 <sup>67</sup> , 80 <sup>1</sup>	105 <sup>17</sup>	
Judah		48 <sup>11</sup> , 60 <sup>7</sup> 68 <sup>27</sup> , 69 <sup>35</sup>	76 <sup>1</sup> , 78 <sup>68</sup>	97 <sup>8</sup>	108 <sup>8</sup> , 114 <sup>2</sup>
Kadesh	29 <sup>8</sup>				
Kedar					120 <sup>5</sup>
Lebanon	29 <sup>5,6</sup>	72 <sup>16</sup>		92 <sup>12</sup> , 104 <sup>16</sup>	
Levi					135 <sup>20</sup>
Lot			83 <sup>8</sup>		
Manasseh		60 <sup>7</sup>	80 <sup>2</sup>		108 <sup>8</sup>
Melchizedek					110 <sup>4</sup>
Meribah			81 <sup>7</sup>		
Mesech					120 <sup>5</sup>
Midian			83 <sup>9</sup>		
Mizar		42 <sup>6</sup>			
Moab		60 <sup>8</sup>	83 <sup>6</sup>		108 <sup>9</sup>
Moses			77 <sup>20</sup>	99 <sup>6</sup> , 103 <sup>7</sup> , 105 <sup>26</sup> , 106 <sup>16,23,32</sup>	
Naphtali		68 <sup>27</sup>			
Og					135 <sup>11</sup> , 136 <sup>20</sup>
Ophir		45 <sup>9</sup>			
Oreb & Zeeb			83 <sup>11</sup>		
Pharaoh					135 <sup>9</sup> , 136 <sup>15</sup>
Philistines			87 <sup>4</sup>		
Phinehas				106 <sup>30</sup>	
Rahab			87 <sup>4</sup> , 89 <sup>10</sup>		
Salem			76 <sup>2</sup>		
Salmon		68 <sup>14</sup>			
Samuel				99 <sup>6</sup>	
Sheba					
( & Seba)		72 <sup>10,15</sup>			
Shechem		60 <sup>6</sup>			108 <sup>7</sup>
Shiloh			78 <sup>60</sup>		

	Book I	Book II	Book III	Book IV	Book V
Sihon					135 <sup>11</sup> , 136 <sup>19</sup>
Sinai		68 <sup>8,17</sup>			
Sirion	29 <sup>6</sup>				
Sisera			83 <sup>9</sup>		
Succoth		60 <sup>6</sup>			108 <sup>7</sup>
Tabor			89 <sup>12</sup>		
Tarshish		48 <sup>7</sup> , 72 <sup>10</sup>			
Tyre		45 <sup>12</sup>	83 <sup>7</sup> , 87 <sup>4</sup>		
Zeba & Zalmunna			83 <sup>11</sup>		
Zebulun		68 <sup>27</sup>			
Zion	2 <sup>6</sup> , 9 <sup>11,14</sup> , 14 <sup>7</sup> , 20 <sup>2</sup>	48 <sup>2,11,12</sup> , 50 <sup>2</sup> , 51 <sup>18</sup> , 53 <sup>6</sup> , 65 <sup>1</sup> , 69 <sup>35</sup>	74 <sup>2</sup> , 76 <sup>2</sup> , 78 <sup>68</sup> , 84 <sup>7</sup> , 87 <sup>2,5</sup>	97 <sup>8</sup> , 99 <sup>2</sup> , 102 <sup>13,16,21</sup>	110 <sup>2</sup> , 125 <sup>1</sup> , 126 <sup>1</sup> , 128 <sup>5</sup> , 129 <sup>3</sup> , 132 <sup>13</sup> , 133 <sup>3</sup> , 134 <sup>3</sup> , 135 <sup>21</sup> , 137 <sup>1</sup> , 137 <sup>3</sup> , 146 <sup>10</sup> , 147 <sup>12</sup> , 149 <sup>2</sup>
Zoan			78 <sup>12,43</sup>		

To this table we shall add two others giving the times which the names and titles of the Deity occur in the Psalter and in other parts of the Old Testament.<sup>37</sup>

A. SIMPLE NAMES FOR GOD

	Jeho- vah	Ado- nay	Elo- him	Eloah	El	Elyon	Shad- day
PENTATEUCH							
Genesis .....	146	7	164	0	3	0	1
Exodus .....	377	6	63	0	1	0	0
Leviticus .....	304	0	4	0	0	0	0
Numbers .....	389	1	9	0	9	1	2
Deuteronomy .....	527	0	38	1	2	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1743	14	278	1	15	1	3
HEXATEUCH							
P .....	785	0	95	0	0	0	0
JE .....	579	14	157	0	13	0	3
D .....	600	0	40	2	4	1	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1964	14	292	2	17	1	3

<sup>37</sup> These tables are from pp. 461-464 of the article entitled "The Names of God in the Old Testament" which was published in this REVIEW July 1920.



	Jeho- vah	Ado- nay	Elo- him	Eloah	El	Elyon	Shad- day
HISTORICAL BOOKS							
Joshua .....	225	1	19	0	0	0	0
Judges .....	179	2	40	0	0	0	0
Ruth .....	18	0	0	0	0	0	2
1 Samuel .....	415	0	52	0	0	0	0
2 Samuel .....	154	0	32	0	2	0	0
1 Kings .....	253	2	49	0	0	0	0
2 Kings .....	278	2	49	1	0	0	0
1 Chronicles .....	172	0	71	0	0	0	0
2 Chronicles .....	375	0	86	1	0	0	0
Ezra .....	37	0	13	0	1	0	0
Nehemiah .....	17	0	28	0	2	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2123	7	439	2	5	0	2
PROPHETS							
Isa. I-XXXIX .....	228	21	6	0	5	1	1
Isa. XL-LXVI .....	193	1	10	1	13	0	0
Jeremiah .....	670	0	27	0	1	0	0
Ezekiel .....	193	4	18	0	3	0	1
Daniel .....	7	11	72	2	1	0	0
Hosea .....	43	0	4	0	2	0	0
Joel .....	29	0	0	0	0	0	1
Amos .....	59	4	1	0	0	0	0
Jonah .....	22	0	12	0	0	0	0
Obadiah .....	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Micah .....	37	1	1	0	2	0	0
Nahum .....	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
Habakkuk .....	12	0	0	2	0	0	0
Zephaniah .....	32	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haggai .....	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zechariah .....	143	1	1	0	1	0	0
Malachi .....	46	1	1	0	2	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1762	44	153	5	30	1	3
POETICAL BOOKS							
Psalms I. ....	271	12	20	1	11	4	0
II. ....	26	14	155	1	5	3	1
III. ....	43	14	44	0	14	9	0
IV. ....	101	1	6	0	4	4	1
V. ....	223	4	9	1	6	1	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	664	45	234	3	40	21	2

	Jeho- vah	Ado- nay	Elo- him	Eloah	El	Elyon	Shad- day
Job .....	32	1	16	39	54	0	31
Proverbs .....	84	0	3	1	1	0	0
Lamentations .....	31	14	0	0	0	2	0
Ecclesiastes .....	0	0	40	0	0	0	0
Song .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	811	60	293	43	95	23	33
TOTALS							
Pentateuch .....	1743	14	278	1	15	1	3
Historical Books ..	2123	7	439	2	5	0	2
Prophets .....	1762	44	153	5	30	1	3
Poetical Books ....	811	60	293	43	95	23	33
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	6439 <sup>a</sup>	125	1163	51	145	25	41

## B. COMPOSITE NAMES FOR GOD\*

	Jeho- vah	Ado- nay	Elo- him	Eloah	El	Sabaoth	
Genesis .....	28	2	10	0	17	0	0
Exodus .....	4	0	7	0	6	0	0
Leviticus .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Numbers .....	1	0	2	0	1	0	0
Deuteronomy .....	7	2	1	1	11	0	0
Joshua .....	15	1	1	0	4	0	0
Judges .....	8	2	0	0	0	0	0
Ruth .....	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1 Samuel .....	22	0	3	0	1	5	5
2 Samuel .....	11	6	4	0	2	6	5
1 Kings .....	24	1	3	0	0	3	1
2 Kings .....	13	0	0	0	1	2	2
1 Chronicles .....	19	0	8	0	0	3	3

<sup>a</sup> *Jah* occurs twice in the Hexateuch (J E), forty times in the Psalms (once in Book II, twice in Book III, seven times in Book IV, thirty times in Book V). Cf. also Song viii. 6 (Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 298).

\* In this table all the compound names are given which *begin* with Jehovah, Adonay, etc., and only these. This accounts for the difference between the figures for column one and three as compared with those given on p. 463 of the article referred to above. In that article column one gives only the occurrences of "Jehovah-Elohim," while column three gives all the combinations of Elohim and not merely those in which it occurs at the beginning.

	Jehovah	Adonay	Elohim	Eloah	El	Sabaoth	
2 Chronicles .....	48	0	8	0	0	0	0
Ezra .....	7	0	4	0	0	0	0
Nehemiah .....	3	0	3	1	3	0	0
Psalms .....	20	4	5	1	19	16	7
Job .....	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Isa. i-xxxix .....	47	11	6	0	4	56	41
Isa. xl-lxvi .....	12	13	6	0	2	6	4
Jeremiah .....	85	10	6	0	2	83	34
Lamentations .....	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Ezekiel .....	0	217	7	0	3	0	0
Daniel .....	0	3	1	2	2	0	0
Hosea .....	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Joel .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Amos .....	7	18	0	0	0	9	0
Jonah .....	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
Obadiah .....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Micah .....	1	2	3	0	0	1	1
Nahum .....	2	0	0	0	1	2	2
Habakkuk .....	2	1	1	0	0	1	1
Zephaniah .....	2	0	1	0	0	2	1
Haggai .....	13	0	0	0	0	14	12
Zechariah .....	51	1	0	0	0	53	50
Malachi .....	25	0	1	0	1	24	24
Ecclesiastes .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Song .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Esther .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Proverbs .....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	481 <sup>b</sup>	295	91	7	83	287 <sup>c</sup>	193 <sup>d</sup>
<b>HEXATEUCH</b>							
P .....	4	0	4	0	8	0	0
JE .....	39	2	17	0	17	0	0
D .....	12	3	0	1	10	0	0
	55	5	21	1	35 <sup>e</sup>	0	0

<sup>b</sup> *Jah* occurs in combinations twice in the Psalms and three times in Isaiah, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 466.

<sup>c</sup> This column includes all titles in which *Sabaoth* (hosts) occurs.

<sup>d</sup> This column gives only the occurrences of the title, Jehovah of Sabaoth.

<sup>e</sup> The four occurrences in Gen. xiv. make up the total of 35 for the Hexateuch enumerated above.

PSALMS		Jeho- vah	Ado- nay	Elo- him	Eloah	El	Sabaoth
Book	I. ....	0	0	6	0	1	2
	II. ....	0	4	9	0	7	6
	III. ....	1	1	7	0	8	8
	IV. ....	0	0	1	0	4	1
	V. ....	0	3	2	1	2	2
		—	—	—	—	—	—
		1	8	25	1	22	19
							7

From these tables we obtain the following noteworthy testimony:

1. The only men named are: Aaron, Abiram, Abraham, David, Isaac, Israel, Jabin, Jacob, Lot, Levi(?), Moses, Melchizedek, Og, Phinehas, Sihon, Samuel, Sisera, Zeba and Zalmunna.

2. The nations and tribes, countries and cities, mentioned are: Ammon, Ashur, Amalek, Babel, Bashan, Benjamin, Canaan, Egypt, Edom, Ephraim, Ephratah, Ethiopia, Gebal, Gilead, Hagarenes, Ham, Israel, Ishmaelites, Jacob, Judah, Joseph, Jerusalem, Kedar, Kadesh, Manasseh, Moab, Midian, Meribah, Meshech, Naphtali, Ophir, Philistines, Rahab, Shechem, Shiloh, Succoth, Salem, Tarshish and Tyre.

3. The only mountains and rivers mentioned are Hermon, Horeb, Jordan, Lebanon, Mizar, Zion, Sinai, Sirion and Tabor.

4. As to the names and titles of God, we refer our readers not merely to the above tables, but to our article in the July number of this REVIEW for 1920, where a full discussion of the names for God in the Old Testament will be found. It is only necessary to state here, that no argument for the date of a psalm can be derived from the use of any one of the names for the Deity. And, if this be so, then any reader of the Old Testament will know that there is not one proper name in all the Psalter that may not have been used already in the time of David, king of Israel. Even in the case of

Psalm cxxxvii, it is not the use of Babylon, but the context, that shows us that the psalm was probably written in the generation after the captivity.

But, if all of these psalms were written late, what shall we say about the omission of all reference to Solomon and Shishak, to Hezekiah and Sargon and Sennacherib, to Jeremiah and Nebuchadnezzar, to Zerubbabel and Cyrus, to Ezra and Nehemiah? If they were written in Persian and Greek times, what about the absence of all direct mention of oppression under the kings of the Assyrians and Babylonians, of the Persians and Greeks? Is it not remarkable that whereas Melchizedek and Aaron and Phinehas are named, no mention occurs of Jehoiada or Hilkiyah, or Jeshua, or Simon; that while Moses and Samuel are referred to, no allusion is made to Nathan, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Hosea, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Jonah, Daniel, or any of the prophets?

Had Horace sung only of Romulus and Numa's peaceful reign, or Tarquin's tyrant rule, or Cato's noble death; had he with grateful heart spoken only of Regulus and the Scauri, of "Paulus lavish of his manly soul" and of Fabricius brave, "of Curius, with locks unkempt, mighty in war and great Camillus too," we might have thought that the poet had lived in the second century B.C. But when he proceeds to celebrate the "Julian star, conspicuous among the lesser fires of night," and speaks of the "triumph just" over the humbled Parthians and Seres and Indians "who skirt the land that hails the rising sun"; when he assures us, that the host of Dacian Cotiso has perished, that the Medes in deadly feud contend among themselves, that the Cantabri are subdued and that the Scythian with bow unstrung prepares to fly, that Alexandria has opened wide its harbors to Augustus, and that the Nile, who hides his fountain head, and the Danube and the Tigris, swift as arrow head obey him, and that Britons and faithless Parthians are added to his sway so that while Caesar lives no one would dread the frost-chilled Scythian, or the brood which rugged Germans rear,

we know that Horace must have written odes as late as the time of Maecenas and Augustus.<sup>38</sup>

So, if the psalms had been full of references to the heroes of faith down to the Maccabean times; if like Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) they had contained a brilliant eulogy of Simon, the High Priest,<sup>39</sup> or like First Maccabees had lauded the glories of Mattathias and his gifted sons,<sup>40</sup> we would be compelled to admit that some of them at least were from the second century B.C. But, as it is, there is no proof from the proper names alone that any one of the psalms was written later than the tenth century B.C.

But not merely is there no proof of lateness in the case of the proper names, it is equally true of the common terms in the Hebrew of the psalms. It has been the custom of critics of these psalms to pick out words occurring once, or a few times only, in the Hebrew of the Old Testament documents and found besides only in documents of the Old Testament admitted, or assumed, to be late (especially, words found besides in the Hebrew of the Talmud), and to affirm that these words prove that a given document must have been written in the post-Nehemian period of Old Testament literature.<sup>41</sup>

#### WORDS ALLEGED TO BE LATE

We are prepared to maintain that a large part of the words that are thus produced as evidence of the late date of documents containing them cannot themselves be proved to be late. For, first, no one can maintain that because a word occurs in a late document the word itself is therefore late; for in this case, if a late document was the only survival of

<sup>38</sup> See any edition of Horace but especially *The Poems of Horace* by A. Hamilton Bryce, LL.D., F.R.S.E. *et cet.*

<sup>39</sup> Ecclesiasticus, I.

<sup>40</sup> See the whole of First Maccabees.

<sup>41</sup> The next three pages are taken, with some alterations from the writer's second article on "Scientific Biblical Criticism" published in this REVIEW in July 1919, pp. 417 ff.

a once numerous body of literature, every word in it would be late; which is absurd. Nor, secondly, can one maintain that a document is late merely because it contains words which do not occur in earlier ones, which are known to us. Every new find of Egyptian Aramaic papyri gives us words not known before except, if at all, in documents written hundreds of years later. Nor, thirdly, is a word to be considered as evidence of the lateness of a document in which it occurs simply because it occurs again in documents known to be late, such as the Hebrew parts of the Talmud. And yet, this is frequently affirmed by the critics. Thus Dr. Driver mentions about twenty of such words to prove that Daniel and Jonah are later by centuries than the times of which they treat. In this Dr. Driver was simply following in the footsteps of the German scholars who preceded him. It may be considered a sufficient answer to such alleged proofs to affirm (what anyone with a Hebrew concordance can confirm for himself) that Daniel, Jonah, Joel, and the Psalter, and other documents of the Old Testament have no larger percentage of such words than those which they assign to an early date, and that Is. xxiv-xxvii and Psalm lxxix, which they consider to be among the latest parts of their respective books are distinguished from most of the other parts of the Old Testament by having no such words at all. Finally, it is obvious that a kind of proof that will prove almost everything to be late, and especially the parts considered late to be early, is absurd and inadmissible as evidence in a case designed to prove that some documents are later than others because they contain words of this kind. For it is certain that if all are late, then none are early—a conclusion which would overthrow the position of all critics, radical as well as conservative; and since this conclusion is desired and maintained by none, it must be dismissed as *absurd*.

In proof, however, that such words are found in every book, and in almost every part of every book, of the Old Testament we subjoin the following tables. These tables are based on special concordances of every book and of every

part of every book of the Old Testament, prepared by and now in the possession of the writer of this article. In accordance with the laws of evidence, that "witnesses must give evidence of facts," that "an expert may state general facts which are the result of scientific knowledge, and that an expert may give an account of experiments [hence, also, of investigations] performed by him for the purpose of forming his opinion,"<sup>42</sup> it may add force and clearness to the evidence about to be presented, if an account is first given of the way in which the facts upon which the tables are based were collected. One whole summer was spent in gathering from a Hebrew concordance all the words in the Old Testament that occur there five times or less, giving also the places where the words occur. A second summer sufficed for making from this general concordance a special concordance for each book. In the third summer, special concordances were made for J, E, D, H, and P, for each of the five books of the Psalter and for each of the psalms; for each of the parts of Proverbs, and of the alleged parts of Isaiah, Micah, Zechariah, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah; and for such parts as Gen. xiv and the poems contained in Gen. xlix, Ex. xv, Deut. xxxii, xxxiii and Judges v. Then, each of the words of this kind was sought for in the Hebrew of the post-biblical Jewish writers and the percentage of the Old Testament words found in the post-biblical literature was taken.

A study of these percentages should convince everyone that the presence of such words in a document is no proof of its relative lateness.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Stephen, *The Law of Evidence*, pp. 100, 103, 112.

<sup>43</sup> In explanation of these tables it may be said that they are prepared with special reference to the critical analysis of the Old Testament. Thus, the Pentateuch is arranged according to the documents J, E, D, H and P, and the Proverbs are divided into seven portions (following Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*). The first column of the tables gives for each book, or part of a book, the number of words occurring five times or less in the Old Testament that are found in it; and the second column, the percentage of these words that are to be found in the same sense in the Hebrew of the Talmud.



## TABLE OF HEBREW WORDS

	Number			Number	
	of words	Per- occur- ring in O.T. five times or less		Per- cent- age of these words in Talmud	of words
Proverbs xxxi 1-9	0	00.0	Micah iii	15	33.3
Zechariah iii	0	00.0	Proverbs x-xxii. 16	80	33.8
Isaiah xxiv-xxvii	0	00.0	Proverbs xxii. 17-		
Obadiah	7	14.3	xxiv	30	36.7
Isaiah xxxvi-ix	7	14.3	Sam.-Kings	356	37.2
Judges-Ruth	107	15.8	Habakkuk	34	38.2
Nahum	6	16.7	Joel	28	39.3
Ezra i-vi	6	16.7	Jonah	15	40.0
Micah ii	11	18.2	Hosea	65	41.5
Isaiah xxxiv-v	5	20.0	Jehovist (J)	162	44.4
Isaiah xiii-xiv	10	22.2	Zephaniah	31	45.2
Isaiah (1st pt.)	121	22.3	Amos	50	46.0
Malachi	13	23.1	Elohist (E)	119	48.7
Ezekiel	335	24.9	Proverbs xxxi 10-31	6	50.0
Lamentations	56	25.0	Holiness Code (H)	48	50.0
Haggai	4	25.0	Chronicles	144	51.5
Ezra vii-x	8	25.0	Proverbs xxv-xxix	52	51.9
Zechariah ii	16	25.0	Esther	57	52.6
Isaiah xl-lxvi	62	25.8	Priest Code (P)	192	3.1
Proverbs i-ix	69	27.5	Deuteronomist		
Daniel	47	20.8	(D)	154	53.2
Zechariah i	22	30.8	Proverbs xxx	15	53.5
Zechariah iii	12	30.8	Song of Songs	99	54.6
Micah i	22	31.8	Nehemiah	48	56.3
Job	374	31.0	Ecclesiastes	77	57.1
Jeremiah	278	32.1	Memoirs of Nehe-		
Psalms	514	33.1	miah	27	59.3

A glance at this table shows that there are 514 such words in the Psalter and that 33.1 per cent. of these words are found in the Hebrew of the Talmud. The special concordances which I have prepared show further that 27 of the psalms have no words of the kind, 27 of them have one each, 22, two; 16, three; 43, four; 11, five; 12, six; 5, seven; 7, eight; the 88th has nine; the 45th and 89th, eleven each; 35th

and 73rd, twelve each; the 54th has thirteen; the 139th, fourteen; the 68th, nineteen, and the 119th, twenty-five.

But, that the occurrence of such words in a document is no proof of the lateness of that document is shown by the fact that some of the parts claimed by the critics as the earliest have a larger percentage of them than those that are classed as late. Thus J has 44.4, E 48.7, and D 53.2 per cent.; Amos 46., Hosea 41.5, and Prov. x-xxii 33.8 per cent.; whereas, Prov. xxxi. 1-9, Zech. (3rd part), and Is. xxiv-xxvii, which the critics date as post-captivity, have no words of this kind.

But, leaving this general survey of the vocabulary and coming down to particular instances, is it not extraordinary that if all, or many, of the psalms had been written after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, only one direct reference is made to that event? The approximate dates of the Sibylline Oracles, of the parts of Enoch, of the Psalms of Solomon, and of other apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature of the Jews, are fixed by the allusions to past or passing events; why not apply the same criteria to the psalms?

Taking up, then, first of all, the references to the captivity we find that, as has just been intimated, the psalms are almost entirely free from them. Two roots and their derivatives are found in Hebrew to express the idea of "take captive" *gālā* (גלה) and *shāvā* (שבה). *Gālā* and its derivatives *gōlā* and *gālūth* are never found in the psalms. *Shāvā* and its derivatives *sh'vî*, *shavyā*, *sh'vîth* are never found. The only one occurring is *sh'vûth* in xiv. 7 (liii. 7), lxxxv. 2, cxxvi. 4. But, this does not prove that these psalms must have been written after the fall of Jerusalem; for Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Egyptians, Syrians, Edomites, and Assyrians, had been taking Israelites captive ever since the beginning of their history. This very word *sh'vûth* is used in Hos. vi. 11, Am. ix. 14, Joel iv. 1, Zep. ii. 7, iii. 20 and Deut. xxx. 3; *shavya* is used in Deut. xxi. 11, xxxii. 42, *sh'vî*, in Ex. xii. 29, Num. xxi. 2, xxxi. 12, 19, 26, Deut. xxi. 10, 13, xxviii.

41; *sh'vîth*, in Num. xxi. 29, Zep. ii. 7; and the root in Gen. xiv. 14, xxxi. 26, xxxiv. 29, Ex. xxii. 9 E, Num. xxi. 1, xxiv. 22, xxxi. 9, Jud. v. 12, 1 Sam. xxx. 2, 3, 5 and Ob. 11. The other root, *gālā*, is used in Amos i. 5, v. 5, 27, vi. 7 *bis*, vii. 11, 17, Is. v. 13, Mi. i. 16, Na. ii. 8, Jud. xviii. 30, 2 Sam. xv. 19; the derivative *gôlā* is found in Am. i. 15. Na. iii. 10 and *gālûth* in Am. i. 6 *bis*, 9, Ob. 20 *bis*.

Furthermore, it is passing strange that, in all the references and allusions to the political circumstances of the writers and people, a king is so often spoken of as the ruler of the land; whereas *paḥath*, *sagan* and *satrap* and all the designations of Babylonian, Persian and Greek rulers are absent.<sup>44</sup> Besides, it is noteworthy that if the psalms were written after the Captivity, in the period when the high priests were the supreme national rulers, no allusion whatever should be made to their having exercised their high prerogatives.<sup>45</sup> One of the Simons is eulogized by Ben Sira in a manner surpassing what he gives to any other of the fathers of Israel,<sup>46</sup> Josephus mentions at least fifteen high priests who functioned from Jeshua to the year 150 B.C.<sup>47</sup> But not one of all these great leaders of the church of the second temple is deemed worthy of mention by any of the numerous authors of the alleged post-captivity psalms!

Again, if the psalms were written at a time when the whole life of the people centered about the law and the priestly regime and the national religion, it is surprizing that the things for which men lived and died are scarcely noted in

<sup>44</sup> Pharaoh is mentioned in Ps. cxxxv. 9, cxxxvi. 15. In post-captivity works we find the Pharaoh of the oppression mentioned in the prayer of Nehemiah (ix. 10) and the daughter of Pharaoh in 1 Chron. iv. 18 and 2 Chron. viii. 11 of the wife of Solomon; but there is no direct reference to any post-captivity heathen king, ruler, or governor, by name or otherwise, in any of the Psalms.

<sup>45</sup> Josephus is full of such references.

<sup>46</sup> See above note 39.

<sup>47</sup> The High Priests mentioned by Josephus are in order Jeshua, Joacim, Eliashib, Judas, John, Jaddua, Onias, Hezekiah, Simon, Eleazar, Manasseh, Onias, Simon, Onias, Jesus, Jason, Onias, Menelaus, Onias, Alcimus, Judas, Jonathan.

the psalms. The Sabbath is never mentioned except in the heading of Ps. lxii. The Passover, Tabernacles, and Purim are never referred to, and the pilgrim festivals (*ḥaggîm*) but twice.<sup>48</sup> The words for offering (*korbān*), heave and wave offering, and fire offering do not occur. The word for bloody sacrifice (*zebah*) occurs only in Book I, iv. 5, xxvii. 6, xl. 6; II. l. 5, 8, li. 10, 17, 19; IV. cvi. 28; and V. cvii. 22, cxvi. 17. Except in Ps. cxix, the word for law is found only five times in Book I, four in Book III and twice in Book IV.

It is very singular, also, that the word for singers *m'shôrēr* which occurs 9 times in Chronicles, 5 times in Ezra and 14 times in Nehemiah is never found in the psalms.<sup>49</sup> Instead, we find *shârîm* (lxviii. 25, lxxxvii. 7), a word found also in 2 Sam. xix. 35, 1 Ki. x. 12. All the musical instruments mentioned in the psalms are mentioned also in pre-captivity documents.<sup>50</sup>

And, finally, no argument for the lateness of a psalm can be derived from the names for God's dwelling place found in it; for every one of the eleven, or more, words used to denote this idea is found in pre-exilic literature.<sup>51</sup>

It has, indeed, been alleged that the *mô'ēd* (מועד) of Ps.

<sup>48</sup> Ps. lxxxii. 3 (4), xlii. 4 (5).

<sup>49</sup> *Shârîm* occurs in 2 Sam. xix. 35, 1 Ki. x. 16, Ezek. xl. 44, Ecc. ii. 8, 2 Chron. ix. 11, xxiii. 13, xxxv. 25, and Pss. lxviii. 25, lxxxvii. 7; whereas, *m'shôrēr* is found only in 1 Chron. vi. 33, ix. 33, xv. 16, 19, 27, 2 Chron. v. 13, xx. 21, xxix. 28, xxxv. 15, Ezra ii. 41, 61, 70, vii. 7, x. 24, Neh. vii. 1, 67, 73, x. 29, xi. 22, 23, xii. 28, 29, 42, 45, 46, 47, xiii. 5, 10.

<sup>50</sup> For example *nēbel* (Am. v. 23, vi. 5, Is. v. 12, 1 Sam. x. 5, 2 Sam. vi. 5, 1 Kings x. 12); *kinnôr* (Is. i-xxxix. 5 times, Sam. 4 times, 1 Kings x. 12, and elsewhere); *'ûgāb* (Gen. iv. 21 J;); *tôf* (Is. I, 3 times, Jer. xxxi. 4, 1 Chron. xiii. 8, Job xxi. 12, Jud. xi. 34, Ek. xxviii. 13, Gen. xxxi. 27, Ex. xv. 20 bis); *salsēl* (2 Sam. vi. 5); *shôfār* (Ho., Jo., Am., Is., Jud., Sam., Kings); and *ḥašo'roth* (Ho. v. 8, 2 Kings xi. 14 bis). The only word for a musical instrument found in the psalms and not in other pre-captivity literature is *'āsôr* "an instrument of ten strings" (Ps. xxxiii. 2, xcii, 4, cxliv. 9); but this word does not occur in this sense anywhere but in these psalms.

<sup>51</sup> These words are; *'ôhel* (tent); *bayith* (house; house of Jehovah; house of God); *hêkāl* (temple); *miqdāsh* (holy place); *ma'on* and *me'onah* (habitation); *miškān* (tabernacle); *sôk* (booth); *qôdesh* (sanctuary); *d'bir* (oracle); and *shebeth* (dwelling).

lxxiv. 8 shows that this psalm was written in the time of the Maccabees. This allegation is without any real evidence either in history, or language. Wellhausen himself thought that it was most probable that the synagogue originated during the exile.<sup>52</sup> But the reasons given—that in the strange environment synagogues must be presupposed in order to account for the religious fervor of the exiles—are equally good for the exiles carried away by Tiglath-Pileser and other Assyrian kings.<sup>53</sup> The need of a place of worship and instruction, of singing and prayer, must always have existed for those who could not go up to Jerusalem. It was one of the principal duties of the Levites to teach the law and, being scattered throughout all Israel, they must have had houses of some sort to teach in.<sup>54</sup>

However, this is all conjecture. The fact is that Ps. lxxiv. 8 is the only place in the Old Testament that a *mô'ēd* in the sense of building is mentioned. But, why is this an argument for the late date of the Psalms, even if, with the critics, we put two-thirds, or three-fourths, of the Hebrew literature after the captivity? Synagogues are not mentioned in the Apocrypha nor in the voluminous literature of the Pseudepigrapha, nor in the Zadokite Fragments. There is no more evidence for houses of the kind having been burned down, or even of their having existed, between 50 B.C. and 550 B.C. than between 550 B.C. and 1100 B.C.—except in this one verse. Certainly, in New Testament times they all believed

<sup>52</sup> *Prolegomena*, 2nd Ed. p. 193.

<sup>53</sup> Tiglath-Pileser IV says that he killed Pekah king of the Beth-'Omri and carried the whole of its inhabitants to the land of *Assuri* (KB. II. 33), and Sennacherib says (KB. II. 95) that he put Hezekiah under tribute, captured 46 of his cities and carried captive 200150 persons from them.

<sup>54</sup> In 2 Chron. xxxv. 3 it is said to have been one of the duties of the Levites in Josiah's time to teach all Israel, and in 2 Chron. xxx. 22 it is said that Hezekiah encouraged the Levites who taught the good knowledge of the Lord. In 2 Chron. xix. 8-10, Jehoshaphat appoints them to instruct the people in the law and commandment, the statutes and judgments of the Lord, so that they should not trespass and incur His wrath.

that "from the first generations onward Moses had in every city those who proclaimed him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath day" (Acts xv. 17).<sup>55</sup>

As to the word *mô'ēd* in Ps. lxxiv. 8, there is no doubt that it generally means "a time appointed, a season, a festival." But the form may just as well denote an appointed place, or a place for holding a festival. This is true in all the Semitic languages.<sup>56</sup> The word, in the sense of "place of meeting," is, however, no proof of lateness; for it is not found in this sense in later Hebrew, in Aramaic, or in any Semite language or dialect. While the word, therefore, is evidence that there were synagogues before the psalm was written, it is no evidence at all as to *when* the psalm was written. The Targum renders the word in Ps. lxxiv. 8 by *me'ar'āyyā*; a word occurring in this sense no where else in the Aramaic of the Targum and Talmud.<sup>57</sup> The root word means "to meet," "to keep a festival." In this passage the Targum agrees literally with the Hebrew: "they burnt the places on which they kept the festivals." Jerome has "they have burnt all the solemnities of God." Symmachus reads: "they have burned all the ordinances of God in the land." The Syriac Peshitto renders the clause by, "they destroyed all his festivals," as do, also, the Lxx, Arab., Eth., Lat.-Vulg. For the synagogue building the Aramaic of the Targum uses *beth urpana* or *beth kenish-ta*; the Syriac, *beth shabbetha*; the Ethiopic, *makrab*; the Arabic, *jami al-yahud*. It seems evident that not much of an

<sup>55</sup> We have taken the meaning of *archaios* in Acts xv. 17 to be what Cremer maintains in his *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*.

<sup>56</sup> For example in Arabic *masrab* place for drinking, *maktab* a place where writing is taught, *majlis* time or place of sitting (Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, p. 221); in Ethiopic, *maḥram* temple (Dillmann, *Aethiop. Gram.*, p. 194); in Assyrian, *malaku* where one goes, *mushabu* where one dwells (Delitzsch *Ass. Gram.*, p. 171); in Syriac, *mauthebo* where one sits, *maškan* tent (Nöldeke, *Syriac Gram.*, p. 126).

<sup>57</sup> Compare Lewy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* and Brederek, *Concordance to Onkelos*. For synagogue as a place the Arameans commonly use words compounded with *beth*, such as *beth ulpana* (house of learning) or *beth shabbetha* (sabbath-house).

argument for the date of a document can be obtained from a word used in a sense in which it never occurs in any other document of any language, dialect, or time. It is very strange, if it meant the synagogue building, that the Lxx and the translation of the Targum, and the Syriac versions, and Symmachus and Jerome and all the learned Jews who assisted them, should have been ignorant of this meaning. Their very ignorance of its apparent meaning is, therefore, a proof for the early date of the psalm in which it is found.

It is further alleged on the part of the critics that there are Aramaic loan-words scattered here and there in the Psalter and that these Aramaisms prove the lateness of the psalms in which they occur. This line of argument is fallacious, because it assumes that Aramaisms in a Hebrew document show the lateness of the document, and because it assumes in the case of most of these words that they are Aramaic, whereas it cannot be proved that they are Aramaic at all. In proof of these two statements in general we refer to the article on "Aramaisms in the Old Testament" published in the April number of this REVIEW for 1925.

Of the 356 words discussed in that article 75 are found in the Psalter. Counting repetitions the numbers of words and occurrences of the words in the five books of the Psalter are as follows:

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Words	16	30	12	14	26	98
Occurrence	29	43	15	21	37	145

Of these 75 words, only 15 can with any justification be called Aramaisms; and of these only 8 occur in psalms ascribed to David and one more in a heading of a Davidic psalm. These nine words are: (1) <sup>a</sup>nāḥā (אנהה); (2) <sup>a</sup>nāqā (אנקה); (3) *d'mûth* (דמות); (4) *millā* (מלה); (5) *kôshārā* (כושרה); (6) *ḥ<sup>a</sup>nukkā* (חנכה); (7) *nāḥath* (נהת); (8) *ḥāwā* (חווה); (9) *'essaq* (אסק).

1. Of the first word, <sup>a</sup>nāḥā, it may be said that the root occurs in Arabic and Assyrian and in the Hebrew of Ex. ii. 23, Joel i. 18, Is. xxiv. 7, Prov. xxix. 2, Lam. i. 4, 8, 11, 21

and Ezekiel ix. 4, xxi. 6 *bis*, 7 and the form in Is. xxi. 2, xxxv. 10, li. 11, Jer. xlv. 3, Lam. i. 22, and Job iii. 24 and xxiii. 2. Who knows enough to say, in view of this evidence for a primitive Semitic root that David could not have used this word?

2. The second word <sup>a</sup>*nāqā* is found in the Bible outside the Psalms only in Mal. ii. 13 and the root in Jer. li. 52 and Ezek. ix. 4, xxiv. 17, xxvi. 15. Neither root nor form has been found in the pre-Christian Aramaic either of the Bible or of the inscriptions; nor are they found in the Targum of Onkelos, nor in New Hebrew, nor in New Aramaic. In Syriac the simple stem is not used and the noun and verb occur first in the Peshitto version, which was not made, probably, before the second century A.D. What kind of scientific criticism is this, that will affirm that the Old Testament Hebrew writers borrowed a word or root from the Aramaic when so far as we know from documents (and there is no other way of knowing) the word occurs in Biblical Hebrew at least 700 years before it is found in any Aramaic document of any time or place? To call such guesswork science would be laughable, if it were not monstrous.

3. As to the third word *d'mûth*, we have shown in our articles on the "Scientific Criticism of the Old Testament" that the ending *ûth* is found in Babylonian frequently and as early as the time of Hammurabi. The Hebrew root is found in Is. i. 9, x. 7, Jud. xx. 5, 2 Sam. xxi. 5 and in twenty-seven other places in the Old Testament and the noun in 2 Ki. xvi. 10, Is. xiii. 4, sixteen times in Ezekiel, and seven other places in the Old Testament Hebrew. It does not occur in the Aramaic of the Old Testament nor of the inscriptions, nor anywhere else till the second century A.D.

4. As to the fourth of these words *millā*, it is found in Prov. xxiii. 9 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 2, as well as Ps. xix. 4 and cxxxix. 4. Besides these four places, the word occurs only in Job, a book of doubtful age.

5. If *kôshārā* be taken in the sense of "prosperity," as in the Revised version, it may be compared with the Babylonian



word *kushir* found twice in the Omen Tablets from the time of Abraham. If it be taken in the sense of "chains," as in the King James version, it may be compared to the Babylonian word *kušurru* "band."<sup>58</sup>

6. As for the word for "dedication" (*h<sup>a</sup>nukkā*, Ps. xxxi.), it is not found in Babylonian, Arabic, Syriac, Mandaean, Palmyrene, Nabatean or Palestinian Syriac, Egypto-Aramaic, or Phœnician. The only places it occurs in any Aramaic dialect are in the Samaritan transliteration of the Hebrew and in the Samaritan Targum and the Targum of Onkelos for Num. vii. 10, 11, 84, 88, Deut. xx. 5 *bis* and in the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan for Numbers vii.; and in Dan. iii. 2, 3, Ezra vi. 16, 17. In 1 Kings viii. 63 and Ps. xxx. 1, the Aramaic Targum transliterates it. In 1 Kings viii. 63, 1 Chr. vii. 5, 2 Chr. vii. 9 and in Num. and Deut. the Syriac renders by *hadash*.<sup>59</sup> In view of the evidence, it seems that we have here an example of a Hebraism in Aramaic rather than of an Aramaism in Hebrew.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Found in the phrase *kusurra esirma* "bind with a bandage," with which may be compared *kusur libbi lišbat* "let him seize the band (?) of my heart" (See Haupt in ZK. III 276, and Scheil in ZA. x. 205 and Muss Arnolt, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 451). Dennifeld in his *Geburtsomina*, xxx. R 26 and 27 gives *kušir illak* and *la kušir illak* "he will go with or without ease, or success" (Lauterkeit?). Besides, this root and its derivatives are not found in Aramaic till A.D. 137 and in the Targum of Onkelos, and of the Samaritans. The Hadad inscription of 722 B.C. and the Egyptian papyri (Cowley Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. p. 138) use *Yāshar* (רשׂי).

<sup>59</sup> Literally, *hadash* means "to make new" and *busomo* "sweetness, joy." In Neh. xii. 27, the Syriac fails to translate the first occurrence and renders the second by *busomo*.

<sup>60</sup> I have compared the vocabulary of the Aramaic of the Targum and Talmud with the Syriac-Aramaic and I find there are about 600 words in the New Aramaic as given in Dalmau's *Aramäisch-Neuhebräischer Wörterbuch*, which are found in the Hebrew of the Old Testament but not in Syriac. Since the Targums are a translation of the Hebrew Old Testament made by and for Jews and since the Talmud is a Jewish commentary on the Hebrew Old Testament; and since both Targums and Talmud were made hundreds or thousands of years after the originals were written, it seems to me that we ought to call such words Hebraisms in Aramaic and not Aramaisms in Hebrew. I can see how

7. In the case of *nāḥath*, it is doubtful if it ever occurs in the Psalter in the sense of the Aramaic word meaning "to come down." To be sure, this might be the root of forms found in Pss. xviii. 35, xxxviii. 2 (3) *bis* and lxv. 10 (11); but these forms may just as well be taken from *ḥāthath*, *nū<sup>h</sup>ḥ* or *nāḥaḥ*. Only in the margin do the English versions suggest that the verb may have the idea of "come down."<sup>61</sup>

8. The *ḥāwā* of Ps. xix. 3 may be the same as the Babylonian *emu*<sup>62</sup>; but more probably it is connected with *amu* "to speak." Compare the Palestinian Syriac *ḥama*, "to see." Outside of Ps. xix. 3, it occurs only in Job xv. 17, xxxii. 10, 17, xxxvi. 2.

9. The *'essaḥ* of Ps. cxxxix. 8 is probably the same as the Babylonian *ṣaḥu* "to be high" frequently used in connection with heaven.<sup>63</sup>

However, if our readers prefer to look upon some of these words as Aramaisms, let them remember that there is no reason why a poet of David's time may not have used Ara-

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the Targums and Talmud could have borrowed from the Old Testament; but I cannot get it through my head how the Old Testament writers could have borrowed from the Targums and Talmud. I can see how it is possible that Professors Voltz, Smith and Moffatt may have corrupted the text of Jeremiah; but I cannot see how Jeremiah can properly be accused of corrupting the true and original text of Voltz, Smith and Moffatt.

<sup>61</sup> The verb *nāhath* may possibly be found in Pss. xviii. 35, xxxviii. 3 *bis*, lxv. 11. It may, also, be the root of forms in 2 Sam. xxii. 35, 2 Kings vi. 9, Prov. xvii. 10, Joel iv. 11, Jer. xxi. 13. It is a singular fact, that the ancient versions are agreed as to the root and meaning in no one of these nine places, and that they point the consonants as if the root were *ḥatat*, *ḥut*, *ḥata*, *ḥit*, *nuaḥ*, *naḥa*; or probably in the Syriac "he shall come" of Jer. xxi. 13 and in the Targum of Prov. xvii. 10 as from *naḥat*.

<sup>62</sup> Amiaud in *Rev. d'Assyriologie* II, 11. The *m* changes to *w* according to the rule given in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Grammatik* §§ 102-104.

<sup>63</sup> *'essaḥ* is usually connected with the Aramaic *selak* "to go up." It may just as well come from a root *sanaḥu* "to reach, arrive at," a word very common in the letters of Hammurapi. (See King, *The Life and Letters of Hammurapi*) Or, more probably, it is from a root equivalent to the Babylonian *ṣaku* "to go up," used frequently of going up to heaven. (See Muss-Arnolt, p. 1097).

maisms, inasmuch as David and Solomon ruled over all the Arameans as far as the Euphrates, including Damascus, Hamath, Maachah and Zobah.<sup>64</sup>

We see, therefore, from the analogy of Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians, that the presumption is in favor of the Hebrews having had psalmody in their religious services from the beginning of their existence. We have seen, further, that this presumption from analogy is supported by the allusions to music and song found in the prophets and historical writings of the Old Testament, and that there is nothing against it in the language or ideas of the psalms themselves. We are now prepared to examine the *prima facie* evidence of the headings of the psalms as presented in the Hebrew text as it has come down to us. We have shown above that there is no reason for supposing that these psalms may not originally have had headings and that the text of these headings may not have been correctly copied and transmitted from the time of their authors, just as in the case of Egyptian and other ancient heathen authors, but it may be best to show from several analogies outside the psalter that headings for psalms were customary in ancient times. We shall, therefore, give three analogies of headings, two from heathen sources and one from the Bible outside the psalter.

The first of these analogies are the odes of Horace. Our readers will readily see for themselves that every ode of Horace contains a superscription containing the name of the person to whom the ode is addressed, most frequently the name of Augustus, or Maecenas. These headings are useful in helping us to understand the character and purpose of the particular ode to which they are prefixed.

A more striking analogy are the Sumerian and Babylonian psalms. Since many of these originated before the time of Abraham, they are of especial interest in their bearing on the subject of the headings of the psalms, because they show that

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<sup>64</sup> See my article on "Aramaisms in the Old Testament" in this REVIEW for April 1925, and Kraeling, *Aram und Israel*.

long before the time of David it was natural and common to have such headings. To be sure, the Sumerian psalms have in subscription what the Hebrew psalms and Horace's odes have in superscription; but, we find that the purpose was the same in both. For, the Sumerian hymns sometimes mention the name of the author, the musical instrument employed as accompaniment, the tune to which it was to be sung, or the collection to which it belonged, the kind of musical composition, the god in whose worship the psalm was sung, and the purpose of the psalm.<sup>65</sup>

Lastly, that headings were customary in Hebrew poetry outside the psalter is evident all through the Old Testament, as the following examples show:

1. In Ex. xv. 1, it is said, that "Moses and the children of Israel sang this song to Jehovah" and in vs. 20 that Miriam the prophetess took a timbrel and all the women went after her with timbrels and dances singing the song.

2. In Deut. xxxi. 30, it is said, that "Moses spake the words" of the song recorded in chapter xxxii, which follows.

3. In Deut. xxxiii. 1, it is said; "This is the blessing with which Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death."

4. In Judges v. 1, it is said; "Then sang Deborah and Barak," etc. There follows the beautiful psalm of verses 2-31.

5. In 1 Sam. ii. 1, it is said: "And Hannah prayed and said." Then, her prayer follows in poetical form (vss. 1-10).

6. In 2 Sam. i. 17, it is said that "David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son."

7. In 2 Sam. xxii. 1, it is said; "David spake the words of this song in the day that the Lord delivered him," etc.

<sup>65</sup> From Langdon's work on the Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, we learn that the psalms were addressed to the gods Bau, Enlil, Ningirgulu, Ramman and Tammuz; that the authors of some of the Psalms are named; that musical instruments are mentioned in the subscriptions; that different names for the different kinds of psalms are employed; that the purpose of the psalm is often stated; and that there were different series or books of psalms.

8. According to Jon. ii. 2, Jonah prayed and said in poetry verses 3-10.

9. In Habakkuk iii. 1, the superscription reads: "The prayer of Habakkuk, the prophet, upon Shigionoth."

10. The Book of Proverbs begins with the title: "The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel." Chap. x. has the heading: "The proverbs of Solomon." Chap. xxv. has the heading: "These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." So, also, chaps. xxx. and xxxi. have special headings: as, also, "The Song of Songs which is Solomon's."

11. The occasion and authorship of the psalms recorded in Gen. xlix, and Isaiah v. xii. xxxviii and elsewhere are also definitely stated.

12. The fact that the prophecies of Isaiah and the other prophets usually begin with a heading would lead us to expect to find that the nine strictly poetical works should also have them. And, indeed, according to the *prima facie* evidence of the text that has come down to us 136 out of 150 of the Psalms have some kind of a title, or heading; and we shall now proceed to investigate these headings, with a view to determining their trustworthiness as witnesses to the author and age, and to the purpose and occasion of the psalms.

## HEADINGS OF THE PSALMS

For the convenience of treatment we shall first consider these titles or headings, from three points of view—their kinds, their vocabulary and their text; and then we shall show the bearing of our conclusions upon the history of the Psalter.

### I. KINDS OF HEADINGS

(1) The following psalms have for a heading only the name of the author preceded by the preposition "by" (*Lam-edh*); to wit, "by David" (xxv-xxviii, xxxv, xxxvii, ciii, cxxxviii, cxliv); "by Solomon" (lxxii). [10]

(2) "A psalm" (*mizmôr*) (xcviii). [1]

(3) "Hallelujah" [cvi (?), cxi, (?), cxii, cxiii, cxxxv, cxlvi-cl]. [10]

(4) "A psalm" (*mizmôr*) + "by David" (xv, xxiii, xxiv, xxix, ci, cx, cxli, cxliii); + "by Asaph" (1, lxxiii, lxxix, lxxxii). [12]

(5) "A prayer" (*t'phillā*) + "by David" (xvii, lxxxvi); + "by Moses the man of God" (xc). [3]

(6) "A maschil" + "by David" (xxxii); + "by Asaph" (lxxiv, lxxviii); + "by Ethan the Ezrahite" (lxxxix). [4]

(7) "A michtam" + "by David" (xvi). [1]

(8) "A hymn" (*t'hillāh*) + "by David" (cxlv.). [1]

(9) "A song" + "a psalm" + "by David" (cviii); "by Asaph" (lxxxiii); "by the sons of Korah" (xlviii, lxxxvii).<sup>66</sup> [4]

(10) "To the precentor (*m'naṣṣē<sup>a</sup>h*)" + "by David" (xi, xiv). [2]

(11) "To the precentor" + "a psalm" + "by David" (xiii, xix, xx, xxi, xxxi, xl, xli, lxiv, cix, cxxxix, cxl); + "by the sons of Korah" (xlvii, xlix, lxxxv). Of these xl, xlvii, xlix, lxxxv, cix, and cxxxix put "a psalm" after the name of the author. [14]

(12) "To the precentor" + "*l* or '*al Jeduthun*" + "a psalm" + "by David" (xxxix, lxii). [2]

(13) "To the precentor" + "a psalm" + "by David" + "a song" (*shîr*) (lxv). [1]

(14) "To the precentor" + "by David" + "a psalm" + "a song" (lxviii). [1]

(15) "To the precentor" + "a song" + "a psalm" (lxvi). [1]

(16) "To the precentor" + "with musical instruments" + "a psalm" + "a song" (lxvii). [1]

(17) "To the precentor" + the name of a musical instrument + "a psalm" + "by David" (iv, v, vi, viii, xii, lxi); + "by Asaph" (lxxxix); + "by the sons of Korah" (lxxxiv).<sup>66</sup> [8]

(18) "To the precentor" + the tune (?) + "a psalm" + "by David" (ix, xxii). [2]

(19) "To the precentor" + "by the sons of Korah" + "upon Alamoth" + "a song" (xlvi). [1]

(20) "To the precentor" + "upon Shoshannim," + "by David" (lxix). [1]

<sup>66</sup> In (9) and (17) psalms xlviii, lxi, lxxxix, lxxxiv, have the name of the author before "a psalm."

- (21) "To the precentor" + "by David" + the purpose of the psalm (lxx). [1]
- (22) "A psalm" + the purpose of the psalm (c). [1]
- (23) "A prayer" + the purpose (?) of the psalm (cii). [1]
- (24) "A psalm" + "a song" + "for the sabbath day" (xcii). [1]
- (25) "A psalm" + "by David" + the time or occasion (iii) or purpose (xxxviii). [2]
- (26) "A psalm" + "a song" + "at the dedication of the house" + "by David" (xxx). [1]
- (27) "By David" + the occasion of the psalm (xxxiv). [1]
- (28) "A psalm" + "by David" + the place it was written (lxiii). [1]
- (29) "A maschil" + "by David" + "when he was in the cave" + "a prayer" (cxlii). [1]
- (30) "A *shiggaion*" + "by David" + the occasion (vii). [1]
- (31) "A song (*shîr*) of the ascents" (cxx, cxxi, cxxiii, cxxv, cxxvi, cxxviii-cxxx, cxxxii, cxxxiv). [10]
- (32) "A song of the ascents" + "by David" (cxxii, cxxiv, cxxxi, cxxxiii); + "by Solomon" (cxxvii). [5]
- (33) "To the precentor" + "a psalm" + "by David" + the occasion (li). [1]
- (34) "To the precentor" + "a maschil" + "by the sons of Korah" (xlii); + "by David" + "when Doeg the Edomite came in," etc. (lii). [2]
- (35) "To the precentor" + "on musical instruments" + "machil" + "by David" (lv); + the occasion (liv). [2]
- (36) "To the precentor" + "by the servant of the Lord" + "by David" (xxxvi); + the occasion (xviii). [2]
- (37) "To the precentor" + "on musical instruments" + "a psalm." + "by Asaph" + "a song" (lxxvi). [1]
- (38) "To the precentor" + "Destroy not" (*'al tashhith*) + "by David" + "a michtam" (lviii). [1]
- (39) Same as No. 38 + the occasion (lvii, lix). [2]
- (40) "To the precentor" + "upon Jonath-elem-rechokim" + "by David" + "michtam" + the occasion (lvi). [1]
- (41) "To the precentor" + "*'al mahalath*" + "a maschil" + "by David" (liii). [1]
- (42) "To the precentor" + "*'al-tashhith*" + "a psalm" + "by Asaph" + "a song" (lxxv). [1]

(43) "To the precentor" + "'*el-shoshannim-eduth*" + "by Asaph" + "a psalm" (lxxx). [I]

(44) "To the precentor" + "'*al shvushan-eduth*" + "nichtam" + "by David" + the purpose, "to teach" + the occasion (lx). [I]

(45) "To the precentor" + "'*al Jeduthun*" + "by Asaph" + "a psalm" (lxxvii). [I]

(46) "To the precentor" + "'*al shoshannim*" + "by the sons of Korah" + "a maskil" + "a song of loves" (xlv). [I]

(47) "To the precentor" + "by the sons of Korah" + "a maschil" (xliv). [I]

(48) "A song" + "a psalm" + "by the sons of Korah" + "to the precentor" + "'*al mahalath*" + "to respond" + "a maschil" + "by Ethan the Ezrahite" (lxxxviii). [I]

(49) No heading, to wit: i, ii, x, xxxiii, xliii, lxxi, xci, xciii-cxvii, xcix, civ, cv, cvi (?), cvii, cxi (?), cxiv, cxv, cxvi, cxvii, cxviii, cxix, cxxxvi, cxxxvii. Of course cv, cvii, cxviii and cxxxvi begin with "Give thanks" and civ with "Bless ye." [26]

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The testimony to be derived from the vocabulary and text of the headings must be reserved for another article. We shall close this article by asking the reader to consider if it has not been shown that so far as the evidence has been produced there is no reason for concluding that the psalms may not have been written at the times and by the authors mentioned in the headings.

Princeton.

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