

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

Edited by

Corinna Körting (Hamburg) · Konrad Schmid (Zürich)
Mark S. Smith (Princeton) · Andrew Teeter (Harvard)

176

The Formation of Biblical Texts

Chronicling the Legacy of Gary N. Knoppers

Edited by

Deirdre N. Fulton, Kenneth A. Ristau,
Jonathan S. Greer, and Margaret E. Cohen

Mohr Siebeck

Deirdre N. Fulton, born 1976; 2011 PhD; Associate Professor in the Department of Religion at Baylor University. orcid.org/0000-0002-5922-5461

Kenneth A. Ristau, born 1977; 2013 PhD; professional resource faculty at MacEwan University and lecturer at the University of Alberta.

Jonathan S. Greer, born 1973; 2011 PhD; Visiting Professor of Archaeology at Grand Valley State University; Associate Director of excavations at Tel Dan, Israel. orcid.org/0000-0002-3054-9622

Margaret E. Cohen, born 1975; 2013 PhD; scholar of Hebrew Bible and the archaeology of Ancient Israel; teaches Judaic Studies at the University of Arizona.

ISBN 978-3-16-160741-7 / eISBN 978-3-16-162756-9

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-162756-9

ISSN 0940-4155 / eISSN 2568-8359 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.de>.

© 2024 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by SatzWeise in Bad Wünnenberg using Minion typeface, printed on non-aging paper by Laupp & Göbel in Gomaringen, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

The Treatment of Psalm 132 in 11QPs^a (11Q5) and Chronicles: Politics and Religious Practices in the Second Temple Period, *Melody D. Knowles*

1. Introduction

At the end of Solomon's dedication of the temple in 2 Chr 6:41–42, the Chronicler (Chr) breaks from his source and replaces that conclusion with an adaptation of Ps 132:8–10.¹ This use of Ps 132 is well studied in the major commentaries and several articles focusing on this pericope.¹ All are in broad agreement that the portion of the Psalm carries forward major themes of the Chr, including an emphasis on the temple as well as the connection of Solomon's work with that of David. There is, however, dispute concerning the other programs that

¹By "the Chronicler," I mean the implied author of 1 & 2 Chronicles, a Persian period or early Hellenistic scribe. For the Chr's treatment of the *Vorlage* in Kings, see S. Royar, "Denn der HERR, euer Gott, ist gnädig und barmherzig...": Die Gebete in den Chronikbüchern und ihre Bedeutung für die chronistische Theologie (Münster: LIT, 2005), 119–38.

¹ For the commentaries, see R. Klein, *2 Chronicles: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012); P. C. Beentjes, *2 Kronieken* (Kampen: Kok, 2006); S. L. McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2004); L. C. Allen, "The First and Second Books of Chronicles: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, ed. L. E. Keck et al. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 297–659; S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993); H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982); W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1955). See also K. Hognessius, *The Text of 2 Chronicles 1–16: A Critical Edition with Textual Commentary* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003). For the articles, see especially those published in F. Hartenstein and T. Willi eds., *Psalmen und Chronik* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), including R. Müller "David und die Lade, Zion und der Gesalbte: Geschichte und Zukunft des Königtums nach Ps 132," 199–222; E. Ben Zvi, "Psalms, Chronicles and Matters of Social Memory in the Early Second Temple Period: Some Introductory Considerations," 243–56; F.-L. Hossfeld, "David im Wallfahrtspsalter, David in der Chronik – Ein Vergleich," 309–22; and H. G. M. Williamson, "The Use of Psalm 132 at 2 Chronicles 6:41–42," 409–24. See also M. D. Knowles "To Sanction and to Subvert: The Reuses of Psalm 132 in the Hebrew Bible," in *Prayers and the Construction of Israelite Identity*, ed. S. Gillmayr-Bucher and M. Häußl (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2019), 189–202; Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*, SSN 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2008) 141–75; A. Berlin, "Psalms in the Book of Chronicles," in *Shai le-Sara Japhet: Studies in the Bible, its Exegesis and its Language*, ed. M. Bar-Asher et al. (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), *21–*36; R. Klein, "Psalms in Chronicles," *CurTM* 32 (2005): 264–75; H. N. Wallace, "What Chronicles Has to Say about Psalms," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. S. L. McKenzie and M. P. Graham (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 267–91; M. R. Shipp, "'Remember His Covenant Forever': A Study of the Chronicler's Use of the Psalms," *ResQ* 35 (1993): 29–39.

the reworked text promotes in 2 Chr 6, especially as it relates to the ongoing role of kingship and the temple in the author's context. For some, the quotation promotes hope for the restoration of the monarchy during the Second Temple period.² For others, the role of the king is de-emphasized in favor of a stress on the significance of the people and the temple or simply the temple itself.³

Because 2 Chr 6 is not present in the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is hardly surprising that this corpus is rarely, if ever, part of the discussion. In addition, most of the academic engagement with the large scroll in which Ps 132 appears, 11QPs^a (11Q5), concerns the status and order of the collection, as well as study of the previously unknown texts contained within it.⁴ Finally, given that the community that composed and copied the scrolls disassociated itself from Jerusalem and its temple, their relation to the Chr on aspects of politics and religious practices are assumed to be too different to allow for a helpful comparison.⁵

Yet, studying the treatment of Ps 132 both in Chronicles as well as 11QPs^a, provides a unique opportunity to compare two re-uses and re-interpretations of the same text by different Second Temple Yahwistic communities. Clearly, the larger textual projects are different in that the Chr was constructing the memory of the nation's past, whereas those who worked on the Psalms scroll were forming liturgical resources. But both intended to shape identity by re-working authoritative texts to promote a memory of David as a liturgical innovator and

² Williamson, "The Use of Psalm 132 at 2 Chronicles 6:41—42"; McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles*; Allen, "The First and Second Books of Chronicles."

³ Regarding the former, see Klein, "Psalms in Chronicles," 264–75. Regarding the latter, see Hossfeld, "David im Wallfahrtspsalter, David in der Chronik – Ein Vergleich," 309–322.

⁴ For early work on 11QPs^a, see J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 [11QPs^a]*, DJD IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); Idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967); Y. Yadin, "Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)," *Textus* 5 (1966): 1–10, pls. I–V. For recent discussions, see E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); M. Pajunen, "Perspectives on the Existence of a Particular Authoritative Book of Psalms in the Late Second Temple Period," *JSOT* 39 (2014): 139–63; E. Jain, *Psalmen oder Psalter? Materielle Rekonstruktion und inhaltliche Untersuchung der Psalmenhandschriften aus der Wüste Juda* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); M. Brütsch, *Israels Psalmen in Qumran: Ein textarchäologischer Beitrag zur Entstehung des Psalters* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010); M. Leuenberger, "Aufbau und pragmatik des 11QPs^a-Psalter," *RevQ* 22 (2005): 165–211; U. Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum: Rekonstruktion, Testbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Rezeption im Psalmenrolle 11QPs^a aus Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 7–9, 238–41; A. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer. Vol. 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 427–30.

⁵ For more on the religious values of the Qumran community, see L. H. Schiffman, "Community without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, eds. Beate Ego, A. Lange and P. Pilhofer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 267–84.

royal ruler, and foster religious practices relating to Jerusalem and its temple.⁶ Given the several Second Temple communities who linked themselves in various ways to the Yahwistic tradition but against each other in terms of beliefs and practices,⁷ examining the variety of functions which Ps 132 is distinctly shaped to promote provides a rich avenue of investigation.

Comparing the presentations of Ps 132 in Chronicles and in 11QPs^a reveals significant programs relating to politics and religious practice, and manifest both continuity and difference for these programs. Specifically, the textual variations and contextual placement of Ps 132 in 11QPs^a portray David as a model king but de-emphasize the ongoing role of Davidic monarchs. In addition, the text and material structuring of Ps 132 in 11QPs^a de-emphasize the practice of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, replacing this with a concern for keeping Torah. The identity-making work of 11QPs^a thus lines up with Chronicles in terms of political polity but promotes a very different geographical program for religious practice. In their re-use of the same text, the two projects utilize a pre-extant text to meet current needs in consonant and conflicting ways.

In an earlier work, Gary Knoppers deftly explored the variations in God's promise to David within texts from the Hebrew Bible and emphasized their linkage to many significant aspects of the people's life and polity.⁸ Had he been able to complete his commentary on 2 Chronicles, he no doubt would have contributed to the re-use of Ps 132 in Chronicles with his usual brilliance. This article is a small tribute to a generous scholar who moved the field forward with bold works of academic excellence and quiet words of encouragement.

⁶ For recent studies of the identity-making role of Psalms and liturgy in Second Temple communities, see M. Pajunen, "The Influence of Societal Changes in the Late Second Temple Period on the Functions and Composition of Psalms," *SJOT* 33 (2019): 164–84; M. Z. Brettler, "Those Who Pray Together Stay Together: The Role of Late Psalms in Creating Identity," in *Function of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*, ed. M. S. Pajunen and J. Penner (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 279–304; E. G. Chazon, "Prayer and Identity in Varying Contexts: The Case of the Words of the Luminaries," *JSJ* 46 (2015): 484–511; R. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁷ Selected studies include G. N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); D. E. Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); D. Rom-Shiloni, *Exclusive Inclusivity: Identity Conflicts between the Exiles and the People who Remained (6th–5th Centuries BCE)* (New York: T&T Clark, 2013).

⁸ G. N. Knoppers, "David's Relation to Moses: The Contexts, Content and Conditions in the Davidic Promises," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. J. Day (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 91–118.

2⁹. Psalm 132 in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Similar to the Chr, the community that copied and composed the texts found in the caves around the Dead Sea esteemed both Sam-Kgs as well as the Psalms. Portions of the books of Samuel are found in four scrolls, and portions of Kings in three.¹⁰ In addition, 125 psalms are found in approximately thirty-six scrolls, making the now canonical book of Psalms the most copied book within the corpus. Portions of Psalms also appear in three contemporaneous manuscripts found at nearby communities.¹⁰ Many more hymns and prayers are included in dedicated collections or embedded into narratives, legal codes, etc. The numeric ubiquity is matched by chronological duration – as Flint observes, the paleography of the texts spans almost the entire lifetime of the community itself, ranging from the mid-2nd century BCE (4QPs^a and 4QPs89) to the mid-1st century CE (4QPs^c and 11QPsAp^a).¹¹

The last half of Ps 132 is preserved in one of the larger scrolls, 11QPs^a (11Q5), dating to 30–50 CE in terms of its paleography.¹² This particular scroll contains a large portion of Books IV–V of the Psalter, although sometimes in a different order and with additional texts than that of the Masoretic Text (MT) as represented by Leningrad Codex B19^a (subsequently referred to as MT-150). In terms of priority, I will follow the majority opinion that a version of the text now found in MT-150 was the basis of both 11QPs^a and the books of Chronicles, although the argument would still work if this were not the case.¹³

The scroll 11QPs^a now contains only vv. 8–18 of Ps 132, with the first seven verses lost to damage and decay. When compared, there are few textual differences between Ps 132:8–18 in 11QPs^a and MT-150. As most other texts in 11QPs^a, the portion of Ps 132 appears in a prose format. The Psalm is grouped in the collection Songs of Ascents, following Pss 120–131, but, unlike MT-150, is followed by Ps 119. The final Songs of Ascents, Pss 133 and 134, are separated from the collection and each other and placed later in the scroll. These features of Ps 132 in 11QPs^a (including its textual variations, textual context, and phys-

⁹ QSam (1Q7), 4QSam^{a-c} (4Q51–53), 4QKgs (4Q54), 5QKgs (5Q2), and 6QpapKgs (6Q4). See E. Ulrich and F. M. Cross eds., *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, DJD 14 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); F. M. Cross et al. eds., *Qumran Cave 4. XII. 1–2 Samuel*, DJD 17 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005); A. Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019). Note that portions of the book of Chronicles are also present in the DSS. See J. T. Barrera, “118. 4QChr,” in *Qumran Cave 4: XI, Psalms to Chronicles*, ed. E. Ulrich et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 295–97; J. Nati, “New Readings In 4Q118 I (4QChronicles) and a Parallel at 4Q381 31 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B),” *RevQ* 29 (2017): 129–38.

¹⁰ Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 43–45.

¹¹ Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 48.

¹² For an argument that the composition itself is older, see Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer. Vol. 1*, 298, 433–34.

¹³ Contra Wallace, “What Chronicles Has to Say about Psalms.”

ical layout) all have implications for interpreting what the text endorses regarding polity and religious practice, implications that are both supported and disputed in the books of Chronicles.

3. Davidic Kingship in 11QPs^a's Ps 132

Similar to the books of Chronicles, 11QPs^a promotes David as a revered sage, liturgical leader, and king.¹⁴ The clearest evidence for the first two characteristics is the inclusion of the prose text “David’s Compositions” (DavComp). Found in the second-to-last column of the scroll, this text describes David as “discerning and perfect in all his ways” (l. 3). The text also depicts him as psalmist extraordinaire, claiming him as author of 3,600 psalms (*thlîm*), and an additional 4,050 songs (*shîr*) for various cultic occasions (ll. 4–10).¹⁵ The superscriptions and the ordering of texts also advance this image. 11QPs^a contains more Davidic superscriptions than MT-150.¹⁶ In addition, the redistribution of psalms with and without Davidic superscriptions effectively associates more of the text with David. For example, in the sequence of Pss 141 – 133 – 144 – 155 – 142 – 143, only the first and last two texts have Davidic superscriptions (reconstructed for 141 and 142).¹⁷ Read as a group, the association with David now extends to the superscription-less Pss 133, 144, and 155. As Flint puts it, the “orphan” psalms without a superscription are given a Davidic home, reinforcing the Davidic authorship of the Psalter.¹⁸

¹⁴ For discussion, see E. Jucci, “Davide a Qumran,” *RSB* 7 (1995): 157–73; C. A. Evans, “David in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 183–97; C. Coulot, “David à Qumrân,” in *Figures de David à travers la Bible*, ed. L. Desrousseaux and J. Vermeylen (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 315–44, 28–41; J. Blenkinsopp, *David Remembered: Kingship and National Identity in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013). See also G. N. Knoppers, “Images of David in Early Judaism: David as Repentant Sinner in Chronicles,” *Bib* 76 (1995): 449–70.

¹⁵ Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 [11QPs^a]*, 91–93.

¹⁶ Notably, for Pss 123 and 104. Due to damage, many beginnings of the Psalms are missing, raising the possibility that David might have been added to additional superscriptions. Note however that the Davidic superscription present in Ps 144 in MT-150 is absent in 11QPs^a.

¹⁷ Flint also argues that a similar dynamic is in play with the sequence of Pss 101–102–103–109–[110], where the superscription-less Ps 102 is surrounded with texts with Davidic superscriptions. Given the amount of reconstruction upon which the argument depends, this seems much less clear to me. His argument that a similar dynamic is in play with the sequence of Ps 138 – Sir 51 – Apostrophe to Zion – Ps 93, is also not as clear given that only Ps 138 has a Davidic superscription. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 193–94.

¹⁸ Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 194. Gerald Wilson concludes that the compilers of 11QPs^a aimed to “cast an aura of Davidic authority over the whole text.” G. H. Wilson, “The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter: Comparison of Editorial Shaping,” *CBQ* 59 (1997): 456.

David's role as king is also emphasized, most especially at the end of the scroll in three non-MT compositions: parts of 2 Sam 23, Ps 151A and Ps 151B. Spoken in the voice of David, Ps 151A begins and ends by claiming that God's act made him king: God made David "shepherd of his flock and ruler over his kids" (l. 4) and "leader of his people and ruler over the sons of his covenant" (ll. 11–12).¹⁹ The same text also stresses David's musical abilities: "My hands have made an instrument and my fingers a lyre" (l. 4). With the inclusion of these texts, 11QPs^a closes with a clear emphasis on David, especially in his roles as wise liturgical composer and king.

For all that 11QPs^a promotes this elevated image of David, its version of Ps 132 demotes the significance of the Davidic line.²⁰ The most noteworthy departure from the Ps 132 preserved in MT-150 occurs in v. 12b in which God makes a promise to David's heirs. Instead of vowing "forever they shall sit" ('dē'd yšbû), in 11QPs^a God promises "forever they shall accede" ('wdy 'd y'lw). This is not a dramatic change in meaning – in both cases God vows that David's line will succeed to the throne. But the change in verbal roots from yšb ("to sit") in the MT to 'lh ("to go up, ascend") in 11QPs^a means that the original parallel between the heirs and God is lost. That is to say, in the MT-150 version, God declares that the sons of David's heirs "shall sit" (yšbû, v. 12b), even as "I will sit" ('šb v. 14b). In between these divine pronouncements, the text declares that God has chosen Zion "for his seat" (Imôšb lô v. 13b), again employing the root yšb. In 11QPs^a, the change of verbal roots weakens the comparison: the heirs shall ascend (y'lw), yet God sits ('šb) and chooses Zion for his seat (Imwšb lw).²¹

Given that there are few significant textual variations between 11QPs^a and MT-150,²² these differences are striking. A similar stance can be detected

¹⁹ Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 [11QPs^a]*, 49, 54–60; pl. XVII; D. Dimant, "David's Youth in the Qumran Context (11QPs^a 28:3–12)," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. J. Penner, K. M. Penner, and C. Wassen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 97–114.

²⁰ See also W. M. Schniedewind, "The Davidic Dynasty and Biblical Interpretation in Qumran Literature," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery*, ed. L. H. Schiffman et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 82–91. In this regard, note the poorly preserved 4Q479, with line 4 in fragment 1 reading "the descendants of David." This verse has received a messianic interpretation, but given the small textual basis, nothing firm can be concluded. See E. Larson and L. H. Schiffman, "I. Miscellaneous Texts," in *Qumran Cave 4, XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. G. Brooke et al., DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 295–304.

²¹ Two additional smaller variations occur in 11QPs^a's version of God's promise to David. The first is in v. 11b where God vows to seat David's children upon the throne, using the particle *l* in the Leningrad Codex, and *l'* in 11QPs^a. In the following line God employs a relative pronoun: "which I will teach them" (v. 12a). The Leningrad Codex employs *zô*, whereas 11QPs^a and other mss have *zh*. In a subsequent article, I will argue that Ps 132 in MT-150 aims to present an old or at least an old sounding version of God's promise to both David and Zion in the context of the larger program of the Songs of Ascents.

²² Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 65–80.

through the rest of this scroll as well as others. In Pajunen's reading of Ps 89 in 4QPs^x (4QPs89), the promises to David have been expanded to apply to the whole community.²³ And although it has been the tradition to read 11QPs^a as promoting the rise of a future Davidic messiah,²⁴ an emerging train of thought points to a different conclusion. That is, in this reading, David in 11QPs^a is best understood as an "exemplar" who models wise and faithful living for the whole community as together they wait for the time in which God will dwell as the true king in Zion forever.²⁵ Even in its emphasis on David in the concluding texts of 11QPs^a, the focus is on David's wisdom and signal achievements in the political and liturgical spheres rather than the ongoing relevance of the heirs. The righteous ones reading Ps 132 and the entire scroll (including of course David's heirs) are instructed to worship and keep the law as they await God's restoration.

There are parallels to this approach in the work of the Chr, seen both in the treatment of Ps 132 in 2 Chr 6 and in the perspective on kingship throughout the entire work.²⁶ Riley has argued that for the Chr, the Davidic king exists primarily to establish the temple.²⁷ The question arises then as to the point of the monarchy in a context where the second temple has been established (the reality for both the Chr as well as the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls). A clear "democratizing" strand runs through 1–2 Chronicles, with the political role of the king often shared by the people. As Japhet summarizes, "the king's exclusivity is limited through the people's active participation in the state's enterprises."²⁸ Such "limited exclusivity" may point to a political program in

²³ M. Pajunen, "4QPs^x: A Collective Interpretation of Psalm 89:20–38," *JBL* 133 (2014): 479–95.

²⁴ For example, Wilson and others who read the emphasis on David in 11QPs^a as indicating a messianic hope in distinction to the MT-150: "In the Qumran Psalms Scroll hopes are focused on the 'horn' whom Yhwh will raise out of Jesse in response to his people's wise and diligent obedience to Torah. In the Masoretic Psalter, though the place of Torah is acknowledged (Psalms 1; 19; 119) and David is honored, trust in the power of human kings and kingship is ultimately given up, and hopes rest solely on Yhwh, who rules forever, and who alone is able to save." Wilson, "The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter," 464. See also idem, "King, Messiah, and the Reign of God: Revisiting the Royal Psalms and the Shape of the Psalter," in *Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. P. W. Flint and P. D. Miller, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 391–406, 397; and Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter- Rezeption im Frühjudentum*, 316–18.

²⁵ Leuenberger, "Aufbau und pragmatik des 11QPs^a-Psalter," 165–211; D. A. Teeter, "Torah, Wisdom, and the Composition of Rewritten Scripture: Jubilees and 11QPs^a in Comparative Perspective," in *Wisdom and Torah. The Reception of 'Torah' in the Wisdom Literature of the Second Temple Period*, ed. B. U. Schipper and D. A. Teeter (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 266.

²⁶ For more, see J. Tino, *King and Temple in Chronicles: A Contextual Approach to their Relations* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010).

²⁷ W. Riley, *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993).

²⁸ Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 47. For the claim that the Davidic promises moved to embrace the entire community, see also Riley, *King and Cultus in Chronicles*.

which a Davidic client monarch is restored to support the temple cult and strengthen the nation in the context of the Persian empire. As Janzen suggests, the extended emphasis on the work of David and Solomon to build the temple is an argument for the necessary role of kings to ensure proper worship, but the Chr is careful to emphasize that their role is to work *with* the people and the Persian establishment.²⁹

This nuanced view of kingship is detectable in the use of Ps 132 in 2 Chr 6:41–42. In terms of the overt alterations, the verse most changed by the Chr is v. 42, as a direct comparison with Ps 132:10 shows:

Ps 132:10 For the sake of David your servant, do not reject your anointed one
 2 Chr 6:42 HWH God, do not reject your anointed ones,
 Remember on account of the faithfulness of David (*lhšdî dwid*) your servant.

In addition to the insertion of “YHWH God” (used twice before in 6:41), the author reverses the order of the two versets, changes “anointed one” into a plural,³⁰ and expands the second half of the verse to include additional elements. Implicit changes include the designation of a new speaker and occasion (Solomon praying to dedicate the new temple), as well as the exclusion of Ps 132:1–7, 11–18.

These textual changes highlight the role of the community alongside that of the king. With the change of “anointed one” into the plural, the author loosens the original reference to David so that it now relates to the kings who follow him.³¹ At the same time, the plural also now links the office of the kings to the role of the people – that is, the parallelism moves the reader to connect “your priests” and “your faithful ones” (v. 41) with “your anointed ones” (v. 42). The role of the king is also suppressed with the editing out of David’s vow and God’s robust response (Ps 132:3–5; 11–12). And as Solomon speaks what were origi-

²⁹ D. Janzen, *Chronicles and the Politics of Davidic Restoration: A Quiet Revolution* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), esp. 80–81; see also M. J. Boda, “Identity and Empire: Reality and Hope in the Chronicler’s Perspective,” in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. G. N. Knoppers and K. A. Ristau (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 248–72. For a different reading, Kenneth Ristau argues that “the temple, once complete, makes the Davidic monarchy unnecessary because it obviates the need for a representative of divine rule.” K. A. Ristau, “Breaking Down Unity: An Analysis of 1 Chronicles 21.1–22.1,” *JSOT* 30.2 (2005): 201–22. See also idem, “Reading and Rereading Josiah: The Chronicler’s Representation of Josiah for the Postexilic Community,” in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. G. N. Knoppers and K. A. Ristau (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 219–48.

³⁰ The LXX changes this to the singular in its version of 2 Chr 6:42, but, as the *lectio difficilior*, the MT is preferred.

³¹ Contra McKenzie, who reads the singular “anointed” and applies it to Solomon. McKenzie, 1–2 *Chronicles*, 247.

nally the words of the people in Ps 132, the king becomes the mouthpiece of the community's prayer.³²

The relative subdual of the royal role is modified by the plea in v. 42b that God "remember on account of the faithfulness of David your servant." Although arguments have been made to read this phrase as an objective genitive (i.e., "[your] faithfulness to David"), the subjective reading is in line with the use of *hšd* within 1–2 Chronicles and is in line with the plea that God remember David's hardships in Ps 132:1.³³ This reading, alongside the evidence cited above, makes for a nuanced construction of kingship within Chronicles. The role of David was clearly central, and God's dynastic promises to the heirs still have relevance, but the clergy and laity also have critical roles to play in the nation's polity.

With such a reading, the rhetorical goals of the Chr line up with those of the editors of 11QPs^a. That is, in their treatment of Ps 132, both works highlight the role of David as king and liturgical innovator, but they do not envision that David and Solomon's heirs will reign supreme. The version of Ps 132 in 11QPs^a clarifies that the rule of any emerging Davidide would not be analogous to that of the sovereign God, and the version in 2 Chr 6 fosters a shared role for the priests and people along with the king.

It is illuminating to consider this point in light of other similar moves made by both the Chr and 11QPs^a with regards to the monarchy. Both Chronicles and 11QPs^a suppress references to events and leaders before David – as Wilson points out, the scroll includes only one *YHWH-mlk* Psalm, Ps 93, with Pss 94–99 absent.³⁴ In addition, the portrait of David is very similar in the two texts, in that his role as king and cultic innovator is highlighted and mention of his failings are downplayed. Indeed, the praise of David in DavComp has led some to conclude that the text is influenced by the Chr's handling of David and Solomon, most notably in David's role in developing liturgy and the attribution to David of elements traditionally associated with Solomon.³⁵ This perspective is

³² With the relative lack of focus on the king in favor of the people, Klein concludes that the Chronicler "inverts" the priorities of Ps 132. Klein, "Psalms in Chronicles," 270–72.

³³ Williamson, "The Use of Psalm 132 at 2 Chronicles 6:41–42," 418–19. For an argument that the phrase is ambiguous, see K. D. Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Hessed in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 156–58.

³⁴ G. H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 214–19; Idem, "The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter," 453. If, as Wilson suggests, Pss 113–117 (the Egyptian Hallel) are lacking in the scroll, this would point to a similar de-emphasis on pre-monarchic themes. Although Flint and Skehan believe they were included in the scroll, nothing conclusive can be asserted. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 40–41, 189–91. P. Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs^a," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 201 n. 24.

³⁵ See the literature cited in Teeter, "Torah, Wisdom, and the Composition of Rewritten Scripture," 263–64.

wrapped up in the role of wisdom, Torah, and Jerusalem in the scroll, and it is to this that I now turn.

4. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 11QPs^a's Ps 132

One of the most dramatic differences between 11QPs^a and MT-150 is the placement of Ps 119. Instead of preceding the Songs of Ascents, Ps 119 follows Ps 132 in 11QPs^a and breaks up the collection Pss 120–134. As this section will argue, this material change in sequence, along with other features in the scroll, has the effect of advocating for wisdom and Torah above the practice of pilgrimage. In contradistinction to the Chr's emphasis on Jerusalem and worship in the Temple, the placement of Ps 132 in 11QPs^a's Ps 132 promotes a religious practice that can flourish outside of the city.

In the context of the MT-150, there is lively debate about the role of Ps 119 within Book V, as well as the significance of its placement before the Songs of Ascents.³⁶ For some, the emphasis on Torah in Ps 119 stands over against the cult. That is, in its overarching goal to portray "the function of Torah in the life of the righteous," the text has no need for the temple or its religious apparatus.³⁷ This is seen in the relative lack of cultic interest throughout Ps 119—there is no mention of Jerusalem or the Temple, "offerings" are words of praise (v. 108), and the Torah is directly accessible to all without the need for priests.³⁸ In addition, the language of travel such as "walking" and "way" refers not to the physical act of pilgrimage but metaphorically to the keeping of Torah.³⁹ Such a reading of Ps 119 sets up a deliberate contrast in meanings with the following Pss 120–134, summarized by Zenger as "one with the Torah as the decisive medium for encounter with YHWH, and the other with the Temple as the place of divine presence."⁴⁰

³⁶ See, e.g., K. Koch, "Der Psalter und seine Redaktionsgeschichte," in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung*, ed. K. Seybold and E. Zenger (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 243–77, 254; E. Zenger, "The Composition and Theology of the Fifth Book of Psalms, Psalms 107–145," *JSOT* 80 (1998): 72–102; M. Leuenberger, *Konzeptionen des Königtum Gottes im Psalter: Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Redaktion der Redaktion der theokratischen Bücher IV–V im Psalter* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004); R. G. Kratz, "Die Tora Davids. Psalm 1 und die doxologische Fünfteilung des Psalter," *ZTK* 93 (1996): 1–34; Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 222–24; K. A. Reynolds, *Torah as Teacher: The Exemplary Torah Student in Psalm 119* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 147–60.

³⁷ Reynolds, *Torah as Teacher*, 137.

³⁸ Reynolds, *Torah as Teacher*, 129–31.

³⁹ K. Nielsen, "Why Not Plough with an Ox and Ass Together? Or: Why not Read Ps 119 Together with Pss 120–134?" *SJOT* 14 (2000): 63.

⁴⁰ F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101–150* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011), 311.

There are other possible readings, however. The placement of Ps 119 before 120–134 may actually point to a mutually supportive religious practice in which daily piety scaffolds intermittent temple worship. Keeping Torah can in this reading be understood as a way of life, a “daily pilgrimage” as Nielsen puts it, that functions as a preparation or precondition for pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁴¹ Read in this way, neither Torah nor temple is a complete or decisive means for encountering YHWH, but rather they are complementary. The placement of Ps 119 before 120–134 in MT-150 signals this dialogue in which daily life apart from Jerusalem supports (rather than overwhelms) the festival calendar celebrated in the holy city.⁴²

There are no such interpretative possibilities in 11QPs^a, however; the placement of Ps 119 after Ps 132 clearly indicates that pilgrimage is secondary to Torah. Here, where Ps 119 follows the majority of the Songs of Ascents (Pss 120–132), Torah now is not preparatory for pilgrimage, it is its culmination. As Wilson puts it, placing Ps 119 after Pss 120–132 in 11QPs^a means that “pilgrimage, in effect, leads to Torah.”⁴³ The arrangement conveys the relative dispensability of Jerusalem for religious practice, and elevates Torah to “a substitute for the Temple cult.”⁴⁴

Placing Ps 119 after Ps 132 also has implications for the location (and thus the function) of Pss 133 and 134.⁴⁵ In 11QPs^a the two psalms are separated from the collection such that 133 now follows Ps 141, and 134 moves to the final column of the scroll. As mentioned above, the move of 133 with its superscription intact “Davidizes” another collection.⁴⁶ The move of Ps 134 to the end of

⁴¹ Nielsen, “Why Not Plough with an Ox and Ass Together,” 66; cf. E. Ballhorn, *Zum Telos des Psalters: Der Textzusammenhang des Vierten und Fünften Psalmenbuchs (Ps 90–150)* (Berlin: Philo, 2004), 218.

⁴² This point should be considered in conversation with the work of Millard, Zenger, and Ballhorn as to the role of MT-150 as a substitute for pilgrimage in terms of providing a vehicle for an encounter with God, a “nachkultisches Wallfahrtsliederbuch” (in the words of Millard). M. Millard, *Die Komposition des Psalters: ein formgeschichtlicher Ansatz* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 227. E. Zenger, “Der Psalter als Heiligtum,” in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, ed. B. Ego, A. Lange, and P. Pilhofer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 115–30. Ballhorn, *Zum Telos des Psalters*.

⁴³ Wilson, “The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter,” 460. See also Teeter’s summary: “rather than ascent to the temple, in this composition the ascent psalms can be seen as culminating in torah study.” Teeter, “Torah, Wisdom, and the Composition of Rewritten Scripture,” 265.

⁴⁴ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 3*, 284.

⁴⁵ For an argument that Pss 133 and 134 were moved because of postexilic cultic changes, see K. Koch, “Königspsalmen und ihr ritueller Hintergrund: Erwägungen zu Ps 89,20–38 und Ps 20 und ihren Vorstufen,” in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. P. W. Flint and D. P. Miller (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 15.

⁴⁶ Note that Ps 133 appears in a similar context in also in 11QPs^b, where it appears between Pss 141 and 144. F. G. Martínez, E. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Manuscripts from*

the collection is perhaps more significant in terms of the role of the temple in religious practice. With Ps 145 displaced to an earlier position in 11QPs^a, Ps 134 now helps to structure the final portion of Book V in a pattern similar to that of MT and LXX, where a blessing is followed by an epilogue.⁴⁸ Significantly, this move also extends the reach of the Songs of Ascents within the book. Ironically, the ordering of the texts transforms pilgrimage from an embodied physical act to a spiritual attitude – now the literal way to the temple becomes a metaphorical way of life. Of course, this correlates with Qumran's conflict with the Jerusalem temple, and is seen in other places in 11QPs^a such as the Apostrophe to Zion that prays for a future day of salvation for the city.⁴⁹

The prominence of Ps 119 and its promotion of Torah in 11QPs^a is also evidenced materially in terms of its placement as well as its physical layout.⁵⁰ That is, not only does Ps 119 interrupt the standard order of the Psalms of Ascents, but it is also arranged in a distinct stichometric pattern. All the other poems in the scroll are arranged non-metrically, with line breaks occurring whenever the text comes to the end of a ruled column or at the end of each psalm. Psalm 119 is an exception, with each two-part poetic stich receiving one full line of text. In addition, a blank line separates each eight-line stanza from the next. No other acrostics in 11QPs^a, such as Ps 145, Ben Sira 51, Apostrophe to Zion, and Ps 155, present stichometrically;⁵¹ and, even though Ps 119 routinely appears in a stichographic format in the DSS,⁵² the mix of prosaic and stichometric arrangements in one scroll is quite rare, with 11QPs^a and 4QPs^c

Qumran Cave 11:11Q2–18, 11Q20–30, DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998). Wacholder points out that the placement of Ps 133 presents a “counterimage” to its textual neighbors, such that its emphasis on community now modifies the suffering and hunted individual in the preceding Ps 141, and its pastoral imagery counters the words of war in the following Psalm 144. B. Z. Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter in 11Q Psalms^a,” *HUCA* 59 (1988): 23–72, 54.

⁴⁸ The sequence “blessing; epilogue” is represented in the various psalters as follows: MT Psalm 145; 146–150; LXX Psalm 145; 146–150, 151; 11QPs^a Psalm 134; 151A–B. See R. M. Armstrong, “Psalms Dwelling Together in Unity: The Placement of Psalms 133 and 134 in Two Different Psalms Collections,” *JBL* 131 (2012): 495.

⁴⁹ R. Henderson, *Second Temple Songs of Zion: A Generic Analysis of the Apostrophe to Zion (11QPs^a XXII 1–15); Tobit 13:9–18 and 1 Baruch 4:30–5:9* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014).

⁵⁰ For additional work on the materiality of texts in the DSS, see D. Falk, “Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran,” in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*, ed. C. Leonhard and H. Löhr (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 33–87.

⁵¹ For discussion, see N. L. DeClaisé-Walford, “An Examination of the Songs of Ascents and Psalm 119 in 11QPs^a,” in *Scribal Practice, Text and Canon in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Memory of Peter W. Flint*, ed. J.J. Collins and A. Geysler-Fouché (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 153–71.

⁵² 1QPs^a, 4QPs^d, 4QPs^s, 4QPs^b, 11QPs^a, 11QPs^b, and 5QPs. See E. Tov, “The Background of the Stichometric Arrangements of Poetry in the Judean Desert Scrolls,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. J. Penner, K. M. Penner, and C. Wassen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 409–20.

the only examples.⁴⁷ In this material context, Ps 119 stands out within the scroll, and 11QPs^a stands out from other scrolls.

This elevation of the Torah and corresponding demotion of pilgrimage to Jerusalem stands in obvious contradistinction to the program of Chronicles. As with the Songs of Ascents themselves, the Chr aims to inspire devotion and travel to Jerusalem in the context of diaspora.⁴⁸ The stories of the nation's past are retold to promote the significance of Jerusalem as a worship center for the nation. In addition, the book ends with Cyrus' declaration that YHWH has instructed him to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, and to have God's people "go up" to the city (2 Chr 39:23).

As for the use of Ps 132 in 2 Chr 6, even as the quotation modifies aspects of the original text, as argued above, it nevertheless maintains the text's original focus on the temple. In the preceding prayer that largely follows the source text of 2 Kings, Solomon emphasizes the significance of Jerusalem and its temple as a "place" for God's name and the ark. He also repeatedly envisions the people coming to the temple or turning their bodies towards it in prayer. In the conclusion to the dedicatory prayer added by the Chr, Solomon quotes Ps 132 and prays to God to "go your resting place." The king's request is immediately answered with fire from heaven that consumes the sacrifices "while YHWH's glory filled the temple" (2 Chr 7:1).

The treatment of the city and its temple are thus quite distinct within the overall scope of 11QPs^a and 1–2 Chronicles, as well as in their particular presentations of Ps 132. The Chr aimed to reclaim Jerusalem as the signal place for worship and to increase the number of both residents and pilgrims. The editors of the Psalms scroll found at the Dead Sea had no such program, and, at least until the time that Jerusalem could be restored, privileged Torah as the means to encounter God's presence on earth.

⁴⁷ See Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 31–43; E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 155–67; Idem, "Special Layout of Poetical Units in the Texts from the Judean Desert," in *Give Ear to my Words: Psalms and Other Poetry in and Around the Hebrew Bible. Essays in Honour of Professor N. A. van Uchelen*, ed. J. Dyk (Amsterdam: Societas Hebraica Amstelodamensis, 1996), 105–28; K. Davis, "Structure, Stichometry, and Standardization: An Analysis of Scribal Features in a Selection of the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls," in *Function of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*, ed. M. S. Pajunen and J. Penner (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 155–84.

⁴⁸ Crow posits that the texts exhibit a "centralization of power" as prayers of northern Yahwists were adopted and re-shaped to highlight the role of Jerusalem as "an *omphalos mundi*, a center from which God's blessing flows forth." L. D. Crow, *Songs of Ascents (Psalms 120–134): Their Place in Israelite History and Religion* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 1996), 181–87.

5. Conclusion

In his study of the Samaritans, Knoppers concluded that “the very survival of disparate literary works, such as Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, Ruth, Second and Third Isaiah, Jonah, Haggai, and Zechariah, testifies to the rich diversity of early Second Temple Judaism.”⁴⁹ When bringing texts such as 11QPs^a into the discussion as well, it becomes clear that such “rich diversity” continued into later periods. A comparison of the reworking of Ps 132 in 11QPs^a and 2 Chron 6:40–41 shows that this diversity can be manifested in significant identity-shaping ways via quotations of a small number of verses from a single text.

In terms of the core norms for religious practice, the texts diverge in their promotion of Jerusalem and the temple. For the Chr, physical acknowledgment of the city (either through residency, pilgrimage, or the turning of the body in prayer) is a key norm for the community. The extended accounts of David’s preparation for the temple and expansion of the Passover celebration during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah certainly promote this. So too does Solomon’s dedicatory prayer in 2 Chr 6, especially in his concluding quotation of a Song of Ascents that relates the ancient story of David’s prayer and God’s promises.

11QPs^a takes a much different approach, and, in the material presentation of its texts (including the ordering of texts as well as arrangement of texts on the lines), promotes the Law as Zion awaits its future salvation.

But there are also similar strands detectable in this context of diversity, with the two texts in closer agreement regarding their presentation of David and the monarchy. Promoting a memory of David as liturgical innovator and king, both Chronicles and 11QPs^a envision the Davidides in a somewhat muted capacity. By re-framing Ps 132:8–10 as Solomon’s prayer, the king takes on the words of the people. And by imaging himself and future kings as “anointed ones,” the Chr’s Solomon links monarchs together with the clergy and people. In a related vein, the editors of 11QPs^a downplay the parallels between the Davidic heirs and God.

Re-copying and quoting pre-extant texts shapes collective memory, current practices, and future aspirations. In some ways, copying and quoting is manifestly conservative. Yet by recontextualizing earlier texts and making small emendations, the tradition can be radically re-shaped and leveraged for a variety of present purposes. Comparing the re-use of Ps 132 in both 2 Chr 6 and 11QPs^a provides a window to see the various ends towards which a pre-extant text can be deployed in terms of political ordering and religious practice.

⁴⁹ Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, 168.

Bibliography

- Allen, Leslie C. "The First and Second Books of Chronicles: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections." Pages 297–659 in *The New Interpreter's Bible*. Edited by Leander E. Keck et al. Nashville: Abingdon, 1999.
- Armstrong, Ryan M. "Psalms Dwelling Together in Unity: The Placement of Psalms 133 and 134 in Two Different Psalms Collections." *JBL* 131 (2012): 487–506.
- Arnold, Russell C. D. *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Ballhorn, Egbert. *Zum Telos des Psalters: Der Textzusammenhang des Vierten und Fünften Psalmenbuchs (Ps 90–150)*. Berlin: Philo, 2004.
- Barrera, J. Trebolle. "118. 4QChr." Pages 295–97 in *Qumran Cave 4: XI, Psalms to Chronicles*. Edited by Eugene Ulrich et al. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.
- Ben Zvi, Ehud. "Psalms, Chronicles and Matters of Social Memory in the Early Second Temple Period: Some Introductory Considerations." Pages 243–56 in *Psalmen und Chronik*. Edited by Friedhelm Hartenstein and Thomas Willi. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019.
- Beentjes, Pancratius C. *2 Kronieken*. Kampen: Kok, 2006.
- . *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*. SSN 52. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Berlin, Adele. "Psalms in the Book of Chronicles." Pages *21–*36 in *Shai le-Sara Japhet: Studies in the Bible, its Exegesis and its Language*. Edited by Moshe Bar-Asher et al. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *David Remembered: Kingship and National Identity in Ancient Israel*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.
- Boda, Mark J. "Identity and Empire: Reality and Hope in the Chronicler's Perspective." Pages 248–72 in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives*. Edited by Gary N. Knoppers and Kenneth A. Ristau. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009.
- Brettler, Marc Zvi. "Those Who Pray Together Stay Together: The Role of Late Psalms in Creating Identity." Pages 279–304 in *Function of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*. Edited by Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy Penner. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017.
- Brütsch, Mattias. *Israels Psalmen in Qumran: Ein textarchäologischer Beitrag zur Entstehung des Psalters*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010.
- Chazon, Esther G. "Prayer and Identity in Varying Contexts: The Case of the Words of the Luminaries." *JSJ* 46 (2015): 484–511.
- Coulot, Claude. "David à Qumrân." Pages 315–44 in *Figures de David à travers la Bible*. Edited by Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeylen. Paris: Cerf, 1999.
- Cross, Frank Moore, Donald W. Parry, Richard Saley, and Eugene Ulrich, eds. *Qumran Cave 4. XII. 1–2 Samuel*. DJD 17. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005.
- Crow, Loren D. *Songs of Ascents (Psalms 120 134): Their Place in Israelite History and Religion*. Atlanta: SBL Press, 1996.
- Dahmen, Ulrich. *Psalm- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum: Rekonstruktion, Testbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Rezeption im Psalmenrolle 11QPs^a aus Qumran*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Davis, Kipp. "Structure, Stichometry, and Standardization: An Analysis of Scribal Features in a Selection of the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls." Pages 155–84 in *Function of Psalms and*

Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period. Edited by Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy Penner. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017.

- DeClaisé-Walford, Nancy L. "An Examination of the Songs of Ascents and Psalm 119 in 11QPs^a." Pages 153–71 in *Scribal Practice, Text and Canon in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Memory of Peter W. Flint*. Edited by John J. Collins and Ananda GeyslerFouché. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Dimant, Devorah. "David's Youth in the Qumran Context (11QPs^a 28:3–12)." Pages 97–114 in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*. Edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Evans, Craig. A. "David in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 183–97 in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*. Edited by Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- Falk, Daniel. "Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran." Pages 33–87 in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*. Edited by Clemens Leonhard and Helmut Löhr. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- Feldman, Ariel. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019.
- Fleming, Daniel E. *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Flint, Peter W. *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Hartenstein, Friedhelm and Thomas Willi eds. *Psalmen und Chronik*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019.
- Henderson, Ruth. *Second Temple Songs of Zion: A Generic Analysis of the Apostrophe to Zion (11QPs^a XXII 1–15); Tobit 13:9–18 and 1 Baruch 4:30–5:9*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.
- Hognesius, Kjell. *The Text of 2 Chronicles 1–16: A Critical Edition with Textual Commentary*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003.
- Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar. "David im Wallfahrtspsalter, David in der Chronik – Ein Vergleich." Pages 309–22 in *Psalmen und Chronik*. Edited by Friedhelm Hartenstein and Thomas Willi. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019.
- Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar and Erich Zenger. *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101–150*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011.
- Jain, Eva. *Psalmen oder Psalter? Materielle Rekonstruktion und inhaltliche Untersuchung der Psalmenhandschriften aus der Wüste Juda*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Janzen, David. *Chronicles and the Politics of Davidic Restoration: A Quiet Revolution*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017.
- Japhet, Sara. *I & II Chronicles*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993.
- Jucci, Elio. "Davide a Qumran." *RStB* 7 (1995): 157–73.
- Klein, Ralph W. "Psalms in Chronicles." *CurTM* 32 (2005): 264–75.
- . *2 Chronicles: A Commentary*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012.
- Knoppers, Gary N. "Images of David in Early Judaism: David as Repentant Sinner in Chronicles." *Bib* 76 (1995): 449–70.
- . "David's Relation to Moses: The Contexts, Content and Conditions in the Davidic Promises." Pages 91–118 in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*. Edited by John Day. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- . *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

- Knowles, Melody D. "To Sanction and to Subvert: The Reuses of Psalm 132 in the Hebrew Bible." Pages 189–202 in *Prayers and the Construction of Israelite Identity*. Edited by Susanne Gillmayr-Bucher and Maria Häusl. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2019.
- Koch, Klaus. "Der Psalter und seine Redaktionsgeschichte." Pages 243–77 in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung*. Edited by Klaus Seybold and Erich Zenger. Freiburg: Herder, 1994.
- . "Königspsalmen und ihr ritueller Hintergrund: Erwägungen zu Ps 89,20–38 und Ps 20 und ihren Vorstufen." Pages 9–52 in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and D. Patrick Miller. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Kratz, Reinhard Gregor. "Die Tora Davids. Psalm 1 und die doxologische Fünfteilung des Psalters." *ZTK* 93 (1996): 1–34.
- Lange, Armin. *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer. Vol. 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.
- Larson, Erik and Lawrence H. Schiffman. "I. Miscellaneous Texts." Pages 295–304 in *Qumran Cave 4, XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*. Edited by George Brooke et al. DJD 22. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Leuenberger, Martin. *Konzeptionen des Königtum Gottes im Psalter: Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Redaktion der Redaktion der theokratischen Bücher IV–V im Psalter*. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004.
- . "Aufbau und pragmatik des 11QPs^a-Psalters: Der historisierte Dichter und Beter David als Vorbild und Identifikationsfigur: 11QPs^a als eschatologisches Lese- und Meditationsbuch des qumranischen TN¹." *RevQ* 22 (2005): 165–211.
- Martínez, Florentino García, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude. *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–30*. DJD 23. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998. McKenzie, Steven L. *1–2 Chronicles*. Nashville: Abingdon, 2004.
- Millard, Mattias. *Die Komposition des Psalters: ein formgeschichtlicher Ansatz*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.
- Müller, Reinhard. "David und die Lade, Zion und der Gesalbte: Geschichte und Zukunft des Königtums nach Ps 132." Pages 199–222 in *Psalmen und Chronik*. Edited by Friedhelm Hartenstein and Thomas Willi. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019.
- Nati, James. "New Readings In 4Q118 I (4QChronicles) and a Parallel at 4Q381 31 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B)." *RevQ* 29 (2017): 129–38.
- Newsom, Carol A. *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Nielsen, Kirsten. "Why Not Plough with an Ox and Ass Together? Or: Why not Read Ps 119 Together with Pss 120–134?" *SJOT* 14 (2000): 56–66.
- Pajunen, Mika. "4QPs^x: A Collective Interpretation of Psalm 89:20–38." *JBL* 133 (2014): 479–95.
- . "Perspectives on the Existence of a Particular Authoritative Book of Psalms in the Late Second Temple Period." *JSOT* 39 (2014): 139–63.
- . "The Influence of Societal Changes in the Late Second Temple Period on the Functions and Composition of Psalms." *SJOT* 33 (2019): 164–84.
- Reynolds, Kent Aaron. *Torah as Teacher: The Exemplary Torah Student in Psalm 119*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Riley, William. *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993.

- Ristau, Kenneth A. "Breaking Down Unity: An Analysis of 1 Chronicles 21.1–22.1." *JSOT* 30.2 (2005): 201–22.
- . "Reading and Rereading Josiah: The Chronicler's Representation of Josiah for the Postexilic Community." Pages 219–48 in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives*. Edited by Gary N. Knoppers and Kenneth A. Ristau. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009.
- Rom-Shiloni, Dalit. *Exclusive Inclusivity: Identity Conflicts between the Exiles and the People who Remained (6th-5th Centuries BCE)*. New York: T&T Clark, 2013.
- Royar, Stefan. "Denn der HERR, euer Gott, ist gnädig und barmherzig...": *Die Gebete in den Chronikbüchern und ihre Bedeutung für die chronistische Theologie*. Münster: LIT, 2005.
- Rudolph, Wilhelm. *Chronikbücher*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1955.
- Sakenfeld, Katherine Doob. *The Meaning of Heseb in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978.
- Sanders, James A. *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 [11QP^s]*. DJD IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- . *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1967.
- Schniedewind, William M. "The Davidic Dynasty and Biblical Interpretation in Qumran Literature." Pages 82–91 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman et al. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.
- Schiffman, Lawrence H. "Community without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple." Pages 267–84 in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*. Edited by Beate Ego, Armin Lange and Peter Pilhofer. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.
- Shipp, R. Mark. "'Remember His Covenant Forever': A Study of the Chronicler's Use of the Psalms." *ResQ* 35 (1993): 29–39.
- Skehan, Patrick. "A Liturgical Complex in 11QP^s." *CBQ* 35 (1973): 195–205.
- Teeter, D. Andrew. "Torah, Wisdom, and the Composition of Rewritten Scripture: Jubilees and 11QP^s in Comparative Perspective." Pages 233–72 in *Wisdom and Torah. The Reception of 'Torah' in the Wisdom Literature of the Second Temple Period*. Edited by Bernd U. Schipper and D. Andrew Teeter. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Tino, Jozef. *King and Temple in Chronicles: A Contextual Approach to their Relations*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.
- Tov, Emanuel. "Special Layout of Poetical Units in the Texts from the Judean Desert." Pages 105–28 in *Give Ear to my Words: Psalms and Other Poetry in and Around the Hebrew Bible. Essays in Honour of Professor N. A. van Uchelen*. Edited by J. Dyk. Amsterdam: Societas Hebraica Amstelodamensis, 1996.
- . *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- . "The Background of the Stichometric Arrangements of Poetry in the Judean Desert Scrolls." Pages 409–20 in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*. Edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Ulrich, Eugene. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

- Ulrich, Eugene, et al. *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*. DJD 14. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion. "David's Eschatological Psalter in 11Q Psalms^a." *HUCA* 59 (1988): 23–72.
- Wallace, Howard N. "What Chronicles Has to Say about Psalms." Pages 267–91 in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*. Edited by Steven L. McKenzie and M. Patrick Graham. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Williamson, Hugh G. M. *1 and 2 Chronicles*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982.
- . "The Use of Psalm 132 at 2 Chronicles 6:41–42." Pages 409–424 in *Psalmen und Chronik*. Edited by Friedhelm Hartenstein and Thomas Willi. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019.
- Wilson, Gerald Henry. *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985.
- . "The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter: Comparison of Editorial Shaping." *CBQ* 59 (1997): 448–64.
- . "King, Messiah, and the Reign of God: Revisiting the Royal Psalms and the Shape of the Psalter." Pages 391–406 in *Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, Jr. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Yadin, Yigael. "Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)," *Textus* 5 (1966): 1–10, pls. I–V.
- Zenger, Erich. "The Composition and Theology of the Fifth Book of Psalms, Psalms 107–145." *JSOT* 80 (1998): 72–102.
- . "Der Psalter als Heiligtum." Pages 115–30 in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*. Edited by Beate Ego, Armin Lange and Peter Pilhofer. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.