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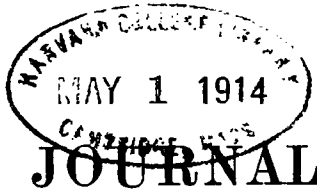
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Studies in the Diction of the Psalter

Third Article

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THE line of investigation that we are pursuing now brings us to certain questions arising from the fact that in one section of the Psalter (42-83) the prevailing divine name is אלהים (or אל), whereas elsewhere it is יהוה. The Elohist section (E) includes the first "Korah" group (K¹), the second "David" group (D²), the whole "Asaph" group (A), and four other poems (66, 67, 71, 72). With these should be counted 108 (made up of parts of 57 and 60), which retains an almost consistent Elohimism in the midst of the strong Yahwism of Bk. V. Two of the poems in E exist in both Elohist and Yahwistic redactions (53 — 14, 70 — 40b), and there are many such doublets of single passages. It is possible that there are some poems outside of E that are lexically affiliated with it, though without pronounced Elohimism. It is also possible that not all the poems now within E are there by equal right. We may well ask whether objective lexical tests, like those already used in these Studies, shed light on these possibilities or on the characteristic features of E as a group.

Within E, Elohimism appears in every poem, but is relatively slight in 49, 72, 79, 81. There is no passage with sustained Yahwism except 83: 17-19, which closes the section; but touches of Yahwism occur in all but 17 of the 42 poems (43, 44, 45, 49, 51, 52, 53, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 72, 82 — all in Bk. II except the last).

Outside of E, Yahwism appears in every poem except 114, but is relatively slight in 36, 38, 39, 90, 91, 101, 105, 119, 136, 137, 139, 141. Passages that seem Elohist include 19a, 36a, 90a, 102c, with 7:11-12; 84:8, 10 (v. 9 may be interpolated); 139:17-24 (exc. v. 21); 144:9-11.

Further details about these peculiarities are given below.

Applying the method of vocabulary analysis previously used in these Studies, and remembering that E constitutes 29% of the whole Psalter, we find that 64 of the "common" words show a marked *preference* for E, that is, have an abnormal proportion there of all their occurrences (36% or more). Additional test-lists might be used, such as one of about 75 "moderately rare" words, or a much larger one of "very rare" words. On the whole, however, these latter do little more than reinforce the conclusions derived from the "common" words.

The "common" words that show a preference for E (having more than 35% of their total occurrences there) are as follows:

Test-List Derived from Elohist Poems.

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|---------|-----|-------|-----|--------|-----|
| אב | 53% | הר | 48% | ט v. | 38% | עם | 41% |
| אביון | 39 | זה, זאת | 42 | קנת | 36 | קה | 36 |
| ארני | 45 | זמר | 41 | מים | 40 | צאן | 63 |
| אהל | 44 | חיה | 37 | פלך | 39 | צבא | 57 |
| אור v. | 38 | חמה | 47 | מן | 38 | צוה | 40 |
| און | 40 | חרב | 56 | מרום | 38 | צור n. | 40 |
| אכל | 47 | חרפה | 56 | נהר | 40 | צר | 38 |
| אל | 44 | יחר | 37 | נחה | 50 | קרב | 56 |
| אלהים | 67 | יעקב | 44 | נצח | 61 | שום | 47 |
| אנוש | 37 | ירא v. | 48 | קפר | 49 | שוב | 41 |
| אף adv. | 42 | ישראל | 42 | עבר | 36 | שכן | 39 |
| אש | 39 | כלה | 36 | עוד | 46 | שלח | 36 |
| בוא | 36 | כמו | 52 | עו | 46 | שלם | 41 |
| ברית | 38 | כן adv. | 49 | עיר | 50 | שמע | 38 |
| בשר | 38 | לשון | 40 | עלה | 48 | שפט | 41 |
| דם | 48 | מה | 38 | עליון | 50 | תמיד | 43 |

Nine of these words were in the L test-list (און, בשר, זה, זמר, ירא, רמ, מות, מוט, לשון, יחר, חרב, דם, בשר, אנוש, און), which is less than would be expected, considering that 22% of the verses used for the L list are in E. Fourteen of the words were in the D test-list (און, אנוש, און, בשר, דם, חרב, יחר, לשון, מוט, שפט, שמע, שלם, שכן, קרב, מה), which also is less than would be expected, considering that all of D² is in E.

The above 64 words occur in all nearly 2,500 times in the Psalter, which is about 13% of the total text.

If the above list were somewhat extended, the next words to be included would be *תפלה, תהלה, פנה, ברמה, כף, נקטה, כנור, ים, קנה, גבורה, איב*.

Before examining the specific usages of these test-words, we note that their distribution in the Psalter is very uneven. The following table shows the proportion of their total occurrences relative to the text-length of the several poems:

| % | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. |
|----|-----------------------|----------------|------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| 26 | — | 47 | 81 | — | — |
| 25 | — | 43 | — | — | — |
| 24 | — | — | — | — | 114 |
| 23 | — | 46 | 78 | — | — |
| 22 | — | — | 74 | — | — |
| 21 | — | 48, 66, 67, 68 | — | — | — |
| 20 | — | 59 | 80 | — | — |
| 19 | — | — | 82 | — | — |
| 18 | 7, 24 | 42, 50, 58 | 76, 79, 84 | 98 | — |
| 17 | — | 44, 45, 61 | — | 96 | — |
| 16 | 14 | 56, 63 | 85 | 98, 99 | 133 |
| 15 | — | 49, 53, 72 | 87 | 104, 105 | 144 |
| 14 | 18, 29, 39 | 71 | 73, 75, 77 | 95 | 120, 148 |
| 13 | 3, 30 | 52, 55, 65 | 89 | — | 125 |
| 12 | 13, 16, 21, 27 | 54, 62 | — | 90, 94, 100, 102 | 124, 126, 135 |
| 11 | 5, 8, 10, 15, 22 | 64, 70 | — | — | 116, 132, 138, 149 |
| 10 | 20 | 69 | 88 | 97 | 108, 110, 118, 146, 147 |
| 9 | 2, 23, 26 | 57, 60 | 83 | 92, 106 | 108, 111, 122, 128, 140, 141 |
| 8 | 9, 17, 19, 33, 38, 40 | 51 | 86 | — | 107, 121, 130, 136, 139 |
| 7 | 6, 28, 31, 34, 35, 36 | — | — | 103 | 112, 127, 143 |
| 6 | 4, 37 | — | — | 91, 101 | 115 |
| 5 | 1, 11, 12, 25, 41 | — | — | — | 113, 119, 123, 137, 145 |
| 4 | — | — | — | — | 129, 150 |
| 3 | — | — | — | — | 131 |
| 2 | 32 | — | — | — | — |
| 1 | — | — | — | — | 142 |
| 0 | — | — | — | — | 117, 134 |

Within E, K¹ averages 20%, A 18%, but D² only 13%.

Outside of E, a very notable case is 114, which outranks most of the E poems. This is the only poem in non-E that contains no Yahwism. All the lexical evidence indicates that it should be counted as one of the E series, though I am not aware that its affiliation with that series has ever been noticed.

At the end of Bk. III note that 84, 85, 87, 89 range fairly high, while 83, 86, 88 rank with the lower poems in D².

Among many particular points, observe that all the alphabetic poems are much below the average, together with several that are lexically associated with them, like 1, 19b, 33, 103, &c.

It is instructive to compare this table with a similar one in the second of these Studies. On the whole, it is clear that poems that are strong in E words are usually weak in D words, and *vice versa*.

Deferring the discussion of the particular usages of the test-words to a later point, we subjoin a statement of the main facts about Elohimism, beginning with those that are well known.

"Elohimism" designates the use of אֱלֹהִים (or אֵל) in connections where יְהוָה not only might have been used with propriety, but may have stood originally. It implies either that the writer was led to deviate from common usage, or that the original text has been editorially altered. A reverse use of יְהוָה (or יי) for אֱלֹהִים may be called "Yahwism".

In considering these two pairs of terms, we need to remember that, while יה is doubtless equivalent to יהוה, אֵל may or may not be equivalent to אֱלֹהִים. אֵל is apparently the more primitive term, with originally only a generic force (like "divinity" or "deity"), but in association with אֱלֹהִים it often passes over into a proper name. In the Psalter, both words are used either generically or specifically, though with somewhat different tendencies.

Strictly generic usages of אֱלֹהִים and אֵל, whether absolute or with qualifiers, fall outside the problem of Elohimism, since יְהוָה cannot be thus used. The same is true of their application to heathen deities or to any class of superhuman beings that lack full deification.

In the Psalter there are about 150 cases where these words appear with qualifiers and are therefore generic. Further generic uses include "Yahweh is God," &c., 18:32 אֱלֹהֵי (II Sam. אֵל); 86:10; 90:2 אֵל; 100:3; 118:27 אֵל; "there is no God", 10:4; 14:1 = 53:2; "mountains of God", 36:7 אֵל; (cedars) 80:11 אֵל; (river) 65:10; with perhaps others, like "ye that forget God", 50:22 אֱלֹהֵי; 9:18, &c.

False deities or superhuman beings are indicated in 8:6; 29:1 אֱלִים; 44:21 אֵל; 81:10 אֵל bis; 82:1 אֵל (perhaps generic, like "mountains of God" above); 82:6; 86:8; 89:7 אֱלִים; 95:3; 96:4, 5; 97:7, 9; 135:5; 136:2; 138:1.

Setting these aside, there remain about 250 cases in which אֱלֹהִים or אֵל occurs absolutely and therefore specifically, all but about 30 of them being in E. Though not all of these occurrences in E have equal textual support, the total is impressive and provokes inquiry, especially as outside of E the prevailing usage is Yahwistic, and also as within E some cases suggest that a Yahwistic original has been modified.

Outside of E Elohimism appears with אלהים in 5:11; 7:11, 12; 14:2, 5; 25:22; 36:2, 8; 84:8, 10; 86:14; 87:3; [108:6 times]; 139:19; 144:9; and with אל in 10:11, 12; 16:1; 17:6; 18:31; 19:2; 106:14, 21; 107:11; 139:17, 23; 149:6; 150:1.

Within E, relatively to text-length, A has less Elohimism than K¹ or D¹.

Strikingly suggestive of derivation from a Yahwistic original are certain couplet terms like "God, my God", as in 43:4; 45:8; 48:15; 50:7; 51:16; 59:18; 67:7; 68:9; 71:12, and, with אל, in 42:3; 63:2; 68:21; 82:1 (though these latter are not so clear). Since such couplets occur only in Bk. II (exc. the vague 82:1), Briggs infers that A was originally Elohist, while K¹ and D² were Yahwistic. Slight parallels to these couplets occur in Ezra 6:22; Judith 13:11; and with אל in Gen. 33:20; Num. 16:22; Deut. 7:9.

A Yahwistic original is also suggested by certain phrases, like "God's sanctuary" in 73:17; "house" in 42:5; 52:10; 55:15 (many parallels elsewhere, however, especially in Chr.); "altar" in 43:4; "sacrifices" in 51:19; "covenant" in 78:10 (parallels elsewhere); "anger" in 78:31 (cf. Num. 22:22); "lovingkindness" in 52:3, 10 (cf. II Sam. 9:3); "appear before God" in 42:3 (cf. 84:8); "fear God" in 55:20; 66:16 (parallels elsewhere); &c. Note that some of these are in A.

If, as seems highly probable, there is in E a studied and abnormal Elohimism, we may well suspect that some of the cases where אלהים or אל occurs with qualifiers (like "our God" or even "God of Jacob") may represent an original יהוה. The identification of such cases, however, if they exist, cannot be certain. They are most likely where the Elohist name stands apart from other names, or where some turn in the expression recalls common Yahwistic phrases.

Taking cases with pronominal suffixes, note that "my God" in E occurs *apart* 7 times (59:2, 11; 68:25 אל; 71:4, 12, 22; 83:14) as against 9 times in non-E; that "our God" occurs thus in E twice (50:3; 66:8) as against 4 times in non-E; and that "thy God" is thus found in 68:29 (received text), but not in non-E. Remembering that in text-length E stands to non-E as about three to seven, it is plain that these forms are rather more frequent than would be expected.

"God of Israel", occurring only in E and there only in 59, 68, 69, stands apart in 68:36 אל. "God of Jacob", found in K and A, but not in D², stands apart in 75:10; 76:7; 81:5, but never so in non-E. "God of Abraham" occurs only in 47:10, in parallel with אלהים. "God of Hosts", not found except in 59, 80, 84, 89, is always appended to יהוה except in two cases in 80, where יהוה may have dropped out. The almost entire absence of these forms from non-E is notable.

Following out this same line of observation, we note that in E other divine names are specially frequent, such as אֱלֹהִים and עֲלִיָּן, usually in connections where יְהוָה may have stood originally. These, too, may therefore indicate a desire to avoid Yahwism just as does the excessive use of אֱלֹהִים.

The distribution of אֱלֹהִים is peculiar and interesting. Of its 53 occurrences, 24 are in E (in non-E, it occurs 22 times in D¹ and D², 14 times in D³, and 7 times in 2, 89, 90, 130). In E it stands apart in 44:24; 51:17; 54:6; 55:10; 57:10; 59:12; 62:13; 66:18; 68:12, 18, 20, 23, 27, 33; 73:20; 77:3, 8; 78:65; 79:12—19 times, of which but 1 is in K, while 12 are in D². In non-E it occurs thus in 2:4; 22:31; 35:17; 37:13; 38:10, 23; 39:8; 40:17; 86:3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 15; 89:50, 51; 90:1; 110:5—again 19 times, of which 7 are in D¹ and 8 in D². (This enumeration is taken from the received text, which may be doubted in several cases.) It is evident that D has a marked predilection for this term. It is joined with יְהוָה 5 times in E, 8 times in non-E, but of these 13 cases only 7 are in D—a normal proportion. (Further notes on אֱלֹהִים are given at a later point.)

עֲלִיָּן is much rarer, and is differently distributed. It occurs apart in 46:5; 50:14; 57:3; 73:11; 77:11; 78:17, 35, 56; 82:6; but in non-E only in 9:3; 87:5; 107:11—in D only twice out of 12 cases. It is joined with יְהוָה 2 times in E, 6 times in non-E.

שֵׁר occurs apart only in 68:15. In 91:1 it is in parallel with עֲלִיָּן.

The only other names in E are "Holy One of Israel" in 71:22; 78:41 (both parallel with אֱלֹהִים), and "Shepherd of Israel" in 80:2. The former occurs also in 89:19 (parallel with יְהוָה); on the latter cf. 23:1.

Over against these instances in which Yahwistic phraseology seems to be avoided in E stand some forty cases in which יְהוָה or יְיָ appears. If, as is usually assumed, the Elohimism of E is due to some reason that made these terms inexpedient or objectionable, why should they be found at all? Do they remain by an editorial oversight, or do they show that Yahwistic interpolations have crept in? Or is some other explanation possible? These questions have always given trouble.

יְהוָה or יְיָ occurs in 42:9; 46:8, 9, 12; 47:3, 6; 48:2, 9; 50:1; 54:8; 55:17, 23; 56:11; 58:7; 59:4, 6, 9; 64:11; 68:5 יְיָ, 17, 19 יְהוָה, 21; 69:7, 14, 17, 32, 34; 70:2, 6; 71:1, 5, 16; 73:28; 74:18; 75:9; 76:12; 77:12 יְיָ; 78:4, 21; 79:5; 80:5, 20; 81:11, 16; 83:17, 19 (יְיָ elsewhere occurs only in 89:9 and in Bks. IV-V.)

It is extremely curious that within E are several cases where sub-

stantially the same phrase occurs in both Yahwistic and Elohist forms, namely, 81:11 = 50:7, "I am Yahweh (God), thy God"; 46:9 = 66:5, "Come, behold (and see) the works of Yahweh (God)"; 64:11 = 63:12, "The righteous (the king) shall rejoice in Yahweh (God)"; 56:11, "In Yahweh (God), I will praise His word"; besides others that are less obvious.

The preceding paragraphs aim to summarize facts that are often discussed, though not always comprehensively stated. We now turn to certain other facts that seem hardly to have attracted attention, but which probably have importance.

Among the Yahwistic passages in E are about fifteen in which there seems to be some degree of *antithesis* between יהוה and אלהים (or ארני) within the verse, besides other cases where such antithesis appears between adjacent verses. A few similar cases may be cited outside of E. The antithesis is purely rhetorical, simply a variation of verbal form, not an essential antithesis of ideas. It therefore is of precisely the same class as the numerous cases scattered over the whole Psalter where prominent terms in the parallelisms are varied without any significant change of thought. Indeed, in view of the frequency of such rhetorical antithesis we may well wonder that there are not more cases where the divine names are thus varied. And when these names are so varied we are prepared to recognize the practice as normal to Psalter poetry rather than exceptional. In support of this normality of the practice (as concerns divine names) considerable evidence is available outside the Psalter. If, then, these antithetic verses are normal or typical in form, they probably have special critical importance.

Within E, the clearest cases of antithesis verses are these: יהוה-אלהים, 47:6; 55:17; 56:11; 58:7; 68:21; 70:2, 6; 73:28; ארני-אלהים, 54:6; 68:18, 27, 33; אלהים-יהוה, 69:14; אלהים-ארני, 68:20; 114:7. Outside of E we have only the few and somewhat uncertain cases of 18:31 אלהים-יהוה; 35:22 ארני-יהוה; 130:3 ארני-יהוה.

As samples of antithesis between adjacent verses we may cite, within E, 62:12-13 ארני-אלהים; 69:31-32, 33, 34 both יהוה-אלהים; 71:16-17 יהוה-אלהים-ארני יהוה; 75:8-9 יהוה-אלהים; and, outside, 16:1-2 אלהים-יהוה; 130:1-2 ארני-יהוה; 139:19-21 אלהים-יהוה. There are many others.

It is not necessary to cite illustrations of the widespread use in the Psalter of the rhetorical antithesis of terms (without contrast of meaning) in dealing with other concepts, since they abound everywhere and

are usually obvious. We may simply remark that commentators sometimes are misled into drawing distinctions between pairs of words that probably were meant to be practically synonymous or to blend into a comprehensive conception larger than that suggested by either alone.

More pertinent is it to call attention to the fact that outside of the Psalter there are over 150 cases in which אלהים and יהוה are set in close antithesis as if with studied intention—this without reckoning any passages in the Hexateuch, where such antitheses are usually considered to have resulted from the fusing of two or more separate documents. In Jdg. there are at least 12 cases, in Sam. about 25, in Kgs. about 20, in Is. about 5, in Ezk. 4, in Hos. and Am. 3, in Mic., Jon. and Zech. each 2, in Mal. 5, in Job and Prov. 5 or more, in Lam. 1, in Ezra and Neh. about 10, in Chr. about 65.

The usage of the Chronicler is specially interesting. He evidently has a predilection for Elohimism which shows itself in alterations of certain materials taken from Sam. or Kgs., so that where the latter contain no antithesis of divine names it is introduced. Examples are found in I Chr. 13:10, 14; 14:10; 16:1-2; 17:3-4, 17; 21:15; II Chr. 1:8-9; 3:1-3; 4:16-19; 5:1, 14; 6:17-18; 7:4-5; 10:15; 11:2; 23:3-4; 24:12-13; 33:4-7; 34:8-9, 26-27, 31-32. But this is not all. In passages that are peculiar to Chr. the same antithesis occurs often, showing that it is not merely the tentative and partial change of a Yahwistic text by a redactor who would be completely Elohimistic if he dared, but that a mixed usage was normal to his mind. Examples are I Chr. 15:14-15; 22:1-2, 19; 23:28; 28:3-4, 12; 29:7-8; II Chr. 1:4-5; 13:14-15; 15:1-2; 18:31; 19:2-3; 20:29; 22:7; 24:7, 16-18, 20; 26:5; 29:35-36; 30:12; 31:11-13, 20-21; 36:13, 16, 18. Opinions may differ much about the exact valuation of all these, but the number of cases is enough to justify holding that a mixed usage was strikingly natural to the Chronicler. Here is a phenomenon that seems to differ from the contrasted Elohimism and Yahwism of the Hexateuchal narratives, or the strong Elohimism of Ecc. as compared with the strong Yahwism of Jer.

Consideration of these instances of antithesis leads us to ask whether all cases in the present Psalter text where either אלהים or יהוה is *duplicated* in parallel within the verse are not to some degree suspicious. Exact rhetorical duplication or repetition of terms in parallelisms is certainly unusual, if not abnormal, in the Psalter, except where the parallelism is distinctly synthetic or cumulative. Hence, in E, verses that now have a duplicated אלהים suggest originals with יהוה-אלהים (or the reverse) rather than a duplicated יהוה. And hence also, outside of E, verses with a duplicated יהוה suggest that they, too,

have been Yahwistically modified from mixed or antithetic originals. In seeking to recover the originals in both cases we naturally use existing antithetic verses as models, since we suppose them to be vestiges of the normal type.

Bringing in this possibility decidedly affects the discussion of Elohim, since it sets it in contrast with an analogous Yahwism in many poems outside of E. If the hypothesis has value, Elohim in E is not simply a strange aberration from the almost unbroken Yahwism found, for instance, in Bk. I, but rather a companion treatment to what is there applied to mixed or antithetic verses. We thus have *two* contrasted editorial practices to consider instead of one. It is possible that this may really simplify the question.

Duplicated Elohim occurs in 42:3; 43:4 אֱלֹהִים-אל; 46:6; 47:9; 51:19; 52:10; 53:6; 55:20? אֱלֹהִים-אל; 56:5; 60:12; 62:8, 12; 68:9; 71:19; 77:2, 14; 83:2 אֱלֹהִים-אל. Not all of these are of clear importance.

Duplicated Yahwism occurs in 4:4; 6:3, 10; 7:9, 18; 11:4; 19:8, 9, 10; 24:8; 26:1; 27:1, 4, 14; 29:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11; 30:9, 11; 31:24; 40:14; 84:12; 89:7; 93:1; 96:1, 7; 99:9; 103:22; 104:1, 31; 113:1; 115:11; 116:4; 118:16, 25, 26; 121:5; 127:1; 129:8; 130:7; 134:1; 135:1, 13, 19, 20; 138:5, 8; 140:6; 142:1; 146:8. In several of these the parallelism is cumulative or synthetic, necessitating the duplication, but in most of them an original אֱלֹהִים for one of the names is quite conceivable.

Since the second list is so much larger than the first, and since cases of antithesis remaining in non-E are very few, we infer that the Yahwizing tendency was more intense and thorough than the other.

Where the two divine names are used antithetically and yet without contrast of meaning we must suppose that the two were regarded as practically interchangeable. Even where one name is used almost constantly we have no ground for holding that the other name was not recognized as equivalent. All that we observe is that in antitheses the variety of two names is desired for rhetorical reasons, and where this variety is avoided the omitted name is not forgotten or denied.

Yet there are essential differences between the two divine names. The abundant use of אֱלֹהִים in a generic sense that is impossible for יְהוָה proves this. When the difference is felt, אֱלֹהִים is the more abstract, יְהוָה the more concrete. The former

expresses the large sense of deity or divinity (like אֱלֹהִים), with its supreme and sweeping attributes, while the latter expresses what is on the whole a more tangible embodiment of the divine feelings and activities, those with which anthropomorphic terms are more germane. אֱלֹהִים, in short, is apt to be general and universal, יְהוָה particular and personal. But whenever the two terms are used interchangeably their differences are naturally more or less obliterated.

It is an extremely delicate question how far the differences between the names are emphasized in the Psalter. Certain passages may be cited in which they seem to be in mind. But the phenomena on the whole imply that the differences are lost sight of in the sense of the identity of Israel's peculiar god, Yahweh, with all that could be affirmed of Deity in the abstract. The majority of the poems express this sense of identity under the rhetorical form of Yahwism, but a considerable section of them express it under the form of Elohism. These facts only serve to confirm the supposition that one name could be substituted for the other without loss of meaning—as is patent in every case where the two names are used in parallel. The supposition becomes still stronger if behind both the Elohism and the Yahwism of the present text lies a varied usage of both names together.

Among the verses with antithesis of names the large majority have אֱלֹהִים first, and most of them imply little difference of sense between the two names. In a few cases, however, the Yahwistic member is slightly more concrete or special (especially 55:17; 68:18, 20; 73:28; and, where the antithesis is between adjacent verses, 16:1-2; 69:31-32, 33-34; 75:8-9; 139:19-21).

If duplication in the present text represents an original antithesis, note that almost all the cases of Elohistic duplication more readily imply the order אֱלֹהִים - יְהוָה than the reverse, while in the cases of Yahwistic duplication the implied order is either uncertain or יְהוָה - אֱלֹהִים. In the Yahwistic examples there are many instances of cumulation, where אֱלֹהִים is excluded, and, in general, as we move forward in the Books it becomes harder to imagine an Elohistic original, even for one member of the verse. In Bk. V we seem to have come to a time when it was no longer natural to use אֱלֹהִים absolutely.

Interesting details appear from a minute comparison of such doublets as 14 = 53, 40b = 70, &c.

Some interesting light upon the subject before us is derived from the usage of extracanonical books like Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the Psalms of Solomon. For the first of these we now have a partial Hebrew text, and back of them all lies the Hebrew mind, if not the Hebrew tongue. The range of period represented between the first and the last is probably more than a century, and at its close brings us far on toward the Christian Era.

The evidence of these books does not support the theory that in the latest Judaism Elohim replaced Yahwism. But it does strengthen the view that as time proceeded there was much interchange of names, all being usually understood in the general sense of "God" in the N. T. The variations of usage, as in the Psalter, seem to have been due to conditions, the nature of which can hardly be affirmed with exactitude. But the preservation of these texts, with all their variations, implies that the differences were not felt to be objectionable. This reinforces the view that the differences are somehow connected with different classes of writers or shades of thought rather than with widely separated periods or places.

In what we have of the Hebrew text of Eccles. the prevailing divine names are **אל** and **יהוה** (each about 40 times), while **אלהים** is much less frequent (about 15 times). The distribution of **אלהים** also, is peculiar, being confined (in the absolute sense) to ch. 10, with 3:20; 9:16; 40:26-27; 42:15, 17; 45:1-2; and it rarely occurs in the neighborhood of either of the others (only in 3:18-20; 42:15-17). **עלין** and **אל עלין** occur 12 times, never near **אלהים**. Several other epithets are found, of which the chief is **עשה** (4 times); **ארץ** is found once (once, also, in the margin). In general, **אל** and **יהוה** do not occur much together, but note the juxtapositions in 4:13-14; 11:21-22; 12:2-6; 15:9-13; 35:14-16; 42:15-17; 43:9-12; 46:3-16; 48:3-5; 50:21-22. Among these latter are several good examples of antithesis.

In the Greek text of Eccles. **κύριος** is used lavishly (over 200 times), representing (in passages of which the Heb. is extant) all the three leading terms in Heb., and even appearing where no name is used in the Heb. **θεός** is also common (over 30 times), often in antithesis to **κύριος**, while **θεός** is decidedly rare (not in antithesis with **θεός**). Evidently, then, this version avoids **θεός**, and apparently often substitutes **θεός** for it.

In Wisd., on the other hand, **θεός** occurs absolutely about 40 times,

while *κύριος* occurs only about 25 times, and *θεός* but twice. There are several clear antitheses between *θεός* and *κύριος*.

In Pss. Sol., again, *κύριος* occurs about 110 times, and *θεός* about 85 times; the latter also occurs over 20 times with modifiers—a usage rare in *Ecclus.* and *Wisd.* Many close antitheses may be noted. Other divine names do not appear. In many ways the usages of this collection correspond to what we may imagine was the normal style of the Psalter before it underwent either an Elohistic or a Yahwistic editing.¹

At this point mention may be made of a hypothesis about the antithetic use of the two names that seems to the writer to have some suggestiveness. This hypothesis starts with the assumption that, on the whole, the most natural name to be used by Hebrew writers was יהוה, since that was the name of "their" God, whose rule and cult marked them off from other peoples. But, as is seen in the Hexateuchal narratives, this usage was not the only one, though it was the one most closely associated with the national consciousness whose center was Jerusalem. Side by side with it was the use of אלהים, apparently in the northern kingdom. As the growth of literature went on, however, there was an increasing tendency to make the Yahwistic nomenclature at least dominant, if not exclusive. This is conspicuous in the earlier and greater prophets, as well as in Deuteronomy. Thus the national usage became emphatically Yahwistic.

It was the glory of Israel that its conception of God was something higher and purer than that of its neighbors. Beginning, perhaps, as only allegiance to a tribal deity, or, at least, nucleating itself about that allegiance, it steadily rose to genuine monotheism, to a sense of one, supreme Creator and Ruler whose domain was worldwide and whose nature was absolutely transcendent. The Hebrews believed that this God had revealed Himself to them under the name and in the person of Yahweh, and thus through them was being made known to all men, so that, in process of time, the religion that had been local and racial would become universal. In all this, in spite of the crudity of some of the subsumptions under it, we see those among the

¹ On *Ecclus.*, see manuals of Smend; and on Pss. Sol., see Ryle and James.

Hebrew seers whose vision was keenest reaching out towards the sublime and daring claim of Christianity.

Now, in the literary expression of this developing theology, we may reasonably suppose that there would be frequent traces of the more or less conscious need of fully identifying what is felt about Yahweh and what is said about him or addressed to him with all that could rightly be connected with the larger, but more abstract, concept of which he was the expression and embodiment. This could be done most simply and naturally by using the term **אלהים** in such close conjunction with **יהוה** that the two should be recognized as equivalent and interchangeable. Especially would this mixed or twofold usage tend to discourage any tendency to slip back into some limited conception that would merely make Hebrew religion one among the many religions of the world, with no more claim to universal acknowledgment than happened to be secured by Hebrew political supremacy.

As one striking illustration of this literary practice we may note the several instances in which the expression "Yahweh, He is God", or the like, occurs, namely, Deut. 4:35; 7:9; 10:17; 29:11-12; Jos. 2:11; 22:34; II Sam. 7:28; I Kgs. 18:39 (bis); II Kgs. 19:15; I Ch. 17:22, 26; II Ch. 33:13; Is. 43:12; 45:18; Hos. 11:9.

Parallel with these are many passages with names like **שׁוּר** (much used in Job, apparently in place of **יהוה**) and **עליון**. Both of these terms, like **אלהים** and **אל**, when used absolutely, avoid that close association with Israel that is inevitable with **יהוה**.

It will be seen, of course, that this line of speculation has a bearing upon the particular problem before us. The Psalter poetry is just the place where there would be likely to be instances of the literary expression of such a belief, sometimes deliberate and intentional, sometimes almost unconscious and merely instinctive. Particularly would this be so if this poetry were mostly the product of the periods when the full sense of the wide meaning of Israel's message to the world was taking possession of its thought. The normal thing, then, would be to find in this poetry a rather constant joining of the two divine names, in an antithetic parallelism that is really emphatically synonymous. Normally, too, **אלהים** would stand first, as expressing the broader and more inclusive concept, and **יהוה** would

follow, as making the expression concrete and vivid. This is precisely what is found in the majority of the verses in which the two names are conjoined in parallel.

It is worth noting that this placing of אלהים first in the Psalter phrases is not fully matched elsewhere. Out of about 60 specially clear cases of antithesis of the names, rather more than half have יהוה first. One hesitates to draw an inference from this; as far as it goes, it suggests that the poems are later than the prose texts.

But the number of verses with antithesis in the Psalter is small. In almost all parts of the collection are found verses with duplication instead of antithesis, sometimes of יהוה, sometimes of אלהים. Under the hypothesis here adopted it is presumed that most of these duplications represent an original antithesis, the order of names in which is not always certain (and perhaps is not material). If this be so, it follows that in the present redaction of the Psalter we have not only the striking phenomenon of Elohimism in one, centrally placed section, but also the equally striking phenomenon of Yahwism in the larger sections before and after. On this hypothesis, we conjecture a period of free composition first, when instinctively the two names were both used and often combined in parallel, this being followed, in one case, by another period or influence, when existing texts were Elohistically modified to some extent, and, in the other, existing texts were Yahwistically modified to an even greater extent. Why these modifications were made, and which of them came first, are further questions. The important point in this part of the hypothesis is that it suggests that there is as much demand for investigation in Bk. I, for example, as in Bks. II-III.

As regards the Elohist section, attention has already been called to some specific cases in which it seems likely that a Yahwistic expression has been Elohistically remodeled. We next inquire whether in the Yahwistic sections there is any sign that Elohistic expressions have similarly been Yahwistically remodeled. Here we have not so sure criteria as in the first instance. There, naturally, much is made of expressions like "God, my God", which probably represents "Yahweh, my God". Here, however, we have the compound name "Yahweh Adonai", which doubtless represents "Yahweh Elohim" (68 : 21; 109 : 21; 140 : 8; 141 : 8; also 8 : 2, 10; not found outside the Psalter), and the striking phrase "Thou hast said to Yahweh, Thou art Lord" (16 : 2),

which doubtless represents "Thou art God" (as in the many passages noted on p. 13), and also several cases in which "Lord" is in parallel with "Yahweh", implying, by the hypothesis here followed, that it represents "God" by antithesis. These tend to create a presumption that, while in Elohistic poems אֱלֹהִים stands for יהוה, in Yahwistic poems it stands for אֱלֹהִים. In neither case can we be sure that it always thus stands, but only that it is more likely to do so than not.

Interesting analogies to the above appear in connection with עֲלִין, which seems to be used in two ways—for יהוה in 46:5; 50:14; 73:11; 77:11; 78:17; 107:11 (all but the last in the Elohistic section), but for אֱלֹהִים in 9:3; 18:14; 21:8; 83:19; 87:5; 91:9; 92:2; 97:9. In this last list two cases are of peculiar interest. 97:9 adds itself to the list of cases where the assertion "Yahweh, Thou art God" appears. And 83:19 stands in the coda attached to the whole Elohistic section by which there is imposed upon E a Yahwistic reference or sanction, and the coda brings with it from its Yahwistic atmosphere the characteristic use of "Most High" for "God".

Regarding other cases, where neither parallelism nor coupled expressions help us, there is room for much difference of opinion. All we can say is that, as an antecedent יהוה is conceivable in many cases in 42-83 where it is no longer present, so elsewhere an antecedent אֱלֹהִים is equally conceivable.

If there is force in the reasons for believing that outside of E in the Psalter there are signs of a somewhat extreme Yahwism, and if, as is usually conceded, there is an extreme Elohimism within E, then the question presents itself as to the relation in time between the two tendencies thus represented. This relation, as concerns these poems, needs only to be studied as it appears in the Psalter. Whether what can be there discovered has any connection with similar tendencies outside need not at first be considered.

Three theories may be set up. The two tendencies may be contemporaneous, or practically so, being caused by differences of circumstances or by prejudices on the part of two distinct classes of writers. Or the Elohimizing tendency may have preceded. Or the Yahwizing tendency may have preceded. The main question is probably between the second and third of these views, since there does not seem to be any special reason for emphasizing the first.

In the commentaries it is not uncommon to associate the Elohimism of the Psalter with that growing hesitation to the use

of יהוה which finally, in the latest Judaism, made the latter the "ineffable" name. Baethgen, for example, goes so far afield as to refer to the practice in *Vespasian's* time of limiting its use to the High Priest once a year! But, we may ask, what is the use of introducing such references unless we are prepared to apply them by saying that the Elohist section of the Psalter is its latest part? No doubt, within E are found the two or three poems that many commentators believe to be most clearly Macca-bæan. But whatever judgment about date rests upon Elohimism must be applied to *all* the Elohist poems as a group. When viewed thus, as a group, it is hard to believe that they are not editorially *earlier* than the Yahwistic poems in general.

It is perhaps enough to consider the fact that E comes to us imbedded in a collection which otherwise is so strongly Yahwistic as to seem extreme in this regard. If E is very late, how can its location and literary surroundings be explained? And if it represents a time when the use of יהוה was interdicted, how can the occurrence of the forbidden name within it be explained?

There is more plausibility in such guesses as that of Lagarde (that Elohimism may be a mark of songs intended for a special class, like the Levites), or that of Briggs (that it marks poems meant for use in Mesopotamia, rather than Palestine). Yet neither of these is supported by any convincing arguments.

Full weight must be given to any facts in the poems themselves that shed light upon their chronological relation to the rest of the Psalter. In particular, we must examine E to see if there are signs that it has been reworked under Yahwistic influence. If there are such signs, then the Elohimism of E is earlier than the Yahwism of the redactors. Reference has already been made to this subject in our second article. Further details may here be added.

It is clear that the concluding verses of 83, the last poem in the Elohist section, are emphatically Yahwistic. יהוה occurs in vv. 17, 19, and עליך in v. 19 appears to be equivalent to אלהים, as elsewhere in Yahwistic poems. But it is not clear at what point the superposed conclusion begins. It certainly covers vv. 17-19. It may possibly run back as far as v. 14, though I think this unlikely. Similarly, Yahwistic final verses are appended to 64, 73, 76 and probably 62. Final

verses that are disconnected with what precedes, though not explicitly Yahwistic, are appended to 45, 51, 52, 54 (v. 8), 55 (v. 23), 79; and the refrains of 42-43, 46, 57, 80 may all of them be accretions. The opening of 71 seems like a direct quotation from 31. All of these phenomena favor the theory of an editing subsequent to the time of composition.

In all, there are about 75 cases in which יהוה ארני, ארני, or עליון appear in the existing text. In about 45 of these there is no obvious antithesis of names, and among them are several antiphons (48:2; 51:17; 54:8; 69:17; perhaps 69:31-37), with so marked an interpolation as 42:9. The whole of 70 may be adapted from 40. Perhaps other instances of possible emendation or interpolation should be cited, but they are not specially clear.

There remains the chance that some interpolated matter has been accommodated to its context, so as to be difficult of identification by lexical methods.

Under the hypothesis here advocated, we suppose that all the poems in Bks. I-III were originally characterized by fairly abundant verses with antithesis of אלהים and יהוה, the union of the two names being for variety of expression and comprehensiveness of allusion, not for differentiation or contrast of idea. We suppose that the poems which now constitute E were collected at a relatively early time, and that later they were subjected to a redaction that made them in the main Elohist, but that the occasion of the redaction did not require the elimination of all Yahwism. We suppose, in harmony with the argument of our second article, that the group which we have called D² was either later than the groups K¹ and A, though prior to the Elohist redaction, or expressed the sentiments of a different class, so that it suggested to subsequent editors the use of the name "David" as a collection title. We suppose that most of the poems now included in D¹ belong to a much later period than E and represent different circumstances, and that they in their turn underwent a redaction that made them abnormally Yahwistic—the motive of the redactors being complementary to and the reverse of that of the earlier Elohist redactors. We suppose that in connection with this redaction Bks. I-III assumed substantially their present scope and order, D¹ being set first because representing the general mood of the editor's own time, and E being somewhat modified by Yahwistic

interpolations and addenda. We further suppose that the whole result of these processes was finally influenced by the liturgical style and spirit of Bks. IV-V, which were also Yahwistic in form. It is not impossible that it was this liturgical influence that imposed the extreme Yahwism upon Bk. I, though it is then hard to see why it did not remove the Elohimism from Bks. II-III.

Whether or not there is value in this line of speculation, the problem remains as to the reason for the extreme emphasis upon Elohimism at one point and upon Yahwism at another. The writer's view is naturally influenced by his belief that Yahwism is as much of a phenomenon in the present text as Elohimism. If it is, whatever reasons are urged for one must be consistent with the reasons for the other. The two assumed "redactions" stand in some degree of opposition. But we can hardly presume that the Elohimizers denied Yahweh, or that the Yahwizers failed to identify Yahweh with Elohim. Have we any clue to the reasons why they chose to magnify two different nomenclatures?

Several critics have supposed that the Elohimism was due to a geographical and political situation where the name Yahweh needed to be suppressed because offensive to outsiders, as, perhaps, in the Captivity. This theory is attractive, especially as several of the E poems are readily connected with the Exile period. But the theory has difficulty as well. It almost obliges us to hold that every touch of Yahwism in E is an interpolation—which is not easy to be sure of. And it fails completely if we assume that the original texts were more or less Yahwistic. The present Elohimism is superposed upon something that it was thought best to alter. That earlier text could not have been adapted to conditions in which reference to the national deity by his special name was interdicted. And why, when this Elohimistic section was gathered up with strongly Yahwistic material, and itself subjected to some Yahwistic interpolation, was its extreme Elohimism not removed?

It is better to suppose that the two styles represent two successive periods when the editorial control of existing materials was in the hands of two distinct classes, enough opposed in practice so that the poems were treated in different ways, but

not so opposed as to preclude the amalgamation of their respective collections into one. As to motive, we suppose that the Elohist redaction was governed by a desire to avoid the danger that Yahweh would be taken to be simply Israel's god, *unus inter pares* with other national deities, and to exalt him as God Absolute; while the Yahwistic redaction was governed by a complementary desire to claim that the God of Israel, whose name is Yahweh, is such a unique expression of divinity that he rises above all other national gods, and, indeed, that it is through the knowledge of him that the knowledge of the Absolute God becomes possible. The two points of view are really close together, but they might represent quite diverse processes and habits of thought. Though so far differentiated as to lead to a special literary style, they might not be so antagonistic as to annihilate each other.

A theory of this kind, of course, may be so stated as to involve attributing to the editors some fantastic subtlety of thought. But are we not warranted in detecting at more than one point in the Old Testament the working of some such distinction as that here emphasized? On one side are teachers who, in their zeal for their national deity, would exalt Yahweh fanatically and intolerantly, even to the point of substituting his name for the vaguer Elohim. On the other side are those who used the development of religion around the name and person of Yahweh as a means of reaching a more generalized sense of the Absolute of which Yahweh was a concrete manifestation, and who therefore might choose to replace the name Yahweh by some larger term. Illustrations of this latter tendency are found in Job and Ecclesiastes, while the former became the practice of the priestly class in later Judaism. Yet the two were not wholly exclusive of each other, as the make-up of several parts of the Old Testament shows.

It would seem as if help might come for the solving of the historical problem through a strict analysis of the lexical material of E, as indicated, for example, by the test-list given at the opening of this article, since in previous articles such analyses have pointed to important characteristics in the groups of poems or passages under consideration. But in this case the results

are not very plain or striking. The natural inference is that there is no special unity of occasion or sentiment in the E poems. This is perhaps what is to be expected, since, by hypothesis, E is a collection that became Elohist, and thus differentiated as a collection, under other circumstances than those of composition, and probably much later.

One or two peculiarities, however, deserve mention. There is in E, as a group, a considerable national consciousness, a sense of Israel as a people with a history, an individuality and a mission. Incidentally, this brings with it some implication of a knowledge of historical records. Rhetorically, too, E is notable for the number of its references to natural objects and phenomena, having a variety and vividness much greater than, for instance, in the D poems generally. The usage of E, also, with regard to many single words, including some of little more than grammatical force, is peculiar enough to attract attention. All these points serve to mark E off from most of the rest of the Psalter, or at least to differentiate Bks. II-III from the other Books.

In considering these data it is important to keep them dissociated from the fact of Elohimism, since, presumably, Elohimism was not a quality of these poems in their original form.

There can be little doubt that there is no great lexical difference between E and most of the poems that follow in Bk. III (except 86, which belongs to D, and perhaps 88, which is also somewhat affiliated with D). Furthermore, of course, it is to be remembered that all of the poems now included in E may not have stood there from the same period. The theory here being worked out involves supposing that E was gradually built up out of separate groups of poems, indications of which appear in the varying titles. But the Elohist redaction, of course, took place before the formation of the present "Book" divisions.

In measuring the emphasis of words or usages in E it should be remembered that E constitutes less than one-third of the whole Psalter, so that, if more than 35% of a word's total occurrences are in E, the fact is notable.

Of words pertaining to Israel as a nation the following are striking: **עַם**, of Israel, 27 times in E, 39 times in non-E (41%). Of these, 22 imply that the nation is God's, which carries with it the probability that **אלהים** represents an original **יהוה** in 47:10; 50:8, 7; 53:7 (cf.

14:7); 60:3; 68:8, 36; 72:1; 77:14; 78:59, 65; 79:12; 83:2. Of other nations, usually plural, 21/25 (46%).¹ In both these senses עַם is more than twice as emphatic in E as in D. Of the frequent synonyms of עַם (of aliens), גֵּרִים has 35% in E against 26% in D, and לְאֻמִּים has 50% in E against 36% in D. All these terms are far below normal in D.

יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, 26/33 (44%). Among these are 5 cases where there is an explicit or implied antithesis with Judah—not found elsewhere. "God of Israel" and "Shepherd of Israel" are peculiar to E, and "Holy One of Israel" is found elsewhere only in 89. An original יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל seems to be implied in 68:9, 27, 35; 71:22?; 73:1?; 76:2; 78:41, 59, in addition to the passages noted above.

עֲקֵב, 17/17 (50%). "God of Jacob" has 64% in E, but "Mighty One of Jacob" is peculiar to 132. An original יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is implied in 44:5; 59:14; 81:2. "Israel" has only 29% in D, and "Jacob" only 14%—both far below normal.

Here is a suitable place to note that E contains a large majority of the proper names found in the Psalter, most of them not elsewhere. Besides the singular references in 60, 68, 83, note that six of the tribes are named, Judah (also in 97), Zebulun, Naphtali, Ephraim, Manasseh (the two also collectively as "Joseph"), and Benjamin. Several leading geographical features are also mentioned, such as Hermon, Lebanon, the Jordan valley, Gilead, Bashan, Shiloh, &c. Outside peoples, like the Philistines, Edomites, and Tyrians, and distant countries, like Egypt, Ophir, Assyria, and Tarshish, receive here almost the only attention. All this class of usages is completely different from what is characteristic of D, though 60 and 68 nominally rank as D poems.

יִשְׂרָאֵל, applied to Israel, 5/2 (71%), in non-E only in 95, 100.

יִשְׂרָאֵל, whether applied to Israel or indefinite, is peculiar to E.

אֲבוֹתַי, plur., of "the fathers" or "the ancients", 8/6 (57%).

מִיָּד, of "passing on" traditions from one generation to another, 5/1 (83%).

יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, of God's leadership of His people, is peculiar to E.

מֶלֶךְ, messianic, 10/5 (67%).

יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, of Jerusalem, &c., 9/3 (75%); צִיּוֹן, of Zion, 14/7 (67%).

מִזְבֵּחַ, of the Tabernacle, is peculiar to E; but of the Temple, rare in E (only 20%).

The plural number referring to the writers, is frequent in the poems that seem to be most characteristic of E, just as the singular is frequent in D.

Although the usage of E with words that pertain to God or His acts has no obvious unity or special significance, some data may be

¹ To save space, the number of occurrences in E and non-E are indicated, as in our second article, by the form 21/25.

given as illustrating the point that the E poems have much lexical individuality.

Among small usages that are peculiar to E, note אָן, of God's act (77: 2), directed toward God (74: 22; 79: 12), עָנִי, in direct address (50: 7; 81: 9, 12, 14). The following show fully twice the normal percentage: עֲלָה, of God's exaltation, 3/1; שָׁכַן, of His earthly manifestation, 4/2; כָּלָה, Piel, punitively, 5/3. Decidedly above normal are these: אָן, imv. to God, 3/8; חָמָה, God's, 4/5; יָרָא, Niph., of God or His deeds, 8/8 (not in Bk. I); עָו, objectively of God, 11/12; צָוָה, of His authority, 6/9; צִוֵּר, as an epithet or metaphor for Him, 7/11; שָׁוֵה, of His act, 10/18; שָׁוֵה, do., 17/22; שָׁלַם, do., 1/1; שָׁמַט, do., 10/13.

As illustrating still further the fact that E has noticeable lexical peculiarities, we may instance the following points, selected from the test-lists of "common" words:

A number of terms for physical objects in a literal sense are chiefly found in E, such as צָמָן, 2/0; צֹר, 4/1; חָמָה, of venom, 2/1; גֵּר, both literal and figurative, 6/4 (but of the cosmogonic "floods", 0/5); אָהַל, of ordinary habitation, 5/4; בַּיִם, of the sea, 7/5; דָּם, 7/7, &c. So, among terms for describing evil sentiments or acts, are מְרוֹם, of pride, 3/0; נָסַר, of "declaring" evil, 4/0; שָׁלַח, of malice, 3/0; תָּרַב, of enmity, slander, death, 7/4; צִר, 15/14; אָבֵשׁ, bad, 5/4; מָה and לִשְׁוֹן, of evil speech, 19/25; דָּם, of violence, 3/4, &c. To these may be added אָן and שָׁמַע, imv., to men, 7/1; מָוֵט, of things, 6/5; יָרָא, in general, 8/8; בָּרִית, of a league, 2/0, &c. We might also note peculiarities in the use of adverbs and the like, such as בָּן, בְּמוֹ, מָה, עַד, גַּזָּה, &c.

When we compare the many details such as these with parallel details in the D poems, we are almost forced to believe that E and D, taken as wholes, represent distinct literary outputs—and this in spite of the fact that D² is counted in both series. The evidence also shows that E is much more varied in topic and more fresh in expression, besides having more obvious relation to outside literary sources. We may not claim that these facts demonstrate its earlier date, but they favor that hypothesis. The case is strengthened when we take into account the implications from the use of the divine names, remembering that that use shows that the E poems have passed through more than one redaction. If there be force in this line of argument, it is in Bks. II-III, rather than in Bk. I, that we are to look for the historical nucleus of the Psalter. This may be urged without precluding the possibility that outside of E there may be isolated poems or passages of as early date, which have been included in collections that are, as wholes, relatively late.

The lexical differences between D and E, regarded as two general types, are so numerous and striking that one is tempted to speculate whether in some way they represent two great streams of expression that arose under different circumstances and were only combined at last with some difficulty. The problem is still further complicated by the fact, emphasized in our first article, that there is still a third stream, which we have called L, with peculiarities and implications of its own.

Curious results arise from comparing the proportions of D, E, and L words in the several poems as indicated by the graded tables given in our three articles hitherto. In some cases all three elements are below the normal average (60, 83, 88, 91, 119, 121, 127-129, 137, 139), implying the presence of other factors. In a few cases the three elements are nearly equal (14 = 53, 30, 71). And in 14 cases two elements are nearly equal (DE, 39, 49, 63, 94, 133, DL, 9, 28, 92, 97, 112, EL, 8, 61, 89, 96). Setting all these aside, there remain over 120 poems in which one element more or less predominates, viz:

Bk. I. D, 1, 3-7, 10-13, 15-17, 19, 21-23, 25-27, 31-32, 34-38, 40-41; E, 18, 29; L, 2, 20, 24, 33.

Bk. II. D, 51, 54-55, 62, 64, 69-70; E, 42-48, 50, 56, 58-59, 65-68, 72; L, 52, 57.

Bk. III. D, none; E, 73-74, 76-82, 84-85, 87; L, 75, 86.

Bk. IV. D, 101; E, 90, 93, 95, 98, 102, 104-105; L, 99-100, 103, 106.

Bk. V. D, 109-110, 120, 122-123, 125, 140-143; E, 114, 116, 124, 126, 132, 144; L, 107-108, 111, 113, 115, 117-118, 130-131, 134-136, 138, 145-150.

Summary: D, 47 (29 in I, 10 in V); E, 43 (16 in II, 12 in III, 7 in IV); L, 31 (19 in V).

With these notes before us that emphasize the differences of E as a group from the rest of the Psalter, especially from the "David" poems, and recalling the data already given about some lexical usages in apocryphal books, we are tempted to inquire whether any relation can be detected between the phenomena now before us and facts in the history of the latest period of Judaism. The so-called Psalms of Solomon, for example, are supposed to represent the party of the Pharisees—a party whose faults were mostly perversions of much that was estimable. Between these late poems and the D poems of the Psalter, especially those of Bk. I, there is considerable similarity in tone and sentiment. In both series we find expressions of the in-

dignant reaction of "the godly" against the derision and loftiness of "the ungodly", with appeals for vindication by divine justice. But the similarities yield little of historic inference except the possibility that the situation behind the D poems may have been somewhat preparatory for the rise of the Pharisees, so that their tone and style were adopted by the latter for themselves, just as these poems have served again and again for both Jews and Christians ever since when strictness of opinion or observance brought suffering for conscience' sake.

This line of speculation sheds no light upon the question of Elohim and Yahwism. The Psalms of Solomon, if the Greek text at all represents a Hebrew usage in the background, exhibit the mixture of divine names that we have contended was the normal type. And under our hypothesis the D poems (and the E poems as well) originally exemplified this mixed usage.

Neither can this speculation be made to shed light upon the source of the non-D poems. That is, these poems cannot be attributed to the forerunners of the Sadducees, for example, simply because they show contrasts with poems that are perhaps connected with the rise of the Pharisees. The differences between D and non-D have in general a different quality, and suggest inferences of another sort altogether.

But another aspect of the matter may have some importance. The Pharisees came to be the party of the synagogue. Their party and the importance of the synagogue as an institution developed hand in hand. Hence it is not extreme to conjecture that the influence which set the poems that we have called D¹ at the head of the Psalter was the influence of the synagogue rather than that of the Temple. Pharisaism was an expression of the spirit of conservatism and orthodoxy. The synagogue was both the fruit of the same spirit and the soil in which that spirit grew. And that which is most characteristic of the D poems is easily recognized as the voice of this spirit on the defensive. Concerning the problem thus suggested something further will be said in our fourth article.