The Inauguration of the Second Temple

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IN my paper on the Visions of Zechariah (JBL 32, 109) I stated that Zechariah concluded his first patriotic address with the assurance: Zerubbabel’s hands have laid the foundations of the Temple, his hands will also finish it. This prediction was not fulfilled. The restoration of the Temple was begun about Sept. 1, 520, but when the Second Temple was completed about April 1, 515, Zerubbabel was no longer governor of Judah. His followers had attempted to place him on the throne of David; but the Persian Government nipped this insurrection in the bud. The satrap of Babylonia and Syria, Vištana, came to Jerusalem in the spring of 519; Zerubbabel was tried for high-treason and, it may be supposed, put to death. Zechariah’s expectations (Feb. 13, 519) that the Davidic prince would be acquitted were not realized (JBL 32, 114).

We know from the poem of Haggai, which is preserved in Zech. 7 1-3 + 8 18 19 a + 7 4-6 19 b, that on Dec. 7, 518 the governor in Jerusalem was no longer Zerubbabel, but Bethel-sharetz who sent a royal herald (lit. criér) to raise the question:

1 For the abbreviations see this JOURNAL (JBL) vol. 31, p. 115, n. 2.
2 For these dates cf. JBL 32, 107, n. 1.
3 We must read יָֽהְנָּא יָרָא (the prefixed י is due to dittography of the י; cf. AJSL 26, 10). The Vulgate has Rogomelech. For Assyr. ragāmu, to cry, from which Targum and dragoman are derived, see KAT 517;
whether it would not be expedient to abolish the fast in the fifth month commemorating the burning of the Temple at the hands of the Chaldeans in 586 B.C. In Paris the statue of the City of Strassburg is still covered with wreaths of mourning; but if the Bishop of Strassburg had continued to observe the day of the surrender of the fortress (Sept. 28, 1870) as a day of mourning, the German governor of Alsace-Lorraine would probably have sent an official message suggesting that this demonstration cease.

Priestly editors have endeavored to eliminate all allusions to Zerubbabel’s ill-starred coronation. This has been done in the text of Ezra 4-6. In the line royal majesty will he assume (Zech. 6:12) the word royal has been suppressed, also the hemistich thy throne is for ever in Ps. 110:4 (JBL 32, 113). In Zech. 6:9-15 as well as in Zech. 3 the name of the high-priest Joshua has been substituted for the name of the Davidic prince Zerubbabel (JBL 32, 114 and 118).

In Ps. 132, which was written for the encenia at the inauguration of the restoration of the Temple about Sept. 1, 520, the last line of the second stanza must have been originally Extend his sceptre from Zion that he conquer in the midst of his foes! This revolutionary appeal has been replaced by a tame variant of v. 16. The received text of Ps. 110:2:

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\text{ספה עאר ישלח יהוה מצית רבי בכר איבר}
\]

seems to be based on a combination of the original text of that line.

\[
\text{עשר ישלח מצית ויהו בכר}
\]

and the suppressed line in Ps. 132:10,

\[
\text{shall suffix מצית ויהו בכר איבר}
\]

Both Psalms may have been written by the same patriotic poet.4

Ps. 132 was referred to Zerubbabel by Gustav Baur in the 

Kings 117, 30. Assy. rāgamū is not identical with Heb. שָׁמ, although Assy. raggū may be the Heb. ש (KB 6, 380; ZDMG 65, 565, 1.17). Assy. rāgamū is connected with Arab. رجس, to roar, thunder (רָגָס, מָתִיר). Cf. my remarks on רָגָס, to roar, thunder, Jud. 5:22 in the Wellhausen Festchrift.

4 For Ps. 110 cf. Haupt, Micah (Chicago, 1910) nn. 45, 28, 10 on VIII (AJSL 27, Oct. 1910). In n. 10 on VIII 516 is a misprint for 519.
fifth edition of De Wette's commentary (1856) p. 594. This was done long ago by Bar Ebrayâ (1226-1286) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (360-428). Graetz (1883) expressed the same view. De Wette admitted that this psalm might have been sung at the inauguration of the Second Temple, but he maintained that it was originally composed for the dedication of the Solomonic Temple. Our Psalm is one of The Songs of The Return (שירי המעלה) which originated in the period of the Return from Babylonia (ממלכת וממד, Ezr. 7:9).

The other poems of this collection are written in lines with 3+2 beats, but the lines of Psalm 132 have 3+3 beats (OLZ 12, 68, n. 7). This poem falls into two sections, each section is composed of two five-line stanzas. Franz Delitzsch thought that this psalm consisted of four ten-line stanzas (his lines are hemistichs). The first stanza was correctly given by De Wette, also Kamphausen's strophic arrangement in Bunsen's Bibelwerk (1868) was nearly correct. The best arrangement of the Hebrew text was given by Julius Ley in his Grundzüge (1875) p. 183.

There are no lacunae in the poem, as Olshausen supposed; but a number of verses have been misplaced: vv. 6-8 must be inserted before vv. 13-18, and v. 11b should be placed between vv. 17 and 18; v. 10 should follow vv. 11a and 12. After v. 11b had been placed before v. 12, the names David and Judah were replaced by pronouns of the second person. Verses 8, 9, 10b, 1a are quoted, with slight modifications, in 2 Chr. 6:41-42. Of course, v. 9 had been substituted for the suppressed line at the end of the second stanza long before the time of the Chronicler.

For the imperative בָּרָךְ at the beginning of the poem we must substitute the future בָּרָכָה. The בָּרָכָה may be a corruption of the transposed initial ב, unless it is merely due to dittography of


6 See AJSL 2, 98; 11, 27; JBL 19, 67; 26, 44, 1. 6; ZDMG 61, 289, l. 20; Numbers 49, 25; Kings 266, 45; ZAT 34, 149.

7 Delitzsch's statement is repeated in Emil Taube's Praktische Auslegung der Psalmen (Berlin, 1884).
the 7 (AJSL 26, 10). The imperative instead of the future is due to רבק in 2 Chr. 6:42. If מְהַר in v. 1 were vocative, we should expect נָדַע instead of נָהֳדָה in v. 2.

Instead of רָעָב we must read נָחַב. I pointed out in JBL 31, 120 (and 135) that we must read רָעָב instead of נָחַב in Ps. 22:25 and נָהֳדָה in Ps. 90:8 15 instead of נָהֳדָה and נָהֳדָה. The patriotic poet does not speak of David’s affliction or humility (τὸ τῆς πρακτικῆς αὐτῶν — מָהְרִים) but of the labors of Solomon in connection with the building of the First Temple. After נָהֳדָה we must read נָדַע instead of נָדַע (Neh. 5:19 13:31) or נָדַע (2 Chr. 6:42). The Davidic dynasty may count on JHVH’s favor because it built the First Temple, and the Davidic scion Zerubbabel is displaying as much zeal in inaugurating the erection of the Second Temple, despite the hard times, as his great ancestor did in the palmy days of Judah. For the sake of Thy servant David do not repulse Thine anointed (v. 10) means, Fulfil the hopes of Zerubbabel and his followers, and place him on the throne of Judah, for he is a Davidic scion, and David and his successors have always been loyal to Thee.

_Hero of Jacob_ (חַבֵּר יַכְּכַבֶּה נָבְעַד) is the translation used by Cheyne in his translation of the Psalms in the Parchment Library (1884). The original meaning is Bull of Jacob, i.e. the national god of Israel, who was worshipped at Beth-el in the form of a bull. Of Jacob was originally an appositional genitive (JBL 29, 101, n. 45). After the Exile this ancient name was used as a poetic designation for JHVH, just as Israel (and Joseph, &c.) was used for Judah.

Before v. 3 (lit. If I enter my dwelling lodge, &c.) we must supply the ancient oath, The Lord do so unto me and more also (GK 12, § 149, b; § 167, a; WdG 2, 172, D; AJSL 23, 236, n. 57) which was originally, it may be supposed, accompanied by two dramatic gestures indicating piercing of the heart and subsequent decapitation and gibbeting (2 S 4:7; 2 Macc. 15:35;

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8 Perles, Analekten, p. 65, prefers the reading מַעֲמָה.

9 See Haupt, **Micah**, n. 17 on I (AJSL 27, 19). The horns of the altar seem to be a survival of this ancient Israelitish bull-worship (DB 1, 77); EB 134, 5). Of. nn. 57 and 81 on my translation of the Song of Deborah in the Wellhausen Festschrift.
EB 1959, b; EB 11, 12, 917b). In our days hanging is indicated by touching the neck.

For lie down on my resting couch the version in the Book of Common Prayer has climb up into my bed; the royal bedstead was so high that it was necessary to use bed-steps for ascending it; כ has therefore רתנ רש מוספתי. I have shown (AJSL 26, 7) that רתנ רש, bed-steps must be restored in Am. 3:12 instead of דמחים. The word רחנה (for רתנ רש) to step is found also in Egyptian (AZ 50, 88). Egyptian bed-steps are figured in Riehm’s Bibl. Handwörterbuch, vol. i (1893) p. 225 and in the Calwer Bibellexikon (1912) p. 88.

V. 4 is quoted in the gloss Prov. 6:4 (BL 26, n. *).

For רחנה we must read רחנה (Jerome, testificationem quam docuero eos) or (following כ תאם µαρτύρα µου) כ רחנה; the omission of the 3 after the 7 may be due to haplography (AJSL 26, 10). In Ps. 122:4, on the other hand, we find רחנה instead of רחנה רשא (AJSL 2, 99). For רחנה see Proverbs 45, 49; OLZ 12, 66.

The relative pronoun כ is indeclinable; cf. the dialectic כ, e. g. בִּי רִי דְעָלָה חַפַּרְתֵּךְ, the well which I dug (WdG 1, 272, C).

Before the second line of v. 12 we had better prefix the Waw apodosis (Est. 50, ad 14). Not only כ רתנ are often confounded, haplographed and dittographed, but also כ, ל, and ל, e. g. כ (Jud. 5:23) and כ (Josh. 11:5:7) are corruptions of כ

Verses 6 (which Kautzsch considered to be beyond translation) and 7 refer to the entire congregation of the faithful Jews assembled in Jerusalem when Zerubbabel laid the foundations of the Second Temple. They have come from the cultivated regions as well as from the uncultivated districts (כ כれ δασε ṣι του δρυμου). But it is not necessary to suppose that the two lines were sung by the entire congregation. Paulus, Clavis (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 488 explained כ as the Berg- und Waldland von Judah, כ δρυμοί, Luke 1:39. Also De Wette remarked: Vielleicht enthielt der Vers ursprünglich keine nomina propria; der Dichter wollte sagen: in Wald und Flur.

Thy powerful ark (GK 38, § 135, n) is the shrine containing the Law (JED). כ, correctly, כ רתנ רש היב ביה רתנ רש. The shrine
containing the Law (JED+P) in modern synagogues is still called מִשְׁרִית חֶסֶד, מַהְרוּת. 10 According to Paulus’ Clavis מִשְׁרִית חֶסֶד מַהְרוּת is der mächtige Gesetzeschrank, wo die zehn Gebote, das Gesetz als Repräsentant des Nationalregenten Jehovah selbst, lagen.=G has ἡ κεφαλή τοῦ ἀγαθομαθῆ σου for מִשְׁרִית חֶסֶד מַהְרוּת; but we need not substitute מַהְרוּת מַהְרוּת for מִשְׁרִית חֶסֶד מַהְרוּת (JAOS 27, 122). 11 In Ps. 134.2 we find simply מֵר פִּיל instead of מֵר פִּיל מַהְרוּת; worshipers in the modern synagogues still face the Ark during the principal prayer (EB 11 26, 291b, below). We need not prefix מַהְרוּת to מֵר פִּיל in Ps. 134.2, but we must append בְּרוּם (Purim, 14, 40) to מֵר פִּיל at the end of the preceding verse.

The horn is a symbol of strength, power, or triumph; cf. 1 S 21 (ZDMG 58, 621) and Luke 1 89. I’ll raise (lit. I’ll cause to sprout; cf. Dan. 7 8) there a horn of David means I’ll cause a vigorous scion of the House of David to arise there.

The hemistich מִנֵּה מִשְׁרִית חֶסֶד מַהְרוּת (i.e. the Davidic dynasty) shall not be extinct means literally, I have set up a light for mine anointed (David). Lamps seem to have been kept burning before the Teraphim (images of ancestors). 12 Cf. DB 3, 24b, also Hupfeld and Duhm ad loc. The eternal lamps in the synagogues (תֶּרָפָי) and Catholic churches may be a survival of this ancient usage (EB 11 10, 400b; 16, 675). In cuneiform texts we find Bel may snatch away his descendants so that he may have no nåq mē (HW 479a; AL 171b) i.e. no one to pour out water for the dead; cf. Delitzsch, Das Land ohne Heimkehr (1911) n. 28. The Babylonian curse May he have no one to pour out water means May his family become extinct, and the

10 Cf. GJV 2, 524; DB 4, 633; EB 4896; בַּאֲרֵךְ is now used for the lectern near שֶׁכֶם מְשַׁא.
11=G has רָאַיָּא רֵעָה also for רֵעָה at the end of the Psalm; cf. B. Oppenheim, Die syr. Übersetzung des fünften Buches der Psalmen (Leipzig, 1891) p. 53.
12 This word should be pointed מַרְפֶּה (for tarraphim). On the other hand, מַרְפֶּה, horses is a mistake for מַרְפֶּה (Est. 61, †). Tarraphim means Providers; it is connected with מַרְפֶּה, food (originally prey; cf. AJSL 26, 11) just as Penates is derived from penus, provisions. The מ instead of מ (cf. מַרְפֶּה, מַרְפֶּה) is due to the מ (cf. ZDMG 64, 706, l. 31). The identity of מַרְפֶּה and מַרְפֶּה was pointed out long ago by Fürst. There is no etymological connection between מַרְפֶּה and מַרְפֶּה.
Hebrew execration *May he have no one to keep the lamp burning*\(^1\) has the same meaning, whereas *I have set up a light for mine anointed* is equivalent to *I will not suffer the family of mine anointed to become extinct.*

The promise in v. 15, *Her poor I'll sate with bread,* was not superfluous when the foundations of the Second Temple were laid; the people were not living in affluence at that time.

The cohortative (נייחת instead of ייחת) improves the rhythm.

For ידוע at the beginning of this line we must substitute יל (cf. Nestle, ZAT 14, 320; HSAT\(^2\) 2, 236; GB\(^1\) 675\(^b\)).

*Her priests I'll clothe with salvation* means: When the people pray to **JHVH:** מְשָׁפַרַת, the priests will make intercession so that the prayer of the people will be heard. The hemistich *Let Thy priests be clothed with right,* on the other hand, in the variant (v. 9) means: The priests will be endowed with righteousness so that they will be able to give correct answers to the questions of the people. V. 9 implies: The priests will be able to give the people correct decisions, and v. 16: The priests will be able to make the prayers of the people efficacious.

\(^1\) In 1 K 15:1 we must read בות instead of בות, and 1 K 15:4 must be translated according to Numbers 53, n. a.

The whole poem may be translated as follows:

Psalm 132.

A i 1 \*JHVH \*will: credit to David
all the zeal displayed by his son
2 Who solemnly promised to **JHVH,*
and vowed to the Hero of Jacob:
3 “I'll not enter my dwelling lodge,
lie down on my resting couch,
4 I'll not grant sleep* to mine eyes,
or slumber to my lashes,
5 Till I find a place for **JHVH,*
an abode for the Hero of Jacob.”
ii 11a JHVH solemnly promised to David—
it is fixed, He will not revoke it—
12 "If thy sons observe My religion,
   My Law which I shall teach them,
   Their sons, too, shall for ever
   sit (as kings) upon thy throne."—
10 For the sake of Thy servant David
do not repulse Thine anointed!
9b Extend his sceptre from Zion
   that he conquer in the midst of his foes!

B iii 8 "In fertile fields we heard it,
it reached us in the woodland:
7 "To His abode let us go,
   and worship at His footstool!"—
8 Ascend to Thy resting place,
   Thou and Thy powerful ark!
13 JHVH selected Zion,
   chose it for His abode:
14 "This is my rest for ever;
   here will I dwell; I chose it.

iv 15 I’ll pour out blessings on Zion,
   her poor shall sate with bread.
16 Her priests I’ll clothe with salvation,
   her faithful will shout for joy.
17 I’ll raise there a horn of David,
   mine anointed shall not be extinct:
11b An offspring of David’s loins
   will I place upon Judah’s throne;
18 His foes I’ll clothe with disgrace,
   but o’er him will sparkle his crown."

(a) 1 The Songs of The Return (β) 8 JHVH
(γ) 9a Let Thy priests be clothed with right, Let Thy faithful shout for joy!
The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

1. "The work is completed, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

2. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

3. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

4. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

5. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

6. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

7. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

8. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

9. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

10. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

11. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

12. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

13. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

14. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

15. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

16. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

17. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."

18. "Let the side of the house be finished, let it be praised, the work of your hand, O Lord, is completed."