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A table of contents for *Journal of Biblical Literature* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_jbl-01.php

A Comparative Study of Psalm xlv.

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THE critical problems of Ps. 45 are well known, and have been variously discussed. For their full solution in detail it seems that a more thorough sifting of the lexical material is desirable, especially to determine, if possible, whether the poem as it now stands is or is not an original unit, and whether it is related closely to the style of other documents so as to suggest a historical connection with them, and out of these discussions to derive any light that can be had as to its full interpretation.

One of the curious features here, as in some other cases, is the variety of persons represented either as speaking, or as being spoken to, or as objects of reference. (a) In v.² the writer speaks in the first person of his poem and its composition. In v.¹⁰ this point of view is apparently resumed, though it is conceivable that the subject is here either the collective Israel or even God dramatically introduced. Imperatives are found in vv.^{4, 5, 11, 12} (with a possible optative in ¹⁷), all proceeding apparently from the poet, but possibly also from either Israel or God. (b) The person most addressed and specially referred to seems to be "the king" who is explicitly mentioned in vv.^{2, 6, 12, 15, 16}, but in vv.¹¹⁻¹³ we have an address to a "daughter," and the suffixes are feminine to the end of v.¹⁵. Whether every one of these latter is correctly pointed may be questioned, and also it is conceivable that the twenty occurrences of ך may not all refer consistently to the same person, or, if to "the king," to him viewed in exactly the same sense. Indeed, who is meant by this appellation becomes a puzzling question the more it is examined. Is he a particular historic personage? Or the idealized theocracy? Or the Messiah definitely? Or Jahweh? Or are these various senses somehow intermingled in succession, or even in a kind of confusion? (c) Fully as perplexing are the female characters. Who is meant by שֶׁנִּי in v.¹⁰, by בַּת in v.¹¹, and by בַּת-מֶלֶךְ in v.¹⁴? And what is their relation to each other, to "the king," and to the general plan

of thought? The last of the three is attended by a train of בְּתוֹלוֹת, who probably present no special difficulty; but who are the בְּנֹת מַלְכִים in v.¹⁰? (*d*) Several other classes are mentioned, all of which require consideration — such as the בְּנֵי אָדָם in v.³, the עַמִּים in vv.^{6, 14}, the חֲבָרִים in v.⁸, עַמֶּךָ in v.¹¹, the עַשְׂרֵי עָם in v.¹³, and the אוֹיְבֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ in v.⁶ (instead of אוֹיְבֵיךָ, as we might expect).

It is altogether probable that the elucidation of these several points will be advanced by comparing this psalm with the other "royal" psalms, and also with the Prophecies and the Histories. In the present study this comparison will be made chiefly by tracing out in detail the lines of verbal correspondence and usage, in the hope of establishing certain general literary relationships that can be used for exegetical purposes.

The usual list of "royal" psalms includes 2, 18, 20, 21, 61, 63, 72, 89, 110, 132, each of which has a greater or less similarity with 45. If one makes even a rapid summary of the thought-contents of these, he will see at once that the similarities between them and 45 are practically confined to the matters set forth in the latter in vv.^{3-8, 12-13, 17-18}. There is in them nothing corresponding to the poet's introduction, to the direct address to the "daughter," or to the description of "the king's daughter." The points of contact with vv.¹²⁻¹³ involve at the same time such differences as to seem less important than the rest. Of the 110 words constituting the vocabulary of 45, fully 60 occur in other "royal" psalms; and nearly all of these connecting words, so far as they have importance, are confined to vv.^{3-8, 17-18}. Taking up these verbal connections in detail, we encounter a number of interesting suggestions.

Verse ³. אָדָם occurs in 21¹¹ and 89⁴⁰ of mankind as a whole. Of the 27 occurrences of this expression in Pss. (sg. and plur.) all have this broad sense except 49⁸ 57⁵ 58² 62¹⁰.

שֹׁמְרוֹת occurs in 89²⁶ of *God's* utterance (as in 17⁴), in 21⁸ of the *king's*, and in 63^{4, 6} of the *speaker's*. Of the 10 other cases in Pss. where this figure is used in referring to *good* utterance, every one except 34¹⁴ applies it to the speaker.

עֲלֵיךָ occurs in this psalm three times, in v.¹⁸ plainly to introduce a *parallel* thought (see note *ad loc.*), in v.⁸, apparently, to indicate a *result*, and here perhaps the same (as comparison with the thought of 21⁸⁻⁹ would suggest).¹ It occurs also in 18⁶⁰ and 110⁷, and may perhaps be conjectured as the fuller reading in 61⁹ and 63^{3, 5}. Examination of its usage in general leaves it unclear how inherent is its definitely *illative* force. It seems to be a stylistic mark of a certain kind of

¹ Everything depends on the exact meaning of הִרְגַּע חָן. See further notes below.

writing, and usually introduces something in the way of a note or comment outside the main drift of the passage. Often it introduces a restatement of the thought in other words, like our "that is" (*cf.* 73⁶).

בָּרַךְ occurs of *God's* action in 132¹⁶, of *man's* in 72^{15, 17}, and exclamatorily toward God in 18⁴⁷. In the 21 other cases in Pss. of God's "blessing," the object is usually the Holy People (as in 28⁹ 29¹¹ 147¹⁸).

לְשֵׁלָם occurs with reference to the perpetuity of the king's prosperity in 18⁶¹ 21⁶ 61⁸ 72¹⁷ 89^{6, 29, 87, 88}.

Verse 4. חָרַב occurs of the king's might in 89⁴⁴, and less definitely in 63¹¹.

נִבְוָר occurs in 89²⁰, "I have laid help on a mighty one," further described as "chosen from the people" and entitled "David, My Servant." In 24⁸ the word is used of *God*.

וְרִדְךָ וְרִדְךָ is closely paralleled in 21⁶, "Glory and majesty Thou dost lay upon him." In other psalms the couplet is applied to *God* (96⁶ 104¹ 111⁸ 145⁵), or *He* alone (82 148¹⁸).²

Verse 5. רֶכֶב is used of *God* in 18¹¹ (*cf.* 68^{6, 81}). In 20⁸, however, trust in "chariots" and "horses" is rebuked.

עַל־דָּבָר occurs in Pss. only here and in 79⁹. In the latter case it points to the *reason* of the action, not its object. If that be the sense here, then the qualities of "truth, meekness, and righteousness" inhere in the king or his impelling motive. But the matter is complicated by the curious expression in 110⁴, עַל־דְּבָרָתִי מִלְכֵי־צָרָק, which suggests that somehow there and here the same line of thought is intended.

אֱמֻנָה occurs in 61⁸ 89¹⁶ 132¹¹ as an attribute of *God*. This is the almost constant usage in Pss. (except 15² 51⁸ 145¹⁸; perhaps 85^{11, 12}).

עֲנִינָה is unique as here pointed. But in 18⁸⁶ we have עֲנִינֹתָי used of *God*.³

צָרָק occurs of *men* in 18^{21, 26} 132⁹ 110⁴ (in the name Melchizedek),⁴ and of *God* in 72² 89¹⁶. The fem. צָרָקָה also occurs of *God* in 72^{1, 3} 89¹⁷. The masc. is used in Pss. both of men and of God, but the fem. always of God except in 99⁴ 106^{8, 81} 112^{8, 9}. אֱמֻנָה and צָרָק occur together of God in 40¹¹ (fem.) 85^{11, 12} 89¹⁶ 119^{142, 160}, and of men in 15².

יָמִין occurs of *God* in 18⁸⁶ 20⁷ 63⁹ 89¹⁴ 110⁴, and of *the king* in 21⁶, "Thy right hand shall find out thy haters," and 89²⁶, "I will set his right hand on the rivers." Elsewhere in Pss. the word is always used of God or vaguely of "the right side."

יָרָא occurs in the act. in 72⁶, "They shall fear thee (*the king*)," and in the pass. in 89⁶ (of *God's* terribleness). The form נִרְאָוּת occurs in Pss. only in 65⁶ 106²² 145⁶, all of *God's* deeds.

Verse 6. חָץ occurs in 18¹⁶ of a weapon of *God* (*cf.* 7¹⁴ 38⁸ 64⁸ 144⁶). Usually in Pss. it is used of the attacks of enemies (11² 57⁵ 58⁶ 64⁴ 91⁵), but in 120⁴ 127⁴ we have a conjunction with נִבְוָר that suggests a proverbial usage.

עַמִּים occurs in 18⁴⁸, "The God that subdueth peoples under me," and in 89⁶¹, "The reproach . . . of all the many peoples." Though a frequent word in Pss., it stands in close proximity to אֲמֵינִי only here and in 56⁸.

² *Cf.* Cheyne: "These are divine attributes."

³ But Olshausen and Wellhausen read עֲנִינֹתָי.

⁴ Also in 72⁷, according to the reading of Wellhausen.

תַּחֲתֵי יַסְלִי is closely paralleled in 18³⁹, "They shall fall under my feet," and the thought is reiterated in 18⁴⁰.⁴⁸ 20⁹ and elsewhere.

בָּאֵיב occurs in 18¹. 18. 88. 41. 49 21⁹ 61⁴ 72⁹ 89¹¹. 28. 52 110¹. 2 132¹⁸, all of which except 89¹¹.⁵² refer explicitly to the *king's*' (or the speaker's) enemies rather than God's. The community of idea between all these passages is obvious. (The shift here from the second person in the first two lines to the third person in the last is paralleled in 110 by the change from vv. 1-4 to vv. 5-7.)

The structure of the verse as it stands is unbalanced and obscure. Either something has dropped out before בָּלֵב, or, more probably, the second line has been inserted roughly in imitation of 18. (See further notes below.)

Verse 7. כִּסֵּא נֶסֶם occurs in 89⁶. 80. 87 132¹¹. 12 of *David's* throne, all the passages in 89 being like this in force, and in 89¹⁶ of *God's* throne. With the former usage cf. 122⁵; with the latter cf. 9⁶. 8 11⁴ 47⁹ 93² 97² 103¹³, though the idea of perpetuity is included only in 9⁸ and perhaps in 93² 103¹⁹.

אֱלֹהִים as it stands in the text presents a *crux* for the interpreter, which has been variously disposed of. The parallels in 89⁵. 37-38 suggest that the missing verb is בָּנִן. It may, therefore, be conjectured that אֱלֹהִים here is a corruption of בֶּן הַבֵּן or אֵל יָבִין. The occurrence of the abbreviated אֵל as subject is supported by the analogy of 18⁸¹. 88. 48 89⁸, if not by 18⁸ 89⁷. 27. This solution of the difficulty is certainly simpler than several that have been offered. (See also a further note on the possible corrected reading on p. 207.)

וְעַד שְׁלֹמֹם occurs in full in 21⁶, and the query may well be raised whether 89⁸⁸ may not be in disorder and hence wrongly pointed, since there we find שְׁלֹמֹם וְעַד. The transfer of וְעַד to the second line there would improve the parallelism with v. 87 and would increase the probability of the above suggested reading here.

שָׁבַט occurs in 2⁹ 89²⁸, but in a different sense.

Verse 8. אָרַק (see v. 5 above).

שָׁמַח occurs in 18¹⁸. 41 21⁹ 89²⁴, but not in this sense.

The general attitude of "loving" what is good is expressed in 34¹⁸ 40¹⁷ 70⁶ 99⁴ 119⁴⁷. 48. 97. 113. 119. 127. 140. 162. 168. 166. 167, and of "hating" what is evil in 101⁸ 119¹⁰⁴. 113. 128. 168.

שְׁלֵבֵן (see v. 8 above). Here the direct illative force seems to be present, unless, possibly, the first line here belongs to v. 7.

אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים seems to be the Elohist form of אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי, as in 43⁴ 50⁷ 67⁷. The only (indistinct) parallel is 89⁹.

שָׁמַח suggests 2² 18⁸¹ 20⁷ 89²¹. 89. 52 132¹⁰. 17. Other occurrences are 28⁸ 84¹⁰ 105¹⁶, — all with the form שָׁמַח.

שָׁמַח occurs in 89²¹, "With My holy oil have I anointed him." Other occurrences are 23⁶ 92¹¹ 104¹⁶ 133² 141⁶.

Verse 17. קִנְיָד suggests 72¹, "The king's son," and especially 89³¹, "If his children forsake My law, etc." and 132¹², "If thy children keep My covenant, . . . their children also shall sit upon thy throne for ever."

שָׁת occurs in regard to the *king* in 21⁴. 7 110¹ 132¹¹, "Of thy body's fruit will I set upon thy throne." 21⁷ is striking, "Thou makest him to be blessing for aye." The subject is uniformly *God*, as usually in Pss.

בְּכֹל הָאָרֶץ in its connection, referring to the widespread dominion of the king's

⁸ So Wellhausen.

family, strongly suggests 2.⁸ 10 72⁸ 89¹².²⁶ 110⁶. Of these the more notable parallels are 2⁸, "I will give the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession"; 72⁸, "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the River unto the ends of the earth"; and 89²⁶, "I will make him My first-born, the highest of the kings of the earth."

Verse 18. יְהוָה יִשְׁבַּח presents an interesting question. יִשְׁבַּח occurs in 20⁴.⁸ 63⁷ 89¹⁶.⁶¹ 132¹, usually in an imperative demand upon God, but in 20⁸ 63⁷ in a devout protestation of trust. None of these are parallel to the usage here except 20⁸. But, on the other hand, we have in 18⁶⁰, "I will *sing praises* to Thy name"; in 21¹⁴, "We will sing and *praise* thy power"; and in 61⁹, "I will *sing praise* to Thy name for ever"—all in final verses, as here. These, especially when reinforced by the analogy of 7¹⁸ 9⁸ 27⁶ 30¹⁸ 57⁸.¹⁷ 59⁽¹⁰⁾ 18 66⁴ 71²².²⁸ 75¹⁰ 92² 101¹ 104⁸³ 108².⁴ 138¹ 144⁹ 146², etc., create a strong presumption that the original reading here was יְהוָה יִשְׁבַּח .⁷ This would also perfect the parallelism of the verse.

שֵׁם occurs in 18⁶⁰ 20².⁶ 8 61⁶.⁹ 63⁶ 72¹⁷ (*ba*) 89¹⁸.¹⁷ 25, always of *God's* name except in 72¹⁷, "His name shall endure for ever; his name shall be continued as long as the sun."

יְהוָה יִרְד occurs in 61⁷ 72⁵ 89².⁶, always of the *king's* life or rule except in 89². The form in 72⁵ is יְהוָה יִרְדֵם .

יְהוָה יִשְׁבַּח occurs in just this connection in 18⁶⁰. (See also under vv. 3.⁸ above.)

עֲלֵימִים (see under v.⁶).

יְהוָה occurs in the same form in 18⁶⁰ (except for the suffix) and in a different one in 89⁶. Both are directed toward *God*.

לְעֵלְיָם יְהוָה (see under v.⁷).

A number of indications combine to reinforce the text-emendation suggested above, and to show that this verse is a liturgical *addendum* to the poem. All its salient features are those of a type of expression peculiar to the Psalter and associated with its apparent purpose as a collection.

Of the 56 separate words found in the verses thus far considered, 39 occur in other "royal" psalms, most largely in 89 and 18, and least so in 2, 20, 63. Of the almost 40 distinct similarities of usage that have been traced, fully two-thirds lead to 89, about one-half to 18, about one-quarter to 21, 61, 72, 110, 132, not more than one-sixth to 20, 63, and only 2 to 2.

The words or expressions *not* found in other "royal" psalms may be rapidly listed as follows:—

Verse 3. "Thou art *fairer*." "Grace is *poured*."

Verse 4. "Gird . . . on thy *thigh*."

Verse 5. "*Ride!* prosper!" "Shall *teach* thee."

Verse 6. "Thine *arrows* are sharp." "*In the heart of*."

Verse 7. "A *sceptre of equity* is the sceptre of thy *kingdom*."

⁶ Doubted, however, in v.⁸ by Wellhausen.

⁷ Note, however, that the LXX has the *third person plural*, $\mu\eta\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$. See Grätz's deductions; also Duhm's.

Verse 6. "Thou hast *loved* . . . , and *hated wickedness*." "*Gladness above thy fellows*."

Verse 17. "*Instead of thy fathers*." "*Princes*."

It will be seen at a glance that several of these are really paralleled by expressions of the same thought in other forms. For instance, the progress of thought from v.³⁶ to ^{3c} may be the same as from 21⁸ to 21⁴⁻⁷, and as suggested also in 61⁶⁻⁸ and in 132; the various phrases regarding the king's military prowess remind us of many expressions in 18, 72, 89, 110; the attribution of beneficent qualities to his rule is conspicuously reiterated in 72; and his superiority to all other earthly rulers is emphasized in 2, 72, 89, at least.

It may be confidently asserted, then, that these several psalms are intimately connected with each other by more circumstances than the mere mention in them all of "the king," and that there is little in these verses here that is not sufficiently paralleled in the others as to both verbal usage and general thought-attitude. One of the interesting results of such a detailed comparison as this is the intimation that several of the features which here might be supposed to indicate that "the king" is merely a human chieftain are shown to be connected in the other psalms with the superior government of God or the qualities of His nature.⁸

When we turn to the middle sections of 45, we are at once struck by the vagueness of the resemblances with the other "royal" psalms except in vv.¹²⁻¹³.

Verse 9. קָנַח occurs in 21² 63² of the king's "rejoicing" in God.

Verse 10. מְלָכִים occurs in reference to earthly rulers in general, as probably here, in 2². 13 72¹¹ (66). 11 89³ 110⁶.

בִּיקְרוֹתָיִךְ reminds us very slightly of 72¹⁴.

⁸ It is aside from the present purpose to reverse the comparison and see how far what is found in other "royal" psalms is *not* found here. But we may note in passing that there is one conspicuous feature of 18, 21, 89, which is wholly wanting in 45. This is the detailed recounting of the lamentable triumph of "the enemies" and the consequent distress of the speaker or of "the king." This is specially striking in 89²⁹⁻³². In that case the complaint of those whose relation to "the king" leads them to expect a peace and prosperity which they do not have stands quite by itself, and has several points of peculiarity. It is curious that one of the passages notably akin to this constitutes the second half of 44, and consequently in the Psalter collection lies as closely contiguous to 45 as 89²⁹⁻³² does to 89³⁰⁻³⁸. It is also curious that a similar contrast of tone and treatment exists between 71 and 72 and also between 109 and 110. To discuss these phenomena would carry us too far away from our immediate subject.

צַד occurs in 2², but with no likeness.

לִימִינֶיךָ occurs in 110^{1, 5}.

Verse 11. שָׁמַיִם and אֶרֶץ occur in 18^{4, 6}, and the former also in 132⁶, but with no significance.

עַם occurs in the sing. of a foreign people in 18⁴, but the text there is doubtful (see 2 Sam. 22).

בָּרַךְ occurs in 89²⁷.

Verse 12. אֶהְיֶה occurs of *Jahweh's* love for Zion in 132^{13, 14}, "He hath desired it for His habitation"; "Here will I dwell, for I have desired it." This bears importantly upon the meaning of יָרַד.

אֶרֶץ occurs in 2⁴ 89⁵.⁵¹ 110^{1, 5}, — only in 110¹ referring clearly to "the king," though 110⁵ may also be so read.

יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה occurs in 72¹¹ of reverence to "the king," "All kings shall fall down before him," and in 132⁷ of worshipping *God*.

Verse 13. מְנַחֵם suggests the close parallel in 72¹¹, "The kings of Tarshish and the isles shall bring presents; the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts." Cf. 20⁴ also, where the sense is different.

Verse 14. בָּרַךְ occurs in 72¹⁵, "To him shall be given of the gold of Sheba."

Verse 15. בֵּית occurs in a curiously parallel sense in 132^{6, 7} of entering the *Sanctuary*, — which at once raises a question about the meaning of הַיְדֹל here in vv. 9, 10. (See note later.)

Verse 16. שִׂמְחָה occurs in 21⁷, "Thou makest him glad with joy in Thy presence."

Of these lines of connection those with 72 are certainly striking, and various points in vv. 12, 13, 15 offer hints as to the probable meaning of the whole passage. Analogy, so far as it goes, would imply that v. 13 was more properly directed toward "the king" than toward the "daughter," though if by the latter Zion is intended, the notable parallel is suggested in 68³⁰, "Because of Thy temple at Jerusalem kings shall bring a present [יָשִׁי] unto Thee."

After allowing for these points, there still remain entirely unparalleled in other "royal" psalms the various details by which royal splendor is indicated in vv. 9-10, 14-15 and the address to the "daughter" in vv. 11-12.

The further elucidation of the poem will depend very largely upon the force attributed to the term בֵּית in v. 11. If this be understood to refer simply to a royal bride, the interpreter is shut up to conjectures as to which of the various royal marriages in the historical books may be here in mind. Of such conjectures there is already a sufficient variety.

But it is worth querying seriously whether the address to the "daughter" is not rather directed toward the personified Holy City,

the fuller form being "Daughter of Zion," or "of Jerusalem," or "of my people." The answer to this question is to be sought by comparing, not only these verses, but the entire psalm, with the passages in the Prophecies in which these fuller forms appear. Such a comparison is likely to shed light on the whole problem before us.

The expression "Daughter of Zion" occurs in Is. 1⁸ 10²² 16¹ 37²² 52² 62¹¹ Jer. 4³¹ 6^{2, 23} Lam. 1⁶ 2^{1, 4, 8, 10, 13, 18} 4²² Mic. 1¹³ 4^{8, 10, 13} Zeph. 3¹⁴ Zech. 2¹⁴ 9⁹. In several instances "Daughter of Jerusalem" also appears as a variant of this. The Jeremican expression "Daughter of my people" appears in Is. 22⁴ Jer. 4¹¹ 6⁽¹⁴⁾ 28⁸ 11^{19, 21, 22, 23} 9⁶ 14¹⁷ Lam. 2¹¹ 3⁴⁸ 4^{3, 6, 10}. A rapid survey shows that several of these occurrences are imbedded in extended Messianic passages that present such marked verbal similarities to our psalm as to demand careful study. A condensed summary of these passages may well be introduced at this point.

Is. 10²² occurs in the long introduction to the famous Messianic passage in ch. 11, with its appended psalm in ch. 12. Notable verbal contacts with our psalm occur in 11^{4-5, 10} 12^{1, 4, 5}, with which compare vv.^{5, 7-8, 13-14, 18} here. The most striking connecting words are צֶדֶק and מִשׁוֹר in 11⁴, וְיָבִיט בְּבִרְוֹ in 11¹⁰ (see the discussion of בְּרִית מְלִיךָ below), and the phrases in 12^{1, 4}.

Is. 16¹ occurs in the lament over Moab that occupies chs. 15-16, including the striking v.⁵, "And a throne shall be established in mercy, and one shall sit thereon in truth, in the tent of David, judging and seeking judgment, and swift to do righteousness." The connection of this with vv.^{6, 7-8} of our psalm is obvious. In 16¹⁰ occurs the phrase שִׁמְחָה וְנִיל שִׁמְחָה, almost as in Ps. 45¹⁶, though the line of thought is reversed. (With Is. 16⁶ cf. 32¹, etc.)

Is. 52² and 62¹¹ occur in the very extended psalm of triumph that characterizes the whole Deutero-Isaianic writing. The verbal contacts of these eloquent passages with our psalm are numerous and will be presented more fully later.

Jer. 8¹⁰ occurs in immediate conjunction with the "cry from a land very far off, Is not Jahweh in Zion? is not her King in her?" and leads, at length into the comforting assurances of 9²²⁻²³ 10⁶⁻¹¹, etc. (cf. ch. 10 with Pss. 89 and 18).

Mic. 4^{8, 18} occur in connection with the long Messianic passage occupying chs. 4-5, opening with the reference to "the mountain of Jahweh's house," and including predictions like v.⁷, "Jahweh shall be King over them in Mount Zion from henceforth even for ever" (cf. Is. 24²³), and like 5¹⁻³, "Thou, Bethlehem Ephrathah . . . out of thee shall One come forth unto Me that is to be ruler in Israel . . . great unto the ends of the earth."

Zeph. 3^{1, 14} occur in the midst of the passage regarding the ultimate felicity of "the remnant." Notable is the statement in v.¹⁰ that "My suppliants . . . shall bring Mine offering," and the triumphant notes of vv.^{14, 17, 20}, "Sing . . . shout . . . be glad and rejoice . . . Jahweh thy God is in thy midst, a Mighty One who will save; He will rejoice over thee with joy . . . will joy over thee with singing." Besides the more obvious verbal contacts with our psalm, observe that "Jahweh thy God" corresponds with the probable original of Ps. 45⁶.

Zech. 2¹⁴ and 9⁹ occur in connection with the elaborate treatment of the Return and the restoration of the Temple which prove to have so many contacts with our psalm as to require special study.

Of course, if the occurrences of צִיַּת in the plur. were sifted, some of them would probably point to further parallels. And the moment that the reference in our psalm is supposed to be to the personified City, the whole scope of inquiry is broadened almost without limit, at least as concerns the prophetic writings.

It remains to note that the only occurrence of צִיַּת in the sing. in the Pss. in the sense now under consideration is in 9¹⁶ (cf. 137⁸).

Without pursuing at this point all the possible lines of comparison, we will now content ourselves with considering in detail all the verbal contacts between our psalm and the prophecies, bringing into prominence Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, since even a hasty glance shows that these abound in suggestions. Passages that may be related to the psalm will be quoted *verbatim*, and in each case references will be added enough to indicate the scope of usage throughout the Old Testament. For convenience, we will take up the sections of the psalm each by itself.

Verse 2. לֵב, as a source of *joyful* utterance (excluding references to merriness from wine), only in Zeph. 3¹⁴, "Be glad and rejoice with all the heart, O daughter of Jerusalem"; Is. 65¹⁴, "My servants shall sing for joy of heart"; 66¹⁴, "Ye shall see it and your heart shall rejoice"; Zech. 10⁷, "Their heart [Ephraim's] shall rejoice"; also 13 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; 4 in other poetry; 11 in Pss.; once each in Ex., Jdg., Kgs., Chr., Esth.

דִּבְרֵי טוֹב, only in Jer. 29¹¹, "After seventy years . . . I will visit you, and perform My good word toward you"; 33¹⁴, "I will perform that good word which I have spoken"; Zech. 1¹⁸, "The angel talked with me with good words." Also twice in Prov.; fairly common in Histories, and thrice in Josh.

מִלֵּךְ (see v. 6 below).

לִשׁוֹן, as a figure of *good* utterance, only in Is. 50⁴, "The Lord Jahweh hath given me the tongue of them that are taught"; 35⁶, "The tongue of the dumb shall sing"; also Is. 45²⁸; 9 times in Job and Prov.; twice in other poetry; 9 times in Pss.; not in Hex. or Hists.

טֶטֶט, only in Jer. 8⁸, "The false pen of the scribes"; 17¹ Job 19²⁴.

בְּיֹסֵף, used generally, not as a title, only in Is. 33¹⁸ Jer. 8⁸ Ezk. 9²⁻³; once in Jdg.; 6 times in Chr. and Ezra.

קָהֵד, only in Is. 16⁶, "Swift to do righteousness"; Prov. 22²⁰ Ezra 7⁶ (with כֹּסֵף).

Words not enumerated: רָחֵשׁ (ד.ל.), אָמַר, אָנִי, מְעַשָּׂה (which seems to be unique as here used⁹).

⁹ So Olshausen. Theodoret renders it by τὰ ποιήματα μου. Is this, by the way, an evidence of Greek influence? So Duhm.

Verse 8. פָּה, only in Jer. 4⁸, "In vain dost thou [Jerusalem] make thyself fair"; 10⁴; Ezk. 16¹⁸, "Thou [Jerusalem] wast exceeding fair"; 31⁷ Cant. 4¹⁰ 7¹⁻⁶.¹⁰

פָּה, in plur., only in Jer. 32¹⁹; Is. 52¹⁴, "His visage was marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men"; Ezk. 31¹⁴ Joel 1¹² Mic. 5⁷ Dan. 10¹⁶; 12 times in Prov. and Eccl.; Deut. 32⁸; often in Pss.; once in Gen.; 4 times in the Hists.

פָּה, *Hophal*, only thrice in Job; once in Lev.; 4 times in Hists.

פָּה, as a personal *characteristic*, excluding use with פָּה and פָּה (though these might be pertinent if פָּה were suspected of being a corruption of some form of the former), only in Zech. 4⁷, "He shall bring forth the headstones with shoutings of Grace, grace, to it"; 12¹⁰, "I will pour [פָּה] upon David's house and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and supplication"; Nah. 3⁴; 13 times in Prov. and Eccl.; Ps. 84¹²; 4 times in Gen. and Ex.

פָּה, of *good* utterance by *men*, only in Jer. 17¹, "That which came out of my lips was before Thy face"; Is. 57¹³, "I create the fruit of the lips, Peace, peace, to the far off"; Mal. 2^{6, 7}, "Unrighteousness was not found in his lips [Levi's]"; Is. 6⁷, "Lo, this hath touched thy lips [Isaiah's]"; 11⁴, "He shall smite the earth . . . and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked"; Hos. 14², "So will we render the fruit(?) of our lips"; Zeph. 3⁹, "I will turn to the peoples a pure lip, that they may call upon the name of Jahweh"; Dan. 10¹⁶; also 34 times in Job, Prov., Cant.; 14 times in Pss.; 1 Sam. 1¹⁸(?).

It is not clear whether the line refers to "the king's" *eloquence*,¹¹ or *poetic gift*,¹² or *facial expression*.¹³ The parallel in Ps. 21 suggests faith and urgency in prayer!

פָּה, or the shorter פָּה, is a very favorite connective with Jer. and Ezk. (out of about 340 occurrences in the Old Testament, each of these books has nearly 70), but is but moderately used in Proto-Is., and is rare in the later Prophets (Is. 50⁷ 51²¹ 52⁶ 53¹² 57¹¹ 59⁹ 61⁷ Hag. 1¹⁰ Zech. 1¹⁶ 10² 11⁷). It is fairly common in Job, but rare in the other poetical books; 18 times in Pss.; common in the Hex. and Hists.

פָּה, *Piel* and *Hithpael*, only in Jer. 4², "The nations shall bless themselves in him" (at the Return); 31²², "Jahweh bless thee, O habitation of justice, O mountain of holiness"; Is. 51²; 61⁹, "The seed which Jahweh hath blessed"; 65¹⁶, "He who blessed himself in the earth shall bless himself in the God of truth"; 66⁸; Hag. 2¹⁹, "From this day [the founding of the Temple] will I bless"; also in Is. 19²⁶; 13 times in Job and Prov.; over 70 times in Pss.; common in Hex. and Hists.

פָּה does not appear with פָּה in the Prophecies, Job, or Prov., though fairly frequent in Pss. (see vv. 7. 18 below).

Not enumerated: פָּה.

Verse 4. פָּה, of weapons, only in Deut. 1⁴¹; 10 times in Hists.

פָּה, of force used by Israel against her enemies, only in Is. 41², "He giveth nations before him [one from the east], and maketh him rule over kings; He

¹¹ If the form here is corrupted from פָּה פָּה, as implied by LXX. See on פָּה, v. 12, below, p. 209.

¹² So most commentators.

¹³ So Grätz.

¹⁴ So Baethgen.

giveth them as the dust to his sword, as the driven stubble to his bow"; 49², "He hath made my mouth [the Servant's] like a sharp sword"; Jer. 48²⁻¹¹, "The sword shall pursue thee [Moab]"; "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood"; Mic. 5⁶, "They [the seven shepherds] shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword"; Zech. 9¹³, "I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, . . . and will make thee as the sword of a mighty man." This list does not include the many instances, especially in Proto-Is., Jer., and Ezk., where God is represented as sending "a sword" upon the nations, but without intimating that it is to be wielded by Israel.

יָדָה, of the thigh proper in connection with a weapon, only in Ex. 32²⁷ Jdg. 3¹⁶⁻²¹ Cant. 3⁸.

יָבִיר, of *men*, 46 times in the Prophecies, 7 in Prov., Eccl., and Cant.; 17 in Pss. and other poems; 9 in Hex.; 24 in early Hists. and 43 in later ones. Notable instances for the present comparison are Is. 42¹³, "Jahweh shall go forth as a mighty man"; Zeph. 3¹⁷, "Jahweh thy God is in thy midst, a mighty one who will save"; Zech. 9¹³, "I will make thee as the sword of a mighty man"; 10²⁻⁷, "They [of Ephraim] shall be like mighty men."

יָהָר, of *men*, only in Jer. 22²⁸; Zech. 6¹³, "He [Joshua] shall bear the glory"; Hos. 14⁶, "His beauty [Israel's] shall be as the olive tree"; Dan. 10⁸ 11²¹; once each in Job, Num., Chr.

יָהָר, of *men*, only in Is. 53², "He hath no form or comeliness"; Ezk. 16¹⁴, "Thy beauty [Jerusalem] . . . was perfect through My majesty that I have put upon thee"; 27¹¹ (of Tyre); also Is. 5¹⁴; 5 times in Job, Prov., and other poetry; 3 in Pss. יָהָר and יָהָר occur together only in Job 40¹¹. יָהָר is used of God only in Is. 30³¹ Hab. 3³ Job 37²² 1 Chr. 29¹¹; and יָהָר similarly only in Is. 2¹⁰⁻¹⁹⁻²¹ 35² Mic. 2⁹. (For references in Pss., see above.)

Not enumerated: יָהָר.

Verse 5. יָהָר is probably a dittograph.¹⁴

יָהָר, *Qal*, outside of Hex. and Hists., only in Jer. 12¹ 13⁷⁻¹⁰ 22²⁰, "No man of his seed [Coniah's] shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David"; Is. 53¹⁰, "The pleasure of Jahweh shall prosper in his hand"; 54¹⁷, "No weapon formed against thee shall prosper"; Ezk. 15⁴; 16¹³, "Thou [Jerusalem] didst prosper unto royal estate"; 17⁹⁻¹¹⁻¹⁶, "Shall it (or, he) [rebellious Israel] prosper?" Dan. 11²⁷ Am. 5⁶(?). *Hiphil*, outside of Hex. and Hists., only in Jer. 28⁷ 5²⁸; 32², "Though ye fight with the Chaldeans, ye shall not prosper"; Is. 48¹⁶, "I have brought him [the Servant], and he shall make his way prosperous"; 55¹², "My word . . . shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it"; Dan. 8¹²⁻²⁴⁻²⁵ 11⁸⁰ Prov. 28¹⁸; 4 times in Pss.

יָהָר, of *men*, is common in Hex. and Hists. (notably 1 Kgs. 1, of Solomon), and is scattered through the Prophecies. Notable instances are Is. 58¹⁴, "I will make thee [Israel] to ride upon the high places of the earth"; Zech. 1⁸, "Behold, a man riding upon a red horse"; 9⁹, "Thy king cometh . . . riding upon an ass"; Hos. 10¹¹, "I will set a rider upon Ephraim."

יָהָר, only in Jer. 7² 14¹; also 14 times in Pent.; 3 in Hists.; 2 in Pss. יָהָר occurs only thrice in Eccl., besides Ps. 110⁴.

יָהָר and יָהָר (or fem.), in conjunction, only in Jer. 4², "Thou shalt swear

¹⁴ So Hupfeld, Olshausen, Cheyne, Wellhausen, etc., as against the LXX.

. . . in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness"; Is. 48¹, "Which swear by the name of Jahweh . . . but not in truth nor in righteousness"; 59¹¹, "Judgment is turned away backward, and righteousness standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street and uprightness cannot enter"; 16⁵, "A throne . . . and one shall sit thereon in truth . . . swift to do righteousness"; Zech. 8⁸, "They shall be My people, and I will be their God, in truth and righteousness"; also Is. 10²⁰⁻²² 61⁸⁻¹¹; Prov. 8⁷⁻⁸ (of Wisdom) and twice besides; 3 times in Hists. (For references in Pss., see above.)

וְיִצְטָו, as here pointed, is א.א. וְיִצְטָו, only in Zeph. 2⁸, "Seek righteousness, seek meekness"; 3 times in Prov.; once in Sam.¹⁶

וְיִצְטָו is confined to the Prophecies and the Wisdom writings, except 5 times in Lev.; 6 in Deut.; 17 in Pss.; but the fem. appears also freely in Gen., Deut., and Hists., though very rarely of God.

וְיִצְטָו in the sense of "shoot" is wanting from the Prophecies, and outside of Hex. and Hists. occurs only thrice in Job and Prov.; but in the sense of "teach" (*Hiphil*) occurs 10 times in the earlier Prophecies; once in Ezk.; 11 times in Job and Prov. In Pss. the former sense appears 4 times, the latter 8.

וְיִצְטָו, only in Is. 64², "When Thou didst terrible things that we looked not for"; Hab. 1⁷; once each in Deut. and Sam.; 4 times in Pss.

וְיִצְטָו, of *man's* power in a *good* cause, only in Is. 41¹³, "I . . . will hold thy right hand, saying . . . Fear not"; 45¹, "Jahweh saith to His anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him"; Job 40¹⁴; 3 times in Pss. The word is used of *God* only in Jer. 22²¹ Is. 41¹⁰ 48¹⁸ 62⁸ Hab. 2¹³ Zech. 3¹; once in Prov.; 6 times in other poems; 22 in Pss; once in Chr. (These are exclusive of all references to mere *direction* or *position*.)

Verse 6. וְיִצְטָו, only 12 times in the Prophecies; 4 in Job and Prov.; 20 in Pss. and other poems; 14 in Hists. Of force used against Israel's enemies, in Prophecies only in Jer. 50^{9, 14}, "Their arrows [against Babylon] shall be as of a mighty man that maketh orphans"; "Shoot at her; spare no arrows"; 51¹¹, "Make sharp the arrows, hold firm the shields"; Is. 49², "He hath made me [the Servant] a polished shaft"; Zech. 9¹⁴, "His arrow [Jahweh's] shall go forth as lightning."

וְיִצְטָו, only in Is. 5²⁸ Prov. 25¹⁸ Deut. 6⁷ 32⁴¹; 5 times in Pss.

The second clause does not appear to be verbally paralleled outside of Pss., which tends to confirm the suspicion that it has been inserted from 18.

וְיִצְטָו, in the sense of "in the midst of," only in Ezk. 27^{4, 26, 27} 28^{2, 6}; (וְיִצְטָו) Jon. 2⁴,—all these of the *seas*; twice in Prov.; once each in Sam. and Ex. 15; twice in Pss.¹⁶

וְיִצְטָו, in association with וְיִצְטָו, only in Jer. 21⁷ 34²¹—both of Zedekiah; Zeph. 3¹⁶, "Jahweh . . . hath cast out thine enemy; the King of Israel, even Jahweh, is in the midst of thee"; 6 times in Sam. of Saul and David; once in Chr. of Uzziah. (For references in the "royal" Pss., see above.)

וְיִצְטָו, applied more or less definitely to the *Coming One*, only in Jer. 23⁶,

¹⁶ It is likely, however, that the text is corrupt, וְיִצְטָו standing for something introducing וְיִצְטָו. So Wellhausen.

¹⁶ Note, however, various proposed readings in Grätz, Baethgen, Duhm, especially the second.

"I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and he shall reign as king"; Ezk. 37^{22, 24}, "I will make them one nation . . . and one king shall be king to them all"; "My servant David shall be king over them, and they all shall have one shepherd"; Zech. 9⁹, "Thy king cometh unto thee"; Is. 32¹, "A king shall reign in righteousness"; Hos. 3⁵, "The children of Israel shall return, and seek Jahweh their God and David their king"; twice in Sam. God is spoken of as "King" in the Prophecies only in Is. 6⁵ 33^{17, 22} 41²¹ 43¹⁵ 44⁸ Jer. 8¹⁹ 10^{7, 11} 48¹⁶ 51²⁷ Zeph. 3¹⁶ Zech. 14^{9, 16, 17}; Mal. 1¹⁴. God's rule is also indicated by מֶלֶךְ in Is. 24²³ 52⁷ Mic. 4⁷ Ezk. 20³². (All references in Dan. are omitted under this word.)

Not enumerated: מַסָּכָה, תַּחֲתָהּ, נֶסֶךְ.

Verse 7. מַסָּכָה, occurs 33 times in the Prophecies. Of these the more notable cases are Jer. 3¹⁷, "They shall call Jerusalem the throne of Jahweh, and all the nations shall be gathered into it"; 13¹³, "All the inhabitants . . . even the kings that sit for David on his throne" (similarly in 17²⁵ 22^{2, 4, 80} 29¹⁶); 14²¹, "Do not disgrace the throne of thy glory [Zion]"; 17¹², "A glorious throne, set on high from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary"; 33^{17, 21}, "David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne"; "that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne" (cf. 36⁸); Ezk. 43⁷, "This is the place of My throne . . . for ever"; Zech. 6¹³, "He shall sit and rule upon his throne; there shall be a priest upon his throne"; Is. 9⁷, "Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom, to establish it"; 16⁵, "A throne shall be established in mercy, and one shall sit thereon in truth, in the tent of David, judging and seeking judgment, and swift to do righteousness"; 22²³, "He [Eliakim] shall be for a throne of glory to his father's house." מַסָּכָה occurs with עוֹלָם or עַד or both only in Is. 9⁷; Ezk. 43⁷ (God); Lam. 5¹⁹ (God); Prov. 29¹⁴, outside of "royal" psalms and Hists. [מֶלֶךְ occurs with מַסָּכָה only in 2 Sam. 7^{18, 16} 1 Kgs. 2^{12, 24, 45} 1 Chr. 17^{12, 14} 22¹¹ Is. 9⁷ 16⁵ Prov. 16¹² 25⁵ 29¹⁴; מֶלֶךְ, *Hiphil*, occurs with מַסָּכָה only in 2 Sam. 3¹⁰ 1 Kgs. 9⁵ 2 Chr. 7¹⁸. (See note on Eliakim below, p. 207.)]

עוֹלָם, only in Is. 30⁸; Mic. 4⁶, "We will walk in the name of Jahweh our God for ever and aye"; Dan. 12³ Ex. 15¹⁸; 12 times in Pss.

מַסָּכָה, in the sense of "sceptre," only in Is. 14⁵ Am. 1^{6, 8} Ezk. 19^{11, 14} Zech. 10¹¹, — all in connections of no significance here; also in Gen. 49¹¹ Num. 24¹⁷.

מִישׁוֹר, in the moral sense, only in Is. 11⁴, "With righteousness shall he [the Branch] judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth"; Mal. 2⁶, "He [Levi] walked with Me in peace and uprightness"; Ps. 67⁶ (God). But מִישׁוֹר also occurs in Is. 26⁷ 33¹⁶ 45¹⁹ (God); 5 times in Prov. (8⁶, Wisdom); 1 Chr. 29¹⁷ (God); 7 times in Pss.

מַלְכּוּת (apparently a term of rather late usage) only in Jer. 10⁷ 49⁸⁴ 52³¹ Eccl. 4¹⁴; 16 times in Dan.; 62 in later Hists.; once each in Num. (poem), Sam., and Kgs.; 5 times in Pss. 103 and 145.

Not enumerated: מַלְכּוּת.

Verse 8. אָדָב, of *men's* attitude toward what is *good*, only in Zech. 8¹⁹, "Love truth and peace"; Am. 5¹⁶, "I hate the evil and love the good"; 3 times in Prov.; once in Chr.; 16 times in Pss. (mostly in 119).

אָדָב, of *men's* attitude toward what is *evil*, only in Ezk. 35⁶, "Since thou hast not hated blood"; Am. 5¹⁵ (just quoted); 3 times in Prov.; once in Ex.; 6 times

in Pss. (mostly in 119). אָרָם and אָרָם occur together in these senses only in Am. 5¹⁵ Ps. 119^{118, 127-128, 168}.

אָרָם occurs in contrast with אָרָם (or fem.) only in Ezk. 3¹⁹⁻²⁰ 33¹² Is. 58²⁻⁶ Hos. 10¹²⁻¹³; 5 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl. It is also found in Jer. 14²⁰ Ezk. 7¹¹ 31¹¹ Mic. 6^{10, 11}; 7 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; once each in Deut. and Sam.; 5 times in Pss.

אָרָם, together with אָרָם, of kings, etc., only in Is. 45¹, "Thus saith Jahweh to His anointed, to Cyrus"; 61¹, "Jahweh hath anointed me [the Servant] to preach good tidings to the meek"; Dan. 9^{24, 26, 28}; outside of the early Hists. (with a few parallels in Chr.), seven poems, and the Psalter.

אָרָם is very common in Hex. and Hists. For an ointment or unction it elsewhere occurs only in Ezk. 16⁹, "I anointed [אָרָם] thee [Jerusalem] with oil" (16^{13, 18, 19} 23⁴¹ 45^{14, 24, 25} 46^{6, 7, 11, 14, 15}); Is. 57⁹; 61³, "To give unto them . . . the oil of joy for mourning"; also in Is. (16) 10²⁷ (Hos. 2⁷ Am. 6⁶) Mic. 6¹⁶; 8 times in Prov., Eccl., and Cant.; 6 in Pss. Most of these refer either to the sacrificial ritual or to toilet uses.

אָרָם, except for Esth. 8^{16, 17}, is confined to the Prophecies and Pss. It occurs in Jer. 7³⁴, "I will cause to cease . . . the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness" (so in 16⁹ 25¹¹ 33¹¹); 15¹⁶, "Thy words were to me a joy and the rejoicing [אָרָם], and so in Is. 22¹⁸ 51^{8, 11} Zech. 8¹⁹ below] of my heart"; 31¹³, "I will turn their mourning into joy"; 33⁹, "[This city?] shall be to Me for a name of joy . . . before all the nations of the earth"; Is. 51^{3, 11}, "Joy and gladness shall be found therein [Zion]"; "They shall obtain joy and gladness"; 61³, "The oil of joy for mourning"; Zech. 8¹⁹, "[The feasts] shall be joy and gladness"; Is. 12³, "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation"; 22¹⁸, "Behold, joy and gladness"; 35¹¹, "The ransomed of Jahweh . . . everlasting joy shall be upon their heads"; Joel 1¹²; 5 times in Pss. אָרָם is added only in Is. 61³.

אָרָם, only in Is. 1²³ 44¹¹; Ezk. 37¹⁶, "Take one stick and write upon it, For Judah and . . . his companions; then take another . . . for Joseph . . . and his companions" (so in v.¹⁹); 4 times in Prov., Eccl., and Cant.; once in Jdg.; Ps. 119^{3, 17}.

Not enumerated: אָרָם (see v.⁵); אָרָם (see v.⁴); אָרָם.

Verse 17. אָרָם combined with אָרָם is naturally of rather frequent occurrence; in the Prophecies it is found 9 times in Jer., 4 in Ezk., twice in Mal., and once in Is. 14, — the only important instance for our purpose being Ezk. 37²³, "They shall dwell in the land . . . wherein your fathers dwelt . . . they, and their children, and their children's children, for ever; and David My servant shall be their prince [אָרָם] for ever." It is noticeable that in Pss. the two words are in conjunction only here and in 78¹⁻⁸ 103¹³.

אָרָם, of personal station or office, only in Jer. 3¹⁹, "How shall I put thee [Jerusalem] among the children, and give thee a pleasant land, the goodliest heritage of the nations"; 1 Kgs. 11³⁴ Gen. 4²⁶ 41⁸³.

אָרָם is widely used of officers, military and civil, and of nobles, usually distinct from the king and beneath him. So very often in Jer., Proto-Is., Hos., and rarely in Ezk., Am., Mic., and Zeph. In the general sense, as here, only in Is. 3⁴, "I

¹⁷ But see also the ingenious speculations of Grätz.

will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them"; 9¹, "Unto us a . . . a son is given . . . and his name shall be called . . . Prince of Peace"; 21⁶, "Rise up, ye princes, anoint the shield" (?); 32¹, "Princes shall rule in judgment"; 10 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; 10 times in Pss. [It should be noted that Ezk. uses often the word מַלְאָכָי, notable instances for us being 34²⁴, "I Jahweh will be their God, and My servant David prince among them"; 37²⁶ (quoted above); 39⁸, "Ye shall eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the princes of the earth"; 44³, "As for the prince, he shall sit therein as prince to eat bread before Jahweh"; *passim* in chs. 45. 46. 48, all (like 44⁸) of the High Priest.]

קְדוֹתָאֲרֵץ, in connection with statements of prosperity or dominion or with God's name, only in Is. 6¹, "The whole earth is full of His glory"; 10¹⁴; 12⁶, "Sing unto Jahweh . . . let this be known in the whole earth"; 14^{7. 23} (*cf.* 28²²); 25⁸, "The reproach of His people shall He take away from off the whole earth"; 54⁵, "The God of the whole earth shall He be called"; Ezk. 35¹⁴; Mic. 4¹⁸, "Thou shalt devote their substance to the Lord of the whole earth"; Hab. 2²⁰, "Let all the earth keep silence before Him"; Zech. 1¹¹; 4^{10. 14}, "The eyes of Jahweh . . . run to and fro through the whole earth"; "These are the two sons of oil [בְּנֵי זַיִת] that stand by the Lord of the whole earth"; 5^{8. 8}; 6⁵, "These are the four winds of heaven that go forth from standing before the Lord of the whole earth"; 14^{9. 10}, "Jahweh shall be King over the whole earth"; "All the land shall be turned as the Arabah"; once in Job; 22 times in Pss.; fairly common in Hex. and Hists.

Not enumerated: תַּחַת, יְהוָה.

Verse 18. זָכַר, *Hiphil*, with אִם, only in Is. 12⁴, "Make mention that His name is exalted"; 26¹⁸, "By Thee only will we make mention of Thy name"; 48¹, "Who swear by Jahweh's name and make mention of the God of Israel"; 49¹, "From the bowels of my mother hath He made mention of my name [the Servant's]"; 63⁷, "I will make mention of the lovingkindness of Jahweh"; Am. 6¹⁰, "Then shall he say, Hold thy peace, for we may not make mention of Jahweh's name"; 3 times in Hex.; 2 Sam. 18¹⁸ Ps. 20⁸ 83⁶ (*Viph.*). All of these refer to God's name, with the notable exceptions of Is. 49¹ 2 Sam. 18¹⁸ Ps. 83⁶. [If the other reading be adopted, note that זָכַר occurs (outside of Pss.) only in Is. 12⁶, "Sing to Jahweh" (see v. 8 above); Jdg. 5⁸ 2 Sam. 22⁵⁰ 1 Chr. 16⁹.]

יָדוּר יְהוָה, only in Is. 13²¹ 34¹⁷; 58¹², "Thou [Israel] shalt raise up the foundations of many generations"; 60¹⁶, "I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations"; 61⁴ Jer. 50³⁹; Lam. 5¹⁹, "Thy throne [Jahweh's] is from generation to generation"; Joel 2²; 4²¹, "Judah shall abide for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation"; Prov. 27²⁴ Deut. 32⁷ Esth. 9²⁸; 15 times in Pss. With קָדַשׁ only here and in Esth. 9²⁸ Ps. 145¹⁸.

יָדוּר, *Hiphil*, only in Is. 12^{1. 4} 25¹ Jer. 33¹¹; once each in Job and Prov.; twice in Gen. (one in poem); twice in Kgs.; 19 times in later Hists. All these refer to praising God, as do the 67 occurrences in Pss.

עֵינַי וְיָדוּר (see v. 7).

Not enumerated: עֵינַי וְיָדוּר (see v. 4); עֵינַי.

Before going on to consider the central sections of the psalm, one or two remarks may be made upon the data thus far presented.

(1) The difference of v.¹⁸ from the rest of the psalm in address and texture seems to be established by several converging lines of evidence, namely, the close analogy of three other psalms of the same class, not to speak of others; the lack of verbal connection with the Prophecies or other books except as they contain plainly liturgical material, this lack being the more noticeable because of the abundant verbal connections of the rest of the psalm; and the use of words and phrases that can be shown to be somewhat characteristic of the Psalter and called forth by its design as a collection. The force of this reasoning is not dependent upon the proposed text-emendation, though it is increased by accepting it; neither is it determined by any theory as to the meaning or origin of the psalm. We therefore conclude that the verse is addressed to God and not to the king, and that it provides a liturgical antiphon for the psalm without having any close connection with its structure.

(2) On the whole v.² seems to be more slenderly bound to the Prophecies by word-connections than the succeeding verses. But on the other hand it has somewhat numerous connections with the Wisdom writings. The same is true of vv.³ and ⁸, both of which are also somewhat affiliated with Cant. This point would bear separate treatment if space permitted.

(3) The number and closeness of the verbal connections between vv.^{2-8, 17} with the Prophecies cannot be denied. But the interpretation to be put upon the data thus far presented is not certain. The vocabulary of these verses contains only seven words that are missing from Jer., only seven missing from Is. 1-35, and only ten missing from Is. 40-66. But the most striking correspondences of thought and phrase are with Deutero-Is., besides several features suggesting Ezk. and some Zech. What is to be made of these is not clear without further evidence. The psalm may be derived from these exilic writings, or it may have preceded them,—at least in its main substance. However this may be, it is clear that the examination of the remaining sections of the psalm should be made with the possible significance of these facts fully in mind. It is probable that the same sort of sifting there will clear up some of the uncertainty here.

The next section is that describing the splendor of "the king"—vv.⁹⁻¹⁰.

Verse ⁹. מֶלֶךְ is not mentioned in the Prophecies or Hists. (except Esth. 2¹²). In Ex. 30²³ it appears as a constituent of "the holy anointing oil" for the priesthood and the Sanctuary. Elsewhere it occurs only in Prov. 7¹⁷ (with aloes and cinnamon) and in Cant. 1¹⁸ 3⁶ 4^{6, 14} 5^{1, 5 (bis), 13} as an article of luxury.

אֲנִיל is still rarer, occurring only in Prov. 7¹⁷ Cant. 4¹⁴, both times with טַר, and (doubtfully) in Num. 24⁶.

קִינָמון is א.ל., but קִינָה in Ex. 30²¹ may be another name for the same spice or something like it. (Perhaps this is an explanatory gloss.)¹⁸

The description of the anointing oil in Ex. is probably to be used in interpreting "the oil of gladness" in the preceding verse, though, of course, the oil in Ex. is intended only for the Sanctuary, its furniture, and its ministrants. The other solid constituents, besides myrrh and cassia, are cinnamon (קִינָה) and calamus (קִינָה), the former otherwise mentioned only in Prov. 7¹⁷ Cant. 4¹⁴, and the latter only in Cant. 4¹⁴ Jer. 6² Ezk. 27¹⁹ Is. 43²¹. The general term for all these spices is מִטְּבַח, which occurs with varying pointing in Ex. 25⁶ 30²⁸ 35⁸.¹⁸ 1 Kgs. 10². 19. 25 2 Kgs. 20¹⁸ 1 Chr. 9²⁰. 30 2 Chr. 9¹. 9. 24 16⁴ 32²⁷ Esth. 2¹² Cant. 4¹⁰. 14. 16 5¹. 13 6² 8¹⁴ Is. 3²¹ 39² Ezk. 27²². Of these, the references in Ex. and 1 Chr. are to the ritual oil and incense, and all the rest to articles of luxury and so of commerce. The only kings with whom the term is used are Solomon, Asa (burial), and Hezekiah.

בִּגְדֵי occurs 4 times in Jer.; 11 in Deutero-Is.; 14 in Ezk.; 1 in Hag.; 4 in Zech.; once each in Am. and Joel; 7 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; 4 times in Pss.; often in Pent. and Ilists. Notable instances are Ezk. 16¹⁶. 18, "Thou [Jerusalem] didst take of thy garments and madest for thee high places"; "Thou tookest thy brodered garments"; 16²⁹, "They shall strip thee [Jerusalem] of thy clothes" (so in 23²⁰); Is. 52¹, "Put on thy garments of beauty [תִּשְׂאֲרֵהָ], O Jerusalem, the holy city"; 59¹⁷, "He put on garments of vengeance for clothing"; 61¹⁰, "He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation . . . as a bridegroom"; 63¹. 2. 3, "Who is this . . . with crimsoned garments from Bozrah?" "Wherefore thy garments like him that treadeth in the wine-vat?" "Their life-blood is sprinkled on my garments"; Zech. 3³. 4. 5, "Joshua was clothed with filthy garments"; "Take the filthy garments from off him . . . I will clothe thee with rich apparel"; "So they set a fair mitre on his head and clothed him with garments"; 14¹⁴, "The wealth of all nations round about shall be gathered together, gold and silver and apparel, in great abundance." Of these only Is. 59¹⁷ 61¹⁰ 63¹⁻³ Zech. 3³⁻⁵ offer parallels of thought to our Psalm. In no case except Ezk. 27²⁰⁻²² are "spices" mentioned in the context.

בֵּית, in the probable sense of "palace," only in Is. 13²² Joel 4⁶ Am. 8³ Nah. 2⁷ Dan. 1⁴ Prov. 30²⁸ Ps. 144¹² 1 Kgs. 21¹ 2 Kgs. 20¹⁸ (= Is. 39⁷) 2 Chr. 36⁷ — never of the king's house at Jerusalem. In 1 Kgs. 21¹ it is used of Ahab's royal residence at Samaria, which may be identical with the "house of ivory" in 22²⁹.

בֵּית, in the sense of "ivory," only in Am. 3¹⁶ (houses) 6⁴ (beds) Ezk. 27⁶. 16 (wealth of Tyre) Cant. 5¹⁴ 7⁵ 1 Kgs. 10¹⁸ (Solomon's throne) 22²⁹ (see above) 2 Chr. 9¹⁷.

בִּנְיָ, with the probable sense of "stringed instruments" (בִּנְיָ), occurs only here and in Ps. 150⁴.¹⁹

בִּנְיָ, *Piel*, only in Jer. 20¹⁵; 31¹⁸, "I will comfort them and make them rejoice

¹⁸ So Duhm.

¹⁹ The Targum makes this refer to *Armenia* (see Jer. 51²⁷), but this leaves the verb without a subject. See also Bickell's conjecture of a reduplication of בִּנְיָ, with Cheyne's note thereon.

from their sorrow"; Is. 56⁷, "I will make them joyful in My house of prayer"; Hos. 7⁸, "They make the king glad with their wickedness"; 9 times in Prov., Eccl., and Lam.; 8 in Pss.; once in Deut.; 4 times in Hists. (mostly late). In the Prophecies, when the *Qal* is used, the subject is nearly always either Jerusalem or Israel; but note Is. 39², "Hezekiah was glad of the messengers from Babylon" (a variation from the account in Kgs.). In the Hists. the kings who are said to "rejoice" are only Saul, Hiram, and Hezekiah (2 Chr. 29⁸⁶).

Verse 10. **בָּנִית סֶלֶד**, only in Jer. 41¹⁰ 43⁶, both of Zedekiah; 2 Sam. 13¹⁸, of David.

בָּנִית, fem. plur., is peculiar. This exact form occurs only in Zech. 14⁶ in an obscure passage and in 1 Kgs. 5¹⁷ 7⁹. 10. 11 of costly *building* stones. *Precious* stones are as a rule indicated by **בָּנִית אֲבִנִי** (Ezk. 27²² 28¹⁸ Dan. 11⁸⁸; several instances in Hists.), but the definitive is **בָּנִית** in Prov. 17⁸, **בָּנִית** in Is. 54¹² (Jerusalem), and **בָּנִית** in Zech. 9¹¹, "His people . . . shall be as stones of a crown, glittering over his land." Analogy of usage, together with the verse-parallelism, would suggest that *jewels* were meant here as an article of dress.²¹

בָּנִית, *Niphal*, only in Is. 3¹⁸ 21⁸ Am. 7¹ 9¹ Zech. 11¹⁰ Prov. 8² (Wisdom) Ex. 15⁸ Lam. 2⁴; often in Pent. and older Hists. (in later, only in 2 Chr. 8¹⁰); 4 times in Pss. None of these seems even distantly significant here, except perhaps Prov. 8².

בָּנִית is a rare, late, and probably foreign word, found only in Neh. 2⁹ Dan. 5². 8. 22. Its occurrence here is so surprising that queries about the text naturally arise, but with no obvious solution. (Possibly **בָּנִית** might be conjectured, though this revolutionizes the passage.)

בָּנִית, to indicate *position* or *direction*, occurs in the Prophecies only twice in Is., 4 times in Ezk., and 4 in Zech.; also 4 in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; 8 in Pss.; often in Hex. and Hists.

בָּנִית is a rare and poetical word, found only Is. 13¹², "I will make a man rarer . . . than the pure gold of Ophir"; Dan. 10⁶ Job 28¹⁶. 19 31²⁴ Prov. 25¹² Cant. 5¹¹ Lam. 4¹.

בָּנִית is also rare, but differently distributed, occurring in Is. 13¹² Job 22²⁴ 28¹⁶; once in Gen.; 8 times in Hists., all in connection with Solomon, except 1 Kgs. 22¹⁹, regarding Jehoshaphat's commerce.

The noticeable feature in these two verses is the meagreness of verbal contacts with the Prophecies, at least in a way to indicate community of thought. Articles of luxury and splendor are indeed mentioned, but only incidentally to subjects wholly different from that here. This is in contrast with the verses previously examined. The word-connections with the Wisdom writings, however, are more noticeable.

If a historic personage is here celebrated, the thought rests somewhat naturally on Hezekiah. We recall the references to his wealth and glory in 2 Kgs. 20¹³⁻¹⁵, with the implications of 18¹⁴⁻¹⁶. To his Babylonian visitors he showed "all the house of his treasures [בָּנִית

²⁰ Note, also, readings proposed by Grätz, Döderlein, and Baethgen.

[נְכוֹתָהּ], the silver and the gold [הַזָּהָב], and the spices [הַדְּבָשִׁימִים], and the fine oil [שֶׁמֶן הַטוֹב], . . . nothing did Hezekiah omit showing in his house or all his realm [מִמְשָׁלָתוֹ].” In the rescript of this that is incorporated into Is. we find also the striking poem in ch. 38, toward the end of which are two slight verbal reminders of our psalm: “The father to the children shall make known Thy truth,” and “We will sing My songs to the stringed instruments [נְנִינֹתַי נְנַנְן] all the days of our life in the house of Jahweh.” Furthermore, in 2 Kgs. 18²⁻⁸ 20^{5, 20} we read of Hezekiah’s opposition to idolatry, his public works, and his political vigor in opposing the Philistines and in rebelling from Assyrian supremacy — “whithersoever he went forth he prospered [וַיִּשְׁבַּח].” These present several thought-parallels to vv. 4-10, 17 in our psalm.

The Chronicler (2 Chr. 29-32) repeats much of this, but with great amplifications, especially concerning the restoration of the House of Jahweh and its worship, including both sacrifices and the musical ritual, of the Passover as a national feast, and of the ritual taxes and gifts for the support of the priests and Levites, with the resulting superabundance of riches in the Temple treasury, together with many variations in the narrative of the struggle with Sennacherib. In connection with the story of Hezekiah’s rule we are told in 32²³ that “many brought gifts [מִנְחָה] unto Jahweh to Jerusalem, and precious things [מִנְדָּנֹת] to Hezekiah . . . so that he was exalted in the sight of all nations from thenceforth”; and again in vv. 27-29 we find many details about his prosperity: “Hezekiah had exceeding much riches and honor [עֲשָׂר וְקִבּוּד], and he provided him treasuries for silver and for gold and for precious stones [לְאֶבֶן יָקָרָה] and for spices [לְדְבָשִׁימִים] and for shields [לְמִגְנִיִּים] and for all manner of goodly vessels, etc.” Whatever explanation be given of the derivation of these accounts, their points of contact with our psalm and with Ps. 72 are certainly notable.

In this connection a curious speculation develops from the coincidence of v. 7 in our psalm with Is. 22²². The person there referred to, as the context shows, is Eliakim, the chamberlain of Hezekiah (2 Kgs. 18^{18, 23, 37} 19²). One may wonder whether in our psalm the original reading was כַּסְיָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה instead of אֶל־יְהוָה, the extraordinary qualities and authority here imputed to Eliakim being essentially similar to those implied in Is. 22. Or the matter may be turned the other way. Suppose that the proper reading in the psalm were either אֶל־יְהוָה (as already suggested) or אֶל־יְהוָה (following 1 Kgs. 9⁶), and were known in that form to the author of Is. 22. He might then have written, “It shall come to pass in that day that I will call My Servant ‘God will establish’ (Eliakim),” and a later scribe

might have added the gloss, "the son of Hilkiah," thus making extremely difficult a passage otherwise fairly plain.²¹

One more curious circumstance is to be noted. In 2 Kgs. 21¹ (but not in Chr.) we learn that Hezekiah's wife, the mother of Manasseh, was Iephzibah [יֵפְזִיבַח הַיְהוָה, My delight is in her]. This name otherwise occurs only in Is. 62⁴, where it is symbolically applied to Jerusalem in connection with one of the numerous references to God's relation to His people under the figure of marriage. Whether this has any bearing upon the question of בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ or connection with v.¹² of our psalm is at least worth a query.

This brings us around again to the section addressed to the "daughter" and concerning "the king's daughter." In treating these we shall assume provisionally that בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ refers to "the daughter of Zion," simply because nothing else seems to be in line with the general trend of the comparative evidence thus far collected.

Verse 11. שָׁמַיִם, *Imv.*, addressed to *men*, is common in the Prophecies, especially in Jer., Deutero-Is., and Ezk., as well as in Job and Prov. The exact form here used occurs only in Jer. 61⁹ 22²⁹ — both to the land; Is. 47⁸, to "the daughter of Babylon"; 51²¹, to Jerusalem, "thou afflicted one"; Ezk. 16²⁶, to Jerusalem, "thou harlot"; and the city seems also to be addressed in Mic. 6⁹, while the fem. plur. occurs in Is. 32⁹ Jer. 9¹⁹, addressed to "careless women," etc. In other cases the address is usually to the people or nation without special characterization.

יְהוָה, *Imv.*, to *men*, is not specially common except in Jer. The exact form here used occurs only (outside of four cases in early Hists.) in Jer. 21⁹. 28 3² 13²⁰ (K'th.) Is. 49¹⁸ 60⁴, the address in the last two cases being explicitly to Zion, and to the nation in the others.

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, of *men*, occurs only 8 times in Jer., once in Is. (55⁸), 5 times in Prov., 3 in Pss. In Jer. it forms part of a nearly invariable formula. The *Imv.* occurs only in Is. 55⁸ Prov. 4²¹ 5¹ 22¹⁷ Ps. 78¹.

שָׁמַיִם and יְהוָה occur together only in Is. 6⁹ Lam. 1¹⁸ Dan. 9¹⁸ (to God); 2 Kgs. 19¹⁶ = Is. 37¹⁷ (to God). Both of them, in the *Imv.* in any form addressed to *men*, are noticeably rare in Chr.

יְהוָה and יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ occur together only in Is. 55⁸ Prov. 22¹⁷.

The second line, as it stands, is hostile to the theory that בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ means Zion. But יְהוָה is unique in the Old Testament. "Forgetting" God and His ways is often mentioned, especially in Jer., Deut., and Pss.; and God's "forgetting" His people is sometimes asserted. If the general theory of the sense of the passage that the context suggests be accepted, we should read here either יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, as in Is. 17¹⁰ Ezk. 22¹² 23⁸⁶ Jer. 13²⁵ (different pointing),²² or, better, interrogatively, יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, following the general analogy of Is. 49¹⁸ Jer. 2²² 44⁹ Ps. 77¹⁰ (*cf.* Jer. 46¹⁸ 51⁶) *etc.*). Passages in which Israel is thus spoken of as "forgetting" its heritage are Is. 17¹⁰ 51¹⁸ Jer. 2²² 3²¹ 13²⁵ 18¹⁶ 23²⁷ 50⁸ Ezk. 22¹² 23⁸⁶ Hos. 2¹⁸ 4⁶ 8¹⁴ 13⁶, besides many

²¹ In either case we may question whether Is. 22²⁶ has not been transposed from between vv.¹⁹ and ²⁷.

²² See note on the connection of the clauses in Perowne.

instances in Deut. and Pss. *Per contra*, if this emendation be rejected, it is noticeable that in Is. 54⁴ we find Israel contemplated under the figure of a barren widow who is thus addressed: "Forget the shame of thy youth . . . for thy Maker is thy husband . . . for Jahweh hath called thee as a wife forsaken . . . even a wife of youth, cast off," so that the reading here as we have it might stand without altering the general sense. This is strengthened by the fact that our psalm shows many verbal connections with Is. 54.

בְּיַת אֱלֹהִים is a common phrase in Hex. and Hists., but elsewhere occurs only in Is. 3⁶ 7¹⁷ 22^{23, 24} Jer. 12⁶. All refer to a family rather than to a building.

It remains to add that אֲשַׁחֲוֶה may be a corruption of a totally different verb, like אֲשַׁחֲוֶה (cf. Zech. 10⁷) or אֲשַׁחֲוֶה, with "people" and "house" as subjects, or אֲשַׁחֲוֶה, with the construction as now.

Verse 12. אֲנִי, though slightly common in Hex., early Hists., and Prov., is rare in Chr. and the Prophecies, occurring in the latter only in Is. 26⁹ Jer. 17¹⁰ Am. 5¹⁸ Mic. 7¹—none of which have any pertinency here. But the word is used of Solomon in 1 Kgs. 11³⁷, just after a reference to Jerusalem, "the chosen city."

שֵׁם is used of cities or states only in Ezk. 16^{14, 16, 26}, "Thy renown [Jerusalem] went forth among the nations for thy beauty"; "Thou didst trust in thy beauty"; "Thou hast made thy beauty an abomination"; 27^{3, 4, 11} (Tyre); 28^{7, 12, 17} (Tyre); 31⁸ (Assyria); Lam. 2¹⁶, "Is this the city that men called, The perfection of beauty?" Ps. 50² (cf. 48²); of a divine personage only in Is. 33¹⁷, "Thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty"; Zech. 9¹⁷, "How great is His (?) beauty!" of Vashti in Esth. 1¹¹; and generally in Is. 3²⁴ Prov. 6²⁵ 31³⁰.

אֲנִי is common for human superiors and somewhat so for God or His messengers. Among the latter references Jerusalem appears in the context in Is. 1²⁴; 3¹, "Behold, the Lord, Jahweh of Hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem . . ."; 10^{17, 33}; 26¹⁸, "Jahweh our God, other lords beside Thee have had dominion over us"; 51²²; Mal. 3¹, "The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to His temple," besides the phrase, "Lord of the whole earth (or, land)" in Mic. 4¹⁸ Zech. 4¹⁴ 6⁸.

שָׁחָה, which is common in Hex. and Hists., occurs of reverence to the Servant in Is. 45¹⁴, "They [various nations of the South] shall fall down unto thee"; 49^{7, 23}, "Kings shall see and arise; princes, and they shall worship"; "Kings and queens . . . shall bow down to thee"; 60¹⁴, "All they that despised thee [Jerusalem] shall bow themselves down."

Not enumerated: מִלְּךָ (see v. 5), בָּי, הַיָּמָה, לָו.

Verse 13. גֹּרֶה is frequently mentioned as a typical heathen city, as in Is. 23, Jer. 25, 27, 47, Ezk. 26, 27, 28, 29, Hos. 9¹⁸ Joel 4⁴ Am. 1^{9, 11} Zech. 9^{2, 8},—but never with בַּת (cf., however, "daughter of Sidon" in Is. 23¹², and "of Babylon" often). While מִלְּכָה is not used in any of these, Tyre's subservience is indicated in Is. 23⁸ Joel 4⁸ (?), and implied elsewhere.

מִלְּכָה is common in the sense of "gift" in Gen. and the Hists., but not in the Prophecies (except Hos. 10⁷); but it is applied to "offerings" (apparently religious) from foreign sources in Is. 1¹⁸ (Sodom and Gomorrah, figuratively) 19²¹ (Egypt) Jer. 41⁶ (Samaria) Zeph. 3¹⁰ (the African dispersion) Mal. 1¹¹ (Gentiles generally).

מִלְּכָה, to men, occurs only in Job 11¹⁹ Prov. 19⁵—both notably parallel to this verse; and to God in Jer. 26¹⁹ (Ezekiah) Zech. 7²; 8^{21, 22}, "The inhabitants

of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to intreat the favor of Jahweh . . . yea, many peoples and strong nations shall come to seek Jahweh of Hosts in Jerusalem and to intreat His favor"; Mal. 1⁹ Dan. 9¹⁸; once in Ps. 119; 5 times in Ex.

קָשֶׁר occurs once in Job, 10 times in Prov., and 3 in Eccl.; elsewhere only in Jer. 9²² Mic. 6¹² Is. 53⁹ Ps. 49³ Ex. 30¹⁶ Ruth 3¹⁰ 2 Sam. 12^{1. 2. 4}. None of these offer parallels.

Not enumerated: קָת (see v.¹¹), קָם.

Regarding this section we may conclude that the comparison with the Prophecies abundantly justifies the interpretation advocated for קָת (with the exception of the difficulty involved in שְׂכָחָי as it stands), that "the king" is represented as worthy of divine homage, and that v.¹³ may be addressed either to the "daughter" (as now pointed) or to "the king," as suggested by the parallel in Ps. 72.

The next section (vv.¹⁴⁻¹⁶) treats of "the king's daughter." If this be considered to be a real person, she would naturally seem to be the daughter of that king whose prowess and splendor are celebrated in the earlier verses. The features of richness here harmonize well with vv.⁹⁻¹⁰. Commonly, however, on the supposition that this psalm is an actual marriage ode, this expression is taken to affirm that the bride is a foreign princess, the "king" here being distinct from the previous one. But it is also conceivable that here again we have an idealization of the city or nation — a continuation of the thought in vv.¹¹⁻¹³. This would harmonize with the probable interpretation of "the king" as the Mighty One of the Messianic hope.²³

Verse 14. קְבוּדָה occurs only in Ezk. 23⁴¹ ("a stately bed") and Jdg. 18²¹. It is curious that the only place where קְבוּדָה occurs in the absolute is Is. 4⁵, "Over all the glory a canopy," at the end of the passage where we are told that "the Branch of Jahweh shall be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the land majestic and comely." In the construct the phrase also occurs in Is. 8⁷ 21¹⁶ 22²⁴ (Eliakim's father's house).

מִלֵּךְ, sing., only in 2 Kgs. 9²⁴; 11² = 2 Chr. 22¹¹; Dan. 11⁶ — none at all pertinent here.

סֵפִירִים is used of the *Sanctuary* 24 times in Ezk., once in Lev., 7 times in Kgs., 4 in Chr.; of a king's *palace* once in Kgs. (Jehoram), once in Chr. (Hezekiah), twice in Esth. The modern reading, סֵפִירִים, "corals,"²⁴ is paralleled only in Job 28¹⁸ Prov. 3¹⁵ 8¹¹ 20¹⁵ 31¹⁰ Lam. 4⁷ — the first four of which concern the value of wisdom. The suggestion of jewelry reminds us of Is. 54¹¹⁻¹², "Behold, I will set thy stones [Jerusalem] in fair colors [רִפְיָה], and lay thy foundations with

²³ Note that Grätz rejects the identification of בַּת־מֶלֶךְ with שָׁנַל, though with a totally different view of the passage.

²⁴ Krochmal, Grätz, Cheyne, Wellhausen, Duhm.

sapphires [כִּסְפֵי־יָרִים], and I will make thy pinnacles [קִרְבַּיִם] and thy gates of carbuncles [לְאֲבֵנֵי אֶקְרָה] and all thy border of pleasant stones [לְאֲבֵנֵי הַחֹמַיִם].²⁶

מִשְׁבָּצִים, only in Ex. 39 of certain golden fittings of the Tabernacle.

בְּהֵבֵא is a very common term, widely diffused throughout the Old Testament. The prosperity and glory of Jerusalem are often indicated in the Prophecies by mentioning precious metals and costly stuffs.

לְבוֹשׁ, only in Is. 14¹⁹ 63^{1, 2} Jer. 10⁹ Mal. 2¹⁶; 13 times in Job, Prov., and other poems; 6 in Pss.; 8 in Hists. None of these seems pertinent here.

Verse 16. רִקְמָה, only in Ezk. 16^{10, 18, 18} (of the brilliant finery of Jerusalem) 17⁸ 26¹¹ 27^{7, 11, 21} (of Tyre) 1 Chr. 29² (of David's preparations for the Temple) Jdg. 5³⁰.

זָבַח is almost wholly a prophetic term, occurring only in Is. 18⁷, "In that time shall a present be brought to Jahweh of Hosts . . . to Mount Zion"; 23⁷; 53⁷, "As a lamb that is led to the slaughter" (so in Jer. 11¹⁹); 55¹², "Ye shall go out with joy and be led forth with peace"; Jer. 31⁹, "With supplications will I lead them" (at the Return); Hos. 10⁶ 12²; Zeph. 3¹⁰, "My suppliants shall bring Mine offering"; 3 times in Job; 6 in Pss.; 3 in Ezra.

בְּתוֹרֹת, plur., only in Is. 23⁴ Ezk. 44²² Am. 8¹⁸ Zech. 9¹⁷ Lam. 1^{4, 18} 2^{10, 21} 5¹¹; 3 times in Pss.; Ex. 22¹⁶ 2 Sam. 13¹⁸; 3 times in Esth. Of these, the references in Am., Zech., and Lam. are to Jerusalem, though only the last has the tone of the psalm. Other terms appear, like שְׂפָדָה in Is. 14² Joel 2²⁹; אֶמְרָה in Nah. 2⁷, "Huzzab is uncovered . . . and her handmaids mourn as with the voice of doves"; and עֲלִמָּה in Cant. 1⁸ 6⁶.

רָעָה, only in Jdg. 11^{87, 88} (Jephthah's daughter). רַעֲיָה, sing., occurs 9 times in Cant.

אֲחֻרַיִךְ, cf. Ex. 15²⁰ (Miriam's train).

בִּיא, *Hiphil*, is very frequent in the Prophecies of the "bringing back" of the exiles, etc.

לָךְ is changed to לָהּ by Wellhausen and Duhm,²⁶ maintaining the reference to the king in the third person. It may also be pointed לְךָ, referring to the king, and thus preserving the verse-parallelism.

Not enumerated: מְלִיךָ (see v.⁹).²⁷

Verse 16. שְׂמֵחָה occurs 15 times in Is.; 7 in Jer.; 2 in Ezk.; once each in Joel, Zeph., Jon., and Zech.; 17 times in Job, Prov., and Eccl.; once in Cant.; 13 times in Pss.; once each in Gen., Num., Deut., Jdg., 1 and 2 Sam., and Kgs.; 28 times in the later Hists. It is used *positively*, i.e. of the establishment or maintenance of joy, in Is. 9⁸, "Thou hast multiplied the nation, Thou hast increased their joy"; 22¹⁸ (of feasting); 29¹⁹, "The meek shall increase their joy in Jahweh"; 30²⁹, "Ye shall have . . . gladness of heart"; 35¹⁰, "The ransomed of Jahweh shall return . . . everlasting joy upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness" (so in 51¹¹); 51⁸, "Joy and gladness shall be found therein" (Zion); 55¹², "Ye shall go out with joy"; 61⁷, "Everlasting joy shall be unto

²⁶ Note, however, the extraordinary reading, "Heshbon," found in two MSS. of the LXX, with Duhm's suggestion as to its origin.

²⁷ Though by the latter for an unintelligible reason.

²⁸ But note Grätz's proposed repointing

them"; Jer. 15¹⁶, "Thy words were unto me a joy and the rejoicing of my heart"; 31⁷, "Sing with gladness for Jacob"; 33¹¹, "Again shall be heard . . . the voice of joy and the voice of gladness" (as against 7³¹ 16⁹ 25¹⁰ 48³³); Jon. 4⁶; Zeph. 3¹⁷, "He will rejoice over thee with joy"; Zech. 8¹⁹, "[The feasts] shall be to the house of Judah joy and gladness." The couplet *שִׂמְחָה וְשִׂשׂוֹן* occurs 11 times in Is. and Jer., once in Zech. and in Ps. 51⁸.

נִלְ occurs only in Is. 16¹⁰ Jer. 48³³ Hos. 9¹ Joel 1¹⁶ Dan. 1¹⁰ Job 3²² Prov. 23²⁴, 3 times in Pss. — never in a positive sense parallel to this or with *שִׂמְחָה* except in Ps. 43⁴.

Not enumerated: *יָבֵל* (see v. 15), *הַיָּבֵל* (see v. 9), *מִלֵּךְ* (see v. 9).

This section shows at first the special influence of Ezk., and then that of the references in Is. and Jer. to the Return. Verse 15 gives the impression of having to do with the jubilation of the Temple worship, so that *הַיָּבֵל מִלֵּךְ* may possibly refer to the Temple, though we have no good parallels to the exact expression.

The terms of vv. 11-12 14-16 have led to the widespread interpretation of this psalm as an actual Marriage Ode, in which, after celebrating the virtues of the bridegroom, the bride is addressed with paternal counsel and then the marriage procession is described.²⁸ This interpretation is plausible up to a certain point. But the same features may be interpreted to refer to the ideal bridal relation between the Holy People and Jahweh, as repeatedly set forth in the Prophecies (notably in negative form in Hos. 1-3 Joel 1⁸ Jer. 3 Ezk. 16, and with elaborate positiveness in Is. 54, 61, 62, not to speak of the poetic treatment of Cant.). The drift of the evidence presented in the foregoing pages is toward the supposition that the bridal quality in our psalm is an echo of this conception as presented in Deutero-Is., and is therefore ideal rather than historically actual.

In justifying this supposition it is worth while rapidly to review the ground covered by our whole study. We have set ourselves to consider the lexical connections, large and small, that seem to bind this psalm either with other psalms apparently of its own class or with the Prophecies, in the hope of discovering the probable meaning of its several expressions and the general drift of thought running through each of its sections and their combination together. Comparing it with other "royal" psalms made it evident that there were strong similarities between parts of it and 89, 18, 72, 21, 61, 110, 132, at least — the points of connection being confined to the characterization of "the king" as one in whom is found not only the evidences of divine favor but the possession of something of a divine quality

²⁸ Finely developed by Delitzsch.

and attributes. This all went to strengthen the impression that has been emphasized in the older commentation generally that the psalm is Messianic in significance, not only by virtue of an acquired and perhaps fantastic interpretation, but by original intention, at least on the part of its final editor. But, on the other hand, comparison with other "royal" psalms failed to shed any light on the passages referring to the "daughter," as well as on some of the details of "the king's" splendor. This seemed to indicate that, after all, this poem stands apart in its realistic treatment of some event not ordinarily associated with "Messianic" thought or writing. This, in turn, went to strengthen the view now widely current that the psalm is properly a secular ode, rather arbitrarily incorporated into the sacred writings, and possibly here and there altered to fit it for its place.

Here we turned to the second line of comparison, that with the Prophecies. We at once encountered a very extensive array of parallels, covering not only the references to "the king," but those to the "daughter" as well, the parallelism touching almost every detail of the poem in some way. These parallels — the more striking of which we have quoted in full — were widely scattered in the Prophecies, their distribution, character, and contextual setting being such as to make it extremely difficult to suppose that any large number of them are echoes of this highly unique psalm, but rather indicating that the psalm in its present shape is based upon them or upon the process of thought that produced them. After deducting all that may be necessary for similarities of mere vocabulary, which might be due to various not very significant causes, there still remains before us a notable body of prophetic passages in which there is a plausible similarity of thought, treatment, and spirit with our psalm. Among these, chapters like Jer. 33, Ezk. 16 and 37, Is. 45-61 (not to mention chapters in Proto-Is.), Mic. 4 and 6, Zeph. 3, Zech. 8-9, etc., stand out in prominence. These passages are too numerous and too applicable in detail to be neglected in the interpretation of the psalm, especially as they relate to the whole contents of the psalm and supply a consistent view of its many features.

Succinctly stated, the interpretation thus suggested is as follows. The topic of the whole is the relation established between Jahweh and the Holy People through His anointed "king" at a time of national forgetfulness and yet of possible return and restoration. "The king" is vividly and realistically pictured in terms drawn from Deutero-Isaiah and perhaps Zechariah, with coloring similar to that of Canticles, as superior to men in beauty and grace, as "mighty in

battle" against his foes, as devoted to equity and righteousness, and as crowned with felicity in his superiority over his "fellows" and earthly powers generally. In contrast is the "daughter [of Zion]" who has laid herself open to rebuking counsel by "forgetting" her heritage, but whom "the king" is ready to meet with "desire" and the acceptance of her homage, who is ideally arrayed in the vestments of a queen and depicted as approaching "the king" in royal state, their meeting being described in terms implying religious as well as secular festivity. Whether the whole points to the imagery of a *marriage* between "the king" and his "daughter" is not absolutely clear, though the addition of this feature is easy from the prophetic parallels. At all events, she is pictured "*like a bride*," as Deutero-Isaiah puts it (49¹⁸ 61¹⁰). The poem closes with a verse that implies that the entire attitude of contemplation is prospective rather than retrospective, looking to the ascendancy of the royal seed "in the whole earth." (Verse 18, as has been explained, looks like a liturgical antiphon adapted to its place by a small change.)

This general interpretation makes the psalm dependent at least on Deutero-Isaiah, and indicates that its date cannot well be earlier than the end of the exile. Of course, it is entirely possible to argue that it is not only subsequent to the exile, but subsequent by a long period. This is the contention of many commentators. Thus Olshausen, while asserting that no conclusion as to date is possible from the style and language, thinks that the whole refers to the actual marriage of Alexander Jannaeus and Cleopatra. Thus Cheyne, though grudgingly allowing the possibility of attributing it to the time of Jeroboam II. or of Darius, labors to convince us that "the king" is Ptolemy Philadelphus. Thus Duhm thinks that the hero must be "one of the Ptolemies." While not denying the possibility of these and similar hypotheses, it must be urged that the possibility also exists of supposing that the whole conception is ideal, and ideal along exactly the lines indicated by the prophecies ordinarily called "Messianic." It is not necessary even to insist that the psalm must have been sufficiently subsequent to these writings to admit of their wide popular diffusion, since it is conceivable that the psalm was drafted, in whole or in part, by one of the prophetic writers or a fellow-worker for the cause of national righteousness. The closer the links of style and usage can be shown to be, the greater the presumption that the documents compared belong to the same or neighboring periods, especially if, as in this case, there is a striking lack of just those marks of late date that are now so diligently magnified—the

bitter reaction against oppression and violent assault, the traces of internal strife and partisanship, and the exaltation of a formalistic and Pharisaic legalism.

Supposing that the drift of the comparative evidence here presented is admitted to be toward the hypothesis that the completed poem embodied ideal conceptions of "the king" and the "daughter," it is necessary to consider just what details are inconsistent with this conclusion. The chief of these opposing features are these: (1) as to "the king," the realistic details of vv.⁹⁻¹⁰, especially the "kings' daughters" and the "queen," and of vv.¹⁴⁻¹⁶, as well as the thought of v.¹⁷, with its apparent reference to a royal line; and (2) as to the "daughter," the received reading of v.¹¹ about "forgetting," the uncertain identity of the "daughter" in v.¹¹ with "the king's daughter" in v.¹⁴, and the details of what seems like a procession in vv.¹⁵⁻¹⁶. Different minds will appraise these difficulties at different values. Hupfeld, Hitzig, Delitzsch, Olshausen, and most recent critics assume without argument that they indicate a definite historic occasion actually witnessed or foreseen. It is conceivable, however, that nearly every one of them can be so viewed as to harmonize with the general theory here being discussed. The filling in of detail seems to be plainly under the same sort of lyric impulse that we find in Canticles, with the Bridal Song in which (4^a to 5¹), by the way, it is thought that the psalm conforms in versification.²⁹ The difficulty about v.¹⁷ can be obviated either by attributing to it a special touch of fancy or by supposing that the suffixes should be feminine instead of masculine.³⁰ The more serious difficulty of v.¹⁰ diminishes as the psalm is compared with Canticles (especially 6^b), or may be made to vanish if perchance it should be shown that שָׁנַל is a corruption.

Still another line of possibility is opened up by supposing that back of our present psalm stood a royal ode of smaller dimensions, which may or may not have been a marriage ode. It is quite possible that such an ode, originally secular, might have been taken as the nucleus for an amplification in a direction harmonious with the Deutero-Isaianic conception of God as Israel's husband. This nucleus, if it existed, would be most easily attributable to the reign of Hezekiah.³¹

For myself, I have been inclined to believe that some theory of a nucleus thus built out best explains the phenomena. But I do not

²⁹ Duhm.

³⁰ So Peschitto. See Grätz.

³¹ Cf. Baethgen's treatment of Ps. 72.

see how the "nucleus" can be recovered except by the application of processes of analysis that are more or less subjective. Certain whole lines and verses seem least likely to have belonged to it, namely :

- Verse 8, "Therefore God hath blessed thee for ever";
- Verse 6, "Because of truth . . . and righteousness";
- Verse 6, "The peoples fall under thee";
- Verse 7, "Thy throne God [has established] for ever";
- Verses 11-12, and perhaps 14-15, entire;
- Verse 18 entire.

To these may further be added the following :

- Verse 2, "I am speaking what I have made as to the king";
- Verse 8, "Therefore Jahweh thy God hath anointed thee
With the oil of gladness more than thy fellows."

This, if carried out in the extreme form, would leave the original ode about half as long as the present psalm, and wholly devoted to the celebration of "the king." If, however, it be supposed that the original was a nuptial ode, it might easily have included vv. 14-16.

If the multiplied parallels between the Psalm and the Prophecies be considered as significant as has been urged in this essay, then the "nucleus" will probably be represented only by vv. 9-10, 13, with isolated words or expressions in other verses. These latter cannot be identified with certainty, even though their existence is fully conceded.

This theory of composite structure was first impressed upon me by certain statistical tests that I have for several years been experimenting with in trying to separate the strata of materials that seem to be discernible in combination all through the Psalter. These tests consist primarily in observations upon the proportion of "rare" and "common" words, "rareness" and "commonness" being measured roughly by the number of psalms in which the words appear. This psalm as a whole ranks very high in the proportion of "rare" words in it, being surpassed by not more than ten others; but it also contains curious "pockets" that abound in "common" words. This particular line of evidence is to me one of the strong reasons for believing that v. 18 is an *addendum*, this verse being totally devoid of "rare" words. Verse 17 is notably deficient also, and v. 11 somewhat so, both being the more noticeable because following verses of a different character. To explain this test would take far more space than is here available, and, of course, unless supported by other lines of argument, it is not at all conclusive. I mention it only because at

several points in this essay the views stated have probably been more or less influenced by it.

If this thought regarding compositeness be adopted, the structure of the psalm may be typographically exhibited as follows — though with the understanding throughout that the analysis is provisional and tentative both as a whole and in various details :

[Prologue of uncertain date, possibly belonging to an early secular ode, but probably later.]

- 2 My heart bubbles over [with] a good word ;
I am speaking my poem (?) as to the King ;
My tongue is the pen of a facile scribe.

[Address to the King, possibly made up of three layers: the first, a secular ode (time of Hezekiah?), of which only fragments are utilized; the second, called forth by prophetic delineations of the Messianic King, having more than royal dignity (end of the exile?); and the third, slight, explanatory, or liturgical *addenda* cognate with passages in other psalms (post-exilic?). The first of these is indicated by italics at the left of the page, and the third by smaller italics at the right, while the second occupies the centre.]

- 3 In beauty Thou art fairer than mortals ;
Grace is poured upon Thy lips —
Yea, God hath blessed Thee for ever.

- 4 Gird Thy sword on Thy thigh, Thou Hero,
Thy glory and Thy majesty.

- 5 Hail to Thee ! Ride . . .
Because of [Thy] truth and . . . righteousness.
And Thy right hand shall work wonders.

- 6 *Thine arrows are sharp —*
The peoples fall before Thee —
*In the midst of the royal enemies.*³²

- 7 Thy throne God [establisheth] eternally ;
The sceptre of Thy rule is that of equity ;
8 Thou hast loved the right and hated evil ;
Therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee

With the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.

- 9 *Myrrh, aloes, and cassia are [on] all thy robes ;*
From ivory palaces music makes thee glad.
10 *Princesses are [decked] in thy jewels ;*
Beside thee stands the queen in gold of Ophir.

³² This reference of v.⁹ to the earlier *stratum* is very tentative. Possibly several details in vv.⁴⁻⁵ should be similarly marked.

[Address to Israel as the Beloved of her King, possibly embodying further fragments of an original ode.]

- 11 Listen, thou Daughter [of Zion], consider, attend !
Hast thou forgotten thy people and thy Father's house ?
- 12 The King longs after thy beauty ;
For He is thy lord ; prostrate thyself to Him.
- 13 *Even the daughter of Tyre [comes] with a gift ;
Thou art besought by the rich of the people[s].*
- 14 All glorious is the royal daughter ;
Corals and woven gold [adorn] her raiment.
- 15 On tapestries she comes to the King,
Her train of maidens following her.
- 16 With joy and gladness they come ;
They enter the House of the King.⁸³
- 17 In place of thy fathers shall be thy children ;
Thou shalt set them as princes in the whole earth.

[Liturgical antiphon — late.]

- 18 *I will sing praise to Thy name in all ages ;
Yea, the peoples shall acknowledge Thee eternally.*

In conclusion, it may be worth while simply to advert to one other possible bearing of the reasoning that has here been pursued. If the general interpretation here emphasized be accepted, especially as concerns the force of לֵךְ , and the psalm be looked upon as a lyric based upon the ideas so eloquently set forth in the Prophets of the Return, it is possible to catch sight of an interesting unity of thought running through the series of psalms from 42 to 48. The great central ideas would seem to be two : " God is our King," and " Zion is His throne or capital." Each psalm presents some one phase of this general subject, and the variety of texture suggests that we have here works of several different periods ; but it is possible that a feeling of unity between them may have led to their editorial collocation as we have them. This suggestion, if pursued, would of course lead out indefinitely not only into a discussion of these psalms, but into the examination of others that might be thought to be affiliated with each other and with the special phase of prophetic teaching that has here been brought into prominence.

⁸³ Verses 14-16 may belong to the earlier *stratum*.