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The Inauguration of the Second Temple

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IN my paper on the *Visions of Zechariah* (JBL 32, 109)¹ 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, 520,² but when the Second Temple was completed about April 1, 515,³ 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, Vištâna, 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)³ 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 + 8 19^b, that on Dec. 7, 518³ the governor in Jerusalem was no longer Zerubbabel, but Bethel-shar-ezer who sent a royal herald (lit. *crier*)³ 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 קָרַע מִלֶּךְ (the prefixed ׀ is due to dittography of the ׀; cf. AJSL 26, 10). The Vulgate has *Rogommelech*. For Assyr. *ragânu*, to cry, from which *Targum* and *dragoman* are derived, see KAT² 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 13) 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

מִסָּה עֹז יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן רִדָּה בְּקֶרֶב אֵיבֹיךְ:

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

עֹז יִשְׁלַח מִצִּיּוֹן וּרְדָה בְּקֶרֶב:

and the suppressed line in Ps. 132 10,

שְׁלַח מִסָּהוּ מִצִּיּוֹן וַיִּרְדֵּךְ בְּקֶרֶב אֵיבֹיךְ:

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. Assyr. *ragāmu* is not identical with Heb. רָעַם, although Assyr. *raggu* may be the Heb. רַע (KB 6, 380; ZDMG 65, 565, l. 17). Assyr. *ragāmu* is connected with Arab. رجس *rājasa*, to roar, thunder (رعد, هدر). Cf. my remarks on דהרות, Jud. 5 22 in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*.

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 Ebhrâya (1226-1286) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (360-428).⁵ 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* (שיר המעלות) which originated in the period of the Return from Babylonia (המעלה מבבל, Ezr. 7 9).⁶

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*).⁷ 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 lacunæ 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. 11^b should be placed between vv. 17 and 18; v. 10 should follow vv. 11^a and 12. After v. 11^b had been placed before v. 12, the names *David* and *Judah* were replaced by pronouns of the second person. Verses 8, 9, 10^b, 1^a 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 זכור at the beginning of the poem we must substitute the future יזכר. The ך of זכור may be a corruption of the transposed initial ך, unless it is merely due to dittography of

⁵ Cf. Baethgen, *Psalmen* (1892) p. 404; third edition (1904) p. 398; Sellin, *Serubbabel* (1898) p. 185, below. For Sellin's book cf. the second page of the comments on my translation of Is. 40 in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (1902).

⁶ See AJSL 2, 98; 11, 27; JBL 19, 67; 26, 44, l. 6; ZDMG 61, 289, l. 20; *Numbers* 49, 25; *Kings* 266, 45; ZAT 34, 145.

⁷ Delitzsch's statement is repeated in Emil Taube's *Praktische Auslegung der Psalmen* (Berlin, 1884).

the ך (AJSL 26, 10). The imperative instead of the future is due to זָכַרָה in 2 Chr. 6 42. If יהוה in v. 1 were vocative, we should expect לך instead of ליהוה in v. 2.

Instead of עָנוּת we must read עָנֻתוּ. I pointed out in JBL 31, 120 (and 135) that we must read עָנֻת instead of עָנָת in Ps. 22 25 and עָנֻתֵנוּ in Ps. 90 8 15 instead of עָנֻתֵינוּ and עָנִיתֵנוּ. The patriotic poet does not speak of David's affliction or humility (ὁ τῆς πρῶτης αὐτοῦ = עָנֻתוּ)⁸ but of the labors of Solomon in connection with the building of the First Temple. After עָנֻת we must insert שְׁלֵמָה or בָּנוּ, not לְמִצְבָּה (Neh. 5 19 13 31) or עֲבָדךָ (2 Chr. 6 42). The Davidic dynasty may count on יהוה'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 (תְּקִיפָא דִיעֶקֶב) 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 worshiped at Beth-el in the form of a bull.⁹ *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 יהוה, just as *Israel* (and *Joseph*, &c.) was used for *Judah*.⁹

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* (GK²⁸, § 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;

⁸ Perles, *Analekten*, p. 65, prefers the reading עָנִיתֵנוּ.

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^a; EB 134, 5). Cf. nn. 57 and 81 on my translation of the Song of Deborah in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*.

EB 1959, b; EB¹¹, 12, 917^b). 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; **ע** has therefore **על דרגש מצעי**. I have shown (AJSL 26, 7) that **דרגש**, *bed-steps* must be restored in Am. 3 12 instead of **דמשק**. The word **רגש** (for **דרגש**) *to step* is found also in Egyptian (ÄZ 50, 88). Egyptian bed-steps are figured in Riehm's *Bibl. Handwörterbuch*, vol. i (1893) p. 225 and in the *Calwer Bibellesikon* (1912) p. 88.

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

For **עדותי זו** we must read **עדותי זו** (Jerome, *testificationem meam quam docuero eos*) or (following **τὰ μαρτύριά μου**) **עדותי זו**; the omission of the **ו** after the **ז** may be due to haplography (AJSL 26, 10). In Ps. 122 4, on the other hand, we find **עדות לישראל** instead of **עדת ישראל** (AJSL 2, 99). For **עדות** see *Proverbs* 45, 49; *OLZ* 12, 66.

The relative pronoun **זו** is indeclinable; cf. the dialectic **זו**, e. g. *bi'ri dü hafärtu*, 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 **וריו** are often confounded, haplographed and dittographed, but also **ו**, **ג**, and **ז**, e. g. **מרוז** (*Jud.* 5 23) and **מרום** (*Josh.* 11 5 7) are corruptions of **מנהו(ו)**.

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 (**ἐν ταῖς δασέσι τοῦ ὄρους**). But it is not necessary to suppose that the two lines were sung by the entire congregation. Paulus, *Clavis* (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 488 explained **שרי יער** as the *Berg- und Waldland von Judah*, *ἡ ὄρεινή*, 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 (GK²⁸, § 135, n) is the shrine containing the Law (JED). **ע**, correctly, **ארון די ביה אורייתך**. The shrine

containing the Law (JED+P) in modern synagogues is still called ארון הקדש.¹⁰ According to Paulus' *Clavis hebraea* is *der mächtige Gesetzschrank, wo die zehn Gebote, das Gesetz als Repräsentant des Nationalregenten Jehovah selbst, lagen.* ⚡ has ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ ἀγιασματοῦ σου for ארון עֵד; but we need not substitute ארון קדש for ארון עֵד (JAOS 27, 122).¹¹ In Ps. 134 2 we find simply [ה]קדש instead of ארון הקדש; worshipers in the modern synagogues still face the Ark during the principal prayer (EB¹¹ 26, 291^b, below). We need not prefix ארון to הקדש in Ps. 134 2, but we must append שְׁפָרִים (*Purim*, 14, 40) to בלילות 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 *Mine anointed* (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, 24^b, also Hupfeld and Duhm *ad loc.* The eternal lamps in the synagogues (נר תמיד) and Catholic churches may be a survival of this ancient usage (EB¹¹ 10, 400^b; 16, 675). In cuneiform texts we find *Bel may snatch away his descendants so that he may have no nâq mê* (HW 479^a; AL⁵ 171^b) 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. GJV⁴ 2, 524; DB 4, 633; EB 4836; ארון הקדש is now used for the lectern near ארון הקדש.

¹¹ ⚡ has τὸ ἀγιασμά μου also for נרו 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 תַּרְפִּים (for *tarrâphim*). On the other hand, פָּרָשִׁים, *horses* is a mistake for פָּרָשִׁים (*Est.* 61, †). *Târâphim* means *Providers*; it is connected with טָרַף, *food* (originally *prey*; cf. AJSJ 26, 11) just as *Penates* is derived from *penus*, provisions. The ט instead of ה (cf. *تُرْفَة*, *turfê*) is due to the ר (cf. ZDMG 64, 706, l. 31). The identity of תָּרַף and טָרַף was pointed out long ago by Fürst. There is no etymological connection between תַּרְפִּים and רַפְּאִים.

Hebrew execration *May he have no one to keep the lamp burning*¹³ 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 (אשביעך) instead of (אשביע) improves the rhythm.

For צידה at the beginning of this line we must substitute ציין (cf. Nestle, ZAT 14, 320; HSAT³ 2, 236; GB¹⁵ 675^b).

Her priests I'll clothe with salvation means: When the people pray to JHVH: הושיענה, 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.

¹³ In 1 K 11³⁶ we must read לפני instead of לפני, and 1 K 15⁴ must be translated according to *Numbers* 53, n. a.

The whole poem may be translated as follows:

Psalm 132.

- A i 1^a "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 11^a JH^{VE} 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!
 9^b *Extend his sceptre from Zion*
that he conquer in the midst of his foes!

- B iii 6 "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^β to Thy resting place,
 Thou and Thy powerful ark!
 13 JH^{VE} 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 I'll sate with bread.
 16 Her priests I'll clothe with salvation,
 her faithful will shout for joy.^γ
 17 I'll raise there a horn of David,
 mine anointed shall not be extinct:
 11^b An offspring of David's loins
 will I place upon Judah's throne;
 18 His foes <will> I clothe with disgrace,
 but o'er him will sparkle his crown."

(α) 1 The Songs of The Return

(β) 8 JH^{VE}

(γ) 9^a Let Thy priests be clothed with right, Let Thy faithful shout
 for joy!

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

	213	
אֶת־כָּל עֲבֹדֹת בְּנֵי:	אִיזְכֹּר יְהוָה לְדוֹד	1 i A
נָדַר לֵאבִיר יַעֲקֹב:	אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לַיהוָה	2
אִם־אֶעֱלֶה עַל־עַרְשׂ יְצוּעֵי:	אִם־אֶבֶא בְּאֵהַל בֵּיתִי	3
לְעַמְּפֵי תִנּוּמָה:	אִם־אֶתֵּן שָׁגָה לְעֵינַי	4
מִשְׁכַּנּוֹת לֵאבִיר יַעֲקֹב:	עַד־אִמְצֵא מָקוֹם לַיהוָה	5
אִמַּת לֹא־יָשׁוּב מִמֶּנָּה:	נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְדוֹד	11 ^a ii
וְעַד־תִּי זִיג־אֶלְפָּדָם	אִם־יִשְׁמְרוּ בְּנֵיךְ בְּרִיתִי	12
יִשְׁבוּ עַל־כִּסֵּא לָךְ:	וְגַם בְּנֵיהֶם עַד־יַעַד	13
אֶל־תֵּשֶׁב פָּנַי מִשִּׁיחַךְ	בְּעִבּוֹר דּוֹד עִבְדְּךָ	10
וַיִּרְדֵּךְ בְּקֶרֶב אֵיבָיו:	שֶׁלַח מִמָּהוּ מִצִּיּוֹן	
מִצְאֲנֻהָ בְּשָׂרֵי הָ־יַעַר:	הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְנֻהָ בְּאִפְרַתָּה	6 iii B
נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְהֵדָם רִנְלִיו:	נִבְוָאָה לְמִשְׁכַּנּוֹתָיו	7
אֵתָהּ וְאֶרְוֹן עֲזָד:	קוֹמָה ^β לְמִנּוּחַתְךָ	8
אֵוָה לְמוֹשֵׁב לוֹ:	כִּי־בַחַר יְהוָה בְּצִיּוֹן	13
פַּה־אֲשַׁב כִּי־אֵוִיתִיהָ:	זֹאת־מִנּוּחַתִּי עַד־יַעַד	14
אִבּוּיָהּ אֲשַׁבְּעֶיהָ לְחֵם:	צִיּוֹן בְּרֶךְ אֲבֹתְךָ	15 iv
וְחִסְדֶּיהָ רִנָּן יִרְנְנוּ:	כִּהְיָה אֲלֵבִישׁ־הָ יִשְׁע	16
עֲרַכְתִּי נָר לְמִשְׁיחִי:	שִׁם־אֲצַמִּיתֶּהָ קֶרֶן לְדוֹד	17
אִשִּׁית עַל־כִּסֵּא יְהוּדָה:	מִפְרֵי בֶטֶן דָּוִד	11 ^b
וְעָלְיוּ יִצְיָן נִזְרוֹ:	אֵוִיבֵיו אֲלֵבִישׁ־הָ בְּשַׁת	18

(β) 8 יהוה

(a) 1 שיר המעלות

(γ) 9 כהניך ולבשו צדק וחסידיך ירננו ירננו :