

No Final Hallel

Material Sources for Psalms 146–150

Alma Brodersen

1. Psalms 146–150 and the Formation of the Hebrew Psalter

For research on the formation of the Hebrew Psalter, Pss 146–150 are of particular importance. The final form of the Hebrew Psalter with 150 psalms is dated into the second century BCE based on Pss 146–150.¹ Psalms 146–150 are seen as mostly written – together or consecutively – as a literary end to the Psalter in the second century BCE.² Called “Final Hallel”,³ Pss 146–150 are seen to have their origin as the finale of the final Psalter. This view of the “Final Hallel” as an originally coherent group of psalms is mostly based on three main reasons: the sequence, frame, and intertextuality of Pss 146–150. First, Pss 146; 147; 148; 149; and 150 appear in this sequence at the very end of the Hebrew Psalter. Second, all five psalms are framed with “Hallelujah”. Third, the five psalms are seen to contain intertextual references to each other.⁴

These three reasons refer to the Hebrew Psalter in its complete Masoretic Text (MT), preserved in medieval codices.⁵ However, all of the three main reasons for an original coherence of the “Final Hallel” – sequence, frame, and intertextuality – are challenged by older material evidence. The Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) and the Septuagint (LXX) offer fragmentary Hebrew and complete Greek material evidence, which is many centuries older than the Hebrew

¹ Cf. ZENGER/HOSSFELD, *Buch*, 450f.

² Cf. for such views LEUENBERGER, *Konzeptionen*, 364.388f.; NEUMANN, *Hymnen*, 475.483 (cf. also Neumann’s contribution in this volume); ZENGER, *Exkurs*, 808f. Cf. similarly though without specific dates BALLHORN, *Telos*, 329f.356–360; TUCKER, *Power*, 190.196.

³ For the term “Final Hallel” (German “Schlusshallel”) and the synonymous term “Minor Hallel” (German “Kleines Hallel”) cf. MILLARD, *Hallel*; ZENGER, *Exkurs*, 807.

⁴ Cf. BALLHORN, *Telos*, 299.359; LEUENBERGER, *Konzeptionen*, 346; NEUMANN, *Hymnen*, 22–26, 444–449, 481–483; ZENGER, *Exkurs*, 807–810.

⁵ On the Masoretic Text cf. TOV, *Textual Criticism*, 3f.24–26.44–46.

Masoretic codices.⁶ This paper will illustrate the challenges posed to a coherent view of the “Final Hallel” by the oldest extant sources for Pss 146–150.

2. Material Sources for Pss 146–150

2.1 *Dead Sea Scrolls (Hebrew)*

The oldest extant sources for Pss 146–150 are the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, parts of Pss 146–150 are found in 4QPs^d, MasPs^b, and 11QPs^a.⁷

4QPs^d (4Q86) is a fragment dating from the mid-first century BCE and containing parts of Ps 106 (?) → Ps 147 → Ps 104 in this sequence.⁸ It is unclear if Ps 106, specifically Ps 106:48, precedes Ps 147. In a fragmentary line before Ps 147, the remaining letters of what can be reconstructed as הללויה “Hallelujah” are preceded by an incompletely preserved Hebrew letter extending below the line. In the Masoretic Psalter, a letter extending below the line precedes “Hallelujah” in none of the “Final Hallel” psalms, and in Ps 106:48 only. The text preceding Ps 147 in 4QPs^d therefore has to be Ps 106 or a text not found in the Masoretic Psalter.⁹ Thus, the oldest material evidence for any of Pss 146–150 contains a sequence which differs from the Masoretic one, and a sequence in which Ps 147 is not placed next to any other “Final Hallel” psalm.

MasPs^b (*Mas 1f*) plays an important role in debates on the formation of the Hebrew Psalter. Many scholars take MasPs^b as a proof that the text of the Masoretic Psalter with its sequence of 150 psalms is much older than the medieval manuscripts preserving it today.¹⁰ For example, Erich Zenger and Frank-Lothar

⁶ The Masoretic Text, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Septuagint (and the Samaritan Pentateuch where Pentateuchal texts are concerned) also form the main sources of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, cf. *ibid.*, 17–19.158. The material evidence for translations other than the Greek Septuagint is younger, for example, the oldest dated Syriac Peshitta manuscript dates into the fifth century CE, cf. *ibid.*, 151f. For details on the oldest material sources for Pss 146–150 and their relation, cf. BRODERSEN, End, 11–21.

⁷ Cf. ULRICH, Index, 199. Contrary to some reconstructions, 4QPs^{d-e} (4Q86–87) do not contain Ps 146, and 4QPs^e (4Q87) does not contain Ps 147, cf. BRODERSEN, End, 209.254–256.

⁸ Cf. SKEHAN/ULRICH/FLINT, 4QPs^d, 63f.66. Images of 4QPs^d are available online in the LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, 4Q86, www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q86-1.

⁹ Cf. SKEHAN/ULRICH/FLINT, 4QPs^d, 66; for a discussion cf. BRODERSEN, End, 254f.

¹⁰ Thus LEUENBERGER, *Konzeptionen*, 9f. n. 17; similarly FABRY, Text, 52; LANGE, *Handbuch*, 404f.; MROZCEK, End, 298. Jain mentions that MasPs^a (sic, but certainly a typographical error for MasPs^b, cf. JAIN, *Psalmen*, 15.23) proves that Ps 150 stood at the end of the Psalter (cf. *ibid.*, 239), although Jain also notes that the manuscript is too damaged to be reconstructed (cf. *ibid.*, 215f.).

Hossfeld state in their introduction to the Psalter: “The oldest manuscript which certainly proves that the proto-Masoretic Psalter had the form of a book is the *Masada Psalms*^b manuscript, palaeographically dated into the second half of the first century BCE.”¹¹ Indeed, MasPs^b is palaeographically dated into the second half of the first century BCE.¹² However, far from containing a whole Book of Psalms, the factually preserved manuscript consists of two small fragments containing no more than a few fragmentary lines of text with parts of at most two psalms. *Figure 1* shows a photograph of the entire manuscript MasPs^b.



Figure 1: MasPs^b (Mas 1f). Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority, photo: Shai Halevi, here printed in greyscale, in colour available online at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-496397>.

As illustrated in *Figure 1*, MasPs^b contains almost all of Ps 150, and on the right side a few letters which may belong to Ps 147.¹³ The left side of the manuscript is empty and may have formed the end of a scroll.¹⁴ The fragment does not include the bottom end of the central column which means that there may

¹¹ ZENGER/HOSSFELD, Buch, 451, German original: “Die älteste Handschrift, die die Buchgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters sicher belegt, ist die paläographisch in die 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh.s v. Chr. datierte Handschrift *Masada Psalms*^b” (emphasis in original), referring to FABRY, Text, 52.

¹² Cf. TALMON, Fragments, 92.

¹³ Cf. *ibid.*, 91–94. Images of MasPs^b are available online in the LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, Mas 1f, <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/Mas%201f-1>.

¹⁴ Cf. TALMON, Fragments, 91f.; JAIN, Psalmen, 211.215.

have been more text below Ps 150.¹⁵ In its most prominent edition, MasPs^b is reconstructed to contain Pss 147 → 148 → 149 → 150 in this sequence with the bottom end of the column left blank.¹⁶ However, this reconstruction cannot be materially confirmed, and rather seems to depend on the knowledge of today's Masoretic Psalter.¹⁷ As far as material evidence is concerned, not even Pss 146; 148; and 149 are preserved on MasPs^b, let alone the entire Masoretic Psalter with 150 psalms.

11QPs^a (11Q5) is a fragmentary scroll dated into first half of the first century CE.¹⁸ It contains, amongst other texts, the sequences Pss 104 → 147 → 105; Pss 105 → 146 → 148 → 121; Pss 118 → 145 → 154 (Syriac Ps II); Pss 143 → 149 → 150 → HymnCreat, and at its end Ps 151A, B.¹⁹ 11QPs^a is the oldest material evidence for all five psalms of the "Final Hallel". However, the sequence differs from the "Final Hallel". In particular, Ps 147 is found on Fragment E before any other "Final Hallel" psalms, and next to Ps 104 as in 4QPs^d but in the reverse order Pss 104 → 147.

In all of the Dead Sea Scrolls where beginnings and endings of Pss 146–150 are materially preserved, there are no opening Hallelujahs (this applies to Pss 148 and 150 in 11QPs^a).²⁰ Thus, framing Hallelujahs for Pss 146–150, while sometimes reconstructed (e.g. for MasPs^b),²¹ are not actually preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Overall, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, all five of Pss 146–150 are at least partly preserved, but never in the Masoretic sequence of these five psalms and never with framing Hallelujahs.

2.2 Septuagint Codices (Greek)

The oldest extant evidence for the whole Psalter are not Hebrew but Greek manuscripts: large Greek Septuagint codices dating into the fourth century CE, hundreds of years younger than the Dead Sea Scrolls. While the translation of the Hebrew Psalter into Greek is usually dated into the second century BCE,²² very shortly after the supposed date of the Hebrew Psalter itself, the first material evidence for the full Septuagint Psalter are these fourth century CE

¹⁵ Thus also *ibid.*, 214 n. 549.

¹⁶ Cf. TALMON, *Fragments*, 94–97.

¹⁷ Thus also JAIN, *Psalmen*, 211–216.

¹⁸ Cf. SANDERS, *Psalms* 1965, 9.

¹⁹ Cf. SANDERS, *Sea* 1967, 64–69.156.162–165; SANDERS, *Psalmen* 1965, 5. Images of 11QPs^a are available online in the LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, 11Q5, <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/11Q5-1>.

²⁰ Cf. BRODERSEN, *End*, 63–67.112–114.152f.206–210.251–256.275.

²¹ Thus TALMON, *Fragments*, 93.

²² Cf. CORDES, *Asafpsalmen*, 17–19.

codices.²³ They are the oldest non-fragmentary sources for Pss 146–150,²⁴ and the oldest sources in which these psalms are found in the Masoretic sequence. However, they still show significant differences compared to the Masoretic Psalter.

As it is visible in the two prominent fourth century CE codices *Codex Vaticanus (B)*²⁵ and *Codex Sinaiticus (S)*,²⁶ Ps 147 equals two Pss 146–147^{LXX} in the Septuagint. As in other Septuagint manuscripts, the superscription *Ἀλληλουῖα Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου* “Hallelujah of Haggai and Zechariah” in these codices groups together Pss 145–148^{LXX} (Pss 146–148) as four psalms. The two Pss 149–150^{LXX} share the superscription *Ἀλληλουῖα* “Hallelujah”.²⁷ With the exception of Ps 150^{LXX}, there are no closing Hallelujahs in the Septuagint version of Pss 146–150 and, thus, no framing Hallelujahs.²⁸

Codex Sinaiticus also highlights another difference between the Greek and Hebrew Psalters: the inclusion of Ps 151^{LXX}. In *Codex Sinaiticus*, Ps 151^{LXX} immediately follows Ps 150^{LXX}, and the whole Psalter is then subscribed with the Greek letters PNA standing for the number 100+50+1=151.²⁹ In contrast, *Codex Vaticanus* counts PN, 100+50=150 psalms, and places Ps 151^{LXX} on a separate page.³⁰ Even in *Codex Vaticanus*, however, the text of Ps 151^{LXX} factually stands at the end of the Psalter.

Overall, in the Septuagint the Greek equivalents of Pss 146–150 are found in the Masoretic sequence, but without framing Hallelujahs, in two groups of four and two psalms marked by different superscriptions, and with Ps 151^{LXX} as the actual end of the Psalter.

²³ Cf. RAHLFS, *Psalmi*, 10–12. For some Psalms but not the whole Psalter, there are Septuagint manuscripts from the first/second century CE onwards, cf. SIEGERT, *Bibel*, 96f. in combination with SEPTUAGINTA-UNTERNEHMEN, *Verzeichnis* (esp. 2227 = P. Oxy. 5101 as the oldest Septuagint Psalms manuscript dating from the first/second century CE).

²⁴ Cf. RAHLFS, *Psalmi*, 333–339.

²⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 10. Images of *Codex Vaticanus* are available online in the BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, *Vat.gr.1209*, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1209, see images 711–714 for Pss 145–151^{LXX}.

²⁶ Cf. RAHLFS, *Psalmi*, 11. Images of *Codex Sinaiticus* are available online in the CODEX SINAITICUS PROJECT, *Manuscript*, <http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en/manuscript.aspx>.

²⁷ Psalms 149–150 are also the only two “Final Hallel” Psalms in which the sequence preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QPs^a) is the same as the Masoretic sequence.

²⁸ Cf. RAHLFS, *Psalmi*, 333–339.

²⁹ See CODEX SINAITICUS PROJECT, *Manuscript*, Ps 151. This is also noted by MROCZEK, *End*, 310.

³⁰ See BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA I, *Vat.gr.1209*, images 713f. This is also noted by MROCZEK, *End*, 310.

2.3 Masoretic Codices (Hebrew)

Medieval Hebrew codices preserving the Masoretic Text are the oldest complete sources for the Hebrew Bible.³¹ They are used today as the main source for the Hebrew Bible and, thus, the Hebrew Psalter.³²

The *Aleppo Codex* (*A*), dated into the tenth century CE,³³ preserves the oldest complete Hebrew version of Pss 146–150, around a thousand years after the fragmentary Dead Sea Scrolls. In the *Aleppo Codex*, there are five psalms at the end of the Psalter, in their sequence from Ps 146 to Ps 150, with Ps 150 being last psalm of the Psalter. All five of Pss 146–150 are framed with “Hallelujah”.

The *Leningrad Codex* (*L*), dated into the eleventh century CE,³⁴ is the basis for most research on the Hebrew Bible due to its widely used diplomatic edition “*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*” (BHS).³⁵ Codex L also presents five psalms at the end of the Psalter with framing Hallelujahs.

While Pss 146–150 thus seem stable in the Masoretic codices, they also illustrate that the Masoretic Psalter itself is less stable than it seems at first sight. In Codex L, next to the final psalm usually called Ps 150, there are the Hebrew letters וּמָן standing for the number 100+40+9=149.³⁶ This is due to Pss 114 and 115 being counted as one psalm in Codex L. The BHS edition adds to the Hebrew number 149 the Arabic numerals 150 which are not found in Codex L.³⁷ This example in the oldest complete Hebrew manuscript of the Hebrew Bible already illustrates that the number of 150 psalms and the division of psalms within the Masoretic Psalter is not stable. Similarly, the *Aleppo Codex*, which does not give explicit numbers, also seems to be counting Pss 114 and 115 as one psalm since Ps 115 does not begin on a new line but is joined up with Ps 114.³⁸ The same conjunction appears in the Septuagint where Ps 113^{LXX} equals the two Pss 114–115.³⁹ Similar observations on a large number of Masoretic manuscripts have led William Yarchin to conclude that “we

³¹ Cf. TOV, *Textual Criticism*, 23–26.

³² Cf. *ibid.*, 44f.73f.344.

³³ Cf. *ibid.*, 44f. Images of the *Aleppo Codex* are available online at BEN-ZVI INSTITUTE, *Aleppo Codex*, <http://www.aleppocodex.org/newsite/index.html>.

³⁴ Cf. TOV, *Textual Criticism*, 45. Images of the *Leningrad Codex* are available in the facsimile edition FREEDMAN, *Leningrad Codex*.

³⁵ Cf. TOV, *Textual Criticism*, 45.73.344; ELLIGER/RUDOLPH, BHS, XII. “*Biblia Hebraica Quinta*” (BHQ) also is a diplomatic edition of Codex L, cf. SCHENKER, BHQ, VII–IX.

³⁶ Cf. FREEDMAN, *Leningrad Codex*, 804.

³⁷ Cf. ELLIGER/RUDOLPH, BHS, 1226. This is also noted by MROCZEK, *End*, 298; UL-RICH, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 324f.; YARCHIN, *Psalms Collections*, 780; YARCHIN, *Shape*, 358f.

³⁸ See BEN-ZVI INSTITUTE, *Aleppo Codex*, folio from Ps 114_2 to Ps 118_1, column 1, line 8.

³⁹ Cf. RAHLFS, *Psalms*, 77.

cannot point to a stable, standard configuration of the material even in the MT tradition.”⁴⁰

Overall, the medieval Masoretic codices are the oldest material evidence where the sequence and the frame of Pss 146–150 suggest a coherent group of five psalms at end of Psalter. In all material evidence prior to the Masoretic codices, Pss 146–150 are present as individual psalms, but they do not form a group of five psalms framed with Hallelujah at the end of the Psalter. A “Final Hallel” group of five psalms is not extant in manuscripts prior to the Masoretic codices.

2.4 Relation of Sources

Texts can be much older than the manuscripts on which they are preserved. This is shown, for example, by the very high degree of similarity of the text of Ps 150 in MasPs^b and Codex L, manuscripts written more than a thousand years apart yet containing the same psalm. Given such continuities, it is often assumed that a proto-Masoretic text – partly preserved in some Dead Sea Scrolls – predates by far the medieval Masoretic manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible.⁴¹ This proto-Masoretic text is often assumed to be identical with the consonants – without vowels, accents, and notes – of today’s Masoretic Text (usually in its BHS edition).⁴²

For the Hebrew Psalter, such an earlier version of the Masoretic Psalter is often called proto-Masoretic Psalter and dated into the second century BCE.⁴³ However, due to the lack of material evidence it is questioned if such a proto-Masoretic Psalter is identical in its consonants with the later Masoretic Psalter, and if it predates the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴⁴ In particular, it is disputed whether or not 11QPs^a and the Septuagint Psalter depend on the proto-Masoretic Psalter. Some scholars argue that 11QPs^a depends on the proto-Masoretic Psalter,⁴⁵ others argue that it is independent and part of a much more fluid textual

⁴⁰ YARCHIN, *Psalms Collections*, 789. Cf. also the overview *ibid.*, 788. WILLGREN DAVAGE, *Superscriptions*, 82, also points out the instability of “paratextual segmentation” of Psalms. On the lack of fixed segmentation also cf. Willgren Davage’s contribution in this volume.

⁴¹ Cf. TOV, *Textual Criticism*, 23.28.

⁴² Thus BERLEJUNG, *Quellen*, 28; BÖHM, *Rezeption*, 5f.; TOV, *Textual Criticism*, 23.421.

⁴³ Thus BÖHM, *Rezeption*, 5f.; JAIN, *Psalmen*, 240; LANGE, *Endgestalt*, 108; NEUMANN, *Hymnen*, 475; ZENGER/HOSSFELD, *Buch*, 450f.; without specific dates BALLHORN, *Telos*, 336 n. 895.

⁴⁴ Cf. JAIN, *Psalmen*, 237–240.

⁴⁵ Thus DAHMEN, *Psalmen*, 313–315; JAIN, *Psalmen*, 277f.; PAJUNEN, *Perspectives*, 156. This view is also taken by scholars arguing for an original literary connection of Pss 146–150, cf. BALLHORN, *Telos*, 302f.336 n. 895; LEUENBERGER, *Konzeptionen*, 15f.; NEUMANN, *Hymnen*, 451.483; ZENGER, *Exkurs*, 810.

history.⁴⁶ Again, as with the overall date of the Hebrew Psalter, Pss 146–150 play an important role in this debate. The dissolution of the “Final Hallel” is often taken as an argument for the dependence of 11QPs^a on the proto-Masoretic Psalter.⁴⁷ However, this presupposes that the “Final Hallel” was originally coherent, a circular argument challenged by the oldest material sources.

While the Greek Septuagint translation of the Psalter is usually dated into the second century BCE,⁴⁸ very shortly after the supposed date of the Hebrew Psalter itself, the first material evidence for the full Septuagint Psalter are codices from the fourth century CE.⁴⁹ It is usually assumed that the Septuagint Psalter is based on a Hebrew text similar to the Masoretic Text,⁵⁰ but differences between the Septuagint Psalter and the Masoretic Psalter may point towards other base texts.⁵¹ At least one text in the Septuagint Psalter, Ps 151^{LXX}, cannot be based on the Masoretic Text where this psalm is not included at all, while Hebrew forms of it are found on 11QPs^a. It is unknown whether the Septuagint translation originally followed the Masoretic sequence,⁵² or whether it did not.⁵³ It is also debated whether the superscriptions of the proto-Masoretic Psalter are older than those in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint: while some scholars argue that the Masoretic superscriptions are older than the Septuagint superscriptions,⁵⁴ and also older than the Dead Sea Scrolls superscriptions,⁵⁵ others state that the Dead Sea Scrolls superscriptions predate those in the Septuagint, which in turn predate those in the Masoretic Text.⁵⁶

Overall, there is no consensus if the text of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint is younger and dependent on a proto-Masoretic Psalter with its particular sequence and superscriptions of psalms. The text of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint which is preserved on older manuscripts could also

⁴⁶ Thus BÖHM, *Rezeption*, 12; FLINT, *Psalms Scrolls*, 226; LANGE, *Handbuch*, 434–436; MROCZEK, *Imagination*, 25f.195; MROCZEK, *Psalms*, 46; SANDERS, *Sea 1967*, 12–14; SANDERS, *Qumran 1974*, 96–99; similarly WILSON, *Qumran*, 388.

⁴⁷ Thus BALLHORN, *Telos*, 302f.; DAHMEN, *Psalmen*, 309.315; JAIN, *Psalmen*, 256; LEUENBERGER, *Aufbau*, 200; NEUMANN, *Hymnen*, 451f.461.467f.483. Similarly BÖHM, *Rezeption*, 75 (in contrast to *ibid.*, 12).

⁴⁸ Cf. CORDES, *Asafpsalmen*, 17–19.

⁴⁹ See n. 23.

⁵⁰ Cf. BONS, *Psalmoi*, 750f.

⁵¹ Cf. GAUTHIER, *Psalms*, 29; SIEGERT, *Bibel*, 306f.311f.

⁵² Thus WILLGREN, *Formation*, 383f.: “Although the first, quite fragmentary manuscripts are not preserved until much later, there is nothing in these manuscripts that suggests that the psalms of the LXX were once found in entirely different sequences. Rather, the changes made for superscriptions, for example, presupposes a MT sequence”. However, he also notes that “such a formative stage did not imply a fixation of every psalm in the sequence”.

⁵³ Thus BONS, *Psalmoi*, 752.

⁵⁴ Thus PIETERSMA, *Exegesis*, 113–118.137f.; WILLGREN, *Formation*, 192f.

⁵⁵ Thus DAHMEN, *Psalmen*, 11f.

⁵⁶ Thus BONS, *Psalmoi*, 750f.; BRÜTSCH, *Psalmen*, 200f.

itself be older than a proto-Masoretic text. As the relation between the texts is not clear, they are best analysed separately without predeciding questions of dependency.⁵⁷

3. Intertextuality in Pss 146–150

An analysis of the oldest material evidence has so far revealed substantial differences in the sequences and frames of Pss 146–150. These different sequences and frames also pose a challenge to the third main argument for an original coherence of Pss 146–150: intertextual references. In Psalter Exegesis, words shared between psalms in the Masoretic Psalter (also called *Stichwortverbindung* “catchword connection” or, especially where neighbouring psalms are concerned, *concatenatio* “chain connection”) are usually seen as intentional intertextual links pointing to diachronic relations between texts.⁵⁸ Shared phrases rather than individual words are also sometimes used to identify diachronic intertextual references.⁵⁹ However, both shared words and shared phrases as a basis for intertextual references between Pss 146–150 are challenged by the oldest material evidence, as the following two examples illustrate.

The different sequences found in the oldest sources are relevant for the question of *concatenatio*, i.e. the connection of neighbouring psalms through shared words. Usually, *concatenatio* is sought and found only in the Masoretic Psalter.⁶⁰ However, in a case study of Ps 147, David Willgren Davage has shown that when compared to the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint, the Masoretic sequence of psalms has the least number of shared words between neighbouring psalms.⁶¹ Even if many shared words showed intentional and original links between neighbouring psalms – an argument that can itself be questioned⁶² – the Masoretic sequence would here be the least original one.

When looking for longer shared phrases rather than individual words, there are two striking phrases in the Septuagint of Pss 146–150 which are not found in the Masoretic Text. Septuagint manuscripts such as Codex Vaticanus contain two whole phrases of text not included in the Masoretic Psalter. One phrase

⁵⁷ Cf. BRODERSEN, End, 18–21.

⁵⁸ Cf. NEUMANN, Hymnen, 24 (Stichwortverbindung); ZENGER, Psalmenexegese, 31 (concatenatio). Cf. also Pavan’s contribution in this volume.

⁵⁹ Cf. KYNES, Psalm, 37; LEONARD, Allusions, 246; MILLER, Intertextuality, 295. On diachronic as opposed to synchronic intertextuality cf. *ibid.*, 284.

⁶⁰ See n. 58.

⁶¹ Cf. WILLGREN, David, 226. Similarly, Böhm points out strong intertextual links in the composition of 11QPs^a (cf. BÖHM, Rezeption, 82f.). On shared words and intentional intertextuality also cf. Willgren Davage’s contribution in this volume.

⁶² Cf. BRODERSEN, Quellen, 13–15.

in Ps 146:8^{LXX} (Ps 147:8), *καὶ χλόην τῇ δουλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* “and herb for the use of the humans”, is identical with a phrase in Ps 103:14^{LXX} (Ps 104:14). The other phrase in Ps 148:5^{LXX}, *αὐτὸς εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν* “he himself spoke and they were made”, is identical with a phrase in Ps 32:9^{LXX} (Ps 33:9). Thus, in the Septuagint, both cases where longer phrases are shared do not indicate connections with neighbouring psalms in the Masoretic sequence, but with Pss 33 and 104. Elsewhere, I have compared in detail possible intertextual references in the Masoretic Text, Dead Sea Scrolls, and Septuagint versions of Pss 146–150, and come to the conclusion that even in the Masoretic Text “Psalms 146–150 do not contain references to one another, and do not contain references to the same other texts with the one exception of Psalms 146 and 147 both referring to Ps 104 amongst other different texts.”⁶³ The connection of Ps 104 and Ps 147 also appears in the Septuagint, where a shared phrase is found (see above), and in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where Ps 104 is found next to Ps 147 twice (see Section 2.1 above). In other words, according to the ancient sources there seems to be, at least, a stronger connection between Pss 104 and 147 than between Pss 146–150.

Overall, comparing shared words and phrases in different extant sources leads to results regarding intertextual references which remain invisible if only the Masoretic Text is analysed. For Pss 146–150, such a comparison weakens the argument of their original connection through intertextual references.

4. Implications for the Formation of the Hebrew Psalter

For Pss 146–150, the oldest material evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint codices suggests that they were originally independent psalms. At the very least, they are definitely written down separately from each other on ancient manuscripts. The Masoretic sequence and framing of Pss 146–150 does not seem to be of any importance in the older material evidence. No “Final Hallel” is factually extant in ancient manuscripts prior to the medieval Masoretic codices.

If Pss 146–150 were not originally written together as an end for the Psalter, some of the main reasons for dating the proto-Masoretic Psalter into the second century BCE have to be reassessed.⁶⁴ The case of Pss 146–150 shows that research on the formation of the Hebrew Psalter has to be more aware of the limitation of viewing the Masoretic Psalter as “the” Hebrew Psalter. Rather than studying the Masoretic Text only, older sources such as the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint should be considered. When asking about the formation of the Hebrew Psalter, its ancient material evidence cannot be ignored.

⁶³ BRODERSEN, End, 276.

⁶⁴ Cf. for details BRODERSEN, Quellen, 25f.

Bibliography

- BALLHORN, E., *Zum Telos des Psalters. Der Textzusammenhang des Vierten und Fünften Psalmenbuches (Ps 90–150) (BBB 138)*, Berlin: Philo 2004.
- BEN-ZVI INSTITUTE, *Aleppo Codex. Digital Photography and Website by Ardon Bar Hama*, <http://www.aleppocodex.org/newsite/index.html> (accessed 22 April 2020).
- BERLEJUNG, A., *Erster Hauptteil. Quellen und Methoden*, in: J.C. Gertz (ed.), *Grundinformation Altes Testament (UTB 2745)*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht ⁶2019, 21–58.
- BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, *Vat.gr.1209*, <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.1209> (accessed 22 April 2020).
- BÖHM, C., *Die Rezeption der Psalmen in den Qumranschriften, bei Philo von Alexandrien und im Corpus Paulinum (WUNT.2 437)*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2017.
- BONS, E., *Psalmoi, Das Buch der Psalmen, Einleitung*, in: W. Kraus/M. Karrer (eds.), *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2009, 749–752.
- BRODERSEN, A., *The End of the Psalter. Psalms 146–150 in the Masoretic Text, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Septuagint (BZAW 505)*, Berlin: De Gruyter 2017.
- , *Quellen und Intertextualität. Methodische Überlegungen zum Psalterende*, in: A. Brodersen/F. Neumann/D. Willgren (eds.), *Intertextualität und die Entstehung des Psalters. Methodische Reflexionen – Theologiegeschichtliche Perspektiven (FAT.2 114)*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2020, 7–31.
- BRÜTSCH, M., *Israels Psalmen in Qumran. Ein textarchäologischer Beitrag zur Entstehung des Psalters (BWANT 193)*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2010.
- CODEX SINAITICUS PROJECT, *See the Manuscript*, <http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en/manuscript.aspx> (accessed 22 April 2020).
- CORDES, A., *Die Asafpsalmen in der Septuaginta. Der griechische Psalter als Übersetzung und theologisches Zeugnis (HBS 41)*, Freiburg: Herder 2004.
- DAHMEN, U., *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum. Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11QP^s aus Qumran (StTDJ 49)*, Leiden: Brill 2003.
- ELLINGER, K./RUDOLPH, W. (eds.), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia [BHS]*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft ⁵1997.
- FABRY, H.-J., *Der Text und seine Geschichte*, in: E. Zenger/C. Frevel (eds.), *Einleitung in das Alte Testament (KStTh 1,1)*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer ⁹2016, 37–66.
- FLINT, P.W., *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms (StTDJ 17)*, Leiden: Brill 1997.
- FREEDMAN, D.N. (ed.), *The Leningrad Codex. A Facsimile Edition*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1998.
- GAUTHIER, R.X., *Psalms 38 and 145 of the Old Greek Version (VT.S 166)*, Leiden: Brill 2014.
- JAIN, E., *Psalmen oder Psalter? Materielle Rekonstruktion und inhaltliche Untersuchung der Psalmenhandschriften aus der Wüste Juda (StTDJ 109)*, Leiden: Brill 2014.
- KYNES, W., *My Psalm Has Turned into Weeping. Job's Dialogue with the Psalms (BZAW 437)*, Berlin: De Gruyter 2012.
- LANGE, A., *Die Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters und die Toraweisheit. Zur Bedeutung der nichtessenischen Weisheitstexte aus Qumran für die Auslegung des*

- protomasoretischen Psalters, in: E. Zenger (ed.), *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum* (HBS 18), Freiburg: Herder 1998, 101–136.
- , *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer. Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Band 1), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2009.
- LEON LEVY DEAD SEA SCROLLS DIGITAL LIBRARY, 11Q5 - 11QPs^a, <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/11Q5-1> (accessed 22 April 2020).
- , 4Q86 - 4QPs^d, www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q86-1 (accessed 22 April 2020).
- , Mas 1f - Mas Ps^b, <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/Mas%201f-1> (accessed 22 April 2020).
- LEONARD, J.M., Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case, in: *JBL* 127 (2008), 241–265.
- LEUENBERGER, M., *Konzeptionen des Königtums Gottes im Psalter. Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Redaktion der theokratischen Bücher IV–V im Psalter* (AthANT 83), Zürich: Theologischer Verlag 2004.
- , *Aufbau und Pragmatik des 11QPs^a-Psalters*, in: *RdQ* 22 (2005), 165–209.
- MILLARD, M., Art. Hallel, in: *Das wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet* (www.wiblex.de), <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/20353>, 2010 (accessed 22 April 2020).
- MILLER, G.D., Intertextuality in Old Testament Research, in: *CBR* 9 (2011) 3, 283–309.
- MROZCEK, E., *Psalms Unbound. Ancient Concepts of Textual Tradition in 11QPsalms^a and Related Texts*, Toronto 2012. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/35070/1/Mroczek_Eva_201211_PhD_thesis.pdf (accessed 22.04. 2020).
- , *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity*, New York: Oxford University Press 2016.
- , *The End of the Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Greek Codices, and Syriac Manuscripts*, in: L.I. Lied/H. Lundhaug (eds.), *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions. Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (TU 175), Berlin: De Gruyter 2017, 297–322.
- NEUMANN, F., *Schriftgelehrte Hymnen. Gestalt, Theologie und Intention der Psalmen 145 und 146–150* (BZAW 491), Berlin: De Gruyter 2016.
- PAJUNEN, M.S., Perspectives on the Existence of a Particular Authoritative Book of Psalms in the Late Second Temple Period, in: *JSOT* 39 (2014) 2, 139–163.
- PIETERSMA, A., Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter, in: B.A. Taylor (ed.), *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Oslo, 1998 (SCSt 51), Atlanta: SBL Press 2001, 99–138.
- RAHLFS, A. (ed.), *Psalmi cum Odis* (Septuaginta 10), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1979.
- SANDERS, J.A., *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD 4), Oxford: Clarendon 1965.
- , *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1967.
- , *The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed*, in: M. Black/W.A. Smalley (eds.), *On Language, Culture, and Religion. FS E.A. Nida* (Approaches to Semiotics 56), The Hague: Mouton 1974, 79–99.
- SCHENKER, A., *Biblia Hebraica Quinta [BHQ]*, Vol. 18, General Introduction and מגילות Megilloth, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2004.
- SEPTUAGINTA-UNTERNEHMEN, *Offizielles Verzeichnis der Rahlfs-Sigeln*. Herausgegeben vom Septuaginta-Unternehmen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Stand: Dezember 2012, <http://rep.adw-goe.de/bitstream/handle/11858/00-001S-0000-0022->

- A30C-8/RahlfS-Sigeln_Stand_Dezember_2012.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed 22 April 2020).
- SIEGERT, F., *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (MJSSt 9), Münster: Lit 2001.
- SKEHAN, P.W./ULRICH, E./FLINT, P.W., 4QPs^d, in: E. Ulrich et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4, XI, Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD 16), Oxford: Clarendon 2000, 63–71.
- TALMON, S., *Hebrew Fragments from Masada*, in: S. Talmon/Y. Yadin (eds.), *Masada. Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports (The Masada Reports 6)*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society 1999, 1–149.
- TOV, E., *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress ³2012.
- TUCKER, W.D., *Constructing and Deconstructing Power in Psalms 107–150* (SBL.AIL 19), Atlanta: SBL Press 2014.
- ULRICH, E., *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Implications for an Edition of the Septuagint Psalter*, in: A. Aejmelaeus/U. Quast (eds.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen. Symposium in Göttingen 1997* (MSU 24), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2000, 323–336.
- , *Index of Passages in the ‘Biblical Texts’*, in: E. Tov (ed.), *The Texts from the Judaean Desert. Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD 39), Oxford: Clarendon 2002, 185–201.
- WILLGREN, D., *The Formation of the ‘Book’ of Psalms. Reconsidering the Transmission and Canonization of Psalmody in Light of Material Culture and the Poetics of Anthologies* (FAT.2 88), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2016.
- , *Did David Lay Down His Crown? Reframing Issues of Deliberate Juxtaposition and Interpretive Contexts in the “Book” of Psalms with Psalm 147 as a Case in Point*, in: M.S. Pajunen/J. Penner (eds.), *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period* (BZAW 486), Berlin: De Gruyter 2017, 212–228.
- WILLGREN DAVAGE, D., *Why Davidic Superscriptions Do Not Demarcate Earlier Collections of Psalms*, in: *JBL* 139 (2020) 1, 67–86.
- WILSON, G.H., *The Qumran Psalms Manuscripts and the Consecutive Arrangement of Psalms in the Hebrew Psalter*, in: *CBQ* 45 (1983) 3, 377–388.
- YARCHIN, W., *Is there an Authoritative Shape for the Hebrew Book of Psalms? Profiling the Manuscripts of the Hebrew Psalter*, in: *RB* 122 (2015) 3, 355–370.
- , *Were the Psalms Collections at Qumran True Psalters?*, in: *JBL* 134 (2015) 4, 775–789.
- ZENGER, E., *Exkurs. Die Komposition des sog. Kleinen Hallel bzw. Schluss-Hallel Ps 146–150*, in: F.-L. Hossfeld/E. Zenger (eds.), *Psalmen 101–150* (HThKAT), Freiburg: Herder 2008, 807–810.
- , *Psalmenexegese und Psalterexegese. Eine Forschungsskizze*, in: E. Zenger (ed.), *The Composition of the Book of Psalms* (BETHL 238), Leuven: Peeters 2010, 17–65.
- ZENGER, E./HOSSFELD, F.-L., *Das Buch der Psalmen*, in: E. Zenger/C. Frevel (eds.), *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (KSStTh 1,1), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer ⁹2016, 431–453.