

Psalm 69:36 in the light of the Zion-tradition

ALPHONSO GROENEWALD

DEPARTMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

ABSTRACT

Zion is explicitly mentioned in Psalm 69:36a. This article will endeavour to outline its significance for the interpretation of the text of Psalm 69. The text of Psalm 69 functioned as an individual lament in the pre-exilic period. In the crisis of the exilic/early post-exilic period, as well as later in the post-exilic period, it became a vehicle for a divided Jewish community to express their laments as the personified 'I'. Consequently, a new perspective has been created in this text: the sufferer of the basic text has now come to reflect the suffering community in the different epochs in the post-exilic Judah. Moreover, it is significant that the end of this text discovered the hope for Zion and the cities of Judah in God's faithfulness expressed to the suffering individual.

A INTRODUCTION

A look at the concordance discloses the following statistical data with regard to the proper noun זִיּוֹן ('Zion'): it occurs a total of 154 times in the whole of the Old Testament; 53 times in the poetical books with 38 of these occurrences in the Psalter.¹ According to Levenson (1992:1098) the concept 'Zion' has at least four meanings in its biblical usage. First of all, the word seems to have been the name of a citadel in Jerusalem during the period just before David captured the city from the Jebusites. It was he who renamed the 'stronghold of Zion' as the 'city of David'.² Secondly, his son and successor Solomon expanded Jerusalem in a north-westerly direction. He furthermore built his great temple for Yahweh – the God of Israel – upon a hill that came to be known as 'Mount Zion'. The biblical Zion traditions are indeed firmly associated with the temple theology (cf. also McCarter 1995:1772). From the second meaning derives the third: by a process of metonymy זִיּוֹן came to refer to Jerusalem itself, that is to say to the entire temple city. A sharp distinction between the traditions of Zion and those of Jerusalem thus cannot be sustained. Fourthly, by a further use of me-

¹ Cf. Körting (2006:7) for a list of these references.

² According to Floß (1993:413) 'im Kontext des Berichts darüber [i.e., die Übersiedlung Davids – A.G.], in 2 Sam 5,6-9, taucht nämlich erstmals in 7b.9b diese Ortsbezeichnung auf'. Cf. also Fohrer 1979:295 and Stolz 1997:1072.

tonymy Zion, like Jerusalem, came to refer to the people of Israel and not only the temple mountain and city alone.

The larger significance of the biblical term ‘Zion’ does not lie, first of all, in the domain of topography, but primarily in its theology. In the historical development of the article of faith that Zion-Jerusalem is the true site of the presence of Yahweh, the ark, which was brought from Shiloh, played a very important role (cf. Fohrer 1979:309). After David had made it his political capital, he, by bringing the ark into it, made it the religious capital of Israel. With the symbol of the ark, the presence of Yahweh Zebaoth, the Cherubim-Enthroned, was brought to Jerusalem. The Zion-tradition is thus inextricably linked to the ark.³ The divine designation ‘Yahweh Zebaoth’ also made its entry into the Jerusalemitic temple together with the ark (2 Sam 6:12-19).

Zion is explicitly mentioned in Psalm 69:36a. This article will endeavour to outline its significance for the interpretation of the text of Psalm 69. It therefore will focus primarily on the Zion-tradition; and briefly also on the title ‘Yahweh Zebaoth’ as well – given the fact that it is also linked to the Zion tradition.

B PSALM 69:36

Psalm 69:36ab reads as follows: ‘For God will save Zion (a), and he will rebuild the cities of Judah (b); and they will live there and possess her’ (own translation). The object of the divine salvation which is proclaimed in colon 36a appears at the end of the colon, namely צִוֵּן ('Zion'). Another act of God is foreseen in colon 36b. The object of this divine act also appears at the end of the colon and is indicated as שָׁרוֹת יְהוָה ('the cities of Judah').

In these two cola the main reason for the exhortation for cosmic praise (35ab) is indicated, namely the fact that God will save Zion and rebuild the cities of Judah (36ab). Normally this newly promised salvation coming from God gets associated with the anticipated restoration after the Babylonian exile (Broyles 1997:411). This notion is, to some degree, illustrated through some of the younger Proto-Isaian texts, but especially by means of Deutero- and Trito-Isaian texts.⁴ These texts are all of special importance with regard to the divine action of salvation directed towards Zion and Jerusalem. These texts connect

³ In this regard Jeremias (1987:182) infers as follows: ‘Ohne die Überführung der Lade nach Jerusalem hätte die gesamte Geschichte und Glaubensgeschichte Israels seit der Königszeit völlig anders verlaufen und an Jerusalem mehr oder weniger vorbeigehen müssen. Bei der Übertragung des Königstitels auf Jahwe, der Bildung der Davidtradition und in besonderem Maße bei der Entstehung der Ziontradition war die Lade entscheidend beteiligt’. Cf. also Otto 1989:1015.

⁴ Cf. Isa 12:2f; 25:9; 33:2, 6, 22; 35:4; 45:17; 46:13; 49:25; 51:5, 6, 8; 52:7, 10; 56:1; 60:18; 61:10; 62:1, 11.

the divine action, which is in every instance expressed by means of the stem **עִשֵּׂי**, partly with the return from the exile. In other cases they reclaim salvation which had been promised to the people of Yahweh who have already returned from the exile, but which has not come into fulfilment yet. Finally, they put to words the perfection of history and creation in the presence of God.⁵

This psalm follows the pattern of an individual lament,⁶ but appears to have expansions that reflect corporate concerns and that shows affinity to the early, as well as late post-exilic period. The scope of the praise in this text goes far beyond the mere rescue of a lone individual from death. Joy, placed against the background of this ideological context, is used by Deutero-Isaiah in his proclamation of Israel's deliverance from the exile. This could be an indication that the group of people responsible for this specific part in Psalm 69 were very much inspired by the book of Isaiah.

The text of Psalm 69 functioned as an individual lament in the pre-exilic period; in the crisis of the exilic/early post-exilic period, as well as later in the post-exilic period, it became, however, a vehicle for a divided Jewish community to express their laments as the personified 'I' (Hauge 1995:64). This interpretation corresponds with the recent psalm scholarship which has shown that the 'I' of the laments should not be explained in biographical or functional programmatic (cult or court) terms, but should be viewed rather as a meta-individual and paradigmatic figure. On the literary level of the text the experience of the supplicant in his fellowship with God and the people as a theological utterance, transcends the subject. The text points to a *milieu* where it was appreciated and used (Hauge 1995:65). Whatever the original form of this use, later users have somehow participated in the story of the original experience. That this story has been presented in 'I'-form and re-experienced as the story of 'I' meant that the participants were invited to identify with these experiences. This implies that the 'I' of the single text, presented as a concrete embodiment of the religious ideal, functioned as a paradigmatic figure, the participants were somehow reliving the experience and had related the experiences of the 'I' to their own reality. Consequently, a new perspective was created in this text at the end: the sufferer of the basic text now came to reflect the suffering community in the different epochs in the post-exilic Judah.

⁵ According to Seldmeier (1996:118) 'daß dieser mit **עִשֵּׂי** ausgesagte Sachverhalt nicht Menschenwerk ist und auch nie sein kann, sondern sich einzig dem Wirken Jahwes verdankt, zeigen die Belege Jes 26,18; 30,15. Das Volk ist aus sich nicht in der Lage, dem Land **ישׁוּעָה** zu bringen. Nicht eigene Omnipotenz, die sich im Vertrauen auf Reiterei und Kriegswagen ausdrückt, bringt Rettung, sondern gerade der Verzicht darauf. Denn dieser läßt den Raum offen für die notwendige Hinkehr zu Jahwe als Quelle der **ישׁוּעָה** (Jes 30,15)'.

⁶ Körting 2006:53.

Moreover, it is significant that this *Fortschreibung*, which took place at the end of this text, discovered the hope for Zion and the cities of Judah in God's faithfulness expressed to the suffering individual (Körting 2006:55). In the text of Psalm 69, the hope certainly exists that Zion will also experience the abundance of God's steadfast love, as well as the faithfulness of his salvation (14b). This hope that God's salvation will put the supplicant on high (30b) is now also extended to Zion who will be protected against the threats of the chaos-waters, that is to say, the powers of chaos (2b, 3a-3d, 15a-16c) which are a constant threat to Zion.

Given the fact that the designation 'Yahweh Zebaoth' is closely linked to the Zion-tradition and occurs in the text of Psalm 69 as well, it is important to focus briefly on this divine epithet before paying attention to the Zion tradition.

C YAHWEH ZEBAOTH AND PSALM 69

The noun 'Zebaoth' is the most frequently used divine epithet in the Old Testament and occurs a total of 285 times. Although it occurs in different combinations:⁷ the compound *יְהוָה צְבָאֹת* ('Yahweh Zebaoth') is in the majority, namely 240 times (Van der Woude 1997:1040). The majority of the occurrences of the divine designation *יְהוָה צְבָאֹת* occurs in the prophetic literature, with a few occurrences in some of the historical books and a total of 13 occurrences in the Psalter.⁸ Conspicuous is, however, the fact that it does not occur at all in the books Genesis-Ruth, Ezekiel and Trito-Isaiah, as well as in parts of the late post-exilic literature (for example 2 Chr, Ezra, Neh and Dan) (Zobel 1989:878).

The divine designation *יְהוָה צְבָאֹת* ('Yahweh Zebaoth') at first had a prominent function as a cultic name of Yahweh at the Israelite sanctuary in Shiloh, and later it also attained a prominent function in Jerusalem (Mettinger 1995:1730; cf. also Hieke 1997:162). It furthermore became a significant divine epithet in the Zion-Zebaoth theology of the Jerusalemitic temple. This is for example confirmed by the frequent usage of this divine designation in Proto-Isaiah, the prophet who was strongly influenced by Zion theology.⁹ This divine designation came to Jerusalem together with the ark and both made their entry into the Jerusalemitic temple (2 Sam 6:12-19). According to Zobel (1989:885) 'mit der Überführung der Lade nach Jerusalem zogen auch die mit ihr verbundenen Traditionen im allgemeinen und die an ihr haftenden Got-

⁷ See Zobel (1989:878) for these combinations, as well as the number of times they occur in the OT literature.

⁸ Cf. Pss 24:10; 46:8, 12; 48:9; 59:6; 69:7; 80:5, 20; 84:2, 4, 9, 13; 89:9.

⁹ Van der Woude 1997:1045. In this regard compare for example Isaiah 6 where Yahweh is twice called 'Zebaoth' (Isa 6:3, 5); see Hartenstein (1997) for an extensive outline of the theology of Isaiah 6.

tesprädikationen im besonderen in die Davidstadt ein und verschmolzen mit JHWH und seinen Tempel in der neuen Hauptstadt'.¹⁰ As time went by it became disconnected from the ark and functioned separately (cf. Janowski 1993:252). It is, however, not at all possible to reconstruct the exact way in which this whole process took place. But the result of this process is quite obvious, namely Yahweh ZebaOTH had been the cultic name of the God of Israel in Shiloh, and eventually it also became the title of the God of Israel in Jerusalem (Zobel 1989:885). This epithet thus had cultic origins and it remained cultic. Noteworthy is furthermore the fact that in Psalm 69:7ab the epithet 'God of Israel' (7b) occurs parallel with יהוה צבאות (7a), just as in Psalms 46:8, 12 and 84:9 the epithet 'God of Jacob' occurs parallel with יהוה צבאות ('Yahweh ZeBAOTH'). Because both these names could be connected to North-Israelite traditions it strengthens the presumption that יהוה צבאות had its origins in Shiloh (Zobel 1989:886; cf. also Hieke 1997:352).

The divine title יהוה צבאות was also closely connected with the divine epithet '*he who is enthroned on the cherubim*', which had already applied to Yahweh at Shiloh (cf. 1 Sam 4:4, 2 Sam 6:2 and Isa 37:16) (Jeremias 1987:171-2; Mettinger 1995:364 and Ollenburger 1987:37).¹¹ The cherubim have the function to express the royal majesty of Yahweh ZebaOTH, his holiness and his presence. The title יהוה צבאות thus got its royal denotation from the concept and idea of the cherubim throne. According to Hieke (1997:162) a considerable number of the occurrences of יהוה צבאות occur in a royal context – for example those occurrences in 1 and 2 Samuel. But, as has already been said, the majority of the occurrences of יהוה צבאות is in the prophetic literature. In

¹⁰ Cf. also Jeremias 1987:168-169.

¹¹ Janowski (1993:256, 276), however, holds a different opinion: 'Als Name des silonischen Ladegottes ist das Prädikat »Kerubenthroner« jedenfalls nicht plausibel zu machen ... Lade und Keruben waren, weil unterschiedlichen Traditionsbereichen angehörend, überlieferungsgeschichtlich zunächst getrennt und kamen erst im salomonischen Tempel auf dem Weg eines »Kompromisses« in Verbindung miteinander'. Contrary to this Ollenburger (1987:37) postulates as follows: 'It has sometimes been argued that these epithets did not originate in Shiloh, the supposition being that they were retrojections from the Jerusalem temple in an earlier period. Consequently, it has been denied that these epithets entail the conception of Yahweh as king prior to the conquest of Jerusalem. However, it must be noted that the epithet "*he who is enthroned on the cherubim*" is attached to the Ark only in the narratives associated with Shiloh and that it is never used in connection with the Ark in the Solomonic temple. In the temple the cherubim were independent of the Ark and were placed in the *debir*, the inner sanctum, with Yahweh apparently conceived as enthroned upon them (1 Kgs 6.23-28; 8.6-8). Furthermore, the epithet יהוה צבאות is associated with Shiloh apart from the Ark (1 Sam 1.3,11), suggesting to some that Yahweh was acknowledged as יהוה צבאות in Shiloh even before he was associated with the Ark and the epithet "*he who is enthroned on the cherubim*" attached to it'.

both these contexts a strong connection exists between יְהוָה צְבָאֹת and Zion, respectively the Jerusalemitic temple (Mettinger 1995:1730-1). This strengthens the presumption that יְהוָה צְבָאֹת was a distinctive cultic name of God at the Solomonic, pre-exilic temple in Jerusalem (Kraus 1979:17). Based on the connection of the epithet '*he who is enthroned on the cherubim*' with the depiction of the throne in the pre-exilic temple, Mettinger (1995:1735) infers that the divine designation יְהוָה צְבָאֹת definitely has its *Sitz im Leben* in the milieu of the Solomonic temple (cf., e.g., Isa 6:3, 5). A central idea in this regard is the idea of Yahweh as the king. It can thus be presumed that the divine title יְהוָה צְבָאֹת refers to the heavenly king who sits on the cherubim throne. يְהוָה צְבָאֹת was thus conceived as enthroned in invisible majesty on the cherubim throne in the Solomonic temple. It is thus a predicate of royal dominion. According to Van der Woude (1997:1045) the examples of this divine designation in the books of Samuel and in the book of the Psalms confirm that as soon as this designation was used for the God of Israel it became the title of a god whose principal attribute was royal majesty.¹² In the pre-exilic time this idea was furthermore strengthened by the conception of the human king, who as the viceroy of the divine king, sits enthroned on 'Mount' Zion. This king subdued rebellious nations, just as his divine suzerain and adoptive father subjugates the kingdoms that assault his sacred mountain (cf. Pss 2 and 110).

This explication has made it quite clear what the theological content, as well as context, of this divine title implicate. When this supplicant of Psalm 69 thus addresses his God and Lord (4d, 7a) as يְהוָה צְבָאֹת, it indicates that for him Yahweh is the heavenly king to whom he can turn for salvation and deliverance in the face of his adversaries (5a-f). In the light of this explication it could be assumed that the supplicant of this psalm surely must have stood in close connection to the temple as well as the traditions surrounding the temple. This preliminary assumption may prove to be justifiable in the light of the statement made in 10a where the supplicant states that he is consumed by his zeal for God's house. The references in the text to fasting (11a) as well as acts of repentance (12a) also witness in favour of this assumption.

D THE ZION TRADITION

In the two terms 'Zion' and 'Jerusalem' important concepts in the religion of Israel, of which the roots can even be traced as far back as the pre-Israelite pe-

¹² According to Kaiser (1998:111) 'es ist nicht zufällig, daß das Trishagion in Jes 6,3 dem König Jahwe Zebaoth gilt; denn mit diesem Titel und Beinamen wird die Herrschaft über Himmel und Erde für Jahwe in Anspruch genommen'. Cf. also Hartenstein (1997:108): 'Der Anwesenheit JWHs auf seinem Thron/im Tempel entspricht die »Ausstrahlung« der heilvollen Wirkungen des göttlichen Königtums in alle Welt'.

riod, are combined.¹³ According to Steck (1977:193)¹⁴ the biblical Zion-tradition is to be subsumed under the comprehensive conceptual design of the Jerusalem cult tradition. In what manner is Zion then characterised in the conceptual world of the Jerusalem cult? In the first instance, when it is described as the ‘mountain of God’ and the ‘city of God’, Jerusalem is the place where the Most High God resides and is enthroned. The central theological notion thus evoked by the symbol ‘Zion’ is the kingship of Yahweh: it is the dwelling of king Yahweh where he may be reached (Ollenburger 1987:44-6 and Stolz 1997:1073). The ‘Zion’ symbolism is furthermore also a theology of creation; one should understand the creation of Zion and of the world as one (Robinson 1974:440). This also implies that Yahweh is creator and defender of the world order. From ‘Zion’ he keeps cosmic chaos in control. On this mountain the cosmic onslaught of the nations comes to naught.¹⁵ Above all, Zion is Yahweh’s ‘place of appearing’, as well as the ‘sun of righteousness’. The God who is enthroned on Zion provides the people who live in his city with protection and salvation (Levenson 1992:1099). Zion thus symbolises refuge: Yahweh’s role as king includes the provision of security for his people. As such, Zion serves to symbolise security and refuge, particularly for the poor (cf. Ps 69:33a).¹⁶ Inherent in the ‘Zion’-symbolism is a constant, pervasive concern for justice, a consistent and radical criticism of attempts to pervert justice. This justice is particularly grounded in both the action and character of the God of Israel – Yahweh – who resides on Zion.

Yahweh’s blessing goes forth from Zion into the land. In mythic terms, Zion could be described as a majestic mountain of unique stature and a perpetual source of life and prosperity.¹⁷ From Mount Zion flows the cosmic river of life; it is the source of protection, purification, healing and nourishment for the people of Yahweh, as well as the source of fertility for the earth.¹⁸ Parallel to

¹³ Jeremias (1987:169) postulates as follows: ‘Jerusalem wurde zu *dem* Tor in Israel schlechthin, durch das genuin kanaanäische und andere fremdreligiöse Einflüsse auf den offiziellen Jahwегlauben eindrangen’. See also Keel 1993:499-502.

¹⁴ Cf. also Albertz 1994:132-8 and Kraus 1979:101.

¹⁵ Cf. Ollenburger 1987:54-58; Sperling 1991:329-33 and Steck 1989:262.

¹⁶ In this regard see Kraus (1972:83): ‘Man kann also sagen, daß die ‘Armen’ auf dem Zion unvergleichliche Privilegien genießen, die allein ihren Grund haben, daß Jahwe ein Gott der Hilflosen ist’. In an article named ‘Personifications and prophetic voices of Zion in Isaiah and beyond’ Berges (2001:66) infers as follows: ‘Zion constantly grows in confidence until her prophetic appearance in Isa. 61 in favour of the poor and oppressed’. See also Berges 1998:443-55 for a more detailed explication of Isaiah 61.

¹⁷ Compare, for example, Isa 2:2; Ezek 40:2; Mic 4:1 and Zech 14:10.

¹⁸ Cf. Ezek 47:1-12; Joel 4:18 (Eng. 3:18) and Zech 14:8. Cf. in this regard Ego (2001:363-77); Otto (1989:1022); Robinson (1974:117) and Sperling (1991:191-211, 322-325). Ego (2001:384) summarises these different concepts as follows: ‘Weil Gott in der Mitte der Gottesstadt anwesend ist, sind die Wasser der Gottesstadt positiv

the motive of the cosmic river is the motif of Zion as the garden of God. In this regard Berges (2002a:13)¹⁹ infers as follows: ‘Der Gottesgarten (Jes 51:3),²⁰ in dem paradiesischer Friede zwischen allen Lebewesen herrscht, befindet sich nirgendwo anders als auf dem Berg JHWHS, d.h. auf dem Zion. Analog zu den *paradeisoi*-Vorstellungen aus assyrischer, persischer und hellenistischer Zeit handelt es sich keineswegs um eine fiktiv-utopische Idee, sondern um ein Real-symbol heilvoller königlicher Ordnung, die alles Chaotische und Zerstörerische abzuwehren versteht’.²¹ Zion is thus claimed to be the centre, the ‘navel of the world’ (Ezek 38:12); at the same time its existence safeguards the existence of the whole world.

After the fall of Judah and the destruction of the temple in 587/6, Zion became a poignant symbol of national disgrace, of the disparity existing between the great royal city of promise and memory and the pitiful ruins of the present era.²² The widowed lady of Lamentations ('fair Zion') personifies the chosen nation in the agony of its rejection by God (cf. Lam 1:1-11).²³ However, after the exile the direction is reversed (cf. Levenson 1992:1102). Trito-Isaiah visualises the remarriage of the spurned nation, the return of her lost children.

konnotiert und symbolisieren die Wasser des Lebens. Konstitutiv für eine Erklärung dieser Vorstellung ist somit eine theozentrische Deutung des Kosmos, die den Raum und seine Elemente von der Vorstellung der Gegenwart Gottes auf dem Zion her akzentuiert. Im Bild der Wasser des Gottesstromes artikuliert sich so die Erfahrung der Erhaltung des Kosmos durch JHWH, die auf dem Wissen um eine stetige Gefährdung aller Existenz basiert. Das Motiv des Gottesstromes wird so zum verdichteten Symbol der Erfahrung der lebensbegründenden und lebenserhaltenden Macht JHWHS, von der sich alle menschliche Existenz gehalten weiß’.

¹⁹ Cf. also Berges 2002b:76ff.

²⁰ Isaiah 51:3 reads as follows: ‘For the Lord will comfort Zion; he will comfort all her waste places, and will make her wilderness like Eden, her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness will be found in her, thanksgiving and the voice of song’ (NRSV). Cf. also Ezek 47:12: ‘On the banks, on both sides of the river, there will grow all kinds of trees for food. Their leaves will not wither nor their fruit fail, but they will bear fresh fruit every month, because the water for them flows from the sanctuary. Their fruit will be for food, and their leaves for healing’ (NRSV).

²¹ Cf. also Zenger 1997:146.

²² Cf. Albertz (1978:179): ‘Das Land, der freie von Jahwe seinem Volk geschenkte Lebensraum, war endgültig verloren, das Königtum, dem er ewigen Bestand zugesagt hatte, vernichtet, der Tempel, der in der Jerusalemer Theologie zum Garanten der Gegenwart Jahwes geworden war, war zerstört’.

²³ In this regard Berges (2002c:94) infers as follows: ‘Gegenüber dem zweiten Gedicht fällt die stärkere Personifikation Zions auf, die anders als in 2,20ff. bereits von Beginn an den Ton angibt. Zion wird als trauernde Witwe vorgestellt und übernimmt nach kurzen Zwischenrufen in V 9c.11c im zweiten Teil (V 12-16.18-22) die Hauptrolle. Dabei tritt sie als Repräsentantin des Volkes auf ... was auf eine Selbstbesinnung nach dem Schock von Zerstörung und Exilierung hindeutet’. Compare Berges 2002c:94-95 with regard to the dating of Lamentations 1.

This inevitably leads to a pilgrimage of foreign nations with their kings; they who were once her tormentors now come to pay homage to her (Isa 60-62). This all results from the new victory of her husband and deliverer, as he comes in glory again, to be enthroned as of old (Isa 60-62).²⁴ In this regard Berges (2001:74) infers as follows: ‘that is what the transformation of Zion by God through the intermediation of the Ebed and the Servants is all about: to become the place where justice and praise sprouts before the eyes of the world’ (cf. also Jenner 2002:130). In one of the last references to Zion in the book of Isaiah she is again addressed as ‘daughter Zion’ (Isa 62:11); she is no longer the ‘captive’ woman (Isa 52:2), but instead, she is populated by a holy people and therefore full of justice and praise. In the final section in the book of Isaiah (Isa 66:7-14) where we encounter a reference to Zion (66:8), she is portrayed as the mother of the servants (cf. in this regard Berges 1998:524ff). The last reference to the ‘servants’ also occurs in this section (66:14).

It is significant to mention the fact that the term יְהוָה occurs 93 times in the prophetic literature, with 47 of these occurrences in the book of Isaiah. This fact, as such, is already an indication of the interdependence of the book of Isaiah and the Psalter on one another.²⁵ It is no coincidence that specifically the book of Psalms and the book of Isaiah contain a clearly defined Zion theology: through Zion the nations will be brought into contact with the God of Israel.²⁶ An integral part of this element of the Zion theology is the image of the pilgrimage of Israel and the nations towards Zion. In this regard Zenger (2000b:172) infers as follows: ‘These psalms [Pss 93-100 – AG] are about nothing less than that the nations and their families (cf. Gen 12:3) are summoned to come to Zion in order to accept in that way YHWH’s universal rule over the world and YHWH’s justice’. The Torah for the nations is to be given on Mount Zion, with the Torah as the ‘life giving force at whose water the just send forth their roots and yield fruit in its season’ (Berges 2001:59).²⁷ The expression ‘out of Zion flows forth Torah’ which we encounter in Isaiah 2:3, should be read in association with the mission of the Ebed to bring forth justice to the nations (Isa 42:1). Zion and the Ebed thus fulfil an equal task both in

²⁴ In this regard Schmid (2002:189) infers as follows: ‘Die Schuld Jerusalems ist – so konstatiert bereits 40:2 (vgl. 50:1) – getilgt, Jerusalem als Frau tritt nun als Königin, als Gemahlin ihres königlichen Gottes JHWH auf ...’.

²⁵ See Berges 2000a:2; Broyles 1999:23; Körting 2006:8 and Levenson 1992:1099.

²⁶ In this regard Zenger (2000a:124) infers: ‘Zion/Jerusalem is YHWH’s “beloved” and “mother of the nations”’. Berges (2000d:180, 190) postulates as follows: ‘So ist es kein Zufall, daß gerade Psalter und Jesajabuch eine stark ausgeprägte Zionstheologie bieten, die die Völkerwelt mit dem Gott Israels in Kontakt bringen ... Das Buch Jesaja erweist sich als das prophetische Zions-Buch für Israel und die Völker, wobei seine Zions-Zentrierung der *cantus firmus* bei aller Stimmenvielfalt ist’. See also Berges 2001:55.

²⁷ Cf. also Berges 2002b:82-83.

their suffering, as well as in their commission to the nations. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the Ebed brings forth justice to the peoples whereas Zion receives the nations who are coming to her.

Finally, it is important to point out that the constellation of the three motives of the ‘poor’ (69:33a, 34a), ‘Zion’ (69:36) and the ‘servants’ (69:37a) occurs only in the book of Isaiah and in the Psalter (Berges 2000c:153).²⁸ The elements of this constellation are inextricably linked to one another: the return from the exile, as well as the reconstruction of Zion and Jerusalem, is of special importance to this group which designated themselves as the ‘servants’.

E A ZION-THEOLOGICAL END

It is important to once again take cognizance that in these two cola (36a and 36b) the destiny of the cities of Judah is positively linked to the destiny of Zion. This is the only instance in the whole of the Psalter where the terms ‘Zion/Jerusalem’ and ‘the cities of Judah’ occur together in two parallel cola. The only other book where these terms are used together in a positive and poetic context is in Deutero-Isaiah; in 40:9²⁹ and in 44:26.³⁰ These terms do, however, occur together in the same verse elsewhere in the OT, but the majority of these examples are in prose and, furthermore, the main difference lies in the fact that they are in contexts of destruction or warnings of destruction.³¹ As has already been said, the only examples where the terms ‘Zion/Jerusalem’ and ‘the cities of Judah’ are used together in positive poetic contexts are Psalm 69:36ab; Isaiah 40:9 and 44:26. This suggests that a direct literary relationship exists between them (cf. Broyles 1997:400-401). In both Psalm 69:35ab-36ab and Isaiah 40:9 these terms are used in an exhortation to praise. In Psalm 69:36ab and Isaiah 44:26 these two terms are used in parallel, poetic lines. A second

²⁸ See also Kraus 1972:83.

²⁹ This text reads as follows: ‘Get you up to a high mountain, O Zion, herald of good tidings; lift up your voice with strength, O Jerusalem, herald of good tidings, lift it up, do not fear; say to the cities of Judah, “Here is your God!”’ (NRSV). Cf. Broyles 1997:400.

³⁰ This text reads as follows: ‘who confirms the word of his servant, and fulfills the prediction of his messengers; who says of Jerusalem, “It shall be inhabited”, and of the cities of Judah “They shall be rebuilt, and I will raise up their ruins”’ (NRSV). It is furthermore important to name two examples which, though, do not fully fit in the named criteria. In spite of the fact that they are not explicitly mentioned in Isaiah 54:1, 3, these verses surely refer to (lady) Zion whose descendants will settle the desolate cities (of Judah). Isaiah 61:3 mentions Zion and 61:4 alludes to the cities of Judah.

³¹ In this regard, compare 2 Kgs 23:5; Jer 1:15; 4:16; 7:17, 34; 9:10; 11:6, 12; 25:18; 34:7; 36:9; 44:2, 6, 17, 21; Zech 1:12 and Lam 5:11. These phrases also appear in Jer 17:26; 32:44 and 33:13 – these are all prose passages with the ‘places around Jerusalem’ as the subject, and not ‘Jerusalem’ itself. Jer 33:10 refers to the ‘streets of Jerusalem’. Neh 11:3; 2 Chr 17:13; 23:2 all appear in historical prose narratives.

characteristic shared by these two texts is that these parallel sites also match the verb used in connection with the ‘cities of Judah’, namely בָּנָה (‘to build’). In Psalm 69:35ab-36ab and Isaiah 40:9 these terms are used in an exhortation to praise; Isaiah 40:9 also occurs in a context referring to God’s kingship.

Besides this direct literary relationship existing between these texts, Psalm 69:35a-36b also share some other attributes with the primary context of Isaiah 44:26. This verse is part of the Cyrus oracle, which occurs in Isaiah 44:24-45:7 (cf. Berges 1998:352 and Broyles 1997:399). These commonalities even further strengthen the assumption that this section of Psalm 69 has been influenced by an Isaianic milieu. In Isaiah 44:24³² Israel is addressed and they are reminded, among other things, of the fact that Yahweh is the one who has made all things; he is the creator of heavens and earth. This verse thus touches the theme of creation, which also occurs in Psalm 69:35ab. It has already been indicated that in Isaiah 44:26 it is said of Jerusalem/Zion that it shall be inhabited again, and the cities of Judah will be rebuilt again; likewise in Psalm 69:36ab.

There is more than enough literary evidence for the fact that in the ancient Israelite culture there was a connection between creation thought and temple ideology.³³ According to Levenson (1986:53) ‘the Temple is the world as it ought to be. It is a world in which God’s reign is unthreatened, and his justice is manifest, in which life is peaceful, and every Israelite is without blemish. It is no wonder that prophets could call the mountain of God “Eden” or compare Zion glorified to that paradisaical garden (Ezek. 28:13-14; Isa. 51:3). In this theology, the Temple was a piece of primal perfection available within the broken world of ordinary experience – heaven on earth’. We have seen that in this Isaianic section (44:24-28) the theme of creation, as well as the theme of the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple occur.

In these cola in Psalm 69 (35a-36b) creation ideology, as well as the deliverance of Zion (which is inextricably linked to the temple) was combined as part of the end of this text. In this Zion-theological end we thus hear the echo of Deutero-Isaianic texts. These phrases are used as grounds for anticipatory hymnic praise which is attached to an individual lament. The hope for

³² This text reads as follows: ‘Thus says the Lord, your Redeemer, who formed you in the womb: I am the Lord, who made all things, who alone stretched out the heavens, who by myself spread out the earth’ (NRSV).

³³ According to Janowski (2002:58) the link was laid between temple theology and creation theology in the exilic/post-exilic time; Deutero-Isaiah was the impetus behind this process. In this regard he infers as follows: ‘In exilisch-nachexilischer Zeit wird die ältere Tempeltheologie dann transformiert und um eine neue Dimension erweitert. Die mit Deuterojesaja einsetzende Schöpfungstheologie war offenbar der Katalysator dieser Reflexionsarbeit, die explizit machte, was bereits implizit vorhanden war’.

Zion/Jerusalem (thus also including the temple) is discovered in God's faithfulness expressed to the individual sufferer.

F CONCLUSION

The text of Psalm 69 in all probability functioned as an individual lament in the pre-exilic period. In the crisis of the exilic/early post-exilic period, as well as later in the post-exilic period, it became, however, a vehicle for a divided Jewish community to express their laments as the personified 'I'. Consequently, a new perspective has been created in this text: the sufferer of the basic text has now come to reflect the suffering community in the different epochs in the post-exilic Judah. Moreover, it is significant that the end of this text discovered the hope for Zion and the cities of Judah in God's faithfulness expressed to the suffering individual.

These newly raised hopes seem to have found their literary reflection in the text of Psalm 69 as well, as was indeed the case in the book of Isaiah. Apparently the rebuilding of the temple had not fulfilled the hope of salvation yet.³⁴ If this promised salvation comes into fulfilment, the whole of the cosmos will also praise Yahweh. When this cosmic praise will take place, it, according to Zion-theological thought, will reiterate Yahweh's kingship which has its foundations in Zion. Additionally, not only Zion will benefit from this act of salvation, but even the surrounding cities will be the recipients of this promised deliverance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albertz, R. 1978. *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion. Religionsinterner Pluralismus in Israel und Babylon*. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag. (CTM 9.)
- _____. 1994. *A history of Israelite religion in the Old Testament period. Vol. I: From the beginnings to the end of the monarchy. Vol. II: From the exile to the Maccabees*. London: SCM Press. (OTL.)
- Berges, U. 1998. *Das Buch Jesaja – Komposition und Endgestalt*. Freiburg i.B.: Herder. (HBS 16.)
- _____. 2000a. 'Ich bin der Mann, der Elend sah' (Klgl 3,1). Zionstheologie als Weg aus der Krise. *BZ* 44/1, 1-20.
- _____. 2000b. Who were the servants? A comparative inquiry in the book of Isaiah and the Psalms, in: De Moor, J. C. and Van Rooy, H. F. (eds), *Past, pre-*

³⁴ In this regard Hossfeld & Zenger (2000:279) infers as follows: 'Wie unser Psalm ebenfalls herausstellt, ist die wirkliche »Rettung« des Zions freilich noch nicht mit dem bloßen Faktum des Tempelneubaus vollendet. Gleichwohl hält der Psalm an der ihn insgesamt prägenden Hoffnung fest, daß JHWH den Zion zu einem Ort des Lebens und die Städte um den Zion herum zu einer Region des Friedens wiederaufbauen wird ...'.

- sent, future. The Deuteronomistic history and the prophets*, 1-18. Leiden: Brill. (OTS XLIV.)
- _____ 2000c. Die Knechte im Psalter. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Kompositionsgeschichte. *Biblica* 81/2, 153-178.
- _____ 2000d. Die Zionstheologie des Buches Jesaja. *Estudios Biblicos* 58, 167-198.
- _____ 2001. Personifications and prophetic voices of Zion in Isaiah and beyond, in: De Moor, J. C. (ed.), *The elusive prophet. The prophet as a historical person, literary character and anonymous artist*, 54-82. Leiden: Brill. (OTS XLV.)
- _____ 2002a. Der neue Himmel und die neue Erde im Jesajabuch: eine Auslegung zu Jesaja 65:17 und 66:22, in: Postma, F. et al (eds), *The new things. Eschatology in Old Testament prophecy. FS. H. Leene*, 9-15. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing. (ACEBTS 3.)
- _____ 2002b. Gottesgarten und Tempel: Die neue Schöpfung im Jesajabuch, in: Keel, O. & Zenger, E. (Hrsg.), *Gottesstadt und Gottesgarten. Zu Geschichte und Theologie des Jerusalemer Tempels*, 69-98. Freiburg i.B.: Herder. (QD 191.)
- _____ 2002c. *Klagelieder*. Freiburg i.B.: Herder. (HThKAT.)
- Broyles, C. C. 1997. The citations of Yahweh in Isaiah 44:26-28, in: Broyles, C. C. & Evans, C. A. (eds), *Writing and reading the scroll of Isaiah. Studies of an interpretive tradition: Volume one*, 399-421. Brill: Leiden. (VT.S 70/1.)
- _____ 1999. *Psalms*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson. (New International Biblical Commentary 11.)
- Ego, B. 2001. Die Wasser der Gottesstadt. Zu einem Motiv der Zionstradition und seinen kosmologischen Implikationen, in: Janowski, B. & Ego, B. (Hrsg.), *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, 361-389. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). (FAT 32.)
- Floß, J. P. 1993. Jerusalem und die Davidstadt – Entwicklung einer Ortsbezeichnung, in: Hahn, F. et al (Hrsg.), *Zion – Ort der Begegnung. FS. L. Klein*, 413-437. Bodenheim: Athenäum. (BBB 90.)
- Fohrer, G. 1979. s.v. ‘Zion, Jerusalem A’. *TDNT* VII, 293-319.
- Hartenstein, F. 1997. *Die Unzugänglichkeit Gottes im Heiligtum. Jesaja 6 und der Wohnort JHWHS in der Jerusalemer Kulttradition*. Neukirchen Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag. (WMANT 75.)
- Hauge, M. R. 1995. *Between Sheol and temple. Motif structure and function in the I-Psalms*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. (JSOTS 178.)
- Hieke, T. 1997. *Psalm 80 – Praxis eines Methodenprogramms. Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung mit einem gattungskritischen Beitrag zum Klagelied des Volkes*. St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag. (ATS 55.)
- Hossfeld, F.-L. & Zenger, E. 2000. *Psalmen 51-100*. Freiburg i.B.: Herder. (HThKAT.)
- Janowski, B. 1993. Keruben und Zion. Thesen zur Entstehung der Zionstradition, in: Janowski, B. *Gottes Gegenwart in Israel. Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 247-280. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- _____ 2002. Die heilige Wohnung des Höchsten. Kosmologische Implikationen der Jerusalemer Tempeltheologie, in: Keel, O. & Zenger, E. (Hrsg.), *Gottesstadt und Gottesgarten. Zu Geschichte und Theologie des Jerusalemer Tempels*, 24-68. Freiburg i.B.: Herder. (QD 191.)

- Jenner, K. D. 2002. The worship of YHWH on the holy mountain in light of the idea of the return. A short note on the confrontation of theology of the Old Testament and comparative and applied science of religion, in: Postma, F. et al (eds), *The new things. Eschatology in Old Testament prophecy. FS. H. Leene*, 89-105. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing. (ACEBTS 3.)
- Jeremias, J. 1987. *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen. Israels Begegnung mit dem kanaanäischen Mythos in den Jahwe-König-Psalmen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. (FRLANT 141.)
- Kaiser, O. 1998. *Der Gott des Alten Testaments: Wesen und Wirkung. Theologie des Alten Testaments, Teil 2. Jahwe, der Gott Israels, Schöpfer der Welt und des Menschen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. (UTB 2024.)
- Keel, O. 1993. Fern von Jerusalem. Frühe Jerusalemer Kulttraditionen und ihre Träger und Trägerinnen, in: Hahn, F. et al (Hrsg.), *Zion – Ort der Begegnung. FS. L. Klein*, 439-502. Bodenheim: Athenäum. (BBB 90.)
- Körting, C. 2006. *Zion in den Psalmen*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. (FAT 48.)
- Kraus, H.-J.⁴ 1972. *Psalmen 1-63*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag. (BKAT XV/1.)
- _____. 1979. *Theologie der Psalmen*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag. (BKAT XV/3.)
- Levenson, J. D. 1986. The Jerusalem temple in devotional and visionary experience, in: Green, A. (ed.), *Jewish spirituality. From the Bible through the Middle Ages*, 32-61. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- _____. 1992. s.v. ‘Zion traditions’. *AncB.D* 6, 1098-1102.
- McCarter, P. K. 1995. s.v. ‘Zion (זִוָּן)’. *DDD*, 1771-4.
- Mettinger, T. N. D. 1995. s.v. ‘Cherubim’. *DDD*, 362-367.
- Ollenburger, B. C. 1987. *Zion the city of the great king. A theological symbol of the Jerusalem cult*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. (JSOTS 41.)
- Otto, E. 1989. s.v. ‘זִוָּן’. *TWAT* VI, 994-1028.
- Robinson, A. 1974. *The Zion concept in the Psalms and Deutero-Isaiah*. [Unpublished Ph.D.-thesis.] University of Edinburgh.
- Schmid, K. 2002. Herrschererwartungen und -Aussagen im Jesajabuch. Überlegungen zu ihrer synchronen Logik und zu ihren diachronen Transformationen, in: Postma, F. et al (eds), *The new things. Eschatology in Old Testament prophecy. FS. H. Leene*, 175-209. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing. (ACEBTS 3.)
- Sedlmeier, F. 1996. *Jerusalem – Jahwes Bau. Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie von Psalm 147*. Würzburg: Echter-Verlag. (FzB 79.)
- Sperling, S. D. 1995. s.v. Meni. *DDD*, 1060-1064.
- Steck, O. H. 1977. Theological streams of tradition, in: Knight, D. A. (ed.), *Tradition and theology in the Old Testament*, 183-214. London: SPCK.
- _____. 1989. Zion als Gelände und Gestalt. Überlegungen zur Wahrnehmung Jerusalems als Stadt und Frau im Alten Testament. *ZThK* 86, 261-281.
- Stolz, F. 1997. s.v. ‘זִוָּן’. *TLOT* 2, 1071-6.
- Van der Woude, A. S. 1997. *אַבְנָת*. *TLOT* 2, 1039-1046.
- Zenger, E. 1997. Die Verheissung Jesaja 11,1-10. Universal oder partikular?, in: Van Ruiten, J. & Vervenne, M. (eds), *Studies in the book of Isaiah. FS. W. A. M. Beuken*, 137-147. Leuven: Peters. (BETL 132.)

- _____ 2000a. Zion as mother of the nations in Psalm 87, in: Lohfink, N. & Zenger, E. (eds), *The God of Israel and the nations. Studies in Isaiah and the Psalms*, 123-160. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press.
- _____ 2000b. The God of Israel's reign over the world (Psalms 90-106), in: Lohfink, N. & Zenger, E. (eds), *The God of Israel and the nations. Studies in Isaiah and the Psalms*, 161-190. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press.
- Zobel, H.-J. 1989. s.v. ‘**צְבָאֹת**’. *TWAT VI*, 876-92.

Alphonso Groenewald, Department of Old Testament Studies, University of Pretoria, 0002, Pretoria. E-mail: alphonso.groenewald@up.ac.za