I do hereby state and declare that the material contained in this manuscript is the result of my own efforts, without the aid or assistance of any other person.

[Signature]

January 31, 1982
This thesis consists of an investigation of a prophetic work and its place in the greater concepts of prophecy and apocalyptic.

The different dimensions of the term 'apocalyptic' are explored: literature, world-view and theological movement. These aspects are utilized to frame a definition.

There is demonstration of different theories of prophecy's transition to apocalyptic, how these theories each partially illuminate the processes at work within post-exilic Judaism, and how they contribute to an understanding of the origin, sociological setting and essential characteristics of apocalyptic. The divergence within the apocalyptic movement is documented, necessitating the rejection of the notion of direct development from any one post-exilic theological tradition.

The prophetic record of Zechariah 1-8 reflects early post-exilic prophetic activity at a critical juncture in Jewish history and a particular stage in the development of the Jewish future hope. It contains several features which emulate characteristics of the apocalyptic literature.

The record of the prophet is examined in its historical and sociological settings: dependence upon the exilic prophets, contrast to current prophetic trends and possible relationship to later post-exilic prophetic figures. The significance of his historical period, the sense of a prophetic heritage and Zechariah's simplicity contribute to a message which is unique in its relation to history and the prophetic movement.

The interpretation of Zechariah 1-8 is reviewed in light of the structure of the apocalyptic writings; the matrix of current historical events, the beliefs and traditions of the community and the use of Scripture determined the thrust and emphases of the individual compositions.
THE ROLE OF ZECHARIAH 1-8 IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF APOCALYPTIC

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Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh
1982
This work is carefully dedicated to:

Charles N. Raibourn,
who knows more than I ever will;

Catherine M. Swanson,
who is wiser than I ever will be;

Professor George W. Anderson,
who, with uncommon knowledge,
patience and wisdom, directed me
along the path of my own choosing;

you, among many others, have been a
blessing to me. (Zech. 8:13)
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INTRODUCTION

It became apparent during my investigation of 'The Role of Zechariah 1-8 in the Development of Apocalyptic' of the breadth and complexity of my chosen subject. It covered a period of many centuries and involved many aspects of post-exilic Judaism. To introduce the results of my work is to renew a profound sense of the enormity of the task. Concepts such as the prophetic movement, the transition from prophecy to apocalyptic and the apocalyptic world-view are of an organic nature; they have depth and vitality uniquely their own.

I have become very much aware of my dependence upon the insights of works of others in the scholarly community. As I have built upon the results of scholars from several generations and from many countries, I have also wished for the opportunity for face-to-face discussion. What I have contributed here rests upon others, in much the same way that Zechariah was indebted to the 'former prophets'. I have been particularly helped through the work of P.D. Hanson and O.H. Steck.

This work was undertaken in part because of a dissatisfaction with summary conclusions regarding the relation between Zechariah 1-8 and the phenomenon of apocalyptic; I came to feel a lack of completeness in judgments in this area. As my work progressed, I discerned better the
issues involved and how Zechariah and his writings were to be understood vis-à-vis the apocalyptic movement.

To break such a thing as 'The Role of Zechariah 1-8 in the Development of Apocalyptic' into its component parts would be to follow the wisest course. However, this also reveals the true dimensions of the problem. The definition of 'apocalyptic' has baffled many scholars. The discernment of the places of Zechariah and his writings within the prophetic movement is no mean feat. To investigate how apocalyptic developed historically is to realize the paucity of evidence for much of the post-exilic era. I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge my extensive use of D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic; P.D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic; and O. Plöger, Theocracy and Eschatology. The clear statements of these works allowed me opportunity to think through (and re-think) my own position.

To understand 'apocalyptic' is to recognize the term's relationship to 1) a body of literature, 2) the writers of that literature, and 3) the traditions within which those writers existed. I was impressed early with the 'qualified' use of 'apocalyptic' in relation to these areas. I examined the writings (noting their marked differences and the marginal nature of some vis-à-vis the apocalyptic movement) and made tentative judgments regarding the sociological
backgrounds of the authors. I identified some of the doctrines represented in the literature (recognizing that there was little consistency within the literature and that many of those doctrines were found in non-apocalyptic writings) and sought to understand them within the context of the wider Jewish community and experience. I held uppermost the belief that the community was dynamic, that change was constant and actions produced reactions, and that writings were produced for reasons (many of which may remain unknown, but some of which can be isolated, if only in a general sense). I have become convinced that the apocalyptic literature was the embodiment of a more pervasive tendency within Judaism and its particular parties, rather than the result of an individual group or mind-set within Judaism.

I found that the apocalyptic writers were in intense interaction with the major forces within their sociological setting, struggling to make the things important to them important to others. The party strife of the first century B.C. and the unified reaction to enforced Hellenism in the second century B.C. are, to me, indicative of that interaction and sense of importance.

I believe that the apocalyptic literature was a representation of a tendency within Judaism, a result of a tradition which had a history of intellectual development
and struggle within the matrix of the Jewish community. As much as an individual apocalyptic work was produced as a response to historical crisis, so its content was molded in the years prior to its birth.

Coming to terms with Zechariah 1-8 began as a study of Scripture, with the recognition that there has been a lack of solid work recently on this part of the Old Testament. My work led to an understanding and an awareness of Zechariah's vitality as an historical person. A cohesiveness emerged from the text of Zechariah 1-6 that gave entry to his way of thinking about God and life.

I came to feel Zechariah's appreciation for the great prophets of Israel's past and read that appreciation in his frequent allusions and references to the writings of those prophets. H.G. Mitchell, Haggai and Zechariah, best captured the thought of Zechariah for me and his significance for the time in which he lived. I caught Zechariah's sense of a 'prophetic heritage', his awareness of the line of prophets who spoke for Yahweh, and his attempts to capture its essence for the people of his day.

Within the larger context of the prophetic movement, S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, enabled me to see this movement as something dynamic and gave me my first clues as to how Zechariah 1-8 was to be understood as an expression of
Jewish future hope. P.D. Hanson's work with the early post-exilic prophetic writings and their relationship to the apocalyptic movement provided me with a framework for understanding how the prophetic movement had been pulled into the exilic leadership vacuum and had been fragmented within the political matrix of the early post-exilic era. The dissolution of the prophetic movement occurred as a result of this fragmentation; groups associated with the political 'winners' became subservient to them and those in opposition were not allowed access to the leadership circles to voice their dissent.

O.H. Steck's writings enabled me to understand the concept of 'theological stream of tradition' and how this idea related to the prophetic movement. I saw that the prophetic movement was carried along initially by the force of its own momentum and that its authority was instrumental in the development of a prophetic 'canon' during the post-exilic years. The accompanying phenomenon of restricting prophetic activity in the present (in favor of prophecy as a strictly past phenomenon) limited the vitality of prophecy as an authority for the community.

The prophetic movement produced the prophetic heritage of the entire post-exilic community, Zechariah 1-8 being a small piece of it. The influence of prophecy varied among the segments of later Judaism (and also among segments of the apocalyptic literature). Apocalyptic, however,
borrowed from a much wider field than simply the prophetic tradition; its scope extended beyond the borders of Judaism. Within the apocalyptic movement, there were different strands of thought, different philosophies regarding basic issues, and different kinds of development. I trust that I have made this evident in my discussions.

'The Role of Zechariah 1-8 in the Development of Apocalyptic' proved to be a door into much of post-exilic Judaism. There was not as much light as I would have liked. Apocalyptic proved to be a much more pervasive phenomenon than I had first thought. Zechariah 1-8 became a window into the mind of a prophet of Yahweh. The challenge of the study and the personal results from the work have been the true and lasting rewards.

Remaining true to my American roots, my spelling and grammar follow the Webster's New Twentieth Century Unabridged Dictionary. I beg the reader's indulgence for any difficulties in this regard.

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I. Introduction

The term *apocalyptic*, along with its etymological siblings *apocalypse* and *apocalypticism*, was derived from the Greek word *apokalupsis* found in Rev. 1:1. The noun meant 'an unveiling...a revelation'. The appellation *apocalypse* was first applied to the Book of Revelation (also called The Apocalypse) and was subsequently utilized in the description of other Christian and Jewish writings which manifested features similar to those of that book.

Those terms have commonly been applied to a rather ill-defined body of literature, the works of which purport to reveal secrets of a divine or supernatural nature. Scholars have determined that this literature's age of flowering and popularity was the period 200 B.C.-A.D. 100. The first works included in this literary grouping were produced by Jewish authors; however, their circulation was increasingly discouraged by proponents of the 'official' Jewish religion. The causes of the eventual disappearance of the literature were multiple: Rabbinic distaste for 'future speculation', the adoption of the genre by the early Christian groups, the destruction of the Jewish culture in

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Palestine and the withdrawal of the literature's champions into small, secretive cadres. Many ideas contained in the literature were normative for other segments of the Jewish religion of that era.

An *apocalypse* is a genre of literature, a fact increasingly supported by recent critical studies. It is '...a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework... disclosing a transcendent reality'. An examination of the literature demonstrates that this form was but one among many employed by the *apocalyptic*ists. Every composition labelled an *apocalypse* included other genres; not every work of the *apocalyptic* literature qualified as or included an *apocalypse*.

Scholars have recently attempted to define more precisely the term *apocalypticism* because it has been increasingly introduced into the discussions of the literature as a system of beliefs for ideas culled from various compositions. A more careful definition of this term has been one fruit of the inquiry into the sociological dimension behind the *apocalyptic* literature, the matrix of an author's doctrine and life. We may define *apocalypticism* as a system of beliefs or a distinctive symbolic universe from which writers

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drew their understanding of history and the cosmos and the
life-style which derived from and supplemented these other
areas.

One is struck by the appearance of the word *apocalyptic* in a multiplicity of contexts modifying a diversity of noun-subjects. The citing of a few examples will suffice: the *apocalyptic* literature, the *apocalyptic* church and *apocalyptic* eschatology. It was no wonder that M.E. Stone wrote:

A great deal of the current discussion of apocalypticism and of the apocalypses is being carried on in the midst of a semantic confusion of the first order. The confusion turns on the relationship of apocalypticism and the apocalypses...The two phenomena have names derived from the same Greek word and this appears to imply a relationship.

Unfortunately, Stone admitted that the link between the two eluded him and he despaired of using these terms meaningfully without explicit modifiers.

It is clear, then, that we have entered a field fraught with the pitfalls of ill-defined terms and concepts inherited from our predecessors. We are obliged to make our way carefully, wary of taking even the simplest step without the support of sufficient evidence.

4. Cf. P.D. Hanson, 'Apocalypticism', IDBSup, pp.28-34.
7. P.D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic, p.11.
Taking into account Stone's admonition, let us examine the term *apocalyptic* as it may be used to describe the religious outlook (or world-view) of the *apocalyptist* -- whether comprehended individually or collectively.

These writers mobilized many different traditions to express their confidence in the God of the Jews as the sovereign King of history and cosmos and to affirm their expectations of His imminent triumph over all heavenly and earthly enemies.

The writings, as revelatory literature, disclosed the secrets of the cosmos as well as illuminating future events. Neither the cosmological nor the future concern permeated the whole of the literature. Also, they were both frequently absent in a given composition; nor was their utilization mutually exclusive. A proper understanding of apocalyptic, as it describes a writer's perspective on the world, must include provisions for the presence (and absence) of both dimensions.

R.J. Bauckham has suggested that we should distinguish between two different types of apocalypses—historical and cosmological—in order to investigate the distinctive theological traditions which produced them. Bauckham's

9. J.J. Collins, *art. cit.*, p.360; at this point, I will drop the italicization of *apocalyptic*-related words.
10. R.J. Bauckham, 'The Rise of Apocalyptic', *Them* 111/2 (1978), p.17. There was no indication that the two types developed separately.
suggestion has value; however, I also feel that these dimensions, taken together, might approximate a 'normative' Jewish world-view. If apocalyptic may be connected to the concept of a world-view, we ought then to be free to speak of 'apocalyptic cosmology' as well as eschatology. This line of thought raised the question: "Does the cosmology and eschatology of the apocalyptist differ from that of a corresponding member of a (more) mainline Jewish group?"

A connection has been generally acknowledged between Old Testament prophecy and the phenomenon called apocalyptic. One could say that the later movement '...displays the fuller development of tendencies which are evident in the later stages of prophecy' or that '...it expresses the prophetic convictions that Yahweh is King, that His Kingdom is near at hand, and that all men are called to be faithful under all circumstances'. It was the nature of the connection between prophecy and apocalyptic which has elicited discussion and disagreement.

11. To my knowledge, no one has used the phrase 'apocalyptic cosmology'. The emphasis upon eschatology is understandable, but the other dimension must be given its place. It occupied a noteworthy place in the literature and had its precedence in the cosmological features of Ezekiel and Zechariah 1-8.

12. I do not believe the evidence exists to answer this question affirmatively and categorically.


It is true that the prophetic literature exerted a profound effect upon many facets of post-exilic Judaism and was itself influenced by exterior factors. I have substantially limited my investigation to the prophetic movement and its influence in the development of apocalyptic; but I am not unaware that other traditions made significant contributions to the future- and cosmological-consciousness of the Jewish people in the intertestamental period.

It is easy to contrast the apocalyptic literature with the prophetic literature (especially the pre-exilic prophetic writings) to show how dissimilar the two groups were. However, I am convinced that such a demonstration (which was a common element in many books dealing with the apocalyptic literature) is unwise and highly misleading. The apocalyptists stood in the line of the 'salvation prophets', a tradition which had extended back at least to the exilic prophecies of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah.

No one denies that the apocalyptic literature and apocalypticism were the end products of processes within Judaism whose development spanned several centuries. The apocalyptic world-view drew its vitality from the paradoxical post-exilic Jewish situation: on the one hand, the Jews (or a minor segment of the community) expected to be blessed above

15. J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, p.421, stated that the post-exilic prophets were 'salvation'-conscious. The tradition actually began in earliest times; cf. A.R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel, pp.25-29.
all others because of Yahweh's electing love; on the other hand, they were powerless and oppressed by foreign lords (or an unjust community leadership). The intellectual and social conflict produced by such a situation profoundly influenced much of the literature of post-exilic Judaism.

One sees a combination of these views in the book of Daniel (which can be provisionally accepted as belonging to the apocalyptic literature): 1) there was the rejection of the community leadership (cf. 11:30-32); 2) there was the exaltation of a small group within the community, the Maskilim (11:33-35), with reward and punishment meted out on the basis of faithfulness under persecution; and 3) there was the envisioned destruction of the foreign power (11:45).

Some of the apocalyptists pointed, on the one hand, to an imminent intervention by God which would reverse the fortunes of the Jews and/or reward the faithfulness of the individual and would exalt God's chosen ones in the future. Examples of this hope were found in Daniel, the Enochian Book of Dreams (ch. 83-90), the Testament of Moses and others. On the other hand, other apocalyptists made recourse to cosmology to explain the existence of evil in the world and the fact of Jewish suffering (cf. II Enoch, III Baruch, etc.). The book of I Enoch provided the best examples of cosmology (ch. 12-16, 17-36) and the blending of cosmology and eschatology (ch. 85-90) in the apocalyptic literature.

The phenomenon of apocalypticism achieved great recognition as a response to the persecutions of Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), the Seleucid ruler (175-163 B.C.) who attempted to remove the opposition of conservative Jews to his plan to impose a uniform Hellenistic culture and religion upon the Jewish people (thereby establishing a secure political base for himself in the area). The apocalyptic world-view was first represented in the book of Daniel, which contained examples of historical apocalypses. Works such as this often originated in historical situations where an historically-oriented future hope had relevance and appeal. The book of Daniel was circulated shortly after the political unification of many Jews with the Hasidim. This group crystallized the attitude of resistance against the Hellenistic influence in Jewish society and politics, formulating action against those Jews who had collaborated with the Seleucids or had adopted Hellenistic customs. Apocalyptic eschatology, in this instance, spoke to the contemporary need of the people as they endured hard times, presenting a comforting reward/punishment resolution of their struggle.

An understanding of the nature and presence of apocalyp-

17. According to R.J. Bauckham's suggestion; cf. n.10.
ticism in the second century B.C. requires coming to terms with a complex and multi-faceted subject. One must investigate the religious, intellectual and social climate of the developing Jewish community, with its dependence upon the past and its party conflicts. I am not inclined to separate the apocalyptic movement, in all its uniqueness, from the main stream of Jewish life and faith. The wide use of the features of its world-view and motifs within more traditional circles and the common people suggested that the apocalyptic world-view can be connected to the 'Jewish world-view' prior to the Maccabean uprising and is not to be differentiated from it. I affirm the existence of apocalypticism within the continuity of developing theological traditions in post-exilic Judaism.

II. The Apocalyptic Literature

D.S. Russell gathered those writings with apocalyptic overtones into a convenient list. While it is admitted that

these works differed remarkably from one another and that they cannot be individually regarded as totally apocalyptic. Russell's list has been regarded favorably by scholars and does give an initial impression of the scope of the literary group:

- Daniel (c. 165 B.C.)
- I Enoch (post-Danielic composition)
- The Book of Jubilees (c. 150 B.C.)
- The Sibylline Oracles III (post-150 B.C.)
- The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (post-150 B.C.)
- The Psalms of Solomon (c. 50 B.C.)
- The Testament of Moses (first century A.D.)
- 'Martyrdom of Isaiah'
- Life of Adam and Eve/
- Apocalypse of Moses (c. A.D. 50)
- Apocalypse of Abraham (first century A.D.)
- Testament of Abraham (first century A.D.)
- Book of the Secrets of Enoch/
- II Enoch (first century A.D.)
- The Sibylline Oracles IV (c. A.D. 80)
- II Esdras /4 Ezra (c. A.D. 90)
- Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch/
- II Baruch (post-A.D. 90)
- Greek Apocalypse of Baruch/
- III Baruch (second century A.D.)
- The Sibylline Oracles V (second century A.D.)

22. I have recognized the danger of placing arbitrary limits on what constituted the apocalyptic literature; a distorted definition of apocalyptic may result. However, recognition of the problem is the first step toward doing justice both to the definition of the term and the nature of the literature.


With the discovery in this century of the remains of the library of the Qumran community (the Dead Sea Scrolls), another body of writings has been linked to the apocalyptic literature. Portions of many of these writings have been discovered in the Qumran excavations. Although there appears to have been dependence on the outside literature at Qumran, there was no evidence of reverse borrowing, leading some scholars to characterize Qumran as a 'cooled-down apocalyptic sect'. I feel that this judgment underestimated the vitality of the Qumran community. Possible explanations of this phenomenon were Qumran's exclusiveness and its self-identification as the true Jewish community and the 'temple' of God.

These writings, found at Qumran and exhibiting apocalyptic coloring, were:

Commentaries on: Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Psalm 37
The Zadokite Document/
    The Damascus Document (CD)
The Manual of Discipline/
    The Rule of the Community (1QS)
The Rule of the Congregation/
    The Messianic Rule (1QSa)
The Scroll of Benedictions (1QSB)
The Testimonies Scroll/
    A Messianic Anthology (4Q175)
Hymns (Psalms) of Thanksgiving (1QH)
The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness/The Rule for the Final War (1QM)

The Book of Mysteries/
The Triumph of Righteousness (1Q27)
A Midrash on the Last Days (4Q174)
A Description of the New Jerusalem
An Angelic Liturgy (4Q ShirShab)
The Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q243) and a Pseudo-
Daniel Apocalypse (4Q PsDan)
A Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen)

III. The Faith of the Apocalyptists

P.D. Hanson declared that 'apocalyptic thinking is the product of a mentality...born of historical and sociological circumstances'. He asserted that the apocalyptists were genuinely involved in the events of their day and played a unique role in the political interaction within the community. D.S. Russell supported this judgment by observing that we cannot understand the apocalyptic writings apart from the times in which the authors lived. Hanson's study of the nature of apocalypticism, of which apocalyptic thinking was a part, has challenged that opinion which viewed apocalyptic as an escape from reality.

It has been implied by some scholars that the apocalyptists lived with their heads in the clouds, withdrawn from the world and passively resistant to progressive trends in society. It was assumed that they lived in anticipation of

27. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., p.229.
29. Cf. the Bibliography for a listing of Hanson's works on this subject.
an imminent catastrophe, the final Day of Yahweh, the over-
throw of all evil and the blessing of the righteous, to the
exclusion of all earthly endeavor. O. Kaiser's opinion was
representative: the apocalyptist '...gazes fascinated at
the great but wicked drama which is the world, and waits for
the end of history'.

It is my contention, however, that the apocalyptists
must be viewed sympathetically; they believed they lived in
a time dominated by godlessness and bewildering oppression.
As with many Jews of that time, they were drawn to the past,
when Yahweh had revealed Himself in Israel's life and had
revealed Himself to their forefathers. To the vexing ques-
tions of life they gave inherited answers in new form, attemp-
ting to understand their era in terms consonant with the faith
of the past and to resolve their distress through the future
hope inherited from the prophets or through a deeper under-
standing of God's relationship with the evil in the world.

The prophetic writings assumed importance in the apoca-
lyptists' view of the future, keeping in mind the supremacy
of the Torah for them in daily life. The Qumran group, for

31. W.F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, p.334, asserted that this resort to the past began within
the fifth century B.C., the 'summit of...spiritual evolution'
of the Jews. The process can be discerned in the Chronicler's
work and in the Book of Jubilees; cf. R.H. Charles, op. cit.,
pp.xlvij-11.
example, often interpreted the prophetic literature using the current events which impinged upon its life. The interpretation of Habakkuk's vision, '...yet for an appointed time...' (2:3), demonstrated how completely the Qumran community read its life and faith into the prophetic writings.

The early chapters of Genesis also attracted attention as the apocalyptists searched out the source of evil in their interpretations of 'hints' of heavenly rebellion and fallen angels. This avenue opened on to a wide field of speculation and the apocalyptists felt free to indulge their fantasies. Yet they firmly believed that God would judge evil and its devotees and would remove its curse from Israel.

Scholarship has done much to reverse the nation that the apocalyptic literature was one of despair and pessimism. It has been rightly recognized that the apocalyptists often wrote for the oppressed, who had no hope in political terms or in human potential. They had no faith in human progress or in an orderly evolution to a better state. It may be that they began with an 'empirical observation' of God's absence from the community since the exile. Perhaps the repeated frustrations of the people's hopes were significant in the birth of the apocalyptic movement, but the apocalyptists still asserted their confidence in the acts of God for

32. F.M. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, pp.337f.
34. R.J. Bauckham, art. cit., p.20.
their deliverance. W. Schmithals, whose definition of 'apocalyptic thinking' was far different from my own, saw in the apocalyptic literature an attempt '...to deal positively' with a pessimistic appraisal of reality.

Accompanying this negative judgment upon the historical continuum's ability to achieve or to convey God's salvation was the consistent note of confidence in God to bring His salvation in His own time. More relevant than this was the apocalyptists' confidence in those institutions which God had ordained in history: the utilization of the Messianic figure was 'the embodiment of the reality' of a Davidic ruler; the priestly figure of Test. Levi 18 was an idealization of a political/religious office or individual. W. Schmithals stated that the apocalyptists demanded '...a constant and supremely historical commitment' to the community as the successor to the remnant and election concepts of the past.

L. Morris mentioned the apocalyptists' ambiguity on the subject of rebellion. He reasoned that, if the apocalyptists had truly despaired of human effort, they would have consistently refrained from joining the uprisings which occurred in the course of their history. Morris rightly observed,

36. W. Schmithals, The Apocalyptic Movement, p.43. My main objection to his position was his emphasis on the sociological dimension at the expense of the historical.  
however, that they often inspired the raising of the banners of revolt, an indication that human activity could be enjoined with confidence. The apocalyptists' nationalistic zeal and kindling of Messianic hopes could be interpreted as intentional motivation of the populace to take up arms, and it was significant that the historical failures of the Jewish rebellions against Rome (66-72 and 132-135 A.D.) comprised a prime factor in the discrediting of the apocalyptists in Judaism.

K. Koch surveyed the investigations of apocalyptic in order to determine a consensus for 1) the intellectual capacity of the authors, 2) the ultimate origin of apocalyptic and 3) the parties responsible for the literature. He noted that 1) some scholars had discerned the literature arising from the uneducated common people, while others had asserted that only the wise were capable of producing such writings; 2) various scholars had observed influence on the development of apocalyptic coming from Babylonia, Persia, Hellenism and Palestine; 3) scholars had also pointed to parties such as the Hasidim, the Essenes, the Pharisees, the Sadducees and

41. This judgment must be qualified by the observation that a segment of the apocalyptic community was pacifistic.
42. T. Henshaw, *The Writings*, p. 60.
43. L. Morris, *loc. cit.*
the Zealots as the prime carriers of the apocalyptic traditions. His conclusion supported the results of scholars who had asserted the presence of an apocalyptic movement within many groups within Judaism.

P.D. Hanson contrasted the ministry of the prophet and the work of the apocalyptist on the basis of the commissioning act: the prophet, standing in the council of Yahweh, was instructed to proclaim his message immediately (cf. Jer. 1:17: 'arise and speak to them'), while the apocalyptist received a message which was to be sealed for the future (cf. Dan. 12:4). The apocalyptist, however, did call the people to the same response of faith sought by the prophet. The apocalyptist derived his identity from the time in which he lived.

Unlike the pre-exilic prophets, the first apocalyptists did not discern ethical instruction as an area of prime importance. W. Schmithals stated that the apocalyptists either allowed different views of Torah or left the matter of observance of Torah to the individual conscience. He was

46. Cf. ibid., pp.133-137.
47. D.S. Russell, op. cit., p.27.
48. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., p.19.
correct in his observation that the apocalyptists did not usually include ethical discourses in their writings, but he did not fully explore the motivation for this omission.

The early apocalyptic literature used the book of Torah as a rallying point. Those who revered Torah banded together to protect its existence. The activity of keeping Torah in daily life was superceded during times of persecution by their struggle to retain Torah as their rule of life. The standard became allegiance to the group (which championed Torah); exclusive loyalty to Torah, in that situation, was irrelevant.

Those engaged in theodicy and reflecting upon the presence of evil in the world abstained from ethical discourse for similar and other reasons. The interest in evil (as seen in I Enoch 6-19) led to a minimization of ethical concern; the writer was involved in the exploration of his subject.

Buttressing the mind-set that did not confront ethical problems was the traditional view in which the Jews saw themselves as the elect people of God and others as those who spurned God, His Torah and his people. This kind of thinking drew loyalty away from Torah. The ethical concern of the apocalyptists simply did not find its way into the writings; it was, within the situations that the apocalyptists often

52. The ethical portions of the early writings were limited to I Enoch 91-104 and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.
53. R.J. Bauckham, art. cit., pp.16f.
faced, a basically secondary consideration.

The apocalyptic literature at its best spoke to the contemporary need of its audience. The apocalyptists, admittedly not prophets nor trying to act like them, nevertheless gave a message of comfort from God as best they could. Perhaps they viewed the prophetic voice as silent (cf. Ps. 74:9, I Macc. 4:46,9:27); they broke its silence after their own fashion by renewing God's past promises. Their expression of this faith was often fanciful and far-fetched, but it breathed with the conviction that everything God promised would come to pass.

The apocalyptic writings were intended to stimulate hope and to sustain courage in the loyal adherents of traditional Judaism within the Jewish community. They also held out consolation for the weak in the assurance that God would visit His people with the salvation they desired:

What God had foretold would come to pass, if not in the present age, then in a new age about to dawn. The ancient prophecies were to be read in terms of 'the End' and were to be interpreted and reinterpreted so as to fit into the great final drama in which the triumph of God

54. R.J. Bauckham, art. cit., p.22.
55. The apocalyptists' messages were interpretive rather than declarative.
and of God's people would be made known over all the nations round about. Prophetic promises became apocalyptic assurances. In answer to the prophets' cry, 'How long, O Lord, how long?' the apocalyptists gave the year, the day, and the hour!

The enthusiastic reception of the apocalyptic writings within the cauldron of oppression was evidence enough of the vitality and timeliness of their message.

It would be terribly unfair to compare the historical situation of the apocalyptists with that of the pre-exilic prophets or the missionary movement of early Christianity and to conclude disparagingly: 'the dominant idea is that God will save good men from trouble, not that he will save bad men from sin'. Likewise, one ought not caricature the apocalyptic writings as the end-product of disappointed hopes or as the release-valve for repressed emotions. There was in this literature the concept of a divine purpose for existence and history. The apocalyptists addresses themselves to the pastoral tasks of consolation and encouragement within a community faced with persecution or the easy option of conforming to the Hellenistic way of life. The promise of future salvation cannot be attributed solely to the projection of desires arising from resentment, but as a consequence of the authors' belief in a God of deliverance.

62. L. Morris, op. cit., p.58.
IV. Prophecy and Apocalyptic

I have demonstrated that, in a discussion employing the term 'apocalyptic', care must be taken to differentiate between the apocalyptic writers, apocalyptic themes (i.e. the subject matter of the writings) and the apocalyptic worldview. These areas were all (each justifiably) covered by the same adjective. If we fail to be discerning in this matter, our investigative methods will be frustrated.

H.H. Rowley coined the phrase, '...apocalyptic is the child of prophecy, yet diverse from it'. His understanding of the connection between the two was revealed by his judgment that they share a predictive element, an ethical concern, a sense of importance of the immediate historical situation, and the possession of the 'divine urge' to communicate a message about God. Rowley did not seek precision in his use of the term 'apocalyptic', however we can see how his statements reflect his understanding of these categories.

While the consensus of scholars holds that the flower of apocalyptic grew from the stem of Old Testament prophecy, G. von Rad's thesis that it was derived exclusively from the Wisdom movement in Israel has occasioned much reinvestigation and reassessment of its development and definition. Other

64. Ibid., pp.15f.
scholars have begun to search other segments of Judaism for possible contributions to apocalyptic. R.G. Hamerton-Kelly, for example, has proposed that the Temple and its priesthood played a role in motivating Ezekiel to adopt a 'visionary' position, from which the apocalyptic world-view emerged within Judaism, and in the development of the apocalyptic nature of the Qumran community.

Scholarship continues to debate the notion that foreign influence exerted determinative pressure in the developmental process. W.O.E. Oesterley indicated that we ought to be wary of any supposed foreign influence which was not Babylonian (exilic) or Hellenistic (covering the era 350-50 B.C.) in origin. Similarities found between the Jewish apocalyptic literature and other Near Eastern writings are predominantly superficial. The apocalyptic world-view could not be successfully integrated into a mentality which conceived of history in a cyclical/mythic form; only Persian Zoroastrianism shared this feature of a linear conception of time.

The vitality of the Jewish intellectual community during the Greek period makes it unwise to resort to external sources as primary factors.

The apocalyptic world-view was such that it could have

been adopted early by Jewish groups which had not inherited it. The late prophetic movement gave several features to the common Jewish milieu. The period of the emergence of the apocalyptic literature was marked by extensive cross-fertilizing of ideas and literary forms. This amalgamation of traditions occurred when many Jewish parties were uniting in opposition to the Hellenistic policies prior to the rebellion in 167 B.C.

The Hasidic movement employed the apocalyptic literature as propaganda, a response to persecution, within the interchange of literary forms and themes. It is, therefore, appropriate to raise a caution flag regarding the 'exclusive' development of the apocalyptic literature or world-view after this point. We cannot escape the observation that the Enoch material stemmed from a different tradition than that of the book of Daniel. The Enoch Book of Dreams (ch. 83-90) and Daniel presented opposing views on the validity of armed resistance. However, the dependence of I Enoch 85-90 upon Dan. 10-12 indicated the traditions found a common ground.

The Enoch writings were viewed as having connections with a rather vague movement which ought to be understood as

70. Ibid., pp.204,209.
a Wisdom group. We dare not speak of an exclusive line of development from prophecy to apocalyptic, but rather of lines of influence, and those being intertwined within the being of the Jewish community from early times.

T.W. Manson noted that the traditional era for the cessation of prophecy was also associated with the development of rabbinism and apocalyptic. As rabbinism was an activity of scribal interpretation of Torah which led to the Mishnah, so apocalyptic was viewed by him as an attempt to rationalize and systematize the predictive side of prophecy. D.L. Petersen stated that the task of the prophetic traditionists (the successors of the canonical prophets) was not to be prophets but to reflect upon the prophetic writings and to interpret them for their own day. S. Mowinckel also asserted that the later stages of prophecy were inspired revision, amplification and interpretation of earlier prophecy. This was not meant to prove the intimate connection between prophecy and apocalyptic to the extent that they were indistinguishable; these scholars were representative of the opinion that, as prophecy was abandoned and apocalyptic emerged, there was a corresponding shift away from the

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72. T.W. Manson, 'Some Reflections on Apocalyptic', *Aux Sources de la Tradition Chretienne*, p.140.  
74. S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, p.266.
classical prophetic ministry toward the interpretive role associated with the scribe.

Prophecy itself was difficult to define. It has been described as 'the function of a concentrated succession of men', meaning the classical prophets ending with Ezekiel or Deutero-Isaiah, or as the task of those who '...acted as a mouthpiece for God'. Most definitions steered clear of anything more than a vague description of the nature of the prophetic message. For the prophets, with widely acknowledged freedom, plumbed the depths of individual and corporate existence and responsibility. That they created much turmoil in Israel and yet pointed the way into the future during the exile emphasized the divergencies within the nature of the prophetic movement.

Many different images of prophets and prophetic activity were discernible prior to the exile. The deuteronomistic stereotype of the preacher of repentance (II Kings 17:13), the prophet of 'doom' (Jer. 25:8-9) and the official 'salvation' prophet (Jer. 28:2-4) were recognizable. Naturally, a strong case cannot be made for a strict division of the

77. A.A. MacRae, 'Prophets and Prophecy', ZEB, vol. 4, p.875.
prophetic movement along these or any other lines, but the biblical writers were aware of prophetic conflict, idealized the 'true' prophet and tried to expose the false (Deut. 18:15-22) and accepted the prophet as an independent figure or as a member of the cultic personnel.

O.H. Steck recognized that the sense of unity of the prophetic movement originally derived from the nature of the prophets' delivery and the reception by the community of the prophets' messages more than from the nature of the messages themselves. A message spoken in connection with the standard prophetic formulae was, ipso facto, a prophetic message. The question of the statement's veracity was dealt with under the rubric of false/true prophecy. It seems that while the characteristics of prophetic activity were generally accepted and recognized, the problems inherent in discerning the false from the true were not addressed until the nation was threatened by disaster.

The years after the exile saw the prophetic office fragmented into several more-or-less distinct groups and the 'spirit of prophecy' moving from the spoken word to literary activity associated with the received collections of the prophets' messages. Certain groups, by virtue of their relation-
ship with the prophets of the past, became critical of segments of the community leadership. Evidence of the prophetic movement decreased as it entered the post-exilic period; the literature remaining pointed in different directions, which were open to new growth and development.

O.H. Steck postulated a 'prophetic-eschatological' theological stream of tradition which ran from the time prior to the appearance of the eighth century B.C. prophets into the Christian era. This theory assumed the continuity between prophecy and apocalyptic and neglected the problems inherent in a study of this transition. On a different tack, R.J. Bauckham suggested a real break between the two. He stated that prophecy came to an end, that the prophetic writings were inherited by scribes who had little background in them and that continuity was maintained with the prophetic movement only on an individual basis and only by those who consciously interpreted the prophetic writings. P. Vielhauer approached the problem from a wholly different angle by asking two questions: "Was it the intention of the apocalyptic writers to continue prophecy?" and "Did they actually continue prophecy?" Vielhauer answered these questions with "yes" and "no", respectively. He stated that dualism, deter-

85. Ibid., pp.201-214.
86. R.J. Bauckham, art. cit., pp.17f.
minism and pessimism constituted the gulf which separated
apocalyptic from prophecy.

There are three different models of continuity discerned
by scholars in researching prophecy and apocalyptic. The
first was O.H. Steck's understanding of the transition. He
would suggest that within a circle (or group of circles),
the composers of the interpretive material based on the
prophetic writings and the earliest apocalyptic thinkers
co-mingled, each in his turn giving way before new develop-
ments within the tradition and the external influences which
affected it, until the occasion arose for the apocalyptic
literature to be written.

Steck's view would be paralleled, to an extent, by that
of P.D. Hanson, who asserted that the disciples of Deutero-
Isaiah (Trito-Isaiianic authors) constituted the first apoca-
lyptic group. He thereby concluded that the apocalyptic
eschatology was firmly embedded in the prophetic movement of
this period. He made a distinction between this 'vision-
ary' prophetic movement and a theocratic prophetic movement
(Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah), but he stated that the
theocratic prophetic movement disappeared into the ranks of

87. P. Vielhauer, 'Introduction: Apocalypses and Re-
McL. Wilson (the original German editor was E. Hennecke),
p.596.
88. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.27,71.
89. Ibid., p.29.
90. Cf. Ibid., pp.245-259.
the Levitical Temple personnel, thereby granting the visionaries status as the enduring prophetic movement, which later produced the apocalyptic literature.

The second model was represented by R.J. Bauckham, who spoke of literary continuity. He limited this continuity between prophecy and apocalyptic to those cases in which the prophetic writings were actually interpreted, claiming discontinuity in the areas of world-view and the identification of those groups which handled the prophetic literature and those which produced the apocalyptic literature. In Bauckham's mind, the prophetic literature linked the prophetic movement only to that portion of the apocalyptic literature which exhibited prophetic interpretation. This position led him to look elsewhere for a source for the other segments of the apocalyptic literature.

It was at this point that Bauckham brought in the subject of mantic wisdom and his modifications of G. von Rad's arguments of the apocalyptic literature's derivation from Wisdom circles. Bauckham postulated a direct connection to the Wisdom movement and, in contrast, only a tenuous one to the prophetic movement and literature.

G. von Rad argued that the apocalyptic writers belonged to the wisdom tradition of Israel: the heroes of the apoca-

lyptic writers were 'wise'; the forms and content of Wisdom and apocalyptic were not native to Judaism; Wisdom and apocalyptic were both concerned with 'knowledge', shared a deterministic view of existence and pursued theodicy. Bauckham and von Rad stood in agreement in this: the use of the prophetic writings provided continuity in the transition from prophecy to apocalyptic, while the bulk of the influence upon the latter came from Wisdom circles.

The third model was derived from P. Vielhauer's view that the apocalyptists tried to consciously stand in the 'prophetic lineage'. He suggested that the apocalyptic writers took up the interpretation of the prophetic writings because they wanted to maintain the prophetic message and faith-perspective and to present a revised form of the old prophetic message. This apocalyptic perspective, Vielhauer thought, was supposed to have been the same as that of the prophets and, therefore, provided the basis of continuity noted between prophecy and apocalyptic. Vielhauer stressed the fact that the prophetic outlook rather than the prophetic literature was determinative and based this argument on the apocalyptists' interpretation of and interest in other bodies of literature and non-prophetic themes.

It is common, in discussions regarding the transition

from prophecy to apocalyptic, to trace the development of eschatology in the Old Testament prophetic writings and the later apocalyptic writings. There was great disagreement among scholars on the nature of eschatology and the era of its first appearance. H. Gressmann's thesis that there was a fixed constellation of mythic/eschatological ideas to which Amos referred (cf. Amos 5:18-20), retained little scholarly support. Other scholars would argue that eschatology was difficult to define in terms of the prophetic works; the prophets did not think in absolute terms (e.g. history), but in images (e.g. the manifestation of God's kingly rule). They envisioned God's triumph but increasingly failed to reflect upon the connection between their present and the future 'age of blessing'.

J. Bright was correct when stating 'whether or not one describes the hope of pre-exilic Israel as an eschatology is a matter of definition'. However, the fact of this admission did not grant him license to use the term imprecisely.

J.P.M. van der Ploeg, taking the side of S. Mowinckel, in-

96. J. Bright, op. cit., p.455.
97. Cf. J. Bright, Covenant and Promise, pp.18f.
sisted upon a literal definition and application of the word. He concluded that '...we may only speak of eschatology in the making'. Thus he would exclude virtually all prophetic material, whereas some scholars would include much of the prophetic literature from the eighth century B.C. prophecies of Amos and Isaiah onwards.

Bright's admission of the imprecise application of 'eschatology' to the prophetic tradition was telling. It was a term borrowed from New Testament studies and was awkward to employ in Old Testament research. To my mind, eschatology does require a concept of an 'end-time' and a program of events (however slight) which were to precede the End. Passages like Is. 2:2-5 and 11:1-10 were ideal images which the prophet projected into the future.

In the place of the term eschatology, I prefer S. Mowinckel's phrase 'future hope' for, although it included eschatology as a later development of a primitive future orientation, it was neutral and a more comprehensive expression. The pre-exilic prophets tended to refrain from precise formulations and the exilic prophets were mainly concerned with the restoration of the community after its captivity. It was only after the early post-exilic years

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that the future hope of the prophets began to lose the connection with concrete historical reality. But even then, that is only one element of a true eschatology.

R.J. Bauckham made a very concise and insightful statement when he commented (on P.D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic):

The real issue is whether theology may seek the ultimate meaning of human life and the ultimate achievement of God's purpose beyond the history of this world...Pre-exilic prophecy [for Hanson] is the Old Testament theological norm partly because it did not do this, while apocalyptic is a serious decline from the norm because it did.

The apocalyptic authors made much greater use of a cosmological-geographical model of the world than the prophets did. This is owed to the intellectual climate, the pervasive Hellenistic atmosphere in which they lived, and their acceptance of mythic and cultic concepts from the common milieu of their day. They were also dealing with ultimate issues regarding the world, good and evil, and the destiny of mankind. The canvas upon which they worked had to be of a comparable size. The prophets, ministering to the immediate needs of Israel, seldom attained this scope.

V. A Survey of the Early Investigation of Apocalyptic

Study of the apocalyptic literature trailed behind much

101. S. Mowinckel, op. cit., p.150.
of the research in other areas of Old Testament study for several reasons: the discipline began in the New Testament field, pre-critical research did not extend to the extra-canonical writings and compositions were not interpreted within their historical and sociological contexts. Later, investigation was stifled by J. Wellhausen’s aspersions of apocalyptic as a degeneration of the prophetic faith, so that in recent decades it has been unjustly neglected by German scholarship particularly. It has come into its own in the last half-century, although much work remains to be done before scholars can understand the apocalyptic literature against the environment which gave it birth and in which it flourished.

The initial work in the investigation of the apocalyptic literature was produced by F. Lücke in 1832. He began with the book of Revelation and extended the designation 'apokalyptische Litteratur' to other works, setting apart a category due specialized study. Lücke determined that apocalyptic was essentially a view of history formed by the effects of disillusionment of hope and the tension deriving from intra-community conflict and persecution by enemies. A. Hilgenfeld's contribution was the recognition that apocalyptic was the intermediate step, historically and theologically, that bound Judaism to early Christianity.

103. K. Köch, op. cit., was directed against this.
J. Wellhausen did not regard the apocalyptists as creative thinkers, but as borrowers of earlier prophetic forms. He judged the apocalyptic literature a failure against the standard of the Old Testament prophets. He argued that the spiritual predecessors of Jesus were the classical prophets of Israel and not the apocalyptic visionaries.

When H. Gunkel turned his form-critical method to a study of the apocalyptic literature, he began the inquiry into the sociological roots of apocalyptic. He argued that the eschatological ideas associated with the Day of Yahweh were derived from the Babylonian creation myth, where primeval existence was projected into the future, chaos returned and a new heaven and earth were created. H. Gressmann joined Gunkel in concluding that the apocalyptists drew heavily on Canaanite myth, though Gressmann argued that the eschatological ideas were of great antiquity and were common to the ancient Semitic world-view. He virtually identified the eschatology of the apocalyptic literature with these myths recast in Jewish thought-forms. S. Mowinckel maintained that eschatological formulations derived from the Day of Yahweh's enthronement liturgies in the New Year's festival in early Israel. Hebrew eschatology was, to him, a pro-

105. J. Wellhausen, Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels (1879).
106. H. Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit (1895).
107. H. Gressmann, op. cit.
108. S. Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien II (1922).
jection into the future of what had been dramatically 109 presented in the cult.

J. Weiss and A. Schweitzer broke with Wellhausen's evaluation of the apocalyptic literature by declaring that Jesus' message of the Kingdom of God could be understood only within the context of Jewish apocalyptic thought of that day. They stressed that Jesus' message heralded the imminent disruption of the age by the coming Kingdom, a distinctive element in many examples of the apocalyptic literature and long removed in time and thought from the prophets.

It remained for R.H. Charles to edit and publish the all-important texts of the apocalyptic literature, as well as to produce commentaries on many of the individual compositions. His work remains the foundation upon which recent scholarship has continued to build. His literary categories have not withstood the test of time, but the enduring value of solid textual work is nowhere so evident as here. He recognized the root of apocalyptic in Old Testament prophecy (finding apocalyptic in the canonical prophets ) and rejected Wellhausen's omission of apocalyptic in the development of New Testament thought.

110. J. Weiss, Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes (1892) and A. Schweitzer, Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung (1906).
In essence, the bequest of early scholarship to the community of modern scholars is a body of literature, with many of the major lines of investigation already drawn. The surviving works have little in common, written in different languages and containing little consistent doctrine or outlook. Their unity is not unlike that of the Old Testament itself, many disparate voices raised in devotion to God, attentive to His word and expectant of His imminent act to deliver His people. The earlier scholars recognized this and have pointed the way toward a fuller understanding of the apocalyptic literature as manifestations of the Jews' vital faith.

VI. The Definition of Apocalyptic

Having seen that apocalyptic has been used in reference to a body of literature, a group of ideas or themes and a way of looking at the world, we may proceed toward a definition: "what is apocalyptic?" In looking for a starting point to construct that definition, it is important to realize that from the very beginning the term apocalyptic has been used to describe a body of literature, which has been distinguished by a set of theological concepts.

J. Lindblom, W. Baumgartner, H.W. Robinson and H.H. Rowley all recognized this fact and, writing within the space of a few years, made significant contributions to the understanding of apocalyptic as a literary phenomenon.
Their judgments continue to carry the weight of critical scholarship in spite of the many advances in the field. The wisest course of action, in pursuing the goal of a definition, would be to begin with the judgment of a recognized authority on the prophetic literature and traditions.

In his monograph on Is. 24-27, a section of Scripture long recognized by many scholars as having an affinity with the ideas of the later apocalyptic literature, J. Lindblom listed certain features as characteristic:

transcendentalism, mythology, cosmological orientation, pessimistic treatment of history, dualism, division of history into periods, the doctrine of two ages, playing with numbers, pseudo-ecstasy, artificial claims of inspiration, pseudonymity, and mysteriousness.

Later Lindblom compared prophetic eschatology and apocalyptic:

The difference between eschatology and apocalyptic does not lie in the character of the individual ideas employed, but is seen rather in the entire literary character of the two genres...In the apocalyptic writings of later Judaism, a sustained attempt is made to

115. J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, p.422.
give a coherent and systematic form to eschatological ideas taken over from the prophets and from popular belief, presenting them as divine secrets and mysterious doctrines...generally intended to be read by the groups of the initiated...What is determinative is general tendency, psychological background, and literary character.

Scholarship has passed beyond Lindblom's outline of the differentiation between prophecy and apocalyptic. He did not touch on the multi-dimensional nature of the apocalyptic literature nor the different traditions and developments within the apocalyptic movement itself.

In an article which did not attain much interest, M. Rist protested against the vagueness of previous definitions of apocalyptic. He postulated a basic pattern of apocalyptic thought (dualistic and eschatological) which was occasionally supplemented by such secondary features as vision-form, pseudonymity, the Messiah, angels, symbolism, etc., which were neither normative nor constitutive. The idea was sound, but Rist did not carry through with it. Pseudonymity and angelology are such wholly different phenomena that they ought never to be included under the same designation. To be sure, they are important to an understanding of apocalyptic and should be included in its definition, but not in this manner. Nevertheless, the observation that apocalyptic ideas are more significant than literary forms is especially noteworthy.

G.E. Ladd, who has contributed to the understanding of 'realized eschatology' in New Testament studies, distinguished between apocalyptic as a literary group and as a system of thought. Because his emphasis lay more upon this dichotomy than on a rigorous definition, Ladd also failed to consider apocalyptic as an historical phenomenon or a distinctive world-view.

Prior to both Rist and Ladd, O. Plöger outlined a number of preliminary arguments and then concluded that the apocalyptic world-view was the inevitable result of the loss of the kingship and the establishment of the theocracy, the rule of God through a priestly hierarchy.

P.D. Hanson has contributed to the understanding of the apocalyptic outlook as the product of certain sociological and psychological forces within the Jewish community. He shied away from reliance upon lists of literary or ideational characteristics in his definitions, observing that no one book contains all the features of any list and that in retaining a literary definition there was the likelihood of defining apocalyptic all too broadly and without coming to grips with the individual texts. His definitions for prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology recognize the historical dimensions of the task. Apocalyptic eschatology

117. G.E. Ladd, Jesus and the Kingdom, pp.72-87.
118. O. Plöger, Theocracy and Eschatology, p.33.
119. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., p.229.
120. Ibid., p.xi.
took over from prophetic eschatology when the prophetic task of integrating visionary insight—the glimpse of the future received in the heavenly council—into the structures and personalities of the real world is abdicated.

Hanson observed that the forms of the apocalyptic literature were first used in the earlier literature of Judaism. Hence, he turned to the historical, sociological circumstances as more important to a proper understanding of apocalyptic. He did admit that the literary forms which the apocalyptists took up were often hybridized so that some acquired a distinctive character. However, the necessary form-critical work has not been carried out on the texts to allow any summarization.

W. Schmithals went much further than Hanson in moving away from a literary definition of apocalyptic:

The apocalyptic understanding of existence is proposed as a basic experience of existence for every possible derivation from the existing situation. It is always more than a reaction to causal structures in existing reality. It cannot die because it was never born, and the fact that historical development cannot kill it shows that it was also not begotten by history.

Apocalyptic, for Schmithals, is an outlook on life, an option always open if not consistently chosen. It is based upon a pessimistic mentality joined to a faith-system which postulated divine intervention. However, Schmithals has gone too

121. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.11f.
122. Ibid., pp.250f.
123. Ibid., pp.28-30.
124. Ibid., p.11.
far in jettisoning the developmental aspect of apocalyptic as well as its place within the context of the Old Testament and Judaism and in not recognizing the unique relationship between apocalyptic and the Judaeo-Christian concept of time/history. Apocalyptic was tied to history and, within Judaism, was severely stifled after the disappointments of 70 and 135 A.D.

While it is easy to agree with Hanson in his evaluation of the historical context as important in the development of apocalyptic, he has erred in denying a literary definition to apocalyptic in order to speak of its emergence within the prophetic literature of the early post-exilic period. He would, of course, affirm that apocalyptic can refer to a literary movement which, unlike the הוהי עולם of the prophets, had no pre-literary history. Because apocalyptic is descriptive of a literary group, it seems wise to seek a definition which includes that point. For, if we begin from Hanson's historico-sociological model of conflict, we will have difficulty in understanding an apocalyptic work which does not conform to his model.

When formulating a definition of apocalyptic, we must take into account that it was, at times, a literature of the underground, the product of a group denied its full status in society. At other times, the nationalistic writings of a

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small nation pushed around the ring of world politics would be a good description of the literature. And again, especially later, it was the literature of secret groups, which circulated it privately, having withdrawn it from the public at large when the writings' popularity had cheapened its impact and meaning.

The apocalyptic literature, especially in its later stages, is a major literary group (or genre), as fully unique as the Wisdom literature or the prophetic literature. As D.S. Russell observed:

The character of Jewish apocalyptic literature throughout the inter-testamental period is complex in the extreme; there are considerable differences between one book and another... There is, however, a homogeneity about it which justifies its classification as a distinct literary corpus. It is not always easy to define in what this homogeneity consists for, although it reveals certain fairly well-defined characteristics, apocalyptic is recognizable even when some of its formal characteristics are absent.

It is here that Hanson parted company. Hanson pointed out the high frequency of 'formal characteristics' being absent in major apocalyptic works. He noted that Trito-Isaiah does not possess the 'formal characteristics' of apocalyptic like Zechariah 1-8, yet he categorized Trito-Isaiah as 'early-

apocalyptic' and Zechariah 1-8 'apocalyptic-form'.

K. Koch arrived at conclusions similar to those of Russell. Part of the difficulty is that Hanson was working with sixth- and fifth-century B.C. works, while the others focused on the writings of the second century B.C.

P. von der Osten-Sacken has examined the references in Dan. 2,7,8-12 to a deterministic view of history and has analyzed them with a view to verifying whether this perspective was taken from Wisdom or prophecy. He looked at them through the categories of Wisdom: the order of creation and the regularity of natural phenomena, the doctrine that everything has its 'time', and the ordering of a man's life. He concluded that apocalyptic, as represented in the book of Daniel, cannot derive solely from Wisdom. He stated that it can be called '...a legitimate, if also late and special, child of prophecy which, with the passing years, first opened itself to Wisdom, although it was not without learning in earlier times'.

The theme of determinism is a weak link in von Rad's attempt to derive apocalyptic from Wisdom. There is a vast

130. K. Koch, op. cit., p.33.
132. Ibid., p.63; the translation is mine.
difference between the 'determinism' of Qoheleth, for example, and the 'determined end' of time in the apocalyptic literature; determinism is not, however, an essential doctrine of any Wisdom or apocalyptic tradition.

J.G. Gammie has offered a definition of apocalyptic which recognized its literary and ideational natures:

Apocalyptic literature is a major and composite literary genre comparable to wisdom literature and prophetic literature; a work may be classified as belonging to this composite literary genre provided it contains (i) some form of revelation, whether of future events or heavenly contents; (ii) a cluster of sub-genres or component genres; and (iii) a cluster of ideational elements common to works already agreed to belong to the apocalyptic literature.

In order to achieve greater precision in these statements and to incorporate work already done in the field, it is necessary to modify this definition.

I would amend Gammie's point (1) by insisting upon the artificial nature of the apocalyptists' claims to inspiration. G.E. Ladd and H.H. Rowley asserted that the relevance of the apocalyptic literature lay in its power to summon spiritual strength in its readers, not in its veracity

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133. Cf. the commentaries on passages like Qoh. 3:1-15; D.S. Russell, op. cit., pp.230-234; H.H. Rowley, op. cit., pp.167-171; and G. von Rad, 'The Divine Determination of Times', Wisdom in Israel, pp.263-283. W. Zimmerli, Old Testament Theology in Outline, p.237, observed: 'If the interpretation of apocalypticism as determinism were correct, there would be no place for free will'. But side-by-side are 'the legends of the faithfulness of Daniel and his friends'.


as ancient writings but as a sincere statement of God's coming Kingship. The idea of pre-diluvian writings may have been rejected out of hand, but the Jews were less concerned with authorship, so the authority of the apocalyptic literature could be separated from its authenticity fairly easily.

Gammie's point (ii) again points up the lack of distinction in many works between literary form and literary devices. K. Koch's form-critical study, although not a detailed study of the apocalyptic literature, lumped together features such as pseudonymity and symbolism and parenetic speeches. Pseudonymity and symbolism are literary devices and not literary forms. Gammie's own list of sub-genres (literary forms occurring in the complex literary genre of apocalyptic) properly ignored literary devices, but their omission from the definition is inexcusable; the literary devices of the apocalyptic literature form a distinctive characteristic.

Gammie's point (iii) lacks the idea of a historical or sociological context as a background for the ideational elements, a point which Hanson and Plöger particularly emphasized. Apocalyptic is more than a certain mental attitude against oppressive powers; Gammie's definition does not suggest this.

J.J. Collins' definition of 'apocalypse' is an excellent

137. Cf. my definition for lists of devices, forms and ideational elements.
one to utilize:

'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, in so far as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, in so far as it involves another, supernatural world.

This definition has been employed in a narrow sense, as a literary form employed by the apocalyptists; more broadly, it is virtually a definition for 'apocalyptic literature' taken as a whole.

Modifications of P.D. Hanson's definition of apocalypticism produce an adequate understanding of the nature of the term: 'apocalypticism is a system of thought produced within movements which see themselves in conflict (i.e. with oppressive leaders, foreign nations, the forces of evil, or the 'world'). This system of thought builds upon a specific cosmological and eschatological perspective in generating a symbolic universe which serves to establish the identity of the community in relation to its opponents and to God and by which the community interprets reality'.

140. The broader definition runs into trouble when the more narrow definition is required (Test. Levi 2:5-5:7); cf. P.D. Hanson, 'Apocalypticism', *IDBSup*, p.29, and P. Vielhauer, *art. cit.*, p.582.
141. P.D. Hanson, *art. cit.*, pp.28,30. This definition suffered because it was consciously molded to the situation in the early post-exilic community and not on the second-century B.C. religious environment.
The term apocalyptic can be used as a designation of the following:

1) apocalyptic can refer to a religious outlook on life and history, which is informed by the knowledge of the imminent and transforming triumph of God at the end of the age (or a victory within history with 'eternal' effects) over His enemies, cosmic and earthly, and of the benefits which this victory will bring to His people and of the punishment which will be unleashed upon His enemies, and/or which is informed by the disclosure of those agencies within the cosmological dimension whereby the commands of God concerning nature and history are carried out;

2) apocalyptic can refer to a major and composite literary genre (or group), produced by representatives of this perspective, which features:

   i) some claim, albeit artificial, to being a revelation of the future and/or the cosmological world,

   ii) a cluster of ideational concepts which accord with that outlook,

   iii) a cluster of sub-genres (literary forms) suitable to express the ideational elements,

   iv) a cluster of literary devices which modify the sub-genres in ways characteristic of the perspective;

3) apocalyptic can be used, with reservations, to describe a literary passage, not included under 2), which features:

   i) the outlook described in 1),

   ii) a cluster of ideational concepts, sub-genres and/or literary devices which accord with that outlook.
VII. The Historical Development of Apocalyptic

I have consciously limited this study of the historical development of apocalyptic to the links between prophecy and apocalyptic, although I have already stated that there were links to other major Jewish traditions. Within this context I will use the term apocalyptic in the full variety of its meaning and definition.

A. The Disintegration of Prophecy

P.R. Ackroyd was undoubtedly correct in his assessment of the sixth century B.C. as an era characterized by an abundance of creative intellectual thought. Certainly

143. Modified cosmic, temporal and moral dualism; eschatological interest, Messianism, angelology and demonology, pessimistic view of history, modified determinism, ethical concern, etc.

144. Vision and dialogue forms, vaticinia ex eventu, parenesis, liturgical genres, nature wisdom, stories, fables, allegory, dialogue, riddle, parable, interpretation of prophecy, eschatological prediction, etc.

145. Symbolism, use of imagery, numerology, pseudonymity, etc.

146. In this study I will use the term apocalyptic in every sense outlined here. I acknowledge the possibility of misunderstanding, although I have made an effort to clarify, through context and additional modifiers, the correct sense of the word. Nevertheless, the reader is enjoined to be aware of the full scope of the definition of apocalyptic and to choose carefully the appropriate shade of meaning in a particular situation.

147. Cf. Gen. 15 as a non-prophetic passage which tends toward the definition of an apocalyptic passage.

148. P.R. Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration, pp.7-12.
the experiences of exile and the prophetic promises of restoration promoted this activity by stimulating a radical rethinking of the basic convictions by which the Jews had ordered their lives. One would not expect this surge of vitality to bypass the prophetic movement, for it had, in great measure, been given birth by it.

Indeed the sixth century B.C. was a turning point for the prophetic movement. A reading of those prophets whose careers spanned the years of disaster, 597 and 587 B.C., reveals that the sequence of 'doom' proclamations, so characteristic of the pre-exilic canonical prophets, came to an abrupt end at the fall of Jerusalem. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel ceased speaking critically of Israel's failures and began to elaborate on the theme of the restoration for the Jewish community to Judah and the re-establishment of normal patterns of life. D.L. Petersen may be right in asserting that Jeremiah and Ezekiel mark the end of classical prophecy as such, arguing that the demise of prophecy followed quickly upon the crisis of authority reflected in Jeremiah's confrontations with other Yahwistic prophets and upon the impossibility of a continuing relationship with the defunct Israelite monarchy.

While it is true that prophecy underwent a great change at the same time that the kingship was lost to Israel, it is

misleading to emphasize an inherent relationship between
king and prophet. The loss of kingship altered the
nature of Israel from a political state to a religious com-
munity; the prophetic figures of the early post-exilic
period, given stature because of the prophetic role in the
exile experience, spoke with freedom within the political
arena. The prophetic movement, taken as a whole, is much
too varied to be comprehended so simplistically. There
were the great individual prophets, exceptional personali-
ties within the Jewish community whom one should not expect
to occur on a regular basis. There were the prophets who
filled an 'institutional' role within the Temple cultus, as
well as the royal court. These several offices assumed a
better definition within the structure instituted, most
forcefully, by Solomon. However, the prophets were not
limited to one, or any combination of roles. They cannot be
understood as exclusively attached to court or cult, and they
cannot be understood without reference to these institutions.

Prophecy, toward the end of the exile, was oriented to-
ward the proclamation of deliverance and restoration. At
least from an external perspective, this phase of prophecy
stood in the shoes of the 'salvation prophets' whom Jeremiah

151. F.M. Cross, *op. cit.,* p.223.
152. A possible exception to this could be the deuterono-
omistic groups, with their insistence upon repentance and
had confronted. However, any semblance of unity soon disappeared; from this time the prophetic movement began to fragment and the resulting segments diverged and progressed along paths quite uncharacteristic of pre-exilic prophecy. The message of salvation addressed to the Jewish community (or some portion of it) stands central to the post-exilic prophets. Petersen may be correct in arguing for a transformation of the prophetic movement around a 'religio-political locus' as a reaction to the leadership vacuum created by the fall of the kingship.

The later theocratic leadership of the Jews looked to Ezekiel, and the priestly tradition he represented, as its source and legitimation. O. Plöger has argued convincingly that the theocracy viewed the prophetic movement as 'bridges of legitimation': Ezekiel represented prophetic legitimation for the form of the post-exilic community and Haggai and Zechariah (cf. Ezra 5:1-2) gave authorization to the second Temple and its cult.

Ezekiel's role in the prophetic movement is accompanied by his importance to post-exilic religion in general. He has been called the 'father of apocalyptic' for his use of sym-

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154. O.H. Steck, _art. cit._, pp.201,206, mentioned that Ezekiel and his followers 'activate prophetically' the Jerusalem priestly tradition.
155. O. Plöger, _op. cit._, pp.42f.
156. D.L. Petersen, _op. cit._, p.56.
bolism, vision, allegory and angels. He is also referred
to as the 'father of Judaism' because of his connection with
Ezra and the legal and religious aspects of his ministry.

Several reasons are suggested to explain the change in
the prophetic movement as it moved through the exilic and
early post-exilic period. We can mention several forces
(i.e. the cult, the lack of nation-status, the politicization
of the prophetic group, the increased world-consciousness of
the community) which influenced the voices raised as suc-
cessors to the great prophets. Likewise, there are general
trends (i.e. toward canon, transcendence, eschatology, etc.)
which characterized the whole of post-exilic Judaism and
the prophetic movement in particular.

It was in the post-exilic period that the 'burden of
history', assumed by the pre-exilic prophets, became too
much for their successors within and without the cult to
bear. S.B. Frost attributed this decline of prophecy to
prophetic conflict, the extended oppression of the Jews, and
an over-long framework of history. This anticipated the
positive statement of the apocalyptic world-view and the

G.W. Anderson, op. cit., p.139.
159. Cf. D.L. Petersen, op. cit., pp.5f., for a summary
of theories of R. Pfeiffer, G. Von Rad, A.R. Johnson, J.L.
Crenshaw, E. Hammershaimb, F.M. Cross, P.D. Hanson, O. Ploger.
160. Cf. J.L. Crenshaw, op. cit., pp.91-109; the 'bur-
den' that God would fulfill His promises through history.
161. S.B. Frost, 'Apocalyptic and History', The Bible
and Modern Scholarship, ed. J.P. Hyatt, p.112.
accommodating positions of Wisdom and the Chronicler's prophetic figures vis-à-vis Israel's future hope.

D.L. Petersen was correct, to a degree, when he pointed out that the prophetic movement continued in two radically different channels in the post-exilic period and that these channels are represented by the Chronicles and the 'deutero-prophetic' collections. According to his analysis, the Chronicler credited the Levitical groups within the Temple cult as the official successors of the earlier prophets, whereas the eschatologically-oriented prophetic groups produced the deutero-prophetic literature. Coupled to this division in the prophetic literature was the desire of post-exilic Judaism to understand the prophetic movement as a unified tradition. Some of these attempts are found in the prophetic literature itself and reveal how the prophetic movement was misinterpreted by later generations.

Ezek. 38-39 contains such a distinct perspective, presenting a picture of a succession of prophets predicting the

162. The apocalyptic world-view could envision divine intervention in history; the others did not consider the present as the arena of God's activity.
164. Ibid., p.8; he assumed the groups were antithetical, but that judgment is too simplistic.
165. Cf. O.H. Steck, art. cit., pp.193-198,201f.; we are truly justified in speaking of a 'prophetic theological stream' in the post-exilic period. But, at the same time, we must allow for the divisions within prophecy (i.e. prophetic streams of tradition).
attack of Jerusalem by the nations and the defeat of those nations through divine intervention. Ezek. 38:17 identifies a tradition of salvation prophets heavily influenced by concepts underlying the Jerusalem cult, (but this verse does not refer to all prior prophetic activity, particularly that of Ezekiel himself, which was active during and/or after the exile).

Zech. 1:6 and 7:12 refer to the 'former prophets' who gave Torah and the word of Yahweh to Israel. These references are found in passages strongly marked by deuteronomistic phraseology and thought, and they suggest the deuteronomistic prophets of repentance. Zechariah seems to be aware of a tradition of long standing, in which he participates, for we can discern its activity before and after the exile.

The enigmatic passage Zech. 13:2-6 decrees that Yahweh would make an end to the prophets. In light of the division within the early post-exilic community and the prophetic activity of the Levitical figures (which the author of this passage would have opposed), such a reference to the end of prophecy makes better sense when limited to prophecy within the cult (it certainly would not be directed at the author's own prophetic activity). There appears to be in Zech. 13:2-6 the implicit recognition that the true prophetic function had somehow been modified as a result of the conflict within

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167. O.H. Steck, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, pp.74-80,133-144.
the community.

I propose to sketch the paths of prophecy in the post-exilic period to clarify the forms prophecy assumed as a continuing phenomenon. I believe that the prophetic writings themselves disclose certain directions and tendencies within the latter stages of the prophetic movement. From this we shall be able to speak to the subject of the continuity between the prophetic traditionists and the apocalyptists and the prophetic and apocalyptic world-views.

The reconstructions of the later post-exilic period by O. Plöger and the early post-exilic era by P.D. Hanson have been accepted, in essence, by the majority of recent scholarship. These reconstructions postulated a deep rift within the community, which created certain conditions within which the prophetic figures and circles had to operate. It has been demonstrated that most of the post-exilic prophetic literature is either 'theocratic' or 'conventicle', referring to positive and negative sociological orientations which feature opinions of the official Jewish leadership and its conservative, controlling policies.

Most scholars have accepted S. Mowinckel's observation that the future hope of the prophets after the restoration period was increasingly detached from the 'present moment',

169. O. Plöger, Theocracy and Eschatology, originated these terms.
(i.e. the concrete time in which the prophet ministered ) as well as the specific historical event which past prophets had predicted.

The book of Joel is an example. The terminology of earlier prophets is generalized: the nations replace Assyria or Babylon. Events and conditions are exaggerated. The description parallels cultic descriptions of mythic tales; Yahweh does not act through human agencies, as He was described by earlier prophets, but in a manner reminiscent of cultic dramatizations. This kind of description is common to the apocalyptic literature as well.

In the apocalyptic literature the future hope of the authors begins to transcend the historically-oriented future hope of the earlier prophetic writings. The doctrines of life after death (i.e. resurrection and immortality ) take their place beside the expectation of an earthly kingdom in which the kingship was restored to Israel. These newer doctrines may very well be the result of normal developments within Judaism, for such marks are found, albeit infrequently, in the Psalter.

171. G. von Rad, op. cit., p.299, stated that the prophets were convinced that "...they stood exactly at that turning point in history which was crucial for the existence of God's people'.

172. Cf. H.H. Rowley, op. cit., pp.66,73; he discerned the doctrine of immortality in the Book of Jubilees (23:30f.) but judged that the doctrine of resurrection (Test. Benj. 10:6-8, etc., Dan. 12:1-3) was much more representative of Jewish thought in general.
Further information concerning the development of beliefs in immortality and resurrection is restricted by the severe limitation of evidence for the post-exilic period. I feel, however, that such references to existence after death indicate a departure from the traditional historically-based belief (i.e. the earthly Jewish kingdom mediating God's rule to the nations) and a significant deviation of the author's beliefs from the norm, the 'official' hope.

According to D.L. Petersen, the Chronicler was just as conscious of prophetic tradition as the deuteroprophetic writers. He noted that the Chronicler placed the prophetic figure in a central position vis-à-vis the rise and fall of the monarchy. G. von Rad mentioned that institutional and political interests dominate the Levitical sermons of the Chronicler's prophetic figures, which Petersen interpreted as the theocracy's use of past prophets to legitimate its own authority. The Chronicler portrayed the prophets as having 'the dogma for Israelite success'. This was communicated through the sermon-form: doctrine, application and exhortation. The hermeneutical method of these

175. D.L. Petersen, op. cit., p.57.
176. Ibid., p.55.
preachers was textual and atomistical; texts from Torah or other writings were separated from their contexts and applied to wholly different situations. The Chronicler's outlook was governed to a degree by his subject (the past history of Israel), but there is substance in the arguments of O. Plöger and others that the Chronicler intentionally refrained from eschatological considerations.

I would apply two criteria to the post-exilic prophetic writings which will enable a tentative categorization of the different strands of writing: attitude toward the cult and community leaders and the form of the proclamation of a future hope. An analysis of the post-exilic prophetic writings will flesh out the historical paths on which prophecy moved toward the era of the apocalyptic literature.

During and after the exile, certain segments of the community moved into leadership vacuum left by the loss of the kingship. Some segments of the prophetic movement also entered the arena of political activity. The Davidic line did not seem to influence the community in exile as much as might be expected. Although the Davidic lineage was the

178. Ibid., pp.268-276.
179. O. Plöger, op. cit., p.41.
subject of sporadic eruptions of hope after the exile, the royal figure did not re-emerge as a political force. The hopes which had centered on the king became latent, were transferred to God or disappeared as the theocracy exercised priestly control over the community and suppressed the concept of kingship and political existence. With the conventicle groups rejecting the political leadership of the community, there was little expectation which would attach to the king (who was a political figure as well as religious). Kingship did not become a viable option for the Jews until they once again enjoyed self-rule in the latter half of the second century B.C. The Hasmonean dynasty provided a touchstone for the revitalization of the concept of the ideal king, the Messiah.

A group of followers of Deutero-Isaiah, who had democratized the royal office (Is. 55:3) by substituting the people for the non-existent monarch, took to themselves the responsibility of declaring God's intentions to the rest of the community. Their view of the restoration (Is.60-62) was patterned on the predictions of their master. Their political platform may have been naive, but it provided an alternative to an 'orthodoxy' bogged down in earthly machi-

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181. Jehoiachin (II Kings 25) appears to have had no influence upon the Jews in Babylon; Zerubbabel did not long hinder the theocracy's development, if he did at all; the royal Psalms and the Davidic promises could have been reinterpreted within the context of the theocracy.

182. O. Ploger, op. cit., p.34.

nations. The whole thrust of the Deutero- and Trito-Isaianic tradition in its entry into the political arena is to assert God's ability to act directly to determine the future of the people. This movement spelled a distinct and irreversible development within the prophetic movement.

The circle of Deutero-Isaiah's disciples was repulsed in its attempt to gain a voice in the governing of the people by a party controlled by Zadokite interests. This group also had a strong prophetic background. It harkened back to Ezekiel and to the Jerusalem Temple traditions behind him. Their restoration plans (cf. Ezek. 40-48) were much more pragmatic than those of Trito-Isaiah: they were able to enter into political alliances, invest community institutions with a degree of realized hope and live in the confidence that Yahweh was working through it and through history for the betterment of the people. It interpreted events to justify its plans and suborned past prophecy to legitimate itself.

Since the post-exilic community centered around the Temple and its priesthood instead of continuing the pre-

184. Cf. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.71-75; Hanson spoke of Trito-Isaiah losing the political side of the prophetic office (p.26), while I am here arguing for an entry into politics. Hanson referred to the advisor-status (as enjoyed by Isaiah); I am asserting that Trito-Isaiah became the point of political opposition to the theocracy. There is no contradiction here.


186. The theocracy did not reject the idea of contemporarly prophecy (cf. Joel and the Levitical Temple personnel) as long as it remained within its control.
exilic pattern of the king and royal court, a suggestion germane to the discussion of the prophetic movement is its awareness and utilization of the cultic traditions in the communication of its messages. Scholars have recognized Ezekiel's use of priestly forms and Deutero-Isaiah's marked affinity with the Psalter. P. von der Osten-Sacken listed a number of scholars who had concluded that the thought-world of many of the exilic and post-exilic prophets presupposed the cultic picture of Yahweh as 'eschatological King'. Scholars like J. Bright would admit that the cult of the second Temple proclaimed Yahweh's Kingship and His 'eschatological triumph' over all peoples.

The two pillars of the Jerusalem cult tradition were the choice of God to have His Temple there and to make David's lineage the ruling family of His people. The Israelites had inherited a tradition of Zion which depicted the combined assault on Zion of nations and kings and their repulsion by Yahweh. It was the priestly writer who gave this belief its most important corollary: Yahweh was the true King of the world, both in fact and for all time.

188. J. Bright, A History of Israel, p.448.
Eissfeldt's analysis of the 'accession songs' of the Psalter, which extoll the royal rule of Yahweh, led him to the conclusion that they frequently display a rather eschatological outlook:

The kingly rule of Yahweh, of which in the present only tokens are to be seen, will reveal itself in glory visibly to the whole world; of this the worshipping community is quite persuaded.

I. Engnell stated that the intense expectation of a Messiah during the centuries of the apocalyptic literature's popularity grew out of the royal ideology, the sacral kingship which Israel shared with many Near Eastern peoples. He stated that the concept of 'world domination' was an essential element in the sacral kingship ideology and, therefore, was a primitive thought and not an exilic innovation by Deutero-Isaiah. Engnell held that Judaism applied messianic status to living persons in much the same way that earlier Israel had anticipated an ideal king from David's line. While the prophets may have adopted the concept of an 'expected one' from its cultic context, it nevertheless remained within the cult in some form, represented at least by those passages in the Psalms which retain the traditional

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royal ritual categories.

The arguments of these scholars concerning the nature and influence of the cult in the post-exilic period must be taken into account. The cult became a potent influence upon the prophetic movement and a contributor to the changes which occurred within that tradition. When scholars claim that the prophets gave the apocalyptic movement its central themes (Yahweh's Kingship, His judgment upon His enemies, the liberation of His people and the establishment of His rule) they often neglect the fact that the cult proclaimed these same themes as well. This is substantially the argument of S. Mowinckel, who described the role of the cult in the development of Jewish eschatology.

The similarities between the cultic and post-exilic prophetic representations of Yahweh's universal Kingship, the domination of most phases of post-exilic Judaism by the cult and its leaders, and the disappearance of historical grounding of the prophetic future hope (so typical of the cult and untypical of the pre-exilic and exilic prophets' statements) tend to confirm the conclusion that there was a significant relationship between the traditions of the cult and post-exilic prophetic writings. This has been emphasized by those scholars who have observed that the post-exilic

199. S. Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien II, pp.211ff.
prophets served in the cult in a variety of ways.

Images taken from the milieu of the cult, which had formerly been utilized as idealized pictures of salvation (e.g. Is. 2:2-5) and judgment (Is. 2:10-22), became more historicized in the post-exilic writings (i.e. placed in a non-specified future setting or described without a realistic historical context). The concepts most relevant are: the attack of the nations, the coming of Yahweh to judge and to rule, and the theophany of Yahweh (cf. Ps. 48:4-8, 96:13, 97:2-5, etc.). These themes turn up in significant passages in the post-exilic prophetic writings. The attack of the nations is found in elaborate form in Ezek. 38-39, Joel 3-4, and Zech. 12-14. The theophany is an important element in the message of Haggai, while the coming of God in judgment and to rule over His people is found in Malachi 3:1-3,19-24.

An examination of the pre-exilic prophets reveals that these elements were used quite early within specific historical situations (cf. Amos 5:18-20, Mic. 1:2-5, Zeph. 1:2-8, etc.), where historical realities could be identified. Such settings did not exist for the post-exilic prophets, so they became instead proclamations of Yahweh's (universal)

201. W. Zimmerli, op. cit., p.196, described this Isaianic passages as 'images'.
202. This passage may be of exilic origin.
203. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology II, p.297, attributed to this fact, inter alia, the demise of classical prophecy.
Kingship.

I would conclude by stating that there were two major bifurcations of the prophetic movement after the exile, one concerning the future hope and the other concerning the attitude toward the cult and its leadership. Every post-exilic prophetic figure and composition can be characterized as either pro-cultic or anti-cultic or, similarly, as expressing a future hope 'beyond history' or within history.

It appears to me that Haggai, Zechariah 1-8 and Joel are all pro-cultic and that they each offer a definite future hope. The prophetic figures of the Chronicler are also pro-cultic, yet they do not speak of a future hope beyond an immediate historical situation. Taken together, these writings may be taken as representatives of the form of theocratic prophecy. Within the theocratic framework, they represent the extremes of prophets expressing a future beyond history and restricted to particular situations.

The anti-cultic prophetic movement is more complex than the pro-cultic. Since the Temple stood close to the core of the essence of Judaism, it held an attraction for all Jews. The anti-cultic conventicles were influenced by the Temple and included it in their visions of the future (cf. Is. 66:20-24). Trito-Isaiah, Deutero-Zechariah and

204. I hold to the essential unity of the book of Joel; cf. H.W. Wolff, Joel and Amos, pp.6-8. I cannot agree with Wolff that Joel belonged to the conventicle milieu (p.12).
Malachi all represent circles which were originally pro-
cultic and which became estranged from the cult and disen-
chanted with its leaders. Their opposition to the cult
cannot, therefore, be read in all passages with the same
intensity; their writings represent different degrees of
alienation from their spiritual home. They hold out hope
for the purification of the community and its institutional
structures.

There was no permanent break between the theocracy and
the conventicles, in the sense of permanent open conflict.
Hanson's conjecture that the Chronicler's writings indicate
a more harmonious relationship between the two factions is
certainly a possibility.

B. Theocratic Prophecy

I have argued that we can expect certain post-exilic
prophets to be supportive of the cult at Jerusalem and of
its leaders. Of the post-exilic prophetic writings, Haggai,
Zechariah 1-8 and Joel fit this description. Haggai and
Zechariah 1-8 stem from the restoration period; Joel has
been dated to the fourth or third century B.C.

P.D. Hanson has argued convincingly that Ezek. 40-48
and Is. 60-62 represent 'restoration programs' of groups

205. Both O. Plöger and P.D. Hanson, in stressing the
conventicle as the home of eschatological thinking, miss the
point that the original break was over ethical misconduct by
the theocratic leaders.

206. Ezek. 38-39 (if post-exilic) could be included
also. Typologically, it is similar to Joel 3-4.
vying for the leadership of the early post-exilic community. He represented the followers of Ezekiel as pragmatic priests whose 'apocalyptic' tendencies, like the messages of Haggai and Zechariah, were operative within a situation of community conflict and designed to achieve supremacy and control in that conflict. While Hanson did admit a real future-oriented impatience in Ezekiel himself, he has stressed too strongly the legalistic side of this prophet and has wrongly limited his contributions to Judaism to the theocracy alone. G.W. Anderson summarized Ezekiel well:

\[\text{Ezekiel}\] represents a transition to a new emphasis in prophecy and to new developments in Israel's religion. Although the message is by no means absent from the teachings of his predecessors, he presents it with a fulness of detail which is new. In this he heralds the post-exilic prophecies of restoration. He is also the morning star of apocalyptic, even if we hold that xxxviii and xxxix are from a later writer.

The Zadokite party, which included the remnants of the pre-exilic priesthood, claimed Ezekiel as its own. It may have carried out an editing of Ezek. 40-48 which limited priestly functioning to themselves (cf. 44:10-14, etc.). The Zadokites were forced, during the restoration era, to walk the line between the extravagant, unrealistic claims

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207. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.71-75.
208. Ibid., pp.233-259.
of the followers of Deutero-Isaiah and the discouraged resignation of the majority of the people. They sought to reestablish the cult of the pre-exilic period under their control, utilizing official decree (an alliance with the Persians) or renewed prophecy (Haggai and Zechariah) to achieve their goals.

These two early post-exilic prophets were concerned to address themselves to the discrepancy between the conditions in the land and the promises of the exilic prophets concerning the restoration, as a background to their commands to the people to rebuild the Temple. This tension was inherited mainly from Deutero-Isaiah. The visions of a 'new age' (Hag. 2:15-19, Zech. 8:11-15) ushered in by the rebuilding of the Temple can be seen in Deutero-Isaiah's declaration of a 'new beginning' (Is. 42:9) and a supernatural fertility (Is. 41:18f.). The emphasis upon the Temple was seen mainly in Ezek. 40-48.

Joel 'created' his own tension in a way quite distinct from his predecessors. He contrasted a locust plague (a Day of Yahweh event to Joel) to the eschatological 'Day of Yahweh', when Yahweh would deal with the nations hostile to Him and to His people (4:1-3, 9-17). Although he made use of older traditions and the prophetic writings, Joel did

211. O. Plöger, op. cit., p.33.
212. W. Rudolph, Haggai, Sacharja 1-8, Sacharja 9-14, Maleachi, p.56, summarized Haggai's relation to past prophets.
not suffer the constraints of history upon his freedom to create a description of the future.

Haggai's message centered on the rebuilding of the Temple. He was critical of the community and its leaders only so long as the decision to rebuild (1:2-11) was postponed. He linked agricultural abundance with the laying of the Temple's foundation (2:15-19). The leaders' dedication to this project elicited Haggai's assurance that God was with them (1:13). The Temple's presence seemed to assures the future peace, prosperity and glory of Israel (2:7-9). Haggai assumed that the 'new order' would have to have a sacral center. The Temple represented Yahweh's presence on earth and provided the sole basis for Israel's existence as the people of God.

Haggai's use of the theophany tradition (2:6-7,21-22), which originated in the cult, appears to be this prophet's way of bridging the gap between the reality of life in 520 B.C. and the quality of life anticipated in the future (the 'age of bounty' described by Deutero-Isaiah). The view that the theophany referred solely to the international turmoil of 520 B.C. fails to be convincing because it cannot account for the bringing of the nations' wealth to the Jerusalem Temple.

216. J. Jeremias, Theophanie, p.68.
From our perspective, it seems odd that the literary deposit of Haggai's ministry should have been granted canonical status: his predictions did not come to pass. However, as G. von Rad and R.P. Carroll have pointed out, the same charge could be leveled against Deutero-Isaiah. There were those who either saw a kind of fulfillment of Haggai's ministry in the completion of the Temple or who credited Haggai's role in the rebuilding above his message. We have a hint of the latter opinion in the book of Ezra (5:1, 6:14), whose author referred to the ministry and not to the substance of his message.

Zechariah possessed a positive attitude toward the cult and the Temple like Haggai, though he did not express it as forcefully. He did not drive the people to build the Temple through exhortation, but motivated them by his confidence that Yahweh had willed its renewed existence (1:16). His appropriation of priestly traditions was notably less than it could have been, although one can argue that He took for granted these things. The priesthood was given a featured position (3:1-10), but there are questions as to authorship and intention. The priestly theme of community purity is found in the visions of Zech. 5, but it could have been derived from the message of Ezekiel, which included the same theme.

Zechariah was strongly influenced by Ezekiel, following him in a stress upon humility and ethical concern, hopes for the future Temple, and the use of the vision-form and bizarre imagery. His theology showed a great appreciation for the thought of Ezekiel, but he also had a deep inclination toward the message of Deutero-Isaiah and his themes of comfort, universalism, dependence upon grace, assurance of God’s faithfulness, and confidence in God’s intentions for the Jerusalem community. These two prophets also shared certain literary forms, leading some scholars to comment on the influence of Deutero-Isaiah on Zechariah.

At the same time, there are striking similarities between Zech. 1:2-6 and 7:4-14 and the prose sections of Jeremiah. One is simply unable to categorize Zechariah on the basis of only one of his prophetic predecessors. One

221. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.249f.
222. P.R. Ackroyd, op. cit., p.177; R. Mason, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, pp.28,73ff.
223. R.F. Melugin, The Formation of Isaiah 40-55, identified the various forms of Deutero-Isaiah's salvation and exhortation oracles, pp.13-19,121-128, which also are utilized by Zechariah.
must recognize his multiple relationship and keep them in balance in analyzing his message.

The prophet Joel was a worthy successor to Haggai and Zechariah, for he maintained their positive attitude toward the Temple and its rituals, affirmed their hope for a great future and continued their emphasis upon repentance accompanying Yahweh's involvement with the community. Joel appeared as a classical example of the post-exilic cultic prophet. G.W. Anderson summarized Joel within the prophetic movement:

There are no denunciations of the religious, moral, and social abuses attacked by the pre-exilic prophets; and the general recall to loyal observance of the cult is typical of the post-exilic period. The description of the coming Day of Yahweh, and of the judgment of the nations is also in keeping with later prophecy. Taken as a whole, the atmosphere and ideas of the book are typical of the stage of transition from prophecy to apocalyptic.

Joel's call to the people to participate in the rituals of the Temple marked the accepted view that Joel was in harmony with the cult and the Temple leadership of his day.

There is little question that the Day of Yahweh is the

227. Joel's sarcasm (2:12f.) does not indicate his disenchantment with the cult; it is his means to motivate true repentance before God.
cohesive theme of the book. The first two chapters describe a locust plague as a manifested 'Day of Yahweh'; the last chapters declare the Day of Yahweh as a future event of judgment against the nations. A blending of the present and future pictures appears in 2:1-17. Joel was the first prophet to use the phrase  הוהי in relation to the Jewish future hope of the condemnation of the nations.

G.W. Ahlström has concluded, depending upon the works of H. Gunkel and I. Engnell, that the final section of Joel presented the unfolding of  הוהי , the 'true order of existence'. This הוהי had always been present in the cult as the 'real order' of things. The הוהי included the realities of Yahweh as Creator and King, although these realities were unseen. The Jewish community attempted to order its existence by the הוהי and saw it as the goal and future state of the people.

It is curious that Joel seemed not to seek the manifestation of the הוהי . He rejoiced in answered prayer (2:18f.) and in the prospect of an unclouded future.

In Joel, as in Haggai and Zechariah, Ezekiel made his

231. H.W. Wolff, op. cit., pp.7-12, asserted the authenticity of the Day of Yahweh passages and held to the unity of the book, rejecting the older critical position.

232. H.W. Wolff, op. cit., pp.6f., asserted that 2:1-17 referred to a coming catastrophe for Jerusalem. He argued 1) the passage looks to the future, 2) it speaks of a great army not a plague of locusts, 3) it employs 'traditional' prophetic description. However, the context stands against this view and Wolff's arguments are strained.

233. G.W. Ahlström, art. cit., pp.60f.
influence felt. There are strong similarities between Ezek. 38-39 and Joel 3-4: the nations are gathered, defeated, and judged; the Spirit is poured out upon the people; the fortunes of Israel are reversed. These passages exhibit the future hope lacking in the Chronicles, but they minimize the ethical statements characteristic of Trito-Isaiah, Deutero-Zechariah and Malachi. For this reason among others, I cannot accept O. Ploger's conclusion, and others who have followed his thinking, that Joel 3-4 must have been the product of an eschatological conventicle opposed to the community leadership.

During the years spanned by these three prophets, another strand of theocratic prophecy is discernible, which is represented in the Chronicles. The Levites, credited with the role of prophetic spokesman, did not manifest a future-oriented outlook; they focused on theological doctrines as they might relate to specific historical crises. They did, however, place great emphasis upon cultic ritual as a means to secure victory in battle. These victories,

234. I assume that Ezek. 38-39 was written by Ezekiel or a disciple with the theocratic circle of his followers.
237. O. Ploger, op. cit., p.41.
following upon proper sacramental preparation, were seen as proofs of Yahweh's faithfulness and ability to save. The holy war ideology of confidence in Yahweh who fights for Israel was constantly applied.

The controlling aspect of the Chronicler's sense of history was Yahweh's method of working through cultic ritual and through the forces of Israel to achieve His purposes. This attitude involving the events of Israel's distant past also had current application in the Chronicler's post-exilic situation; even though he dealt with prophecy as an historical phenomenon, the teaching ministry of the successors of those prophets was being carried out in his own day.

C. Conventicle Prophecy

I have stated my support for those scholars who have discerned a portion of the prophetic movement which was rejected by and disillusioned with the cultic leadership of the early post-exilic period. It is perhaps too great a step to speak of a prophetic 'tradition' because the evidence for this movement involves independent blocks of material (Trito-Isaiah, Deutero-Zechariah and Malachi) with

240. O. Plöger, op. cit., p.33
241. Ibid., p.42.
242. Ibid., pp.53ff.; P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.32-208; O.H. Steck, art. cit., pp.208-211.
little external evidence to support or to describe an ongoing prophetic movement apart from the Temple and priesthood. We could indeed wish for an objective description of the circles from which these writings came, for the literature itself bears the distortion of subjective reaction to difficult conditions within the Jewish community. Moreover, our knowledge of the post-exilic period is characterized by enormous gaps. More than one scholar has lamented the lack of solid evidence and definitive statements on this period and has questioned the present status of research and the finality of recent work.

As Ezekiel was adopted as the beginning point for the appearance of priestly traditions within the prophetic movement and as the springboard for fundamental developments within Judaism, so the prophet identified as Deutero-Isaiah played a pivotal role in the prophetic movement of Israel. D. Baltzer has studied the themes common to Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. He noted that both utilized the Exodus tradition, Ezekiel stressing the new service to God and Deutero-Isaiah the comforting aspect of release from bondage. They use different vocabularies, Ezekiel favoring Temple phraseology and Deutero-Isaiah employing Jerusalem/Zion categories. Ezekiel spoke of Yahweh's 'glory' as

244. D. Baltzer, Ezechiel und Deutero-Jesaja.
245. Ibid., p.25.
246. Ibid., p.48.
the manifestation of His presence, while Deutero-Isaiah 
247 saw it as the witness of His sovereignty. Ezekiel saw 
the people of the restoration as 'purified', while Deutero-
248 Isaiah declared them 'redeemed'. Baltzer concluded 
that, although Ezekiel represented the realm of the priest 
and Deutero-Isaiah was thoroughly steeped in Psalmonic 
traditions, they have much in common and their restoration 
messages were quite similar.

It is significant that when Deutero-Isaiah circulated 
his messages of liberation, the immediate historical 
situation could, at least partially, bear the weight of his 
exaggerations. Scholars have long noted that Deutero-
Isaiah deserved the appellation 'false prophet' (according 
to the guidelines of Deut. 13:1-5 and 18:15-22), for his 
predictions did not come to pass. His excessive anti-
cipation without historical grounding offered no real alter-
native to an honest grappling with the realities.

W. Zimmerli has stated that the old traditions of 
251 Heilsgeschichte were introduced in new form to undergird 
Deutero-Isaiah's depiction of a future salvation. He 
followed that statement by noting that '...the eschatolo-

247. Ibid., p.71.
248. Ibid., p.99.
249. Ibid., pp.178-182.
250. G.W. Anderson, op. cit., p.113, and his reference 
to C.C. Torrey. Also, R.P. Carroll, op. cit., pp.151f.
251. Cf. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology II, 
pp.239-243.
252. W. Zimmerli, 'Prophetic Proclamation and Reinterpre-
tation', Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament, ed. 
D.A. knight, pp.90f.
The historical miracle of the new exodus is brought into the realm of history through its identification with the restoration event. The crux of Deutero-Isaiah's message was: God's advent is imminent and it will be the final theophany to Israel and the world.

This concept of tension between historical event and divine activity is important. Building upon it, P.D. Hanson has argued that Deutero-Isaiah maintained 'the classical prophetic tradition' of balance between 'vision' and 'reality' (myth and history). In Deutero-Isaiah this tension was increased to the breaking point:

The vision in ch. 40 tugs heavily at its historical moorings; the myth in ch. 51 seems ready to break loose from mundane realities, and the disjunction coming between past and future acts threatens to split those acts asunder. Few added strains would be required to produce apocalyptic.

Hanson also noted that this tension did not require the apocalyptic literary devices.

H. Gese contrasted the 'formal' characteristics of apocalyptic contained in Ezekiel (except ch. 38-39) with the apocalyptic 'content' of Deutero-Isaiah and came to a conclusion similar to Hanson's. The significance of the return was all-important:

Dies ist nicht ein Ereignis unter den vielen Ereignissen der Weltgeschichte, sondern Ziel und Ende der Geschichte...Der alte Aon ist zu Ende, der neue beginnt mit der Königsherrschaft Gottes auf dem Zion.

It was at this point, for Gese and Hanson, that the apocalyptic movement began to separate from the prophetic movement.

Hanson has demonstrated how Trito-Isaiah is to be differentiated from Deutero-Isaiah. He argued for continuity on the grounds that they shared the 'eschatological' ideal and destiny of the community and Yahweh's relationship to the community. He asserted that, in Trito-Isaiah, there is an increasingly strong and pervasive polemic element, which is absent from Deutero-Isaiah.

In his analysis of Trito-Isaiah, Hanson discerned a pattern of gradual disintegration of the archaic poetic style adopted by that circle from Deutero-Isaiah. This process enabled him to determine the sequence in which the various passages of Trito-Isaiah were composed. Combined with this breakdown of poetic form and meter, Hanson pointed to an acrimonious attitude toward the Temple leaders which became increasingly bitter. He attributed

257. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.32-46.
258. Ibid., p.42.
259. Ibid., p.60, and cf. pp.46-208. The 'contextual-typological' model which Hanson has developed (p.41) is adequate, if all his assumptions are true (e.g. the breakdown in poetic style could be better attributed to the differences between authors). A glaring abuse is his attempt to precisely date the portions of Trito-Isaiah.
this attitude to the rejection, by Zadokite priests, of the Trito-Isaianic blue-print for restoration (Is.60-62) in favor of their own program. It was this political division which colored much of the early post-exilic period and determined the nature of the prophetic movement at this time and for years to come.

The literature included under the rubric of 'conventional prophecy' is characterized by predictions of and yearnings for judgment against enemies. In a characteristic passage, Trito-Isaiah envisioned judgment by God Himself (59:16-19) on behalf of his own circle (59:9-15) against those who had oppressed them, forsaking justice, peace and truth (59:1-8). Deutero-Zechariah foresaw the destruction of a large portion of the Jews (13:8, 14:2) as well as the annihilation of the armies of the nations who would march against Zion (12:3-9, 14:12-13). Malachi asserted the necessity of a purifying judgment upon the priesthood (3:1-4) and of destruction of the wicked among the people (3:5,19-21).

Hanson has asserted that the use of the Divine Warrior Hymn bound together the Trito-Isaianic corpus with the Deutero-Zechariah passages. This literary form is well-attested in the Psalter and the earlier literature (e.g.

260. Ibid., pp.71-75.
261. Ibid., pp.119-121.
263. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.305-308.
Exod. 15, Judg. 15). He failed to consider, however, the use of this form within the theocratic circles (i.e. the cult) to describe Yahweh's Kingship over the nations. He assumed, I feel wrongly, that only the visionary circles outside the theocracy utilized the form. To be sure, it served their purposes well as a description of pending divine judgment, but it also served the theocracy, perhaps within some post-exilic form of the earlier cultic dramatizations of Yahweh's universal Kingship.

The authors responsible for the material of Zech. 9-14, collectively referred to as Deutero-Zechariah, were part of an eschatological movement which overlapped that of Trito-Isaiah, yet remaining distinct from it. Deutero-Zechariah revealed a connection with the theocracy, a relationship later repudiated by both sides (cf. 11:7-14). There are points of strong positive influence of Ezekiel upon Deutero-Zechariah, whereas the Deutero-Isaianic tradition does not appear to make much of an impression. Hanson's best arguments for a relationship between Trito-Isaiah and Deutero-Zechariah rested upon the use of the Divine Warrior Hymn and the intra-community invective. I have already argued that this Hymn, since it originated in the cult,
could have yet been utilized by prophetic figures within the cult. I believe that Zechariah 9 is an example of that usage, as an oracle against the nations round about the Jews.

Also, Hanson has seriously misinterpreted Zech. 11:1-3, claiming that it was a taunt against Jewish leaders in the community. It was an oracle delivered against the Jews' northern neighbors, against whom Israel held traditional enmity. The terminology, with mention made of Lebanon and Bashan (areas to the north) and the laying waste of trees and 'jungle' (the northern areas were much more fertile than the Jerusalem area), would make this interpretation nearer the truth.

O. Plöger stated that Zech. 9-10 have relatively slight 'eschatological' interest when compared to Zech. 12-14. Hanson noted a narrowing concern from a world-perspective (Zech. 9) to Judah (Zech. 14) in the present arrangement of the oracles. The key to these patterns was the increasing note of disappointment with the ethical laxity of the leaders (cf. 10:2-3, 11:5,12-13,16-17, 12:10). The break between the group of Deutero-Zechariah and the community leaders clearly occurred on ethical grounds and not on the basis of theocratic (i.e. non-eschatological) and

268. Ibid., pp.334-337.
269. O. Plöger, op. cit., pp.79-82.
270. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., p.355.
converticte (eschatological) rivalry.

Whereas Trito-Isaiah only envisioned punishment for their enemies (cf. 66:24), Deutero-Zechariah held out for a change of heart by the community leaders and a realization of the great evil they had done (12:10-13:1). Deutero-Zechariah did not fully abandon the unity of the people of God, although Trito-Isaiah appears to have done so. Deutero-Zechariah did see an extensive purifying judgment, i.e. the destruction of two-thirds of the people in 13:8 and one-half in 14:2.

G.W. Ahlström's comments on the distinction between cultic הִרְצָה and historical reality are helpful in understanding Deutero-Zechariah. It allows how cultic features such as the inviolability of Zion (Zech. 12 and 14) can be brought into the descriptions by the author to flesh out a statement of hope.

This distinction also gives insight into Hanson's statements that Deutero-Zechariah maintained 'a very loose' connection to the events and persons of history. In Zech. 12 and 14, according to Hanson, this connection broke down completely: 'the vision is left largely on the cosmic level'. The eschatological expression אֹסֵר וְיָדָה יְהוָה has

271. The breaking of the pastoral staves in 11:10,14 appear as imitation of prophetic symbolic actions.
272. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., p.323.
273. Ibid., p.368.
little historical validity and it appears fifteen times in Zech. 12-14.

The book of Malachi was unique for its description of a conventicle from a more-or-less external perspective (3:16ff.). It is only conjecture whether this was an organized group or an ad hoc gathering of disgruntled persons in response to the laxity of the priesthood. Malachi does describe the members of this circle as believing themselves to be the true people of God (cf. the short descriptive phrases of 3:16-18), separated from the wicked (3:18), a segment of the people significant enough to be recognized as the enemies of God who will be judged when Yahweh comes (3:18-19).

Malachi noted several things about this group he had found outside the official circles and to which he attached himself: its pastoral concern was impressive to him, its ethical standard was high and its eschatological beliefs were, at least to him, unique. The concept of judgment of sin, perhaps overlooked by the theocracy, provided a sure remedy for the sickness of indifferent priests. Malachi did not reject the institutions of Judaism but he retained them, albeit in a purified form. It was this hope for righteousness, rather than the eschatological interest, which led Malachi away from the theocracy in which he had served and toward the conventicle.
Mal. 3:1-4 and 3:16-24 do represent areas of agreement between the convocation and the prophet, which are not shared by the theocracy. The eschatological note was fully sounded: the day for purification and recompense, 'the day which is coming' (היום הנבקע), impinged upon the present in a more direct way. Malachi was totally immersed in the historical world, so that his appropriation of judgment appears all that more historical (i.e. less 'non-worldly'). It was the emphasis on ethical responsibility which brought an 'eschatological pressure' on the present. Whereas Joel, for example, could allow the Day of Yahweh to remain apart from the present, Malachi strove to bring it to the present as the natural response of God to evil; He could not morally tarry!

The theme of Mal. 3:1-4 centered on the purification of the priesthood, indicating a continuation of the institutions of the community. The destruction of 3:19-24 appears to go beyond this limit and to include a note of vengeance, while promising the blessing and healing of the righteous. Some alteration of thought probably occurred between these oracles, but the wickedness of the people remained the cause and focus of judgment.

D. The Rise of Hellenistic Judaism and Apocalyptic

The emergence of Alexander the Great as a world power in the fourth century B.C. (336-323 B.C.) was accompanied
by the incursion of Hellenistic and other western influences into the Near East. Although this process took many years, virtually every area of the Near East experienced a culture shock as Greek settlements were placed nearby major cities. Alexander's generals, who divided his empire between them after his death in 323 B.C., relied upon the Greek spirit--devotion to the arts, athletics and intellectual pursuits--to hold together the disparate segments of their kingdoms. However, the Greek city, established en masse in conquered areas to promote trade and cultural activity, was an alien being. Initially populated by soldiers and the lower classes of Greek society (hardly the elite corps of a Hellenistic missionary movement), it remained isolated for years.

There were other causes of turmoil. M. Hengel pointed to a wave of skepticism that swept the Mediterranean regions in the fourth and third centuries B.C. The author of Qoheleth may have been a part of this trend, although his critical appraisal of life is understandable within Judaism and without recourse to foreign influence. There was, in time, a backlash to the ethos represented by Qoheleth. This reaction took the form of increased patriotism (cf. Ecclus. 50), the emergence of mysticism and unusual personal reli-

274. I have followed the treatment of V. Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews, for my general understanding of the events and trends of this period.
275. Ibid., pp.33f.
igious experiences and the increase of eschatological thought-forms.

The meeting of Judaism and Hellenism did not immediately issue in a struggle between rival religions: because religion was a secondary consideration to the Hellenists and because of the character of the people who first introduced Hellenism to the Jews, there was little conflict. If Hellenism had been recognized as containing a religious dimension, there may have been a hostile reaction. However, the Jewish community in Alexandria, for example, was much impressed with Hellenism, which admired Judaism as the oldest (and, thereby, the most valid) religion, favorably compared Moses with the Greek philosophers, and praised the ethical statements of the Hebrew Scriptures. As it happened, Judaism was only gradually exposed to Hellenistic influence, with such a cumulative effect that M. Hengel judged all Jewish religious expression of the second century B.C. as 'Hellenistic Judaism'.

In the process of initial interaction, the syncretistic Hellenistic religion, a potpourri of modified beliefs taken from earlier Near Eastern spirit religions, began to infiltrate the historically-based, monotheistic Jewish faith. The influence of this religion (or, perhaps bet-

277. Ibid., p.104.
ter, combination of religions) was heaviest on the younger generations of Jewish people, both in Judah and throughout the Diaspora. There were also significant inroads made in the ruling priestly classes, which were active around the Jerusalem Temple.

There was difficulty in combatting this invasion, for there was acceptance in some quarters and because there was no apparent reason why Judaism could not exist in a Greek form as well as in Hebrew dress. A composition like the Wisdom of Solomon (c. 80 B.C.), which was written in an attempt to win back wayward Jews to the traditional faith, could not muster effective anti-Hellenistic arguments. The Wisdom schools, the intellectual meeting place of Judaism and Hellenism, gave the latter an opportunity to consolidate its influence among the Jews and their mainly philosophical opposition (and then only later) did little to check its initial spread.

It is beyond doubt that Hellenistic beliefs and behavior influenced much of Judaism. This does not mean that the essence of Judaism was altered or that Judaism accepted foreign concepts uncritically. Hellenism did contribute ideas to the intellectual and popular atmosphere, the background of Jewish life. For example, T.F. Glasson held that

279. There was no final authority in this matter to which all Jews and Jewish groups would submit.
Greek thought played an important role in the development of Jewish eschatology. He did not assert uncritical acceptance or minimize Persian influence. He pointed out that contact with other cultures stimulated the Jews to develop and extend their own thinking. Such motifs as heavenly journeys, visits to the realm of the dead, angel marriages, visions of existence beyond death, demons and watchers are common in Greek writings of this period. The Greek influence was more pervasive than some scholars have realized, with a real mark upon features in the book of Daniel.

At the beginning of the second century B.C., the Jewish intellectual community was fully engaged along a wide front. International Wisdom was brought into creative conflict with traditional piety. Torah and prophetic/scribal traditionists grappled with the forms of Greek religious experiences, with the foreign reliance upon the cosmos as the basis for understanding existence. Mysticism, legends and speculation came into their own. The novelty occasioned by the presence of Hellenism and the questioning spirit of the age produced a movement of great breadth and variety.

The movement which embodied the rejection of Hellenism

came into being slowly, only making extensive gains as the conflict between Jewish and Hellenistic thought and behavior was brought into the open. The members of this movement have come to be known as the Hasidim. The name is taken from the Hebrew חסיד, which meant 'pious' or 'faithful'. There is no consensus on the constituency of the movement, whether the name was an umbrella designation of all anti-Hellenistic parties or belonged to a particular group with its own history and purpose.

The Hasidim were mentioned in I Macc. 2:42, in contrast to Jews who were willing to die rather than to break the Sabbath by defending themselves (I Macc. 29-41). The Hasidim were not all passive; they were willing to fight, they were devoted to the Torah and they were willing to trust the leaders of the community to deal fairly (I Macc. 7:12-14). There was a coalition between the Maccabees and the Hasidim under Judas Maccabeus (I Macc. 2:42-3:9; II Macc. 14:6), which served as a point for initial resistance against the Seleucid armies. The Hasidim were also described in I Macc. 7:12-14 as part of a group of scribes who sought peace at the first opportunity after the outbreak of hostilities, yet were massacred for their adherence to traditional piety.

I have concluded that the Hasidim included many diverse parties under their banner, rather than being a separate group of individuals extremely zealous for Torah and extremely able

287. This attitude is attributed to the author of Daniel; cf. A. Bentzen, Daniel, p.87.
soldiers. I realize that many scholars hold different opinions and, more to the point, that the identity of the Hasidim was not central to the issue of opposition to the forces of Hellenism and the armies of the Seleucids.

The Hasidim probably came into existence by opposing those social innovations characteristic of Hellenism (e.g. the gymnasium and athletic contests) which cut against the grain of Jewish mentality and custom. The concomitant activity of such behavior included emphasis of the traditional rituals and practices of Judaism. As the movement grew, so did the consternation for the corrupt Temple practices, the compromises with the Hellenistic life-style and the plotting of rivals for control of the high priestly office. This produced an entrenching of opposition and a polarizing of behavior and belief, what amounted to a rethinking of what Judaism represented. At that point, open opposition by demonstration needed only external pressure to intensify into civil war. That pressure was provided by Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) and the attack of Jason, a former high priest, on Jerusalem (II Macc. 5:5ff., 8:1ff.).

The Jews under the leadership of Judas Maccabeus were so successful that they were able to rededicate the Temple


289. M. Hengel, op. cit., p.103.
in 164 B.C. Antiochus' problems in other areas of his empire made it impossible for the Seleucids to mount a crushing campaign against the Jews. Having achieved the objective of self-determination, the Hasidic movement began to disintegrate. This happened mainly because many of the Hasidim did not want to pursue political independence; these were content to enjoy religious freedom under any form of government.

From the beginning, different factions of the Hasidic movement had aimed at their own goals. The forerunner of the Pharisees and the Essenes withdrew from the military leaders who had assumed political control. The Pharisees, intent upon educating the common people in Torah, were not so concerned with political freedom as with freedom to carry on with their work. The Essenes, a priestly dominated party, withdrew to the deserts of Judah when the legitimate Zadokite family was not returned to the office of high priest and they realized that the Hasmoneans perpetrated the same evils as their Hellenistic predecessors. One such group settled at Qumran, where a community developed with an emphasis upon ritual purity, ethical standards and apocalyptic orientation.

In time, when tempers had cooled and life had returned

290. Cf. J. Bright, op. cit., pp.448-452; these two groups maintained a form of the apocalyptic perspective into the New Testament period.
to normal, Hellenism re-entered the circles of Jewish leadership. The Sadducees, the social class which had formed around the old Zadokite aristocracy, emerged to hold power in Jerusalem. The Pharisees and the Zealots (the latter the true heirs of the fighting Maccabees) remained most closely linked to the common people, who maintained a marked sympathy with the apocalyptic outlook.

The apocalyptic authors who had given expression to their beliefs in the heat of battle entered a period of calm. Whereas early apocalyptic (e.g. Daniel) had enjoyed a wide circle of readers because it addressed itself to great issues, later apocalyptic writings were directed to small groups of secret communities, such as Qumran. Speculations and fantasies were given greater space as apocalyptists, having lost the reference point of historical crisis, lost their pastoral zeal and indulged in rather irresponsible topics and themes. They retained, however, a spark of spiritual creativity which flamed to life in the rebellions against Rome in 70 and 135 A.D. and which carried them through, however inadequately, the dark days that followed those defeats to a lingering existence on the fringe of Judaism's later life.

The violent conflict which marked the Maccabean uprising centered on a group of Jews, loyal to traditional Judaism,

who were oppressed by adherents to the Hellenistic way of life within the Jewish community and leadership and were persecuted by their Seleucid overlord. The Jewish Hellenists were mainly concerned with unity, which was impossible so long as those Jews stubbornly held to the ways of the past. The Seleucids desired political unity within Judah, which would constitute a stable base close to Egypt, their military enemy, from which their armies could operate freely.

The conflict was so severe that opposition to Hellenism (originally fragmented and unorganized) transcended all party barriers and produced a unified movement with a life and a set of goals uniquely its own. Most expressive of this unity was the literature produced by the Jews of this era. Given the turmoil of the second century B.C. (following hard upon a period of intense intellectual creativity), the literature which survived featured different combinations of the various theological streams of tradition: theocratic-priestly, prophetic-eschatological, wisdom and deuteronomistic.

Such works as the book of Daniel, the early segments of I Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Tobit, etc., were products of the mixing of

293. H.H. Rowley, op. cit., p.43, stated that 'circumstances created apocalyptic' in recognition of the role events played in apocalyptic's emergence as a literature.

these different traditions. The current of popular stories and legends which crystallized around the heroes of the past (e.g. Daniel, Enoch, Tobit, Esther, Judith, Noah, etc.) were affected by this active interchange. Since the book of Daniel was a result of hybridized traditions, its authors used a variety of prophetic and other kinds of material in its composition.

In sketching his analysis of the rise of apocalyptic, O. Plöger argued from the Maccabean rebellion backwards, through the period of the Chronicler to the early post-exilic period. He contrasted the activity of the Maccabees with the message of the author of Daniel. He theorized that there were groups behind these contrasts, each with a literature and a world-view of its own. Then, noting that there was a division among the people in Maccabean days in response to the incursion of Hellenism, he argued that Daniel represented a group which emphasized the prophetic writings and the eschatological interpretation of them and that I Maccabees was the product of those who rejected the eschatological interpretation of current events and limited 'Israel' to those who accepted Maccabean rule and a strict adherence to Torah. From this set of circumstances, Plöger argued that a new mentality was required for the development of the apocalyptic

296. O. Plöger, op. cit., p.11.
297. Ibid., pp.17f.
self-consciousness: the theocracy of the post-exilic period, with its redefinition of Israel as a religious, non-political community, paved the way for apocalyptic.

Plöger's insight into the profound change generated by the loss of Israel's national identity needs to be affirmed. Yet, careful analysis of his reconstruction of the second century B.C. community shows problems in his categorizations of writings and parties. He needlessly restricted both theocratic and conventicle mentalities and created false distinctions between the two.

He made reference to I Maccabees and the book of Daniel as works representative of opposite world-views: I Maccabees treated the conflict with Antiochus Epiphanes without eschatological interpretation and approved active military opposition. Daniel treated the conflict with eschatological interpretation and disapproved, apparently, of military resistance.

There was, however, other treatments which do not fit Plöger's scheme: I Enoch 85-90 narrated the conflict with an eschatological interpretation, with approval of the Maccabean forces. It is difficult to imagine how this portion of I Enoch might fit into Plöger's understanding.

The answer would involve the recognition that I Enoch 85-90 originated with a group which held that God could achieve His purposes through human activity and that He would

298. Ibid., p.29.
also intervene in history to gain His ends. This must alter Plöger's hypothesis that the theocratic and eschatological mentalities emerged in the early post-exilic period, maintained separate existences and were behind two mutually distinctive bodies of literature in the second century B.C.

Diversity rather than unity, albeit within certain consistent theological traditions, seems to have been the rule during this period. I have already argued, on the basis of the book of Joel, Ezek. 38-39 and the Psalter, that there was a real future-orientation within the theocracy (which cannot be eliminated by references to prophetic figures in Chronicles or to I Maccabees). Different eschatological interpretations were applied to the same events by the authors of the book of Daniel and I Enoch 85-90 (despite the fact that the latter was patterned on Dan. 10-12). We must note the tremendous variety of eschatological forms and features in the later apocalyptic writings. It is illogical to assume a unity or a simplicity of order when such a design cannot take into account all the evidence.

L. Hartman made a significant contribution when he stated, on the basis of his analysis of many apocalyptic texts, that an 'apocalyptic schema' usually involved: 1) a time of trouble for the people of God, 2) God's intervention (or an appointed servant on his behalf), 3) the judgment of God, 4) the punishment of God's enemies and 5) the rejoicing
of God's people. This program developed over a long period of time and could be read back into such events as the release from exile or the Flood catastrophe, which became typological for acts of divine judgment in the apocalyptic literature.

The significant aspect of Hartman's work was the fact that a 'time of trouble' was the only observable point for the apocalyptic authors; the other stages were the responsibility of their interpretation of reality. For example, the author of Dan. 10-12 observed the 'time of trouble' (11:29-39), but he could only envision how God would intervene, judge and punish and how the righteous Jews would rejoice. The schema was available to the authors of Dan. 10-12 and I Enoch 85-90, who applied it within the context of their different expectations for the future.

The conclusion that I drew from my study of these subjects was that the theocracy/convventicle division of the post-exilic era was not as pronounced in the second century B.C. as it had been in the early post-exilic period (when the convventicle prophetic writings were composed). The attitudes associated with these trends do have a natural sociological foundation (which means that they could have

300. L. Hartman, op. cit., p.32.
emerged at any point in time, irrespective of past or future-orientation). The continuity of the theocratic and eschatological mentalities throughout the post-exilic period is questionable.

Both P.D. Hanson and O. Plöger have asserted such continuity. Hanson declared that the eschatological mentality was most clearly delineated during the era of Trito-Isaiah and Deutero-Zechariah. According to his reconstruction, there was a reconciliation of sort around 400 B.C., because the Chronicler's attitude reflected an inclusiveness toward previously alienated groups within Judaism. However, the reconciliation was not complete; apocalyptic authors were still struggling for legitimation in the third and second centuries B.C.

Plöger stated that the theocratic mentality developed in the leading parties of the restoration era and was the basis for the apocalyptic outlook which developed from it. That outlook was adopted by the conventicles by rejected by the leaders, who followed a different form of the original attitude.

302. P.D. Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp.269-279.
The books of Daniel and I Enoch are critical in the development of the apocalyptic movement, for they are the initial apocalyptic works. To understand this movement, we have to seek after their authors and their forerunners.

It has been generally accepted that Daniel had a complex literary history behind its present form. The most crucial questions concerning its nature are: the two-language composition of the book, the relation of ch. 7 to what precedes and follows it and the nature and purpose of ch. 8-12. It would be most reasonable to investigate these latter chapters for the best clues regarding the authorship of the book of Daniel and the theological convictions behind its composition.

E.W. Heaton pointed out that, since there was almost no prophetic material in Daniel, the authors of Daniel were closer to being scribes than followers of the prophets. He stated that the characteristic prophetic traits are missing: cosmic imagery, battle scenes, descriptions of the Golden Age and the fate of the nations, and the Messiah. Heaton also argued that the authors of Daniel and Ben Sira shared the same Wisdom tradition. He pointed out that Daniel meditated in Torah (1:8-16, 9:10-11), sought out the

309. Ibid., pp.19ff.
wisdom of the ancients (1:17, 2:19-22, 4:35, 5:23), and occupied himself with prophecies (9:2). He was also interested in the dark sayings of parables (2:27-28, 4:19ff., 5:12). These things Heaton related to the framework of Ben Sira's stated purpose for the life of a scribe (Ecclus. 39:1-5).

The difficulty with Heaton's first argument was that Daniel was not addressing himself to the destiny of Israel vis-à-vis the nations; he was concerned about the division within the Jewish community (Jew vs. Jew, those who know God, 11:32, against those who have forsaken the covenant, 11:30). He was concerned with those who took up arms to fight (cf. 11:34) and others who passively endured suffering while they awaited the expected end (11:33,35; 12:12).

Daniel's authors were not as close to Ben Sira as Heaton tried to prove. First, Daniel was portrayed as a loyal Jew who obeyed the Torah; he was never characterized as meditating in the Torah. Second, he did not seek out the wisdom of the ancients; his wisdom was imparted to him by God through direct revelation. Third, the author of Daniel may have occupied himself with prophecies, but Ben

310. The author of Daniel sought to show that divine wisdom (given by revelation) was superior to all earthly wisdom, even that possessed by Ben Sira. The wisdom for which Daniel was celebrated was not the proverbial/gnomic wisdom of Sirach but a 'mantic' wisdom, a knowledge of the future or secrets, gained through dreams or divination. This mantic wisdom was not entirely foreign to the nature of Israelite wisdom, but moreso than gnomic wisdom; cf. R.J. Bauckham, art. cit., pp.13f.
Sira did not appear to do so (despite his claim to the contrary). Fourth, Daniel was not interested in the dark sayings of parables. When faced with a riddle, he did not attempt to fathom its mysteries through his intellect; he prayed for the answer.

I grant the possibility that Ben Sira and the authors of Daniel may have been brother scribes, for the characteristics of the office (the books, study and writing, and the instruction of others) are found in both books. This fact is not particularly telling, however, for scribalism was characteristic of most of Judaism during this era. I concluded that the differences between the two books were more significant than their similarities:

1) Dan. 9:2 represented a characteristic activity of the authorship circle of Daniel (i.e. the reinterpretation of the prophetic writings). This is beyond the scope of Ben Sira.

2) The concept of suffering differentiated the two as well. Ben Sira conformed to the traditional Wisdom posture.

311. G. von Rad, Wisdom in Israel, p.258n.25; he was correct when he stated that Ben Sira's concept of the prophets was 'astonishingly inadequate'. Ben Sira regarded them almost totally as wonder-workers (48:1-16) and revealers of the blessed future of Israel (36:15f., 48:23-25, 49:10). While he stated his concern with prophecies (39:1), he did not mention the ethical dimension of the prophetic writings. A study of his picture of the end-time (36:1-17) did not reveal specific dependence upon the prophets. On the whole, what Ben Sira said of the prophets did not reflect well on his reputation as a scribe.
on suffering: it was avoidable, on the most part, by the wise man and was an expected result of human folly. The authors of Daniel interpreted suffering (11:33,35) as proof of a special relationship to God and something to be compensated in the end-time.

3) The central theme of Ben Sira was devotion to the Torah of God, which alone must be obeyed (34:5-8). It was the Wisdom of God which led men to perfection; dreams and speculations on the unknown are to be rejected (3:21-24). The authors of Daniel do not reject Torah, but the theme of Daniel was spiritual readiness for the end-time. For Ben Sira, the end-time was far-distant; it could not give meaning to life; and eschatology was peripheral to godly living. For the authors of Daniel, the end-time was imminent and fundamental for how the Jews were to live.

It is possible to see the authors of Daniel and Ben Sira as members of a broad scribal tradition, but we must also emphasize their qualitative differences. Daniel's authors have a kinship with eschatological thought which is foreign to Wisdom circles. However, we are unable to say whether this eschatological awareness developed within or outside the theocracy or whether the circle of Daniel's authors originated within or outside the theocracy.

Having stated that the authors of the book of Daniel had some kind of a background in eschatological circles and not in Wisdom groups (at least, to the same degree), we
must examine an apocalyptically-oriented tradition which
did have its roots in the Wisdom tradition: the Enoch
legend.

The book of I Enoch is generally agreed to be a col-
lection of writings from groups whose interests included:
the man Enoch, the theme of cosmological speculation and
what may be identified as primitive scientific investiga-
tion. Many biblical details given about Enoch (Gen.
5:21-24) correspond to the Babylonian myths regarding the
seventh primeval king, Enmeduranna, and it is possible to
postulate Enoch's unique translation to the heavenly realm
by comparing it to the Sumerian legend of King Etana, who
attempted to journey to heaven against the will of the
gods. However, there is little substance to these
references as they relate to this latter phase of the Enoch
tradition; it remains that Enoch's wisdom/righteousness
was emphasized in contrast to his pagan counterparts and was
presented within a genuinely Jewish religious framework.

I agree that one of the original motivations of this
Enoch circle was theodicy, a searching out of the origin and
development of evil, its judgment by God in history and its

312. M. Hengel, op. cit., pp.204,217f. This material
derived from the world-view of Hellenistic Judaism. It is
difficult to imagine that they could limit themselves to
purely historical material amidst the cosmological specu-
lations, etc., which Hellenism had imported in the previous
centuries.

313. Cf. O. Eissfeldt, op. cit., p.621, for the
references on these subjects.
relationship to God. There was a strong interest in the pre-historic segment of Genesis: the concern with fallen angels, the rise of wickedness among mankind and the judgment of angels and mankind in the Flood. This setting of judgment provided a point of contact whereby an eschatological interest could enter a previously non-eschatological tradition. Later contributions to the original Enoch material contain greater amounts of future-oriented material.

This early material was limited to the Book of Watchers (ch. 1-36) and the Astronomical Book (ch. 72-82). The themes of the former section were the fallen angels, the demoralization of mankind and the pronouncement of doom upon those angels. The latter section contained a large portion of scientific observation (ch. 72-79), dealing with the movement of celestial bodies and geography.

The Enoch tradition underwent a profound change as it entered the era of the Maccabees. The Enoch tradition did have proponents within the Jewish community in Palestine, for additional segments appear to have been composed there. The Book of Dreams (ch. 83-90) contained an eschatological apocalypse similar to Dan. 10-12 and is dated to the same period. Moreover, it was of true Hasidic authorship.

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314. R.J. Bauckham, _art. cit._, pp.16f.
315. Bauckham folowed J.T. Milik, _op. cit._, pp.22-41, in stating the pre-Maccabean dates of these segments.
316. R.J. Bauckham, _art. cit._, p.16.
(in the sense that it gave political support to the Maccabean family) and encouraged the Hasidim in their spiritual and political endeavors.

The Enoch tradition, therefore, contained two apocalyptic forms. On the one hand, ch. 85-90 contained an eschatological apocalypse, concerned with the future and using vaticinia ex eventu narratives to connect the time of the hero to the Maccabean period. It reflected the values of the Hasidic movement and had historical limits placed upon it. On the other hand, the Book of Watchers (ch. 1-36) had a cosmological apocalypse. Through the fiction of Enoch's journey to heaven, the authors were free to speculate or elaborate on the significance of the supernatural world for them and their people.

While it is clear that I Enoch 85-90 came from a Hasidic group which had given support to the Maccabees and did not reflect a political pacifism (as does Dan. 10-12), it was dependent upon the Daniel work for its form and content. The Enoch tradents were poor authors with little creativity. The lack of skill apparent in the construction of I Enoch 85-90 supports the view that the book of Daniel was the first crystallization of that pre-occupation within the Jewish community which came to be called apocalyptic.

317. The Similitudes of Enoch (ch. 37-71) combined both forms, but these chapters were dated much later.
I. Introduction

Zechariah 1-8 originated at an important juncture of Israelite history. The restoration period, which we may date 538-516 B.C., was an era of considerable intellectual creativity. It experienced various forces which molded the behavior, beliefs and expectations of the people.

Scholars have observed that the restoration of the Jews to Judah was anticipated by the canonical prophets of the exilic years: Jeremiah (ch. 29-30,33), Ezekiel (ch. 36-37) and Deutero-Isaiah. The expectation was passed to the Golah community as a whole. The hope of restoration has been viewed as a natural consequence of the future-oriented Jewish faith, which scholars have traced from very early times as the root of Jewish eschatology.

319. In view of the over-all direction of my subject, I have chosen to limit my analysis of Zechariah 1-8. New critical work is required on this rather neglected portion of the prophetic literature. I have only touched upon this area and have treated only the more basic questions of redaction-criticism, literary-criticism and form-criticism. My primary interest has been in the area of the theology of Zechariah 1-8 and, more specifically, Zechariah's understanding of the exile and restoration periods, his significance to the continuation of the prophetic tradition and to the formation of the post-exilic prophetic movement and his contributions to the emergence of the apocalyptic world-view and certain apocalyptic beliefs.

320. Cf. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh; J. Bright, A History of Israel, p.150.
The return from the Babylonian exile, while motivated by this particular future hope, was complicated by the hardships encountered in the land (cf. Hag. 1). The early post-exilic prophets were forced to deal with an unpleasant present reality and with the unfulfilled prophetic promises for the restoration (cf. Hag. 2:15,19: 'from this day' and Zech. 8:10-11: 'before those days...but now').

These promises grew out of the words of the exilic prophets and from the substance of the Jewish faith. Haggai and Zechariah took up the hopes of the 'official' theology of the pre-exilic state and the exilic communities in their concern for the Davidic scion (Hag. 2:20-23, Zech. 6:12-14), the coming time of prosperity (Hag. 2:7-9, Zech. 8) and the significance of the future for the nations round about. These prophets reiterated and remolded the traditions of the past much more than they intentionally broke new ground for future theological development. While H. Ringgren may be correct in stating that the use of visions and bizarre images prepared the way for new developments, there was no evidence for any 'new developments' until the second century B.C., more than three centuries removed from this period.

Zechariah was the first prophet to identify a 'pro-

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322. Haggai looked for the destruction of the nations; Zechariah's hope had a distinctive universalistic element.
phetic tradition' which gave a certain sense of coherence to statements about past prophetic activity. The concept of a unified progression of prophets was interpreted in different ways by those of comprehended it. Since much of post-exilic Judaism claimed the exilic prophets as their spiritual predecessors, these different interpretations took on important overtones.

These different interpretations were symptomatic of a deep division within the Jewish community of this era. Zechariah 1-8 ought to be read with Trito-Isaiah in order to more fully grasp the dynamics of the early post-exilic period. A reading of Zechariah 1-8, Haggai and the history of the era (Ezra 1-6) provides only one version of the events, the theocratic interpretation. The literature of discontent (Trito-Isaiah, Deutero-Zechariah and Malachi) gives the other side of the story.

Zechariah 1-8 is to be understood as the record of an early post-exilic prophet who was conscious of his relation to past prophets and of the significance of his day. His ministry is to be viewed as sympathetic to the leadership of the community. While his messages were specifically directed to his historical situation, they can collectively

324. If it assumed that Ezek. 38-39 was written later than Zech. 1:2-6 and 7:4-14.
325. Other passages which exhibited an awareness of a prophetic tradition are: Ezek. 38:17, Zech. 13:2-6 and the reworking of the prophetic figure in the Chronicles.
326. Cf. P.D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic; O. Plöger, Theocracy and Eschatology; P.R. Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration; D.L. Petersen, Late Israelite Prophecy.
be described as '...a compendium of Old Testament religion'. His role in the development of the apocalyptic outlook and beliefs must be viewed from the perspective of his reflection of his own era and his preparation for further advances in individual concepts.

II. Zech. 1:2-6, The First Message

In this opening statement, Zechariah securely grounded his statement in a specific historical situation. He mentioned 1) the divine displeasure with the pre-exilic people (v.2), the need for present repentance (v.3), the obstinancy of the past generations (v.4) and the punishment which had accrued to such disobedience (v.6). The message of this passage, with those of 7:4-8:23, formed an effective complement to that of the Night-Visions (1:8-6:15).

This passage revealed Zechariah's recognition of a prophetic tradition. The 'former prophets', to whom he referred in v.4, are viewed as calling the people to repentance and obedience. O.H. Steck viewed this passage as one member of a long tradition of interpretation of the prophetic movement, which he identified as belonging to the deuteronomistic tradition. He summed up this tradition's view of past history:

327. W.E. Barnes, Haggai and Zechariah, p.xxii.
329. Ibid., pp.63f.
...dieses im Verlauf seines gesamten vorexilischen Aufenthales im Verheissungslande stets ungehorsame Volk (A) ist trotz der der Langmut Gottes entsprungenen Vermahnung durch die Propheten (B) halsstarrig geblieben (C) und hat so das Strafgericht Jahwes (D) in den Katastrophen von 722 und 587 v. Chr. auf sich gezogen.

Zechariah has followed quite closely the deuteronomistic pattern and has accepted the deuteronomistic assessment of the past.

Given this similarity between Zech. 1:2-6 and the deuteronomistic writings, it would not be surprising to discover other similarities with compositions either composed or preserved by the deuteronomistic circles. M. Weinfeld has stated that Zech. 1:4-6 is form-critically similar to the prose sermons of Jeremiah (e.g. 25:4-5, 26:3-5). O.H. Steck declared that there is so little difference between the two that Zechariah must have borrowed the preaching style and thought of the deuteronomistic circles upon his arrival from Babylon. The deuteronomistic circles and the Jeremian material shared with Zechariah a concern for the word of God, the Torah, obedience and repentance and judgment.

The deuteronomistic theology pictured the word of God as the reality which gave continuity and unity to history through a pattern of promise and fulfillment. That word was

an active force in history which, when spoken in the present, caused future events. Weinfeld's comments on Jeremiah could be applied to Zechariah also:

Like the deuteronomistic orations in Joshua-Kings, the prophetic sermons in Jeremiah are programmatic in character, their purpose being to demonstrate that the fall of Judah and the destruction of the temple, the most horrifying and overwhelming of catastrophes in Israelite history, occurred, like the fall of the kingdom of Israel, by the force of the prophetic word of God.

Zechariah's use of the phrase 'word of God' is thoroughly deuteronomistic.

This passage was not concerned about the repentance and obedience of the nation as a whole, as the earlier deuteronomistic theology had been, but of the individual. The destiny of the Jewish people had already been determined by the fact of the restoration and the promises of the exilic prophets. Zechariah spoke too directly about the destiny of the community (2:1-5, 3:10, 8:1-8) for that aspect to be conditional; the salvation of the people was Yahweh's major goal (2:10-12, 8:20-23). Zechariah makes a later distinction between the individual and the community (5:1-4); an appeal in this message would not contradict the

335. Ibid., pp.316-319.
336. 2:5-9 in Heb. I have chosen to use the English version for references.
other dimensions of Zechariah's message.

If the Night-Visions are best understood as a literary composition from the beginning, Zech. 1:2-6 is probably an example of Zechariah's speaking ministry, along with the various fragments contained in ch. 7-8 and appended to individual visions. S.B. Frost's theory that Zechariah 1-8 resulted from the collaboration of two individuals (one responsible for the Night-Visions and the other for the public ministry), seems to unnecessarily simplify the differences of material within Zechariah 1-8. There is a wholeness and a humanity to these chapters which is lost through such a division.

III. Zech. 1:8-6:15, The Night Visions

The Night-Visions constitute the core of Zechariah 1-8 as well as supplying most of the intriguing features and individual problems for interpreters. They contain those elements which form Zechariah's contribution to the prophetic movement that influenced the development of the apocalyptic world-view and doctrines of the second century B.C. They are crisp and orderly in style, the imagery is mundane, yet bizarre, and their descriptions cryptic. The presumption of scholars in precisely identifying the

images with figures of the early post-exilic era has spawned widely-differing opinions of the prophet's purpose and message. The real problem of historical grounding makes the interpretation of the visions highly speculative and provocative.

The fact that Zechariah worked Joshua, the high priest, and Zerubbabel, the civil governor, into the vision sequence compounds the difficulties for the interpreter. The eight visions describe heavenly activity not earthly events. They all point to the imminent peace of the community and are intended to give comfort to a troubled people, if not to help them understand why the promises of God have been delayed.

Each vision follows two broad rules: 1) adherence to a common pattern and 2) unique variation from this pattern. C. Jeremias' study of the Night-Visions emphasized this pattern, which consists of 1) a description of the vision-scene, 2) the request of the prophet for an interpretation of the scene and its meaning and 3) the response of the angel bringing the significance of the scene and its imagery. The first vision varied the interpretation and appended oracular material. The second vision repeated the pattern (1:18-19,20-21). The third vision varied all the elements and oracular material was added. The fourth vision

dispensed with the request and the interpretation and added material. The fifth vision trebled the request and inserted two short oracles. The sixth vision transformed the request into a statement. The seventh vision included a triple series of the pattern (5:5-6,7-8,9-11) with certain omissions. The eighth vision conformed to the pattern. A symbolic action-scene (6:9-14) was added with a short conclusion.

The imagery/symbolism of the Night-Visions is unique in the Old Testament, surpassing even the apocalyptic figures of the book of Daniel with its bizarre and inconsistent forms. In large measure, the Danielic imagery is self-interpreting; Zechariah's figures are abstract and detached and cannot be understood apart from the provided interpretation.

The literature devoted to the Night-Visions (cf. the Bibliography) yielded surprisingly little consensus on the nature of the imagery or the source of the symbolism. Scholars have proliferated references to mythic themes and foreign ritual, but Zechariah's descriptions are not enhanced by these references and they do not give insight into his purpose. If there are significant sources from which

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341. Many scholars have concluded that the fourth vision deviates too far from the pattern of the other Night-Visions to have originated with Zechariah. They conclude that it was of other, later authorship.

Zechariah drew his imagery, they are presently unknown to us.

This conclusion has drawn G.A. Smith to state that the Night-Visions were '...a series of conscious and artistic allegories—the deliberate translation into a carefully constructed symbolism of the divine truths with which the prophet was entrusted by his God'. Other scholars, however, have asserted a genuine visionary experience behind the vision-forms. The conclusion of J. Lindblom that half of the Night-Visions were based on ecstatic experience and the other half were created by the prophet in an inspired state fell halfway between these positions. The unnatural imagery, the number of visions in series and the apparent care in constructing the visions to stimulate reflection seems to lend weight to Smith's position. However, the received (circulated) form of the Night-Visions appears to have been as a literary composition.

There was a similar division on the setting of the material of the Night-Visions. L.G. Rignell placed the visions in the period after the beginning of the Temple rebuilding project (as per the date of 1:7), as do many

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scholars. K. Gallin, however, would assign the visions to different times within a ministry which began in Babylon prior to 538 B.C. C. Jeremias went to great length to demonstrate that the visions could be dated to the same time. If it is accepted that the Night-Visions were first presented as a literary composition, the accuracy of the date given in Zech. 1:7 is a secondary concern.

Insofar as the theme of the Night-Visions is concerned, K. Elliger stated that they deal with the in-breaking time of salvation. G. von Rad pointed out how Zechariah differentiated the 'heavenly world' from the earthly and that he stressed the 'archetypal existence' of the final things in heaven.

Strictly opposing these interpretations of Zechariah's 'eschatological' views was S. Mowinckel, who declared that Zechariah 1-8 had nothing to do with eschatology. He stated that Zechariah awaited historical revolution, while his imagery of heavenly activity pictured celestial beings which worked behind and through natural agencies. I believe that Mowinckel was correct to interpret Zechariah within the context of his historical situation by his predecessors and

348. Jeremias concluded that nothing in the Night-Visions speak against them as a 'single night' experience.
351. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp.121f.
not, as Elliger and von Rad stated, by his successors. There are no reasons to justify the conclusion that Zechariah's 'cosmological' statements, which are secondary to his 'historical' statements, should be given primary status.

However, it remains that the political agencies to which Mowinckel referred are not identified in Zechariah 1-8 (and, perhaps, are not identifiable). Zechariah may have foreseen revolution, only to see his hopes dissipated. It was at this sort of juncture that history, as it had once served pre-exilic prophecy, showed itself unable to produce the context which the early post-exilic prophets sought of it. G.A. Smith, for example, argued that when Zechariah was unable to foresee the general overthrow of the heathen in historical terms, he was forced '...to call in the apocalyptic'. Smith went too far in this direction because he failed to discern Zechariah's anticipation of historical events to be caused by heavenly forces through earthly agencies. The question revolves on the question of whether Zechariah pictured specific people rising in revolt, a general image of earthly revolution or the impression that heavenly forces would intervene within the historical continuum.

H. Gese postulated that the Night-Visions of Zechariah

352. G.A. Smith, op. cit., p.281; Smith appears to have meant the apocalyptic world-view, which would have included the idea of divine intervention in history.
constituted the earliest 'apocalypse'. This view has been opposed on many grounds, with common rebuttals being: 1) Zechariah 1-8 shares only some characteristics with the later apocalyptic literature, 2) there is not enough observable development to suggest a connection with the apocalyptic literature and 3) the development of the apocalyptic literature does not really include Zechariah 1-8. Zechariah did employ important features which parallel those of the apocalyptic writers (e.g. vision-form, angelology and imagery) which might be taken as a transition from prophecy to apocalyptic, but there is little evidence that such a development of these concepts occurred, that such a development is conceivable or that such a development is constitutive of or essential to the development of apocalyptic.

A. The First Vision Cycle

1. Zech. 1:8-17, The First Vision

The first vision was a scene with movement. A 'man' astride a horse and waiting in a shady hollow received other horsemen, who reported that they had traversed the

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354. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., p.251.
356. The Targum rendered הָעָרָב (1:8) 'at Babylon', linking the vision to the site of the exile.
earth and had found it 'at rest'. The pronouncement prompted the man (identified as the angel of God, מלאך יהוה) to lament to God and to inquire how long the Jews would have to endure His indignation (v.12).

The image of horse and rider was not foreign to the Old Testament, not even its vision passages (cf. II Kings 6:17). Although formerly used to represent military strength, the image was used here to portray something akin to scouting or information gathering. While a band of Persian army scouts would have been available for Zechariah's reference in 520 B.C., it is impossible to determine that he actually did so. Also, the reference is superfluous, since the vision provided the necessary information to understand the role of the horseman and their significance.

The thrust of the vision-scene (apart from the whole vision) is found in v.11: 'all the earth remains at rest'. This phrase has generally been connected to the international situation in Zechariah's day (c. 520 B.C.). Some scholars have argued that Darius had concluded his campaigns to consolidate his control of the shaken Persian Empire. Others have stated that Darius had captured Babylon in 520 B.C., effectively crushing a series of revolts in the western region.

357. Against this argument cf. W. Rudolph, op. cit., p.78n.18, who stated that Darius' expedition against Babylon was yet in the future (i.e. did not begin until the summer of 519 B.C.).
of the empire. W.E. Barnes argued that the quiet in the world allowed the work on the Temple, interrupted by the revolts, to be resumed. Others have stated that the quiet of the world referred specifically to its preparation for a new act of God, that political events were ineffectual when God made ready to act.

H.G. Mitchell asserted that the only time when this vision-scene could have been historically accurate was the period of Babylon's domination of the known world prior to its defeat by Cyrus in 538 B.C. If Zechariah's description of his present and future is not rejected as an unsuccessful attempt to predict the intervention of God in history but accepted as a realistic reflection of a specific period of history, the weight of Mitchell's argument must be acknowledged.

The dashing of expectations and the absence of signs of God's activity led to the expression of frustrated faith in v.12. This classic statement of anguish (also found in Is. 6:11) was derived from the cult (as seen in its frequent use in the Psalms, 74:9, 82:2, 94:3, etc.).

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360. L.G. Rignell, op. cit., p.42.
362. Y. Kaufmann, op. cit., p.305.
Ackroyd labelled this verse the key to the vision: the prophet's expression of his frustrated expectation of the coming of God. This emotion was contained in the vision to set the stage for what followed; it was not meant to be central.

The passage 1:14-17, which the attendant angel charged Zechariah to proclaim to the community, strikes the most responsive chord in the vision's relationship to the rest of Zechariah 1-8 and ought to be regarded as the real point of the vision. The section, while often thought secondary because of its oracular form, must be original in the sense that the vision-scene could not effectively stand independently. The scene makes no sense, either as a picture of quiet or as a statement of frustration; it must be seen as preparatory for the message entrusted to Zechariah.

Concerning this oracular section, Y. Kaufmann commented:

[They] are to be understood as integral parts of the visions. These are not prophecies appended by Zechariah (or some subsequent editor); they are imagined as spoken by the angel-speaker who proceeds to explain the visions.

While this statement may be too simplistic regarding the

365. These is no compelling reason to label this vision a 'call vision', i.e. Zechariah's commissioning as a prophet, as W.A.M. Beuken, Haggai-Sacharja 1-8, p.242, and others have suggested.
368. Y. Kaufmann, op. cit., p.275.
origin of the oracular material, there is truth in Kaufmann's statement insofar as this material was essential to the sense of the vision. It supports the theory that the Night-Visions were initially a literary composition and were never preached messages.

The transition from confusion (v.12) to consolation (v.13) was managed through a skillful interchange of roles by the angel of Yahweh and the interpreting angel, with each assuming a traditional prophetic role: intercession and proclamation. The prophet himself was actually excluded from hearing the divine decree to the angel, a reflection of Zechariah's sense of Yahweh's transcendence (an increasing trend during the post-exilic period). Yahweh was conspicuously absent from the vision; He was 'off-stage', neither seen nor heard by the prophet. However, His partiality to the Jewish community and His control of history are fully communicated.

The scene carried out with the horsemen and the angel of Yahweh gave the appearance of their independence of Yahweh. The angel was ignorant of the divine intentions for the community and the 'scouts' operated at the behest of the angel (not Yahweh). This rather abstract idea of angelic independence can be viewed as marking a departure from the

earlier literature, if it is assumed that this was the impression the author wished to convey.

The essence of the message Zechariah received is expressed in v.13: 'gracious and comforting words'. D.W. Thomas missed the point of the vision when he stated that it related that Yahweh's anger still burned and that only 'signs of comfort' were observable. The thrust of the vision was Yahweh's turning to the Jews, in contradiction to external appearances.

The preaching of comfort as a recompense for past suffering developed in the exilic prophets and was continued by the post-exilic prophets at the expense of the earlier prophetic emphasis upon proper ethical behavior (although Zechariah included both elements, the ethical dimension was clearly secondary). Deutero-Isaiah was the prophet most clearly identified with the proclamation of a message of comfort (Is. 40:1-2).

Deutero-Isaiah determined the expectation of the people as they returned from Babylonia for what should have awaited them in Judah. His descriptions were unique; Zechariah was influenced, directly or indirectly, by his ministry.

Many scholars have detected the influence of Deutero-Isaiah in Zechariah, most notably in the oracular material of 1:14-17 and 2:6-13 in the matters of Zechariah's style.

and theology. K. Galling stated that, in many areas, Zechariah was closer to Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah than to Haggai, with whom Zechariah is most often connected.

The relation of Zechariah 1-8 to Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah has been confirmed by similarities in style, subject matter and vocabulary. R.F. Melugin has noted that the oracles of Deutero-Isaiah took the form of announcements of salvation and assurances of salvation, similar to statements given in a cultic setting: the response to the individual psalm of lament, of which Zech. 1:12 was a classic, if shortened, example.

Melugin analyzed the response formula in Deutero-Isaiah as follows:

a) the admonition not to fear,
b) the direct address to the supplicant,
c) the statement of imminent help,
d) the assurance that Yahweh has heard,
e) the announcement of the future Yahweh will bring.

The passage Zech. 1:13-17 corresponded well to Melugin's analysis:

a) v.13 gave the equivalent of 'fear not',
b) v.14a included the 'direct address',
c) vv.14b-15 indicated the forthcoming help,
d) v.16a expressed the assurance that Yahweh has heard the prayer of v.12,
e) vv.16b-17 announced the future which Yahweh had determined.

Forms similar to those employed by Deutero-Isaiah recurred in 2:6-9, 2:10-12 and 8:1-3.

Zechariah adopted certain themes which, although by no means exclusively, are found in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah. He made use of the Zion-Jerusalem theology, which led K. Galling to state that he was a follower of Deutero-Isaiah. The theme of comfort for the Jews was stressed by these prophets. Deutero-Isaiah's teaching on the blessing of the nations was reproduced in Zech. 2:10-12 and 8:20-23. Zechariah followed Trito-Isaiah's theme of all Jews being priests for the Gentiles (Is. 61:6, Zech. 8:20-23). The temporal dichotomy between the 'former things' and the 'new things' (Is. 48:3-8) served as a pattern for Zechariah's 'before those days...but now' distinction (8:10-11).

D.R. Jones postulated that Zechariah was actually taking up the problem of Deutero-Isaiah's unfulfilled promises, trying to give them meaning by interpreting current events in their light.

G. von Rad indicated that the kernel of Deutero-Isaiah's message was the imminent advent of Yahweh to reveal His glory to the world. He then stated that the Night-Visions re-

373. K. Galling, art. cit., p.36.
375. Ibid., pp.13f.
376. K. Galling, art. cit., p.36.
vealed certain details of the 'age to come'. The tendency to refer to the reversal of the fortunes of the Jews gained momentum from Deutero-Isaiah and his expectation of the restoration. Zechariah anticipated a future adapted from that of Deutero-Isaiah.

The occasion which von Rad perceived as the division between the 'old age' and the 'age of salvation' was the return of Yahweh to Zion. He imposed a substantially different sense of the 'return' of Yahweh upon that used by Zechariah. The Hebrew verb בּוֹשׁ can be translated 'return', 'turn' and 'change (one's mind)'. According to H.W. Wolff, this word can mean 'repent', particularly when applied to human behavior; it held a central place in deuteronomistic thought. When applied to Yahweh, it need not mean 'return' in a physical sense.

Zechariah did not employ בּוֹשׁ (1:16) to represent the concept of a physical return of Yahweh to Zion. He spoke of Yahweh's decision to 'come' and to 'dwell' there (the Hebrew verbs נָעַת and מָסַר), concepts which were borrowed from Ezekiel. The differences between Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah are not taken up by Zechariah, who did not speak of the physical manifestation of the divine glory (as Deutero-

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Isaiah) or of the physical changes in Jerusalem and the Temple area (cf. Ezekiel 40-48). One can discern attempts to harmonize the messages of the earlier prophets.

There was indeed a strong dependence upon Ezekiel by Zechariah, including stress upon humility before God, ethical behavior and the Temple, which was communicated through the use of the vision-form and obscure symbolism. I have stressed that Zechariah departed from many of the emphases of the book of Ezekiel in order to show his freedom in utilizing the teachings of Deutero-Isaiah. This latter connection is a line of study worth further investigation, for there is a relationship between these two prophets which is likely to be ignored by those seeing Zechariah exclusively as a disciple of Ezekiel.

There was no general agreement regarding the precise meaning of v.15. One cannot identify the nations 'at ease' with certainty nor can the interpretation of הָעַץ הָעָד, 'furthered the disaster' or 'helped the evil', provide help in pointing to specific nations who disregarded Yahweh's will. P.R. Ackroyd made the point that the instruments of Yahweh's wrath, meaning Assyria and Babylonia, later fell under His judgment because they had overstepped their com-

Historically, this theory is verifiable, but that does not constitute proof of this specific interpretation. Still, Ackroyd's understanding does fit the context and no other hypotheses have been yet offered which equal it.

The inquiry into the identity of the nations referred to in v.15 does not take us far. The second vision (1:18-21) took up the theme of judgment, and scholars have connected v.15 with the succeeding vision. While it, too, did not specifically identify the nations, it did hint that Babylon was to be included. It seems adequate, at this point, to admit that Zechariah has not expressed himself clearly enough to allow a sound interpretation and to retain this dark statement as one secondary detail within the greater theme of Yahweh's turning back to the Jews. It heightened the impact of Yahweh's renewed compassion for the people by asserting His anger against the foreign nations.

It is my contention that this first vision described the decision of Yahweh to turn back to the Jews, ending their languishment in exile and their suffering in the years of restoration. This understanding was drawn from several references within the vision which militate against a wholly future-oriented interpretation. Zechariah did not expect a dramatic manifestation of Yahweh's power such as that pro-

mised by Haggai through his use of the theophany motif. I argue that Zechariah has pictured heavenly activity which reflected earthly events from the end of the exile to the future establishment of the 'age of blessing':

First, H.G. Mitchell argued that the only time in which the world had been 'at rest' (v.11) was the period prior to 538 B.C. However, the full attainment of the blessings of Yahweh's change of heart toward the Jews (1:16b-17) remained yet in the future. The end of the exile and the restoration were viewed as the 'first-fruits of the advent of the kingdom of God' by the Jews, a view which persisted in some segments of the community into the second century B.C. (cf. the Book of Jubilees 1:16-17).

Second, Zechariah's use of the perfect tense (יִפְגֹּשֻׁת in v.14 and יִשְׁמַעְתָּ in v.16) indicated a change in the attitude of Yahweh toward the Jewish community, a change which had already taken place and had already been manifested in history in the liberation of the exiles. The release had

384. Notice the phrase שׁשוֹת כִּלִּי מַעֲרֹת in Is. 14:7, where reference was made to Babylonian rule, and the similar phrase סֹסְתְּרֵי... כִּלִּי מַעֲרֹת in Zech. 1:11.
386. The perfect tense verbs יִפְגֹּשֻׁת, 'you have been angry' (v.12), and יִשְׁמַעְתָּ, 'they furthered' (v.15), referred to the cause of the exile and the experience of the exile.
   The imperfect tense verbs יִפְגֹּשְּתוֹנָא, 'it will be built' (v.16), and יִשְׁמַעְתּוֹן, 'it will be stretched out' (v.16), referred to the events of restoration; they are to be separated from the events to which יִפְגֹּשֻׁת and יִשְׁמַעְתָּ referred.
   The perfect tense verbs יִפְגֹּשְּתוֹנָא and יִשְׁמַעְתּוֹן are, therefore, to refer to Yahweh's change of heart prior to the end of the exile. I am unwilling to dismiss these verbs as 'prophetic
illustrated this change, according to Deutero-Isaiah and the later, theocratically-oriented Chronicler (cf. II Chron. 36:22f.). When P.R. Ackroyd stated that the 'return' of Yahweh was part of the process by which He would intervene for His people, I would suggest that the termination of the exile was a part of that intervention. Zechariah, like Deutero-Isaiah, counted the days of Yahweh's good will toward the Jews from the release from Babylon. Although the full manifestation of God's blessings had not been immediately apparent (and so might be read into the angel's lament in v.12), Zechariah did not doubt that Yahweh was once again on the side of His people and that the full restoration would eventually be realized.

Third, nearly every scholar has judged that Zechariah borrowed the Jeremian phrase 'seventy years' (v.12). It was also agreed that it was a round number, not to be taken literally despite the close correlation with the period from the beginning of the exile to Zechariah's day (i.e. 587 B.C. to 520 B.C.). The phrase, as it was used in Jer. 25:11-12 and 29:10, referred to the period of captivity, which was to end with the punishment of Babylon (25:12) and the return of

\[\text{perfects}'\], as in W.H. Lowe, The Hebrew Student's Commentary on Zechariah, p.18.
\[388. \text{P.R. Ackroyd, art. cit.}, \text{p.647.}\]
\[389. \text{H.G. Mitchell, op. cit.}, \text{pp.124f.}; \text{and L.G. Rignell, op. cit.}, \text{p.45.}\]
the Jews to their land (29:10). Both of these events occurred around 538 B.C. and underscored the importance of the exile/restoration reversal of Jewish fortunes. The 'seventy-year' period was concluded when the Jews were allowed to return home. Later use of the 'seventy-year' period by the Chronicler (II Chron. 36:21f.) dated its conclusion to the decree of Cyrus (i.e. 537 B.C.).

Fourth, a careful comparison of v.12 and v.16 reveals a certain paradox (if this vision is to be understood totally referring to the future). If it is assumed that the vision-scene was set in 520 B.C. (or was intended to describe a future setting), the angel ought to have been aware that the Temple had been under construction for five months (cp. Hag. 1:14f. to Zech. 1:7), Jerusalem was also being rebuilt (cf. Hag. 1:4) and the cities of Judah (by analogy) were also in various stages of completion.

According to v.12, even while these things were in progress, Yahweh yet retained His indignation with the Jews. However, the indications that Yahweh's mind had changed were to be the rebuilt Temple, the restored Jerusalem and the new Judean cities (cf. 1:16b-17). The era of the restoration, which extended from 537 B.C., was apparently viewed by Zechariah as a time in tension, in which the Jews were both

the object of Yahweh's renewed love and subject to the harsh realities of life.

The purpose of this first vision, apart from any structural role it might play in the Night-Vision series, was obviously to comfort the people of God and to assure them that the promises of the past were in process of being fulfilled. We can see that Zechariah has confirmed the efficacy of Yahweh's change of heart and His intention to bless Jerusalem, only he recognized that he was living in the interregnum between exile and full restoration, when Yahweh's rule was observable to neither His people nor to the nations.


The second vision consisted of two static images of four horns and four workmen. The explanation of the meaning of the combined presentation, supplied by the interpreting angel (vv.19b,21b), provided the sole means of understanding the relation between the two, for they are depicted as not interacting: the workmen are the agents of God, sent to put to flight the horns, the enemies of God and His people.

The picture of the 'horn' ( יתר) as a symbol of an individual's strength and honor was traditional in Hebrew thought (cf. I Sam. 2:1, Ps. 18:2, etc.) and could also be suggestive.

391. Cf. O. Plöger, op. cit., pp.42f.; Plöger accepted this interpretation of the Chronicles' reference, but charged that Zechariah adapted the phrase to his own use.
of royal power (Jer. 48:25), although its original meaning was unknown. The figure of the 'workman' ( Suzanne) was not absent from the prophetic literature. Deutero-Isaiah used the term to refer to those who constructed idols (40:19) and Ezekiel, more closely paralleling Zechariah's usage, in 21:36 spoke of 'workmen of destruction'.

The vision itself consisted of the revelation of certain heavenly actions preliminary to the destruction of God's enemies and was (apparently) linked to the first vision through a reference to 'the nations' (1:15) and (perhaps) to the last vision, which portrayed the beginning of judgment.

There is an immediate problem when we attempt to identify the 'four horns'. This appellation is usually taken to refer to the four points of the compass and, consequently, the totality of nations hostile to Yahweh. However, this view is contradicted by the statement that the judgment was directed only against those nations which had scattered Judah (vv.19,21). It is difficult to see how the punishment of the few could properly be extended to a universal judgment.

We do know that the empires beginning with Assyria and Babylon comprised such vast geographical regions that they were perceived by the Jews as 'world' empires. We could then understand 1:18 as a reference to a world empire, rather than the nations as a singular entity.

This brings us to another problem. The only 'world empires' which would qualify for judgment around the time of Zechariah would have been Babylonia and Persia. Persia would have been exempt from judgment because she did not play a role in Jerusalem's defeat and because she had released the Jews from their exile. When the vision stipulated judgment against those who scattered the Jews and subjected them to the humiliation of the exile (inferred in 1:21), Babylon is given center stage. A large-scale judgment against a specific historical entity would appear to focus on the critical events upon which the rule of this region hinged.

I believe that it is necessary to interpret this vision, as the first, as a description of heavenly preparations for certain historical events within the period of restoration. Babylon's empire was destroyed by the Persians in 538 B.C. and the city was retaken in Zechariah's lifetime after a short rebellion. The theme of retaliation was stressed; Babylon was the culprit of the past and the victim of God's vengeance.

The thrust of the vision was the preparation of God's forces for judgment. H.G. Mitchell commented:

This [interpretation of the horns as the sum of the world powers] seems to have been

394. Ibid., p.133.
nearly the thought of the prophet; but in developing it care must be taken to avoid the mistake of including...the enemies of both kingdoms, or those of the Jews after the Babylonian period, for these horns symbolize the power only of the peoples, especially the Babylonians, who by their hostility contributed to the final overthrow of the Jewish state and the banishment of the Jewish people from their soil.

In this way, Mitchell identified the horns as Babylon and, perhaps, the smaller people-groups which had helped the Jews to their destruction (Jer. 12:14, Ezek. 25:3,8; 28:24). K. Galling did not find this kind of explanation satisfactory and insisted that Babylon is meant solely. Mitchell's interpretation, more specifically, referred to the preparation of divine forces to free the land (while the Jews were being freed from Babylon's control). This complex statement goes beyond the evidence of the passage and I, like Galling, am hesitant to include the smaller Judean peoples with the Babylonian world-power.

It is acknowledged that this scene was not descriptive of an actual event but only the preliminaries to an intended action. G. von Rad's contention that the thrust of the vision was the revelation of the existence of heavenly powers missed the real point (i.e. that Yahweh has prepared to act). The manner of His intervention did not occupy Zechariah. His focus was upon the inevitability of

divine judgment, not upon the inhabitants/symbols of the heavenly world.

One can argue that Zechariah considered the angels the real executors of Yahweh's will and not, for example, the Persians (although Zechariah did not make any specific references to this relationship). It remains an important question in the development of certain apocalyptic beliefs as to whether Zechariah intended his readers to identify the angelic forces with the Persians (or some other historical military power). As Mitchell said in summary:

The workmen do not represent Persia alone or with any number of other powers. The only satisfactory explanation for them is indicated in 6:5ff. There is evident reference to the conquest of Babylonia. In alluding to it, however, Yahweh ignored human instrumentalities.

If we are to interpret Zechariah on this point from the perspective of the pre-exilic and exilic prophets, we have to state that Mitchell was in error. Zechariah had in mind the Persians or another, unnamed, human agent. He viewed Yahweh's control of history as manifested through earthly entities and forces.

There were three ways in which the writers of the Old Testament described the outworking of historical events. If, for example, we analyze the references to Babylon's conquest of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., we find: 1) Jeremiah predicted the fall of Jerusalem as the work of Yahweh through the agency of

Babylon (cf. Jer. 25:9), 2) Ezekiel attributed the destruction directly to the hand of Yahweh (Ezek. 5:8) and 3) the Chronicler's historical narrative described Babylon's military campaign against a recalcitrant vassal (II Chron. 36:6ff.). Each type of report was valid within its context. However, in the later development of the prophetic tradition, the assumption behind the second category (i.e. that Yahweh actually had used political instruments in His guiding of history) began to be discarded in favor of a more literal interpretation (i.e. that Yahweh could intervene directly in history without resort to human agencies).

Zechariah, moving within the exile/restoration era and aware of the wide-spread political insurrection, envisioned heavenly activity which, in his mind, would be fulfilled through political categories. His intention was to 'spiritualize' the political revolutions he foresaw into acts of Yahweh. This kind of thought seldom occurred in the prophetic movement prior to Deutero-Isaiah.

P.D. Hanson contended that the distinction between acts of God perpetrated through human agents and the direct intervention by God into history constituted the balance upon which prophecy swung into apocalyptic. But what has Zechariah done, in Hanson's system? He did not take the opportunity to integrate his knowledge of the intentions of Yahweh into historical terms and it is not apparent that he saw
Yahweh acting outside the agencies of history. On these grounds, then, Zechariah cannot be categorized.

If Zechariah based his visions upon historical entities and categories, he has remained a 'prophet' in Hanson's system and has only made explicit a long-accepted view of the relationship between the historical realm and the 'world above' (i.e. that heavenly activity produced effects in history). A kind of limited symmetry linked these two realms, although Zechariah refused to elaborate on it. In so doing, he took a long step toward opening a breach between the execution of the divine will and the continuity of history, a form of expression often found in the apocalyptic literature.

It appears that this vision ought to be reduced to and interpreted as preparation for a limited act of retribution against Babylon, rather than a scene of 'eschatological' judgment. The restrictions of vv. 18, 21 seem to preclude a universal action. It would then be consistent for Zechariah to see Persia excluded from the judgment against

398. Hanson rejected Zechariah as an apocalyptist on the grounds that he moved in a sociological context protected by the community leaders (op. cit., p. 251). However, Hanson did not consider the larger picture of the Jews' condition of powerlessness, disenfranchizement and frustration under Babylonian and Persian domination which, in an earlier setting (i.e. Ezekiel's), Hanson admitted a certain apocalyptic tendency (op. cit., pp. 233f.).

399. Cp. W. Rudolph, op. cit., p. 83, who stated that Zechariah was breaking new ground in his interpretation of the future.
the hostile forces. Also, the verb הָדַּע, which has the meaning 'to rout', 'to drive away' in the Hiphil, does not have the full impact of destruction which could be anticipated with a scene of judgment (cf. Judg. 8:12, Ezek. 30:9, II Sam. 17:2).

It has been accepted without comment that there was no oracular material following this vision-scene. Such material within the other vision-forms (e.g. 1:14-17, 2:6-13, 3:8-10, 4:6b-10a) appear to have been related thematically to the vision-scene. This vision and the following one may have been intended to be read together, with the oracular material (2:6-13) appended to both.

It is certain that Zechariah intended to comfort the struggling community through this vision. It is not expressly stated that Babylon or any other people was to be punished for its humbling of Judah. However, the promise of such judgment, on behalf of a powerless group such as the Jewish community, would have been a source of consolation. The turning of Yahweh to the Jews signaled His determination to restore His people to their land (as described in the first vision). The second vision expounded the theme of

402. Cf. the textual alterations suggested by scholars in L.G. Rignell, op. cit., p.69; others, like W. Rudolph, op. cit., p.82, stated that the 'horn' was symbolic of the 'power' of a nation and was not the nation itself.
Yahweh's readiness to strike His enemies. The vision has no point unless it had to do with freeing the Jews with the achieving of God's purpose for the future. In either description, Babylon played a role.


In this third vision, Zechariah described a man with a measuring line, going forth to measure the boundaries of the restored Jerusalem. The interpreting angel, however, ordered another angel to intercept him and to inform him that Jerusalem would not be rebuilt with walls because there would be too many people dwelling in it and because Yahweh would provide supernatural protection in the form of a 'wall of fire'.

The image of a 'wall of fire' consisted of the joining of two symbols quite common in the Old Testament. The wall referred naturally to the fortifications habitually surrounding strategic positions and population centers against attack, while the fire expressed the supernatural manner of the defense.

While the image of light/fire had a history of cultic and semi-magical connections both in Israel and the ancient Near East, it would be wrong to force an interpretation on this vision which would be eschatological. W. Rudolph, for example, saw the figure of fire as automatically an indicator
of eschatological thought:


Tied closely to the image of fire was the picture of 'glory in the midst of the city' (v.5), in which Zechariah has utilized the theme of Ezek. 43:1-5, combining the Kabod-concept with an element of the Zion-Jerusalem theology of Deutero-Isaiah and the deuteronomistic circles. It is also noteworthy that the vision of the Temple in Ezek. 40-48 employed the figure of a man with a measuring instrument.

W. Rudolph's opinion that this scene was an indication of eschatological thought was worthy of further remarks, for there has been a consistent attempt to trace the development of apocalyptic thought and doctrine through a coupling of myth and eschatology. One need not be too leery of recognizing a pervasive use of mythic theme in the prophetic literature although the prophets, by and large, eschewed the larger concepts of mythic thought.

404. W. Rudolph, op. cit., p.86.
405. Cf. the Bibliography for the works of H. Gunkel, S. Mowinckel, H. Gressmann; a more recent advocate of this theory was S.B. Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic.
Myth, which centered on the cyclical conception of the yearly rebirth of life, and prophetic thought, which grew into a linear perception of history as a succession of historical events, were essentially incompatible. The use of mythic motifs by the prophets prior to the post-exilic prophets did not demonstrate eschatological orientation any more than did their use in the Genesis creation stories, for mythic elements were common in the popular world-perception of those eras. Zechariah was active at a juncture in Jewish history when a return to mythic ideas introjected a new vitality into the Jewish thought-process (cf. Trito-Isaiah and Deutero-Zechariah). Although the imagery of Zechariah was bizarre, it was descriptive of heavenly events and not of events beyond history (i.e. mythic). We cannot determine Zechariah's motivation for utilizing his imagery, much less know whether he intended a mythically-influenced picture of the future (oftentimes the author's purpose is the sole criterion for arriving at such a picture).

This vision pictured two results of Yahweh's return to the Jews: external protection and internal abundance. Without the divine decision to dwell in Zion, there could be hope of neither defense or growth; the initiative, as Zechariah repeatedly asserted, rested with Yahweh. This vision must be

interpreted within the context of His decision to act and the goal of future blessedness.

Scholars have, at times, attempted to relate the 'angel with the measuring line' to a particular historical base. Some have interpreted the figure as representative of a cautious defensive Jewish party which allowed itself to be limited by the 'day of small things' mentality. Others assumed that Zerubbabel, in order to secure his authority in the area, tried unsuccessfully to fortify Jerusalem. Others believed that the people had been preparing to rebel against the Persians. Such reconstructions have missed the central theme of the vision: having turned to the Jews with renewed mercy (1:16), God had given His guarantee that the people would live a protected and satisfied future existence. The defense of Zion, one of the central points of the Jerusalem cult theology, was forcefully stated here.

This vision worked to provide assurance to the people that Jerusalem had been restored to its position as the one earthly place where Yahweh's glory would dwell. Against the memory of 587 B.C., Zechariah made clear the future provision of divine protection. The promise of agricultural

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412. There was no sense in which '...fur Sacharja wiederholt sich die vorgangene Zeit der Grosse in der neuen Zeit': L.G. Rignell, op. cit., p.78.
fertility, a common prophetic image prior to the exile, was intensified (as it had been by Deutero-Isaiah and, to a more modest degree, by Ezekiel). The message of Deutero-Isaiah, which promised material blessing apart from human obedience and exalted the grace of God at the expense of human responsibility, figured prominently in the message of this vision of Zechariah's.

K. Galling argued that the setting of this vision could not have been Jerusalem because the figure with the measuring line was going forth to that city. He noted that the call to the exiles to leave Babylon was recorded in 2:6-7. He reached the conclusion that Zechariah actually ministered in both Babylon and Jerusalem. While I agree with the majority of scholars that Zechariah ministered only in Jerusalem, I find that Galling has seen that the end of the exile must form a part of Zechariah's understanding of the restoration and must stand behind the scene of this vision.

Perceiving this vision within its social context of 520 B.C. allows the understanding that Zechariah has stated Yahweh's intention for Jerusalem's future existence (i.e. the form of the community after the restoration has been completed): the 'man' went forth to see how long and wide the city would be, only to be told that the population of the

413. K. Galling, art. cit., p.33.
city and its spaciousness would not permit the limitations of walls. This message would have been valid at any point from 538 B.C. onwards.

It does not seem convincing to argue that Zechariah had thoughts of a heavenly city on the order of Ezekiel's Temple vision (Ezek. 40-48) or of some city distinct in thought from the rebuilt center of the restoration. This possibility cannot, however, be totally dismissed because it was during the post-exilic era that the belief developed that earthly entities were based upon eternal prototypes, such as the example found in Wisdom of Solomon (9:8). This doctrine probably had not developed in Zechariah's day to the point where it would have been meaningful to the people.

The section 2:6-13 has been generally regarded as a group of oracles gleaned from the public ministry of Zechariah, although Y. Kaufmann saw them as messages from the interpreting angel (and, therefore, as literary constructs within the vision). As in the first vision, there has been a skillful splicing of the material to the scene. However, these oracular verses are not as central to the vision as a whole as 1:13-17 was to the first vision. However, the

416. G.A. Smith, op. cit., pp.259f., and K. Galling, art. cit., p.20, regarding 2:6-7 as perhaps twenty years prior to the other oracles of this passage.
absence of 2:6-13 from the vision would seriously interrupt the course of the narrative.

While I am in concurrence with L.G. Rignell's insistence that Zechariah was intimately involved with the production of the 'oracular sections' and their appending to the body of the Night-Visions, I recognize that this hypothesis is beyond proof. I believe that Zechariah's creativity (perhaps in tandem with the use of past proclamations concerning the restoration era) gave rise to 2:6-13 and the other non-vision sections of the Night-Visions.

I found it very surprising that few scholars have given support for the MT in this passage. There is a difficult thread of logic through these verses: 1) the call of the exiles in Babylonia to return to Zion (vv.6-7a); 2) the commissioning of one to signal judgment upon Babylon (vv.7b-9); 3) the call of God to the exiles to rejoice over the news of His coming (vv.10-11); and 4) the announcement of God's plan for the future, with an admonition to reverence before Him (vv.12-13). The major questions concerning this passage are: 1) what motivates the change from third-person to first- and back to third-person; 2) who is speaking the first-person role in vv.8-9; and 3) who is addressed in these verses.

I have not followed the path of modern scholarship in making textual emendations in these verses to produce a comprehensible version which distorts the ministry of Zechariah,

418. L.G. Rignell, op. cit., p.93.
places the prophet's authority in question and smoothes over the changes in speakers. The agent of God (which would be the 'angel'), who calls the exiles to return, is commissioned to signal the beginning of judgment upon Babylon, repeats the words of Yahweh in vv.10-11 and calls the Jews to reverent attention to what Yahweh was about to do. The passage was meant to be the words of the angel for the people; the prophet was only the vehicle of the message.

The 'authentication of ministry' statement took several different forms in Zechariah 1-8, occurring in 2:9,11; 4:9; 6:15. The basic phrase was '...that you will know the Lord of hosts has sent me'. It was used in references to the defeat of Babylonia (2:9), the building of the Temple (4:9 and 6:15) and Yahweh's dwelling with His people (2:11). Ezekiel used a similar phrase, from which Zechariah was most likely motivated to use his own. W. Zimmerli labelled the phrase in Ezekiel a 'self-recognition' word or a 'word of demonstration' which derived from the legal language involved in the process of proving a point. Ezekiel used this phrase prior to a divine act in which Yahweh revealed Himself. Zechariah followed him closely in this regard.

The call to flee Babylon (2:6-7) has been interpreted as pertaining to the exiles remaining there in Zechariah's

However, there are grounds for K. Galling's interpretation of the verses as a call referring to the release of 538 B.C. In this context, the Jews addressed by Zechariah could see themselves as participants in the divine plan which spanned the end of the exile, the restoration years and the future fulfillment of Yahweh's promise to dwell with His people.

P.D. Hanson argued that Zechariah followed Ezekiel closely in form and theology in the Night-Visions, basing his contention partially on Zechariah's use of the verb קֶבֶע, 'to dwell', and the noun כְּבוּד, 'glory', concepts central to the book of Ezekiel. The concept of Yahweh's glory employed by Zechariah was certainly informed by Ezekiel's usage; it would have been uncharacteristic of Zechariah to have borrowed it directly from the Jerusalem cult milieu. Zechariah did not appear interested in the cult beyond the Temple rebuilding project; his message did not contain the same adherence to priestly material as did Ezekiel's.

In the section 2:10-13 Zechariah's commitment to the incorporation of the nations into the covenant with Yahweh, which Israel theretofore had exclusively enjoyed. This

421. W. Rudolph, op. cit., p.89.
422. K. Galling, art. cit., pp.19-21; also L.G. Riggell, op. cit., p.94.
423. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., p.94; C. Jeremias, op. cit., p.175.
feature showed another facet of his harmony with Deutero-
Isaiah and his divergence from the message of Haggai and
Ezekiel. G. Fohrer claimed that Zechariah saw Yahweh's in-
tention of extending the punishment of Babylon to the
nations (cf. his interpretation of the second vision); howev-
er, I would assert that Zechariah saw Yahweh bringing
the nations into a relationship of blessing with Himself on
the basis of these verses. Zechariah remained a particula-
rlist by retaining Zion as the 'center of the world' and the
Jews as God's own people, but he moved beyond the parochial
conception of Yahweh's Kingship extending only to the bor-
ders of Israel.


In the fourth vision, Joshua ben-Jehozadak, the high
priest, stood before the angel of Yahweh, accused by an in-
dividual identified as 'the accuser' (Ńwód) and dressed
in dirty robes. Zechariah witnessed the angel of Yahweh's
declaration that Joshua had been delivered (apparently
from the exile) by the work of God. Subsequently, Joshua's
robes were exchanged for clean ones to enable him to resume
his place as the cultic head of the Jewish community. He
was charged by the angel to keep God's ways. He was then in-
vested with total authority over the Temple and with right of
access to the heavenly assembly.

424. G. Fohrer, Die Propheten des Alten Testaments, vol. 5,
p. 54.
The record of the investiture of the priest of Yahweh was found in the Penteteuchal narratives of Exod. 29:4ff. and Lev. 8:1ff., while the change of raiment was similar to the situation experienced by King Jehoiachin (II Kings 27-30). Some scholars have discerned the influence of the Babylonian Adapa myth on the inspiration of this scene, although the resemblances are slight. The figure of 'the accuser' made his sole appearance in the prophetic literature here, preceding the later figure of Satan, where the word נסנ was transliterated into a proper name (I Chron.21:1; cf. Job 1-2).

The vision took the cleansing of the high priest and placed it in the world above. The presence of the accuser eliminated the possibility of the scene being a religious ceremony in the traditional sense. Joshua's filthy robes are variously explained as symbolic of personal sin, the corporate guilt of the people, Persian objections to Joshua's leadership, the presence of a rival to Joshua for his leadership, the presence of an evil being opposed to Yahweh developed later.

This figure did not have a moral dimension; the concept of an evil being opposed to Yahweh developed later.

Note that the Syriac Peshitta included נבומת before הם in v.2 and is to be favored over the MT on contextual grounds.

H.G. May, 'A Key to the Interpretation of Zechariah's Visions', JBL 57 (1938), p.175, saw the Babylonian New Year ritual as central to the imagery of the scenes.


office, an objection of Joshua lodged by the people of the land or the effect of the exile experience. The point of the scene was the cleansing of Joshua and the granting of authority over the Temple to him (3:7).

Joshua appeared to represent the priesthood rather than the community as a whole. Joshua's reclothing and charge affect his place as the head of the priesthood and as the mediator for the people. He was to have access to the heavenly assembly, authority over the Temple and a role anticipating the coming 'branch'. The blessings of the future were linked directly to the performance of priestly activity (3:8-10).

Although this vision was often dropped from the sequence of the Night-Visions on various grounds, I find that its place is logical and fully justifiable. The vision followed in the pattern of the first three visions (which describe the provisions Yahweh made for His people). The main problem, which centered on the vision's anticipation of the future priestly leadership of the community, was one of authority. The figure of the high priest was not presented in a benevo-

435. This is assuming that the vision was not a later addition to the vision-sequence; the point to remember is that the Night-Visions circulated in their final (present) form.
lent light, an argument which stands against a date of authorship after Zechariah's time.

The fact that Joshua, a contemporary of Zechariah's, played the central (albeit passive) role in this vision-scene required a close relationship between the scene and Zechariah's day. The nature of the cleansing ritual called for a non-historical interpretation (i.e. an event set in the world above). This act, while without historical foundation, was nevertheless real and valid for Zechariah and the community. The author of this passage was dealing with the issue of Joshua's worthiness and legitimacy as the spiritual leader of the restoration community. The idea that there actually existed a period of time after 538 B.C. when the high priest was unworthy to fill his office does not make sense (in terms of a later author).

The authorization granted by 3:7 allowed the appropriation by the priesthood of privileges once belonging to the monarchy. A king had built the Temple and had appointed a priest to serve him as 'royal chaplain'. The Temple had been built adjacent to the palace. The cult had centered, to a degree, on the figure of Yahweh, the heavenly King, and His earthly representative, an adopted son. In marking this transition, Zechariah did anticipate the future pre-

dominance of the high priestly families. Zerubbabel, as an official representative of the Persian authority, could not have been granted control of the Temple without renouncing that allegiance; there was no indication that he did such a thing.

B. Zech. 1:8-3:10 (Consolidation)

However scholars have viewed the nature and origin of the Night-Visions, most have acknowledged the close-knit structure and careful construction. There have been several tentative investigations into the relationships between the various visions and the results have widely differed. My purpose here is not to reiterate the arguments offered by other scholars but to present a different understanding of the basic patterns within the Night-Visions.

As many scholars have observed, Yahweh's turning back to the Jews (however that action be understood) was the thrust of the first vision. Within the larger context of the restoration period, it assumed a greater significance in the future-oriented faith of the Jewish community. As it was understood, the change in Yahweh's attitude determined the end of the exile and made possible the restoration.

The restoration of the community, according to Zech. 1:14-17, consisted of Yahweh's active anger against the nations 'at ease' (1:15), His determination that the Temple

should be rebuilt (1:16) and His motivation of the recons-
truction of Jerusalem (1:16). In the sense that these en-
tities existed prior to the exile, Zechariah hinted at a re-
turn to that situation. However, the tenor of the age was
a different one; Yahwism had been given a world-perspective
during the exile, which was seen reflected particularly in
the ministry of Deutero-Isaiah. Yahweh's favor toward His
people and the centrality of Zion-Jerusalem and the Temple
are viewed as having universal significance, not in the old
mythic view but in the awareness that the peoples of the
world were to have a relationship with Yahweh.

Scholars have long mentioned the relationship between
the second vision and 1:15: the disfavor of Yahweh against
the nations was manifested in the picture of His readiness
to defeat them. I would suggest that there are additional
ties between the mention of the Temple and Jerusalem in 1:16
and the third and fourth visions: the rebuilding of the city
would not leave it vulnerable to internal weakness or attack
from outside (2:1-5), while the new Temple would pass out of
politically-influenced hands to the renewed priesthood.

The overarching theme of these first four visions would
be, in my view, Yahweh's provisions for the people following
His decision to turn back to them with mercy. This could

441. Ibid., pp.177,217; S. Mowinckel, op. cit., p.120.
be comprehended chronologically (even though the author may not have thought in such a structured way). Initially there was Yahweh's decision to end the time of His anger against the Jews (1:14-17). Preparations could then be made for an imminent attack upon His enemies (1:18-21). Then could commence the physical restoration of the people, their land and their cities: the people could dwell safely and enjoy the prosperity of God (2:1-5). The fulfillment of the divine plan, according to Zechariah, would include: 1) the rebuilding of Jerusalem, its Temple and the cities of Judah (1:16-17); 2) the glory of Yahweh (כבוד יהוה) dwelling within Jerusalem (2:5); 3) the dwelling of Yahweh in the midst of the people with the nations drawn to Him (2:10-11); and the bestowal of individual prosperity (3:10).

We can thereby see that these visions were concerned with communicating the reality of Yahweh's specific acts of provision for the people within His purpose for the people as a whole. Taken individually or together, they reveal Zechariah's understanding of the process by which Yahweh would establish the new community firmly, as well as his declaration of the nature of its existence beyond the struggle of its formative stages.

In light of the historical situation of Zechariah's day, the expectations stimulated in the past and the inner structure of the four visions, it appears that Zechariah has placed primary importance upon the turning back of Yahweh to
the people. It carried in embryo the elements of the following visions; Zechariah's emphasis was upon the change in Yahweh's attitude, specifically the attendant results.

Speaking of the relationship between the first three visions, H.G. Mitchell stated that they '...form a series, the object of which was...to prepare the reader for increased faith in God for the future'. The fourth vision could also be included because it pointed beyond itself to the day when the Temple would be functioning and hardships would be a thing of the past (3:7-10).

C. The Second Vision Cycle


In the fifth vision, Zechariah was 'reawakened' to see a seven-branched candlestick/lamp flanked by two olive trees. There was no movement in the scene, yet it posed the most difficulty for interpretation. The section 4:6b-10a was an accredited message of the angel (perhaps through Zechariah) to Zerubbabel, which interpreted the progression of the dialogue between the angel and the prophet (this section can be considered independently of the rest of the vision).

442. H.G. Mitchell, op. cit., p.139. This statement reflected the judgment that the first three visions were a 'review of the past' which Zechariah wished to pass on to the people.
The menorah was a common image in the Old Testament and had a role in the Israelite cultus, perhaps dating back to the wilderness tabernacle (cf. Exod. 25:31-37). It was used in Solomon's Temple, the second Temple and Herod's Temple. One may attempt to draw some significance from the use of the menorah in these different settings, but the summarization is inadequate and inconclusive. The vision remains its own best interpreter.

The image of the olive trees was even less comprehensible. In Jer. 11:16 and Hos. 14:7, for example, the people are compared with olive trees which were regarded as having great beauty. The Temple area had boasted many such trees. Olive branches were used in the observance of the Feast of Tabernacles in Nehemiah's day (Neh. 8:15). Again, this line of investigation adds little to the understanding of the vision.

In the analysis of the menorah, one is quickly drawn to its role as the cultic representation of the presence of God. The theophany of God was symbolized by light: 'der kultische Leuchter ist das zeichenhafte Sein der göttlichen Epiphanie'. However, this judgment does not endure scrutiny against the interpretation provided by the vision itself because it leads away from the point: Yahweh sees everything that goes on in the world (4:10b). The phrase within this

verse, was reminiscent of the task of the figures of the first vision (1:11). The purpose of this vision was similar to that of the first, in that Yahweh's omniscience was featured.

As in the previous vision, an earthly setting for this vision did not appear possible. If, for example, it were assumed that the menorah and the olive trees were symbolic of the Jerusalem cult watched over by Yahweh, there are no connections between the figures in the scene to the supplied explanations. We must see that the scene was placed in the heavenly realm and that the imagery related consistently to the interpretation (cf. 4:10b,14).

The key to the second half of the vision was v.14 with its enigmatic reference to 'the two sons of oil'. This verse was almost unanimously interpreted in reference to Joshua and Zerubbabel, the two leaders of the Jewish community. Naturally, they were the only individuals who had an official association with oil (which had been used to anoint the kings of Israel, cf. I Sam. 10:1, and which would be used to consecrate the high priests after the restoration period).

From this passage and the symbolic action of 6:9-14, many scholars have determined that the government of the Jews

in Zechariah's time was a dyarchy (i.e. rule by two individuals). While it was true that the monarchy only existed in the imagination of the people and that the priesthood was emerging as a real political power in the community, there was no real evidence to suggest in what manner and for what reasons Joshua and Zerubbabel would have ruled in tandem. The two men were addressed together in Haggai, but it would be naive to assume they worked in harmony. This unique juncture in Jewish history would be a precarious point upon which to build a hypothesis that the heir of David and the high priest held equal authority.

I would assert that the phrase 'the sons of oil' was not intended to refer to Joshua and Zerubbabel but to two angelic attendants of Yahweh: 1) in contrast to Haggai, Zechariah did not mention Zerubbabel and Joshua together elsewhere; 2) the same phrase נל אורות עלinnamon (v.14) was found in 6:5, where it referred to the angelic executors of the divine will; 3) the word for 'oil' (לָשׁמ) in v.14 was relatively rare and was not used elsewhere in reference to the oil of anointing (the word לָשׁמ was used exclusively for that) and, therefore, the argument that the phrase meant 'the two anointed ones' was considerably weakened; 4) while Joshua had osten-

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ibly been granted access to the heavenly assembly and to the presence of Yahweh in 3:7, angelic beings also enjoyed that privilege. Joshua's standing was not intended to be taken literally but effectively (and Zerubbabel was certainly not granted that status), so it would be difficult to understand the olive tree imagery in terms of human beings. The transcendence of Yahweh, which was so evident elsewhere in Zechariah, did not allow human beings in His presence; His chosen angels minister to Him exclusively; and 5) there was no indication that either Joshua or Zerubbabel were anointed: Zerubbabel probably was never anointed as king of the Jews and Joshua possibly was never anointed (if that privilege was accorded only to later high priests). This verse demanded an interpretation which accorded not a picture of the restoration cult providentially kept by Yahweh, but of a holy God who was aware of the current events in the world.

If Zerubbabel was not intimated in v.14, there must have been some rationale for the inclusion of the messages addressed to him in 4:6b-7,8-10a. The most likely explanation would be that the Temple was also figured into the vision as the dwelling-place of Yahweh (which Zerubbabel had been com-

448. The interpreting angel mediated the prophetic message to Zechariah in the first vision (Yahweh did not speak to the prophetic directly) and proclaimed the divine message in 2:7-9. Yahweh used angelic forces to achieve His will on earth (cf. 6:1-8).
missioned to build), which was the earthly correlation of the heavenly abode of God from which He would be aware of all earthly activity.

There were many scholars who stated that the message to Zerubbabel in vv.6b-7 was a warning to him not to use force in gaining the desired political freedom for the Jews. The message was intended (per this interpretation) to persuade the Jews that Yahweh was able to achieve what human instrumentalities could not. Another understanding of such an interpretation would be G. von Rad's observation that v.6b contained an echo of Israel's cry in her holy wars. Under this directive, Zerubbabel would have been empowered, as military leaders of older and later times (cf. the descriptions in I Maccabees of the Jewish campaigns against the Seleucid power in the second century B.C.), to make the necessary preparations for war, relying upon the Spirit of Yahweh for victory.

It seems more appropriate to see Zerubbabel as the moving force behind the rebuilding of the Temple than as a military leader. In that capacity he had been confronted by many obstacles to the work. Zechariah assured him that Yahweh's Spirit would bring the work to completion: the hindrances, formidable as they might have appeared, would vanish, and

450. G. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg im Alten Israel, p.66.
Zerubbabel would finish his task.

The second message (vv.8-10a) gave the same promise in a slightly more explicit form: those unable to perceive the hand of God in 'the day of small things' (i.e. 538-520 B.C.) would rejoice at Zerubbabel's successful direction of the project. The message was directed to Zerubbabel in his capacity as the builder of the Temple. Those who argued that 'the new age comes with Zerubbabel' as he built the Temple did not grasp Zechariah's understanding of Zerubbabel's role in the community.

2. Zech. 5:1-4, The Sixth Vision

The sixth vision showed Zechariah a scene with movement, a flying scroll which travelled through the air over the land. Zechariah was able to identify it and to give its measurements (a departure from his role in other vision-scenes), although its function was unknown to him until the interpreting angel provided the explanation: the scroll was the oath (rganization) of the covenant, the curse upon disobedience which would destroy the sinners in the land. M. Weinfeld asserted that four motifs are found in treaties and documents of the ancient Near East: 1) a statement

452. Scholars generally have agreed that נֵבְנַה referred to the land of Judah and not to the 'world' of the nations.
of divine wrath, 2) a description of a curse which was to settle upon the breaker of the agreement, 3) an oath inscribed in a document and 4) the threat of the obliteration of the covenant-breaker's name and memory. These were easily identifiable elements in the vision-scene and may provide an intended covenant context for the scene.

The image of a scroll was not an unfamiliar one to the prophetic writings, being found in Jer. 36:1ff. and Ezek. 2:9, 3:1-3. These instances, the scroll played a role in judgment narratives: Jeremiah's scroll contained his past messages of judgment against the monarchy of Judah and Ezekiel's scroll, given him at his commissioning as a prophet, was symbolic of his message of doom concerning Jerusalem.

This vision conformed closely to the pattern discerned in the Night-Visions. The scroll was symbolic of Yahweh's judgment against those of the Jewish community who had transgressed the divine standard. The images of the thief and the false swearer may intend have been taken as representative of sins against man and God which were prohibited by the two tablets of the commandments given to Moses (cf. Exod. 31:18). Another view made these figures representative of the major social problems of the early post-exilic community. It was unfortunate that further evidence was not

provided, for the vision's cryptic statements cannot be interpreted well in terms of sociological setting which was relatively unknown to us.

The act of judgment described in the vision-scene has given scholars much difficulty. By relating the mention of the house of the sinner to the assertion of Ezekiel that future retribution would be carried out on an individual basis (Ezek. 18:1ff.), W.E. Barnes and H.G. Mitchell have concluded that this vision contained a promise that Yahweh would never again punish the nation as a whole, but would take vengeance on sin at the individual level. These scholars saw the deteronomistic theory of retribution rejected, as it had been earlier by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. This interpretation reduced the vision to no more than a statement of policy.

A. van Hoonacker, who interpreted all eight visions as referring to the past exilic history of Israel, interpreted this vision as descriptive of the exile, when the sins of the people under the monarchy were punished. E. Sellin regarded it as a picture of judgment upon the Jews who had remained in Judah during the exile. M. Bič, setting the vision within the context of the eschatological Day of Yahweh,

459. A. van Hoonacker, Petits Prophetes, p.621.
related it to the biblical maxim: 'judgment begins in the
house of the Lord' (I Peter 4:17; cf. Ezek. 9:6). Bič
categorized this vision as a description of the cleansing
of the land in preparation for the coming eschatological age
generalized on the theme of the vision: 'es handelt sich
darum, Jahwe ein heiliges Volk zu schaffen, indem die Sunder
aus Israel ausgerottet werden'.

Van Hoonacker's opinion that the vision described the
judgment of 587 B.C. must be rejected on the grounds that
the elements of the vision are not aligned with historical
events nor with the themes of the other visions.

If there were any source for the content of this vision,
it would seem to be the book of Ezekiel. There was, for
example, the judgments of Ezek. 9:1-11, 11:1-13 and 20:33ff.,
which were carried out strictly on a moral basis (the repen-
tant and righteous were spared while the rebellious and idolat-
trous were consumed). In Zechariah's vision there was a
focus on purity and guiltlessness (which Ezekiel stressed)
as it applied to the restoration community and its institu-

461. M. Bič, Das Buch Sacharja, p.65.
463. Cf. D. Baltzer, Ezechiel und Deuterojesaja,
pp.98f., where he summarized Ezekiel's stress upon the purifi-
cation of the people and contrasted it with Deutero-Isaiah's
emphasis upon their redemption. It was Ezekiel's requirement
which was picked up here by Zechariah.
tions. The forces at work in Zechariah's scene, selective destruction and ultimate purification, were also operative in Ezekiel.

I would suggest that Zechariah looked at the harsh conditions in the land which threatened to destroy the community during the years 538-520 B.C. as the beginning (and end) of Yahweh's purifying judgment. The essence of the community was retained while making sense of the difficulties encountered. Zechariah saw himself living in the period of purification prior to the age of full blessing.

3. Zech. 5:5-11, The Seventh Vision

The seventh vision presented Zechariah with a mysterious scene of movement. The prophet saw a vessel 'going forth' (under some sort of impetus). The interpreting angel explained that the vessel, an ephah, contained the iniquity of the whole land. Zechariah was permitted a look inside the ephah and he saw the figure of a woman, identified as 'wickedness' (חצרא), attempting to escape. Two women with stork's wings, ostensibly celestial beings, bore the ephah and its contents toward Babylon.

The image of the ephah was a common one to every-day Jewish life, a vessel which could contain a dry measure of

approximately thirty-eight liters. It would be, however, more likely that the ephah was here representative of a vessel of indeterminate size. The conjecture that the figure in the ephah was an idol (on the grounds that the container was of insufficient volume for a human form) must be rejected; one cannot assess a vision-scene by recourse to physical data. The imagery of the winged women has no parallel in the Old Testament; exegetes of earlier years, marking their association with an unclean bird, labelled them messengers of Satan.

The woman in the ephah, the central figure if the scene, provoked many questions which scholars have dealt with. The candidates for the source of the image have included: Eve, the Queen of Heaven (cf. Jer. 7:18), the Egyptian goddess Isis, Ashtoroth of Canaan and the strange woman of Prov. 7:5ff. The fact that the Hebrew word for 'wickedness' is feminine (ניейчас) may have been influential, although the effect would probably have been the reverse. The most likely arguments for the interpretation of this figure have been those which connect the woman to Israel's

466. It would be unlikely that the ephah represented a temple; cp. S. Marenof, 'Note Concerning the Meaning of the Word, "Ephah", Zechariah 5:5-11', AJSL xlviii (1931-32), pp.204ff.
468. Cf. C. Jeremias, op. cit., pp.196f., for literature concerning these interpretations.
469. H. Gese, art. cit., p.31.
tendency to idolatry or Israel's unfaithfulness to Yahweh, her Husband.

The emphasis of the vision did not lie in the identification of the image as much as in the effect (i.e. the removal of the wickedness of the people. There was insight here into Zechariah's understanding of Yahweh's determination to eliminate sin in His people: the root cause (or essence) of the Jews' rebelliousness against the will of Yahweh would be fully removed. The community was to be purged from internal defects. Zechariah surpassed the thought of the former prophets by attributing the wickedness in man to something distinctly 'other', a personified source (or a personification) of evil (cf. Gen. 3:1ff. and 1 Kings 22:19ff.).

The superficial resemblance of this scene to the description of the departing glory in Ezek. 1 and 10-11 invited a deeper examination. There was correspondence between the throne (Ezek. 10:1) and the ephah, the flying cherubim (10:3) and the women with wings, the 'glory' (10:4) and the 'wickedness' and each making room for the other in Babylon and Jerusalem. There were many similarities, suggesting that Zechariah anticipated the removal of sin from the community prior to the manifestation of Yahweh's glory at the Temple.

L.G. Rignell observed that '...man kann zwar sagen, dass die Bildersprache eine "apokalyptische" Farbung habe, da keine Wirklichkeit im Hintergrund stehe. Jedoch finden
sich innerhalb des AT gewisse Parallelen'. The prophet may have conceived of the removal of sin (which was an abstract concept) without making an historical reference, but the lack of historical grounding cannot be the sole criteria in judging a passage apocalyptic. The woman-figure as a personified antithesis to Yahweh (or His glory) contributed something significant in this direction, although it would be surpassingly difficult to determine Zechariah's intention in a passage whose interpretation must be given wide latitude.

It is an interesting note that the post-exilic theocracy developed the mentality which trusted cultic ritual for the removal of the people's guilt. The concept of the community as the congregation of Yahweh (יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל) grew out of the belief in Yahweh's essentially benevolent attitude toward the people. I am not arguing that there was no other way or no other time in which the Jews could have been considered 'sinless'. I am stressing Zechariah's understanding that community purity was included in Yahweh's purpose for the people and that his view may have influenced (or have been influenced by) the developing official theology of the theocracy.

The removal of 'wickedness' from the community made possible the continuing plan of Yahweh to achieve His purposes for the Temple and community (i.e. their purity). It was this view Zechariah held up for the people.

470. L.G. Bignell, op. cit., p.194.
471. O. Ploger, op. cit., p.43; W. Foerster, op. cit., p.7.
The last vision revealed to Zechariah four chariots pulled by different-colored horses, proceeding from between two copper mountains and going forth toward the four points of the compass. The chariots did not follow any pattern in their movement, although there was a definite emphasis on the north country, Babylon.

The image of the chariot was similar to that of the horsemen of the first vision, in that they symbolized military power. Zechariah has shunned the supernatural vehicle of fire (cf. II Kings 2:11, 6:17) for a more mundane figure. As in the first vision, the colors of the horses differentiate the chariots and the directions of their missions; however, there was no immediate background from which this information may have been taken. The copper mountains, even if they derive from some mythic context, do not appear to have been included with any particular thought in mind.

The point of the vision was stated in v.8: 'These that go toward the north country...v.

The meaning of the last phrase has been interpreted differently by scholars. A majority of scholars, relying on the traditional understanding of the chariot-image as a war instrument, have translated the phrase with the sense of '...release my (God's) anger'. Others, namely G. von Rad and R. Mason, preferred

473. Cf. L.G. Rignell, op. cit., pp.198ff., regarding the various interpretations.
the translation '...give rest to my (God's) Spirit'.

However, I do not feel urgency to hold one view over the other. The intention of the author may have included both interpretations within the single statement.

There appears to be a description within this vision-scene of a limited activity. R. Mason, for example, stated that he saw in this picture a further stage in the freeing of the exiles from Babylon. He concluded that the event described was but a foretaste of 'the future complete victory' of Yahweh. L.G. Rignell supported this view by pointing out that Babylon (and not the nations at large) was the sole interest of the prophet. It would be difficult to see here the description of a final, universal (or eschatological) judgment.

There was no sense here of a repetition of the thought of Hag. 2:20-23, which did foresee the great shaking of the nations prior to the establishment of the Jewish kingdom under Zerubbabel. There was but a limited action which served to facilitate the unfolding of the divine plan.

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479. W. Rudolph, op. cit., p.125, followed this defeat with the nations' reception by Yahweh.
480. Zechariah operated within a general context without fully including the nations in specific scenes.
The passage 6:9-14 contained the narrative of God's command to Zechariah to perform a symbolic action, similar to those of Ezekiel (i.e. to form a crown and place it on the head of Joshua). The roles of Joshua, Zerubbabel (who was identified as a representative of the 'branch'), and the 'branch' were quite intertwined by Zechariah in this passage: Joshua (vv.11,12aa,13b), Zerubbabel (vv.12bb,13aa) and the 'branch' (vv.12ab,12ba,13ab,13b).

The roles were not distinguished very well, owing to the confusion inherent in Joshua 'standing in' for the 'branch' and Zerubbabel viewed as the (forerunner of the) 'branch' by some scholars. Joshua was crowned and addressed as the 'branch'; Zerubbabel was addressed as the one who should rebuild the Temple; and the 'branch' was the one who would grow in his place, bear royal honor and sit and rule upon his throne.

The common reference to emending the text to replace Joshua's name with Zerubbabel's in v.11 (as the subject of the crowning) is logical to a degree, but the change was supported by no manuscript evidence. It was clear, on the one hand, that only a Davidide could occupy the throne of Israel; on the other, Zerubbabel would have been disquali-

482. L.G. Rignell, op. cit., p.224, rightly defended the MT; Y. Kaufmann, op. cit., p.295, called the emendation (to Zerubbabel's name) 'a classical example of preposterous exegesis'.
fied as a ruler as long as he remained a Persian official. It would be conceivable that the priesthood was brought in as Yahweh's 'caretaker' leadership until the Davidic heir withdrew from foreign allegiance, in Zechariah's view.

It was interesting to note that the 'branch', as a title used by the prophets in reference to a ruling figure, occurred in passages marked by a merging of royal and sacerdotal elements. J. Baldwin asserted that the title had 'messianic' significance in Zechariah 1-8 (3:8, 6:12) because it concerned not simply Zerubbabel but a future ideal king of the Jews (cf. Is. 4:2, Jer. 23:5, 33:15).

The crown which Zechariah was to have made was called a memorial (זכרון), a reminder either for Yahweh to keep His promise concerning the coming ruler or for the people to remember the fact that Yahweh would keep faith with them. It seems better to hold to the latter option, seeing that the command to place the crown in the Temple came as a word of Yahweh.

Whatever one concluded about Zerubbabel's position in the community, the fact remained that he was not to wear the crown. As it stands, Zerubbabel's role in Zechariah's eyes was demeaned: he was to build the Temple, but he could not rule over it or the community (at least for the present).

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Zechariah may be implying that the Jews could do without Zerubbabel as a representative of the Davidic line while not rejecting the promise to David; Zechariah may have been thinking about Zerubbabel's son or grandson as the 'branch'.

One must see that Zechariah did not intentionally lay the foundation for the ascendancy of the priesthood as it has been described during the post-exilic period. There was no trace of the priest-king; he presented a scene with a priest sitting on the throne of another. The symbolic action (whether or not it was carried out) was distinctly relevant to the early post-exilic age because the monarchical rule was uncommitted. The prophet seemed to allow a temporary figure to replace the Davidic rule, someone not politically compromised by Persian loyalties, until that king would come, whose right it was to rule (Ezek. 21:27).

D. Zech. 4:1-6:15 (Consolidation)

I arrived at a different conclusion regarding the internal arrangement of the Night-Visions primarily because I couldn't accept the judgment of scholars who suggested the centrality of the fifth vision (4:1-14) within the vision construction. In my evaluation of that vision, I outlined the arguments which precluded, for me, the possibility of a principal role in the Night-Visions.

The turning point of the interpretation of the vision-scene rested upon the identification of 'the sons of oil'.
I argued that the phrase did not refer to Joshua and Zerubbabel and that it would have been more consistent to interpret it as referring to celestial beings which ministered to Yahweh.

The vision contained two complementary thrusts: the fact of Yahweh's watchfulness over the world and the reality of His holiness which separated Him from that world. This understanding of the vision presented a base upon which the following visions could build.

The last three visions could be interpreted along two lines: the establishment of a purified community in Judah and the activity involving Yahweh's judgment of sin (in all its forms). The ambiguity of the last vision suggests that these two strands of thought ought to be considered opposite sides of the same coin and not as mutually exclusive options. The thread of connection is the realization that each scene depicted an act which grew out of Yahweh's holy nature, a perspective which lends a true unifying force to the last visions.

In contrast to the first four visions which described the positive acts of Yahweh to provide for the struggling community, the last four visions identify the divine holiness which acts against all manifestations of sin. Yahweh's grace dominated the first visions in a way similar to its role in Deutero-Isaiah's messages; His demand for purity in the last visions was as insistent as in portions of the book
of Ezekiel.

It was, in fact, Zechariah's relationship to Ezekiel which stood out strongly in these visions. The theme of a purified people fit for Yahweh's service (which could be understood within the Jews' anticipation of the completed Temple functioning under Joshua's leadership) was found in explicit form in the sixth and seventh vision, and was expressed less directly in the fifth and eighth. The influence of Ezekiel was felt most forcefully in these visions; the concept of a purified people for a holy God was an important message of this prophet.

IV. Zech. 7:4-8:23, The 'Fasting' Sermon

The last two chapters of Zechariah consisted of a dated historical event (a request for a religious judgment addressed to the Jerusalem Temple personnel, 7:1-3) and a collection of statements of the prophet (7:4-8:23). It was unlikely that Zechariah was personally responsible for the verses of introduction (7:1-3), since they were part of the editorial framework observed elsewhere (1:1, 1:7). O. Plöger's contention that the priestly leaders of the Babylonian returnees were concerned to make the new Temple the center of the Palestinian community and to regain their positions of authority within the governing administration of

the Jewish homeland may reveal interesting insights into the inclusion of this rather insignificant event in the prophet's record.

Twenty-two months had passed since the date associated with the appearance of the Night-Visions (cp. 7:1 with 1:7).

G.A. Smith noted that dramatic changes had occurred in the land during this time:

In Jan. 519 Temple and city are still to be built. Zerubbabel has laid the foundation; the completion is yet future (1:7-17). The prophet's duty is to quiet the people's apprehensions about the state of the world, to provoke their zeal, give them confidence in their great men, and, above all, assure them that God is returned to them and their sin is pardoned. But in Dec. 518 the Temple is so far built that the priests are said to belong to it; there is no occasion for continuing the fast of the exile, the future has opened and the horizon is bright with Messianic hopes. Most of all, it is felt that the hard struggle with the forces of nature is over, and the people are exhorted to the virtues of the civic life. They have time to lift their eyes from their work and to see the nations coming from afar off to Jerusalem.

Thus, when Zechariah spoke of the changes in life for the better (cf. 8:10ff.), he may have been pointing to observable growth in the land.

The message divided easily into a review of the past (7:4-14), the significance of the present (8:1-3aa) and a survey of the future (8:3ab-23). There are parallels in these sections with Zech. 1:2-6 and the 'oracular' portions

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of the Night-Visions, which would be indicative of a consistent preaching style (or, alternately, a wide-ranging final redaction).

The historical occasion for the presentation of this material was the reception on Temple grounds of a delegation sent to inquire of the priests and prophets. There was no consensus among scholars whether this group came from Bethel, Babylon, Samaria, a settlement in Judah away from Jerusalem or some other location. Since there can be little more than speculation made at this point, the matter should be left open. The purpose of the inquiry, however, was clearly stated: whether the fast commemorating the destruction of the Temple should be continued.

Zechariah's 'response' to this question appears to be a little disjointed, possibly owing to an editor's heavy hand in assembling a series of the prophet's remarks. W.A.M. Beuken treated 7:4-14 as a Levitical sermon, utilizing G. von Rad's category; but the elements of the form (doctrine, application and exhortation) were missing. Zechariah's style may have become a prototype from which

487. M. Bič, op. cit., p.90, argued unconvincingly that the presence of the prophets demanded an eschatological interpretation.
the Levitical sermon-form developed, for there were some lines of continuity between Zechariah and the later Levitical prophets which include Zech. 7:4-14 and the later form. The framework of the trial speeches of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. 43:22-24, 50:1-3) may be influential here to a minor degree.

Within the theme of fasting, Zechariah raised the question of what constituted a sincere fast, stated the lesson of 'late' obedience, gave a basis for doing God's will and related the results of failing to act righteously before God. One notices the strong influence of deuteronomistic phraseology and content in Zech. 7:4-14, especially in the reaction of the people to the giving of 'the law and the words' (v.12), which the prophets had done in an attempt to turn them back to Yahweh. Zechariah reminded the people of the past in all its brutality in order to place them in a position to hear the words of Yahweh and to receive them in obedience.

Zechariah's opinion of Yahweh's attitude toward the Jewish community (8:1-3aa) repeated almost word-for-word his statements in 1:14,16a. His assessment of the exile and restoration was not made in terms of the historical act of release, but within Yahweh's change of heart and His determination to do them good. This change of attitude of Yahweh

491. R.F. Melugin, op. cit., p.47.
(not the achievements of the people) was held up by Zechariah as the means whereby the community would be revitalized.

The new era was conceived by Zechariah as a period of time marked by divine presence and blessing (8:3ab-8, cf. 2:10-11). The concept appears to be an amalgamation of themes taken from Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. It revealed Zechariah's assumption that Yahweh's relationship to the people would parallel the pre-exilic state, although in a heightened sense. It is interesting to note that the particular blessings mentioned by Zechariah are not so characteristic of the priestly/Ezekielian traditions as the Trito-Isaianic and deuteronomistic: long life, many children and prosperity in the land (cf. Is. 65:18-23).

The return of the people from the ends of the earth and the renewal of the covenant (8:7-8) are repetitive of the phraseology of Ezekiel (11:20, etc.) and indicative of the central role the covenant played in these prophets' thinking. However, P.R. Ackroyd's contention that the covenant of v.8 was contrasted with a former covenant went beyond the expressed intention of the text. Zechariah insisted that the 'older' covenant had been renewed; the whole sense of Zechariah 1-8 supported the view of Yahweh's continuing relationship with the people (in spite of the people's dis-

494. P.R. Ackroyd, op. cit., p.213.
obedience which prompted the exile, cf. 1:12). The context of these verses indicated the duration of the covenant; the phrase was descriptive not of the permanence but of the quality of the relationship.

The passage 8:9-15 paralleled portions of the book of Haggai, containing Zechariah's most explicit statements concerning the rebuilding of the Temple. He urged the people to work at the same time that he announced the dawn of the era of blessing. The use of the term 'remnant' (שֵׁרֵם) stemmed from Isaiah's identifying a surviving segment of the people after national catastrophe. In that sense the 'remnant' title accorded a certain dignity to the community as well as acknowledged the realization of hope: the people were to recognize their spiritual heritage in the writings of the former prophets and their place in God's plan. Yahweh had turned to them to do good, not because of their collective return to Him (cp. 1:3 and the interpretation which required individualistic response) but because He had graciously chosen to do so (1:16).

Zechariah inferred that the future change which the people would experience was more than a simple recovery of their way of life prior to the exile, but less than the dreams for some kind of a 'golden age'. Prosperity was promised, so that the community would dwell on a higher plane after the completion of the Temple. No mention was made of the topological changes which were found in Is. 2, Ezek.
40-48 and Zech. 14; Zechariah envisioned simple existence centered around the Temple and blessed by Yahweh.

Zechariah briefly mentioned some basic ethical demands within this framework. These demands were too concise and limited to be a full picture of the will of God for the community, nor were they the sole demands of the covenant. The ethical emphasis of pre-exilic prophecy was reproduced here in considerable diminution, but it would be wrong to label this simply a 'carry-over' of prophetic thought. Its disjointedness within the narrative lent it some emphasis (at least within the thought of the collector); these thoughts were important enough to include, in someone's eyes. Zechariah's 'failure' to mention the basic obligations of the covenant must speak against P.R. Ackroyd's understanding of this passage as expressing the 'contingent nature' of the coming of the future age.

Many scholars have identified 8:18-19 as Zechariah's immediate response to the question posed in 7:1-3. However, he could not have advocated the adoption of the feasts, for the change was yet in the future. Rather he was asserting that the matrix of joy and blessing (of which the feasts were representative) would draw the nations to Jerusalem to worship at the Temple, seeking the Jews to assist them in

finding Yahweh's blessing (8:20-23). This strongly echoed the sentiments of Is. 61:6 and was wholly antipathetic to the Zadokite strategy of restricting the priesthood and the offices which mediated the divine blessing to the common people.

Zech. 7:4-8:23 exists in a form of the covenant renewal form recognized elsewhere in the Old Testament (e.g. the Sinai experience, Exod. 34, and the Maccabean revolt, Dan. 9). The form's features were: 1) an account of the past behavior of the parties, including the violations of the covenant agreement (also called the antecedent history); 2) the new initiative to reinstitute the covenant; 3) the blessings which were said to accrue to a faithful adherence to the conditions of the covenant; 4) the crucial institution of the covenant; and 5) the series of commands/stipulations of the covenant. This passage can be divided along these lines as follows: 1) 7:4-14; 2) 8:1-3aa; 3) 8:3ab-7,10-15, 20-23; 4) 8:8; and 5) 7:8-10, 8:9,16-17,19b.

The covenant form seems to have enjoyed much use in the post-exilic community, with later occurrences also found at II. Chron. 29, Ezra 9 and Neh. 9. These forms were found, however, in passages of historical narratives--a distinctly different context than the prophetic writings.

V. Zechariah 1-8 (Conclusion)

The message of the prophet Zechariah was directed to the Jewish community of his day and that message was deeply influenced by the prophets of the exile: Jeremiah (to a lesser degree), Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. Scholars are almost of a mind that Zechariah saw himself in the mold of the prophetic figures of the past, rather than as an innovator of religious traditions; there was little in these chapters which was not foreshadowed in the writings of the earlier prophets. In that Zechariah encouraged the rebuilding of the Temple and recognized the authority of Joshua and Zerubbabel, he affirmed the official theology of the pre-exilic state.

Zechariah analyzed the causes of the exile (cf. 1:2-6, 7:4-14) with the conviction that it occupied a significant place in the history of Israel, both as continuity with the past and as a water-shed event preparatory to a new act of God.

According to G. von Rad, Zechariah discounted the return of the exiles and deprived it of any dignity as a saving event. Von Rad's analysis failed to take into account that Zechariah was speaking to a people who had already returned to the land and was speaking with the assump-

tion that Yahweh had led them. True, the reference to the exiles (cf. 2:6-7) in Zechariah's message did not have the same intensity of Deutero-Isaiah, but it was a reminder that the former prophet's ministry had a pervasive effect upon the whole community (including Zechariah). It seems more consistent to view the paucity of references to the return as a result of Zechariah's orientation to God's new beginning and of his position chronologically subsequent to it.

For Zechariah, the restoration meant the arrival of the time of blessing. In von Rad's phraseology, this meant 'the new eschatological act of Yahweh' had freed the Jews and they were living on the threshold of Deutero-Isaiah's future age. This 'new age' of Deutero-Isaiah, with its visible signs (Is. 44:26-28), was influential upon Zechariah's message.

The relationship of the Night-Visions to historical reality is important to understand. It appears that the visions were comprehensible apart from the sources of the imagery and that the scenes were not particularly vital to the thrusts of the visions; invariably the interpretation supplied by the interpreting angel was all-important (whereas the images alone were capable of innumerable interpretations), without any substantial connection to the scene.

501. Cf. B. Halpern, art. cit., who analyzed the Night-Visions as a 'combat-cycle' without reference to the imagery.
itself. One is justified in looking upon the vision-scene as 'window-dressing' for the key thought of the vision. I have found no significance in the details of the vision-scenes, such as the colors of the horses in the first and last visions, and I believe that no importance was attached to these details which modern scholarship can detect in their present form. The images seem to have been selected to complement themes already present in Zechariah's mind.

There is a question on the chronological sequence to the Night-Visions. While each scene did refer to the general period of the restoration, some of the visions slip the restraints of time and space and are set in the world above. While Zechariah has obviously subordinated chronology and historical perspective to theological conviction, there does appear to have been a logical sequence of thought (especially within the two sub-cycles, 1:8-3:10 and 4:1-6:15) in the Night-Visions.

At many points Zechariah quietly circumvented the cult and the priesthood to draw a more 'secular' picture of Yahweh's will for the restoration community. He was far more prophet than priest; he never couched his messages in the form of priestly instruction as did Ezekiel. He was, of course, aware of the centrality of the Temple and the place of the priesthood, but he has not emphasized them nearly as

much as other post-exilic prophets (or as much as he could have). There were no commands to uphold the purity or sanctity of the cult.

One cannot press Zechariah 1-8 into a mold formed by the writings of other prophets; the uniqueness of the prophet's message cannot be sacrificed to general trends and statements about prophecy. Zechariah's thought has more in common with Trito-Isaiah than with Haggai, while his pragmatic emphasis rested upon the Temple (against which Trito-Isaiah railed, Is. 66:1-4). He ministered during a period of transition/preparation/expectation, an era unique in its formulative forces.

The tension between the real conditions of life and the ideal dimensions of Yahweh's plan for Israel in history presented problems for interpreters. Zechariah spoke of the beginning of the blessed era (8:11ff.), while making an explicit distinction between the present and future time. The two periods were not regarded as antithetical but as parts of a continuity featuring a series of events wherein the future promised would gradually supplant the present. The culminating event of this series would involve the glorification of Yahweh by the nations. It was within this context that Zechariah spoke of the 'day of small things' (4:10) and the


beginning of the new era (8:11).

Clearly Zechariah saw the fortunes of the people suddenly and irrevocably altered by Yahweh's turning to them with compassion and mercy (1:16). This central theme illuminated everything else, for Zechariah believed that only Yahweh's action could bring about the blessed conditions which had been so anticipated. For him, those blessings were to be the fulfillment of past prophecies and the means whereby the nations would join the Jews as God's people (2:11).

G. von Rad, in his exposition on the rise of eschatology, declared that the prophets of Israel did not possess that sense of time whereby they could differentiate between events in history and events at the end of history (or at the end of the age). Von Rad asserted that the chief reason for the rise of eschatological thought was the manifestation of judgment in 587 B.C. which swept away the basis for confidence in Yahweh's willingness to act. Zechariah, however, put stress on his continuity with the former prophets and on the fact that Yahweh's relationship with the people was an unbroken one.

I have discussed P.D. Hanson's contention that the apocalyptic brand of eschatology emerged when the prophetic

507. Zech. 1:12 could be interpreted as revealing angelic impatience with Yahweh to do what they know He must do.
task of integrating 'vision' into history was abdicated by the 'visionary' (i.e. the prophet). His view turned on the role of history in the prophets' predictive assertions. Both Ezekiel and Zechariah addressed themselves to historical acts of Yahweh without regard for identifying actual human agents in that activity. Ezekiel's interpretation of such events was facilitated by the fact that the armies of Babylon were conveniently close, if somewhat inaccurately described by Ezekiel (cf. Ezek. 8-11). Zechariah, however, did not enjoy the same luxury, except insofar as the Persians could have been regarded as a type of future aggressors.

The question of Zechariah's relationship to the prophetic and apocalyptic movements is, as I have demonstrated, plagued by vagueness of definition and incompleteness of detail. In the view of A. Weiser, Zechariah's innovations lay in the area of his visionary activity (which Zechariah integrated into the older prophetic traditions and moral demands and the current salvation concepts of his day):

The Jewish religion as it developed took the road from Ezekiel by way of Zechariah to the apocalyptic hope of Judaism.

Weiser appeared to pay no attention to the lines of connection in other prophetic strands, as he theorized on the development of the apocalyptic movement. In the same way,

508. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., p.11.
H. Gese labelled the Night-Visions as the oldest 'apocalypse' in reference to their detailed descriptions, mysterious symbolism and the appearance of the interpreting angel.

G.A. Smith discerned what he described as Zechariah's inability to project God's victory in historical terms as the point where Zechariah departed from the older prophets and preceded the later apocalyptic writers. For Zechariah, there were no political means whereby the expected overthrow of the nations could be accomplished. He declared that the 'smiths and chariots' were not representative of historical reality but divine powers ready to invade history. It was precisely this kind of judgment which S. Mowinckel rejected in his analysis of Zechariah 1-8. He argued that the message of Zechariah had nothing to do with events of an end-time. Within the restoration era, Zechariah awaited historical revolution, wherein Israel might remain unscathed to reap the benefits. The figures of the Night-Visions were those which worked behind and through natural agencies; their place in the Night-Visions was dictated by the prophet's religious interpretation of the world.

C. Jeremias, in his study of the Night-Visions as they related to the other vision texts of the Old Testament, concluded that Zechariah stood between prophecy and the apoca-

512. S. Mowinckel, _op. cit._, pp.121f.
lyptic movement. He based this conclusion on literary grounds: 1) there were prophetic characteristics in Zechariah not found in Daniel and 2) there were features shared by Zechariah and Daniel which were absent in prophetic writings prior to Zechariah. He rejected H. Gese's argument on the grounds that Gese had not been sharp enough in defining his terms. W. Rudolph supported Jeremias against Gese.

P.D. Hanson's work has been quite helpful in identifying the dynamics involved in placing Zechariah 1-8 within the prophetic-apocalyptic continuum. He argued that Zechariah reaffirmed the future-oriented/eschatological element which had been introduced by Ezekiel. Zechariah tied it to the Temple rebuilding project and to the political program of the Jewish community's leaders. Zechariah sided with this leadership in such a way that his prophetic office gave support to their designs on total community control, a position which accorded little sympathy to the eschatological programs of other, less powerful, groups. Hanson contrasted Zechariah 1-8 with Deutero-Zechariah by stating that the former supported the community leadership against its opponents and the latter embodied a movement of increasing hostility toward existing community leaders and institutions.

515. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.246f.
516. P.D. Hanson, 'Book of Zechariah', IDBSup, ed. K. Crim, p.983.
It was this mental attitude toward the present, represented by its structures, that Hanson identified as the source of the apocalyptic mentality and used to discern the path of the development of apocalyptic. The unfortunate thing was that he did not consider the role of Israel vis-a-vis the nations as a necessary corollary to his hypothesis; the same mental attitude may be discerned in other prophets favorable to the theocracy (cf. Haggai and Joel; Zechariah's position concerning the fate of the nations was unique, but that did not alter the fact that he viewed them as enemies of God to be overcome by Him).

R.J. Bauckham was correct in stating (contra Hanson) that the distinctive aspect of Zechariah 1-8 was the focus of 'apocalyptic hopes' on the early post-exilic era. For Bauckham, Zechariah was a prophet who relied upon his predecessors for the typology of his constructions of the future. When historical realities proved incapable of measuring up to his hopes, some adjustments had to be made (but we have little clue as to what adjustments Zechariah made or when he made them).

K. Koch examined the apocalyptic writings in order to isolate certain form-critical elements unique to the apocalyptic literature. He was not deaf to the kind of argument

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that Hanson used to reject literary analysis as the basis of defining apocalyptic, but he asserted:

...there are features of the text which convey the impression that there really was something like an apocalyptic type of writing.

He discerned: discourse cycles, remarks of spiritual turmoil, paraenetic discourses/introductory legends, pseudomity, mythical images rich in symbolism, composite literary character, as literary features. Also, he found urgent expectation, cosmic catastrophe, determinism/historical periodization, angels and demons, salvation beyond catastrophe, transition ordered by God, a royal mediator, a final state of affairs, as indicative of a historical movement.

Since it is clear that Zechariah 1-8 did not contain all the features identified by Koch and others scholars, it appears that those who view these chapters as representative of an intermediate, literary stage between prophecy and apocalyptic are correct. Concerning the continuity based on mental attitude, Hanson was correct in limiting the influence of Zechariah on the later prophetic movement and apocalyptic to the areas of motifs and the genre of apocalypse; Zechariah 1-8 did not convey an intensity of expression that Hanson required.

519. Ibid., pp.24-28.
520. Ibid., pp.28-33.
521. P.D. Hanson, art. cit., p.983.
Making a comprehensive judgment upon Zechariah 1-8, however, is not as easy as it may appear at first reading. There is a balance to the composition which vanishes when the various messages are analyzed separately. Extremes are found placed side-by-side; cautious statements combined with high-flown expectations. H.G. Mitchell summarized:

The most noticeable thing about Zechariah's teaching, as a whole, is its simplicity and sobriety: which is equivalent to saying that the prophet, though not as great as some of his predecessors, was well adapted for the task to which he believed himself commissioned. It was a day of small things. In such circumstances some would have been provoked to extravagance, as if it were a virtue to look for that which there are no grounds for expecting. He looked for greater and better things, but he did not allow himself or his people to expect them to come overnight, or remain, except on very prosaic conditions, and it was his sobriety that fitted him for leadership during the Restoration.

Zechariah's moderation, within a milieu which contained calls for extravagant change as well as adjustment to the real conditions of life, gave his message its uniqueness; it also tempered his contribution to the development of the prophetic movement.

Excursus: The Transmission of Zechariah's Messages

Prior to modern times, scholars had not been in a position to do much in the way of editorial, redactional or

textual-historical research on Zechariah 1-8. The editorial framework of the book (1:1, 1:7, 7:1-3) was recognized and was attributed to someone other than the prophet. The identity of this editor was unknown, although he was presumed to be some sort of follower of Zechariah. However, the existence and nature of a Zecharian 'disciple-group' has absolutely no support from available evidence.

The work of W.A.M. Beuken and O.H. Steck suggested that certain sections of the prophet's messages formed a transitional stage between the deuteronomistic teaching formulae and the later Levitical sermon-form. This connection threw additional light upon the arguments of O. Plöger and P.D. Hanson. It became clearer that Zechariah 1-8 was constructed within the theocratic circles of the official political and religious leadership of the post-exilic period.

It has been noted that the dating formulae in the books of Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 are similar. The conclusion based upon this observation was that a common entity was responsible for this editorial activity. It would not be an unwarranted step to assume that this activity was centered around the Temple (the focus of the religious-political leadership of the Jewish community), since all three prophets exhibited close identification with the resto-

ration of the institutions of the people in the land (i.e. the Temple and its priesthood).

Zechariah assumed a role of some importance in the rebuilding of the Temple. This alone would have proved sufficient reason for the circles within the Temple leadership to collect his utterances and to preserve them in written form (if only as a memorial of his ministry). There would have been no impetus for these circles to hold to Zechariah's peculiar views regarding the community, the nations and the future; he could be remembered, through the collection of his messages, as a prophet who motivated his fellow Jews to complete a worthy project.

W.A.M. Beuken has pointed out that the passages Zech. 1:2-6 and 7:4-14 bear a similarity to the Levitical sermon-form found in the Chronicles, in a way which overstated the influence of Levitical circles on the Zecharian material. It remains beyond doubt that there was a connection between the two (cf. Zech. 1:3-4 and II Chron. 30:6-9; also the quote of Zech. 4:10b in II Chron. 16:9), but that argument does not lead to the conclusion that later Levitical authors were responsible for passages in Zechariah 1-8. There is no evi-

526. The name of Zechariah, with that of Haggai, was mentioned by the author of Ezra in two places (5:1, 6:14). This fact was remarkable only in that the messages of the prophets were not reproduced; the prophets themselves and their ministries, which were connected to the Temple rebuilding project, were remembered precisely because of that connection with the Temple. Their messages, as it were, appeared to be secondary (if considered at all).
dence contraindicating the conclusion that Zechariah 1-8 was included in a body of material from which sermon texts were extracted and that the sermon-form of Zechariah was included among the patterns upon which the Levitical Temple speakers constructed their homiletical style.

These arguments result in the conclusion that, although Zechariah may have been influenced by Deutero-Isaiah and had areas of sympathy with the Trito-Isaianic authors, he and his messages were cut off from this latter circle because of his role vis-à-vis the Temple and his support of the official community leaders. The later post-exilic prophets did not follow Zechariah's example in many areas, creating a strong sense of discontinuity after Zechariah and the collection of his messages.

ZECHARIAH AND THE LATER PROPHETIC MOVEMENT; ZECHARIAH 1-8 AND THE APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

I. Introduction

The analysis of the role of Zechariah 1-8 in the development of apocalyptic must take into account a two-fold influence: Zechariah 1-8 survived as a reflection of Zechariah's ministry and also as the record of that ministry. It contained those messages delivered by the prophet and preserved by the people of his day (however this process may have occurred). The tasks assigned to scholarship are 1) coming to
terms with the meaning Zechariah intended to convey in his messages and 2) accurately describing the interpretations placed upon those messages by subsequent generations.

Zechariah 1-8 reflected, to some degree, Zechariah's thought and his interaction with the intellectual, social and theological currents within the community of his day. In so stating this, I am also conscious that an editor or redactor had a hand in selecting the material and bringing it together, but I have rejected the notion that a substantial portion of it proceeded from minds other than Zechariah's (although this argument is actually secondary to my essential line of reasoning).

In the larger context, in Zechariah 1-8 was found the crystallization of one segment of one strand of the prophetic movement. There was the acknowledgement of debts to earlier prophetic writings and the potential of influence upon the later stages of the movement. This understanding was built upon the evidence of a development within the prophetic office and a connectedness between the canonical representatives of the prophetic movement (and between each prophet and his respective historical situation).

The prophetic heritage assumed by Zechariah was partially reflected in the messages of Zechariah 1-8 (the collection of his preserved messages). Only a portion of

527. This is not intended as a formal construct but as an indication of Zechariah's awareness of his predecessors.
Zechariah's messages were passed on, probably by a Levitical circle attached to the Temple. However, it would be unwise to speculate further than this by proposing, for example, a group of personal disciples; no supporting evidence exists.

The possibility that Zechariah's influence had a prolonged effect in the Jewish community required investigation. It remains an open question as to in what degree this occurred, for it is clear that later generations gave credence to the prophetic theological tradition and recognized the legitimacy of the prophetic office. Such a reference to this prophetic tradition was found in the writings of Ben Sira (Ecclus. 48-49), with the sequence and content of his remarks dictated by the prophetic 'canon' of his day.

The passage in Ben Sira's teaching (c. 180 B.C.) enabled the identification of the second role Zechariah 1-8 played in the development of later theological thought (as a record of a prophet's activity): Ben Sira referred to the 'twelve prophets' (49:10), an obvious allusion of the modern category 'Minor Prophets'.

Here the prophets were represented by writings attached to their names, writings detached from historical settings and accorded an enhanced standing. Zechariah 1-8 was read as

529. O. Ploger, Theocracy and Eschatology, pp. 42-46.
530. I have used the term 'canon' quite loosely, taking up the assumption that Ben Sira made an early reference to a collection of prophetic writings which informed our understanding of the development of the modern concept of 'canon'.
a small portion of the Book of the Twelve, perceived through later belief-systems and interpreted by the unique methods of later generations. Theoretically, Zechariah 1-8 could have had a continuing influence upon the various stages of Judaism similar to Zechariah's influence on the community of 520 B.C. In reality, however, this did not happen.

There was little evidence to suggest that Zechariah 1-8 was read by later generations as an individual composition deserving a special hearing. It was regarded as but one part of the prophetic Book of the Twelve. Moreover, this comprehensive prophetic voice was largely filtered through the individual's/group's preconceptions concerning Scripture and the prophets' message (e.g. Ben Sira's portrait of all prophets as proclaimers of hope and comfort, 48:10, and his description of the prophets' hope for the end-time, 36:1-17). Insofar as individuals viewed the prophets as an homogeneous group and assumed them to proclaim a common message, they were not open to receive an accurate understanding of the individual prophetic message.

In chapter two I reached the conclusion that Zechariah was himself as a figure standing by the concluding act of Yahweh's restoration, not as a member of a new generation of

531. Cf. B.S. Childs, Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture, pp.77-79. Childs spoke of the canonical 'shape' of the individual compositions as later generations sought to place the original messages within the message of the entire canon. I have referred here to the 'conditioned receptivity' of these later readers.
prophets. He consciously aligned himself with the 'former prophets', presenting the fulfillment of their promises, seeing himself as living at the end of their predicted era and bringing forth no new message in the exercising of his office. Zechariah 1-8 was made understandable by references to the written messages of his predecessors; he cannot be gauged by his successors. There was, as we shall see, little connecting Zechariah 1-8 to subsequent prophetic writings.

Zechariah cannot be viewed as an innovator. He did not contribute to the development of the prophetic movement significantly in the manner of a Jeremiah or an Ezekiel. He did not recast the older traditions of Israel to bear new insights into Yahweh's purposes as had the earlier prophets. Rather, he accepted and merged features of the earlier prophets and awaited the consummation of their promises. He was supremely a prophet of an 'already-predicted' restoration.

We cannot easily interpret the characteristics of Zechariah 1-8 as initiatory of new trends in the prophetic movement for two reasons. First, these characteristics were found in earlier writings (especially the exilic prophets) and recent scholarship on Zechariah 1-8 has demonstrated a greater affinity with the earlier prophetic writings than with the later prophetic and apocalyptic works. Second, the centuries after Zechariah's era yielded extremely little

data with which to build a conception of later prophetic development. The prophetic stage was not revamped by Zechariah. G. von Rad suggested that the exile had substantially cleared that stage. While I do not entirely agree with von Rad on this point, I do recognize the significance of the message of hope of the exilic prophets and the importance placed upon the exilic prophets by later generations of Jews.

These exilic prophets (not the early post-exilic prophets) were strong influences upon later Judaism. This was seen in the interdependence between the exilic prophets and the theological streams which emerged from the exile and which determined much in post-exilic Judaism. While Zechariah belonged to the prophetic movement, Zechariah 1-8 achieved its final form under the aegis of the priestly-theocratic circles. His messages were neither creator nor sustainer of this theological stream; they were controlled by it.

The evidence we have indicated that the prophets after Zechariah were less committed to the use of the immediate historical setting as the arena of God's activity. The march of international events, which had so effectively served earlier prophets as the context for their messages of judgment and deliverance, did not impinge so immediately upon the Jews in the post-exilic period (for they no longer con-

stituted an independent political nation). The restoration was viewed as achieved or, alternately, its hopes were postponed or forgotten. However, restoration hopes were superseded in the minds of many Jews by the concept of Yahweh's Kingship manifested over the whole world. This Kingship was presented in descriptions of eschatological events (in which little energy was exerted to connect the present to that future) or was represented by solitary historical instances of divine power.

Zechariah appeared as the last prophet to think as the pre-exilic and exilic prophets had done, envisioning events occurring imminently, caused by God, through which He would achieve His purposes for Israel. The international disruptions of 520 B.C. seemed to echo the great moments of change in Israel's past: the incursions of Assyria and Babylon and the liberation from the latter by the Persians.

Zechariah's Night-Visions appeared to belie his interest in history as Yahweh's medium for pursuing His will. They seem to give evidence of 1) direct heavenly intervention and 2) the absence of political activity in any way relating to the Jews. Taken at face value, this impression would tie Zechariah to his successors, who viewed Yahweh intervening

534. In chapter two, I showed that Zechariah did not intend to depict direct historical intervention and that he assumed the political forces 'were there' (in terms of the events of the past) and 'would be there' (in the final events of the restoration), if necessary.
for Israel 'in person' and not through historical events. Certainly, the events through which Yahweh might have manifested Himself were not as immediately available as they had been prior to that era. However, I have shown it to be ill-advised to interpret Zechariah 1-8 in this manner.

In recent years, the accepted scholarly view, which summarily categorized Zechariah 1-8 as representative of a stage in the development of prophecy toward apocalyptic, has come under attack. O. Eissfeldt, for example, stated that the developmental path of apocalyptic was to be traced from Ezekiel through Zechariah. The reason for such an opinion is clear: Zechariah 1-8 shared with the apocalyptic literature more features than any other prophetic book. These peculiarities were indicative, to many scholars, of a definite departure from the standards of the pre-exilic prophets and a positive step toward the qualities of the apocalyptic literature.

The challenge to this position has been levelled from two different directions, represented by the works of S. Mowinckel and P.D. Hanson. Mowinckel argued that Zechariah 1-8 had to be interpreted in light of its predecessors and not the prophetic writings which came after. In effect, he stated that the crucial 'point of departure' toward apoca-

536. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp.120-122.
lyptic occurred in the prophetic movement after Zechariah.

Hanson, noting that Zechariah 1-8 did not reflect the aggrieved mentality he judged so essential in the development of the apocalyptic perspective, argued that the developmental path toward apocalyptic bypassed Zechariah and is to be discerned elsewhere.

I have accepted, in essence, the arguments of both Mowinckel and Hanson (though I would not eliminate Zechariah from the developmental process as completely as Hanson appears to). These arguments have placed serious questions before the traditional understanding of Zechariah 1-8. The earlier works of O. Ploeger and O.H. Steck, together with Hanson's work and the recent supportive scholarship, have brought fresh light to the study of Zechariah's role in the development of apocalyptic; Hanson's works demand the investigation of 1) the sociological dynamics of the post-exilic period and 2) the nature of the multiple-strand prophetic movement.

I have pointed out that the latter part of the sixth century B.C., the era of Zechariah, featured the interaction of new concepts with older traditions in a totally new situation. I am not as concerned with the resultant equilibrium as much as I am with the context of Jewish thought

537. P.D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic, pp.251f.; cf. the Bibliography for Hanson's published works.
in this period (i.e. the Jews' attempts to understand the
exilic experience and to perceive the path of Yahweh's
favor).

The return from exile, which saw prophetic hopes dashed
on the rocky realities of hardship and disappointment, never-
theless did validate the faith of many. Future generations
were to relate how Yahweh had revealed Himself in the release
from exile and the restoration of the community in Judah
(Ezra 1:1-3). This understanding was hammered out in the
early post-exilic years within the context of community life.
It may not have been the over-riding interest of every Jew;
however, certain prophetic circles and political groups,
which had vested interests in the events of the restoration,
did think on these matters, each seeking to demonstrate
Yahweh's involvement with the destiny of the people and to
justify its role as the mediator of God's presence to the
community.

The following may be taken as a simplified summary of
the Jews' understanding of post-exilic realities (which in-
cluded the inherited covenant with Yahweh, His 'absence' and
the inhospitable conditions in the land, and His purpose in
the future): a part of the community assumed that, contrary
to appearances, Yahweh was favorably inclined toward the
Jews. Some of these groups believed it only a matter of time
before the promises inherent in the covenant would come to
fruition, while others proclaimed the necessity of a fur-
ther act of Yahweh to complete the restoration. Another segment of the people opposed this assumption, taking the position that Yahweh remained unappeased and that He required reform prior to granting His blessings. Some believed that He demanded a properly-ordered Temple and cultus; others asserted that individual repentance and obedience to Yahweh's Torah were required. These elements, extending throughout the post-exilic centuries, provided the matrix in which the incredible diversity of Judaism was to flourish.

As we have seen, the methodology applied to the investigation of the role of Zechariah 1-8 in the development of apocalyptic is critical, for a reconstruction must be judged on how it addressed the pertinent issues: 1) the essential characteristics of apocalyptic, 2) its origins and formative influences and 3) its social setting. Zechariah 1-8, though it can be studied according to these categories, must be looked at in its relationship to other writings, in

538. Those who perceived the restoration as an act of God were the adherents to the theocratic ideal, those who also tended to eschew eschatological thought; cf. W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, vol. 2, p.456.
539. After the 'failure' of restoration, the eschatological groups looked to Yahweh to bring about an 'ideal state'.
540. This position would be occupied by the theocratic priesthood; cf. P.R. Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration, pp.254f.
541. The deuteronomistic movement asserted this view throughout the post-exilic period; cf. J. Bright, A History of Israel, pp.432f.
ways which take into account the connectedness between proph-hecy and apocalyptic.

I deemed it appropriate to ask questions which focused on the continuity and the nature of post-exilic prophecy, and then to compare the results with a survey of the apocalyptic movement. I have made preliminary statements about the prophetic tradition and its contributions to the post-exilic period, ever aware that vast areas of potential investigation lacked substantial access. The faintest of flames, were it able to throw light into any one of these areas, might well overthrow the most cautious and tentative of reconstruc-tions.

I have looked at the continuity of the different strands of the prophetic movement, assuming that the connectedness of the prophetic office presaged lines of development into the later centuries. This chapter will note Zechariah's place in the prophetic movement and his influence on later writers as Judaism approached the era of the apocalypticists, as far as the evidence will allow the investigation to proceed. I will also examine the question of the interpretation of the prophetic writings as this process related to Zechariah 1-8. I intend to show the range and the nature of Zechariah's two-fold influence on the development of apocalyptic and how it was manifested in the apocalyptic literature of the second century B.C. and later.
II. Zechariah and the Later Prophetic Movement

In chapter one, I presumed a connection between prophecy and apocalyptic. I showed that the apocalyptic literature manifested a development of prophetic traditions that emphasized the Kingship of Yahweh. I observed that within the divisions of the prophetic movement, different emphases could be made upon this eschatological reality. I pointed out a few places where it could be observed. Moreover, I demonstrated that the individual prophetic traditions (motifs) later transcended the prophetic movements and were adopted by non-prophetic groups, while originally non-prophetic themes were adopted by some prophets. The urge, found in later prophecy, to bridge the gap between the real world and the ideal state of Yahweh's rule also existed in circles apart from the prophetic movement.

It is important to distinguish, in the discussion of continuity, between the prophetic movement and the prophetic tradition and to investigate how each impinged upon the apocalyptic circles and literature. The prophetic movement may be defined as that aggregate of individuals who acted as (or were viewed as acting as) prophets, including the precursors and successors of the canonical prophets. The prophetic tradition was that accumulated body of concepts promulgated, adopted and developed by these prophets and traditionists (the successors to the written prophets whose
main activity was the interpretation of the prophetic writings).

Both the prophetic movement and the prophetic tradition were viewed by segments of the scholarly community as having influence upon the apocalyptic literature. As the earlier, future-oriented faith of Israel contributed not a little to the content of classical Israelite prophecy, so the prophets and their traditionists lent many concepts to the common milieu of later Judaism. It would be unwise to consider the prophetic tradition apart from the other major strands of post-exilic Jewish religion.

On the basis of my investigation of the prophetic movement, I concluded that certain common features and attitudes exhibited in the early post-exilic writings could be utilized in determining significant categories. I found that the most telling characteristics were: 1) attitude toward the functioning cult, 2) position within the political structure of the community and 3) the nature of the expressed future hope and judgment. The two constellations of thought formed by these attitudes and motifs became sources of inspiration for the later prophetic figures, who did not have to contend with the community division of the early post-exilic years. As Isaiah and Micah had utilized themes attached to the Jerusalem Temple and Amos and Hosea (both prophets to the Nor-

thern Kingdom of Israel) had not, so the post-exilic prophets and traditionists could utilize concepts from the earlier, more rigid theocratic and conventicle perspectives.

I intend to examine Zechariah's role in the later prophetic movement and to investigate his possible contributions to the prophetic and apocalyptic traditions in the following sections.

In chapter two, I emphasized the fact of Zechariah's indebtedness to Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah in the framing of his messages. The parallels between Zechariah 1-8 and the books of these prophets, taken with Zechariah's references to the 'former prophets', allow the conclusions that Zechariah felt himself a part of the movement which included these prophets and the inheritor of the prophetic tradition in which they had participated. Their writings determined his theological limits, provided him with his thematic motifs and largely influenced his literary style.

In determining Zechariah's place among his prophetic contemporaries, I chose attitude toward the cult and political structures as most indicative. Zechariah chose to place his weight behind the leadership of the community insofar as it participated in the Temple rebuilding project. But did he, at the same time, reject the current alternate positions (e.g. that of the authors of Trito-Isaiah) on this subject? As I have shown, Trito-Isaiah and Zechariah exhibited
many common themes and shared inspiration in the messages of Deutero-Isaiah. However, they came down on opposite sides of an important fence: Trito-Isaiah became increasingly critical of the community leaders and rejected their efforts to rebuild Yahweh's Temple as immoral; Zechariah supported both. This issue inevitably colored their views of the future, the destiny of the community and Yahweh's relationship to the people.

While I do not find evidence to support the view that Zechariah rejected Trito-Isaiah and his views on many secondary subjects, Zechariah did assert the requirement of the rebuilding of the Temple (cp. Is. 66:1 and Zech. 8:9-11). Therefore, Zechariah may be labelled a theocratic prophet and Trito-Isaiah a representative of the attitude of the eschatological conventicle. Zechariah did not condition Yahweh's willingness to bless the Jews upon their behavior. Within the context of promised blessing, he urged ethical actions and general moral improvement (e.g. 7:9-10, 8:16-17; cp. Is. 56:9-12, 57:1-10, 58:1-7, 59:1-8, etc.). He called the people not to repeat the follies of the past and to work toward communal well-being. Zechariah asserted the blessedness of the community in its present form and condition: Yahweh had determined to bless the Jews (1:16) and there was nothing

544. Zechariah did not identify with the restrictions of the theocracy, there was no invective against the conventicle and he did not equate the 'branch' absolutely with the community leaders (either Zerubbabel or Joshua).
to stay Him from that course of action, not even the presence of wickedness within the community (cf. 5:1-11).

Those prophets considered Zechariah's successors in the prophetic movement were those who followed his lead in supporting and working within the theocracy. This did not mean that they were totally supportive of its institutions and in subservience to it; the prophets were free to criticize as well as to commend. These prophets would hold to the following essential tenets: 1) the benefits of the covenant were ascendant to the moral demands of that covenant, 2) the salvation/deliverance of Yahweh naturally included the whole community and 3) the punishment meted out to the community was basically temporary.

On the basis of these statements, I found that Zechariah's successors in the prophetic movement were the Levitical prophets of the Chronicler and the cultic prophets of whom Joel was representative. Post-exilic prophetic circles represented by Trito-Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah and Malachi have been excluded from this movement.

It is apparent that the Levitical prophets were suppor-


547. Although I have noted that the circles behind these works were originally supportive of the restoration project (cf. Zech. 9, Is. 60-62) and Temple cult, I have excluded them because their support was transitory.
tive of the community institutions. The Levitical figures were cast as advisors to kings (e.g. II Chron. 25:7-8) and as Temple personnel (e.g. II Chron. 20:15-17) as Israel went forth to war or returned from Battle. The Levitical sermon-form was associated with the king as he, God's appointed leader, addressed the people (e.g. I Chron. 28:2-10). In like manner, Joel perceived the Temple as the center of the community (e.g. 1:9, 1:13-16, 2:15-17).

Both of these prophetic figures envisioned only temporary trouble for the Jews (i.e. military crisis or natural calamity, such as Joel's locust plague), who would surely be victorious when God manifested His implicit favor toward them.

This is not to say that Joel and the Levitical prophets were wholly similar. There were stark differences between them. I am suggesting that they shared a common milieu of the Temple and cult. The Levitical figures' messages were non-eschatological and didactic; Joel employed the המות כפור motif in a well-developed form within an eschatological (i.e. non-historical) narrative. It is helpful to reiterate that, within the Temple milieu, non-eschatological beliefs could co-exist with markedly eschatological ones.

The Levitical prophets were described as preacher-

548. Joel departed somewhat from the theocratic ideal by demanding sincerity as a necessary accompaniment to the Temple rituals (2:12); such a thrust was not lacking in the Levitical sermons of the Chronicles either.
teachers closely identified with the didactic enterprise of Temple circles (exhortation, practical application, doctrine and instruction) and would, in this regard, approach some of the activities of scribal groups. While there is a question as to how the Levitical sermon-forms may be separated from the Chronistic authors, they were certainly representative of a later post-exilic group which assumed a connection with the earlier segments of the prophetic movement.

Joel represented the Temple liturgists which called the people to authentic dependence upon God through His chosen institutions. The background of the Temple's mythic traditions provided him pictures of Yahweh's acts of deliverance. Joel viewed the survival of the locust plague as the result of God's work (2:18ff.), a type of His final deliverance (2:28-32, 3:9-21).

While Joel and the Levitical prophets may be considered successors to Zechariah chronologically, there was little evidence suggesting the nature of the connection between them and Zechariah. Evidence pointed toward a relationship between Zechariah 1-8 and the Levitical sermon-form: 1) Zech. 4:10b was quoted in II Chron. 16:9 and 2) there are form-critical similarities between Zech. 1:2-6, 7:4-14 and

550. Ibid., p.135.
551. H.W. Wolff, Joel and Amos, pp.11f.
W.A.M. Beuken's theory of Levitical reworking of most of this Zecharian material has gained very little scholarly support, for he has overstated his case. However, I do accept his premise of a connection between Zechariah 1-8 and the circles behind the Levitical prophets.

Zechariah 1-8 is not to be interpreted in light of the theology of the Chronicler; there must be recognition of a distinction between Zechariah's future orientation and the more practical and non-future oriented concern in the Levitical prophets. There was a sense in the Chronicles, perhaps echoed in the Levitical sermons, that the restored community was eternal, a tendency not explicitly stated in Zechariah 1-8. Zechariah did not manifest liturgical or didactic characteristics. However, looking at Zechariah as a prototype of the Levitical prophets yielded the following: 1) the manner in which Zechariah stood as a spokesman for Yahweh at a critical juncture of Israel's history was similar to the later descriptions of Levitical prophetic activity and 2) the individual messages of Zechariah approximated, in a very general way, the Levitical sermon-form (cf. Zech. 8:1-8, doctrine; 8:9a, exhortation; 8:9b, application).

The point of connection between Zechariah and the later

552. W.A.M. Beuken, op. cit., pp.84-102,118-135,156-173.
Levitical prophets appears to have been the later interpretation of Zechariah's ministry and message. Subsequent generations could have honored him as a faithful prophet who helped the nation and its leaders through a difficult period of time. Their appraisal of him would have inevitably been favorable: 1) he had been instrumental in the rebuilding of the Temple, 2) he had been faithful to Yahweh and the community and 3) he had been representative of values cherished by the later community.

In precisely this way the Levitical figures stood out among their post-exilic contemporaries: 1) standing firm for Yahweh and 2) pointing the way through historical crises. Zechariah can, therefore, be seen as influential in the development of the prophetic activity reflected in the Levitical prophets of the Chronicler, albeit indirectly. His ministry may have been a prototype facilitating the development of this later phase of prophetic activity.

A connection between Zechariah and Joel was more difficult to investigate because there was little to work with beyond the literary works associated with them. The evidence was circumstantial regarding a more extensive post-exilic prophetic movement (with Joel its sole surviving representative). However, some evidence does exist: 1) the circulation of certain kinds of psalmic material required a prophetic-style expression (cf. Ps. 95) in the post-exilic Temple
cult; 2) the mythic descriptions employed in Trito-Isaiah, Deutero-Zechariah and Malachi indicated that such concepts were in use and relevant after the exile. They were means whereby authors could make statements about Yahweh and His purpose for the community and the nations; and 3) while the figure of Jonah may have been a lampoon of (pre-exilic?) prophecy, it nevertheless did substantiate the claim that there existed a post-exilic notion about prophecy which the author used. There were, however, no specific figures which would prove the existence of other prophets whose message and ministry paralleled those of Joel.

If we assume that there were other prophets like Joel in the post-exilic period attached to the theocratic circles around the Jerusalem Temple, there can be a tentative fleshing-out of their role. To a degree, a burden was placed upon the theocracy (and cult) to express the community's relationship to the nations: 1) to explain the supremacy of foreign nations and the relative weakness of the Jews and 2) to give witness to the universal Kingship of Yahweh (as past generations had done within their limited political awareness). The Psalms provided multiple examples to illustrate this activity: 9:20, 22:27-28, 47:3, 67:4, 72, 82:8, 86:9, 96:10-13.

554. G.W. Anderson, 'Psalms', PCB (rev. ed.), ed. M. Black, p.434, stated that the circulation of material such as Ps. 95 and 96 required someone within the cult to express it. I suggest that Joel would have some connection with the cult personnel who did this.
The further Zechariah and Joel are compared, the greater the difficulty in placing them in the same prophetic category. While they shared the common ground of the cult milieu, Joel was uniformly a Temple liturgist (either by background or predilection) and Zechariah was half literary visionary, half a prophet with a public ministry. Both shared a common inspiration in the prophet Ezekiel; however, Joel picked up the language and motif of Ezek. 38-39, while Zechariah followed Ezekiel's use of the cryptic elements of symbolism and vision (cf. Ezek. 1-3, 8-11, 17).

The major conclusions I have drawn concerning the possibility of continuity between Zechariah, Joel and the Levitical prophets are: 1) all three shared the same concern for the community, its institutions and its leaders (i.e. that they be faithful to Yahweh as an expression of their awareness that Yahweh was Israel's King). The prophets all ministered within the core of the theocracy and did not separate themselves from it in their demands for community righteousness. The salvation they envisioned was bestowed upon the community as a whole, with little regard for the purification of that community; 2) there was no evidence of a direct, substantial relationship between any two of these

555. E. Sellin-G. Fohrer, op. cit., pp.285-293, stated that a high percentage of these Psalms were post-exilic and cultic (derived from cultic usage).
prophets/prophetic group. They were distinct regarding language, literary style and form of ministry; and 3) Zechariah stood as a figure apart. There was no indication that he inspired others to come after him and to assume his kind of ministry. This evidence must lead to the conclusion that it would be ill-advised to postulate an immediate or ongoing contribution to the prophetic movement by Zechariah through his ministry.

III. Zechariah and the 'Prophetic World-View'

O.H. Steck, in his definition of a 'theological stream of tradition, stated that such a movement required: 1) an ongoing group with a regular meeting place, 2) an extensive intellectual capacity combined with a viable and comprehensive concept of existence and 3) an extended period of time for reflection, discussion and instruction.  This statement raised the question important for the study of the prophetic movement and tradition: Was there a true prophetic theological stream of tradition?

It has been noted that Old Testament scholarship has been unable to produce a satisfactory definition of the term 'prophet' or an acceptable demonstration of those factors which linked the diverse prophetic figures. Steck allowed

that the prophetic 'theological stream' originated not in
the production but the reception of the messages of the pro-
phets. It was after the prophets had spoken, when pro-
phetic traditionists began to repeat the prophetic messages
and to elaborate on them through exposition and instruction,
that the various elements of Steck's definition began to
come into focus. However, this also happened after the
writings of several prophets had become associated with non-
prophetic theological streams (cf. Jeremiah and the deuter-
omistic stream and Ezekiel and the priestly-theocratic
tradition), during the era when the force of the prophetic
movement began to be affected by external, political pres-
sure and began to dissipate.

The dimensions of this line of investigation can be re-
cognized as the following: 1) the nature of the 'on-going
group' and the location of the 'regular meeting place'. In
the case of the prophetic movement, these subjects remain
unexplored due to lack of evidence; and 2) the identification
of an 'extensive intellectual capacity' and a 'viable and
comprehensive concept of existence' within the prophetic move-
ment.

G. Von Rad argued that the Jews were not capable of a
world-view since, for them, existence was not 'being' so much
as it was 'event'. (i.e. they did not naturally conceive of a

557. Ibid., pp.201f.
framework into which events could be placed in order to give them significance). There were no Hebrew words for the Greek \textit{cosmos} and \textit{time}. He stated that the Jews developed a linear concept of event-history which fitted well the prophets' ability to speak to change as it occurred in the society. The prophetic literature of the Old Testament gave little indication of a possible 'prophetic world-view' (an artificial synthesis of the prophetic material would not yield results of any value); it yielded far more evidence to support the view that the individual prophets appropriated current notions and concepts as vehicles for their thoughts. In this the prophets were dependent upon their sociological setting; their use of the available concepts indicated their independence.

It appears that, given the limitations placed upon them by the circumstances of their ministries, the prophets effectively criticized their society's short-comings, but called that society back to its own ideals and not toward a new form of community. These ideals were those of Israel's covenant faith.

J. Muilenberg, in discussing the nature of the faith of the prophets, gave place to the covenants made by Yahweh with Moses and David. These covenants contained elements

which could only be held in tension: the Mosaic Covenant promised Yahweh's blessing upon Israel, conditioned upon her obedience to His Torah. The Davidic Covenant promised, unconditionally, the survival of the Davidic dynasty for all time. Each prophet utilized features of these covenants to substantiate the proclamation of Yahweh's will for a particular situation.

It is necessary to recognize that the concept of a covenant would not be extensive enough to qualify as a worldview. It was an 'event', around which other life experiences could be ordered. The multiple covenants of Israel's past enabled her to comprehend her relationship with Yahweh, but not her existence per se. Although the outlook of an individual prophet was a partial reflection and reorientation of the society's current ideas, the earlier covenants were only echoed in the prophetic writings.

It is difficult to give credence to the possibility of a worldview (in a fully-developed form) in the early post-exilic prophets for several reasons: 1) any attempt to construct a common outlook based upon the prophetic literature could only produce an artificial synthesis, a unity achieved at the expense of the prophets' individuality; 2) a related matter involved the concepts and motifs accepted by the in-

dividual prophets in the development of their messages. The different milieus of the northern kingdom and the southern Jerusalem Temple cult framed, to some degree, the thought of the prophets through their respective spheres of influence; 3) the literary and ideational connectedness of the prophetic writings was subordinated to the importance of the individual prophet's immediate message (but less true in the post-exilic period) to the community. The literary connectedness is then recognized as resting upon the foundation of the various theological streams of tradition; 4) Israel did not aspire to a comprehensive world-view until she was subjected to the Hellenistic invasion which started in the fourth century B.C. The sense of 'mystery' in existence had been accepted by earlier generations (cf. the uncertainty of 'knowledge' vis-à-vis the active nature of Yahweh which many of the prophets had embraced).

The role of Zechariah in the perpetuation of the prophetic movement was profoundly influenced by the historical situation in which he lived and by the prophetic 'heritage' assumed by him. The exile had occasioned a revitalization of the prophetic movement. The 'prophets of doom' had been exonerated; but they had also given legitimation to the 'prophets of salvation' through their predictions of the re-

storation of the community.

The three major prophets of the exile were associated, through their collected messages, with independent theological traditions. The writings associated with Jeremiah had been cast in the characteristic form of the deuteronomistic traditionists. Ezekiel and his disciples had prophetically activated the Jerusalem priestly traditions. Deutero-Isaiah had adapted the universal elements of the cult tradition of imminent salvation to the release from exile. Zechariah's utilization of each of these prophetic works in the construction of his messages was indicative of a process of consolidation within the prophetic movement. The statement that Zechariah 1-8 may be taken as representative of much of Judaism was not too wide of the mark. That it represented an attempt to summarize the theology of the prophetic movement appears as an attractive way to interpret the prophet's messages.

Prior to Zechariah's era, scribalism had been supplementing and increasingly supplanting prophetism as a force in the community, generalizing the distinctive themes of the earlier prophetic writings and adopting the characteristic features of the prophetic office for its own use. The position of Malachi, for example, could be interpreted as 'pro-

563. W.E. Barnes, Haggai and Zechariah, p.xxiii.
Ben Sira appeared as the culmination of the merging of the prophetic office into the figure of the scribe; many forms once associated with the prophets appeared in his writings and he reduced the hope of the prophets to a single scene of God's redemption (36:1-17).

The coalescence of divergent traditions in written form was illustrative of certain periods of later post-exilic Judaism. The authority of the written word increased in Judaism, but that authority did not necessarily exercise absolute sway over Jewish thought. It remained open to the encroachments of external influences such as those from Persia and Greece.

Zechariah's understanding of his era was wholly determined by his apprehension of the messages of the 'former prophets' (1:4, 7:7,12). The covenant relationship between Yahweh and Israel did not appear with the same vitality as in these predecessors; there were only echoes (cf. Zech. 8:8b as a refrain borrowed from Ezekiel) which lacked intensity, while conveying a completely sincere message.

Zechariah 1-8 represented Yahweh as the transcendent God of the whole world (1:13, 4:1-14), moreso than elsewhere in the Old Testament. Zechariah pictured Him as independent of

Israel, freely choosing to involve Himself in the continued existence of His people (1:16).

Zechariah asserted Yahweh's intention to punish sin. He spoke of punishment of past sins (1:6, 7:12), as well as the present condition of the community (5:1-4) and the personification of evil which had made Israel unclean (5:5-11).

Yahweh was viewed by Zechariah, however, as a God of salvation (1:16-17, 2:4-5,10-13). He was seen as faithful to perform His promises of the past (8:1-8,15). The salvation of which Zechariah spoke was imminent, a direct result of Yahweh's decision to release the Jews from exile, and it was to be the final act of restoration (8:11-13). It would bestow prosperity, security and happiness upon the people (8:4-5) and, subsequently, upon the nations (2:11, 8:20-23).

Israel's long history of disobedience to Yahweh's Torah had resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem, the paradigm of Yahweh's judgment of Israel's rebelliousness (7:11-14). Zechariah foresaw, however, the time when the people would experience the blessedness of Yahweh, which would include the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the villages of Judah (1:16-17), and would conduct themselves naturally as befitting their special standing (3:10).

Yahweh had appointed human agencies in the past through

which Israel was guided: prophet, priest and king. Zechariah, as a prophet, saw himself as a recipient of the word of Yahweh and the prophets generally as the communicators of that word to Israel (1:5-6, 7:7,12). The prophet was, of the three offices, least tied to the structures of society (although this bond varied from prophet to prophet). He called the people from sin (1:2-6) and directed them to Yahweh and His Torah (1:3, 7:12). The priest was given responsibility for the Temple of Yahweh (3:7) and for the spiritual well-being of the people (3:9). The king was rather vaguely represented by Zerubbabel (4:6-7) and by the figure of the 'branch' (3:8, 6:12). Zerubbabel's role in the future of the community was not well-defined, the only specific function given him was to build the Temple; the 'branch' was identified as the one to rule over the people of Yahweh (cf. 6:12, 4:6,9).

It was through the prophets, according to Zechariah, that Yahweh spoke to His people. He referred specifically to Yahweh's spirit, His words and Torah (1:2-6, 7:8-12). The words and Torah of Yahweh appeared as the content of the prophetic message, while the spirit (7:12) was an active force in the prophet who delivered the message. Acceptance of this message induced repentance in the people (1:2-4) or, if it were rejected, would incur judgment (7:11-14). Zechariah mentioned angels as the mediators of the divine message (1:9,13-14), as it was entrusted to himself. If the figures
of the visions are to be interpreted as angels, they also were viewed as carrying Yahweh's message and performing His purposes in the world (2:1,9; 6:1-8).

The exilic prophets had been concerned with the arena of history as it had impinged upon Israel and the manner in which Yahweh would act to achieve His objectives within this continuum. Zechariah followed them in this pursuit. After Zechariah's era, however, there appeared a tendency to move away from an emphasis upon Yahweh's activity within the immediate historical-political continuum toward a greater consideration of the Kingship of Yahweh over Israel and the nations. The continuum of history was, indeed, to be the ground in which this future ideal state existed, but the cohesiveness of that continuum did not retain the same level of significance as formerly. Joel, for example, spoke of the coming intervention of Yahweh, but he was not bound to nor limited by the structures of the continuum of history. Such descriptions were characteristic of post-exilic prophecy, but they are also found in passages which may be dated earlier, such as Ezek. 38-39 and Is. 2:2-5.

There appears to have been a break regarding the prophets' commitment to the historical continuum at a point in the history of the prophetic movement. This break was not

567. There has been, however, no consensus on the date of the composition of these passages.
evident in Zechariah 1-8. On the contrary, Zechariah was quite committed to the historical continuum and to the political-sociological structures' continuing existence in their known forms.

The Levitical prophets of the Chronicler and the prophet Joel handled the continuity between present and future in different ways. They chose to emphasize different ideals of the faith of the community: Joel described the manifested, absolute future Kingship of Yahweh; the Levitical prophets used past events, when that Kingship was revealed, as paradigms of ethical and spiritual behavior. We cannot affirm a positive influence of Zechariah upon these later figures.

We are left with the suggestion that the crucial points of development within the prophetic movement occurred after the era of Zechariah, these points occurred concurrent with Zechariah's ministry but in different strands of the prophetic movement or they occurred prior to Zechariah and he did not follow up on the 'innovations': that Zechariah did not vitally participate in the development of the prophetic movement as it moved toward the era of the apocalyptists.

Also, an examination of the evidence failed to prove the existence of a prophetic 'world-view' per se. On the contrary, there seemed to be little development of a Jewish world-view prior to the incursion of Hellenistic influence during and after the fourth century B.C. Although there was
an attempt at consolidation of the messages of the earlier prophets in Zechariah 1-8, it would be improper to label the result of such activity a reflection of a 'world-view'.

Based upon the evidence available, it appears that Zechariah's ministry made little continuing difference in the prophetic movement in the early post-exilic period. The next section, 'Zechariah 1-8 and the Interpretation of Scripture in the Apocalyptic Literature', will examine the influence of Zechariah 1-8 on later thought. First, however, it will be helpful to understand how some features of Zechariah 1-8, which recur in the apocalyptic literature, were utilized beyond the prophetic movement. These features were ideas which lent themselves to development within Jewish literature of the post-exilic period. I have selected three motifs utilized by the apocalyptic writers: 1) the personification of evil, 2) the significance of the royal and priestly figures of the community and 3) the emphasis placed upon celestial beings as mediators between Yahweh and His creation.

1) the personification of evil

The three references to a 'personified' evil being in the Old Testament established the first indication of the

568. These themes were neither critical to an understanding of the apocalyptic literature nor central in the prophetic writings. The path of development, which was reflected only at points by the available evidence, is beyond the present capacity of scholarship.
later Jewish conception of Satan. R.S. Kluger dealt with this concept within a framework of an emerging entity responsible for those individuals and events which appeared to oppose God: Satan as one of the 'sons of God' (Job 1-2), who afflicts God's faithful one; Satan as an opponent of the 'angel of God' (Zech. 3:1-2); and Satan as an independent demon (I Chron. 21:1). In themselves, these references were rather inconsequential, as they were related to the motif of Yahweh's divine council, most graphically described in the Jab passage. The Hebrew in each reference used the word 'accuser' (חַסְדֵּי) without the article. Any sense of 'organized' opposition to Yahweh or independent activity was absent; the 'accuser' carried out certain functions as one of Yahweh's minions.

The obscurity of religious development in the centuries between Zechariah's era and the appearance of the apocalyptic literature means that scholarship possesses little evidence regarding how the individual concepts changed. A striking fact is that the apocalyptic literature presented many different pictures of an evil being. The Satan-concept of the second century B.C. presented several, apparently well-developed pictures of that being and was the source of the

570. R.S. Kluger, Satan in the Old Testament.
variations on the theme of personified evil. The names attached to the Satan-figure are indicative of this variety: Satan, Belial/Beliar, Mastema, Gadriel, Sammael, Asmodeus, Beelzebul.

The Satan-concept developed pari passu with other subjects of interest within the different Jewish groups. Jews, faced with the problem of evil in the world and directed against them as a community of faith, sought to explain the nature of that evil and its source. Aware of the incongruities of evil in a world God made 'good' and of the oppression of God's own people, Jewish thinkers sought ways to reconcile experience and observation with their beliefs regarding their God and His ways.

The opening chapters of Genesis [e.g. the temptation of Adam and Eve (ch. 3), the translation of Enoch (ch. 5) and the intercourse between the 'sons of God' and the daughters of men (ch. 6)] provided the means whereby the more speculative Jews found points of access from the mundane world to the supernatural realm. Within the framework of traditional Judaism, these individuals were not prohibited from doing a great deal of fantasizing about the realm of God.

Jewish authors who employed the concept of Satan did so within a framework of a modified dualism. The sovereignty of God was never questioned. The rebellious angels may have

been given a leader and they may battle with those angels loyal to Yahweh (cf. Dan. 10:13,20), but no indication was given that the forces of evil would ultimately prevail. In popular stories like that of the book of Tobit, the happy outcome of the story was predictable; the Satan figure and the angel of God were named as much for convenience in the telling of the story than as a mark of dependence upon past tradition.

The conclusion to these remarks must include the fact that Zechariah presented an innocent, undeveloped form of the Satan concept. It cannot be determined whether Zechariah drew his image of the 'accuser' from popular belief or some other source; the 'accuser' played an entirely passive role in the vision-scene of Zech. 3:1-10. Zechariah's description did not compare with the fuller development seen in the apocalyptic literature (or in the non-apocalyptic works of the same era); these authors did draw upon popular beliefs and foreign concepts. It would be presumptuous to say that these later authors built upon the legitimation provided by the three Scripture references mentioned above; these verses cannot account for the variety of description contained in the later writings.

2) the significance of the royal and priestly figures

Within the historical situation of the restoration community, the roles of the royal scion and the head of the
priestly orders were in a state of transition. Zechariah certainly gave legitimation to Zerubbabel and Joshua as the current leaders of the community. Joshua, the high priest, was accorded a greater stature than his pre-exilic predecessors (this may have been a reflection of the prestige gained during the exile when, in the absence of the kingship, priestly leadership moved to the fore). Zerubbabel, a descendant of David, was a civil ruler appointed by the Persians. It appears that, in Zechariah's eyes, he measured up neither to the stature nor the promise of earlier kings of Judah (yet he may have been viewed as a type of or a 'connection' to the 'branch', which would come to rule).

Zerubbabel, in particular, has been declared by some scholars to be representative of a stage in the growth of the Messiah belief in later Judaism. The Messianic consciousness of the Jews (the expectation of a God-sent deliverer who would rout their enemies) gained particular strength during the era of the apocalyptic literature's popularity; it included a number of figures, primarily patterned on the royal person, which gave form and substance to the nationalist Jewish future hope.

The doctrine of the Messiah was not found uniformly throughout the apocalyptic literature, being absent from several major works, and was present in non-apocalyptic literature.

writings of the same period. The Messiah figure was not described consistently; this personage took several different forms. S. Mowinckel surveyed the expectations of and the beliefs concerning the Messiah figure in Jewish literature. He posited a gradual growth of the belief in a Messiah from the expectation of an ideal king (which was itself embedded in the soil of the sacral kingship of ancient Near Eastern myth). He made a great division between the historical era of the Old Testament Scriptures (except Daniel) and the second century B.C. literature.

Zechariah's descriptions of the royal and priestly figures, when placed in historical perspective with the Messianic figures of the apocalyptic literature, appear to have been pivotal. One may not be permitted to speak of an 'eschatological aura', for Zechariah's descriptions were characteristically restrained; but one may see in Zechariah 1-8 the scriptural 'justification' for the development of the Messiah belief and for the juxtaposition of two 'messianic' figures in the later centuries. The difficulty of discerning a line of continuity from the sixth century to the second century B.C. was well-defined by F. Hesse:

It is very difficult to reconstruct a history of the Messianic movement in Israel.

574. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh.
575. Cp. ibid., p.119.
and post-exilic Judaism...There undoubtedly must have been such a movement. It may be concluded from the fact that Messianism emerges into the clear light of history in later centuries...as a movement with hundreds of years of history behind it. But many questions remain: What was the course of its history? Did a Josiah help to promote Messianism in the pre-exilic period? Is Nehemiah to be understood in the light of the movement after the exile? Does the movement affect all Jews or is it restricted to a few? Does it stand in opposition to other trends or was it able to transcend them? Did it find its adherents in every age or was it more or less extinguished at times? To these questions no assured answers can as yet be given.

The roots of the Messianic belief were deeply interwoven in the earliest strata of the Old Testament: the ideology of the divine king and the royal Psalms. Over the centuries, this constellation of beliefs was lifted from the cult and was gradually transformed and recast in an eschatological frame. This was accomplished throughout the post-exilic period.

If Mowinckel was correct, the 'equality' granted to the high priest by Zechariah and the post-exilic community did not remain a tenet of popular belief. The high priest was increasingly regarded as the leader of the community;


578. The statement assumes that the rule of the post-exilic community was a dyarchy (rule by two co-equal persons), noted by such scholars as G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology II, p.287. Such an assumption does not enjoy universal acceptance.
but, until the establishment of the Qumran group, the importance given to a 'future king' was not shared with a 'future priest'. Within the main body of Judaism, the 'Levitical Messiah' appears to have been only the reflection of hopes associated with the Hasmonean dynasty.

In his discussion of the variety of Messianic beliefs in the apocalyptic literature, Mowinckel argued that these divergent conceptions developed from one central idea: the expectation of an ideal son of David. The variety of Messianic figures was attributed to the peculiar circumstances of the second and first centuries B.C. The different figures, the various ways they were adapted to the authors' programs for the future and the lack of mention of a Messiah in much of the literature gives the impression of the kind of individualistic speculation rampant in much of the apocalyptic literature.

3) the emphasis of celestial beings

The descriptions of celestial beings, often called


angels (cf. Gen. 19:1), are found throughout the Old Testament; references to them were made in the Pentateuch and the historiographic works, the wisdom literature and the prophetic writings. References to the angels were minimal in the pre-exilic period, since there was a strong impetus to assert Yahweh as the sole supernatural being. However, popular beliefs were not easily controlled. Leading circles severely discounted a belief in angels, but that belief did find representation in the Old Testament record (cf. I Kings 22:19-23).

During the exile and later, the concept of angels became an increasingly important appendage to the belief system of Judaism. The utilization of angelic figures has been traced in the prophetic movement through Ezekiel and Zechariah although, as noted above, the other literary groupings of the Old Testament were not lacking references to angels. Among the reasons for the increased use of angelic figures were: 1) the emphasis upon the transcendent nature of Yahweh, which required the existence of mediators between Him and His creation, and 2) the investigation of the source of evil, which had traced responsibility for evil to the supernatural realm, could not be laid to Yahweh's account.

582. G.E. Wright, The Old Testament Against Its Environment, pp.30-34, and the literature there cited.
G. von Rad cautioned against the construction of an angelology of the earlier years of the post-exilic period because he could discern no systematic usage of the angel concept in the surviving works. He declared that the development of angelology was not uniform at any time and that the celestial beings of Zechariah 1-8 were unique and bore a strongly individualistic imprint. Also, the subject of angel speculation was suppressed by the later Sadducees and by Hellenistic rationalism, while Rabbinic Judaism, many apocalyptic writers and the Essenes felt free to incorporate an angel motif in their compositions. The fact of development is unquestioned and von Rad wisely ruled out the possibility of tracing it accurately. It is difficult to see the connection, if it is a direct one, between the celestial figures of Zechariah 1-8 and the variety of angels mentioned later: 'spirits of phenomena' (I Enoch), heavenly bodies and weather angels (Jubilees), angels of the nations and the seasons (1QH), the hierarchy of angels (Tobit), the angel armies and the archangels (I Enoch).

These brief statements concerning three features which Zechariah 1-8 shared with the apocalyptic literature (and

585. G. von Rad in W. Grundmann et al, '\(\alpha\gamma\phi\chi\lambda\alpha\sigma \varepsilon \eta\) al', TDNT, vol. 1, pp.76-80.
other, non-apocalyptic traditions) bring one inescapable fact to light: the lack of information concerning the later stages of the post-exilic period makes any investigation tenuous and certainty virtually impossible. The development of the various motifs in a composition cannot be traced except in the broadest terms possible. Also, since many of the concepts are found outside the prophetic literature and the apocalyptic writings, one cannot connect Zechariah 1-8 to the apocalyptic circles solely on the basis of utilization of the same themes.

IV. Zechariah 1-8 and the Interpretation of Scripture in the Apocalyptic Literature

This section was written with the assumption that there was direct influence of Zechariah 1-8 on the theological milieu and/or the writers of later generations of the Jewish people. The authority of Scripture in this era naturally surpassed any personal influence Zechariah himself may have exercised. This Scripture formed the accepted foundation upon which the apocalyptic writers built their descriptions of heaven and the future. The body of prophetic writings, considered sacred by the mainstream of the Jewish community, had achieved a certain content and structure. This canon included Zechariah 1-8.

587. Zechariah's 'personal' influence might have been made known through a group of disciples (if he had one).

Ben Sira, writing in the early part of the second century B.C., reflected the consensus of the contents of the prophetic canon: he mentioned Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Twelve in their modern canonical sequence (48:22, 49:6-10). This fact has led modern scholars to accept without serious question the view that the prophetic canon was closed prior to this time. This fact also determined the apocalyptic writers' view of the prophetic writings. The arguments of S.Z. Leiman and J. Blenkinsopp, for examples, regarding early or late closure of the prophetic canon were concerned with the years prior to the composition of Ben Sira's teachings. The apocalyptic writers, while they may have held differing views on the canonical standing of any given contemporary writing, likely accepted the older books (at least the Books of Moses and the prophetic works) as inspired and divinely set apart.

J. Blenkinsopp, in describing the development of the prophetic canon which emerged in the later centuries, made reference to a reworking of the prophetic books in the sixth century B.C. G.M. Tucker, investigating the superscriptions of the various prophetic books, concluded that there had been a mid-sixth century deuteronomistic redaction of these writings. Blenkinsopp understood these activities

as indicators of a popular conception of prophecy as a past phenomenon and of a primitive sense of canon. He suggested that the many references to the 'former prophets' and the frequent allusions to earlier prophetic writings by the early post-exilic prophets comprised a first 'recycling' of citations of an early canon within the prophetic movement.

I cannot give support to the statements of O. Plöger and those who support his views that the eschatological conventicles, which separated from the theocracy in the early post-exilic period, were the direct forebearers of the apocalyptic authors of the second century B.C. The consolidation of the writings of these conventicles (Is. 56-66, Zech. 9-14, Malachi) with the accepted prophetic writings (i.e. those accepted by the theocracy) required the cessation of hostilities between the groups and that prior to the time of Ben Sira. P.D. Hanson acknowledged such a period, pointing to the relaxing of tensions during the era of the Chronicler. Such a joining of literature did occur: the writings of the Trito-Isaianic groups were naturally appended to the Isaianic corpus, while the other conventicle

593. Ben Sira referred to the 'twelve prophets', of which Malachi was assuredly one. The author of Malachi had been a conventicle figure. Therefore we can conclude that the conventicle prophetic works had been appended to the other canonical works early enough for the title 'the twelve prophets' to gain acceptance and currency.
594. P.D. Hanson, op. cit., pp.269-279.
writings were placed at the end of the book of the smaller prophetic books.

It was this body of Scripture which was inherited by the Jewish communities of the second century B.C. It co-existed with a plethora of different kinds of literature, each of which had drawn inspiration and form from this Scripture. D.E. Gowan has grouped these writings, called the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books, within the following categories:

Revision and Completion of Scripture
The Bible Rewritten and Expanded
Edifying Stories
Testaments
Apocalyptic
Post-Biblical History
Wisdom
Psalms and Prayers

The interpretation and reworking of Scripture in the apocalyptic literature has been analyzed by scholars such as L. Hartman and D. Patte. Patte's work was of special interest since his primary topic was hermeneutics, the interpretation of Scripture in classical and sectarian Judaism of this period.

My immediate focus will be upon portions of the apocalyptic literature. I mean to analyze these writings according to the two lines of tension which Patte recognized within

this literature: 1) the tension between the authority of Scripture and the traditions of the worshipping community and 2) the tension between the path of current history and the pattern suggested in Scripture.

The congregation, as the embodiment of all that Scripture taught regarding this life as pleasing to God, actually came to a place where it relegated Scripture to a secondary position and became in itself a separate locus of revelation. The authority of Scripture was set aside, in much the same way that the Pharisees of Jesus' day denied by their lives the weighty matters of Torah (Matt. 23:23-24).

The apocalyptic writers also were keen to discover the path of history from their day to the future, the unfolding of God's destiny for the community. Patte pointed out how some apocalyptists joined contemporary historical events to the broad eschatological pattern derived from Scripture. There was a dramatic conjoining of past and present in the apocalyptic literature which enabled its authors to explore the future and the supernatural realm. The Qumran commentary on Habakkuk was a vivid example of how a group could read its

599. Ibid., pp.85f. Patte suggested that the pattern for the 'end times', which was itself deduced from Scripture references, was the means by which coming events could be predicted by the apocalyptic writers.
600. D. Patte, loc. cit.
601. Ibid., pp.171-175.
existence back into the words of Scripture.

The examples I have selected from the apocalyptic literature are: Dan. 8-12, I Enoch 6-36, I Enoch 85-90, the book of Jubilees, Testamentum Levi (from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) and the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness (1QM). They are not, perhaps, as representative of the apocalyptic literature as they might be. Most were, however, identified as examples of the genre. They were fairly early writings, with clear links to a community of faith and to the earlier canonical traditions. They exhibited, on the whole, a higher level of creativity than that found in the later apocalyptic writings.

One of the unfortunate problems of this study is the lack of an expressed doctrine of Scripture. There was no starting point for the study of the use and interpretation of Scripture in the apocalyptic literature. What I am attempting to do is to demonstrate the role of Scripture in the community of faith and the use of Scripture in that community's coming to terms with the pressure caused by the events of contemporary history. I intend to examine these passages, identifying: 1) the utilization of current events, 2) the employment of group traditions and 3) the direct use of Scripture. These concepts, in tension, played different

602. D. Patte, op. cit., pp.197-199. An author's creativity must be balanced with his employment of the traditions of the community.
603. Ibid., p.141.
roles in the structure of the passages which made up the apocalyptic works.

1. Daniel 8-12

Daniel 8-12 was generally regarded as the last portion of the book of Daniel to be composed. The edifying stories of Dan. 1-6 and the vision of ch. 7 were believed to stem from sources of an earlier day, brought together around 167-163 B.C., the period in which ch. 8-12 were written.

An analysis of Dan. 8-12 revealed the following points: 1) the historical review (vaticinium ex eventu) was utilized as the backbone of the different sections. Dan. 8 was an independent unit comprised of vision-scene and interpretation. It described the transfer of empire power from Persia to Greece (8:3-7), the increase of Seleucid power (8:9-10) and the suppression of the Jewish religion (8:11-14). The interpretation of the scene declared that the evils perpetrated by the Seleucids would come to an end (cf. 8:25). The details of the vision-scene and interpretation were embellished through the use of a dialogue between the

seer and the angel.

Dan. 9 also presented a unity of construction (9:4-20 was generally acknowledged to have been a deuteronomistic prayer added by the author or an editor). The chapter contents related a 'discovery' made by Daniel in his study of the book of Jeremiah (9:1-2), his petition to God (9:3, 4-20) and the response of God in the form of an angelic visitation (9:21-27), with a message regarding future events. Periods of 'weeks of years' replaced the animal symbolism of ch. 8 as the means of representing the historical periods involved. The purpose of this chapter was the same as that of the preceding one: to show that God intended 'to make an end to evil' (9:24).

Dan. 10-12 was the most embellished vision of the book of Daniel, restating in considerable detail the general intent of ch. 8 and 9. This section opened with a description of Daniel's preparations, a description of the angel and Daniel's reaction to the visitation (10:1-9) and an introduction (10:10-21). The historical review included the Persian (11:1-2) and Greek (11:3-4) rulers and the continuous hostilities between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids (11:5-16). The Seleucid line--Antiochus III (11:15-19), Seleucus IV (11:20) and Antiochus IV (11:21-39)--was climaxed by a confrontation between the latter and the anti-Hellenistic

Jews (11:30-33). This was to trigger the author's speculation as to how the persecution would end and how the tyrant would be cut off (11:40-45, 12:1).

The persons and events of history formed the matrix for these five chapters. They were recorded because the author believed them to point to the crisis of the current day and, more importantly, through that day to the imminent time when the intentions of God were to be accomplished. The momentous times of the revolt of 167-163 B.C. in the history of the Jews attracted the full attention of the author; he was concerned mainly with describing the end of the trouble in which the Jewish community found itself.

2) the beliefs and traditions of the Jewish community were subordinated to the above-stated purpose of the author. This is not to infer their insignificance in his eyes. On the contrary, he held to their value; they were the cause of the revolt against Antiochus IV. However, they formed only a part of the background to these chapters: there were references to the Temple, the priesthood, the Jewish religion (the 'covenant') and the 'wise' (the Jewish teachers of 11:30-33). The author held to a peculiar belief in the resurrection (12:2-3), in that it served as a means for punishment of the wicked and for rewarding the righteous. Within the framework of these chapters, especially ch. 9-10, prayer and repentance, sacrifice and fasting, and the importance of Scripture were acknowledged. More stress was not placed
upon these subjects because they were not central to the author's message.

On a more abstract level, it is possible to discern in these chapters that the author had given implicit assent to a belief in God's Kingship, His superintendence of the flow of history and His determination to recompense those who do evil, especially those who act against His faithful people. The points must be made that the author did not mention these doctrines explicitly and that they existed only as background to his writing task. He was presenting his view of the culmination of a wicked world's oppression of God's people in order to ready his people for the overthrow of the wicked powers of the world in their day.

3) the use of Scripture, in light of the great weight given to historically-related affairs in Dan. 8-12, would appear to be minimal. The references to prophetic and other writings, which were recorded in various studies and commentaries, are usually little more than allusions, phrases or word-usage more or less common to the language comprehension of Jews of the second century B.C. There was no conscious attempt on the part of the author to utilize Scripture.

This is not to suggest that Scripture was totally excluded from the author's mental processes; it was an impor-

tant source of the Jews' belief. An author's beliefs were molded by the beliefs and traditions which had developed from the body of beliefs informed by Scripture. Thus Scripture played a role, albeit an indirect one, in the formation of an author's perspective on any given situation.

The reference to Jeremiah in Dan. 9:2 was an indication of the author's use of Scripture. The author interpreted the seventy-year-exile promise of the prophet in order to apply it to his own era. The promise of God for deliverance through Jeremiah was accepted as recurringly true by the author. Through a mental process commonly discerned in the apocalyptic writings (in which the earlier promise was detached from its original setting and was reinterpreted as applying to the era of the author), the author chose to ally that promise to the greater promise of final deliverance (9:24), which was to occur shortly. This belief in deliverance was strong, and Scripture was used to support it.

Scripture can be demonstrated to be the origin of many of the apocalyptic groups' beliefs and traditions. However, it cannot be identified as the primary source-influence. Too many motifs in these chapters were much more developed than their Scriptural counterparts (cf. the resurrection belief) and others appear to have been brought in from external sources. The community's beliefs and traditions had the upper hand in its tension with the original teachings of Scripture as they impacted the current circumstance.
The use of Scripture can be seen as having been minimal in Dan. 8-12. Even more so would be any dependence upon that portion of Scripture, Zechariah 1-8: 1) the visions of Dan. 8-12 were not as cryptic as those of Zechariah. The former were obvious historical surveys and the latter are set pieces meant to illustrate certain specific truths about God's purposes for the restoration community; 2) the work done by C. Jeremias comparing the visions of Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel indicated a closer connection between Ezekiel and Daniel in many areas. There were many specific features which Zechariah 1-8 did not share with Daniel; and 3) the distinctive 'horn' reference (Dan. 8:3) did not originate in Zech. 1:18-21; they were part of the 'whole-animal' symbolism used by the author of Dan. 8.

2. I Enoch 6-36

I Enoch 6-36 was a major section of the first segment of a composite work describing the exploits of the antediluvian patriarch Enoch. It was dated to the first half of the second century B.C., which means that it was composed slightly before or after the final portions of the book of Daniel. These chapters made up one unique part of the Enoch tradition, which embodied a great variety and breadth unmatched in the apocalyptic literature.

An analysis of I Enoch 6-36 regarding its use of history, the beliefs and traditions of the author's community and the use of Scripture revealed the following: 1) the framework of history, which played a major role in Dan. 8-12, was entirely omitted. Enoch was described as an historical person, but his earthly life was minimized, used merely as a starting point for the author's imaginative description of Enoch's journey through the heavens into the presence of God and of his itinerary through the cosmos. It is apparent, therefore, that the author of this portion of I Enoch did not view history or contemporary events as having the same critical importance (compare the role of history in the book of Daniel) as the present reality of the heavenly realm.

2) the beliefs and traditions of the community played a much larger and more specialized role in I Enoch 6-36 than they did in Dan. 8-12. This section has been commonly divided into ch. 6-16 and ch. 17-36. The former described the organization of rebellious angels, their fall through corrupting the human race and the pronouncement of judgment upon them. The latter portion included a narrative of Enoch's journeys to the far reaches of the earth, hell and the heavens.

It is difficult to say anything definitively about the beliefs of the authors of these chapters. Their statements about the heavenly realm were quite distinctive, with little continuity with earlier writings and little evident paralle-
lism with contemporary literature. There was evidence of a heavy dependence upon non-Jewish ideas by the authors, so that insights into their Sitz im Leben have been difficult to work into a meaningful whole. The lack of doctrinal consistency within the range of the apocalyptic literature makes it difficult to understand the distinctive life-style and belief-system of the Enoch traditions in particular.

3) the use of Scripture was, as in Dan. 8-12, minimal. It may be argued that the use of the motifs such as angels and the heavenly realm and the use of Enoch as the central figure of the narrative were first found in Scripture and that Scripture informed the author in his presentation. There is, however, greater justification in looking at these ideas as borrowed from the popular milieu. Scripture stood behind much the symbolic universe from which these concepts were taken; however, Scripture was not used as a direct influence in the framing of these passages.

3. I Enoch 85-90

I Enoch 85-90 was patterned after the historical review utilized in Dan. 10-12 and was dated to within a few years of the appearance of the book of Daniel. An analysis of I Enoch 85-90 revealed the following points: 1) the histori-

611. O. Eissfeldt, op. cit., p.620.
612. Ibid., p.619.
cal review of I Enoch 85-90, though it could be compared with Dan. 10-12 and much could be made of the observed similarities, did not serve the same purpose as the Daniel passage. The author of Dan. 10-12 was concerned to assure his readers that the situation through which they were passing was temporary; they were to be delivered from the evil besetting them (Dan. 11:45, 12:1). The author of this Enoch passage followed a course which had been set by the authors of I Enoch 6-36 (and those before him). These men had searched for the source of evil, the nature of its outworking in oppression of the Jewish people and the form of God's strategy for its final destruction. The author's interest in evil (in I Enoch 85-90) can be seen in 1) the use of color symbolism to distinguish between the good and the evil, 2) the description of and the relationship between the fall of the angels and the fall of mankind, 3) the description of the punishment of false Jews, fallen angels and the oppressors of the Jews at the time of God's triumph, which included the rewarding of those who had been faithful to Him, and 4) the narrative regarding the role of the seventy angelic 'shepherds' in the duffering of the Jews.

It may be seen that, when the Jews began to suffer at the hand of Antiochus IV and the Hellenized Jewish leaders, the author of I Enoch 85-90 reflected upon the conflict between good and evil within his community and, within himself, took the step which related the hostilities to the enmity
which had existed since earliest time. The sufferings en-
countered by the Jews of the second century B.C. were viewed
by this author as yet another chapter (perhaps the last one)
in the age-long saga of the struggle of good against evil.

The contemporary historical events of which the author
of I Enoch 85-90 treated were central to his purpose and were
an integral part of the historical review stretching back to
an earlier time. In this, the author clearly moved beyond
the example set by the author of Dan. 8-12; the historical
review was adapted to the antideluvian setting of the
author's hero, while omitting the intricate detail-work found
in Dan. 10-12. The current events were given significance
because of their relationship to the author's circle's in-
terest in the force of evil in the world and God's final
victory over it.

2) the author of I Enoch 85-90 was quite similar to the
author of Dan. 8-12 in his casual references to the beliefs
and traditions of the community. The author did have a
great commitment to the Judaism of his day; it would be er-
roneous to suggest that his religious heritage did not have
a tremendous influence upon him. However, his purpose for
writing did not call for emphasizing these beliefs; they
were secondary to his description of the triumph of God over
evil. Hence, whether this author was a member of an early
sectarian group or a mainline Jewish party would be more
difficult to address in terms of the beliefs discerned in this portion of the Enoch literature. It is clear that the author possessed a solid foundation of piety and belief and that he subordinated these values to another, more relevant, purpose. To expect some other format, within the circumstances of the Maccabean revolt, would have been an invitation to distort the author's background and interests.

3) the author of I Enoch 85-90 utilized Scripture as the starting point for his speculations. The genealogical framework and historical review of the work were based upon the biblical record. The language of I Enoch 85-90 was similar to that of Scripture, which produced an occasional allusion. Such Scripture usage would be indirect and of little significance to the composition. The use of Scripture, as a force which informed the author's purpose in writing, was missing here; that force came from a different direction, i.e. the tradition within which the author lived and wrote.

4. The Book of Jubilees

The Book of Jubilees was essentially a rewriting of the initial portion of Scripture (Gen. 1 to Ex. 12), in which the message of individual passages were reworked to conform to a later standard of piety. The author was intent, as he rehearsed the histories of the patriarchs, to purge their characters of the evils noted in Scripture. These forebearers of the Jewish religion were portrayed as observing
the dictates of Torah in their lives from an early age. This kind of portrayal served a dual purpose: showing the eternal validity of Torah as well as the supremacy of the ancient Jewish way of life in the face of Hellenistic influence. This book has not been universally held to be part of the apocalyptic literature; its marginal nature must be kept in mind: 1) the historical review, which played an important role in Dan. 8-12 and I Enoch 85-90 and lent great significance to events current in the authors' day, did not enjoy the same prominence in Jubilees. The book began with such a review, passing quickly through the major phases of Israel's history to the post-exilic period (perhaps with an allusion to the post-Maccabean era). In Jub. 23, a divergent kind of historical review related the declining lifespan of mankind to the increase of sin. This trend, according to the author of that section, had been reversed in his day due to a renewed determination to study Torah.

Contemporary events created little moment for the author of Jubilees. God's purposes were being carried out as they had been established long before. The author, however, had


614. As with many of the apocalyptic writings, the Book of Jubilees contained a portion (23:18-31), which was much more apocalyptic than the rest of the material.
other matters which occupied his attention. Since the histori- 
cal review had been employed by other writers to give 
meaning to their present day (by joining it to a history 
which had clear direction and an inevitable goal), the lack 
of such interest by the author of Jubilees pointed to other 
interests. For the most part, immediate history included no 
critical events for the accomplishment of God's plans, in 
the eyes of the author.

2) the author of Jubilees was much more concerned about 
demonstrating the authority of Torah and the supremacy of 
the Jewish religion and his version of the faith of Israel. 
The central figures of the early chapters of Genesis (Adam, 
Enoch, Noah, Abraham and Jacob), as well as the angels of 
heaven, were viewed as having extraordinary concern for 
Torah. The calendar followed by the author has been shown 
to have been at variance with other modes of calendration 
available to the Jewish community, and it may be assumed 
that some kind of confrontation on this matter may have oc-
curred.

3) since Jubilees was acknowledged as a rewriting of Scrip-
ture, it would be an easy matter to see how Scripture had 
been used, in the broad sense, by the author. He had steeped

615. O. Eissfeldt, op. cit., p.607.
himself in the writings held sacred by his people, for there were references and allusions to the Scripture in abundance. A study of these references did not disclose a consistent relationship between history and the Scripture. They were used in the anthological style, within the framework of the biblical story, wherever the author chose to include them.

It appears that the author of Jubilees bent Scripture to support his own ideas. He transformed the patriarchs into paragons of piety and the sacred story of Israel into an advertisement for obedience to Torah. This 'distortion' was caused by his overriding concern that his interpretation of the inherited traditions of his people be adopted by the entire community. The historical tension of Dan. 8-12 and I Enoch 85-90, which focused on current events as stepping-stones to God's future, was replaced in Jubilees by a tension regarding the Jews' beliefs and practices, i.e. the proper ordering of the community to achieve the fullness of God's plan for His people.

5. Testamentum Levi

The Testamentum Levi was one of the twelve records of

616. W.S. McCullough, The History and Literature of Palestinian Jews, pp.188-190: 'presents traditional Jewish ideas and practices, but also represents patriarchs as observers of the Law'.

the 'last words' of the sons of Jacob included in the composition the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Testamentum Levi was the most elaborate and structurally complex, owing to the stature accorded Levi and his priestly descendants in the second century B.C. It can be considered as having much material which dealt with historical concerns, the beliefs and traditions of the community and the importance of Scripture for the authors and their circle. The analysis of Testamentum Levi in these areas produced the following results: 1) the author of Testamentum Levi placed little importance upon the events of contemporary history. His references to contemporary historical figures and events were quite vague. He was concerned about the behavior of the priesthood (ch. 17), connecting his day to Levi's by means of an historical review, a sequence of seven jubilees of increasing sorrow and wickedness. Except for this, the author was content to embellish the reputation of Levi, working within the framework of the record of Scripture.

2) the beliefs of the community were given much more space, in keeping with the intentions of the author. Testamentum Levi (and the other testaments) was written to support and to exalt the position of the Levitical family within the Jewish community. Levi was regarded as an example of piety from his earliest days and, as such, was deserving of his election by God for special knowledge and service.
This assertion of Levi's position revealed the markedly different purposes of writing of this author and other writers, such as those of Dan. 8-12 and I Enoch 85-90. These latter authors sought to comfort and to reassure their countrymen that the reign of evil under which they lived would be short-lived. The author of Testamentum Levi lived under no such enmity; his purpose in writing did not focus on oppression. He taught about such matters as the day of judgment (1:1), the ranks of angels (3:3-8), the priesthood (8:1-19), tithes (9:4) and Torah (9:6-14). Levi was described delivering a wisdom-Torah speech (13:1-9), which recognized the need for proper education, righteous living and reliance upon wisdom.

The author advocated strongly the traditional values and institutions of the community, seeing in them the means to survival in life. The orderliness he cherished was threatened, for example, by the wickedness of the ruling priests, but he envisioned a new day when God would remove that problem by raising up a new priest who would rule forever and make an end to sin and evil within the community (18:1-14).

3) the author of Testamentum Levi used Scripture for the framework of his message. The biblical account of Jacob's

sons (Gen. 29-50) did not accord honor to Levi, but it did provide the bare structure he utilized to give Levi pride of place. The biblical promises regarding the tribe of Judah were generally upheld within the context of Judah's subjection of the authority of Levi as the one chosen by God to determine the community's life of faith.

Beyond this self-serving use of Scripture, the author did not go. The vision of Levi's investiture (ch. 8) may have been patterned on the ancient sacral kingship ritual, but it would be more likely that the author was following the ritual in current use (which was itself related to passages such as Lev. 8:1-13). The language of the author was reminiscent of the vocabulary and phraseology of Scripture, but that admits of nothing more than conscious imitation of the biblical pattern or the inadvertent use of familiar religious terminology.

6. The War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness

This scroll of the Qumran sectaries was concerned with the eschatological war in which the forces of the community would join with the armies of heaven to defeat the forces of evil. This work was different from others produced by the community (and the larger spectrum of Jewish writings) in

that it attributed the final victory to the cooperation of men with God. The apparent warlike nature of the community was bound to its eschatological perspective, revealing once again the radical differences within representatives of the apocalyptic literature. The designation of the fighting parties indicated that this war was to have been of a religious nature. In this vein, much of the material was of a liturgical nature. An analysis of the scroll's contents revealed the following: 1) the author's concern for history had to be deduced from his statements rather than read explicitly in references to events and persons. The circumstances of his writing, his identity (a pseudonym was not used) and the use to which the scroll would be put were not recorded. The author wrote as if he were rehashing well-known doctrine instead of immediate revelation. This accorded with the belief that the author identified his community as the depository of eschatological revelations.

The Qumran community felt itself to have been an integral part of the sacred history of God's people, the remnant

621. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, p.165.
622. Cf. the pacifism of the author of Dan. 8-12 and the noted 'contradiction' of apocalyptic authors despairing of human effort in history, then taking up arms against the evils in history; the apocalyptists were not consistent at this point.
of God's faithful ones and the substitute for the Jerusalem Temple. They had separated themselves from what they considered the corrupted form of the faith of Israel and, as a result, they were cut off from interaction with the events of history as they impinged upon the Jews. They interpreted Scripture in light of their own existence, reasoning that the mighty acts of God in the past were promises for them in their involvement in the last days.

Thus, because the Qumranites believed their community to have been 'eschatological', they had prepared for the final conflict in ways which reflected biblical campaigns (e.g. Josh. 6) and Roman military strategy. However, because they were not engaged in actual warfare, the scroll was detached from its contemporary milieu. This was not surprising considering the relationship between Qumran and Jerusalem. As a result, the Qumran community had a strong sense of history both past and future, which were informed by Scripture and their traditions based upon it. The present remained the connecting link for the community, which saw itself as the necessary bridge between the promises of God and their fulfillment in history.

2) the liturgical nature of this composition reflected the

626. Ibid., p.286.
627. Ibid., pp.284f.
nature of the community. Since the community viewed itself as eschatological, its life and discipline tended to have been idealistic. The role of the priest was central, along with the regimentations regarding prayer, altar service and purity. The military banners carried symbolic and religious mottoes; the struggle was to have been the forces of good against the forces of evil, God's angels against fallen angels and God's community against the forces of evil from outside it.

A. Dupont-Sommer was of the opinion that this scroll was one of the most valued works in the Qumran library and that it contained significant statements regarding the community's beliefs and piety. The range of interests of the author did not, however, produce a markedly different picture than other works from Qumran.

3) the use of Scripture by the author of this work has been examined by D. Patte, revealing the use of what Patte called the anthological style of Scripture usage. This style is characterized by a series of Scripture quotations placed together; it alternated throughout the work: intense (cf. 1:1-7, 9:17-14:15, 15:7-12) with weak (cf. 1:8-15, 2:15-9:16).

628. O. Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 653.
629. A. Dupont-Sommer, op. cit., p. 165.
630. Ibid., pp. 167f.
The motif of the holy war, which adapted easily to the theme of the final battle, was found in several places in Scripture (cf. Ex. 14, Judg. 5 and 7). The author of the War Scroll embellished his subject so thoroughly through the use of liturgical material that no Scripture text could be discerned as the basis for any passage. The eschatological war was an accepted belief at Qumran and it was open to the speculative treatment in the same way that the nature of evil was handled in I Enoch 6-36.

This brief examination of the use of Scripture and the importance placed upon contemporary history (or, alternately, the Jewish sacred history) and the traditions of the community brings two tentative conclusions forward for closer investigation: 1) the apocalyptic authors' direct use of Scripture was minimal and Scripture was utilized as support for the individual author's main purpose (which was either the flow of God's plan for deliverance or his concern for the form of the community) and 2) many of the parties and groups of Judaism (with Qumran writings exhibiting a slight divergence) treated Scripture in much the same way, namely as secondary material subject to the beliefs and traditions of the community.

D.S. Russell has characterized the entire Jewish community as 'the people of biblical exegesis' and the apocalyptic writers as 'students of prophecy'. However, this state-

ment must be reevaluated in light of scholarly results in such areas as exegesis and hermeneutics. G. Vermes, for example, noted that 'applied' exegesis (as distinct from 'pure' exegesis) was a step removed from direct use of Scripture. He stated that the point of departure for the individual author was no longer Torah (or the prophetic writings), as it had been, but it became the beliefs and customs which the author wished to connect with Scripture. This practice accompanied the rise of the religious parties in Judaism and was most active in the era of controversy between these groups.

The apocalyptic writings analyzed above placed a high significance upon the sacred history of the Jews. When critical events occurred, there appears to have been a strong tendency to relate them and to give them status within the sacred history. The authors of Dan. 10-12 and I Enoch 85-90 were examples of this practice. To the author of the War Scroll, the past history of God's mighty acts foreshadowed His deeds in the final deliverance. This concern with contemporary events was related to the community's beliefs regarding God, His world and His promises. Such salvation was anticipated by the vast majority of the Jews in the second

century B.C., if Ben Sira may be thought of as the most conserva-
tive of thinkers (cf. 36:6-16) and the apocalyptists as har-
boring the more liberal.

The nature of the Jewish future hope during this period
was anything but consistent. While it always centered upon
the manifestation of the Kingship of Israel's God, the dif-
ferences were remarkable (cf. the earthly and heavenly king-
doms, its particularistic and universalistic nature, its rule
by the Son of David and the Son of Man, its introduction
through catastrophe and gradual growth and its development by
stages and total manifestation).

The community's other beliefs and traditions also re-
ceived a major emphasis within the apocalyptic writings (al-
though the stress was often minimized by a concentration upon
the events of history) because the authors' beliefs were
those of their forefathers and because they believed their
interpretation of that faith was an accurate reflection of
God's will for the community. The apocalyptic writings were
no different than the non-apocalyptic works in describing the
supremacy of Torah and the Jews over their enemies.

The institutions of the Jewish community took center
stage in works like Testamentum Levi, for example. The
author of Jubilees pressed his claim that his calendar was
to have been authoritative for all Jews. The War Scroll

presented the picture of the people of God as a worshiping community. These images, taken together with the apocalyptic literature's variety of descriptions of the angelic host and Satan and his minions, were points of emphasis within the traditions of the individual groups.

Excluding the Qumran literature, much of the apocalyptic literature was written in response to situations concerning oppression and controversy. Insofar as Scripture could support the aims of the parties involved in the dispute or supported the existence of the people (or group), it was deemed useful. Scripture was but one force, albeit an enduring one, among many which molded the Jewish community. The advent of Hellenism, along with the input of foreign ideas, constituted another force. The defence generated by the Jewish groups, which perforce became rigid in its ways of thinking and life-style, became another. A developing world-view was forced to come to terms with infiltration, confrontation and persecution. It was here, in its different forms of expression, that apocalypticism arose and flourished, using the raw material of community expectation in all its variety and vitality.

It is important to recognize just how unsystematic were the teachings of the apocalyptic writers (contrary to the judgment of scholars like D.S. Russell). There was little

635. D.S. Russell, op. cit., p.97, spoke of the apocalyptists' efforts to 'rationalize and systematize' the predictive side of prophecy.
consistency in the descriptions of the essential conflict in which the group was engaged, the means by which deliverance was to have been achieved or the form of the envisioned future hope. Beliefs arose in different circles in response to differing stimuli. The community's growing heritage of beliefs and traditions, which had earlier constituted the milieu from which the Scripture was produced, was also the source of the ideas current in the Jewish community of that era. Scripture was, in fact, secondary to the established body of beliefs of the Jews, as it had also been integral to the development of the religious heritage of the Jews.

What, then, can be said in summary concerning the influence of Zechariah 1-8 upon the apocalyptic literature? First, there was the recognition that the influence of Zechariah the prophet did not extend far beyond his lifetime because of the community's veneration of the writings of the exilic prophets, the unique situation of the restoration period and the nature of the community's restoration hopes and the political considerations which divided the prophetic movement and turned it against itself.

Second, it appears that the final form of Zechariah 1-8 was locked into the theocratic circles around the Jerusalem

636. D. Patte, op. cit., pp.276f., made this statement regarding the use of Scripture at Qumran. This judgment can be extended to the other Jewish groups and parties as well.
Temple, was later considered as only a part of the larger body of prophetic writings known as the book of 'the Twelve' and that prophetic writings generally were interpreted rather loosely depending upon the individual's specific beliefs and predisposition.

Third, all of Scripture was subordinated by the apocalyptic authors at the time of writing to other concerns (whose importance took precedence over Scripture): one was the 'end-time', which was connected to the experience of present distress. The authors called for loyalty to God, His chosen way of life and community institutions, rather than to faithfulness to Scripture; a second was intellectual disputation, where authors called people to choose one tradition/interpretation over another (neither, or both, of which were specified in Scripture); and a third was speculation, where authors clearly went beyond the things recorded in Scripture.

This is to say that, throughout the tradition history of Zechariah 1-8 as a part of Scripture, its influence on later stages of Judaism was watered down on successive occasions, until its individualistic influence became exceedingly minimal overall and, in specific instances, only accidental: 1) the Qumran literature and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs appear to have incorporated beliefs concerning two Messiahs, one royal and the other priestly. I have endeavored to show that this belief did not originate with Zechariah, but that Zechariah 1-8 was interpreted (specifi-
cally Zech. 3:8, 4:1-14, 6:9-14) messianically and was thus brought in as support for the later belief (if the later communities were concerned to have such support at hand).

2) The author of the book of Jubilees made use of several verses of Zech. 8 in forming Jub. 1:15-17. The passage was intended as a description of the restoration era, and there was also the indication that the passage was meant to describe conditions of the author's day. The author had read Zechariah 1-8 both historically and eschatologically, viewing the promises of Zech. 8 as having been fulfilled in his day (perhaps because these promises closely approximated the extant situation).

3) Zechariah 1-8 was also referred to twice in the Eighteen Benedictions, speaking of God as the 'Builder of Jerusalem' in the Fourteenth Benediction (Zech. 8:3) and as the one who would cause the Messiah to arise in the Fifteenth Benediction (Zech. 3:8). This material can hardly be considered apocalyptic in nature, but it revealed how closely apocalyptic doctrines existed to the heart of Judaism.

4) Zechariah 1-8 was also utilized by the author of the New Testament book of Revelation. The passage Rev. 6:1-8 employed the motifs of the riders on different-colored horses (cf. Zech. 1:8, 6:1-6) and their mission of destruction upon the earth (cf. Zech. 6:1-8).

637. D. Patte, op. cit., p.84.
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