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Katharina Schütz Zell (ca.1498–1562) on a Hermeneutic Controversy about Whether or Not to Interpret the Penitential Psalms Christologically

Katharina Schütz Zell is among the best-known female Protestant reformers, and for good reasons. Schütz Zell wrote extensively, was an outspoken female figure in general, and a tirelessly devoted Christian whose attitude in particular towards ecclesial ministry ran afoul of typical expectations regarding the role of women.¹ As a clergy wife – a controversial new phenomenon about which she wrote – she functioned at a level almost *en par* with that of her husband and other leading male reforming counterparts.² In short, Schütz Zell is well known for being an extraordinary woman and a prolific writer. No one could rightly deny her the respect she earned through her tireless dedication to oth-

- 1 Biographical information about Schütz Zell includes the following: E.A. McKee: Katharina Schütz Zell: Her Life and Thought, Volume 1, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought Volume LXIX, H. A. Oberman (ed.), Leiden 1999; C. Methuen: Preaching the Gospel through Love of Neighbour: The Ministry of Katharina Schütz Zell, JEH 61/4 (2000) 707–28; K. Stjerna: Women and the Reformation, Malden 2009, 109–31; Chapter one of R.H. Bainton: Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy, Minneapolis 1971; R. VanDoodewaard: Reformation Women: Sixteenth-Century Figures who Shaped Christianity's Rebirth, Grand Rapids 2017; G. Park: A Study on Protestant Identity of Katharina Schütz Zell of Strasbourg, Korea Presbyterian Journal of Theology 50 (2018) 125–55; M.H. Jung: Zell: Katharina Nee Schütz (1497–1562) – A Lay Theologian During the Reformation, ZKG 107 (1996) 145–78; and E. McKee: Zell, Katharina Schütz (ca. 1498–1562), in M.A. Taylor and A. Choi (eds.): Handbook of Women Biblical Interpreters: A Historical and Biographical Guide, Grand Rapids 2012, 547–51.

In relation to Schütz Zell as a wife and new clergy spouse, see M.E. Plummer: «Partner in His Calamities»: Pastor's Wives, Married Nuns, and the Experience of Clerical Marriage in the Early German Reformation, Gender & History 20 (2008) 207–27 (216–17).

- 2 For example, Schütz Zell, whom others sometimes referred to as «Doctor Katharina» (Methuen: Schütz Zell [n. 1], 727), wrote a letter criticizing Martin Luther for the personal animosity that existed between him and Ulrich Zwingli over their differences on the Eucharist. According to the Volume Editor's Introduction to E.A. McKee (ed. and trans.): Katharina Schütz Zell: Church Mother. The Writings of a Protestant Reformer in Sixteenth-Century Germany, Chicago & London 2006, Martin Bucer thought Katharina's influence upon her husband Matthew to be excessive. The editor writes: «Wives were helpmeets in the home but not usually in the more visible sphere of public teaching to which Katharina aspired and in which Matthew at least acquiesced if he did not in fact encourage it» (19).

ers, including the poor. Her writings and strong public voice made it difficult for prominent Christian leaders to ignore her.

This essay seeks to contribute to the history of biblical interpretation by considering Katharina Schütz Zell as an interpreter of the Book of Psalms. It continues a discussion begun by Elsie Anne McKee in her two-volume critical edition on the writings of Schütz Zell and in her subsequent work *Katharina Schütz Zell: Church Mother*.³

*Content and Outline of Her Work on Psalms 51 and 130
as Found in Her Book Den Psalmen Miserere ...*

First, some background is in order concerning the context in which Schütz Zell's reflections on the Psalms are found. In their present form they are part of a larger book of devotional meditations, published in 1558, called «The *Miserere* Psalm, Meditated, Paraphrased and Prayed with King David ... Sent to the Christian Man Sir Felix Armbruster ...».⁴ The book consists of three parts: a pastoral letter written to Armbruster, meditations on the Psalms, and a didactic reflection on the Lord's Prayer. The first section, the letter, is preceded by eight sets of quotations from the Old Testament (mostly from the Psalms)⁵ and expresses hope that the book might be of benefit to this sorely stricken friend, as well as to others afflicted by a bad conscience. The second section, on Psalms, consists of a lengthy paraphrase of Psalm 51, an excursus on the validity of seeing Christ in the Psalms, a brief paraphrase of Psalm 130, and a

3 McKee: *Life and Thought* (n. 1); E.A. McKee: *Katharina Schütz Zell. Writings: A Critical Edition*, Volume 2, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* Volume LXIX, H.A. Oberman (ed.), Leiden 1999; McKee: *Mother* (n. 2).

4 McKee: *Writings* (n. 3), 310: «Den Psalmen *Miserere*/ mit dem Khünig David bedacht/ gebettet/ und paraphrasirt von Katharina Zellen M. Matthei Zellen seligen nachgelassne Ehefraw/ sampt dem Vatter unser mit seiner erklärung/ zůgeschickt dem Christlichen mann Juncker Felix Armbruster/ zum trost in seiner kranckheit/ und andern angefochtenen hertzen und Concientzen/ der sünd halben betrübt ꝛc. in truck lassen kommen.»

5 Ps 77:1-2 + Ps 38:18; Ps 25:16-18; Ps 18:6a; Job 7:11 + Ps 32:3a; Ps 32:5, 7a; Isa 42:6a, 49:8b; the refrain of Psalms 42-43 (e.g., 42:5, 43:5); and Isa 12:1 (McKee: *Mother* [n. 2], 129-30/*Writings* [n. 3], 310-11). The quotes focus on the sinner's need to cry out to God for mercy and forgiveness and on God's help, protection and forgiveness in the wake of confession of sin. (Indentation between the two citations of Pss 42-43 possibly implies nine segments rather than eight.) McKee: *Mother*, 130, separates Job 7:11 from Ps 32:3a, whereas in McKee: *Writings* (n. 3), 310, they are coupled together in the same paragraph.

second, shorter rendition of Psalm 51. The third section consists of a lengthy reflection on the Christian notion of God as Father, and a citation of the Apostles' Creed – both intended as a catechetical preface to a meditation on the Lord's Prayer that Schütz Zell originally wrote in 1532.

At several points in the *Miserere* Schütz Zell provides insight into her motives for composing the psalms meditations, as well as her approach to interpreting them. After confessing in her letter to Armbruster that she had written her psalms meditations several years earlier, Schütz Zell explains why she chose to include Psalm 51 (and Psalm 130) in her book:

Human beings are weak, and, when the cross weighs him down so much, a person thinks about and bewails the cross more than the sins that earned it and brought it upon him. So I sought in my reflections some way to be present with you for your comfort and in part to help bear your cross – spiritually if not physically – or to lighten it with as much spiritual comfort as God has given to me ... So I sought out some of my old booklets that I wrote years ago for myself, in which I worked through the whole Psalter with lament, prayer, and thanks. Out of these I have taken one, namely the *Miserere* (Ps 51), in which the dear David shows the right way to lament and confess sin, when God through the prophet Nathan pointed out his sin and horrified him by showing him punishment. This same *Miserere* psalm (which David made as a prayer of one troubled and anguished in heart) I also meditated on once before God, when I was in great affliction and distress. I prayed and paraphrased this psalm when my heart and conscience were tortured, together with Psalm 130, the *De Profundis*, when I was torn apart inside between the wrath and the grace of God. Yet the Lord comforted me in such a fatherly way.⁶

6 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 133; cf. McKee: Writings (n. 3), 313–14: «und der mensch schwach ist/ auch das Creütz so es so übell truckhet/ mer bedenckt/ befindet und klaget/ dann die sünden/ die es doch verdienet unnd herzüberbracht haben. So hab ich inn meinen gedanken begeret/ euch mit etwas tröstlich zusein/ und ewer creütz/ geistlich (so nit leiblich) möchte helffen aines theils tragen/ oder leucht machen/ mit geistlichem trost/ sovil mir Gott geben ... Und hab etliche meiner alten büchlein herfür gesucht/ die ich vor ettlichen jaren/ mir selbs geschriben hab/ und auß den selbigen (in welchen ich dann durch den gantzen hailigen Psalter geloffen bin/ mit klag/ gebeth/ und danck) ains genommen/ Nemlich das *Miserere*, darinnen der lieb David/ die art der rechten sünden klaget und bekennet/ da jm Gott seine sünd zaigte/ unnd erschreckte/ mit anzaigung der straff/ durch den propheten Nathan/ den selbigen psalmen *Miserere*, als ein hertzlich betrübt und angsthafftig gebeth/ so David gethan/ hab ich auch einmal in ainer grossen anfechtung und betrübnus bey mir selbs (vor Gott) bedacht/ gebett und *Paraphrasiert*, wie dann mein hertz und Contientz hoch bekümmert was/ sampt dem 130. psal: *De profundis*, da ich ein grossen streit in mir hett/ des zorns und der gnaden gottes/ und mich aber der Herr so väterlich tröstete/».

Here (and elsewhere) Schütz Zell betrays what strikes the modern reader as excessive preoccupation with sin and the wrath of God. However, as McKee adds, «Though her words may strike the modern reader as extreme self-castigation, that tone was quite normal in Schütz Zell's world and for centuries before and long after her time ... her providential vision of the interconnection of sin, suffering, repentance and forgiveness would be completely familiar to her readers.»⁷

As the extended quote above also illustrates, Schütz Zell clearly regards these Lament Psalms as working tools or models for bewailing and confessing sin before a merciful God. And, as her psalms meditations show (and as that part of the title that says «Prayed with King David» implies), the way that Schütz Zell uses these psalms as models is by praying them, with but few exceptions, in the first person – as David.⁸ This entails Schütz Zell identifying as her own even the sins of murder and adultery that David committed. She thus writes concerning Ps 51:14a: «I have destroyed the blood and life of the innocent ... For it was already known to you before I decided to do it [T]hat is why You had Nathan say to me that the sword should not cease from my house.»⁹

Schütz Zell's primary concern to speak in the first person is related to another concern as well. In the longer meditation on Psalm 51, Schütz Zell is at pains not to write anything that David himself could not have said. Thus, immediately following her longer prayerful paraphrase of Psalm 51, she writes: «Now then I hope that this exposition and prayer on this psalm *Miserere* (in

7 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 126–27. A similar view can be seen in Luther's meditations on the penitential psalms.

8 In addition to writing the psalm in the first person, an additional obvious method of modeling these laments involves elaboration, whether extended (as with the longer *Miserere*) or relatively short (as with the shorter *Miserere* and the *De Profundis* [Psalm 130]).

9 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 140–41. Here McKee for the sake of clarity adds the name of Nathan (and later Uriah, whom David murdered) to the English translation. The absence of these names in Schütz Zell's Alsatian German original could only have served, whether intentionally or not, to aid in applying David's sin to circumstances less specific than his. (For the German original, see McKee: Writings [n. 3], 322: «das ich das blüt und leben/ dess unschuldigen verderbet habe ... denn es was vor dir schon inn der sünd/ ehe denn ichs beschlossen hett züthün ... darumb du mir auch hast lassen sagen: das schwerdt soll von meinem hauß nicht khommen/»). Another example in the longer *Miserere* is at Ps 51:19 where Schütz Zell states: «I who have been guilty of death and the sword» (McKee: Mother [n. 2], 144/Writings [n. 3], 326).

which I have reflected on David's sin, my own, and that of us all) may not be contrary to the meaning of David and of his thoughts that he had about his sins when he made and prayed this psalm.»¹⁰

This commitment to speaking as David and, almost without exception, stating only what David could also have said, raises the hermeneutical problem of application.¹¹ For example, how can sins that neither Schütz Zell nor her readership committed be applied? Schütz Zell addresses this problem by continuing as follows:

I hope each one who is afflicted because of his sins may pray thus, even if he has not done any adultery or murder of the body or hand in outward works, as David did, for no one is innocent before God in his heart, thought, and desires, even if his sin is not known to him ... To these secret sins belong many murders done without hands ... There are many kinds of murder: prejudice, lack, need for food, drink, clothing and so on....¹²

Another way in which Schütz Zell overcomes this problem is to append the segment from which these quotes come; here, as we have just seen, she can and does write candidly on such matters as broader application.¹³

Still another way Schütz Zell overcomes this limitation is by employing a technique often used in contemporary preaching, namely for the writer (or

10 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 139/Writings (n. 3), 327: «Also hoff ich/ dise außlegung und gebet über disen Psalmen *Miserere*, (in dem ich die sünd Davids/ mein und unser aller bedacht habe) sey nit wider die mainung Davidts unnd seiner gedanken/ so er gehapt hat/ über seine sünden/ da er disen Psalmen gemacht und gebetet hat/».

11 The exceptions will be discussed later in this essay. Where Schütz Zell uses the first person to refer (only?) to herself is in her longer version of Ps 51:7, where David says «Sprinkle me with hyssop.» To this she adds, «But for me the washing is with the cross of Christ Your child, in His blood.» This is also a rare case where, as will also be discussed, early in this longer *Miserere*, Schütz Zell refers to Christ (McKee: Mother [n. 2], 139/Writings [n. 3], 320).

12 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 145–46/Writings (n. 3), 327: «unnd mag ihm auch, hoff ich, ein yeder bekümmerter (umb seine sünden) also betten/ ob er schon kainen ehbruch noch todtschlag mit dem leib und der handt inn eüsserlichem werckh auff ihm hat/ wie Davidt/ So ist doch solches niemandt im hertzen seiner gedanken und begierden vor Gott unschuldig/ ob es ihm schon nicht bewust ist ... Zû dem seint noch vil todtschleg on die handt ... steht sonst noch in vilen dingen/ versaumnus/ mangel/ wartung/ essen/ trincken/ klaidung/ wårme/ etce.».

13 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 145b–47/Writings (n. 3), 327–29. That this section is separate from the paraphrase proper is evidenced by «Amen» at the end of her discussion of Ps 51:19 (McKee: Mother [n. 2], 145b/ Writings [n. 3], 327).

preacher) to adopt a point-of-standing that allows the audience simultaneously to identify both with the situation that pertains to the biblical circumstance and with one's own. McKee provides a good example of Schütz Zell doing this at Ps 51:18b, which McKee takes to be a clear allusion to Strasbourg in the time of the Interim, which imposed certain Roman Catholic practices on Protestants, beginning in 1548, following their military defeat by the forces of the Holy Roman Emperor. On this understanding, comments by Schütz Zell such as «Jerusalem, however, must have walls against his enemies: faithful, wise, God-fearing kings and governments who protect Jerusalem» apply to the situation of Strasbourg no less than to David.¹⁴

Two further observations by McKee are important to note in the context of Schütz Zell's treatment of the Psalms. First, McKee notes that the explicitly stated concern of Schütz Zell not to violate the intention of David «is the only hint of a humanist interest in her corpus» and «provides evidence that she was paying careful attention to the clerical exegetes who were teaching Protestants how to read – and how not to read – the Bible.»¹⁵ Her mention of the influence of Renaissance Humanism is apropos with reference to Schütz Zell's hermeneutic. And, second, McKee notes several places where she regards Schütz Zell's interpretation of the Psalms to reflect Protestant (Reformed) theology.¹⁶

A final feature of Schütz Zell's psalms meditations concerns the devotional use she makes of them. For her these psalms are not the object of critical scrutiny of the sort that would lead one to question such things as the Davidic authorship of the last few verses of Psalm 51, as is common today. Rather, for Schütz Zell these Psalms are a divinely sanctioned means through which, by humbly imitating the penitence of the psalmist, she, Sir Felix, and others may find comfort as a result of confession and contrition over sin.

For the Reformers and most other Bible students throughout history, the Psalms were a means to a deeper relationship with the God of Israel.¹⁷ It is in

14 McKee: *Mother* (n. 2), 143. On the situation at the time of the Strasbourg Interim, see, for example, McKee: *Life and Thought* (n. 1), 130-45.

15 McKee: *Mother* (n. 2), 127. For her helpful elaboration on the interpretative influence of humanism on the Reformers, see McKee: *Mother* (n. 2), 145–46 n.136.

16 For McKee's discussions of Schütz Zell's Protestant theology, see McKee: *Mother* (n. 2), 127, and the footnotes accompanying McKee: *Mother* (n. 2), 140–45.

17 On the Psalms in medieval exegesis, see, for example, S. Hendrix: *Ecclesia in Via: Ecclesiological Developments in Psalms Exegesis and the Dictata Super Psalterium (1513–1515)* of Martin Luther, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions* Book 8, Leiden 1974,

this spirit that Schütz Zell paraphrases the psalms.

Schütz Zell's Renditions of Psalms 51 and 130 in the Light of Her Christological Excursus: Uncovering a Hermeneutic Controversy

In what follows I want to discuss several aspects of Schütz Zell's interpretation of the Psalms that McKee has either mentioned in a preliminary way or that her indispensable critical edition of Schütz Zell's book *Den Psalmen Miserere*, including her Christological excursus, has made possible.¹⁸

A crucial question that immediately arises concerns the relation between Schütz Zell's dogged determination, on the one hand, not to go beyond the bounds of what the original author intended in her longer paraphrase of Psalm 51 (and in Psalm 130, where she makes not a single allusion to Christ or the New Testament), and, on the other hand, her equally dogged determination to see Christ in the Psalms in her Christological excursus, a determination reflected in her shorter rendition of Psalm 51. How might one account for this vacillation in Schütz Zell's Christological hermeneutic?¹⁹

A good place to begin is with what we know but do not understand. First, for some reason, Schütz Zell at v. 18b abruptly refrains from referring to David in the first person and refers to him in the third, only to revert to referencing him in the first person again at v. 19.²⁰

and B.T. German: *Psalms of the Faithful: Luther's Early Reading of the Psalter in Canonical Context*, Studies in Historical and Systematic Theology, Bellingham 2017. I should add that, unlike Schütz Zell's rendition of the Lord's Prayer in *Den Psalmen Miserere* ..., I could find no evidence of any direct indebtedness on her part to Luther's writings (or Calvin's) on Psalm 51 or 130.

18 McKee: *Life and Thought* (n. 1); and McKee: *Writings* (n. 3), including the translation of McKee: *Writings* (n. 3), 329–37, appended to this article.

19 McKee draws attention to the additional question: why justify a Christological hermeneutic at all? McKee suggests: «She may simply have wanted to show that her understanding of the Psalms was supported by scripture, a kind of academic certification of her work. She no doubt also realized that many of the Christological debates which swirled around were shaped by the interpretation of Old Testament prophecies; and so defending her own orthodoxy may have been the most likely reason for the addition of the excursus, if it was added in 1558 as seems most probable.» (McKee: *Life and Thought* [n. 1], 240 n.28) Later she adds that this defense of orthodoxy was perhaps necessary after Ludwig Rabus accused her of being a Schwenckfelder (McKee: *Life and Thought* [n. 1], 254 n.72).

20 McKee: *Mother* (n. 2), 143–44/*Writings* (n. 3), 324–25. This is a striking feature of the longer *Miserere*. As to its reason, it quite possibly supports the claim of McKee that this portion of the longer *Miserere* is a thinly veiled reference to the Strasbourg Interim (McK-

Second and far more significantly, the longer rendition of Psalm 51 contains sparing references to Christ – until the end when they dramatically increase. Thus, from the prefatory «Little Exhortation about the *Miserere*», which contains only one allusion to Christ, and the addendum to the psalm, which contains two, there is only one reference to Christ in all of Psalm 51 prior to the last two verses (vv. 18–19), namely at verse 7.²¹ This is remarkable,²² and all the more so when the longer *Miserere* is compared to the shorter, where references to Christ (or related Christian themes) are more plentiful in the body of the psalm – and more evenly distributed.

The references to Christ (or matters Christian) that begin to appear in the last two verses of the longer *Miserere* repay attention and are as follows: at Ps

ee: Mother [n. 2], 143 n.133). On this understanding, Schütz Zell did not want to equate King David with the «kings» and other apostate rulers to whom, in her own era, she was alluding. (For an alternative explanation tied to the Christological excursus, see this essay at note 46.)

- 21 The single reference in the «Little Exhortation» comes at the end where Schütz Zell equates one who confesses sins before God and fearing Him with «one who believes in the name of Jesus, that He is the anointed Christ and sin bearer who offered his back and countenance to rebuke» (McKee: Mother [n. 2], 137/Writings [n. 3], 317); nevertheless, the accompanying citations remain from the Old Testament: Isa 53:12b; 56. As noted, there are only two references in the addendum to the longer *Miserere* (McKee: Mother [n. 2], 145b–147/Writings [n. 3], 328.). One is where she notes that only with the help of Christ can one discern hidden sins more subtle than overt murder, as David committed; she writes «Who can recount all these sins and murders, much less know them, without Christ the Lord who knows and teaches us to know them [Mt 5.21ff]?» (McKee: Writings [n. 2], 328: «Wer wil dise sünden und todtschleg alle erzelen/ vilminder erkennen/ ohn Christus der Herr/ der erkennt unnd leerts/ Matth: 5.»). Another is where she discusses the sin of adultery. She writes: «adultery does not consist only in acts of the body but in the heart and thoughts, as also the Lord says in Matthew chapter 5, «to look on a woman or man with lust is already to be an adulterer» (McKee: Mother [n. 2], 146/Writings [n. 6], 328: «... eebruch/ der steet nit allein im werck des leibs/ sonder im hertzen unnd gedanken/ wie auch der Her Matth: am fünfften sagt: Ein weib oder mann ansehen zübegeren/ sei schon die ee gebrochen/»).

The only place prior to v. 18 where Christ is mentioned is at v. 7, where Schütz Zell briefly breaks rank from using «me» with reference to David (or does she? – see later in this article); there she adds the short comment, «But for me the washing is with the cross of Christ Your Child, in His blood» (McKee: Mother [n. 2], 139/Writings [n. 3], 320: «mich aber allso mit dehm Creütz Christi deins kindts inn seinem blüt/»).

- 22 As the name suggests, this particular rendition of Psalm 51 is long; it extends for some twelve pages in the critical edition of McKee (McKee: Writings [n. 3], 317–29); the shorter *Miserere*, where Christ references are more evenly distributed throughout the Psalm is, by comparison, slightly longer than two pages (McKee: Writings [n. 3], 338–40).

51:18a, in reflecting upon David's words «Do good to Zion in your good pleasure», Schütz Zell adds, «So I will hide myself among your Zion-like people (who are your Christian church) until Your wrath passes over me»;²³ also at Psalm 51:18a, Schütz Zell, praying as though David, mentions the resurrection when she says «May you allow me, miserable as I am ... to come into Your love and fellowship, forgiveness of sins, and to the following resurrection to life in You»;²⁴ and, finally, at Ps 15:19, her Psalm rendition explodes with a Christ centered elaboration that far exceeds all previous references in length and detail:

Besides this I would also lay my offerings on your spiritual and holy altar, that is, Your dear Son Jesus Christ who, as the faithful priest, completed the sacrifice of his flesh in his blood on the altar of the cross. He was a holy sweet fragrance to You, pure and honest; He took away all sins, entered to You through the sanctuary, and still always stands for us before Your face and sanctifies all that is given to Him [cf. Heb 9:11ff, 24ff]. To the same one, You, my Lord Jesus Christ, the sole right sacrifice and sacrificer, to You I cry from my heart: teach me, cleanse me and direct me in all my life, occupations, and afflictions, through the Holy Spirit whom You have promised to give to all who love You [cf. John 16:7]: may He henceforth rule my inward and outward person with His Holy gifts, wisdom, counsel, leading and understanding of all that is fitting! Amen.²⁵

There can be no doubt that Schütz Zell's extended reference to Christ here at the conclusion of her longer *Miserere* is uncharacteristic. Although the reason for it is not clear (for suggestions, see later in this essay), it helps explain her comment, noted earlier, in which immediately following she expresses hope that she has remained faithful to David's back-then «historical» perspective throughout.²⁶

23 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 142/Writings (n. 3), 324.

24 Ibid., 143/Ibid., 324.

25 Ibid., 145/Ibid., 326-27: «So würde ichs doch auch auff deinen geistlichen und hailigen Altar/ deinen lieben Son Jesum Christum legen/ welcher als der warhafftige Priester auff dem altar des creützes/ das opffer seines flaischs/ inn seinem blüt volbracht hat/ unnd dir ein hailiger süßer geruch/ rain und auffrichtig gewesen/ alle sünde hinweg genomen/ durch das hailig zu dir eingangen/ unnd vor deinem angesicht noch ymmer für uns steht/ und alles hailiget/ so sich ihm ergibet. Den selbigen dich meinen Herrn Jhesum Christum/ ainig gerecht opffer und opfferenden/ ruff ich an von hertzen/ mich zůleeren/ rainigen und füren/ inn allem meinem leben/ geschäftten und anfechtungen durch den hailigen Geist/ welchen du verhaissen hast zugeben allen so dich lieben/ der wölle hierfür mein innwendigen und eüsserlichen menschen regieren mit seinen hailigen gaben/ weißhait/ rath/ strecke und verstand aller billichkeit/ Amen».

26 Ibid., 145/Ibid., 327.

Schütz Zell's extended reference to Christ at the end of the Psalm is also helpful in explaining the Christological excursus itself, which soon follows in her book. How she begins this excursus is crucial to note: «The fact is that I conclude this *Miserere* with Jesus Christ, even though it was prayed before Christ.»²⁷ In other words, Schütz Zell now embarks primarily on a defense of the vast increase in her Christological input at the end of her meditation on Psalm 51.

There remains of course a thorny problem: it is hard to reconcile the content of the excursus, containing as it does a defense of seeing Christ in the Psalms, with the literal, historical hermeneutic that she employs in the longer *Miserere* prior to v. 18 and in the entire *De Profundis* (Psalm 130). This raises the question of the relation between the excursus and the Psalms renditions that resist referring to Christ. What, then, are we to make of the excursus?

Faced with a difficult decision as to which of Schütz Zell's writings to leave untranslated, Elsie McKee chooses not to translate this section of *Den Psalmen Miserere*, not on the grounds of the inconsistency just noted,²⁸ but on the grounds that it is «an extended passage of proof texts»²⁹ that Schütz Zell «probably put ... together from other sources», and which «may have been added specifically for this publication».³⁰ She describes Schütz Zell's Christo-

27 McKee: Writings (n. 3), 329: «Das ich aber diss *Miserere* mit Jhesu Christo zûschliess/ so es doch vor Christus menschwerdung gebettet ist/».

28 To this McKee does not draw attention.

29 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 41: «In the case of someone as prolific as Schütz Zell, it is necessary to make a selection of writings for translation. However, because she is in many ways a unique voice, it is also regrettable not to include texts that will remain virtually inaccessible in their original sixteenth-century Alsatian form.»

30 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 147. McKee also expresses doubt that the excursus is original to Schütz Zell on stylistic grounds; «it is not typical of the way she ordinarily uses scripture texts» (McKee: Mother [n. 2], 148); elsewhere McKee elaborates: «the piling up of dozens of citations is not typical of her style» (McKee: Writings [n. 3], 307). The opinion of McKee, a seasoned Schütz Zell scholar and editor, should not lightly be dismissed. I shall nonetheless present evidence on contextual grounds that, although Schütz Zell may have drawn inspiration from elsewhere (such as Luther's marginalia) about what texts to cite, the entire Christology bears her authorial imprint. (Might the difference in Schütz Zell's use of scripture as noted by McKee be accounted for on alternative grounds – that it belongs to a different genre of writing, or, as McKee notes, that it was added later specifically for this publication?) In any case, McKee elsewhere quite frequently makes favorable comparisons between Schütz Zell's use of Scripture in the Christological excursus and in her other writings; see McKee: Life and Thought (n. 1), 240 n.29, 241 n.30, and 246 n.55.

logical excursus as «[e]ssentially ... an explanation for the common Christian tradition of reading the Old Testament in general and the Psalms in particular as being about Jesus Christ.»³¹

In my judgment, far from being an excursus, as I have hitherto implied, and far from being a mere collection of standard proof texts, as McKee regularly refers to it, Schütz Zell's essay on David and Christ in the Psalms is vital for understanding her hermeneutic in all three of her psalm renditions.³² Regardless of who originated the Christology piece, Schütz Zell's inclusion implies at least endorsement.

In what follows, I attempt to argue that this part of Schütz Zell's book should be regarded as a Davidic Christology that she wrote and that constitutes an integral part of the Psalms section of *Den Psalmen Miserere*

First, although Schütz Zell might have borrowed texts and other portions from elsewhere, there is little in the way of evidence to believe, as McKee suggests, that Schütz Zell's source is Urbanus Rhegius's *Dialogus*.³³

And where McKee cites dependence upon Luther's marginalia in Schütz Zell's excursus as evidence «that this passage was added from another source, probably explicitly Lutheran», she implicitly casts doubt upon her own inference by immediately adding: «There is other evidence (*in what is clearly KSZ's own material*) of Luther's marginalia influencing interpretations» (McKee: *Life and Thought* [n. 1], 244 n.30 [emphasis mine].) Finally, McKee notes that within all of her writings, Schütz Zell quotes from the Psalms more often than any other book of the Old Testament and that, apart from Psalm 51 and 130, she refers to the Christological psalms more than to any other (McKee: *Life and Thought* [n. 1], 245 n.43). Several times McKee cites as evidence against Schütz Zell's authorship of the Christology that the Christology once refers to a passage from what later came to be known as Samuel as «Kings» and at another time refers to it as «Samuel», but that by 1541 or so (by which time McKee argues the Christology was added), Schütz Zell consistently used the «Samuel» nomenclature. McKee nonetheless notes that a Bible to which McKee was drawn, «the 1531 Zurich Bible», «used both names» (McKee, *Life and Thought* [n. 1], 247 n.57, 260). In any case, whether a slip or indeed evidence that Schütz Zell drew certain textual references from elsewhere, this single variation is not sufficient to discredit the notion that her own hand and mind lies behind the bulk of the Christology.

31 McKee: *Mother* (n. 2), 147.

32 As I shall suggest later, Schütz Zell's Christology can likely contribute to our knowledge of the history and order of her psalms composition as well.

33 McKee: *Mother* (n. 2), 139 n.148; and McKee: *Writings* (n. 3), 307 n.4. The work to which McKee alludes is Urbanus Rhegius: *Dialogus von der schönen predigt die Christus Luc. 24 von Jerusalem bis gen Emaus den zweien jüngerem am Ostertag, aus Mose und allen prophete gethan hat*. On Rhegius, see S. Hendrix (trans., ed.): *Preaching the Reformation: The Homiletical Handbook of Urbanus Rhegius, Reformation Texts with Translation* (1350–1650), Theology and Piety, Volume 2, Milwaukee 2003; and M. Liebmann: *Urbanus*

Second, as noted earlier, Schütz Zell must have written (or at least extensively edited) several parts of this Davidic Christology. The most obvious instances are where she refers to her own longer *Miserere* in the Christology. This includes the introduction, where she writes: «The fact is that I conclude this *Miserere* with Jesus Christ... »³⁴ It also includes where she writes: «How could he [David] not have done so also in this prayer, the *Miserere*?»³⁵ Here the

Rhegius und die Anfänge der Reformation: Beiträge zu seinem Leben, seiner Lehre und seinem Wirken bis zum Augsburger Reichstag von 1530 mit einer Bibliographie seiner Schriften, Münster 1980. According to an English translation of the *Dialogus*, Rhegius discusses the Psalms in the following order (with other passages mentioned in connection with these Psalms in brackets): 14:7, 16:10, 30:2, 49:15, 71:10, 86:13, 22:1, 22, 27, 31; 2:2; 69:4; 41:9, 10; 40:6; 118:22 [Acts 4:11, 1 Pet 2:4, Mt 21:41, Eph 2:20, Acts 2:36, 5:30]; 18:43; 21:1 [Mat 15:14]; 24:7, 29:10 [Isa 9:7], 72:1 [Heb. 1:8], 47:1 [Eph 4:8], 93:1 [Mt 21:44], 99:1, 102:15 [sic.v.13], [Luke 10:23], 110:1 [Mt 22:43], 103:29, 145:10 [2 Sam 7:12], 89:1, 111:9 [1 Cor 1:3, Exod 15.1], 147:1, 103:7 (D. Vrbane Regius: The sermon, which Christ made on the way to Emaus to those two sorrowfull disciples, set downe in a dialogue by D. Vrbane Regius, wherein he hath gathered and expounded the chiefe prophecies of the old Testament concerning Christ, trans. W. Hilton, London 1578, 109–115). But the ordering of Schütz Zell's Psalms citation in no way corresponds with those of Rhegius. (Nor does the ordering follow, as McKee tentatively suggested, beginning «with OT texts cited in the NT ... and completed ... with cross references found in the margins of German Bibles such as Luther's» [McKee: Writings (n. 3), 307 n. 4]; cf. McKee: Life and Thought [n. 1], 240–41.) Further, here Rhegius elaborates on neither the *Miserere* nor the *De Profundis*. At one point where it appears possible that Schütz Zell might have borrowed from Rhegius (the latter's discussion of Psalm 111:9 in which he mentions the paschal lamb in a way reminiscent of Schütz Zell's similar discussion in the excursus), Rhegius refers only to the Exodus, whereas Schütz Zell refers more broadly to the ministry of Moses also in Leviticus 16. Compare Rhegius, The sermon, 114, with the Appendix to this article, *op. cit.*, and McKee, Writings (n. 3), 333. See S. Hendrix: The Use of Scripture in Establishing Protestantism: The Case of Urbanus Rhegius, in: The Bible in the Sixteenth Century, ed. D. C. Steinmetz, Durham and London 1990, 37–49, 202–209.

Admittedly Schütz Zell does mention Jesus' profession to the disciples on the road to Emmaus (see Appendix, *op. cit.*, and McKee: Writings [n. 3], 335), but in no way as a pretext for the discussion, as Rhegius makes of it in his book. Schütz Zell's reference to Luke 24:25–27 seems rather to be one made in passing, which is hardly surprising in the context of a discussion of Christ in the Old Testament or Psalms; cf. Luke 24:44. In one place McKee does refer to the excursus specifically with reference to Psalm 51; she states that it «justifies the Christological reading of Ps. 51» and adds «and of the Psalms and Old Testament generally» (McKee: Life and Thought [n. 1], 240).

34 McKee: Writings (n. 3), 329: «Das ich aber diss *Miserere* mit Jhesu Christo züschiess/ so es doch vor Christus menschwerdung gebettet ist... »

35 McKee: Writings (n. 3), 332: «... inn disem gebett *Miserere*, gethan haben ...». For the context, see Appendix *op. cit.*

context is important, for there is no discussion of the *Miserere* in the previous context to which the statement «in this prayer, the *Miserere*» could refer, apart from her own longer *Miserere* reflection, the same one to which she referred at the beginning of the Christology. Indeed Schütz Zell often refers to Psalm 51 and does so in such a way as to imply that it is vital to her argument.³⁶

Third, Schütz Zell's Christological piece shows many of the same general stylistic features that can be found in the longer *Miserere*.³⁷ For example, Schütz Zell shows the same determination that she did in the longer *Miserere* to focus almost solely on the figure of David.³⁸ Moreover, the references to David are of the kind that one would expect in an essay that sought to defend seeing (and thus referring to) Jesus in a Psalm of David.

Fourth, despite being such, Schütz Zell's Christological defense shows the same historical hermeneutic found in the longer *Miserere*, namely to uphold the intent of the original Davidic author. Thus, for example, instead of referring to the Holy Spirit in the Christology with reference to Ps 51:10–12, she refers to it initially as David did: the «holy, pure and willing Spirit».³⁹

Fifth, if one dispels the notion of it being an excursus or series of proof texts, this portion of Den Psalmen *Miserere* reads remarkably well as Schütz Zell's own coherent Christological argument in support of her daring refer-

36 Additional examples include the following: Appendix, *op. cit.*: «although it is almost hidden in this psalm» (cf. McKee: Writings [n. 3], 333); Appendix, *op. cit.*: «Therefore David also prays in this psalm and desires that this Holy Spirit not be taken from him» (cf. McKee: Writings [n. 3], 334); and Appendix, *op. cit.*: «How then could David in this psalm so thoroughly forget such other psalms of his (which Christ also used)» (cf. McKee: Writings [n. 3], 335).

37 And not just the *Miserere*; generally speaking, the Christology compares favorably with the stylistic features that McKee elucidates at the end of her discussion of Schütz Zell as a biblical interpreter, including having disdain for a works righteousness, adding comments that emphasize God's «sole divine initiative», etc. See McKee: Life and Thought (n. 1), 258–61.

38 In other words, the focus in the excursus on David is what we would expect from one who paraphrases Davidic Psalms as though David. Once noticed, the prevalence of David throughout this essay is unmistakable. This contrasts not only with Rhegius's *Desideratus* (Sermon) but, I suspect, with any typical set of sixteenth-century proof texts intended to support seeing Christ in the *Old Testament*.

39 McKee: Writings (n. 3), 334: «Darnach bittet der lieb Davidt auch umb den heiligen reinen unnd willigen Geist ...»; cf. McKee: Mother (n. 2), 139, where Schütz Zell has David in the longer *Miserere* write in the first instance as «give me another, a pure heart! a new, steadfast, sure spirit.» (The German for this later citation is: «O Gott du gib mir aber ein ander rein hertz/ ein neuen bestendigen und gewissen geist ...» [McKee: Writings (n. 3), 321]).

ences to Christ at the conclusion of the longer *Miserere* (and elsewhere). Thus, although the focus on David as able to see Christ is evident from the beginning of the essay, it becomes progressively focused on Schütz Zell's use of references to Christ in her version of the longer *Miserere* to the point where she states: «But I will discuss this alone, how David so completely recognized Christ as the anointed of God, and knew certainly of His future office and kingdom ...»⁴⁰ Later in the same paragraph Schütz Zell comes to what seems to me to be the main point:

Now David knew all this [i.e., that Christ was the anointed one, his promised seed, etc.] and therefore at all times craved grace and mercy in his prayers to Him and through Him, according to the will of the anointed Christ. How could he not have done so also in this prayer, the *Miserere*, given that he was in utmost need, and his sin was greatest and highest? For it stood before his very eyes.⁴¹

Moreover, as we might expect from a well-constructed argument on seeing Christ primarily in Psalm 51, the rest of the essay deals with how David could have seen Christ in one particular Psalm – 51 (the *Miserere*). Thus, the topics that follow on from Schütz Zell's question, noted above – «how could David not have seen Christ?» – are as follows: 1) a paragraph on how David's desire in Ps 51:7 to be sprinkled and cleansed with hyssop actually refers to being cleansed by Christ;⁴² 2) a lengthy section on how David's reference to something that is «hidden» in Ps 51:7 must refer to Christ;⁴³ 3) a lengthy section on David asking in Ps 51:11 for the Holy Spirit, the thesis of which is that David could not have asked for, nor known of, the Holy Spirit were it not for his knowledge of Christ. She thus writes: «Therefore David also prays in this psalm and desires that this Holy Spirit not be taken from him, and through such a Spirit he knows

40 See the Appendix, *op. cit.*, and McKee: Writings (n. 3), 332.

41 See the Appendix, *op. cit.*, and McKee: Writings (n. 3), 332: «... welches nun Davidt alles gewußte unnd darumb allezeit/ umb dessen gesalbten Christus willen/ inn seinen gebeten inn und durch ihn gnad und barmhertzigkait begeert hat/ wie kōnde ers nicht auch inn disem gebett *Miserere*, gethan haben/ da er sein am notturfftigsten/ und die sünd am grössesten und höchsten was/ vor seinen augen stunde/».

42 Appendix, *op. cit.*: «And this is what he means and desires here when he asks God to sprinkle and cleanse him with hyssop, and wash him that he might be white. What else is it other than washing with the blood of Christ?»; cf. McKee: Writings (n. 3), 333.

43 Appendix, *op. cit.*, «Here David calls Him a secret wisdom, which is hidden but lets itself be known in God»; cf. McKee: Writings (n. 3), 333: «dz haisset aber David hie/ ein haimliche weißheit die verborgen sei/ die laß jn Gott wissen/».

Christ (the promised one, who should come from him). And he prophesied of His suffering in the flesh, and besides this he also depicted the glory of His resurrection, ascension, and His wholly spiritual kingdom and rule. And [he prophesied of] the whole course of the Gospel... »⁴⁴

As this summative rehearsal of themes attests, Schütz Zell pays particular attention to verse 7. Why? A ready explanation is at hand when we recall that it was at verse 7 alone within the longer *Miserere* that, prior to vv. 18–19, Schütz Zell makes reference to Christ in the body of the Psalm: «But for me the washing is with the cross of Christ, Your child, in His blood.»⁴⁵ In short, Schütz Zell's Christological essay can be taken further to imply that it was written to address her Christological references not only at the end of the Psalm but here (and, from the perspective of her whole argument, everywhere, including the shorter *Miserere*) as well.⁴⁶

On a similar vein, it is not likely a coincidence that Schütz Zell refers in the passage quoted above to David having seen the «resurrection»; this corresponds nicely with where Schütz Zell, in her conclusion to the longer *Miserere*, implies that David foresaw the resurrection.⁴⁷

It is interesting to compare where in all three Psalm 51 renditions – the short and long *Miserere* and the Christology – Schütz Zell comments on the same theme or topic. The first concerns David's statement in v. 7: «Purify me with hyssop, that I may be clean; wash me, that I may become whiter than

44 Appendix, *op. cit.*; cf. McKee: Writings (n. 3), 334.

45 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 139/Writings (n. 3), 320.

46 The relation of Schütz Zell's Christology to the flurry of references she makes to Christ at the end of the longer *Miserere* aids in understanding the anomaly noted earlier, that whereas for Schütz Zell «You» refers only to God prior to Ps 51:19, «You», even as spoken by David, refers in the first instance to Jesus (as God) in this verse. In short, the anomaly is consistent with the emphasis on Christ at the end of the psalm, and the Christology constitutes an implicit defense of such an anomaly.

The Christology segment might also help explain the additional anomaly noted earlier, namely that only in Ps 19:18b in the longer *Miserere* does Schütz Zell refer to David in the third person. It is possible that the switch to the third person is a literary signal that – at least in the present form of the book, and whether intended or not – effectually points forward to Schütz Zell's soon-coming Psalmic Christology in which she also consistently refers to David, but there in the third person rather than the first. (Further on the possibility of this inter-textual link, recall that the switch from the first to the third person in the longer *Miserere* came at a point just prior to the flurry of Christ references, which are characteristic of the Christology.) For an alternative explanation, see this article at note 20.

47 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 143/Writings (n. 3), 324.

snow.»⁴⁸ Only in the case of discussing hyssop in Ps 51:7 does Schütz Zell make reference to Christ in all three of her discussions – the two *Miserere* renditions and the Davidic Christology.

Each reference to hyssop by Schütz Zell is noteworthy. The shorter *Miserere* states:

Cleanse me again through that fully adequate hyssop, the blood of Jesus Christ, Your obedient one in whom you are well pleased [cf. Mt 3:17]. May I enjoy that washing in the blood. Remember the offering that was accomplished by Him on the cross – the offering to You, but for me – for payment and reconciliation.⁴⁹

Schütz Zell's Davidic Christology similarly equates the hyssop with Christ:

But he [David] knew that ... Christ would become the bearer of sins and the Mercy-Seat, although it is almost hidden in this psalm. And this is what he means and desires here when he asks God to sprinkle and cleanse him with hyssop, and wash him that he might be white. What else is it other than washing with the blood of Christ? – whose sufferings he knew [*Ps 69*], and which all blood offerings signified, and on account of which they were called sin offerings [*Exod 12*]. For Moses dipped the hyssop sprig in the blood of the lamb, bird, and other animals, and sprinkled the posts, the lepers, the book and the people, to testify of and point to Christ and the forgiveness of sin, through Him.⁵⁰

The longer *Miserere* employs a nuanced and more sophisticated hermeneutic. Schütz Zell writes: «Sprinkle me with hyssop (in the truth) as happened (in figure and shadow) to Your people Israel, who were purified from sins with

48 Author's translation of the Hebrew.

49 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 149/Writings (n. 3), 339: «rainig mich widerumb durch den wolriechenden ysoppen/ das blüt Jesu Christi deins gehorsamen/ inn dem du ein wolgefallen hast/ dessen laß mich geniessen/ Biß inn gedenck des opffers/ welches dir am holtz des creützes von ihm/ aber für mich/ zur bezalung unnd versünung gelaistet ist ...».

50 See Appendix, *op. cit.*; cf. McKee: Writings (n. 3), 332–33: «und er wußte ... das Christus der sünden treger und gnadenstül sein wurde/ ob es schon verborgenlich inn disem psalmen ist/ So hat ers doch herinnen eigentlich bedeütet und begert/ da er Gott bittet: Er sol ihn mit ysopp besprengen/ rainigen und wäschen/ das er weiß werde. Was ist das anders? denn mit dem blüt Christi weschen/ welches leiden er erkannt hat/ und alle blütopffer bedeütet haben/ und darumb auch Sündopffer gehaissen/ wie Moses da er den ysopp püsch inn das blüt des lambs/ vögel und anderer thier dunckte/ und die pfoften/ den aussetzigen/ das büch unnd volck mit besprenget/ Christum und die sünd verzeihung (durch ihn) mit zübekennen und deüten».

hyssop in the blood of animals⁵¹ by Moses Your servant. But for me the washing is with the cross of Christ, Your Child, in His blood.»⁵²

Though all three of Schütz Zell's discussions of Ps 51:7 equate Christ with the hyssop, the longer *Miserere*, as we have come to expect, dwells mostly at the level of the historical context of the Old Testament. It is here that we can see most clearly Schütz Zell struggling between two hermeneutical options: historical and Christological. This being so, it is likely that when she says «But for me, the washing is with the blood of Christ», she is taking advantage of the ambiguity as to whether «me» refers to David or to her. Normally it refers to both seamlessly, but here she is counting on the fact that, at least prior to her writing the Christology, others will forgive her for a momentary, purely personal interjection.

A second example relates to Schütz Zell's understanding of the reference by King David to what is «hidden» and «secret» in Ps 51:6. Schütz Zell makes no reference to Christ so early in the longer *Miserere*. Here she interprets the words, «But you desire truth, which is hidden and secret in Your wisdom»⁵³ to refer to David's knowledge of what is hidden in God, namely, knowledge of the inherent sinfulness of David and the Israelites from birth.⁵⁴ In her Davidic Christology, however, Schütz Zell writes:

Here David calls Him [the Lamb/Christ] a secret wisdom,⁵⁵ which is hidden but lets itself be known in God. [The secret is that] his sins will be taken away in and through the future Christ and his blood. For because God desires truth, David ought to know that he must be made clean through the anointed one. And God does not desire foolishness, that is, that David should think that he might lay off sin through the law and his work. Therefore David concludes thus: You do not desire sacrifice, etc., but a broken spirit and heart, etc. [cf. Ps 51:16-17]. Therefore he also does not make a sacri-

51 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 139 n.128, interprets this passage as referring (only) to the Exodus; however, the reference to «animals» (plural, and not a «lamb») likely means that, as in her Christological essay, Schütz Zell is alluding to Moses' ministry as also portrayed in other passages such as Leviticus 14–16; cf. Appendix, *op. cit.*, and McKee: Writings (n. 3), 333.

52 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 139/Writings (n. 3), 320: «bespreng mich mit Jssopp (inn der warhait) wie dein volck Jsrael (inn figur und schaten) durch Mosen deinen knecht mit yssopp beschehen/ inn thier blütt von sünden gerainiget/ mich aber also mit dehm Creütz Christi deins kindts inn seinem blüb».

53 McKee: Writings (n. 3), 319: «Du hast aber lust zur warhait/ welche verborgen und haimlich ist inn diener weißhait... »

54 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 138/Writings (n. 3), 319–20.

55 McKee: Writings (n. 3), 333: «ein haimliche weißhait.»

fice for this sin, although elsewhere many sin offerings had been ordained by God.... David wants to be made clean through the wisdom that has been hidden secretly⁵⁶ from many ... [i.e.:] Christ [and] ... that sins will be forgiven through the anointed Christ, just as also all the prophets testify.⁵⁷

The shorter *Miserere*, which in general shows a balance between the historical and the Christological, lacks any explicit reference to Christ at this point:

O my God! I have gotten myself into this mess, but I can never get out of it without you! But since You, Lord, desire truth, and since (besides that) by Your special mercy You allow me to know that same secret wisdom,⁵⁸ so that I should confess in truth before You and pray to You to forgive my sins – so I, a miserable person, ask You ... turn Your mercy toward me.⁵⁹

There is a difference between the way in which Schütz Zell interprets what is hidden in her longer *Miserere* (as knowledge) and in her Davidic Christology (as Christ).⁶⁰ This is significant for understanding the relation between the two. The difference implies a chronological distance between them, which is consistent with McKee's suggestion that Schütz Zell might have added the Chris-

56 McKee: Writings (n. 3), 333–34: «Davidt wil aber hie durch dise weißhait gerainiget werden/ welche verborgen und haimlich ist vilen/».

57 The Appendix, *op. cit.*; cf. McKee: Writings (n. 3), 333–34: « dz haisset aber David hie/ ein haimliche weißheit die verborgen sei/ die laß jn Gott wissen/ das er jn also durch den zükünftigen Christum und sein blüt entsündigen wölle/ darumb dz Gott lust zur warheit habe/ dz David wissen solle das er durch den gesalbten muß gerainiget werden/ und hat nicht lust zur thorheit/ das David solte mainen/ das er durchs gesetz unnd seine werck möchte sünd ablegen/ darumb schlußß auch David also: Du hast nicht lust zum opffer/ etc. sonder zû ainem gebrochnen geist unnd hertzen/ etc. Deßhalb er auch kein opffer für dise sünd gethan hatte/ wie den sonst vil sündeopffer von Gott geordnet waren/ ... David wil aber hie durch dise weißhait gerainiget werden/ welche verborgen und haimlich ist vilen/ ... Christus ... und wie auch alle Propheten zeugen/ das durch den gesalbten Christum/ die sünd verzigen sollen werden/».

58 McKee: Writings (n. 3), 339: «die selbe haimlich weißhait.»

59 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 149/ Writings (n. 3), 339. (I have here changed McKee's translation «truth» to «wisdom» to draw attention to the similarity between references to «haimlich weißhait» in all three of Schütz Zell's discussions of Ps 51:6.) – «O du mein Gott/ inn dise not hab ich mich selbst geworffen/ herausser aber kan ich mir nimme helffen ohn dich/ Dieweil aber du Herr lust zur warhait hast/ unnd mich die selbig haimlich weißhait noch dennoch wissen laßt/ auß sonderer barmmherzigkait/ das ich inn warhait vor dir bekenen sol/ unnd für die sünde dich bitten. So bitt ich armer mensch/ dich ... das du deine barmmherzigkait gegen mir wendest/».

60 And the shorter *Miserere*.

tological portion in preparation for the publication of the longer *Miserere* in 1558.⁶¹ Assuming this to be the case, and considering the fact that Schütz Zell's letter to Armbruster reads most straightforwardly as implying that she wrote only one reflection on the *Miserere* during her time of sorrow (almost certainly the longer),⁶² it is likely that Schütz Zell wrote the shorter *Miserere* at a later period, when she had grown more comfortable with the Christological hermeneutic that she advocates in her Davidic Christology.⁶³ On this understanding, the shorter *Miserere* represents Schütz Zell's mature hermeneutic, which involves a balance between the historical and the Christological.⁶⁴

Finally, why did Schütz Zell add so many references to Christ at the end of the long *Miserere*? It is hard to say, but the following explanations are worth considering: 1) she grew frustrated adopting the historically restrictive her-

61 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 147–48.

62 McKee: Mother (n. 2), 133/Writings (n. 3), 314.

63 It is worth continuing on this same trajectory based on the presence or absence of references to Christ. To begin, a bit of background is in order. First, we know from Schütz Zell's letter to Armbruster that she composed her rendition of Psalm 130 at the same tragic time as one of her *Miserere* renditions (almost certainly the longer one). (This makes sense, since both Psalm 130 and the bulk of the longer *Miserere* lack references to Christ.) Second, there is no reason to doubt McKee's view that Schütz Zell added the Christological excursus in preparation for the publication of Den Psalmen *Miserere* in 1558. Third, as noted earlier, the conclusion to the longer *Miserere* is uncharacteristic for its dense Christological content, its temporary change in the voice of David from the first to the third person, and its thinly veiled allusion to the Interim of 1548.

When combined, this evidence suggests the following order of composition for the Psalms renditions and the Christology: 1) Psalm 130 and most of the longer *Miserere* except for its conclusion (vv. 18b–19); 2) the conclusion to the longer *Miserere* (i.e., no sooner than the Interim of 1548); 3) the Davidic Christology justifying the references to Christ with which she concluded the longer *Miserere*; and 4) the shorter *Miserere* (which could, however, be as early as the Christological ending of the longer *Miserere*).

On this understanding, of the three possible lamentable occasions suggested by McKee for the composition of Psalm 130 and the (longer) *Miserere* – the death of the Zell infants, the death of Matthew Zell, and the Strasbourg Interim – the first must now be preferred on the grounds that the latter two occasions (both in 1548) belong to the same time frame within which Schütz Zell made her switch to a more explicitly Christological rendition of the Davidic psalms (as evidenced by the Interim-specific conclusion to the longer *Miserere*).

64 It is surprising to me how much Schütz Zell retains of the historical. Balance is also implied by the fact that Schütz Zell could have decided not to include the strictly historical Psalm 130 (*De Profundis*), but does. It might be hermeneutically significant that the historically oriented *De Profundis* lies between (i.e., is bookended by) two Christological pieces, the Christology and the shorter *Miserere*.

meneutic to which, so she confesses in her postscript, she felt an obligation to follow; 2) she was prompted by the ready way in which the imagery of vv. 18–19 led to her thinly veiled application to the Strasbourg Interim, which, having set a precedent for making an application long past David's time, finally spilled into making explicit reference to Jesus Christ who, like the Interim, also post-dated David; 3) she was prompted by her likely awareness that vv. 18–19, referring as they do to the post-Davidic restoration of the walls of Jerusalem, implicitly helped to justify her similarly post-Davidic references to Christ; or 4) that she appended the rich Christological ending after writing the bulk of the longer *Miserere*.⁶⁵ Regardless of the reason, the Christological conclusion and Davidic Christology indicate that, however strongly Schütz Zell might have felt obliged to adopt the more strictly historical hermeneutic, she came by 1558 to embrace – and was ready and more than able to defend – a robust Christological hermeneutic.

What in the end should we make of the two hermeneutic stances found in Den Psalmen *Miserere* ... ? It is easy to infer that Schütz Zell, no stranger to controversies in general, had yet another controversy to work through, only this time it was a hermeneutic one.⁶⁶ It concerned whether to follow the stricter hermeneutic rule involving the original intention of the author that she mentions immediately following the longer *Miserere*, or to bring Christ and concepts relating to the New Covenant into her interpretation of the Psalms.

In one sense Den Psalmen *Miserere* leaves the dilemma unresolved. This is because in it can be found both a strictly non-Christological hermeneutic (reflected in Psalm 130 and, but for one slip in v. 7,⁶⁷ the body of the longer *Miserere* prior to the end) and a Christological hermeneutic (reflected in the shorter *Miserere*, the conclusion of the longer one, and her Davidic Christolo-

65 See footnote 63 for evidence in favor of the option that the conclusion of the longer *Miserere* is a later addition.

66 Likely the one that arose in the sixteenth century under the influence of Renaissance Humanism and which favored historically oriented renditions of ancient texts. Among the vast literature on this subject, see, for example, J.M. Kittleson: Humanism and the Reformation in Germany, *Central European History* 9 (1976): 303–322, A. Hamilton: Humanists and the Bible, in: Jill Kraye (ed.): *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, Cambridge 1996, 100–118; C. G. Nauert: Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe, *New Approaches to European History*, W. Beik and T.C.W. Blanning (eds.), Cambridge 2006.

67 If need be, justifiable on the grounds that «me» referred here (alone) to Schütz Zell herself.

gy). As to the state of the controversy, and which side of it Schütz Zell favors at the time the book went to press, the dominant impression is one in favor of a Christological exegesis. Yet the fact that she still includes the strictly historical Psalm 130 suggests either that the hermeneutic debate continued to affect her, or – and this would be in keeping with Schütz Zell’s conciliatory nature – that she found a way to make peace with both sides. In any event, the placement of Christological pieces both before and after Psalm 130 (*De Profundis*) implies Schütz Zell’s intention at a mature stage in her life not to let a hermeneutic devoid of references to Jesus Christ have the last word.

In another sense, Schütz Zell’s Christology of David can be understood to have effectively resolved the dilemma for her at least. This is because the Christology argues in effect that *the historical David knew of Christ*, in which case her Christologically referential rendering of the longer *Miserere* did not violate the more strictly historical hermeneutic.⁶⁸ Put more positively, Schütz Zell’s Davidic Christology essay effectively demonstrated that what she wrote in verse 7 about Christ there («But for me the washing is in the cross of Christ») and elsewhere adhered to the stated confining dictum of the old hermeneutic, namely that nothing «be contrary to the meaning of David and of his thoughts that he had about his sins when he made and prayed this psalm.»

Finally I would be remiss not to draw attention to the quality of Schütz Zell’s Christology of David and the Psalms. Whereas Luther was inclined to regard many of the Psalms as outright direct prophecies of Christ, Schütz Zell falls more in line with the caution of Calvin who was concerned not to render the psalms in a way that did violence to their original meaning.⁶⁹ The path that Schütz Zell takes is between these poles. Her rendition is rich, thoughtful, and theologically quite sophisticated.⁷⁰

In the end then, Schütz Zell was successful at finding her way faithfully through yet another controversy of the Protestant Reformation.

68 I do not mean to imply that Schütz Zell was conscious of making this reconciliation. I am referring rather to the effect of Schütz Zell’s hermeneutic struggle, which involved preserving writings that reflect both sides in her 1558 publication.

69 This can clearly be seen, for example, in Calvin’s discussion of Psalm 72 in which he expresses concern that explicitly Christological interpretations (like those of Luther) violate the meaning of the text.

70 A good example of theological sophistication can be seen in her treatment of David and whether his possession of the Holy Spirit entailed knowledge of Christ or not.

Appendix

An English Translation of Katharina Schütz Zell's Essay Justifying Seeing Christ in the Psalms, from her *Den Psalmen Miserere* ...⁷¹

Translated by Rachel Lott, Ph.D. (University of Toronto)⁷²

[C8r]⁷³ The fact is that I conclude this *Miserere* with Jesus Christ, even though it was prayed before Christ became a man. It has struck me that we must all be preserved in Jesus Christ. According to the scripture [*Isa 9, Luke 2:3, John 4, Rev 21, Isa 22, Rev 3*], He is the savior of all flesh, the A[lpha] and O[mega], beginning and end, the key of David, who opens to all the faithful. For this reason David was promised and was sworn an oath, and God Himself confirmed what the scripture says [*Ps 110*]: God has sworn and will never repent. And David says in many psalms that God remembers His own oaths, and for this cause he also will plead on account of his sin, and he desires God to look on the face of His anointed [*Ps 84*].

He has also earnestly waited, with his ancestors, for the salvation of Israel, which was to come through Christ on account of the promise [*Pss 2, 8, 16, 21, 22, 24, 41, etc.*].

71 Translated from the German, as found in McKee: Writings (n. 3), 329–37.

72 Translator's notes on the translation:

1. As Elsie McKee notes (K. Schütz Zell: Church Mother: The Writings of a Protestant Reformer in the Sixteenth-Century, translated by E. McKee, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe*, ed. M.L. King and A. Rabil, Jr., Chicago/London 2006, 39–41 [39]) in her English translation of other writings of Schütz Zell, early modern German is not punctuated into sentences. I have made some arbitrary decisions about where to end sentences and paragraphs, and therefore how to shift the emphases of Schütz Zell's thought; but I trust these are all faithful to her intent.

2. Some of the particles that Schütz Zell uses most often (das, da, wa, wie, etc.) are used most loosely, or have many meanings. I have translated these mostly by sense. If it appears that her meaning in any sentence hangs on a particular connecting word («because,» «if,» etc.), the reader should refer back to the original to assess the level of ambiguity.

3. I have capitalized pronouns referring to God and Christ. This is for the reader's convenience, since Schütz Zell often omits the subject of her verbs, and the reader has to puzzle out whether «he» refers to David or God or someone else. There are certain confusing constructions in which the capitalizations offer some help.

4. I have altered the placement of the scripture references in these sentences. In the edition, the scriptural references are sometimes placed immediately before the clause in which Schütz Zell alludes to them, thus giving the false impression that she discusses these passages before she actually does. For clarity, I have tried to place the scriptural reference inside or after the relevant sentence or clause.

73 The letters on either side of numbers in brackets reflect the original pagination. Paragraphs are indented where implied by the indentation in McKee: Writings (n. 3). McKee's pagination in German (Writings, 329–37) is reflected in footnotes for ease of reference.

Because of this he prophesied so much⁷⁴ through the Spirit of God in the book of Psalms concerning His kingdom, birth, cross, suffering, death, and [C8v] resurrection and ascension [*Pss 45, 47, 68, and 69*]. In spirit he knew through the promise of God [*Ps 132*], like a prophet, that He would come from his loins, just as Matthew chapter 1 says [*Matt 1*], and that He would be a son of David, as the account of His birth shows. And St. Paul says [*Rom 1*] that God has promised His Son in His Gospel through His prophets in the Holy Scriptures – the son who would be born to him from the seed of David according to the flesh, and yet would be mightily proven to be a Son of God according to the Spirit. For this reason David also called Him Lord in the psalms [*Pss 110 and 89*]. But David was not mistaken or lying concerning the birth in the flesh of his son, for God had spoken of it, as witness Isaiah and the other prophets and the whole scripture [*Isa 7, 9, 11*].

These things were known not only to David and the ancients, but also to all the Jews, since [D1r] the prophets and Moses were read on the Sabbath. Thus, the whole people awaited the salvation of Israel through the future Messiah, a son of David. This is also what the Samaritan woman said to the Lord beside the well [*John 4*]: she knew that the Messiah would come. For this cause the sick among the Jews (whom Jesus therefore healed) cried out: «Son of David, have mercy on us!» [*Mark 10*], etc. Therefore, from the beginning all the Jews understood the promised son of David to be the Savior, and the Savior to be the son of David. All sacrifices signified Him, and through Him all prayer had to be made.

And David stood highest in the knowledge of such things [*Pss 97, 99, 96, 110*]; he prophesied of His kingdom and everything beforehand, and all the other prophets [prophesied] of what His office would be, and how His kingdom would be adorned and would stand [*Ps 72*]. The heathen acknowledged Him, sacrificed to Him,⁷⁵ and prayed to Him. [David] took it on [D1v] himself to orient all his sacrifices, prayers, and everything to do with God the Father in and through this Christ. He believed in Him, hoped in Him, and at His altar he was [or considered himself to be] dead in the flesh with this promised Christ but preserved in spirit. In the same way from Adam onwards (to whom Christ was first promised [*Gen 3*]), all the fathers until Christ stood in this knowledge of Christ, with sacrifice and prayer and all their works. And in the same way the temple signified the same Christ, with all its decorations and service [*Lev 16, Heb 9*]. For that reason all the people awaited the Salvation, just like the beloved Simeon [*Luke 2*], who took Him into his arms with joy. In the same manner and at the same time, the beloved prophetess Anna, who also waited for Him in the temple, spoke of Him and prophesied, etc., for the sake of the promise, which she knew and taught [*Gen 3, Deut 18*]. And so it happened also with Adam, Moses, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and [D2r] David [*Pss 110, 132, 89*], and it [the promise] was made with an oath by God, and it was sworn by Himself, and testified through the prophets.

74 Here starts McKee: Writings (n. 3), 330.

75 Here starts McKee: Writings (n. 3), 331.

Especially [it was testified] through Isaiah [*Isa* 7, 11, 25, 53, 63], who is also indeed an Evangelist, so clearly and plainly does he speak of Christ: His kingdom, birth, suffering and death, resurrection, and ascension [*John* 12, *Isa* 1, 43, 58, 66]. For he saw His splendor, for which cause he also, with all the prophets, cried so mightily concerning His sacrifice and work, that it had not entered into the thought of holy Israel. On account of which they all waited for the promise, as the ancients said [*Isa* 64]: He would rend the heavens and come down. In the meanwhile they regard all their work as nothing (of help to them), as David does also in many psalms [*Pss* 16, 40, 50, 51], where he disdains the sacrifices that are made without the knowledge of righteousness.

He [David] also sings a beautiful wedding song [*Pss* 45 & 93] about the Lord⁷⁶ [D2v] and Spouse, Christ, and of His kingdom and splendor, how He is adorned and will go forth in His glory. And the preaching of the Gospel [*Ps* 19] will have its course, etc. Similarly, His bride the Christian church [*Pss* 45 and 68] will stand at His right hand adorned in gold, with her virgins and companions, and go into the king's palace with joy. Also, concerning how and on what foundation this bride the Christian church will be built (since he calls her the «city of God») [*Ps* 87], we find many discourses and songs related by them all.

But I will discuss this alone, how David so completely recognized Christ as the anointed of God, and knew certainly of His future office and kingdom – just as Abraham (to whom also He was promised [*Gen* 17 & 21]) saw His day and was glad. David portrayed His kingdom so mightily [*Ps* 8]: the promise of God would not fail, the oath of God would remain fast, and [D3r] help would come through this hero Christ [*Ps* 89]. For this cause he asks the Father (as aforementioned) to look upon the face of His anointed [*Ps* 84]. And in another place, [he asks] that He would not turn away the face of His anointed for David's sake, to whom He had sworn that He would set the fruit of his body on the everlasting throne, etc. [*Ps* 132]. But indeed all the scripture testifies that Christ would be the anointed one, who would come of the seed of David and from the market town of Bethlehem, the city of David, according to the scripture [*John* 7, *Luke* 2, *Mic* 5].

Now David knew all this and therefore at all times craved grace and mercy in his prayers to Him and through Him, according to the will of the anointed Christ. How could he not have done so also in this prayer, the *Miserere*, given that he was in utmost need, and his sin was greatest and highest? For it stood before his eyes. But he knew that, according to the testimony of the [D3v] law of Moses and his own⁷⁷ psalms [*Num* 21, *Ps* 22, *Exod* 25, 26 and 37; *Lev* 16, *Num* 7, *Rom* 3, *Heb* 5, 9], Christ would become the bearer of sins and the Mercy Seat, although it is almost hidden in this psalm. And this is what he means and desires here when he asks God to sprinkle and cleanse him with hyssop, and wash him that he might be white.

76 Here starts McKee: Writings (n. 3), 332.

77 Here starts McKee: Writings (n. 3), 333.

What else is it other than washing with the blood of Christ? – whose sufferings he knew [*Ps 69*], and which all blood offerings signified, and on account of which they were called sin offerings [*Exod 12*]. For Moses dipped the hyssop sprig in the blood of the lamb, bird, and other animals, and sprinkled the posts, the lepers, the book and the people, to testify of and point to Christ and the forgiveness of sin, through Him [*Lev 14, Exod 24, Num 24, Heb 9*]. The Apostle to the Hebrews also clarifies this very nicely, and he sets forth Christ with his blood, etc. For nothing at all [D4r] could have helped, but only Christ. For this reason also John the Baptist, who came between the law and Christ, called Him a lamb – but a lamb of God [*Matt 11, Luke 19, John 1*], since He would take away the sin of the world.

Here David calls Him a secret wisdom, which is hidden but lets itself be known in God. [The secret is that] his sins will be taken away in and through the future Christ and his blood. For because God desires truth, David ought to know that he must be made clean through the anointed one. And God does not desire foolishness, that is, that David should think that he might lay off sin through the law and his work. Therefore David concludes thus: You do not desire sacrifice, etc., but a broken spirit and heart, etc. [cf. *Ps 51:16-17*]. Therefore he also does not make a sacrifice for this sin, although elsewhere many sin offerings had been ordained by God. And in many places in the scripture [*Ps 40*], etc., David wants [D4v] to be made clean⁷⁸ through the wisdom that has been hidden secretly from many, as also St. Paul says [*Col 1*]: Christ is a secret that has been hidden from the world here and in previous times. But now He reveals to His holy ones, to whom God has willed it to be made known, that sins will be forgiven through the anointed Christ, just as also all the prophets testify [*Acts 10*].

For this reason the beloved David also asks for the holy, pure, and willing Spirit. If he does not know Christ, and yet has prayed through Him, who would have taught or told him to desire the Holy Spirit? The One who alone is called the Rod, arising from the stock of Jesse [*Isa 11*]. From the branch that comes from the root will grow one who has all wisdom, counsel, strength, knowledge, and fear of God, which rod and branch is Christ, according to the witness of all the scripture.

[D5r] Therefore also this Spirit is given by God in the name of Christ alone. Thus if David had not known this branch (Christ the Lord), he could not have desired His Spirit, but [instead] it would have been said (as it is in Acts) [*Acts 19*]: they knew not whether there were a Holy Spirit.

But now, since the beloved David has received this Holy Spirit from God [*1 Sam 16*], God has willed and made him to be anointed king and shepherd over his people [*Pss 22, 69, 16, 41, 45, 47, 68, 87, 19, 110, 89, and 72*]. Therefore David also prays in this psalm and desires that this Holy Spirit not be taken from him, and through such a Spirit he knows Christ (the promised one, who should come from him). And he prophesied of His suffering in the flesh, and besides this he also depicted the glory

78 Here starts McKee: Writings (n. 3), 334.

of His resurrection, ascension, and His wholly spiritual kingdom and rule. And [he prophesied of] the whole course of the Gospel, that [D5v] His righteousness should be preached, that all the poor and hungry should eat of it, that all the great of the earth should pray to Him, and the servants would bow before him. [David] foretold this all so richly that the Apostles and we ourselves, up to the present day, may witness Christ in the psalms⁷⁹ [*Acts* 1, 2, 4, 11], as also the Lord Christ himself did [*Luke* 24, *Acts* 17]. And this is what He did when the two disciples were going to Emmaus. When they came to the house, He appeared and said: «What was written in the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms, etc., must have been fulfilled.»

How then could David in this psalm so thoroughly forget such other psalms of his (which Christ also used), so as not to desire to hide his sins in the wounds of this Christ, to be clothed with His Cross, and to be washed with His blood? He pleads from the heart to be washed as white as snow [*Ps* 51:7]. Who can become white before [D6r] God, otherwise than in His anointed Christ? – in the blood of the lamb and clothed with white garments [*Acts* 7, *Exod* 12]? Just as the lamb and the Passover of the Lord so clearly signified through Moses, which David (as one learned in the law) well knew and understood. And toward this he directed his prayers freely and with earnestness, when he was struck to the heart (through God) by the prophet Nathan [*2 Sam* 12].⁸⁰ For [Nathan] grieved him and set his sin before his eyes, and announced God's anger together with His punishment, etc. One also finds in the psalms how heavily those same things lay on him, and how care burdened him, so that he desired God to forgive, cover, and remove them, and to save him from eternal death and the pains of Hell [*Pss* 6, 13, 25, 31, 22, 38, 40, 46, 51, 85, 88, 130, 143]. How afraid he was, such that he bemoaned his sins so terribly; and yet his trust was always placed in God the Savior, etc. May that [D6v] also occur (I hope) in everyone who recognizes his sin and believes in Christ, in each one according to his measure, and by this [may he] attain salvation. That is what I wish for myself and all those who thirst after God's grace. For the power of the law acts on our sins like the sting of death [*Ps* 42:1, *Cor.* 15]. To know the⁸¹ power of Christ rightly is a great grace and a wonderful work of God, which He would give or grant to no one other than those whom He has chosen and loved from the beginning. May we also be found in their number (God willing) at the end, and forever. Amen.

So, since God gives the means to attain the cleansing of the heart through belief in the death of Christ [*Acts* 15], He does not give a small grace. For it [the heart] will always, and all the time, strike upon one side or the other: either to trust [one's own] life and [D7r] work, to rest in it and comfort oneself with it, like the Pharisee in front of the temple [*Eph* 1:5, *Luke* 18], etc.; or to despond over one's sins and die [*Luke* 23,

79 Here starts McKee: Writings (n. 3), 335.

80 The original has 2 Kings, following the Vulgate system of naming 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings as 1–4 Kings.

81 Here starts McKee: Writings (n. 3), 336.

Matt 27, Acts 1], as the robber on the left cross despaired and hung like Judas. But whoever can grasp the right means recognizes his sins with David – their genus, root, and fruit [*Ps 6, Matt 26, Luke 22, 23; Luke 7:10*]. He bemoans himself with David and Peter, he confesses himself to be the robber on the right side, he prays and believes with beloved Mary, who washed the feet of the Lord; he follows and does penance at the cross of Christ. He has chosen the best part; he gives thanks to God forever. He has been allowed to find the Pearl [*Matt 13*]; he sells everything that he has and buys the field in which it lies. Therefore David says [*Ps 2:25*] that God loves those who fear Him and who trust in His mercy – which is Christ Jesus, in whom not one of [D7v] those who⁸² believe and trust in Him is condemned. This is what God has given us to recognize and to gain, with his righteousness [*Phil 3*], and to regard our own doings as loss. Amen.

Abstract

In her book *Den Psalmen Miserere* of the prominent Protestant Reformer Katharina Schütz Zell includes two separate paraphrases of Psalm 51, a paraphrase of Psalm 130, and an extended excursus that seeks to justify seeing Jesus Christ in the Psalms. This essay offers the first published English translation of Schütz Zell's Christological excursus, translated by Rachel Lott, and uses the excursus to highlight and consider a hermeneutic tension among her lack of reference to Christ in Psalm 130, her reluctance to invoke Him in her longer rendition of Psalm 51, her greater willingness to do so in the shorter Psalm 51 rendition, and her outright defense of doing so in her Christological excursus. The essay argues that Schütz Zell likely authored the entire «excursus» (better understood as her Davidic Christology) and demonstrates its importance for understanding her renditions of these Psalms and of her views on the Christology of the Book of Psalms. As the likely author of the Davidic Christology, Schütz Zell deserves greater recognition as an insightful, critically minded, biblical theologian.

Das Buch *Den Psalmen Miserere* der prominenten protestantischen Reformerin Katharina Schütz Zell sind zwei separate Paraphrasen von Psalm 51 enthalten, eine Paraphrase von Psalm 130 und einen erweiterten Exkurs, der Jesus Christus in den Psalmen rechtfertigen will. Dieser Aufsatz bietet die erste veröffentlichte englische Übersetzung von Schütz Zells Christologischem Exkurs, übersetzt von Rachel Lott. Zudem verwendet der Essay den Exkurs, um eine hermeneutische Spannung zwischen ihrem Mangel an Bezug zu Christus in Psalm 130, ihrer Zurückhaltung, ihn in ihrer längeren Interpretation von Psalm 51 anzurufen, ihrer größeren Bereitschaft, dies in der kürzeren Interpretation von Psalm 51 zu tun, und ihrer völligen Verteidigung, dies in

82 Here starts McKee: Writings (n. 3), 337.

ihren Christologischen Exkursen zu tun, hervorzuheben und zu betrachten. Der Essay vertritt die Meinung, dass Schütz Zell wahrscheinlich den gesamten «Exkurs» (besser verstanden als ihre Davidische Christologie) verfasst hat und zeigt auf, wie wichtig er für das Verständnis ihrer Interpretationen dieser Psalmen und ihrer Ansichten über die Christologie in den Psalmen ist. Als wahrscheinliche Autorin der Davidischen Christologie verdient Schütz Zell die Anerkennung als eine aufschlussreiche, kritisch gesinnte, biblische Theologin.

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