On the Origin of Psalm 22

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Summary
It does not seem plausible to explain Psalm 22 as a unity. Too many elements differ too much. In the paper I try to present a plausible alternative. In Psalm 22, it seems as if we do not have a single text, but at least five different texts (one text with four interpretations). [1] A pre exilic or early exilic individual lament was first written as an example prayer for educational purposes (v2f, 7-12, 23). [2] Due to sentiments claiming national unity and cult-centralization it became important for the scribes that this prayer was not directed towards just any god, but that it was explicitly addressed towards the god of the central sanctuary. To make this explicit, a reference to the festivals in the central sanctuary was added (v4-6). [3] Then, in the exilic times, it became accustomed to read this text as a story about the corporate personality 'Jacob' in the exile who was mocked and despised by other people. In this occasion a significant extension were added (v13-22) making this prayer more into a narrative as this author already understood it to be. [4] In the same milieu some comments were added at the end of the text and in the margins, first with the exclusivist intention to specify the characteristics of Jacob as the group of true believers (verse 24a, 25, 27b-c), and later to counter this with an ethnic inclusivist intention (verse 24b-c, 26-27a¸. In this redaction was also the intention to fix the practice of vows as a part of the typical Israelite prayer that had to be fulfilled at the sanctuary (verse 26). [5] In a later time, eschatology became an important part of the community self-interpretation, and an author found it plausible to make this recounting of Jacob (זכר 28; עשׂה 32) into a cosmic event, where the ends of the earth return to Yahweh, when they get to know his saving acts. And the idea is given that even the dead, and the generations to worship him.

The dissertation:
The section is part of my Ph. D.-dissertation "Reapplication of Cultic Language in Psalm 22, 23 and 24". There I discuss how the typical lament, the birth-language, the pilgrimage-language and the language of festival celebrations refer to situations that are commonly suited to imprint lasting memories of detailed recollection – or "flashbulb memories". All these situations seem according to the Old Testament material (at least among the pious) to be surrounded by conventional cultic acts (acts where at least one of the participants is conceived as divine). I describe this through semantic field analysis on certain key terms (אלי, נדרי, גחי, השׁלכתי, רעי, כוסי הכבדand others). Psalm 22, 23 and 24 in their current form do not seem to be texts that were primarily used in cultic settings, but there are numerous allusions and references to language conventionally charged by such cultic acts. These psalms seem to be designed to recollect and interpret (or reinterpret) these memories.

Psalm 22

1 לַמְנַצֵּחַ עַל־אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד:

First layer: Instructional individual lament. 2-3, 7-12, 23.

2 אֵלִי אֵלִי לָמָה עֲזַבְתָּנִי רָחוֹק מִישׁוּעָתִי דִּבְרֵי שַׁאֲגָתִי:
3 אֱלֹהַי אֶקְרָא יוֹמָם וְלֹא תַעֲנֶה וְלַיְלָה וְלֹא־דוּמִיָּה לִי:

Second layer: Cult centralizing interpolation. 4-6.

4 וְאַתָּה קָדוֹשׁ יוֹשֵׁב תְּהִלּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל:
5 בְּךָ בָּטְחוּ אֲבֹתֵינוּ בָּטְחוּ וַתְּפַלְּטֵמוֹ:
6 אֵלֶיךָ זָעֲקוּ וְנִמְלָטוּ בְּךָ בָטְחוּ וְלֹא־בוֹשׁוּ:

Third layer: Generalization and mythologizing. 13-22.

7 וְאָנֹכִי תוֹלַעַת וְלֹא־אִישׁ חֶרְפַּת אָדָם וּבְזוּי עָם:
8 כָּל־רֹאַי יַלְעִגוּ לִי יַפְטִירוּ בְשָׂפָה יָנִיעוּ רֹאשׁ:
9 גֹּל אֶל־יְהוָה יְפַלְּטֵהוּ יַצִּילֵהוּ כִּי חָפֵץ בּוֹ:
10 כִּי־אַתָּה גֹחִי מִבֶּטֶן מַבְטִיחִי עַל־שְׁדֵי אִמִּי:
11 עָלֶיךָ הָשְׁלַכְתִּי מֵרֶחֶם מִבֶּטֶן אִמִּי אֵלִי אָתָּה:
12 אַל־תִּרְחַק מִמֶּנִּי כִּי־צָרָה קְרוֹבָה כִּי־אֵין עוֹזֵר:

Fourth layer: Discussion of Jacob's identity. 24-27. Inclusive part with frame.

13 סְבָבוּנִי פָּרִים רַבִּים אַבִּירֵי בָשָׁן כִּתְּרוּנִי:
14 פָּצוּ עָלַי פִּיהֶם אַרְיֵה טֹרֵף וְשֹׁאֵג:
15 כַּמַּיִם נִשְׁפַּכְתִּי וְהִתְפָּרְדוּ כָּל־עַצְמוֹתָי הָיָה לִבִּי כַּדּוֹנָג נָמֵס בְּתוֹךְ מֵעָי:
16 יָבֵשׁ כַּחֶרֶשׂ חֹכִי* וּלְשׁוֹנִי מָדְבָּק מַלְקוֹחָי וְלַעֲפַר־מָוֶת תִּשְׁפְּתֵנִי:
17 כִּי סְבָבוּנִי כְלָבִים רַבִּים* עֲדַת מְרֵעִים הִקִּיפוּנִי כָּאֲרִי יָדַי וְרַגְלָי:
18 אֲסַפֵּר כָּל־עַצְמוֹתָי הֵמָּה יַבִּיטוּ יִרְאוּ־בִי:
19 יְחַלְּקוּ בְגָדַי לָהֶם וְעַל־לְבוּשִׁי יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל:
20 וְאַתָּה יְהוָה אַל־תִּרְחָק אֱיָלוּתִי לְעֶזְרָתִי חוּשָׁה:
21 הַצִּילָה מֵחֶרֶב נַפְשִׁי מִיַּד־כֶּלֶב יְחִידָתִי:
22 הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִפִּי אַרְיֵה וּמִקַּרְנֵי רֵמִים עֲנִיתָנִי:

23 אֲסַפְּרָה שִׁמְךָ לְאֶחָי בְּתוֹךְ קָהָל אֲהַלְלֶךָּ:

Fifth layer: Eschatological vision. 28-32.

24 יִרְאֵי יְהוָה הַלְלוּהוּ כָּל־זֶרַע יַעֲקֹב כַּבְּדוּהוּ וְגוּרוּ מִמֶּנּוּ כָּל־זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל:
25 כִּי לֹא־בָזָה וְלֹא שִׁקַּץ עֱנוּת עָנִי וְלֹא־הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו מִמֶּנּוּ וּבְשַׁוְּעוֹ אֵלָיו שָׁמֵעַ:
26 מֵאִתְּךָ תְּהִלָּתִי בְּקָהָל רָב נְדָרַי אֲשַׁלֵּם נֶגֶד יְרֵאָיו:
27 יֹאכְלוּ עֲנָוִים וְיִשְׂבָּעוּ יְהַלְלוּ יְהוָה דֹּרְשָׁיו יְחִי לְבַבְכֶם לָעַד:

28 יִזְכְּרוּ וְיָשֻׁבוּ אֶל־יְהוָה כָּל־אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲווּ לְפָנֶיךָ כָּל־מִשְׁפְּחוֹת גּוֹיִם:
29 כִּי לַיהוָה הַמְּלוּכָה וּמֹשֵׁל בַּגּוֹיִם:
30 אָכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ כָּל־דִּשְׁנֵי־אֶרֶץ לְפָנָיו יִכְרְעוּ כָּל־יוֹרְדֵי עָפָר וְנַפְשׁוֹ לֹא חִיָּה:
31 זֶרַע יַעַבְדֶנּוּ יְסֻפַּר לַאדֹנָי לַדּוֹר:
32 יָבֹאוּ וְיַגִּידוּ צִדְקָתוֹ לְעַם נוֹלָד כִּי עָשָׂה:

* emended (verse 16-17)

3.1.2 Psalm 22: Literary Criticism

Psalm 22 is difficult to understand in its current form as a well connected unity, suited for a specific purpose. The stress on loneliness and of being despised in verse 3 and 7 seems in grim contrast to the collective situations described especially in the verses 4-6 and 24-27; and the eschatological and didactic situation described in verse 28-32 seems strange if this is supposed to be a despised persons' expression of agony towards a higher authority, even if the text is imagined as a narrative recounted after the individual has been helped. We cannot know with certainty how such a text did come into being, and there are no helpful external witnesses, but an opinion of this is nevertheless crucial if the interpretation of the text shall have any historical gravity. Even a hypothetical but plausible opinion of how this text came into being is better than ignoring the conflicts and contradictions that the text brings forth. The aim of this literary critical analysis can consequently not be to present how Psalm 22 really came into being, but more modestly – to present a plausible course of events that may be as close as possible to how the text came into being based on the sources available, that is, mainly the text itself.[118] In psalm-research a great number of different suggestions on the origin of Psalm 22 have already been presented. Many scholars have tried to explain away the inner conflicts in the psalm, and tried to show how the text may be conceived as a cultic unity from its origin;[119] some have claimed that the text is a retrospect witness of a personal saving act;[120] some have understood it as an amalgamation of two older cultic units (1-22 and 23-

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[118] Hossfeld & Zenger, *Psalmen 1-50*, 144-45 try to relate the textual layers to general entities as "vorexilischen Klagegebete 3 13 35" and "nachexilische Armenpsalmen 25 34 37 69", but the affinity with these other larger text blocks may be explained in numerous different ways – and there are hardly any helpful criterions for this. Marttila, Collective Interpretation, especially 97-99 analyzes specific phrases found in different psalms, mainly Psalm 22, 69 and 102. This approach seems safer, but only very few expressions in Psalm 22 have such direct affinities. For affinities with Deutero-Isaiah see note 159.

[119] Among the most prominent who have proposed such an idea are: Gerstenberger, *Psalms. Part 1*, 110f; Craighie, *Psalms 1-50*, 198 who considered the text as being inside the plausible limits of an ordinary individual lament – Gerstenberger argues that the psalm did function as a petition in Brazilian slum areas; Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 90 considered the text as a literary poem, made on the foundation of different cultic genres. Birkeland, *Feinde*, 216-28 and Mowinckel, *Skrifterne 1*, 60 suggested that the text is royal poetry for use in national peril. Aage Bentzen, *Messias Moses redivivus*, 21, claimed that the psalm was liturgical, and the different elements could all be understood in relation to events in a national festival. Some recent authors have refused to give any distinct decision of genre, and only called the text a complicated literary work of poetry, and that the text is a kind of cosmic narrative, borrowing from different genres - Ridderbos, *Psalmen*, 185-87; Deissler, *Mein Gott*, 97-99; Davis, *Exploding the Limits*, 95. It is sometimes unclear whether scholars who follow this last suggestion think that the psalm has been originally written in its current form, or whether they just choose to focus on the end-redaction.

[120] Another more common unity theory is to understand the entire text as the individual witness of a saving act – Thus Weiser, *Die Psalmen*, 148; Gese, *Psalm 22*, 5-6; Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 323-25. According to this opinion the entire text is composed in order to remember and recount what Yahweh has done – cf. ספר (verse 23, 31); זכר (verse 28); עשׂה (verse 32 – See especially Isaiah 44:23; Psalm 52:11; 109:27; Isaiah 38:15).

32);[121] and many scholars, especially from more recent times, have attributed the incongruities to different redactional layers.[122] The many unity theories seem to strand against difficulties, which the most important are mentioned already above. The amalgamation theory as most influentially has been proposed by Bernhard Duhm, has according to some scholars been refuted, because the text of Psalm 22:23-32 as a thanksgiving, requires a lament in advance.[123] The many shifts of speaker, subject and addressee seem to make the text too incoherent to fit unified genre. Not even an image of the text as a secondary recollection of a successful prayer may explain such disjunctions. Even if it is hard to decide the extent of redactional layers, the existence of such seems more probable than that they do not exist. On that reason it seems important to propose a suggestion of a plausible sequence of extensions that made this text into what it currently is, even if such a suggestion to a considerable degree has to be of a hypothetical nature.

3.1.2.1 Written prayers as instruction or witness

There is general agreement that sections like Psalm 22:2-3 and 12 consist of language that has its main setting in petitions towards a god, a so-called "individual lament". There is however no narrative in the Old Testament to indicate that written texts were used in such prayers. On the contrary, numerous texts indicate the opposite. When Hannah prayed, the prayer was spontaneous (1 Samuel 1:11) and so was the prayer that Elijah delivered over the widows' son (1 Kings 17:21). A great number of such prayers are reported in narrative material and in none of them a text is mentioned.[124] Unlike the Jewish, the Catholic or the Anglican prayer books, where prayers for different occasions are written and standardized, the ancients did not seem to recite texts when praying. The proper individual lament seems to have been an oral genre,

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[121] The most known of these theories are represented by Bernhard Duhm, *Psalmen*, 68, 72. He considered verse 2-22 as a lament, and 23-32 as a hymn. These two parts have later been added together. The same opinion was advanced in the commentaries by Cheyne and Schmidt.

[122] Among the most influential works that describe this are those of Becker, *Israel deutet seine Psalmen*, 49-50; Vorländer, *Mein Gott*, 273-74; Weimar, *Psalm 22*, 485; Fuchs, *Klage als Gebet*, 204-10; Vanoni, *Psalm 22. Literaturkritik*, 179-81; Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart*, 242; Lindström, *Suffering and Sin*, 68; Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 101-2.

[123] Marttila, *Collective Interpretation,* 100; Lindström, *Suffering and Sin,* 66-67; The strength of this refutation is perhaps less prominent than these scholars claim, since the recollection in verse 25 may be sufficient to attend the retrospective element that according to these scholars are lacking. And the claim that the parts fit together as a narrative may only describe the reason why a redactor chose to put them in their current order without any heading on the second part.

[124] To mention some: Genesis 17:18; 24:12, 42; 32:9; Numbers 12:13; Deuteronomy 3:24f; 9:26-29; Joshua 7:7; Judges 13:8; 16:28; 1 Kings 18:37; 2 Kings 19:15-19; 1 Chronicles 21:17; 2 Chronicles 14:10; 20:6-12; Ezra 9:6-15. A detailed discussion of prayers in narrative works is given in Balentine, *Prayer*. In no narrative text written prayers are recited.

and the act of writing the prayers seems to be for different secondary purposes. H. Gunkel has, as well known, characterized the Psalms in general as "*Nachahmungen*" – remembrance,[125] and claimed that only Psalm 13 was a real individual lament in conformity with the rules of the genre.[126] The most obvious secondary purpose such a written psalm could have, would be as instructions to junior practitioners, as many of the Acadian prayers show. These instructions are normally directed in second person, not as general instructions to every practitioner, but from the senior professional to the apprentice.[127] Another reason to make such texts may also have been to advance witnesses to the congregation of the saving acts of the god; to "proclaim your name among my brothers" (Psalm 22:23), to "fulfill my vows in the great congregation" (verse 26), in order that "the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn to Yahweh", or to "ascribe a new generation to the lord" (verse 31) "that he has done it" (verse 32). Only in this single psalm in question, a strong emphasize towards making the wonders of Yahweh known can be detected.[128] The language directed from an individual to the god in prayer and thanksgiving, is secondarily recounted in education, to witness the might of the deity and how prayers like this may be heard and followed up by a saving act. There are subsequently two different but overlapping reasons to produce individual laments in written forms.[129] The first is as instruction to novices and the second is to recount the prayer as part of narrative glorifying the god. It seems plausible to suggest that the original part of Psalm 22 was written with both these purposes in mind.

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[125] Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, 176.
[126] Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 46.
[127] A list of examples is given in Gerstenberger, *Bittende Mensch,* 68 note 17. There are also some instructions given in third person, but this may be interpreted in the same way if, for instance, the text is prepared for more than one practitioners.
[128] For this aspect – Rad, *Theology of the Old Testament I*, 368-70; Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 184-85. Other texts in the Old Testament where this aspect is prominent is Psalm 26:7; 71:15; 73:15; 75:2; 78:4, 6, 13; 88:12; 107:22; 118:17. See also Chapter 9.1.
[129] Another possible third reason to produce written individual laments could be as letters to the god – See for instance Borger, *Gottesbrief*, 575-76; Toorn, *Family Religion*, 84. There is however no text in the Old Testament that support the existed such a genre in early Judaism. And, a possible fourth reason could be to document the piety of a ruler in a difficult situation, as the prayers of Shamash-shum-ukin in the besieged Babylon in 648 BCE describes. See Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, 474-75, 492-93. That some of the Old Testament may have had such an origin is not impossible, but there are few fixed points in the texts to suggest this. It is however Mowinckel's and Birkeland's view – see note 119.

3.1.2.2 The Nucleus of Psalm 22 as a genuine Individual Lament

Psalm 22:2-23 consistently represent the expressions of an 'I' directed towards a superior recipient or 'You'. Since verse 9 is a quotation of the mockers it is not an exception.[130] But this situation of communication are broken from verse 24, and exists only again in verse 26a. We know that an expression of praise is usually added to most written prayers both in the Israelite and in the Acadian hymns, also of the clearly instructional kinds.[131] It is therefore reasonable to make a primary division in the Psalm between the prayer language in verse 2-23 and other kinds of language from 24-32. It also seems that the "brothers" and the "congregation" mentioned in verse 23 is deliberately reinterpreted in verse 24 and 25 into "all of Jacob/Israel" and the "great congregation", broadening a local sphere into a more central and national sphere.[132] Subsequently it seems right to assume that verse 24-32 are later additions to a text that already previously existed.[133]

It is further possible to find a plausible instructional prayer within the range of the individual lament genre in verse 2-3, 7-12 and 23. This text is a complete lament consisting of invocation and complaints towards the god (v2f), the self (v3, 7) and the enemy (v7-9, 12). It has also expressions of trust (v10-11),[134] a prayer (v12) and the characteristic expression of praise (v23). It is hardly possible to define any specific historical situation that would be fitting the nucleus of Psalm 22 better than any other time. The language is standard Hebrew, and it does not refer to anything external. But the lament should probably be regarded as pre-exilic or early exilic, as Isaiah 41:14 seems quote verse 7. The setting described in the text is that of the prayer of the pious person who has become a social outcast[135] or one who is

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[130] For an analysis of the directions of speech in Psalm 22, see: Vanoni, *Psalm 22: Literarkritik*, 179.
[131] Individual laments generally end with a short thanksgiving (Psalm 7:18; 13:6; 27:6; 28:6-7; 31:20-25 etc.) – Marttila, *Collective Interpretation*, 100; Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart*, 244. Psalm 88 is a notable exception.
[132] See Chapter 7.2.
[133] This division is among the most common among scholars. See for example Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart*, 244; Vanoni, *Psalm 22: Literarkritik*, 180; Lindström, *Suffering and Sin*, 66-67; Hossfeld & Zenger, *Psalmen 1-150*, 145; Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 100.
[134] Spickermann, *Heilsgegenwart*, 244 actually consider these verses as a first extension of the original verses 2-3, 7-9, 12-23. Though his analysis have been influential, this suggestion that the psalm was originally without an expression of trust has not had any approval. For example Marttila, *Collective Interpretation*, 102.
[135] Compare Psalm 22:7-9 and Job 19:13-20; 30; as in the case of the leprous – Leviticus 13:46; 2 Kings 15:5 – Seybold, *Gebet des Kranken*, 50-51.

persecuted or ridiculed because of his faith.[136] The prayer is directed towards the god, with the intention to make the god intervene on behalf of the subject towards the enemy.[137]

3.1.2.3 Verse 4-6 as a national extension

A redactional interpolation that has been detected by most authors who do redactional critical works is the verses 4-6. While the bias in verse 2-3 and 7-9 is how lonely and abandoned the subject is, verse 4-6 refer to collective happenings, as the praises of Israel, and the collective experiences of the fathers. Some authors have claimed that this is possible as an element of trust,[138] and this is not fully wrong. The part is possible as an affirmation of confidence, as Gunkel writes: "*Die Psalmist denkt an die vielen Erzählungen*" and therefore he believes that this can also come true in his time. Consequently, if one shall argue that this is an extension, there should also be other reasons to do so. Such reasons exist, and they are as follows: [1] The text works quite well without this block. [2] The beginning of verse 7 is "And I" ואנכי. If a block were to be added, it would be proper to start in a similar way, and the "And you" ואתה in verse 4 does this. [3] The expression "our fathers" אבתינו (v5) only occur in the psalter in collective laments (Psalm 44:2; 78:3, 5; 106:6, 7; Lamentations 5:7). This explicit plural "our" is very odd in the situation of a true individual lament because it presupposes a community, and the other expressions in Psalm 22:2-3, 7-23 are univocally individual.[139] [4] The lament as act of speech is divided in two by these verses. This interpolation ends a lament that is too short compared to the genre, and jumps into an expression of trust – that comes before the lament has yet fully been advanced. And the rest of this lament-expression comes directly in the following verse 7-9. [5] There is also a peculiar doubling in the expression of trust motive. There is such an element both in verse 4-6 and 10-11. And the latter is both according to content and style the more proper.[140] [6] Furthermore there is a decisive motive for adding this as an extension, namely to further define who "my god" (אלי) is. Principally the addressee in this invocation could be a number of divine or semi-divine beings, but the

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[136] As Psalm 69:7-10; Jeremiah 20:12-18 and others.
[137] Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, 216. Will der Beter Jahve rühren, so stellt er sich im Unterschiede zu den Feinden in den Vordergrund und Schildert sich so kläglich und bemitleidenswert, daβ er hoffen das, der Gott könne nicht anders, als ihn erhören.
[138] Those who defend the integrity of Psalm 22 as an individual lament argue this way, See Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 91; *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, 236; Gerstenberger, *Psalms. Part 1*, 110.
[139] Vorländer, *Mein Gott*, 274; Albertz, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit*, 30; Vanoni, *Psalm 22. Literaturkritik*, 174.
[140] Irsigler, *Psalm 22: Endgestalt*, 213-13; Janowski, *Konfliktgespräche*, 77. Hermann Spieckermann, *Heilgegenwart*, 242-43 has suggested that both the expressions of trust are different additions. From a rhetorical perspective this seems improbable, since the expression of trust is a very important

verses 4-6 exclude other such possibilities by referring to the god who saved the fathers, that is the god who is celebrated "…sitting upon the praises of Israel". The emphasis among the late pre-exilic and early post-exilic scribes to prohibit local religion makes a good motive to include these expressions in this lament.[141] As the earlier written versions of Psalm 22 were increasingly as a paradigmatic expression suitable for teaching, the text grew increasingly important for the self-designation of the scribes. Consequently, the collective aspect in the text was added in order to ensure that the image of the deity was in conformity with the authoritatively sanctioned version of the central cult, as performed in the (pre- and) post-exilic festivals. The text, without verse 4-6 would suit as prayer in most shrines, both private and public. But with the introduction of verse 4-6 the use of this psalm would be more confined to settings that were in harmony with the nationally celebrated traditions.

3.1.2.4 Psalm 22:13-22 and the many sufferings of Jacob

It has often been mentioned that verse 12 makes a suitable ending to this psalm as an individual lament, and that the further complaints provided in verse 13-22 makes the lamentations all over again.[142] The verses 13-22 also obviously describes many different kinds of suffering, perhaps seeking to give a kind of narrative, where the subject is exposed to different paradigmatic kinds of suffering that pretend to represent human sufferings in general, and not only in specific cases. The extended use of animal metaphors in verse 13-22 also seems to indicate a kind of cosmic struggle, where the enemies easily can be interpreted as being demons[143] or nations.[144] By viewing only the text, it seems that the core text of Psalm 22 (2-3, 7-12, 23) has later been interpreted as being part of a narrative describing a person that has experienced extraordinary suffering and reproach, and then Psalm 22:13-22 has been added to specify these sufferings. In this way, the text has become increasingly literary. The reference in Isaiah 41:14 "…you worm Jacob, you insect Israel!" is probably an allusion to Psalm 22:7.[145] If so, the core of Psalm 22 has been collectively interpreted as describing the lamentable situation of "Jacob", after 586. The oracle of salvation is then reversing the language of self-description among the exiles.

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[141] For this redactional motive, see for instance Levin, *Fortschreibungen*, 200.
[142] Irsigler *Psalm 22*, 213-14; Janowski, *Konfliktgespräche*, 77; Leschow, *Psalm 22,2-22 und Psalm 88*, 220.
[143] As for instance Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 181; Müller, *Feinde, Tiere und Dämonen*.
[144] As for instance Wellhausen, *Psalms*, 172-73.
[145] As Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 75; Begrich, *Das priesterliche Heilsorakel*, 87.

I would then suggest that the extension consisting of verse 13-22 was done in early post-exilic times, in order to make a narrative that could describe the many sufferings of Jacob, and how he was finally saved by Yahweh, following the line of Deutero-Isaiah. The first reason to assume verse 13-22 as an extension is that it has another literary character than verse 2-3, 7-12. The previous psalm is relatively concrete and specific, verse 13-22 makes the texts more general, metaphorical and paradigmatic.[146] The main figure in the narrative is surrounded by 'oxen' (verse 13, 22), 'lion' (verse 14, [17?], 22), 'dogs' (verse 17, 21), 'evildoers' (verse 17), spoilers (verse 19). Physically the experience of 'outpoured soul' (verse 15), 'bones out of joint' (verse 15), 'melting' (verse 15), 'dry mouth' (verse 16) and 'dust of death' (verse 16) are mentioned. The physical experience described in verse 15-16 is framed by the animal/enemies, making the physical condition appear as an effect of these entities – and when it is obvious that the animals are to be interpreted metaphorically, the subject is also encouraged to interpret the physical conditions metaphorically in order to embrace an indefinite number of lamentable conditions. The animal metaphors in this section may represent foreign gods, demons, enemy standards, peoples or disease-demons, according to the different sets of experience among the addressees. By the use of metaphor, the scribe manages to make the language both clear and far-embracing at the same time, since the source language (the animal assault) is clear while the target language (the distress-situation) is open.[147] A second argument for seeing 13-22 as an extension is the length of the lamentation. Other individual laments in the first Davidic psalter are relatively short (as would also Psalm 22:2-3, 7-12, 23 be).[148] It has sometimes been noted that the end of verse 11 אלי אתה and the start of verse 12 אל־תרחק makes a fine *inclusio* with verse 2 (אלי and רחוק). Verse 12 is then the genuine prayer that is summed up with the word "do not be far away" (אל־תרחק). This is actually once repeated as the commencement of the second prayer section in verse 20 –

[146] Janowski, *Konfliktgespräche,* 347; Gese, Psalm 22, 185, 192.
[147] See chapter 2.2.
[148] Psalm 3=9 verses; 4=9; 5=13; 6=11; 7=18; 11=7; 12=9; 13=6; 17=15; 22=32; 26=12; 27=14; 28=9; 31=25; 35=28; 36=13; 38=23; 39=14; 40=18; 41=14. In all of these, one verse must be subtracted as a superscription. Some of them are quite long, but these are among scholars generally considered to have significant extensions. For example the 17+1 verses of psalm 40 expose that verse 14-18 is an interpolation of Psalm 70, and that verse 7-9 is a comment – Becker, *Israel deutet seine Psalmen*, 70. Also the very long Psalm 35 has, at least according to Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalm 1-50*, 215, a primary layer consisting of only 1-6, 11-18. To find a core of Psalm 22 only consisting of 9 verses would therefore be the common extent of a lament. See also Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 260 who also imagine the cultic genre as consisting of quite short poems: "Wir werden uns ihren Umfang und Aufbau ähnlich demjenigen der kurzen Klagelieder 28. 54. 61 usw. vorzustellen haben".

another indicator that verse 13-22 is self-aware of being a second prayer cycle.[149] Furthermore, in verse 16 the agony is explicitly interpreted as a punishment wrought by the god. This would probably not fit the original lament where the god has left the subject (verse 2). But it fits better the story of Jacob as a people, who interpreted the Babylonian exile as a punishment for their sins (See for instance Isaiah 40:2 and many other places).

Peter Weimar has suggested that Psalm 22:2-12 and 13-22 should be regarded as originally two different laments that have been fused together in one, due to some of the above observations.[150] It is however hard to see that verse 13-22 is plausible as an independent example of individual lament. There is no distinct invocation, but the enemy-laments start abruptly. Also the animal metaphors seem queer when not introduced by any literal language. And the section lacks an expression of trust. Psalm 22:13-22 seems to make more sense as expressions intending to make a kind of generalization of the individual lament genre, bringing it up to a more metaphorical and general level.[151] Consequently, after this redaction, Psalm 22:2-23 became a short version of a descent myth, picturing how the collective character, Jacob, was exposed to all kinds of assaults in the experience of the Babylonian exile.

3.1.2.5 Verse 24-27 as a dispute of the identity of Jacob

The latter part of Psalm 22, verse 24-32, is confusing, and seems to consist of various different shorter expressions. A possible way to explain these may be that when the text became more paradigmatic after verse 13-22 was added, a question of who it concerned did arise. It became important to identify who may be incorporated in the collective subject of the narrative-psalm (verse 2-23), and who eventually were not. It is 'those who fear Yahweh', 'the whole seed of Jacob' (verse 24), 'Israel' (verse 24), 'the great congregation' (verse 26). It is 'the afflicted' עני (verse 25, 27) 'the [afflicted] one who cry' (verse 25),[152] and finally

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[149] Vanoni, *Psalm 22: Literarkritik*, 167.
[150] Weimar, *Psalm 22*, 473.
[151] This paradigmatic and boundary-breaking character of Psalm 22 has been noted by some scholars, and is especially visible in the later redactions. But the intentional inclusion of so many different symptoms gives a cosmological impression already of verse 13-22 – See Davis, *Exploding the Limits*, 98 "a total collapse"; Deissler, *Mein Gott*, 119 "Die Grundstruktur von Psalm 22 als Urform allen Betens"; Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 177:"Urleiden".
[152] On "the afflicted" עני/ענוים as an influential group in the post-exilic community, see Levin, *Fortschreibungen*, 265-90; 322-38.

'those who seek him' (verse 27). On the one side there are some exclusive distinctions, those who are – poor, seeking; those who – fear him, praise him and glorify him. These terms are hardly meaningful if they are not seen in contrast with a group of people who do not 'fear', 'praise', 'glorify', 'seek' and are not 'poor'. Consequently, these terms are exclusive. On the other side there seems also to be an ethnically inclusive emphasis in some of the expressions – it is "the whole seed of Jacob", "Israel" or "the great congregation". A discussion of who the worshippers are seems to lay behind these expressions, where different concerns are given voice. Therefore, it seems improbable that all these distinction comes from the same hand. It seems more plausible that they have appeared in at least two stages. First a celebration of the saving act for the exclusive group of the pious has been conceived by verse 24a, 25 and 27b-c, then an inclusive emphasis has been implied by the addition of verse 24b-c and 26-27a – settling the dispute by explicitly stating the collective congregation to be Jacob, the whole Israel, the interpretation that is implicit in the Isaiah 41:17 recount of verse 7.[153]

When it comes to verse 26b-27a, the last editor seems to have felt that the practice of doing vows should explicitly be stated as part of this paradigmatic prayer. After all, vows were common in situations where individual laments where performed, and they should be regulated.[154] Therefore this practice has been introduced into the psalm. And in the same context the collective character of the vow-fulfillment is emphasized. It is "the great (רב) congregation" (verse 26a), and it is done by sacrifices that "the poor may eat and be filled" (27a). Consequently, verse 26a coincides with the emphasis in verse 24b-c. When verse 26b is an instruction of how vows are to be fulfilled, namely in front of those who fear him (נגד יראיו), this also seem in line with the collective emphasis in verse 24b-c, 26a even if the fear here could have been regarded as an exclusivist criterion. Because verse 24c has already explicitly stated that it is the entire Israel (כל-ישראל) that fears him (the verb גור in verse 24c as synonym for ירא in verse 24a and 26b). Consequently the inclusive editor of verse 24b-c, 26-27a has countered the exclusive emphasis in verse 24a, 27b by nationally inclusive concepts. And this collective oriented editor has also explicitly stated that vows are properly fulfilled in a collective setting, something that is not self evident.[155] Another clue to this

[153] For the phenomenon of making authoritative texts as compromises seeking the support of different textual communities, see Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 141.
[154] See Chapter 5.
[155] The vows expressed by Jacob, Hannah or Absalom do not seem to be thoroughly regulated. See chapter 5.8.

interpretation of verse 24-27 is to see it in relation to verse 23. In verse 23 the lamenting person is promising: "I will recount your name to my brothers, in the midst of the congregation I will praise you". It is a first person speech to a second person addressee, referring to a congregation that seems to be small, consisting of only of persons that may be designed as "brothers". In verse 24a, 25, 27c the narrative of how the individual bring his witness to this congregation is given, and how they praise him (verse 24a) because the god heard the prayer (verse 25), and the individual blesses the heart of this community. To bless the heart of a small community is probably more plausible than to bless the heart of a national community. However, verse 24b-c, 26-27b interprets verse 23 in another direction. It is "the great (רב) congregation" (verse 26) of "all Israel" (verse 24) who "praise" (verse 24), not a family or clan-congregation as the impression verse 23 gives. By using the same words (קהל and הלל) in different manners, verse 24b-c, 26-27b reinterprets verse 23, and explicitly states that the entirety of Israel is the congregation that the praying individual is fulfilling his vows towards.

In verse 24b-c and 26-27b it becomes important that the text apply to every Israelite, and to the great congregation. And that those who do vows in such situations make sure to fulfill them in the main sanctuary. Consequently we have a centralizing emphasis here. It has sometimes been observed that the root "praise" הלל is found five times in Psalm 22; in verse 4 (תהלות), verse 23 (אהללך), verse 24 (הללוהו), verse 26 (תהלתי) and verse 27 (יהללו). This root accordingly makes a connection between verse 4-6 and 24 [or 23]-27. For this reason, these additions are according to some scholars ascribed to the same redactional level.[156] This would also fit how verse 24 and 26 reinterprets verse 23. But as 24-27 does not seem a single unified redactional extension, but two different extension, each with its own emphasis, while verse 4-6 appears more as a unity with a single concern it can hardly be ascribed to the same redactor. If it were, it would coincide with verse 24b-c, 26-27a. The section, verse 2-27, ends with a jussive – "May your (plural) heart live forever" (v27c). This is a blessing to the audience, an indication that this was once the end of the entire text.[157]

[156] This is for instance the opinion of Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 103-4; Vanoni, *Psalm 22: Literarkritik*, 185-86.
[157] This is also the opinion of Marttila, *Collective interpretation*, 104.

3.1.2.6 The cosmic eschatological extension

Finally, when Psalm 22:2-27 is concluded, it has been reinterpreted as a unity by the editor of verse 28-32. This editor has seen a narrative tale of the laments and rescue of Jacob, and he reinterprets the text in eschatological manner. The main reasons to date this section late, is found in the appellation to Yahweh "my lord" אדני in verse 31, and in the idea that the deceased is supposed to bow down to him in verse 30. Such phrasing is elsewhere mainly found in late texts, and is especially frequent in the book of Daniel.[158] However, this eschatological posture may be considered as a suitable extension of the cosmic Jacob-narrative where the main character experiences that the ends of the earth are kneeling in front of Yahweh when they remember his saving wonders. Consequently there are at least good reasons to think that verse 28-32 is a later extension, depending on the previous. It may be argued that verse 28-32 have linguistic affinity to Deutero-Isaiah, and that therefore this part may also have originated in Persian times.[159] However the cosmic aspects of this section are far removed from the mentality in the previous verses, a vacancy in time between these verses should probably be presupposed. There seems to be in verse 28-32 a bias towards the future, making the previous parts of the psalm represent the past as afflicted time, the present as a time when the god has answered the prayer (v25) and the pious glorify him (v24, 26). In the future, the god will complete his salvation by taking superiority over the whole earth – even including the dead (v30). In similar lines, the psalm becomes a narrative that goes from the individual, surrounded by enemies, through the collective group of the pious, until a universal group of "the ends of the earth" who will join in the praise. The verses 28-32 therefore seem to, at least partly, to have emerged as the work of a stylistically conscious scribe, who did see these possible narrative lines, and who made them clear. In this way he made the Psalm even more into a cosmic paradigmatic narrative of the suffering Jacob. Some scholars, as Gottfried Vanoni has suggested that verse 28-29 and 31b-32 were added before the difficult verse 30.[160] But his reason for this opinion seems mainly to be the text-critical problems that are probably much exaggerated.[161]

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[158] Marttila, *Collective Interpretation*, 104; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen 1-50*, 145.
[159] For instance כל־אפסי־ארץ Psalm 22:28 and Isaiah 45:22; 52:10; זכרו השובו/וישבו Psalm 22:28 and Isaiah 46:8; משל with Yahweh as subject Psalm 22:29 and Isaiah 40:10; כרע towards Yahweh Psalm 22:31 and Isaiah 45:23 – also the foreign gods in 46:1-2 bows; ירד עפר Psalm 22:31 and Isaiah 47:1; כי עשה Psalm 22:32 and Isaiah 44:23.
[160] Vanoni, *Psalm 22: Literarkritik*, 166.
[161] Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart*, 242 gives a translation of this verse that does seem to fit the context (See Text criticism above).

In Psalm 22, it seems as if we do not have a single text, but at least five different texts. [1] A pre exilic or early exilic individual lament was written as an example prayer for educational purposes (v2f, 7-12, 23). [2] Due to sentiments claiming national unity and cult-centralization it became important for the scribes that this prayer was not directed towards just any god, but that it was explicitly addressed towards the god of the central sanctuary. To make this explicit, a reference to the festivals in the central sanctuary was added (v4-6).[162] [3] Then, in the exilic times, it became accustomed to read this text as a story about the corporate personality 'Jacob' in the exile who was mocked and despised by other people. In this occasion a significant extension were added (v13-22) making this prayer more into a narrative as this author already understood it to be. [4] In the same milieu some comments were added at the end of the text and in the margins, first with the exclusivist intention to specify the characteristics of Jacob as the group of true believers (verse 24a, 25, 27b-c), and later to counter this with an ethnic inclusivist intention (verse 24b-c, 26-27a ,. In this redaction was also the intention to fix the practice of vows as a part of the typical Israelite prayer that had to be fulfilled at the sanctuary (verse 26).[163] [5] In a later time, eschatology became an important part of the community self-interpretation, and an author found it plausible to make this recounting of Jacob (זכר 28; עשׂה 32) into a cosmic event, where the ends of the earth return to Yahweh, when they get to know his saving acts. And the idea is given that even the dead, and the generations to worship him.

[162] See Chapter 8.
[163] See Chapter 5.