PSALM 98: A DIVINE WARRIOR VICTORY SONG

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Since S. Mowinckel,¹ Psalm 98 has frequently been categorized as one of a number of psalms that were at the core of a reconstructed enthronement festival.² Psalms 47, 93, 95-98 were entitled enthronement psalms since they celebrated Yahweh's annually renewed kingship. While many scholars have demonstrated the dubiousness of such a hypothetical festival³ in ancient Israel and have attempted modified genre identifications,⁴ new insight into the function of these psalms illuminates many points of interpretation. Psalm 98 will be examined here with the view of identifying its genre and function in the cult⁵ of ancient Israel. Analysis of the psalm will be generalized to apply to generically-related psalms. The main thesis of this article is that Psalm 98 is a Divine Warrior victory song celebrating the return of Yahweh the commander of the heavenly

²For sympathetic treatments of Mowinckel's view on the enthronement festival and the enthronement psalms cf. E. Lipinski, "Yahweh Malak," Bib 44 (1963) 405-460; D. R. Ap-Thomas, "An Appreciation of Sigmund Mowinckel's Contribution to Biblical Studies," JBL 85 (1966) 315-325. While not wholly accepting Mowinckel's thesis, H. H. Rowley (Worship in Ancient Israel [London: SPCK, 1967] 190 ff.) finds much that is valuable in his writing on the subject. Also note P. Drijvers, The Psalms: Their Structure and Meaning (Freiburg: Herder, 1965) 164-182.

³Critics of the approach abound. For examples and further bibliography consult H.-J. Kraus, Worship in Ancient Israel (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966) 205-208; A. Weiser, The Psalms (Old Testament Library; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 62 ff.; R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 2. 504-506. For evangelical critiques of Mowinckel's thesis see A. G. Herbert, "The Idea of Kingship in the OT," Reformed Theological Review 18 (1959) 34-45; E. J. Young, "Thy God Reigneth," in Isaiah (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 3. 550-552; K. Kitchen, Ancient Orient and Old Testament (Chicago: Inter-Varsity, 1966) 102-106.

For instance, L. Sabourin (*The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning* [Staten Island: Alba House, 1969] 226-227) speaks of these psalms as psalms of Yahweh's kingship, subtly modifying Mowinckel's approach to the psalms.

⁵I am here defining cult as roughly equal to formal worship. A helpful definition of cult may be found in S. Mowinckel, *Psalms* 1. 15: "Cult or ritual may be defined as the socially established and regulated holy acts and words in which the encounter and communion of the Deity with the congregation is established, developed, and brought to its ultimate goal. In other words: a relation in which a religion becomes a vitalizing function as a communion of God and congregation, and of the members of the congregation amongst themselves." A major problem, however, with this definition is that it does not account for the divine origin of worship in ancient Israel; cf. M. Woudstra, *The Ark of the Covenant from Conquest to Kingship* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1965) 41.

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S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 1. 107 ff.

hosts who is leading the Israelite army back home after waging victorious holy war.

I. TRANSLATION

Sing to the Lord a new song, for he has done wonderful acts; his right hand and his holy arm have saved them.

The Lord has made known his salvation—
in the presence of the nations?—
he has revealed his righteousness.

He remembered his covenant love and his faithfulness to the house of Israel; all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God.

Shout for joy to the Lord of all the earth. Break forth and sing for joy and sing praise. Sing praise to the Lord with a lyre, with a lyre⁸ and the sound of playing, with trumpet and the sound of the horn, shout for joy before the King, Yahweh.

Let the sea storm and all its fullness,
the world and all who dwell therein.
Let the rivers clap (their) hands,
Let the mountains together sing for joy before the Lord,
for he is coming to judge the earth,
he will judge the world with righteousness and the peoples with equity.

Psalm 98 may be divided into three stanzas on the basis of content and time reference: (1) Praise Yahweh who has delivered Israel in the past (vv 1-3); (2)

"The literature on holy war is extensive. The seminal work (though there were important precursors) is G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1951). For the most recent literature see P. D. Miller, Jr., The Divine Warrior in Early Israel (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1973); T. Longman, III, "The Divine Warrior: The New Testament Use of an Old Testament Motif," WTJ 44 (1982) 290-307, with the relevant literature cited therein.

⁷This verse is structured as a pivot pattern where the middle colon of the line "in the presence of the nations" may be read with both the preceding and following cola; cf. W. G. E. Watson, "The Pivot Pattern in Hebrew, Ugaritic and Akkadian Poetry," ZAW 88 (1976) 239-253. M. J. Dahood, "A New Metrical Pattern in Biblical Poetry," CBQ 29 (1967) 574-582, calls this a "double-duty modifier."

*Note the occurrence of anakypdosis here and in the preceding verse. Anakypdosis is a well-known but little-used rhetorical device in Hebrew poetry, which simply refers to a word or phrase that ends one colon and begins the next.

⁹I am here using the term "stanza" loosely. No one has been able to prove the existence of larger groupings of lines in Hebrew poems in any systematic way. A few poems do demonstrate such patterns either because of literary devices like acrostics (Psalm 119) or commonly recurring refrains (Psalms 42/43) or on the basis of content (Psalm 98).

praise Yahweh who rules over the world in the present (vv 4-6); (3) praise Yahweh who will judge the universe in the future (vv 7-9).¹⁰

II. STANZA 1

The psalmist begins by extolling Yahweh's mighty deliverance of his people in the past. ¹¹ Divine Warrior imagery and language permeate these verses and provide the key to the interpretation of the psalm as a whole. ¹² References to Yahweh's "right hand" and "holy arm" signify his warring activity as is evident from their occurrence in other parts of the OT. ¹³ The designation "new song" occurs seven times in the OT (Ps 33:3; 40:3; 96:1; 98:1; 144:9; 149:1; Isa 42:10) and twice in the NT (Rev 5:9; 14:3), each time in a holy war context. ¹⁴

The allusion to the Lord's "salvation" usually has been taken as a reference to a military victory. The debate has centered on precisely which victory the language refers to. While many commentators have pointed to the exodus as the motivating event behind the composition of the psalm, ¹⁵ Leupold and others have maintained that the strong linguistic similarity with parts of the latter half of Isaiah indicates that the restoration from exile constitutes the historical context for the psalm (see below). ¹⁶

III. STANZA 2

The second stanza praises Yahweh as king over all the earth in the present. Most of the interest in this stanza has focused on the last two words (*hammelek YHWH*), a phrase that provides the rationale for categorizing the psalm as an enthronement or Yahweh kingship psalm. Of course Psalm 98 differs from the

¹⁰The movement from past to future found in Psalm 98 may be discerned in several other of the poems that I classify as Divine Warrior victory songs; cf. Psalms 29, 93, 99.

"I believe that R. B. Allen (*When Song Is New* [Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1983] 39 ff.) errs in projecting all three stanzas of the psalm into the future.

¹²Cf. von Rad, *Krieg*, and Miller, *Warrior*, for the most complete listing of Divine Warrior imagery and language.

¹³J. Muilenburg ("A Liturgy on the Triumphs of Yahweh," in Studia Biblica et Semitica [C. Vriezen volume; H. Veenman and Zonen N. V. Wageningen, 1966] 242) lists fourteen occurrences of this image.

¹⁴Longman, "Warrior" 300-302.

¹⁵The image of God's saving "right hand" is associated with the exodus, and the mighty acts surrounding the exodus are described as *niplā'ot* (Exod 3:20, etc.).

¹⁶H. C. Leupold, Exposition of the Psalms (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1959) 691. See also A. F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms (Cambridge: University Press, 1902) 582. Psalm 98 does have many literary parallels with the second half of Isaiah (e.g. Isa 42:10; 52:10). M. J. Dahood (The Psalms [AB 17; Garden City: Doubleday, 1968] 365) states that the conflict is between Yahweh and the forces of chaos, a position for which he provides no substantial arguments.

other so-called enthronement psalms, the latter all containing the verbal phrase $YHWH \ m\bar{a}lak$ or the like. 17

Criticisms of Mowinckel's attempt to identify the cultic *Sitz im Leben* of these poems in a reconstructed enthronement festival abound, so only brief comments will be made here. In the first place, the enthronement festival is almost totally reconstructed from Mesopotamian materials (particularly the *akītu* festival) with no explicit evidence coming from the OT itself. The methodological problems with such a comparison are overwhelming.¹⁸ Second, Psalm 98 itself gives no indication that kingship is something that is being newly bestowed or even renewed at this time. Rather, the natural reading of the psalm is that Yahweh is being praised as king eternal (cf. 93:2).

Nevertheless it is true that Yahweh's kingship is frequently associated with his warring activity. ¹⁹ Thus the reaffirmation of Yahweh's kingship follows the successful waging of holy war.

The musical praise of Yahweh the victorious Divine Warrior further confirms our identification of Psalm 98 as a song of praise sung by the congregation as it greets the victorious army and its divine commander. Indeed the role of music in holy war passages in the OT shows that its ups and downs comprise an important subtheme to the theme of the Divine Warrior. Simply stated, while the Divine Warrior wars, music languishes (Isa 24:8 ff.; compare comments on the role of nature below), and when the Divine Warrior wins, music is taken up again in a paean of praise. This reflects historical custom, since we know that the human war leader and his army were greeted by instrumental music and victory songs upon their return (1 Sam 18:6-7; Judg 11:34). Indeed a musical response to military victory was common in the ancient Near East. O. Keel mentions that there were musical groups with tambourines accompanying Assyrian armies as well as Canaanite and Egyptian parallels. ²¹

¹⁸Cf. T. Longman, III, "The Validity, Procedure and Benefit of a Comparative Approach to Akkadian Autobiography," chap. 2 in *Fictional Akkadian Royal Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1983) 37-63, for a theoretical approach to comparative method.

¹⁹Note for instance the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15) where the conclusion of this psalm, which extols Yahweh as a warrior (v 3), looks forward to his perpetual kingship (v 18). An interesting observation may be made concerning the association of divine kingship and divine warfare in ancient Near Eastern literature.

²⁰There is a variation of this theme found in Isa 30:32, which states that God wars with musical accompaniment. The same type of variation pertains to the relationship between the Divine Warrior and nature (cf. n 23 *infra*).

²¹O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (New York: Seabury, 1978) 335 ff. I wish to thank my former student Mark Strom for this reference.

¹⁷Among the extensive literature that has been produced on the phrase *YHWH mālak* see E. Lipinski, "Yahweh Malak"; J. D. W. Watts, "Yahweh Malak Psalms," *TZ* 21 (1965) 341-348; R. A. Rosenberg, "Yahweh Becomes King," *JBL* 85 (1966) 297-307; A. Gelston, "A Note on Yhwh Mlk," *VT* 16 (1966) 507-512; H. Ringgren, "Behold, Your King Comes," *VT* 24 (1974) 207-211.

IV. STANZA 3

In the last three verses the call to praise expands to include all of creation. Even nature herself responds to the great acts of Yahweh. Nature's joyful participation in the praise of Yahweh is a frequent theme in the Psalms, particularly those in which Yahweh's military role is highlighted.

Nature owes praise to Yahweh because he created it (Psalm 95), but special interest attends the connection between nature's praise and the future judgment. The connection may be explained by Rom 8:18 ff., a passage that describes the "eager expectation" felt by the creation for the future "glorious freedom." God had created creation "good" (the story of Genesis 1), but man had perverted the goodness of creation through sin (the story of Genesis 3). The result was the curse and the subjection of the world to frustration. Paul speaks in the light of this present status of the world and looks forward with the creation to the future redemption. Psalm 98 with its association of the rejoicing of creation and future judgment may be seen as an OT anticipation of Rom 8:18-27.

But, furthermore, the rejoicing of nature in Psalm 98 may be put forward as additional evidence for the Divine Warrior interpretation of the psalm as a whole. L. Greenspoon has most recently delineated the connection between nature and the activity of the Divine Warrior.²² When the Divine Warrior wars, nature droops, withers, languishes (Isa 24:4-13),²³ but when the Divine Warrior wins, nature is revivified and participates in praising Yahweh.²⁴

A study of the dynamics of Psalm 98 must mention the expanding circle of praise offered to the Lord. As each stanza succeeds the other, the size of the worshiping community increases. In the first stanza, only Israel is singing. After all, the focus is on the deliverances that Yahweh performed on behalf of that nation. In the second stanza "all the earth" is exhorted to join in worshiping Yahweh. God is being praised as king of the earth; it is fitting that the whole earth praise him as such. Finally, in stanza three, not only animate but also inanimate creation cries out for joy in the Lord who is the coming Judge. As Rom 8:18-27 indicates, inanimate creation will benefit from the judgment.

V. PSALM 98 AS A DIVINE WARRIOR VICTORY SONG

A number of phrases and themes of Psalm 98 have been identified above as indicating the focus of the psalm as praise for the Divine Warrior. It remains to point out that the three roles of Yahweh as savior, king and judge further confirm this identification. P. D. Miller, Jr., has written that saving, ruling and judging are the three roles of Yahweh the Divine Warrior in the OT.²⁵ The Divine

²²L. Greenspoon, "The Origin of the Idea of Resurrection," in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (eds. B. Halpern and J. D. Levenson; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981) 247-322.

²³Sometimes nature actually fights on the Lord's side; cf. Josh 10:12 ff.; Judg 5:20-22.

 $^{^{24}} For a discussion of stanza 3 along different lines see E. Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede," <math display="inline">ZTK$ 4 (1952) 10 ff.

²⁵Miller, Warrior 170-175.

Warrior both saves his people and judges his enemies in the same act. In addition, Yahweh establishes his kingship through his military victories. This last point recognizes the Near Eastern background to the Divine Warrior motif in the OT²⁶ and further the strong association between Yahweh's warfare and his role as king.

Certainly then, given the distinctive words, themes and contents of the psalm, Psalm 98 originally functioned as a victory song recited upon the return of the successful army of Israel, which was considered to be led by Yahweh.

VI. DEHISTORICIZATION

Psalm 98 is a prime example of a tendency that runs through much of the Psalter: the subduing of reference to specific historical events in order to preserve the immediate relevance of the poem in the cult.²⁷

Psalm 98 refers to Yahweh's act of deliverance in the past without naming the specific salvation-event that motivated its composition. As noted above, this has led to scholarly disagreement as to whether the psalm was composed in reaction to Yahweh's deliverance at the time of the exodus or at the restoration from the exile. When lengthy arguments are presented by modern scholars to pinpoint the exact historical event, they work against the purpose of the psalm: to be always relevant to the needs of the contemporary cult. Psalm 98 was not recited as a remembrance of an historical deliverance in the hoary past, but was structured in such a way that it could be recited after any of the numerous deliverances that Israel experienced during her history. A parallel phenomenon may be observed in Mesopotamia where those literary compositions that were heavy with historical references fell out of the scribal curriculum, while those that subdued specific historical references were passed down from generation to generation for decades.

While the Psalms themselves display little interest in specific historical events, interpreters from the very earliest times have tried to concretize the

²⁶It is clear that the imagery associated with the Divine Warrior theme is associated with a broader Near Eastern background, including Mesopotamian and Ugaritic gods and goddesses who are pictured as waging warfare on both a cosmic and historical level. For more on the Near Eastern background of the theme consult Miller, Warrior.

²⁷The same point has been made in regard to lamentation literature by P. D. Miller, Jr., "Trouble and Woe: Interpreting the Biblical Laments," *Int* 37 (1983) 32-45. Note for instance his comment on p. 36: "The enemies are an open category, and the content of the category is filled by the predicament and plight not only of the psalmist but also by that of the contemporary singer of the psalm."

²⁸The tendency to pinpoint the historical setting of psalms is common among past conservative OT scholars. E. Hengstenberg and F. Delitzsch are examples of scholars who devote considerable attention to the question of historical setting.

²⁹W. W. Hallo, "Toward a History of Sumerian Literature," in Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen (Chicago: University Press, 1975) 194: "[A]lthough the original creative impulse most often arose out of and in response to a specific historical situation, the long process of canonization (that is, the incorporation of the text in fixed form in the generally accepted curriculum of the scribal schools) tended to suppress allusions to these situations. If a composition resisted such sublimation or ideological updating, it tended to disappear from the canon."

Psalms in a particular historical context. Such attempts began with the ever-increasing tendency to assign historical notes to the Psalms,³⁰ through commentators' debates over the historical setting, to modern attempts to chronologically arrange the Psalms.³¹

VII. BIBLICAL THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The fact that Psalm 98 is always relevant to the cult is still true today. From a NT perspective. Psalm 98 may be sung by the Church in the awareness of Christ's redemptive work. The NT writers themselves ascribed to Jesus Christ psalms sung to Yahweh. For instance, Ps 102:25-27 is ascribed to Christ in Heb 1:10-12.32 The modern Christian may appropriately sing Psalm 98 remembering Christ's salvation in his past, his present ruling and guiding of his life, and Christ's future role as judge. In the same way that the ancient Israelite psalm singer reflected on Yahweh's deliverance of his nation at the time of the exodus as he sang stanza 1, so the modern Christian may look into the past and praise Jesus for performing his great work upon the cross as well as think about his own personal past and thank God for the marvelous act of redemption that was performed in his life. Second, the Christian who reads stanza 2 realizes that Jesus Christ guides his life and the life of the Church. Jesus is recognized by the individual Christian as his king and the king of the Church (Col 1:15-23). And last, it is the hope of the Christian as he looks to the future that it is Jesus who will appear as the judge of mankind at the end of time (Matt 25:31-46). Furthermore, Christ is pictured in many NT passages as a Divine Warrior.³³ Thus Psalm 98 may appropriately be sung today in conformity with its original generic intention—as a song extolling the Divine Warrior.

VIII. THE GENRE OF DIVINE WARRIOR VICTORY SONG

Psalm 98 represents a fairly well attested genre of poem in the Psalter—specifically, psalms that celebrate the victory of Yahweh's armies. After victory the appropriate response was praise, often musical:

³⁰For more information on the historical development of the psalm titles see B. S. Childs, "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16 (1971) 137-150; E. Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 350-381.

³¹I am directly and strongly disagreeing with C. H. Bullock (An Introduction to the Old Testament Poetic Books [Chicago: Moody, 1979] 126-127) where he states that "they (the psalms) embody historical elements of the Israelite people, the result being that the true meaning of a psalm cannot be fully grasped apart from those historical elements."

²²S. Kistemaker, The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Amsterdam: Wed. G. van Soest N. V., 1961) 26-27.

**Cf. Longman, "Warrior"; B. A. Stevens, "Jesus as the Divine Warrior," ExpTim 94 (1983) 326-329, and even more recently F. R. McCurley, "The Son of God Versus Chaos," chap. 3 in Ancient Myths and Biblical Faith (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 58-71. Note that Ps 98:9b is quoted or alluded to in Rev 19:11b, part of a section that explicitly describes Christ's role as Divine Warrior at the time of his return. Acts 17:31 may also contain an allusion to the same verse in the psalm.

He saved them from the hand of the foe; from the hand of the enemy he redeemed them. The waters covered their adversaries; not one of them survived.

Then they believed his promises and sang his praise (Ps 106:12).

A further example is Psalm 24, which may describe the army returning to Jerusalem, singing of God's glory (vv 7-10). On another level, the human army is greeted by musical celebrations (Judg 11:34; 1 Sam 18:6-7).

Examination of the Psalter as a whole demonstrates that a number of Divine Warrior victory songs are attested. The following songs are listed together as those songs that focus on singing the praises of the Divine Warrior after victory. They are generically similar on the basis of content, setting, motifs and language. Psalms 18, (20), 21, 24, 29, (46), 47, (66), 68, 76, (93), 96, 97, 98, 114, (118), 124, 125, 136. At this point mention should also be made of a few poems outside of the Psalter that are also Divine Warrior victory songs: Num 21:27-30; Exodus 15; Judges 5; Habakkuk 3. A major difference between these latter poems and the examples from the Psalter is found in the concrete and specific historical references in the non-Psalter texts. The contrast supports my earlier contention that in the Psalter there is a definite dehistoricizing tendency.

³⁴This article is concentrating on only one of three types of Divine Warrior songs in the Psalter: the songs that were sung to Yahweh after the waging of victorious holy war. The Psalms also contain two other subtypes of Divine Warrior songs: (1) songs sung before a battle to plead for help (e.g. Psalm 17; these psalms almost all have the phrase "Arise, O Lord" in them, which encapsulates the sentiment of the psalm); (2) songs sung during the battle to express the comfort the psalmist feels in God's protection (e.g. Psalm 27). Note in regard to this last category 2 Chr 20:21, where Jehoshaphat sends a band of singers at the head of the army as it marches into the midst of battle. They are specifically singing of God's love.

35 Those psalms listed in parentheses are questionable in terms of genre identification.

**See the interesting interpretation of Psalm 24 by A. Cooper ("Ps 24:7-10: Mythology and Exegesis," JBL 102 [1983] 37-60), who interprets Ps 24:7-10 as an allusion to Yahweh's descent into the netherworld to fight the forces of death. He points out in a lengthy appendix at the end of the article that early Christian exegetes interpreted the psalm in this way and applied it to Christ's descent into hell. Cooper's thesis nicely connects with Greenspoon's idea that the OT conception of the resurrection of the dead is originally connected with the Divine Warrior and his power over the realm of nature.

³⁷P. D. Hanson, "The Song of Heshbon and David's Nir," HTR 61 (1968) 297-320.

³⁸For a treatment of Exodus 15 as a victory song cf. J. Muilenburg, "Liturgy."

38 Note also the extra-Biblical Book of Jashar, which apparently contained a victory song that celebrates Joshua's victory over the Amorites (Josh 10:13).

⁴⁰P. D. Hanson (*The Dawn of Apocalyptic* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975]) deals with a number of prophetic texts that he calls Divine Warrior hymns and that may indeed be generically similar to the texts from the psalms I have studied here. But to do more than to refer to that study would take us beyond the scope of the present article. In his brief comments on the psalms Hanson places Psalm 98 in the category of Divine Warrior hymn. On pp. 304 ff. he lists those psalms that he identifies as Divine Warrior hymns. While many of my texts coincide with his, the difference (which is not inconsiderable) may be due to Hanson's focus on discovering a basic pattern of the Divine Warrior myth, while I am concentrating on *Sitz im Leben* and literary motifs.

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