EXPLORING ZECHARIAH, VOLUME 1

The Development of Zechariah and Its Role within the Twelve

Mark J. Boda

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by

Mark J. Boda

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Ad majorem Dei gloriam

For Paul Redditt

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Preface

During the past three decades the book of Zechariah has received increasing attention within the Hebrew Bible guild. This was due no doubt to the appearance of the influential commentaries of Eric and Carol Meyers as well as David Petersen beginning in the 1980s, but also to the increasing focus on the Persian period in historical and biblical scholarship. Research during this period has been diverse, focusing on the composition, the structure, and the reception of this ancient text and all points in between. The guild has been witness to a shift from dominantly diachronic methodologies to a diversity of diachronic, synchronic and a-chronic approaches, reflecting a (con)fusion of modern, postmodern and even premodern sensibilities.

It was the book of Zechariah that provided me a fresh direction for research after spending my doctoral years focusing nearly all my attention on Ezra–Nehemiah. My dissertation on Neh 9 ended by giving attention to connections between that penitential prayer and Zech 7–8. Little did I realize that this conclusion was my invitation to two decades of focused attention on this "post-exilic" prophet. Shifting to Zechariah provided me a new challenge to engage deeply with a different genre and tradition (prophetic), but also the opportunity to build on my newfound knowledge of the Persian period. It was a perfect time to enter into the study of Zechariah since there was a growing community of scholars with whom I could converse, dialogue, and debate.

During these two decades of work I have written two commentaries and in the process have sought to test my ideas in the Hebrew Bible scholarly guild. As I look back I can discern two major streams in my research. On the one hand, I have pursued the question of the composition of the book of Zechariah and the limits of the literary activity related to this prophet and his tradition. On the other hand, I have continued the line of research that I began in my doctoral work, investigating the presence of inner biblical allusions within Zechariah and the impact of these allusions on the reading of the prophetic book. In the present two volumes I have brought together several articles that have been published in various literary contexts (journals, collected volumes) or presented at scholarly conferences in which I tested my ideas among learned colleagues. Drawing them together into one collection hopefully will help scholars identify the basis, trace the trajectory, and engage the conclusions to which I have arrived after two decades of working with the text of Zechariah.

This first volume focuses on the composition of Zechariah.[1] When I began studying Zechariah the compositional focus was largely focused on the development of the book of Zechariah on its own and in relationship to the book of Haggai. The reigning consensus was that Zech 1–8 was distinct from Zech 9–14 and that Haggai was probably related either in tradition or redaction to Zech 1–8. But soon there was great attention given to the relationship between Zech 1–8 and Zech 9–14, between Zechariah and Haggai and Malachi, and to the placement of Zechariah within the Book of the Twelve. These shifts can be observed in my own body of work over these decades, and this volume provides me an opportunity to retrace some of my arguments and present them in a logical though not always historical order. At times I lay a foundation in one chapter and then take it further in the next, providing more evidence and teasing out the implications in greater ways. There will be some repetition, but in general each piece is distinct. I have also slightly revised the articles to fit into their new literary context and where necessary to align them with the later development in my thought, but most of the material is drawn verbatim from my earlier works cited at the outset of each chapter.[2]

My personal agenda for gathering scholars together for the sessions and eventually the edited book *Bringing Out the Treasure* was related to having arrived at Zech 9 in researching and writing a commentary and having no idea what to do with this material. Michael Floyd was gracious enough to join me on this venture as we drew together key scholars in Europe and North America who had worked or were presently working on Zech 9–14. This reveals how important the academic guild has been to me throughout my career to this point. I have found among other scholars a place to test my ideas, but more importantly to learn and be stretched and to remain accountable for my continued progress. Within the footnotes of *Exploring Zechariah* you will find many names of those who have impacted my scholarship, whether I agree with their conclusions or not. These people include both the great cloud of witnesses who have researched and written in decades past, but also those who are presently engaged in research. What a privilege we have to enjoy relationships while pursuing the academic love of our lives. I want to single out one particular individual within the guild who has been a faithful colleague along the way, not only through his superb work in editing a

[1] For a similar preface but providing an overview of the second volume, see the preface to *Exploring Zechariah: Volume 2—The Development and Role of Biblical Traditions in Zechariah.*

[2] When a chapter appeared in an earlier Festschrift I have removed specific reference to the honoree in the body of the text (though noted in the first footnote) so as not to distract from the argument. Of course, I mean no disrespect by this and still do fully honor and appreciate the colleague to which it was dedicated.

volume on Ezra–Nehemiah with me, but also through his insightful academic work which provided a basis for my own and motivated me to pursue key questions on the book of Zechariah. I dedicate this first volume of *Exploring Zechariah* to Paul Redditt for his faithful and humble service to the guild and in particular his insights into the editorial process underlying the book of Zechariah.

I want to express my thanks to the Society of Biblical Literature ANEM editorial board for accepting these two volumes into their innovative and important series. I have appreciated Alan Lenzi for his guidance through the publication process and Nicole Tilford for help with copyediting and layout. Thanks especially goes to Alexander C. Stewart, my graduate assistant, who spent considerable time in the initial and final stages adapting these disparate essays into a usable form for publication. Much of the research for the articles within this volume was supported by a generous grant from the Canadian Government's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. This grant allowed me to test my ideas at various guild events and support research assistance for these articles, and for this support I am deeply thankful. Also I want to express my thanks to the Senate and Board of McMaster Divinity College for providing the freedom during a research leave to bring this volume together. Finally, I deeply appreciate the many publishing houses and journals who have granted me permission to republish these many essays in slightly revised form in this volume. I have noted the original place of publication at the outset of each essay. There have been some revisions to these essays, partly to bring the text into line with Society of Biblical Literature ANEM style, but also small corrections and revisions relevant to the new literary place of these articles in this volume. I have kept these to a minimum. My hope is that this volume will provide some insight into my approach to the development of Zechariah and its place within the Twelve.

> *Ego ex eorum numero me esse profiteor qui scribunt proficiendo, et scribendo proficient.*
>
> (Augustine, Epistle 143,2, via Jean Calvin)

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible Commentary
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AcBib	Academia Biblica
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANES	*Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
AzTh	Arbeiten zur Theologie
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bib	*Biblica*
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BLS	Bible and Literature Series
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BT	*Bible Translator*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CC	Continental Commentaries
Colloq	*Colloquium*
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series

CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research* (formerly *Currents in Research: Biblical Studies*)
CurBS	*Currents in Research: Biblical Studies*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EBib	Etudes bibliques
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HBAI	*Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
IB	*Interpreter's Bible*. Edited by George A. Buttrick et al. 12 vols. New York: Abingdon, 1951–1957
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	*Interpretation*
ITC	International Theological Commentary
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBQ	*Jewish Bible Quarterly*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JSNT	*Journal of the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JTT	*Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics*
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament

LD	Lectio Divina
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint/Old Greek
MT	Masoretic Text
NAC	New American Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NIB	*The New Interpreter's Bible*. Edited by Leander E. Keck. 12 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1994–2004
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDB	*New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by Katharine Doob Sakenfeld. 5 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006–2009
NIVAC	The NIV Application Commentary
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTT	*Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*
OBO	Oribis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OTE	Old Testament Essays
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PRSt	*Perspectives in Religious Studies*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBL	*Review of Biblical Literature*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RTR	*Reformed Theological Review*
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SCM	Student Christian Movement Press
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
STI	Studies in Theological Interpretation
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
SwJT	*Southwestern Journal of Theology*
SymS	Symposium Series

TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
Transeu	*Transeuphratène*
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
UBS	United Bible Societies
USFISFCJ	University of South Florida International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungenzum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die altestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

1
From Zechariah to the Twelve: The Compositional History of the Book of Zechariah[1]

In this initial chapter I provide an overview of my view on the development of the book of Zechariah. This development is not restricted to only the book of Zechariah but extends into the surrounding books of Haggai and Malachi and ultimately the Twelve Prophets in which Zechariah is located scribally. This chapter provides orientation to the chapters which follow, a reference point to see how the more focused studies to follow fit into my larger view of development.

Within the book of Zechariah a first person prophetic voice dominates throughout Zech 1–8 (e.g., 1:8, 7:4; 8:18) and also appears at the center of Zech 9–14 (e.g., 11:7). This voice, at least within Zech 1–8, is identified by the superscriptions in 1:1, 7; 7:1 as Zechariah the prophet, but these superscriptions reveal the role of someone else beyond Zechariah in presenting this material to a literary audience. This prompts an investigation of the processes through which the prophetic message of Zechariah, whether originally oral or written, was drawn together into the book we now call Zechariah.[2] This will provide insight into the historical con-

[1] Based on my original publication, Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 17–37, 683–86. Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume with addition of an introduction to the volume.

[2] For a defense of investigating compositional history see Mark J. Boda, *Haggai/Zechariah*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 36–37; Mark J. Boda, "Authors and Readers (Real or Implicit) and the Unity/Disunity of Isaiah," in *Bind up the Testimony:*

text(s) into which and from which these prophetic words were declared and written, which will help modern readers hear the text in ways consonant with its ancient readers.[3]

Zechariah 1–8

The compositional history of Zech 1:7–6:15 appears to be more complicated than the assumption, often taken from the reference to "night" at the outset, that the vision reports represent a unified collection linked to a single night (1:8).[4] The interval between the dates in 1:7 and 7:1 (almost two years) is rather long, intimating that the visions and oracles contained therein represent the experience of

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Explorations in the Genesis of the Book of Isaiah, ed. Daniel I. Block and Richard L. Schultz (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2015), 255–71; and note especially Paul L. Redditt, "Editorial/Redaction Criticism," in *Dictionary of the Old Testament Prophets*, ed. Mark J. Boda and J. Gordon McConville (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012), 171–78.

[3] Contra Edgar W. Conrad, *Zechariah*, Readings (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), who adopts a purely literary and ahistorical reading strategy; cf. Francis I. Andersen, "Reading the Book of Zechariah: A Review Essay," *ANES* 37 (2000): 229–40.

[4] See Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006); Jakob Wöhrle, "The Formation and Intention of the Haggai–Zechariah Corpus," *JHS* 6 (2006): Article 10, who posits three phases, the first (in the order: 1:8–14aα, 17aβb; 2:1–9; 4:1–6aα, 10aβ, 11, 13–14; 5:1–11; 6:1–8; 4:6aβ–9a, 10a; 6:9–13; 7:2–6; 8:18–19a) presenting unconditioned vision reports focusing on judgments on the nations, new leadership, and removal of idolatry and injustice, the second (3:1–8; references to Joshua in 6:9–14*) focusing on the elevation of Joshua the high priest, and the third (1:1, 7; 7:1 with 1:2–6; 14aβ–17aα; 2:10–14; 5:9b; 6:15; 7:1, 7, 9–14; 8:1–5, 7–8, 14–17, 19b) incorporating references to the "word of Yahweh." This latter level was responsible for bringing together Haggai–Zech 1–8. Martin Hallaschka, "Zechariah's Angels: Their Role in the Night Visions and in the Redaction History of Zech 1,7–6,8," *SJOT* 24 (2010): 13–27; Martin Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja 1–8: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, BZAW 411 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), takes his lead from tension over the role of the various otherworldly figures in the vision reports, with the primary layer (1:8, 9a, 10, 11b; 2:5–6) depicting two men appearing and talking to the prophet, a second layer incorporating the messenger who talked to me in two phases, first adding 1:9b, 14; 2:7–8*; 4:1–14*; 5:1, 3; 6:1–8* to make a cycle of five visions with ch. 4 at the center and focused on reorganization of the province physically, politically, and legally, second adding 5:5–11 and 2:1–4. Finally ch. 3 was added, with its focus on Joshua the high priest. See below for some tension over the role of the otherworldly figures in the first vision report. Wöhrle echoes similar trends noted in my analysis, but conceptualizes the process in a different order.

the prophet over a period of time.[5] Furthermore, the introduction to the vision in 4:1 speaks of the messenger "returning" (שׁוב) and awakening Zechariah, possibly signaling a more complicated experience. Also, while the first two vision reports (1:15; 2:1–4 [Eng. 1:18–21]), and the oracular section in 2:10–17 (Eng. 2:6–13) look to the impending judgment of Babylon and freedom for exiles under its control, the final vision report records its fulfillment (6:8), followed by the appearance of exilic figures (6:10).

Throughout 1:7–6:15 one can discern a series of basic vision reports.[6] Written in autobiographical style, they include question/answer dialogues with heavenly messengers and descriptions of scenes which blur the line between "earth and heaven" (Zech 5:9). Although the language is not identical in each case, the visions follow general formulaic patterns. Among the vision reports, the one found in Zech 3 has often been identified as the most distinct, diverging the most from the others in terms of structure and language, but also betraying features of a prophetic sign-act with accompanying oracle.[7]

Zechariah 3 is not the only pericope that stands out in this section of Zechariah.[8] Scattered throughout the vision reports is a series of oracles which can be identified by the use of formulaic language typical of prophetic oracles: "declaration of Yahweh" (נאם יהוה) and "thus has said Yahweh" (כה אמר יהוה צבאות). These pieces are found at several intervals among the visions: 1:14b–17; 2:8–9 (Eng. 2:4–5); 2:10–16 (Eng. 2:6–13); 4:6b–10a; 5:4; 6:9–15.[9] In a few cases

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[5] This is also suggested by a consideration of the historical setting claimed in 1:7. The first two vision reports appear to refer to a future judgment on Babylon, which is then fulfilled in the final vision report. See Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 107–12.

[6] Ibid., 86–107.

[7] This has been noted throughout the history of interpretation; cf. Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25B (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), lvii; Paul L. Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, NCB (London: Marshall Pickering, 1995), 40–41.

[8] In the first half of the twentieth century, nearly all critical scholars doubted the originality of the fourth vision report in ch. 3, but others were also seen as secondary. For example, Hinckley Gilbert Mitchell et al., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 112–13, also treated visions 6–7 as secondary; Karl Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten 2: Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi*, ATD 25.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1951), 2:103, 11, treated 7 as secondary; and Kurt Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 112–13, treated 5–7 as secondary.

[9] Zechariah 3:7–10 is not mentioned here because the chapter has already been identified as a later addition (see above). David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1984), 121, sees two competing interpretations of the vision in 3:1–5, one in 3:6–7, 9 where the prerogatives of the high priest are presented in

these oracular segments play an integral role in the vision scene and thus appear to have been part of their respective visions at an early stage: especially 2:8–9 (Eng. 2:4–5); 5:4.[10] In at least three cases, however, one finds pieces which stand out from the vision cycle: 2:10–17 (Eng. 2:6–13); 4:6b–10a; 6:9–15.[11]

The first of these segments, 2:10–17 (Eng. 2:6–13), appears after a vision which is clearly set in Jerusalem and concerns the rebuilding of that city. The segment, however, suddenly interjects a series of imperatives (נוס, "flee"; מלט, "escape") addressed to a different community and setting (those living in "the land of the north" or in "the Daughter of Babylon") than those which precede it (those living in Zion, Jerusalem). The second segment, 4:6b–10a, has long mystified interpreters of this book because of the way it breaks obtrusively (mid-sentence) into the center of the vision of the olive trees in Zech 4. The third piece, 6:9–15, also stands outside the vision cycle, as the content shifts from a vision report concerning the punishment of the land of the north to an address to a group of exilic returnees.[12]

There are also two features in language and style which link these pieces together while distinguishing them from the other oracles. First, all three contain the prophetic formula: "then you will know that Yahweh of hosts has sent me (to you)" ([אליך] וידעת כי־יהוה צבאות שלחני: 2:13, 15 [Eng. 2:9, 11]; 4:9; 6:15). Second, although they employ the typical oracular formulae found in the integrated oracles, "thus has said Yahweh of Hosts," "declaration of Yahweh" (נאם יהוה; כה אמר יהוה צבאות), two of the three (4:6b–10a; 6:9–15) contain another formula, "the word of Yahweh came to me" (ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי: 4:8; 6:9).[13]

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conditional language, while in 3:8 the Branch's are presented in an unconditional way: "it is unlikely that both oracles stem from one hand or authorial tradition, since they advocate competing positions." However, it must be understood that the high priest and Zemah are different figures, and the Zecharian tradition is preserving space for the royal line through this oracle; cf. Mark J. Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones: Prophet, Priest and King in Zechariah 1:7–6:15," *JHS* 3 (2001): Article 10 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4.

[10] These two oracles do not use כה אמר יהוה צבאות, only נאם יהוה. On 1:14–17, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 21 n. 65, 152.

[11] On 1:17 see n. 15 below; on 4:12 and 6:15, see commentary at these respective passages in ibid.

[12] Notice how in 1:14 the autobiographical narrator transitions to the accompanying oracle with: ויאמר אלי המלאך הדבר בי ("Then the messenger who was speaking with me said …"); in 2:8 (Eng. 2:4), ויאמר אלו ("then he said to him …"); in 5:4, the link in 5:3 ויאמר אלי ("then he said to me …"). For discussion of the logic of the message of 6:9–15 and refutation of views that see here an original oracle to Zerubbabel which has been revised, see Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4.

[13] Cf. דבר־יהוה אל: 4:6.

This final formula also appears at two places in 7:1–8:23 (7:4; 8:18), forging a connection between the supplemental pieces in 1:7–6:15 and chapters 7–8. The use of the first person ("me") suggests that these have been drawn from a collection of oracles created by the prophet. The first person formulae in chapters 7–8 most likely highlight the original core of those chapters, which were focused on an interaction between the prophet Zechariah and a contingent from Bethel.[14] Among this collection of oracles were also oracles addressed to the exilic community encouraging them to flee Babylon in the wake of its punishment (2:10–17 [Eng. 2:6–13]), oracles addressed to Zerubbabel in relation to the reconstruction of the temple (4:6b–10a), and a report of a sign-act addressed to Joshua and recently returned exiles (6:9–14).

Zechariah 1:7, with its introductory date ("on the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month, the month Shebat, in the second year of Darius") and messenger formula ("the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah son of Berekiah, the son of Iddo"), is clearly the creation of the one(s) responsible for incorporating 1:8–6:15 into the larger complex of Zech 1–8 (cp. 1:1; 7:1). Its third person style contrasts the first person style found in both the vision reports (cf. 1:8) and the secondary level. This third person formula not only appears in 1:1, 7; 7:1 but also in 7:8, revealing that the one(s) responsible for creating the narrative depicting Zechariah delivering the oracles introduced by 7:4 and 8:18 was also responsible for creating the larger complex of Zech 1–8, with its date and messenger formulae at 1:1, 7; 7:1. The striking similarity between these third person prophetic formulae in 1:1, 7; 7:1, 4 (**היה דבר־יהוה אל־זכריה**, "the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah") and the first person prophetic formula seen in the supplemental sections in 1:8–6:15 and in the foundational level of 7:1–8:23 (**ויהי דבר־יהוה צבאות אלי**, "the word of Yahweh of Hosts … came to me"; on 8:1, see further below), suggests that the one(s) responsible for bringing most of 7:1–8:23 together was influenced by the first person oracular collection upon which they were relying as a source (see further below on 8:1–13).

There are also signs that the first vision report in 1:8–17 has been either composed or revised as part of the process of integrating the various materials in Zech 1–8 together. The connection between 1:1–6 and the first vision report in 1:8–17 is established by the way the speech in 1:16 declares that Yahweh will fulfil his side of the offer first declared in 1:3: "Return to me, and I will return to you" (cf. 1:4). Yahweh is prompted to respond by the people's return to him, narrated in 1:6b. There are other echoes of 1:1–6 in the first vision report, as Yahweh speaks of his anger using both the verb **קצף** and noun **קצף** in 1:15 (cf. 1:2) and as the

[14] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 414–21.

verb קרא is used to describe the proclamation of a prophet to the people in 1:14, 17 (cf. 1:4).[15]

Further investigation of the first vision report, however, reveals vocabulary repeated elsewhere in Zech 1–8, and the passages with shared vocabulary are consistently those identified above as either supplementary material either in 1:7–6:15 or within 7:1–8:23.[16]

שלח ("send," 1:10; cf. 2:12, 13, 15 [Eng. 8, 9, 11]; 4:9; 6:15; 7:2, 12; 8:10)
רחם ("show compassion," 1:12, 16; cf. 7:9)
עיר ("city," 1:12, 17; cf. 7:7; 8:3, 5, 20)
זה שבעים שנה ("these seventy years," 1:12; cf. 7:5)
טוב ("good," 1:13, 17; cf. 8:19)
קרא ("proclaim," 1:14, 17; cf. 1:4; 3:10; 7:7, 13 [2x]; 8:3)
כה אמר יהוה צבאות ("thus has said Yahweh of hosts," 1:14, 17; cf. 1:3, 4, 14, 17; 2:12 [8]; 3:7; 6:12; 7:9; 8:2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 19, 20, 23; cf. 4:6)
קנא ("be zealous," 1:14; cf. 8:2)
קנאה גדולה ("exceedingly zealous," 1:14; cf. 8:2)
ציון ("Zion," 1:14, 17; cf. 2:11, 14 [7, 10]; 8:2, 3)
קצף/קצף ("anger/be angry," 1:15 [3x]; cf. 1:2 [2x]; 7:12; 8:14)
גוי ("nation," 1:15; cf. 2:4, 12, 15 [1:18; 2:8, 11]; 7:14; 8:13, 22, 23)
שוב ("return," 1:16; cf. 1:3, 4, 6; 7:14; 8:15)
בחר ירושלם ("choose Jerusalem," 1:17; cf. 2:16 [12]; 3:2)

This reveals that the dialogue and oracular material in the first vision report has been shaped in accordance with the material found in the supplementary materials in 1:7–6:15 and the material in 1:1–6 and 7:1–8:23.[17]

There are many connections between Zech 1:1–6 and 7:1–8:23, the two bracketing passages in Zech 1–8.[18] This close association is evident not only in

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[15] See Mike Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, JSOTSup 130 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 239–40. The use of רע/רעה in 1:15 (cf. 1:4), is not an appropriate link, because the word has a different sense in each case.

[16] See ibid. The use of נחם in 1:13, 17 (cf. 8:14) is not an appropriate link, because the word has a different sense in each case.

[17] Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, "Through a Glass Darkly: Zechariah's Unprocessed Visionary Experience," *VT* 58 (2008): 573–94 (578), treats 1:14–17 as a later addition, along with 2:10–17 and 4:6b–10a, but it appears that much of the oral material in 1:8–17 is in view. Contra Daniel F. O'Kennedy, "Zechariah 3–4: Core of Proto-Zechariah," *OTE* 16 (2003): 635–53 (637), who sees all oracles as original to the vision reports; cf. B. B. Bruehler, "Seeing through the עֵינַיִם of Zechariah: Understanding Zechariah 4," *CBQ* 63 (2001): 430–43 (433).

[18] Butterworth, *Structure*, 241.

the vocabulary shared between the two sections,[19] but also in their common overall structure.[20] Both begin with a short message of challenge to the present generation (1:3; 7:5–6), followed by a review of the message of what are called "earlier prophets" using idiom reminiscent of the book of Jeremiah (1:4a; 7:7–10), a description of the response of the "ancestors" (1:4b; 7:11–12b), and then the resultant discipline from God (1:5–6a; 7:12c–14; 8:14).

Both of these sections in Zech 1–8 contain vocabulary reminiscent not only of the message of Jeremiah, but also of a prayer tradition which arose in the closing moments of the kingdom of Judah: the penitential prayer tradition.[21] The

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[19] See especially Janet E. Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, JSOTSup 150 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 208–9; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, l–lv.

[20] Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 (55) = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6; cf. Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 2:570, notes that the oral message has often been linked to a form identified as the "Levitical Sermon," noting especially 2 Chr 15:1–7; 19:6–7; 20:15–17; 30:6–9; 32:7–8a; cf. Deut 20:1–9; Josh 1:1–11; Jer 7:1–26; see further Gerhard von Rad, "The Levitical Sermon in the Books of Chronicles," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 267–80; Rex A. Mason, "Some Echoes of the Preaching in the Second Temple: Tradition Elements in Zechariah 1–8," *ZAW* 96 (1984): 221–35 (226–29); Rex A. Mason, *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 198–205; cf. Wim A. M. Beuken, *Haggai–Sacharja 1–8: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der frühnachexilischen Prophetie*, SSN 10 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967), 88–103, which addresses the audience in second person, draws on earlier tradition, exhorts the audience to return to Yahweh. See my critique of the form Levitical Sermon in Mark J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, BZAW 277 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 6–7.

[21] On this see in relation to Zech 1:1–6 and exilic fasting liturgies or penitential prayers see H. G. M. Williamson, "Structure and Historiography in Nehemiah 9," in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies (Panel Sessions: Bible Studies and Ancient near East, Jerusalem 1988)*, ed. M. Goshen-Gottstein (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 117–32 (130 n. 40); Boda, "Master Mason"; and in relation to Zechariah 7–8 and the liturgies see Albert Petitjean, *Les oracles du proto-Zacharie: Un programme de restauration pour la communauté juive après l'exil* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1969), 333–41, 348–49; Joyce G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1972), 147; Rex A. Mason, *The Books of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 67. On penitential prayer see Rodney A. Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution*, EJL 13 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1998); Boda, *Praying the Tradition*; Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline, eds., *Seeking*

prophet's call to repentance and the depiction of the rebellion of past generations contain vocabulary that is found elsewhere within the penitential prayer tradition and in particular Neh 9 as representative.[22]

However, besides the connections noted between the first vision report and 1:1–6 above, there are no significant links between 1:1–6 and the vision reports except for the vision report found in chapter 3, identified above as supplementary by other criteria. Both 1:1–6 and chapter 3 employ קרא ("proclaim," 1:4; 3:10), דרך ("way," 1:4, 6; 3:7), שׁמע ("listen," 1:4; 3:8), and עבד ("servant," 1:6; 3:8).

Careful analysis of the vision reports reveals significant links between the vision reports 1, 4, 5, and 8.[23] Vision reports 1 and 8 (1:8–17; 6:1–8) are universally considered a closely-knit pair in their shared employment of colored teams of horses involved in military manoeuvres using the vocabulary הלך ("patrol," *hithpael*). Vision reports 4 and 5 (chs. 3–4) are also often connected because of their focus on named leadership figures (Joshua, Zerubbabel) and reference to priestly elements (clothing, lampstand), as well as "seven eyes" (3:9; 4:10) and arboreal images of fertility (vine, fig tree, olive tree). Visions 1, 5, and 8 contain the only uses of the phrase "all the earth" (כל־הארץ) in Zech 1–8 (1:11; 4:10, 14; 6:5), a phrase which has cosmic scope.[24] Visions 1, 4, and 5 contain the only uses of the root עמד ("to stand") in Zech 1–8 (1:8, 10, 11; 3:1, 3, 4, 5, 7; 4:14), a term which, at least in visions 4 and 5, refers to the position of heavenly attendants in the divine council. This connection to the divine council forges the strongest link between visions 1, 4, 5, and 8. Each of these vision reports contains vocabulary found in the divine council scenes depicted in Job 1–2, drawing particularly on the introductory verses to the two dialogue scenes in Job 1:6–7; 2:1–2. The only repeated element is הלך ("patrol," *hithpael*), the other elements all independently drawing from the same source.

הלך ("patrol," *hithpael*): Zech 1:10, 11; 6:7 ("throughout the earth," בארץ); cf. Job 1:7; 2:2 ("throughout it," בה)

השׂטן ("the accuser"): Zech 3:1, 2; cf. Job 1:6, 7, 8, 9, 12; 2:1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7

שׁוט ("roam," *polel*): Zech 4:10 ("throughout the earth," בכל־הארץ); cf. Job 1:7; 2:2 *qal* ("throughout the earth," בארץ)

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the Favor of God—Volume 1: The Origin of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism, EJL 21 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2006). The connection to this prayer tradition is ignored by Michael R. Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, LHBOTS 506 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 75–86.

[22] Compare Zech 1:4 with Neh 9:34, 35; and compare Zech 7:11 with Neh 9:29, 30 (cf. Jer 7:26).

[23] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 86–107.

[24] Distinguished from פני כל־הארץ ("the face of all the earth") in 5:3.

יצב (“present oneself,” *hithpael*): Zech 6:5 (“before the Lord of all the earth,” על־אדון כל־הארץ); cf. Job 1:6; 2:1 (“before Yahweh,” על־יהוה)

This evidence suggests that visions 1, 4, 5, and 8 are part of a common effort or experience. If these four vision reports cannot be separated from each other and visions 1 and 4 displays connections to the processes which saw Zech 1–8 come together into its final form, then one can discern here at least a common literary effort related to 1:1–6; 1:7–17; 2:10–17 [Eng. 2:6–13]; 3:1–10; 4:1–14; 6:1–8; 6:9–15; 7:1–8:23 (or 7:1–14; 8:14–23, if 8:1–13 is placed later). Visions 2–3 (2:1–9 [Eng. 1:18–2:5]) and visions 6–7 (5:1–11) do not contain major lexical links to the other vision reports. However, visions 2–3 fit with the vision report sequence in terms of theme by filling out the two-step restoration program laid out in the oracles of the first vision report (1:15 in vision 2 and 1:16–17 in vision 3). Visions 6–7 are closely linked to one another and lay the foundation for the call to repentance in 7:1–8:23 (cf. 6:15). In terms of vision report form,[25] visions 2–3 and 6–7 all contain #1 or #3 types of Introductory Observation Note (A), types only used once in the other vision reports in vision report 8. Types #1 and #3 Introductory Observation Note are typical of the Ezekielian vision report tradition, whereas types #2 and #4 are typical of the Amos/Jeremiah vision report tradition.[26]

The evidence presented above highlights points of connection between a large portion of the material in Zech 1–8. Underlying the material one can discern two autobiographical accounts: one related to visionary experiences and another to nonvisionary experiences which involved oracles, sermons, and reports of a sign-act. These materials have been drawn together into the form we have today based partly on dates recorded in these autobiographical materials, but also on other literary grounds. The one responsible for drawing them together mimicked the prophetic formula used by Zechariah himself (“the word of Yahweh came to”). In this initial editorial effort, much of Zech 1–8 was drawn together: 1:1–6; 1:7–17; 2:10–17 (Eng. 2:6–13); 3:1–10; 4:1–14; 6:1–8; 6:9–15; 7:1–14; 8:14–23. The visions in 2:1–9 (Eng. 1:18–2:5) and 5:1–11 could have been added at a later point, but in light of their close connection thematically with the surrounding materials, they were probably part of this editorial work (on 8:1–13, see further below).

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[25] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 86–107; Mark J. Boda, “Writing the Vision: Zechariah within the Visionary Traditions of the Hebrew Bible,” in *‘I Lifted My Eyes and Saw’: Reading Dream and Vision Reports in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Elizabeth R. Hayes and Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, LHBOTS 584 (London: T&T Clark, 2014), 101–18 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 5.

[26] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 88–89.

ZECHARIAH 9–14

Anyone who reads through the book of Zechariah notices a clear shift in style between chapters 8 and 9. Zechariah 9:1 employs a different introductory formula to the ones used at 1:1, 7 and 7:1. This formula, משׂא דבר־יהוה ("a prophetic utterance, the word of Yahweh"), also occurs at 12:1, dividing the remaining material in Zechariah into two major sections: chapters 9–11 and chapters 12–14. This division is confirmed by internal evidence. Chapters 9–11 focus on the dominant southern and northern tribal identities (Judah and Joseph), while chapters 12–14 focus on inner-Judean identities (house of David, inhabitants of Jerusalem, house of Judah: 12:2, 4–5, 7–8, 10; 13:1; 14:14, 21) while ignoring northern identities. Additionally, Zech 12–14 regularly employs the phrase ביום־ההוא ("on that day": 12:3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13:1, 4; 14:4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21) in a futuristic sense, while Zech 9–11 only uses it once in 9:16 (cf. 11:11). At the same time, there are points of connection between Zech 9–11 and 12–14 which show the common introductory formula in 9:1 and 12:1 signals a common literary collection. First, each of these collections contains smaller transitional pieces which employ similar rhetoric devices (vocatives) and imagery (shepherd, sheep): Zech 9–11: 10:1–3; 11:1–3; 11:17; Zech 12–14: 13:7–9. Second, both collections employ the imagery of a Divine Warrior involved in a global operation. Third, in both Zech 9–11 and 12–14 a link is forged between idolatrous and divinatory/prophetic activity (10:1–3; 13:2–6). These points of connection and uniqueness suggest that although chapters 9–11 and 12–14 may have different points and sources of origination, they have been drawn together into a unified literary collection. Interestingly, while the book of Malachi also begins with the same prophetic formula, משׂא דבר־יהוה ("a prophetic utterance, the word of Yahweh"), it does not contain these connections which bind Zech 9–14 together (see further below on Malachi).

Zechariah 9–11 contains two foundational prophetic collections comprising 9:1–17 and 10:4–12, closely related to one another through their positive tone, focusing on Judah and Ephraim/Joseph, providing a vision for a return from exile, and modulating between first and third person voice. Both of these collections articulate a restoration instigated and accomplished by divine action (9:1–8, 14–17; 10:3b, 6, 8–10, 12), involving both Judah and Ephraim rescued from foreign captivity, with Judah playing a lead role (9:11–13, 16–17; 10:6–11), and describing the people as God's flock (9:16; 10:3b).

These two prophetic collections in chapters 9–10 contrast with the two collections found in chapters 12–14 (12:2–13:6; 14:1–21). These latter units are structured using the Hebrew term הנה ("take note": 12:2; 14:1) and the recurring phrase ביום־ההוא ("on that day": 12:3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11; 13:1, 4; 14:4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21), and focus on David-Jerusalem-Judah while ignoring Ephraim/Joseph.

The scenes portrayed in chapters 12–14 involve attacks on Jerusalem by the nations, with Yahweh coming to Jerusalem's aid and purifying Jerusalem. The two collections also share similar lexical stock (12:2b/14:14a; 12:2, 6/14:14b; 12:6/14:10; 12:9/14:16; 12:12–14/14:17–18),[27] even though they diverge in terms of tradition,[28] literary quality,[29] perspective,[30] and content.[31]

These distinctions that have been noted between 12:1–13:6 and ch. 14 suggest evidence of compositional activity. One can discern somewhat awkward flow at a few points in these chapters.[32] The most obvious example comes at 14:14 with the clause "And also Judah will fight at Jerusalem."[33] Zechariah 14 is focused

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[27] Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic*, OtSt 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 220.

[28] Cf. Hanns-Martin Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker: Zur Vorgeschichte von Sach. 12, 1–8, und 14, 1–5*, WMANT 27 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968), 30–32, who links ch. 12 to the preexilic Song of Zion tradition, but ch. 14 to the holy war against the nations tradition. See criticism by Rex A. Mason, "The Use of Earlier Biblical Material in Zechariah 9–14: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 1–208 (172–73); Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 137 n. 49.

[29] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 138–39, contrasts the literary quality of Zech 14 with the oral quality of Zech 12:1–13:6 (cf. 12:4; 13:2), the appearance of direct human nonprophetic discourse in Zech 12:1–13:6, and observes that the "on that day" formulae have been introduced secondarily to bring it into line with 12:1–13:6.

[30] Mason, "Use," 173–74, 198–99, traces these two sections to the same group while admitting that ch. 14 is more pessimistic and hostile toward Jerusalem than ch. 12. For Otto Plöger and Lutz, ch. 14 is a correction to and rejection of 12:1–13:6; Otto Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, trans. S. Rudman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968); Lutz, *Jahwe*. See Mason, "Use," 198–99, for critique. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 161, rejects this conclusion by noting the dominant positive tone towards Jerusalem in ch. 14.

[31] Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, 138, highlights three contrasting points: in 14:2 God gathers nations against Jerusalem, while 12:1–9 does not claim this; in 14:2 half of the population of the city perish, while in 12:8 God protects the inhabitants; in 14:3–4, 6–10 geological/climactic changes accompany God's victory, while 12:6–9 envisions his use of the people themselves.

[32] For Zech 14, for instance, see further Magne Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14: Untersuchungen von Text und Form*, WMANT 34 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1969), 308; Mason, "Use," 190; Mason, *Haggai*, 130; Douglas A. Witt, "Zechariah 12–14: Its Origins, Growth and Theological Significance" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1991), 93–94; Tigchelaar, *Prophets*, 218.

[33] Sæbø, however, sees little similarity between Zech 14 and other texts, identifying the final form as *sui generis*, and adopts instead a redactional approach, concluding that there were three stages in the development of the chapter. Cf. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14*, 308. Evidence for multiple phases in the development of Zechariah 14 has also been discerned by

nearly entirely on the city of Jerusalem, only mentioning Judah here and in v. 21, and elsewhere referring to "the land" (14:9, 10). The reference to Judah fighting at Jerusalem in 14:14a is the only reference to human involvement in the battle for Jerusalem. One would think that 14:15 would follow most naturally immediately after 14:12 in light of the reference to "this plague" in 14:15.[34] This may indicate that 14:13 was inserted here along with 14:14. The use of the phrase "and also" (וגם) as the introduction to 14:14 is also suggestive of an insertion into the text. The same phrase (וגם) appears in 12:2–3, again at the outset of a clause which expands what appears to be a description focused on a siege of Jerusalem to include also Judah: "and also concerning Judah, it will be under the siege against Jerusalem" (12:2b).[35] Additionally, in the immediate context there is a reference to a panic caused by Yahweh coming over the opposing force (12:4), strikingly similar to the portrayal of panic in 14:13. Zechariah 12:4 also refers to Judah, this time as "the house of Judah" without any reference to Jerusalem.

The sections referring to Judah in Zech 12:2–13:6 comprise: 12:2b, 4–8 and in these sections one can discern an agenda of articulating the social relationship between Judah and its inhabitants and leaders on the one side and Jerusalem and its inhabitants and leaders (house of David) on the other, with special emphasis on equality and mutuality. Thus the leaders of Judah will recognize the faith of the inhabitants of Jerusalem (12:5), will function as Yahweh's weapon to rescue Jerusalem (12:6) and will be honored on the same level as Jerusalem and its leadership (house of David, 12:7). Jerusalem and its leadership, however, are not maligned in the process, as the faith of the inhabitants of Jerusalem is recognized by

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Witt, for instance, who treats vv. 1–11 (except vv. 2b and 3aβ) as a first stage typified by a pessimistic outlook towards Jerusalem reflecting conflict between the prophetic group responsible and cultic leadership in Jerusalem. Verses 2b, 3aβ,12–15 comprise a second stage of development which reflected a more positive view of Jerusalem and its cult and leadership, with a third stage found in vv. 16–21 which expanded the approach to holiness. For Witt, then, there are two contradictory viewpoints now encased in the canonical form of Zechariah: "In this final form of chapter 14, the focus has completely shifted from an extreme polemic attack against Jerusalem to an affirmation of the cleansing and renewing action of Yahweh to be anticipated at the end of history." Cf. Witt, "Zechariah 12–14," 93–94. Tigchelaar argued for "a deliberate fusion of traditions which were originally distinct." Cf. Tigchelaar, *Prophets*, 218.

[34] So also David L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 137.

[35] For 12:2b as later addition see e.g., Karl Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten 2: Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi*, 5th ed., ATD 25.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 2:158–64; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 112.

the leaders of Judah (12:5) and Yahweh promises to make the inhabitant of Jerusalem like David and the house of David like God/angel of Yahweh (12:8). The phrases "house of David" and "inhabitant(s) of Jerusalem" also appear in other parts of Zech 12:2–13:6 (12:10–13:1) which makes it difficult to extract the sections with Judah in 12:2b, 4–8 from the chapter. It may be that someone responsible for 12:2b, 4–8 has echoed the references to "house of David" and "inhabitant(s) of Jerusalem." However, it is more likely that an originally short prophecy focused on a siege of Jerusalem (12:2a, 3, 9) was expanded considerably with material focused on two issues: strengthening or restoring the bond between Jerusalem and Judah (12:2b, 4–8, 10–14; 13:1) and cleansing the land from idolatry and prophecy associated with it (13:2–6). While one might treat these as two different phases of development, since the references to Judah, Jerusalem, and David which dominate 12:2b, 4–8, 10–14) are absent from 13:2–6, the common use of "the land" (הארץ) in 12:12 and 13:2 brings these two sections together.[36]

This evidence suggests that underlying Zech 12:1–13:6 and 14:1–21 are two prophetic sections focused on a siege against Jerusalem. The first possibly was comprised of Zech 12:2a, 3, 9 while the second of Zech 14:1–3, 12, 15. It appears that this material has been expanded according to two agendas. The first agenda is focused on integration and the second on submission. Both envision the integration of Jerusalem and Judah with reference to royal figures whether the house of David (12:1–13:6) or Yahweh (14:1–21). Chapter 14 also envisions the integration of the nations. Both sections also focus on submission. Zechariah 12:1–13:6 focuses on the submission of Jerusalem, Judah and the house of David who realize their guilt, mourn over their sin, are purified and cleansed of idolatry and illicit prophecy. Chapter 14 focuses on the submission of the nations in a purified Jerusalem.

This material, however, has been drawn together into a final form that displays integrity. This integrity is forged first of all through the structural markers on the macro level, including the superscription "A prophetic utterance. The word of Yahweh..." in 12:1, the introductory particle "attention" in 12:2 and 14:1, and the shepherd-flock unit in 13:7–9 which divides the two major prophetic sections. Within the individual units, however, the phrase "on that day" (ביום־ההוא) which appears at 12:3, 4, 6, 8 (2x), 9, 11; 13:1, 2, 4; 14:4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21, emphasizes the literary integrity of the two units. While this phrase does not appear to mark

[36] Although it is interesting that 12:10–14 begins by speaking only of Yahweh pouring out a spirit of favor and pleading for favor only on the house of David and the inhabitant of Jerusalem (12:10) which results in mourning in Jerusalem (12:11) and only later expands the mourning to "the land" in 12:12. However, this seems to echo the trend throughout the Judah sections to integrate Jerusalem/house of David with the broader Judean community.

structural breaks every time it appears in these chapters,[37] it emphasizes the integrity of these sections. Furthermore, one can discern a modulation of speech between Yahweh and the prophet (see further below), a feature encountered throughout Zech 9–10.

The two collections found in chapters 12–14, thus, show evidence of common editorial activity prior to their inclusion in Zech 9–14.[38] In position in Zech 9–14 there are points of connection between chapters 9–11 and 12–14, but also one can discern a clear distinction within Zech 9–14 between the main prophetic sections found in chapters 9–11 (9:1–17; 10:4–12) and those found in chapters 12–14 (12:1–13:6; 14:1–21). The prophetic formula, משׂא דבר־יהוה ("a prophetic utterance, the word of Yahweh") thus appears in Zech 9–14 at appropriate points (9:1; 12:1) to mark the distinction between the two sections, but there is also material in Zech 9–14 that reveals an editorial effort to integrate these materials. Key among this material is the sign-act allegory of 11:4–16, a pericope that lies at the boundary between chapters 9–11 and 12–14. Employing a shepherding motif, this pericope describes the rejection of one shepherd and appointment of another. In the process two staffs are broken, the first signifying the breaking of a covenant with the nations (11:10) and the second the breaking of brotherhood between Judah and Israel (11:14). These two actions are directly related to key discontinuities between chapters 9–10 and 12–14, that is, God's heightened and global destruction of the nations in chapters 12–14, and the absence of reference to the northern tribes and focus on Judah in chapters 12–14. The sign-act allegory of Zech 11:4–16 thus lies at the boundary between chapters 9–10 and 12–14 and explains the shift between the two sections.

This transitional pericope in 11:4–16 also explains other, smaller sections appearing throughout Zech 9–14 which bind together the collection: 10:1–3a; 11:1–3; 11:17; 13:7–9. As already mentioned above, these units share in common stylistic, lexical, and thematic features: imperatival/attention rhetoric, negative mood, and shepherd/sheep imagery.[39] Each section either warns or enacts Yah-

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[37] As argued by David J. Clark, "Discourse Structure in Zechariah 9–14: Skeleton or Phantom?," in *Issues in Bible Translation*, ed. P. C. Stine, UBS Monograph Series 3 (London: United Bible Societies, 1988), 64–80; Sweeney, *Twelve*, 683–84; cf. J. Gerald Janzen, "On the Most Important Word in the Shema," *VT* 37 (1987): 280–300 (297–98), who argues this for Zech 14. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 138, divides Zech 14 according to this phrase (although seeing extra divisions at v. 10, 12, 15, 16), but does not see this as appropriate for Zech 12:1—13:6.

[38] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 681–91.

[39] For the redactional character of these smaller units, see Karl Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten 2: Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja,*

weh's judgment against inappropriate shepherds, and a progression can be discerned as the sections appear, with 10:1–3a expressing divine anger, 11:1–3 promising divine destruction, 11:17 pronouncing a curse, and 13:7–9 executing divine judgment.

Therefore, Zech 9–14 is comprised of three major groups of passages: two oracles in chapters 9–10 (9:1–17; 10:3b–12) promising Yahweh's intervention and restoration for the people with a historical focus, two oracles in chapters 12–14 (12:1–13:6; 14:1–21) promising Yahweh's eschatological defeat of the nations and transformation of Jerusalem and Judah, and shepherd motif pieces appearing at regular intervals between the major units described above which announce and enact severe judgment against the leadership of the people (10:1–3a; 11:1–3; 11:4–16; 11:17; 13:7–9). These shepherd motif pieces are key to the editorial activity which brought together the originally disparate oracular units of chapters 9–10 and chapters 12–14.

ZECHARIAH 1–8 AND 9–14

Thus far we have discerned evidence for the compositional activity which gave rise to the formation of Zech 1–8 on the one side and Zech 9–14 on the other, but nothing has been said about the relationship between these two halves of the book. For much of the past century, Zech 9–14 has been treated not only as a distinct literary unit, but as a literary unit with little if any relationship to Zech 1–8 apart from scribal tradition. Some have even identified in Zech 9–14 two distinct units, Zech 9–11 and Zech 12–14. This approach has been based on several pieces of evidence. First, while Zech 1–8 is punctuated at three points by prophetic superscriptions containing strikingly similar date and messenger formulae (1:1, 7; 7:1), Zech 9–14 contains two prophetic superscriptions ("a prophetic utterance, the word of Yahweh …") which mention neither date nor messenger. As noted above, the superscriptions found in Zech 1–8 are more closely related to those used in the previous book of Haggai (especially Hag 2:10, 20; cf. 1:1; 2:1) than to those used in Zech 9–14.[40] Furthermore, the superscriptions in Zech 9–14 are far more closely related to the superscription which begins the book of Malachi (1:1) than to anything in Zech 1–8. These connections have served to pull the two sections

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Maleachi, 7th ed., ATD 25.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 2:143–44; Paul L. Redditt, "Israel's Shepherds: Hope and Pessimism in Zechariah 9–14," *CBQ* 51 (1989): 631–42; Katrina J. Larkin, *The Eschatology of Second Zechariah: A Study of the Formation of a Mantological Wisdom Anthology*, CBET 6 (Kampen: Kok, 1994), passim, esp. 91. Elliger also includes 9:9–10 in the list. However, the shepherding motif does not occur in this piece as in the others.

[40] For the connection between Haggai and Zech 1–8, see, e.g., Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, xliv.

of Zechariah even further apart. Second, while Zech 1–8 employs prose sermonic material (1:1–6; 7:1–8:23) as well as vision-oracle sequences (1:7–6:15), Zech 9–14 contains more classical prophetic oracles (chs. 9–10) as well as oracular material with a greater eschatological tone (chs. 12–14). Third, Zech 1–8 mentions specific historical figures from the early Persian period (Darius, Zechariah, Joshua, Zerubbabel, Helem, Tobijah, Jedaiah, Zephaniah), while Zech 9–14 is far more general in character, speaking only of family, clan, and tribal units. These features have led scholars to treat these two parts of Zechariah not only as distinct literary units, but as texts which have arisen in radically different social and/or historical contexts. On the one hand, scholars like Wellhausen, Plöger, and Hanson identified Zech 1–8 with priestly groups (hierocracy) controlling the reins of power in the early Persian period, but Zech 9–14 (or parts of it) with millenarian groups rebelling against the central hierocratic groups. On the other hand, scholars such as Petersen and Floyd traced Zech 1–8 to developments in the early Persian period, but Zech 9–14 to developments in the early Greek period.[41]

In the past four decades, however, a series of scholars have argued for a closer relationship between these two sections of Zechariah by utilizing a variety of methodologies. Baldwin, using a rhetorical approach, discerned in the common use of chiasm as a structuring device in both Zech 1–8 and 9–14 evidence for a unified collection, whether the individual components were originally separate or not.[42] Mason adopted a tradition-historical approach to Zech 9–14 and discerned several points of contact between Zech 1–8 and 9–14 related to the themes of Zion, leadership, cleansing of community, and universalism.[43] Petersen clearly follows the consensus view of "a fundamental division" between Zech 1–8 and 9–14, but at one point adopts a canonical approach to argue that the two sections of the book share the same "canonical" author in their final form.[44] Floyd leverages form critical methodology to find connectivity between Zech 1–8 and 9–14, treating the word משׂא in 9:1 and 12:1 as a signal that the earlier material in

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[41] Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 3; Michael H. Floyd, *Minor Prophets, Part 2*, FOTL 22 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 315–16.

[42] Baldwin, *Haggai*, 64–81.

[43] Rex A. Mason, "The Use of Earlier Biblical Material in Zechariah IX–XIV: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis" (PhD diss., University of London, 1973), 306; cf. Larkin, *Eschatology*; Risto Nurmela, *Prophets in Dialogue: Inner-Biblical Allusions in Zechariah 1–8 and 9–14* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University, 1996). See also Konrad R. Schaefer, "Zechariah 14 and the Composition of the Book of Zechariah," *RB* 100 (1993): 368–98; Konrad R. Schaefer, "The Ending of the Book of Zechariah: A Commentary," *RB* 100 (1993): 165–238; Konrad R. Schaefer, "Zechariah 14: A Study in Allusion," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 66–91, who argues that Zech 14 relies heavily on Zech 1–13.

[44] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 109 n. 2.

Zechariah is being explicated by a later generation.[45] Although admitting that the material in Zech 9–14 originated independently of Zech 7–8, Sweeney adopts a rhetorical approach to the book of Zechariah, identifying the prophetic formula in 7:8 as an introduction to a corpus that stretches to the end of the book and which presents Zechariah's answer to Sharezer's question of 7:3.[46] Zechariah 9–11 and 12–14 thus expand on Zechariah's message in 8:18–23, focusing on the dual themes of Yahweh's plans for the nations and Jerusalem. Some scholars have challenged the earlier work of Plöger and Hanson, which claimed that texts in the first half of the book arose in a radically different sociological context than texts in the second half. Cook highlights priestly elements in Zech 9–14 and what he considers apocalyptic elements in Zech 1–8 in order to show that the two parts are not necessarily contrastive.[47] Curtis uses a sociological approach to show how prophetic groups can shift from center to periphery or vice versa within a generation. Applied to the book of Zechariah, this means that even if the two parts of the book reflect differing sociological perspectives, they could have arisen from the same group.[48]

As is evident throughout my research, I do not embrace all of these approaches in their entirety, although often I do find elements which are helpful for understanding the book of Zechariah. There are several pieces of evidence that suggest to me that Zech 1–14 should be treated as a single book. First, Zech 1–8 and 9–14 are both filled with intertextual allusions to earlier biblical materials. This intertextual strategy is explicitly stated at the beginning and end of Zech 1–8 (Zech 1:4, 6; 7:7, 12). The earlier materials upon which Zech 1–8 and 9–14 rely are similar, especially the major prophetic books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, with particular reliance on Jeremiah.[49] Second, the prophetic sign-act form plays a key role in the later redactional levels of Zech 1–8, as seen in Zech 3 and especially 6:9–15.[50] This same form is employed at the core (Zech 11:4–16) of the shepherd-flock redactional/rhetorical structure which provides the skeleton for

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[45] Floyd, *Minor Prophets*, 308, 15–16; Michael H. Floyd, "The Maśśā' as a Type of Prophetic Book," *JBL* 121 (2002): 401–22. Cf. Mark J. Boda, "Freeing the Burden of Prophecy: *Maśśā'* and the Legitimacy of Prophecy in Zech 9–14," *Bib* 87 (2006): 338–57 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 8.

[46] Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:641–42.

[47] Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

[48] Byron G. Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road: The Book of Zechariah in Social Location Trajectory Analysis*, AcBib 25 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

[49] See *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 1.

[50] See Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4.

Zech 9–14.[51] The reemergence of the prophetic "I" in Zech 11:4–16 connects this material back to the prophetic "I" of Zech 1–8.[52] Third, similar themes are developed within the redactional materials which bind the two major sections together. There is a focus on leadership in the later redactional levels, especially leveraging leadership traditions within Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Zech 1–8: chs. 3, 4, 6:9–15; Zech 9–14: 9:9; 10:1–3; 11:1–3; 11:4–16; 11:17; 13:7–9). These key redactional levels focus on the nations and Jerusalem, with some focus on Judah (southern kingdom) and Israel (northern kingdom).[53] Fourth, there is a similar progression in chapters 1–8 and 9–14: movement from what appears to be a realization of the restoration (Zech 1–8: 1:1–6:15; Zech 9–14: 9:9–11:3) near the beginning, with some signs that not all is well (Zech 1–8: 5:1–11; 6:15; Zech 9–14: 10:1–3; 11:1–3), to a major frustration in the realization of this restoration due to problems related to leadership and community (Zech 1–8: 7:1–14; Zech 9–14: 11:4–16), to resolution which involves both Jerusalem and the nations (Zech 1–8: 8:1–23; Zech 9–14: 12:1–14:21). This is not to deny a key difference: the initial realization of restoration is prompted by human activity related to repentance within the community in Zech 1–8 (1:1–6; "return to me and I will return to you") which leads to divine activity against the nations (Zech 1:7–2:4), but in Zech 9–14 by divine activity related to the nations (9:1–8) which leads to human activity related to repentance (12:10–14). Fifth, Zech 7–8 not only functions as a fitting conclusion to Zech 1–8, but also as an appropriate segue to Zech 9–14, a point that I will argue in greater detail later in this volume.[54]

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[51] Mark J. Boda, "Reading between the Lines: Zechariah 11:4–16 in Its Literary Contexts," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9. The placement of a key element from an earlier tradition from which a later reliant tradition is emerging can also be seen in the development of Isa 40–66 in which Isa 60–62 lies at the center of Isa 56–66 and contains the closest links to the earlier traditions in Isa 40–55; see Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1969), 296; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Second Isaiah—Prophet of Universalism," in *The Prophets: A Sheffield Reader*, ed. Philip R. Davies, BibSem 42 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 186–206 (198).

[52] See esp. Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:566.

[53] Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones"; Boda, "Reading between the Lines"; Mark J. Boda and Stanley E. Porter, "Literature to the Third Degree: Prophecy in Zechariah 9–14 and the Passion of Christ," in *Traduire la Bible hébraïque: De la Septante à la Nouvelle Bible Segond = Translating the Hebrew Bible: From the Septuagint to the Nouvelle Bible Segond*, ed. Robert David and Manuel Jinbachian, Sciences Bibliques 15 (Montreal: Médiaspaul, 2005), 215–54 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapters 4, 9, 10.

[54] See chapter 2 below.

One can also discern an overall progression in the book in the presentation of the issue of leadership, a theme which is developed in particular in the materials used to link larger prophetic sections (such as the visionary material, the main oracles in chs. 9–10 and chs. 12–14).[55] The book begins with considerable hope in relation to priestly, prophetic, and royal figures in Zech 1–6 (although concern over priestly figures is already implicit in Zech 3 and possibly Zech 4), and shifts in Zech 7–8 to concern over priestly leadership, although a royal figure is affirmed in Zech 9:9. Serious concern is soon expressed about leadership figures (shepherds), possibly linked to the temple precincts (11:13) and thus priestly, but also to royal (12:10–14) and prophetic (13:2–6), figures. Ultimately, Yahweh emerges as king (14:9), and even the horses will attain the status usually associated with priests (14:20) and priestly duties will be distributed to the entire community (14:21).

This connectivity between Zech 1–8 and 9–14 suggests that the ancient practice of identifying these fourteen chapters as a book within scribal tradition is related to a recognition of an original editorial intention.

Zechariah and the Book of the Twelve

This conclusion, however, does not mean that these sections are unrelated to the prophetic sections that surround them. There appears to be evidence of editorial activity which has resulted in the fusion of the Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi materials into a literary collection which was then incorporated into the Book of the Twelve Prophets as a whole.

The one passage that has not been treated in any detail in the review above is 8:1–13.[56] This section is introduced by the unique prophetic messenger formula "The word of Yahweh came," striking for its lack of indirect object (to me/Zechariah; see 1:1, 7; 7:1, 8). This draws attention to the material which follows and, together with the fact that 8:14 appears to be the continuation of the speech left off at 7:14, has led to the identification of the material in 8:2–13 as an addition to 7:1–8:23.[57] Zechariah 8:2–13 is comprised of two subsections, 8:2–8 and 8:9–13, the first containing significant allusions to earlier material in Zech 1–8 (especially the first vision report in 1:8–17 and the first major independent oracle in 2:10–17 [Eng. 2:6–13]), and the other containing significant allusions to material found in

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[55] See Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4; Mark J. Boda, "Perspectives on Priests in Haggai–Malachi," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy S. Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 13–33 = chapter 6 in the present volume.

[56] See chapter 3 below; cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 469–99.

[57] See Boda, "Master Mason" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

the book of Haggai. Both of these subsections, however, are rhetorically related to one another and embedded within their context in Zech 7–8. This evidence suggests that 8:1–13 was formed as part of the process which brought together the materials in Zech 1–8, and that at this stage the book of Haggai was incorporated into the literary work as well.[58]

This evidence related to the inclusion of Haggai is supported further by the striking similarity between the messenger formulae used in Hag 2:10, 20 and those at Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1, 8. Thus the one(s) responsible for 1:1, 7; 7:1, 8 also was responsible for fusing together Haggai and Zech 1–8. The fact that the messenger formulae in Hag 1:1 and 2:1 are constructed differently from those found in Hag 2:10, 20; Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1, 8 suggests that the formulae in 2:10, 20 have been transformed to interlink Haggai and Zech 1–8, and that the superscriptions of Hag 1:1 and 2:1 reflect the earlier stage of Haggai as an independent work.[59] As has been noted in recent analysis of these messenger formulae,[60] the date identified for Zechariah's initial penitential sermon in Zech 1:1 is clearly prior to the key foundation-laying event described in Hag 2:10–23. This, then, identifies repentance (a key theme for Zechariah) and not only temple construction (the key theme of Haggai) as essential for the kind of transformation prophesied in Hag 2:10–23;[61] thus those responsible for Zechariah shape the reading of the book of Haggai in the new Haggai–Zech 1–8 corpus.

There is, therefore, no reason to posit an elongated process of composition for the books of Haggai and Zech 1–8. While most likely Haggai was drawn together in connection with the temple foundation laying, which took place in 520 BCE, it was soon fused with Zech 1–8 in an editorial effort which brought together materials related to the prophet Zechariah prior to, or soon after, the completion of the temple. Zechariah 9–14 was thus integrated with an already existing Hag 1–Zech 8 prophetic book.

While these two pieces of evidence highlight the early integration of Haggai with the book of Zechariah, the use of the prophetic superscription "A prophetic utterance. The word of Yahweh …" in Zech 9:1; 12:1 and Mal 1:1, a unique form

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[58] See Beuken, *Haggai–Sacharja 1–8*, 156–83: esp. 66. Based on connections to Joel, James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 265, sees in 8:9–13 editors responsible for the Book of the Twelve.

[59] Possibly Haggai represented an inscription deposited into the foundation of the temple; cf. Mark J. Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia: Utopian (Re)Visions in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8," in *Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic Literature*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 92 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 211–49.

[60] See commentary in Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 57–62.

[61] See further Boda, "Master Mason" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

within the prophetic corpus, suggests that Malachi was integrated with the book of Zechariah also at an early stage. Interestingly, the phrase "messenger of Yahweh" is employed in each of the four main corpora (Haggai, Zech 1–8, Zech 9–14, Malachi) in reference to a prophet figure in Hag 1:13 (Haggai), a royal figure in Zech 12:8 (Zech 9–14), and a priestly figure in Mal 2:7 (Malachi).[62] The remaining section, Zech 1–8, is filled with references to various "messengers," with specific reference made to the "messenger of Yahweh" in 1:11, 12; 3:1, 3, 6. These references suggest an intentional literary strategy to bind these various sections together, preparing the way for the expectation of "messenger" figures in Mal 3.

The concluding pericope of the book of Zephaniah probably reveals editorial activity which saw the combined corpus of Haggai–Malachi enter into the Book of the Twelve Prophets, a collection which now stretches from Hosea–Malachi. Zephaniah 3:14–20 is strikingly similar to both Zech 2:14–17 (Eng. 2:10–13) and Zech 9:9, two passages which lie at the heart of the Haggai–Malachi corpus.[63] This is further evidence that those responsible for the book of Zechariah were also responsible for drawing Haggai and Malachi into the Haggai–Malachi corpus and placing it within the Book of the Twelve. One key theme within the Haggai–Malachi corpus is that of repentance, showcased by the repetition of the same divine call in both Zech 1:3 and Mal 3:7: "return to me, and I will return to you." Interestingly, two books which most likely arose in the postexilic period (Joel, Jonah)

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[62] See chapter 5 below. Some have identified other literary features which bind these books together, including literary connectors, lexical stock, theme, chiastic structure, and interrogatives. See D. A. Schneider, "The Unity of the Book of the Twelve" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1979), 147–52; Ronald W. Pierce, "Literary Connectors and a Haggai – Zechariah – Malachi Corpus," *JETS* 27 (1984): 277–89; Ronald W. Pierce, "A Thematic Development of the Haggai – Zechariah – Malachi Corpus," *JETS* 27 (1984): 401–11; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, xliv–lxiii; Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25C (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 34, 38; Paul R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve*, BLS 27 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990); Thedor Lescow, *Das Buch Maläch: Texttheorie—Auslegung—Kanontheorie*, AzTh 75 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1993), 186–87; Theodor Lescow, "Sacharja 1–8: Verkündigung und Komposition," *BN* (1993): 75–99; Lutz Bauer, *Zeit des zweiten Tempels—Zeit der Gerechtigkeit: Zur sozio-ökonomischen Konzeption im Haggai–Sacharja–Maleachi–Korpus*, BEATAJ 31 (New York: Lang, 1992); Kenneth M. Craig, "Interrogatives in Haggai–Zechariah: A Literary Thread?," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 224–44. See, though, my assessment of these attempts in Mark J. Boda, "Messengers of Hope in Haggai–Malachi," *JSOT* 32 (2007): 113–31; see chapter 5 below.

[63] See chapter 8 below; cf. Mark J. Boda, "The Daughter's Joy," in *Daughter Zion: Her Portrait, Her Response*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Carol Dempsey, and LeAnn Snow Flesher, AIL 13 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 321–42.

also develop this important theme of repentance and possibly are evidence of a penitential redaction of the Book of the Twelve as a whole.[64] Because repentance is such a key theme in the book of Zechariah, it is likely that those responsible for the book of Zechariah are also those who were instrumental in bringing the Book of the Twelve together into much of the form we have today. The role of priests within penitential renewal in both Joel and Haggai–Malachi bolsters this conclusion.[65] Finally, the perspective on the relationship between divine and human kingship at Jerusalem in both Micah 4–5 and the Calls to Joy to Jerusalem in Zeph 3, Zech 2 and 9, suggests activity in the Twelve associated with those responsible for the Zecharian tradition.[66]

Composition and History

To this point we have traced evidence for the compositional development of the book of Zechariah. This has been done without significant reference to history, focusing on editorial processes relative to one another. The following now seeks to connect this work with history in order to better understand the context from which these works arose and the audiences to which these words were directed. This is an important step for interpretation, since it provides limits on the meaning of these prophetic messages, forcing the interpreter to seek after the original meaning of the text.

The book of Zechariah contains literary materials, both narratives and a variety of prophetic forms, connected with the prophet Zechariah son of Berachiah son of Iddo. Historical notations in the book (1:1, 7; 7:1) identify the early phase of the reign of the Persian emperor Darius (520, 518 BCE) as the historical context for the origination of at least some of these prophetic materials. Evidence in the content of the narratives and prophecies support the conclusion that the early Persian period is the context in which Zechariah's prophecies arose. This period saw the return of significant numbers of the exilic community from the heart of Mesopotamia to the province of Yehud, as well as the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem. These two initiatives necessitated renewal of political structures and economic infrastructure within the province. The first part of the book of Zechariah (chs. 1–8) is filled with evidence of the people's return (Zech 2:8 [Eng. 2:4],

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[64] See chapter 9 below; cf. Mark J. Boda, "Penitential Innovations in the Book of the Twelve," in *On Stone and Scroll: A Festschrift for Graham Davies*, ed. Brian A. Mastin, Katharine J. Dell, and James K. Aitken, BZAW 420 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 291–308.
[65] See chapter 10 below; cf. Mark J. Boda, "Penitential Priests in the Twelve," in *Priests and Cult in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, ANEM 14 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 51–64.
[66] See chapter 8 below; cf. Boda, "Daughter's Joy."

10–11 [Eng. 2:6–7]; 6:10, 15; 8:2, 4–5, 7–8, 23), the deity's return (1:3, 16; 2:9 [Eng. 2:5], 14–17 [Eng. 2:10–13]; 8:3, 8), the state's reconstruction (1:16–17; 2:5–9 [Eng. 2:1–5]; 4:1–6a; 4:6b–10a; 8:9), and political (3:1–10; 4:6b–10a, 14; 6:9–15) and economic (1:17; 3:10; 8:10–13) renewal. It also contains evidence of a recent period of great disruption in the community's experience (1:12; 2:1–4 [Eng. 1:18–21]; 2:10–12 [Eng. 2:6–8]; 3:2; 4:7; 7:3, 5, 7, 11–14; 8:14). While the spatial focus is on Jerusalem (1:12, 14, 16, 17; 2:2 [Eng. 1:19]; 2:6, 8, 11, 14, 16 [Eng. 2:2, 4, 7, 10, 12]; 3:2; 7:7; 8:2, 3, 4, 8, 15, 22), Judah (1:12; 2:2, 4 [Eng. 1:19, 21]; 2:16 [Eng. 2:12]; 7:7, 14; 8:13, 15, 19), and temple (1:16; 2:17 [Eng. 2:13]; 3:7; 4:6b–10a; 6:12, 13, 14, 15; 8:9) throughout Zech 1–8, there are also references to the former northern kingdom (2:2 [Eng. 1:19]; 8:13) and the exilic community, especially in Babylon (2:10–13 [Eng. 2:6–9]; 5:11; 6:6, 8, 10, 15).

Similar evidence, however, can be discerned in the second part of the book of Zechariah (chs. 9–14). Jerusalem (9:9, 10, 13; 12:2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; 13:1; 14:2, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 21), Judah (9:7, 13; 10:3, 6; 11:14; 12:2, 4, 5, 6, 7; 14:5, 14, 21), and the temple (9:8; 11:13; 14:20–21) continue to dominate the spatial landscape, with less focus on the former northern kingdom (9:10, 13; 10:6, 7; 11:14; 12:11) and the exilic community (9:12; 10:6, 8–11). A return of the community can be discerned in 9:11–13 and 10:6–10. Return of the deity and his presence is explicitly noted in 9:8 in connection with the temple and in 9:14–15; 10:5 in connection with the people. Political renewal appears to be an important theme, and this renewal is focused on figures associated with Jerusalem (see especially the king in 9:9–10 and the shepherd in 11:13, both of whom are connected with Jerusalem or its temple; cf. references to shepherds in 10:2–3; 11:3; 13:7; to the house of David in 12:7–8, 10, 12–13; 13:1, and to other leadership images in 10:4). Economic renewal is noted in 9:17; 10:1. Missing, however, from Zech 9–14 is any reference to reconstruction. This is the first indication that Zech 9–14 may be related to a later phase of the early Persian period.

The dates found in 1:1, 7; 7:1 appear to be related to the period when the prophet Zechariah received and first presented his prophetic revelation and do not provide any precise information as to the date when this prophetic material was drawn together. This date would have to be after the final date given in the book in 7:1: the fourth day of the ninth month in the fourth year of Darius (7 December 518 BCE).[67] The dominant view among English commentators today is that Zech 1–8 was in largely the form we have it today shortly after the date provided in 7:1, since there is no mention of the completion of the temple, which was completed, according to Ezra 6:15, on the third day of the month of Adar in the sixth year of Darius (12 March 515 BCE).[68] Many believe the dedication of this second temple

[67] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 379.

[68] David J. A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1984), 95; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra–Nehemiah: A*

was the occasion which prompted the creation of the book, possibly combined with the book of Haggai.[69] Although it is likely that the book of Haggai was formed in connection with rituals related to the building of the second temple, possibly as a foundation deposit,[70] the lack of reference to the completion of the temple in Zech 1–8 is not necessarily due to the fact that the book was completed prior to the temple, but that the temple project itself was a point of concern for Zechariah and his prophetic disciples, suggested by the critical tone of Zech 7–8.[71] Although one cannot link the material in Zech 1–8 to the dedication of the temple, there is nothing in this literary section that would suggest that it arose at any other period than shortly after the date identified in Zech 7:1. The temple is not completed, and there is strong hope that others will arrive who will bring this project to completion. The book would have provided a countertestimony to any idealistic hopes attached to the completion of the temple, reminding the readers of the multidimensional renewal outlined by Zechariah.

Zechariah 1–8 appears to reflect the dynamics of the period identified in Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1, but Zech 9–14 is a bit more challenging. Scholars have proposed dates for this material ranging from the eighth to second centuries BCE.[72] The identification of 11:12–13 with the prophet Jeremiah in Matt 27:9–10 as well as the similarity in style between Zech 9–14 and earlier prophetic writings (Isaiah–Ezekiel) have suggested to many a preexilic era.[73] This view, however, has been seriously challenged, with the majority of scholars for most of the twentieth century dating the material to the Greek and/or Maccabean periods.[74] This Greek dating is based

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Commentary, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1988), 129. First Esdras 7:5 has twenty-third day, thus 1 April 515.

[69] See Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, xlvii.

[70] See Boda, "Dystopia"; Mark J. Boda, "Haggai, Book of," in *NIDB* 2:715–18.

[71] See Boda, "Master Mason."

[72] Andrew E. Hill, "Dating Second Zechariah: A Linguistic Reexamination," *HAR* 6 (1982): 105–34; Paul L. Redditt, "Nehemiah's First Mission and the Date of Zechariah 9–14," *CBQ* 56 (1994): 664–78.

[73] See Joseph Mede, *Dissertationum ecclesiasticarum triga: ... Quibus accedunt Fragmenta sacra* (London: 1653), 89, for an early connection between Zech 11:12–13 and Jeremiah. Mede focuses on Zech 9–11 as Jeremianic, while others have also included Zech 12–14; cf. Richard Kidder, *The Demonstration of the Messiah*, vol. 2 (London: 1700), 2:199; William Whiston, *An Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (London: 1722), 94.

[74] See, e.g., J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 4th ed. (Göttingen: C. E. Rosenbusch, 1824), 444, who placed part of Zech 9–14 in the Greek period and part in the Maccabean period; and Bernhard Stade, "Deuterosacharja: Eine kritische Studie III," *ZAW* 2 (1882): 275–309, who places all of the corpus in the Greek period (306–278 BCE). More recently, see Nicholas Ho Fai Tai, *Prophetie als Schriftauslegung in Sacharja 9–14:*

largely on three pieces of evidence in Zech 9–14: the depiction of the march of a warrior from north to south in the Levant in 9:1–8, the mention of the Greeks in 9:13, and the focus on Egypt in chapters 10 and 14.[75] The first piece of evidence is read in light of the movements of Alexander the Great in the Levant, the second read in light of Greek domination which followed his arrival, and the third in light of the role played by the Greek Ptolemies in Egypt in the third century BCE. In addition, connections between the tension in chapter 11 and the split between Jews and Samaritans, as well as between the material in Zech 12–14 and later apocalyptic materials, has only encouraged a late dating of this corpus.[76]

While the placement of this text after Zech 1–8 suggests that it is part of later developments in the Zecharian tradition, there is no definitive reason to date the material to a period as late as the fourth century BCE.[77] The reality is that the Greeks were a major player in the ancient world as early as Darius's rule, and the Levant lay in the buffer zone between the Persians and Greeks, especially in terms of trade. Additionally, the depiction of the warrior's march in 9:1–8 does not match Alexander's conquest of the Levant. The mention of Egypt in Zech 10 could indicate many eras in ancient Near Eastern history and is certainly not restricted to the period when the Greek Ptolemies ruled Egypt. While Egypt was an important geo-political region for the Achaemenid emperors of the early Persian Period, most likely the references to Egypt in Zech 10 and 14 are simply indicative of Egypt's role as a traditional people group, drawn from early biblical materials. References to Aram and Phoenicia as key geo-political units in 9:1–8 fit the early Persian period.[78] Possibly the reference to weighing out silver in Zech 11:12 favors an earlier date, since coinage increasingly dominated mercantile trade after 400 BCE.[79] Furthermore, apocalyptic features are not necessarily an indication of

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Traditions- und kompositionsgeschichtliche Studien, Calwer Theologische Monographien 17 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1996), 290, who places it at the time of Alexander's arrival in 332; and Floyd, *Minor Prophets*, 306, 16, who places it in the early Greek period (330–300).

[75] Some have found other evidence for this later period in the mention of three evil shepherds in 11:8 and the pierced one in 12:10; however, since such figures can be found at any given era in history, this is not independent evidence. For interpretations of the three shepherds, see Paul L. Redditt, "The Two Shepherds in Zechariah 11:4–17," *CBQ* 55 (1993): 676–86.

[76] See, e.g., E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 2nd ed., KAT 12 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1929), 561.

[77] See esp. Redditt, "Nehemiah's First Mission," 666–67.

[78] See commentary in Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 530–60.

[79] See Ephraim Stern, *The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538–332 B.C.E.* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1982), 215; Charles E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study*, JSOTSup 294 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 268–76.

a date in the Hellenistic period, and there is evidence of sociological tension between the population of the province of Samaria and that of Yehud from the early Persian period (Ezra 1–6; Neh 1–13).

In general, since the material found in Zech 9–14 is so heavily reliant on earlier biblical materials and is more universal in its depiction of the situation on earth, it is difficult to ascertain a precise historical context. However, recent works have provided evidence that links Zech 9–14 to the early Persian period. Hanson's analysis of apocalyptic forms links the texts in Zech 9–14 to a period ranging from the mid-sixth century BCE (Zech 9, thus prior to Zech 1–8) through the late fifth century (Zech 14).[80] Hill's analysis of the language of Zech 10–14 links these texts to the period 515–475.[81] Finally, Redditt's socio-literary analysis of Zech 9–14 links these texts to the early Persian period ranging from 515 to 445, favoring the social setting of the Yehudite community after Nehemiah's restoration of Jerusalem in 445 BCE.[82] Many have followed these studies combined with other evidence in recent years.[83]

My own intertextual analysis of Zech 11:4–16 has linked this text to the end of Zerubbabel's tenure as governor over Yehud (ca. 510 BCE) and the rise of Elnathan/Shelomith to power in Yehud, events linked to the loss of hope for Davidic royal dominion over the traditional lands of Israel.[84] Zechariah 9–10 express hope for the reunification of the former northern and southern kingdoms and for the renewal of the Davidic throne, and this hope, coupled with the reference to the temple ("my house") in 9:8 (cf. 11:13; 14:20–21), suggests that these texts have arisen in the period between the dedication of the temple (third of Adar, sixth year of Darius; 12 March 515 BCE; Ezra 6:15) and the end of Zerubbabel's tenure (ca. 510). Evidence of a drought in 10:1 is consistent with conditions attested in other texts from the late sixth century BCE (Hag 1:6, 11; 2:15–19; Zech 8:12), as is allusion to idolatry in 10:2, since idolatry was eradicated in the Persian period.[85]

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[80] Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 324, 400.

[81] Hill, "Dating," 105.

[82] Redditt, "Nehemiah's First Mission"; Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, 99–100.

[83] Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 25–26: 538–450 BCE; Raymond F. Person, *Second Zechariah and the Deuteronomic School*, JSOTSup 167 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 13, 18: 520–458; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 5–9: mid-fifth century; Julia M. O'Brien, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2004), 232: mid-fifth century; Anthony Robert Petterson, *Behold Your King: The Hope for the House of David in the Book of Zechariah*, LHBOTS 513 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 3: early Persian period.

[84] Boda, "Reading between the Lines" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9.

[85] See commentary in Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 595–609.

There is evidence of some progression in the section, as the northern and southern tribes are used by Yahweh to defeat the nations and usher in prosperity (9:11–17), but then Yahweh saves the southern tribe Judah for the purpose of saving the northern tribes (10:4–12).

The significant shift in content, form, and structure in chapters 12–14 (see Compositional History above) suggests that these texts reflect the period after the revelation found in 11:4–16. Hope for renewal of the Davidic house endures in chapters 12–13 (12:7–8, 12–13; 13:1), although there appear to be modifications to the hope, including a greater focus on the broader Judean community (12:7–8), and possibly a shift in the royal line (Nathan, 12:12) and the priestly line with whom the Davidic leaders will collaborate (Shimei, 12:13). Chapter 14 may reflect further or at least parallel developments in the royal hope with its reference to the kingship of Yahweh (14:9). Chapters 12–14 reflect a sociological context in which Jerusalem and the broader province of Yehud are presented as separate entities with some tension between the two. Such a tension may reflect a period when Jerusalem had risen in status and thus rivaled other regions within the province. The status of Jerusalem was elevated at two different points in the early Persian period. The first was the period related to the returns under Zerubbabel and Joshua and the reconstruction of the temple (520–515 BCE). Ezra 1–6, Haggai, and Zech 1–8 reveal the considerable resources which were directed towards the temple construction at Jerusalem by the Jewish community in Mesopotamia and the Persian crown in the period from 520 to 515. The second was the period related to the activity of Nehemiah beginning in 445, which saw the restoration of the city. Nehemiah 7:4–5 and 11:1–2 reveal that, although the Temple Mount had been restored, the city proper had not prospered demographically in the period following the dedication of the temple. Since Nehemiah's activity was focused on wall construction, these demographic challenges were probably linked to the lack of infrastructure in the city, especially the absence of a protective wall, and the abundance of destruction. Nehemiah's policy of restoring Jerusalem to its former political role in the region as well as his policy of importing people from outlying areas of the province into Jerusalem (Neh 11:1–2) would have created the kind of socio-political shift that would explain the inner-Yehudite tension suggested at points throughout Zech 12–14. This second era (445–433) is the most likely period for Zech 12–14.[86]

Thus, the core oracular material in chapters 9–10 most likely arose in the period ca. 515–510 BCE; the core shepherd sign-act in 11:4–16, along with the shepherd pieces in 10:1–3; 11:1–3; 11:17 and possibly also 13:7–9, arose in the

[86] References to Benjamin's Gate (cf. Jer 20:2; 37:13; 38:7) and the Corner Gate (2 Kgs 14:13; 2 Chr 26:9; Jer 31:38) in Zech 14:10 may indicate that the texts arose at the outset of Nehemiah's renewal, because these gates were not rebuilt by Nehemiah according to Neh 3:1–32. See Redditt, "Nehemiah's First Mission," 675–76.

post-ca. 510 period; and the oracular material in chapters 12–14 arose in the period after 510, most likely during the period of Nehemiah's governorship in 445–433. The close association between the shepherd piece in 13:7–9 and its surrounding context (chs. 12–14), as well as the employment of the identical superscriptions in 9:1 and 12:1, suggests that the final complex of Zech 9–14 was drawn together at this last (or latest) date. In light of the connectivity identified between Haggai and Zech 1–8 and Zech 9–14, this also would be the date for the first readers of the combined book of Zechariah and, shortly after this, a collection comprised of Haggai–Malachi and possibly an early version of the Book of the Twelve existed.

Thus, while there are earlier audiences for the material found in the book of Zechariah, especially the community living in the region of Jerusalem and Yehud during the late sixth century BCE, this book in its final form is addressed to those living in the mid- to late-fifth century. The book functions as a supplemental vision to that represented by Nehemiah's infrastructural initiatives, reminding both priestly and political leaders of Yahweh's desire for a renewal that moved beyond physical restoration. The shaping of the book of Nehemiah suggests that such a vision of renewal was ultimately adopted by Nehemiah.[87]

Moving Forward

This orientation to my overall argument for the development of the Book of Zechariah and its role within the Twelve, provides perspective for the remaining chapters of this volume which will provide the details of arguments for the later phases of this composition history.

To consider these later phases I focus in chapters 2–3 on Zech 7–8, analyzing it for evidence of its role in the development of Zechariah and Haggai/Zech 1–8. "From Fasts to Feasts" highlights the role of the base level of Zech 7–8 (Zech 7:1–14; 8:14–23 as a conclusion to Zech 1–8 and a fitting transition to Zechariah 9–14. Chapter 3, "Echoes of Salvation," then shows how Zech 8:1–13, which draws from both Zech 1–6 and Hag 1–2, reflects efforts to bring together Haggai and Zech 1–8 into a collection.

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[87] Mark J. Boda, "Redaction in the Book of Nehemiah: A Fresh Proposal," in *Unity and Disunity of Ezra–Nehemiah: Redaction, Rhetoric, Reader*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Paul Redditt, HBM 17 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2008), 25–54; Mark J. Boda, "Prayer as Rhetoric in the Book of Nehemiah," in *New Perspectives on Ezra–Nehemiah: History and Historiography, Text, Literature, and Interpretation*, ed. Isaac Kalimi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 279–96.

The chapters which follow then shift attention to evidence for a broader collection of Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi. In Chapter 4, "Figuring the Future," I investigate the presentation of royal, priestly, and prophetic figures within Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, providing insight into the hopes attached to these figures in the early Persian Period. This evidence is extended in Chapter 5, "Messengers of Hope," to argue that while each section within Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (Haggai, Zech 1–8, Zech 9–14, Malachi) displays its own integrity, and thus a unique compositional history, the corpus as a whole is witness to a developing tradition, the resulting literature of which has been unified around the night vision series of Zech 1–8 through the insertion of the phrase מלאך יהוה. At the end of this chapter I note the possible role played by those responsible for the Haggai–Malachi corpus in the shaping of the Book of the Twelve and even the broader Hebrew canon, a suggestion to which I will return in the final chapter of the second volume of *Exploring Zechariah.* In Chapter 6, "Perspectives on Priests in Haggai–Malachi," I trace a consistent but developing critical stance towards the priestly caste from Haggai to Malachi. This evidence is deepened and extended in Chapter 7, "Priestly Expansions within Haggai–Malachi," as I investigate attention to the priestly as well as royal streams and implications of this evidence for the development of the Haggai–Malachi corpus.

Having provided evidence for the composition and cohesion of a Haggai–Malachi corpus with some suggestions of broader implications for the Book of the Twelve, I then proceed in the final series of chapters to investigate connections between this Haggai–Malachi corpus and the broader collection of the Twelve (Hosea–Malachi). Chapter 8, "Babylon in the Book of the Twelve," points to the "Daughter of Zion" Call to Joy tradition appearing in Zeph 3, Zech 2 and 9 as evidence of efforts to incorporate the Haggai–Malachi collection into the Book of the Twelve. The close relationship between this Zion tradition and the Babylon tradition in Mic 4–5 is highlighted to show striking similarities in vision for the future of the royal house, suggesting that Mic 4–5 has been shaped in line with what is observed in Haggai–Malachi. Chapter 9, "Penitential Innovations within the Twelve," showcases connections between Joel and Jonah based on penitential themes, noting striking similarities to the agenda for repentance which is key to the Haggai–Malachi collection. These connections are bolstered further by Chapter 10, "Penitential Priests in the Twelve," drawing on the emphasis on the role of priests in both Joel and Haggai–Malachi. These two chapters highlight key rhetorical expectations of the Twelve as a whole: focused on the intersection of penitence and priesthood, two themes developed most fully in Haggai–Malachi. The final chapter, Chapter 11 "A Deafening Call to Silence," highlights another rhetorical expectation of the Twelve as a whole in which the book of Zechariah plays a key role: three "Calls to Silence" appear in Hab 2, Zeph 1, and Zech 2, coinciding with the silencing of prayer and protest within the Twelve. Interspersed among

these calls to silence, however, are three "Calls to Joy" addressed to Daughter of Zion and appearing in Zeph 3, Zech 2 and Zech 9. These forms highlight a rhetorical agenda which intersects in Zechariah, further evidence that Zechariah played a key role in the development of the Twelve.

These various arguments highlight the importance of Zechariah to the development of the prophetic tradition, in particular, to the prophetic books associated with the Persian period (Haggai–Malachi) but also to the tradition of prophetic books gathered together from various eras in the Book of the Twelve. They suggest that those associated with Zechariah and his tradition were instrumental in shaping the message of the "earlier prophets" as preserved in the literary corpus of the Book of the Twelve. This conclusion based on study of the compositional development of Zechariah, will be echoed and extended in the second volume which shifts attention to inner biblical allusion within Zechariah.

2
From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8[1]

Having sketched out my approach to the development of Zechariah in the opening chapter, I now move to more focused studies on those sections lying beyond the inner core of the vision report-oracles often considered core to the Zecharian collection. In this chapter we investigate the role of Zech 7–8 within the book of Zechariah in which it functions as conclusion to Zech 1–8 while transitioning the reader to Zech 9–14.

The majority of scholars over the past two centuries have treated Zech 9–14 as a corpus distinct from Zech 1–8.[2] This direction of research was inaugurated by the attempts of Christian theologians who, struggling with the New Testament attribution of Zech 11:13 to the prophet Jeremiah (Matt 27:9), identified literary distinctions between the two parts of Zechariah. Scholars noticed that while chapters 1–8 contain a series of three superscriptions that combine date and messenger formulae to introduce the sections (1:1, 7; 7:1), chapters 9–14 have a different series of superscriptions ("An oracle. The word of Yahweh," משׂא דבר־יהוה),

[1] Based on my original publication, Mark J. Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 390–407. Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume.

[2] For a review of literature on this and other issues raised in this article see Mark J. Boda, "Majoring on the Minors: Recent Research on Haggai and Zechariah," *CurBR* 2 (2003): 33–68; Mark J. Boda, *Haggai and Zechariah Research*, Tools for Biblical Study 5 (Leiden: Deo, 2003).

which creates a bipartite structure (see 9:1; 12:1). They also observed that the prophet Zechariah, who plays such an important role in both the narrative sections and the prophetic messages in the first part, is absent from the second. In addition, stylistic and lexical distinctions between the two sections led most scholars to conclude that the two corpora were distinct in origin and were related only by scribal practice. First Julius Wellhausen and later, more thoroughly, Otto Plöger and Paul D. Hanson applied these literary observations to sociological analysis, suggesting a deeply divided community in the Persian period with two distinct outlooks: one theocratic and status quo (Zech 1–8) and the other eschatological and revolutionary (Zech 9–14).[3] One stream within recent research on the Book of the Twelve has strengthened the distinction between the two parts of the book of Zechariah by relegating chapters 9–14 to the final stage in the development of the Book of the Twelve as a whole.[4] Scholars who have not been convinced by this evidence argue for unity based on literary style, rhetorical form, lexical connections, and canonical shape.[5] Although in an earlier era this minority voice was

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[3] Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, trans. J. S. Black and A. Menzies (Edinburgh: Black, 1885); Otto Plöger, *Theocratie und Eschatologie*, 3rd ed., WMANT 2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968); Eng. trans. Otto Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, trans. S. Rudman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968); Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979).

[4] For a review see Aaron Schart, "Redactional Models: Comparisons, Contrasts, Agreements, Disagreements," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers Part Two*, SBLSP 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 893–908; Paul L. Redditt, "Recent Research on the Book of the Twelve as One Book," *CurBS* 9 (2001): 47–80; Boda, "Majoring." Not all recent scholars see Zech 9–14 as a late inclusion in the Book of the Twelve; some take it as part of a Haggai–Malachi corpus formed prior to its incorporation into the Book of the Twelve. See, especially, James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993); James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993); Paul L. Redditt, "Zechariah 9–14: The Capstone of the Book of the Twelve," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 305–32.

[5] See Joyce G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1972), 68–69; Meredith G. Kline, "The Structure of the Book of Zechariah," *JETS* 34 (1991): 179–93. Michael L. Ruffin, "Symbolism in Zechariah: A Study in Functional Unity" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1986), exploits the symbolism of the book to argue for unity; see also Mike Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, JSOTSup 130 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 273–74.

restricted mainly to conservative scholarship,[6] in recent years critical scholars have taken this position, based on the strategies of tradition, form, rhetorical, and canonical criticism.

Several scholars have used traditio-historical features to forge a link between the two sections of Zechariah, highlighting similarities in ideology.[7] Themes that were often noted include the Zion tradition, the cleansing of the community, the judgment and conversion of nations, the ingathering of exiles, the appeal to the earlier prophets, and the provision of leadership as a sign of the new age. These traditional similarities have led these scholars to conclude that the two sections are the product of similar rather than opposing groups.

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[6] Edward J. Young, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950), 273; R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament: With a Comprehensive Review of Old Testament Studies and a Special Supplement on the Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 956; Baldwin, *Haggai*, 68–69, 81, James A. Hartle, "The Literary Unity of Zechariah," *JETS* 35 (1992): 145–57; Eugene H. Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Exegetical Commentary* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1994), 61–85. See Kline's proposal based on literary concentricity: Kline, "The Structure of the Book of Zechariah" = Meredith G. Kline, *Glory in Our Midst: A Biblical-Theological Reading of Zechariah's Night Visions* (Overland Park, KS: Two Age, 2001).

[7] Rex A. Mason, "The Use of Earlier Biblical Material in Zechariah IX–XIV: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis" (PhD diss., University of London, 1973), esp. 306 = Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, eds., *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003); Rex A. Mason, "The Relation of Zech 9–14 to Proto-Zechariah," *ZAW* 88 (1976): 227–39; Rex A. Mason, "Some Examples of Inner Biblical Exegesis in Zech. IX–XIV," in *Studia Evangelica Vol. 7: Papers Presented to the 5th International Congress on Biblical Studies Held at Oxford, 1973.*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, TUGAL 126 (Berlin: Akademie, 1982), 343–54 (353); Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 482–83; Douglas A. Witt, "Zechariah 12–14: Its Origins, Growth and Theological Significance" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1991), 146; Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25C (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 27; Butterworth, *Structure*, 296 (who notes that the vocabulary of the two sections is significantly different and yet the themes are similar, he sees "no overall editorial shaping of Zechariah"); Konrad R. Schaefer, "Zechariah 14 and the Formation of the Book of Zechariah" (SSD diss., Ecole biblique et archéologique française, 1992); Konrad R. Schaefer, "The Ending of the Book of Zechariah: A Commentary," *RB* 100 (1993): 165–238; Konrad R. Schaefer, "Zechariah 14 and the Composition of the Book of Zechariah," *RB* 100 (1993): 368–98; Konrad R. Schaefer, "Zechariah 14: A Study in Allusion," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 66–91; Raymond F. Person, *Second Zechariah and the Deuteronomic School*, JSOTSup 167 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); Risto Nurmela, *Prophets in Dialogue: Inner-Biblical Allusions in Zechariah 1–8 and 9–14* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University, 1996).

Several others have used form-critical evidence to suggest a unified book.[8] Beginning with a dissertation written by Richard Weis, the results of which were published in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* and also picked up in modified form by fellow Claremont scholar Michael Floyd, this approach takes its lead from the superscriptions which appear at the beginning of Zech 9 and 12: the enigmatic משׂא.[9] This word is interpreted as a formal tag that identifies the following material as an interpretation of a preceding prophetic corpus. With slight variations, these scholars see Zech 9–11 as a reinterpretation of Zech 1–8 and Zech 12–14 as a reinterpretation of Zech 1–11.[10]

In recent years, a third approach for uniting the parts of Zechariah has emerged, one that emphasizes the relationship between the final form of the text and the reader. This stream of research can be discerned as early as David Petersen's commentaries on Zechariah when he asserts that Zech 1–8 and 9–14 share the same "canonical" author, that is, Zechariah ben Berechiah.[11] The implications of this statement are developed more thoroughly in Marvin Sweeney's contribution to the Berit Olam series. Sweeney admits that the authorship of Zechariah is in question, but that "it is clearly designed to be read as a single work that depicts both the visions and the oracles or pronouncements of the prophet Zechariah."[12] In this final form the overall structure of the book is defined by the chronological statements in Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1, so that 7:1–14:21 is presented as "a major thematic

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[8] Here we should also mention the earlier work of Hartmut Gese, "Anfang und Ende der Apokalyptik, dargestellt am Sacharjabuch," *ZTK* 70 (1973): 20–49, who linked the fusion of Zech 1–8 with 9–14 to their common heritage in apocalyptic and the work of Yehuda T. Radday and Dieter Wickmann, "Unity of Zechariah Examined in the Light of Statistical Linguistics," *ZAW* 87 (1975): 30–55, who argued for the unity of Zech 1–11 based on linguistic evidence, but see Stephen L. Portnoy and David L. Petersen, "Biblical Texts and Statistical Analysis: Zechariah and Beyond," *JBL* 103 (1984): 11–21.

[9] Richard Weis, "A Definition of the Genre Massa' in the Hebrew Bible" (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1986); Richard Weis, "Oracle," in *ABD* 5:28–29; Michael H. Floyd, *Minor Prophets, Part 2*, FOTL 22 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000); Michael H. Floyd, "The Maśśā' as a Type of Prophetic Book," *JBL* 121 (2002): 401–22; Michael H. Floyd, "Deutero-Zechariah and Types of Intertextuality," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 225–44.

[10] For these variations see Boda, "Majoring"; Boda, *Haggai and Zechariah Research*.

[11] David L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 3; cf. David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1984), 109 n. 2.

[12] Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 2:566–67.

block concerned with the restoration of Jerusalem and Judah."[13] Chapters 9–11 and 12–14 spell out the process by which the transformation expected in Zech 7–8 (from mourning to rejoicing as nations recognize Yahweh).[14] This approach is taken to an extreme in the commentary by Edgar Conrad, who treats the book of Zechariah as a unity within the broader corpus of Haggai–Malachi, which is, in turn, subsumed within the larger complex of the Book of the Twelve.[15] Conrad avoids reflection on the historical context(s) of the book of Zechariah in favor of the literary world created by text and reader.

In this chapter, I will offer support for this recent focus on the unity of the book of Zechariah by highlighting redactional processes and rhetorical features of Zech 7–8, the section that lies at the traditional boundary between Zech 1–8 and 9–14.[16] I propose that these chapters provide an appropriate literary bridge from the visions and oracles of Zech 1–6, with their predominantly positive focus on the present, to the prophetic utterances in Zech 9–14, with their eschatological hopes and warnings. In chapters 7–8 the Zecharian editors fused together various messages delivered by Zechariah in order to explain the fact that a new age was still not inaugurated. This prepared the way ultimately for the addition of Zech 9–14 to this collection, a prophetic complex that represents the enduring legacy of the prophet Zechariah transmitted by his prophetic disciples, who continue to question the validity of the present Jerusalemite hierarchy and community without abandoning hope of future renewal.

Redaction and Structure of Zechariah 7–8

The superscriptions in the book of Zechariah clearly mark chapters 7–8 as a distinct section of the prophetic work. On the one side, the superscription (messenger, dating formula) at the outset of the pericope clearly distinguishes chapters 7–8 from the night vision in 1:7–6:15, which was introduced by a similar superscription in 1:7. At the same time, Zech 7–8 is differentiated from the material in chapters 9–14 by the appearance in 9:1 of the Hebrew word משׂא, the first of two

[13] Ibid., 2:636.

[14] Sweeney does believe, however, that chs. 9–11 and 12–14 are from writer(s) other than the prophet, but are now presented as the prophet's pronouncements

[15] Edgar W. Conrad, *Zechariah*, Readings (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).

[16] Notice the similar conclusions in R. David Moseman, "Interpreting the Dissonance and Unity of Zechariah: A Holistic Reading with Special Attention to Chapter 9" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 2000); R. David Moseman, "Reading the Two Zechariahs as One," *RevExp* 97 (2000): 487–98, who strives for a balance between the various approaches that accentuate discontinuity between the two sections of Zechariah and those which highlight continuity between them. Though Moseman is aware of distinctions between the two corpora, he attempts to bring out an overall flow of the canonical book.

occurrences following chapter 8 (cf. 12:1). While this evidence does demarcate the limits of Zech 7–8, it does not preclude a relationship between chapters 7–8 and the sections that precede and follow them. Before examining this relationship in detail, however, we do well to take a closer look at Zech 7–8 and the matter of this section's integrity.

Initial Observations

The first three verses (7:1–3) and the final six (8:18–23) appear closely connected at first because they form a complete question-and-answer scheme and contain a play on words and motifs featuring the appearance of an individual with a foreign name (Sharezer) in Jerusalem to "entreat the face of Yahweh" (לחלות את־פני יהוה) at the outset and then foreigners coming with Jews to Jerusalem to "entreat the face of Yahweh" (לחלות את־פני יהוה) at the end.[17] However, there is some question as to the nature of the intervening material and the validity of assuming that it had any part in an original prophetic speech by Zechariah.

Zechariah 7–8 begins with a high ranking official from Bethel appearing in Jerusalem with his associates to seek clarification from Yahweh on a liturgical matter: whether the people in Bethel should continue their practice of fasting in the fifth month, which they have maintained throughout the seventy years since the fall of Jerusalem (7:3).[18] As Zechariah opens his mouth to speak in 7:5, he

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[17] This phrase is used in contexts where people are seeking relief from difficult circumstances (Exod 32:11; 1 Sam 13:12; 1 Kgs 13:6; 2 Kgs 13:4; Jer 26:19; Dan 9:13; Ps 119:58; Mal 1:9). This shows that the question asked here is not a detached request for liturgical direction but, rather, a muted plea to God to bring an end to the period of discipline. Differently Baldwin, *Haggai*, 143, who, based on Mal 1:9, identifies this phrase as "a current expression for sacrifice and worship at the temple." The other references Baldwin cites show that sacrifice is not assumed in this expression, although in Malachi sacrifice appears to be used to entreat God's favor.

[18] There is considerable debate over the personnel and destination of the delegation described in 7:2, owing to two related difficulties in the text: the subject of the verb "sent" and the function of the word "Bethel." The Hebrew text contains a list of people who must be the object of the transitive verb "sent": "Sharezer and Regem-Melech together with their men" (a list which cannot be broken apart without textual emendation in the Hebrew text, that is, Sharezer cannot be the subject of the verb "sent"). The term "Bethel" has been interpreted in various ways, with some commentators linking it to the name Sharezer (so Bethel-shar-ezer), and others treating it as a place-name that is the subject of the verb "sent" (Bethel sent) or the indirect object of the verb "sent" (sent to Bethel). If this latter option is adopted, then the subject of the verb "sent" either is Darius (Zech 7:1) or has dropped out entirely. The solution with the least difficulties is that Bethel is the subject of the verb, a reference to the people of the town of Bethel; see J. P. Hyatt, "A Neo-Babylonian Parallel

appears to be on topic ("fasting"), but there are a few problems with his answer. First, instead of answering the question in the indicative or imperative, he appears to speak on the topic ("fasting"), but there are a few problems with his answer. First, instead of answering the question in the indicative or imperative, he shifts to the interrogative mood, responding to a question with a question. Second, instead of addressing the present generation, he moves quickly to a review of the sins of former generations. Third, instead of answering the question concerning liturgical practice, he directs his attention to the inner motives of the practice before emphasizing ethical and social issues. Things look no better when the reader reaches Zech 8:1. Zechariah moves the focus even farther away from fasting, the agenda of the initial question, as he declares messages about the future hope of the community of the restoration and exhorts "the remnant of this people" to be strong and not to fear. As noted above, it is only when the reader reaches 8:18 that the original question appears to be answered: the somber fasts will become celebrative feasts in the coming transformation that Yahweh will initiate.

This evidence highlights two traits of Zech 7–8. First, in its final form 7:1–8:23 is to be read as a unit. The initial and final pericopae (7:1–3; 8:18–23) create an envelope around the unit and bring resolution to the initial narrative tension.[19] Second, however, is the lengthening of this resolution over the intervening material, with its diverse contents, which strikes many scholars as the handiwork of a later editor. This view of literary irregularity, however, has not been shared by all scholars in recent years. Thus, a consideration of two dissenting voices is in order.

Rhetorical Unity or Redactional Expansion

1. Rhetorical Unity

David Clark pays considerable attention to the rhetorical function of the various formulae used within Zech 7–8.[20] First, he identifies the phrase היה דבר־יהוה ("the word of the Lord came," 7:1, 4, 8; 8:1, 18) as the highest-level structural marker, dividing the passage after the narrative introduction into four main para-

to Bethel-Sar-Eser, Zech 7:2," *JBL* 56 (1937): 387–94; Francis S. North, "Aaron's Rise in Prestige," *ZAW* 66 (1954): 191–99; Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1968), 206–7; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Judean Priesthood during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods: A Hypothetical Reconstruction," *CBQ* 60 (1998): 25–43.

[19] Robert North, "Prophecy to Apocalyptic via Zechariah," in *Congress Volume: Uppsala, 1971*, ed. H. S. Nyberg, VTSup 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 47–74 pares down the original account in Zech 7–8 to 7:1–3 and 8:18–19.

[20] David J. Clark, "Discourse Structure in Zechariah 7:1–8:23," *BT* 36 (1985): 328–35.

graphs. Second, the phrase כה אמר יהוה צבאות ("this is what Yahweh Almighty[21] says", as opposed to the shorter אמר יהוה צבאות, "says Yahweh Almighty" [7:13; 8:14]) divides these paragraphs into subparagraphs. Third, the phrase נאם יהוה ("declares Yahweh") divides the longest paragraph (8:1–17) into three groups of subparagraphs by marking the end of each group (8:1–6, 7–11, 12–17). According to Clark this is evidence of a unified piece.

Table 1

Major Blocks	Sub-Blocks	היה דבר־יהוה	כה אמר יהוה צבאות	נאם יהוה
Zech 7:1–3	7:1–3	7:1		
Zech 7:4–7	7:4–7	7:4		
Zech 7:8–14	7:8–14	7:8		
			7:9	
Zech 8:1–17	8:1–6	8:1		
			8:2, 3, 4, 6	
				8:6
	8:7–11		8:7, 9	
				8:11
	8:12–17			8:17
Zech 8:18–23	8:18–23	8:18		
			8:19, 20, 23	

Mike Butterworth has also examined the rhetorical unity of Zech 7–8 in his study of the structure of the book of Zechariah.[22] Although wary of claims of chiastic structure,[23] Butterworth highlights one for Zech 7–8. This is based on the repetition of vocabulary in a chiastic fashion in chapters 7–8. Similar to Clark's is Butterworth's claim that Zech 7–8 was designed as a rhetorical unity.

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[21] Here, as I explain in Mark J. Boda, *Haggai/Zechariah*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), I follow the lead of the LXX rendering of צבאות in light of the disconnection between this term and military imagery in the prophets of the Persian period.

[22] Butterworth, *Structure*, 149–65, esp. 63. Notice also claims for chiasm in Zech 7–8 in Ben C. Ollenburger, "The Book of Zechariah," in *NIB*, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 7:733–840 (esp. 789–90); Robert B. Chisholm, *Interpreting the Minor Prophets* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1989), 255; Pamela J. Scalise, "An Exegesis of Zechariah 7:4–14 in Its Canonical Context," *Faith and Mission* 3 (1986): 58–65 (esp. 60).

[23] Butterworth's work nurtured my article, Mark J. Boda, "Chiasmus in Ubiquity: Symmetrical Mirages in Nehemiah 9," *JSOT* 71 (1996): 55–70, in which I echoed his concerns.

Table 2

Chiasm	Ref	Lexical/thematic repetitions
Superscription	7:1	
A	7:2	Men of Bethel sent to entreat favor of Yahweh
B	7:3–7	Question about fasting … off-putting reply … remember former prophets
Superscription	7:8	
C	7:9–10	Former prophets said, Render true judgments … do not devise evil
Cd	7:11–12	They refused to hear the words of former prophets
D	7:12b–14	Therefore great wrath came … land became desolate
Superscription	8:1	
de	8:2	Thus … I am jealous with great jealousy and wrath
E	8:3–8a	Remnant of people … save
F	8:8b	They my people and I their God
E	8:9–13	Remnant of people … save
D	8:14–15	Provoked to wrath … now purposed to do good to Jerusalem
C	8:15–17	So now: Render true judgment … do not devise evil …
Superscription	8:18	
B	8:19	Fasts will become feasts
A	8:20–23	Many will come to entreat the favor of Yahweh

Clark and Butterworth are to be commended for highlighting various rhetorical markers and repetitions in the final form of Zech 7–8. However, there is some difficulty in determining whether the rhetorical structure they have identified was intended. Clark's work on the introductory messenger formulae may be better explained with other theories. The regular introduction of Clark's second-level phrase ("this is what Yahweh Almighty says") in 8:1–17 has been identified by many as evidence of originally diverse oracular material being stitched together into a single unit. Furthermore, Clark unconvincingly tries to explain away the presence of his second-level phrase in 8:14 as due to the appearance of the particle כי at the outset of the verse. A serious challenge to Clark's conclusions, however, is the divergence between the structural markers. The lowest-level structural marker, נאם יהוה, uses צבאות (Almighty) in 8:6 and 8:11 but not in 8:17. If it was a rhetorical signal, as Clark suggests, then why was this signal different in the third instance? More damaging still is the evidence that, although 7:1, 4, 8;

8:1, 18 all contain the same construction, היה דבר־יהוה ("the word of Yahweh came"), 7:4 and 8:18 continue with אלי ("to me"), 7:1, 8 add אל־זכריה ("to Zechariah"), but 8:1 has no continuation.[24]

Butterworth's work emphasizes the repetition of lexical stock and is more sensitive to redactional processes.[25] His conclusions do highlight an *inclusio* bracketing the passage as a whole (7:1–14; 8:14–23). Although this may be called a chiasm, is it not just the expected resolution to the questions introduced at the outset? Furthermore, there is a noticeable contrast between Butterworth's evidence from the *inclusio* (7:1–14; 8:14–23) and that from the central pieces in 8:1–13. The *inclusio* has many connecting point, which are arranged in reverse order; but the two central pieces share similar vocabulary only in their conclusions.[26]

These literary observations, which are played down by Butterworth and ignored by Clark, highlight redactional roughness rather than rhetorical unity. In particular, the third-person designation for the prophet in 7:1, 8 appears to be a signal of an addition to the text made by a redactor rather than by a rhetorician creating a literary unity. This evidence prompts a closer examination of the content of these various paragraphs. In this we will seek to discover the relationship of Zechariah's sermon in 7:4–14 and oracles in 8:1–17 with the question and answers of 7:1–3; 8:18–23.

2. Redactional Expansion

(1) *7:1–14*. The question of Sharezer concerned the liturgical practice of fasting by the community at Bethel. Zechariah's immediate response in 7:5 does appear slightly incongruent with the original question, not only, as already mentioned, because he asks a question in return and speaks of the intentions behind fasting, but more importantly because he speaks of fasts in the fifth and seventh months (the latter of which does not appear to be the concern of the Bethel contingent) and because he directs his comments to "all the people of the land and to the priests" (אל־כל־עם הארץ ואל־הכהנים).

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[24] So Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:635, notes this diversity. After writing this piece, I noted that Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic*, OtSt 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 243–45, approaches Zech 7–8 in similar ways.

[25] Even though Butterworth, *Structure*, 151, observes the differences in messenger formulae between 7:1, 8 and 7:4; 8:18, (see previous note), he misses the uniqueness of 8:1.

[26] Butterworth, *Structure*, 164, admits this when he notes that they "are arranged serially rather than chiastically."

What appears at first to be evidence of incongruence is not necessarily such. The final phase of the answer in 8:18–23 assumes a clear expansion of the question in terms of liturgical practice (from the fast of only the fifth month in 7:3 to the fasts of the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months in 8:19a),[27] community definition (from Sharezer in Bethel in 7:2–3 to Yehud in 8:19b), and issue addressed (not just fasting, but ethics in 8:19c). This shows that even the envelope considered original by most scholars evidences an expanded discussion of all fasting liturgy throughout Yehud. It appears that Zechariah is presented as giving Sharezer and his entourage more than they were seeking. He uses this question about a specific situation as a teaching moment for all of Yehud and all of its people's fasting practices.[28]

Such evidence of expansion beyond the original agenda of the Bethel entourage helps us to integrate at least some of the message of the "intervening" sections. Zechariah uses this moment not only to expand the discussion in terms of liturgical and communal extent, but also to move the discussion beyond the ritual level to the question of motives and ethics. He appears to be confronting an attitude in the community of the early Persian period that the building of the physical structure of the temple was evidence of the restoration of the community and the return of God's blessing. He begins by questioning the depth of the people's repentance, that is, whether their fasting is a true reflection of inner sorrow for the patterns of the past. By incorporating the words of the earlier prophets (7:9–10) and then calling the people to the same ethical standards (8:16–17), Zechariah is reminding the community of the purpose of fasting: not merely a cry to God for help, but a repentance of the heart ushering them into a life of faithfulness to the covenant. He also expands their vision of restoration by showing the true signs of God's return to Israel: a rebuilt, prosperous, and peaceful city, to which are flowing not only the Jews of the Diaspora but the nations as well.[29]

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[27] These various dates were probably chosen because events related to the fall of Jerusalem occurred in these months: city walls breached and leaders fled (fourth month; 2 Kgs 25:3–7; Jer 39:1–10; 52:6–11), city destroyed (fifth month; 2 Kgs 25:8–12 // Jer 52:12–16), assassination of Gedaliah (seventh month; 2 Kgs 25:25–26; Jer 41:1–3), beginning of the siege of Jerusalem (tenth month; 2 Kgs 25:1; Jer 39:1). See Ackroyd, *Exile*, 207 n. 122; Mark J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, BZAW 277 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 39. Suggestions by some that, because the Hebrew verb is singular, Zechariah originally spoke of only one fast here are unfounded; see North, "Aaron's Rise," 193. This is a regular construction in Hebrew (see GKC §468f).

[28] This may be evidence that the fasts were not all held by everyone during the Babylonian and Persian periods, but rather that several fast traditions arose commemorating different aspects of the fall of Jerusalem.

[29] Notice also similarities to Dan 9, where one finds the following: seventy years, the practice of liturgy of fasting and prayer; and the lengthening, on account of sin, of the time before the restoration.

Therefore, at least a part of the section that has often been identified as the result of editorial creativity matches the tone of the conclusion of the section in 8:19. Because of this there is no need to argue for tension between the envelope and the entire centerpiece. Does this mean that there is no evidence of editorial activity in these chapters? If the bulk of the material in 7:4–14 resonates with the ultimate answer of Zechariah in 8:19 (more on 7:8 below), is there any passage after 7:14 before 8:19 that returns to Zechariah's address to the Bethel delegation?

(2) *8:14–17*. Zechariah 7:14 ends with the discouraging description of the exile. In prophetic speech, one expects at this point some movement toward an announcement of salvation, offering hope to the audience and/or motivation for repentance. Zechariah 8:19 is too abrupt to be the continuation of the prophetic speech, for it deals only with the activity of fasting and is silent on the reversal of the disaster. The kind of language expected is found in 8:14–17, where the prophet introduces the contrasts of doom and salvation, evil deeds and right, that are typical of prophetic speech, and thus prepares the way for the answer in 8:19. Here we see several points of contact with 7:4–14: Yahweh's anger (7:12; 8:14), second-person address (7:5–6; 8:16), distinction between former and present generations (7:7; 8:15), and use of the messenger formula in the middle of a speech (נאם יהוה, "declares Yahweh," 7:13; 8:17). Zechariah uses a summary of God's determination to discipline the people to introduce God's new intention to bring salvation. This is linked to a full ethical agenda for the community (8:16–17), which resonates with the content of 8:19c.

(3) *8:1–13*. If 8:14–17 is the continuation of Zechariah's original speech to the Bethel entourage, then 8:1–13 represents a later insertion, a point already suggested by the unique messenger formula in 8:1. Most scholars agree that these verses do contain at least two distinct sections, 8:1–8 and 8:9–13. The latter section is a clearly defined unit because of the repetition of the phrase תחזקנה ידיכם ("Let your hands be strong") at the beginning and end (8:9, 13). It is also distinguished from the rest of these chapters by the theme of rebuilding and the allusion to the ceremony of refoundation. Zechariah 8:1–8 has been identified as either a unified oracle or a collection of short oracles, but there is little question that the prophetic content has been arranged as a unit.[30]

Why would these two prophecies have been inserted at this place in Zech 7–8, interrupting the original flow of the prophetic scene? Let us consider a few possibilities. First, even though these two prophetic collections are different, they both conclude with the verb ישׁע ("save"; 8:7, 13) and the phrase שׁארית העם

[30] The unity of 8:1–8 has been argued by Siegfried Mittmann, "Die Einheit von Sacharja 8,1–8," in *Text and Context: Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F. C. Fensham*, ed. Walter Claassen, JSOTSup 48 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 269–82. For the view that this is a collection of short oracles, see, e.g., Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 296–97.

הזה ("remnant of this people"; 8:6, 11). The editor may have been attracted to these Zecharian prophecies in order to introduce the transformation heralded in 8:14–19. Second, these two oracles of salvation announce the reversal of the two great losses associated with the exile, people and land. The people had been scattered (7:14a) and the land had been desolated (7:14b), but God promised a restoration in which the city would be filled with the people of his covenant (8:1–8) and the land would again bear its fruit (8:9–13). Third, both of these prophecies force the reader to reflect on the prophetic promises at the beginning of the rebuilding project. Zechariah 8:1–8 echoes the opening sermon in 1:1–6 (return to Zion, I will bring my people back, covenant relationship) as well as the initial vision in 1:7–17 (1:14–15, jealous for Zion; 1:16; 2:14–15, promise of return), while 8:9–13 is a reminder of the ceremony of the foundation of the temple (Zech 4; cf. Hag 2).[31] It is possible that the editor has included these prophetic pieces to remind the people of the picture of the restoration that had been promised but had not yet arrived; that is, they remind the reader that the reason these promises remain unfulfilled is that the people are replicating the patterns of the earlier generation.[32]

(4) *7:1, 8*. There are two other places in these chapters where there appears to be evidence of a later editorial insertion. The dating and messenger formulae in 7:1 are similar to previous formulae found in Zechariah, and yet the combination used in this case is unique. The oddest characteristic is the awkward use of the messenger formula "the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah" in the middle of the dating formula "In the fourth year of King Darius … on the fourth day of the ninth month, in Kislev" (cf. Hag 1:1, 15; 2:1, 10, 20; Zech 1:1, 7).[33] It is interesting that the other instance of clear editorial activity also involves the use of the phrase "the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah" (7:8). A question arises as to the function of the previous verse (7:7), where Zechariah asks the last of three questions directed at the people, employing an ambiguous demonstrative pronoun: "Are these not the words Yahweh proclaimed through the earlier prophets?" With this question, the prophet makes a transition in his speech from the present to the past generation. By verses 11 and 12, the prophet is depicting the refusal of the past generation to listen to the words of the earlier prophets. The difficulty, however, is in determining which of Zechariah's words summarize the words of the earlier prophets. Some commentators have suggested that the earlier prophets's

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[31] See Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 305.

[32] See Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

[33] For discussion of why this formula is split, see ibid.

words are the ones already declared in the questions of 7:5–6.[34] However, 7:9–10 represents a composite of Jeremianic prophetic words, the kind of summary expected by the final question: "Are these not the words …?"[35] Furthermore, in the continuation of the original sermon in 8:14–19 one finds a similar anthology of prophetic speech and themes. Although it is possible that verses 9–10 have been inserted to match Zechariah's speech in 8:16–17, a comparison of the rhetoric of this sermon in chapters 7–8 with the sermon presented in 1:1–6–as we will show in the next section–bolsters the authenticity of the prophetic anthology in 7:9–10 and suggests that it was, in all likelihood, originally a part of Zechariah's oral speech to the Bethel entourage.

This argument for authenticity, however, does not erase the awkwardness of the messenger formula in 7:8, which introduced this discussion. The first use of this messenger formula ("the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah") in 7:1 creates cumbersome rhetoric, and it is difficult to ascertain why an editor would insert these two phrases in their respective places. The insertion in 7:1 would bring this piece in line with the messenger formula found at the beginning of 1:1 and 1:7, the only other places in Zechariah where we find this messenger formula with Zechariah's name as the object of the preposition. The purpose behind the awkward insertion in 7:8 is a more difficult problem.[36] Although some may conclude that this represents the work of an extremely clumsy editor or an editor uncomfortable with the Hebrew language, the insertion of the messenger formula in 7:8 may have been designed to remind the readers of Zechariah's role as prophet. His quotation of the earlier prophets was not just a history lesson, but was a prophetic moment in which these words were being proclaimed anew for a new generation.[37]

(5) *Summary*. In summary, then, we have argued that Zech 7–8 evidences a complex process of redaction. Its content began as an oral message to a group of Jews from Bethel inquiring about the ongoing validity of the rituals of fasting instituted in the wake of the fall of Jerusalem (7:5–7, 9–14; 8:14–19). Most likely this was committed to writing by the prophet himself in autobiographical form with the addition of a narrative introduction, expanded oracle conclusion, and first-person messenger formulae ויהי דבר־יהוה צבאות אלי ("the word of Yahweh came to me," 7:1a, 2–7, 9–14, 8:14–23).[38] Finally, two of Zechariah's disciples expanded the section, one by inserting additional pieces from Zechariah's

[34] Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*.
[35] Boda, "Master Mason" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.
[36] See the review of debate on this verse in Butterworth, *Structure*, 151, 60–62.
[37] See Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 291.
[38] This literary level does indeed evidence chiastic structure, as Scalise, "Zechariah 7:4–14," 60, has noted as her "four-fold inclusio" surrounding 8:1–13.

ministry introduced by the ambiguous messenger formula ויהי דבר־יהוה צבאות ("the word of Yahweh came," 8:1–13), reminding readers of Zechariah's vision of restoration inaugurated by the rebuilding but still future in realization, and the other by adding the messenger formula "the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah" (ויהי דבר־יהוה אל־זכריה, 7:1b, 8), forming the final link between the three major sections of Zechariah 1–8.

Zechariah 7–8 as Transition

Zechariah 7–8 as conclusion to Zechariah 1–8

Research on the redaction and growth of chapters 7–8 and the shape of its final form provides a foundation for highlighting the role that this section plays in the larger literary complex of Zech 1–8. Most scholars have noted the close similarity in style and vocabulary between Zech 1:1–6 and chapters 7–8.[39] This similarity is evidenced most vividly in the similar rhetorical flow of the two passages. Both sermons begin with a speech to the present generation (1:2–3; 7:5–6) before describing the experience of the past generation (1:4–6a; 7:7–14). When the sermon moves to the past generation, great emphasis is placed on the activity of prophets. This activity begins with the terms "proclaim" (קרא), "earlier prophets" (הנביאים הראשׁנים) and the messenger כה אמר יהוה צבאות (1:4a; 7:8), before including what appears to be a quotation from this prophetic tradition (1:4b; 7:9–10). This is followed by a description of the response of the former generation (1:4c; 7:11–12) and the discipline of God (1:5–6a; 7:13–14), and finally a shift of focus to the present generation (1:6b; 8:14–23). The greatest dissimilarity between the two passages appears in the final element. Whereas 1:1–6 describes an initial submissive response to the present word from the past, 7:1–8:23 ends on a hopeful but still uncertain note.

Thus, Zech 7–8 joins Zech 1:1–6 to form a literary bracket around Zech 1:7–6:15. Table 3 displays this plan schematically. This bracketing arrangement introduces serious ambiguity into the depiction of the impact of the prophet's word on his audience. The prophet does not abandon the hope engendered by earlier prophetic messages: God will bring restoration to Jerusalem; but restoration cannot be limited to the completion of the structure of the temple, for it involves response to the ethical demands of Yahweh. This message, which is not unique to Zech 7–

[39] Boda, "Master Mason" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6; for earlier recognition of a homiletical form, see Wim A. M. Beuken, *Haggai–Sacharja 1–8: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der frühnachexilischen Prophetie*, SSN 10 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967), 88–103; Rex A. Mason, *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 198–205, 212–34.

8, has been foreshadowed even in the night visions, which broaden the agenda to obedience to Torah (Zech 5).

Table 3

Element in Sermon	1:1–6	7:1–14
Speech to present generation	1:2–3	7:5–6
Description of past generation	1:4–6a	7:7–14
Proclaim (קרא), earlier prophets (הנביאים הראשׁנים) messenger formula (כה אמר יהוה צבאות)	1:4a	7:7, 9a
Quotation from earlier prophets	1:4b	7:9b–10
Description of response of former generation	1:4c	7:11–12
Description of discipline of God	1:5–6a	7:13–14
Focus returns to present generation	1:6b	8:14–23

This conclusion is bolstered by a close comparison of the superscriptions found in Zech 1:1, 7; and 7:1.

[1:1] בחדשׁ השׁמיני בשׁנת שׁתים לדריושׁ
היה דבר־יהוה אל־זכריה בן־ברכיה בן־עדו הנביא לאמר

[1:1] In the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah, son of Berekiah, son of Iddo, the prophet, saying

[1:7] ביום עשׂרים וארבעה לעשׁתי־עשׂר חדשׁ הוא־חדשׁ שׁבט בשׁנת שׁתים
לדריושׁ היה דבר־יהוה אל־זכריה בן־ברכיהו בן־עדוא הנביא לאמר

[1:7] On the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month, which is the month of Shebat, in the second year of Darius, the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah son of Berekiah son of Iddo, the prophet, saying

[7:1] ויהי בשׁנת ארבע לדריושׁ המלך
היה דבר־יהוה אל־זכריה בארבעה לחדשׁ התשׁעי בכסלו

[7:1] And it happened in the fourth year of Darius the king, the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah, on the fourth of the ninth month, in Kislev

On one level, these superscriptions are closely related, each containing a date formula linked to a year in the reign of the Persian king Darius and a messenger formula linked to a prophet named Zechariah. However, there are differences between the various superscriptions. Zechariah 1:7 contains the order day-month-year (with the word יום); 7:1 has year-day-month (without the word יום); and 1:1 only has month-year. Zechariah 1:7 and 7:1 have the month both named and numbered, while 1:1 only has the month numbered. All three designate the prophet as Zechariah, but only 1:1 and 1:7 provide his lineage. In 1:1 and 1:7, the complete dating formula precedes the messenger formula, which is followed by the speech

introduction לאמר. In 7:1, however, the dating formula is split in two by the messenger formula, with the year cited before the messenger formula and the day and month cited after the messenger formula.

This evidence suggests different explanations of the origin of these superscriptions and their attendant sections: a creative redactor who employed various forms to introduce the sections; a series of redactors each of whom employed different dating and messenger schemata; or a redactor constrained by underlying documents which employed different dating formulae.[40] It is not the intention of this paper to resolve this particular issue, but only to draw attention to one final difference, a syntactical contrast that should not be missed. Whoever was responsible for the final superscription in Zech 7:1 has cast this superscription in the form of a narrative sequence by employing the *waw*-consecutive (ויהי) form. Employing the superscription at this juncture and in this way forces the reader to reflect on the previous superscriptions in 1:1, 7. It introduces further narrative tension into a plot sequence that had appeared to be progressing to resolution throughout 1:7–6:15, where God's reaction to the community's penitential response of 1:1–6 was recorded.[41] As a result, chapters 7–8 cast a shadow over this positive narrative, even as the sun of hope shines through the clouds.

It is not surprising, then, that Zech 1–8 does not refer to the completion of the temple. Some have explained this by arguing that chapters 1–8 (and also Haggai) were completed prior to this event, possibly for inclusion in the structure at the dedication ceremony.[42] But in light of the limited focus on the rebuilding project in Zech 1–8 and the criticism of the community in chapters 7–8, the absence of reference to the completion can be explained in another way. The completion of the temple was not the goal of this prophet; Zechariah 7–8 is interested in the ethical renewal that is essential for true restoration.[43]

It is interesting that the prophetic speech in Zech 7–8 is directed to "the people of the land and the priests" (7:5). These "priests" are identified in the previous

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[40] See the evidence of the Book of Ezekiel, which is rigid in its presentation of dating-messenger formulae. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, IBC (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990), 3, notes, "Perhaps the most obvious structural feature is the system of dating important points in the autobiographical record," while Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 26–29, observes that, among the prophets, "Ezekiel's precision is observable elsewhere only in Zechariah … and Haggai." For a list of the dating formulae, see Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, AB 22 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 8–11.

[41] See my description of this narrative sequence in Boda, "Master Mason" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6; and see similar conclusions in Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:635.

[42] Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25B (Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), xlv.

[43] Boda, "Master Mason" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

verse as "the priests of the house of Yahweh Almighty" (7:4).[44] As argued elsewhere, there are indications at various points in the visions and oracles of Zech 1:7–6:15 that, although Zechariah affirmed the role and function of the Zadokite priesthood, he was also concerned carefully to delimit its role and function.[45] Zech 7–8 reflects a move from careful delimitation to open criticism.

ZECHARIAH 7–8 AS INTRODUCTION TO ZECHARIAH 9–14

Our analysis highlights not only how Zech 7–8 is an appropriate conclusion to chapters 1–8, but also how these chapters lay a foundation for the material in Zech 9–14, either shaped specifically as a segue from chapters 1–6 to chapters 9–14 or, more likely, as an original ending to chapters 1–8, which concluded that the restoration lay unfulfilled while leaving future hope alive.

Chapters 7–8 orient the reader to the future and provide the conditions necessary for restoration.[46] This is seen in Zechariah's original speech and especially in the addition in 8:1–8. Interestingly, most of the themes that earlier scholars considered to link Zech 1–8 with 9–14 are clearly developed in Zech 7–8: Zion tradition, communal cleansing, universalism, and the former prophets.[47]

This final element, the former prophets, which plays a key role in Zech 7–8 (the message of Jeremiah is paraphrased twice), becomes a dominant feature in chapters 9–14. All scholars agree that Zech 9–14 is a treasure trove of allusions to prophetic material;[48] accordingly, Zech 7–8 functions as an important introduction to the anthology of the הנביאים הראשנים ("earlier prophets") in Zech 9–14.[49]

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[44] The original question of the delegation was addressed to both priest and prophets. However, the question was binary: it could be answered by yes or no, which suggests that the delegation expected the priests to answer using Urim and Thummim. Cf. Hag 2:10–14; and see H. Huffmon, "Priestly Divination in Israel," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns/ASOR, 1983), 355–59.

[45] Mark J. Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones: Prophet, Priest and King in Zechariah 1:7–6:15," *JHS* 3 (2001): Article 10 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4.

[46] As Redditt, "Capstone," 312, concluded for Zech 9–14: "Hence the redactor [who inserted Zech 9–14] or someone of a like mind placed these chapters at the end of Zech 8 to answer why the good days predicted in Haggai–Zech 1–8 had not come into fruition."

[47] Another, the provision of leadership, is presented only in a negative way with the criticism of present leadership.

[48] See Boda and Floyd, eds., *Bringing out the Treasure*.

[49] Tigchelaar, *Prophets*, 243–45, also recognizes a link between Zech 7–8 and Zech 9–14 in his work on Zechariah. He notes the role of tradition in Zechariah's prophecy, especially in his work on Zech 10:3–12 and 12:1–13:6, which "essentially consist of comments on

The components of Zech 9–14 have a diverse history, but ultimately have been drawn together into a sophisticated complex.[50] Clearly, there is concern over leadership and a call to renewal in this section. Although the identity of this leadership is not explicitly documented in Zech 9–14, there are indications that it included the Zadokite priestly leadership in Jerusalem, even if it was not limited to them.[51]

Most likely, Zech 7–8 originally formed the conclusion to a limited corpus of chapters 1–8, but, as the struggle between Jerusalemite leadership and the Zecharian tradents increased, Zech 9–14 was fused to the earlier edition. On the one side, Zech 9–14 was distinguished from Zech 1–8 by the absence of the superscriptions prevalent in chapters 1–8; but on the other side, it was to be read as witness to the enduring legacy of this prophet.

Conclusion

Zechariah 7–8 balances woe with weal, warning with promise, judgment with salvation, fasts with feasts; and in striking this balance, the section serves as a rhetorical transition between the differing visions of restoration in Zech 1–6 (realized) and Zech 9–14 (frustrated).[52] In this way it is a helpful text not only for investigating the redactional development and rhetorical entities of Zechariah 1–14, but also for understanding the function of prophecy to encourage obedience and engender hope for a generation living in circumstances falling short of the prophetic ideal.

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older prophecies. The act of interpretation makes topical these prior revelations, thereby creating a new revelatory text." So also Zech 14 "consists almost exclusively of traditions, interpretations and reinterpretations of the biblical 'Day of Yahweh'. In these texts we are not dealing with heavenly communications handed down by God or an angel to a human recipient, but with the transmission and interpretation of previous revelations" (p. 244). Tigchelaar says the same is true of Zechariah's sermons in Zech 1:2–6 and Zech 7–8.

[50] Mark J. Boda, "Reading between the Lines: Zechariah 11:4–16 in Its Literary Contexts," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9.

[51] Notice how the Zadokite line is ignored in the renewal in Zech 12:10–13.

[52] On the similar function of Zech 11:4–16, see Boda, "Reading between the Lines" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9.

3
Echoes of Salvation: Zechariah 8:1–13 as the Capstone of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 Corpus[1]

In the previous chapter I argued that Zech 7–8 constitutes a single literary unit, the foundation of which is an account of an enquiry of a group associated with Bethel regarding exilic fasting practices.[2] *Introductory formulae found in 7:1, 4, 8; 8:18 suggest the work of a redactor (7:1, 8; "the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah, saying") taking up a first person account of the prophet (7:4; 8:18; "the word of Yahweh came to me, saying"). The introductory formula in 8:1, with its shortened form, "the word of Yahweh came," stands apart from these other formulae in chapters 7–8 and suggests that the material which follows has arisen from a different hand. This material which follows 8:1 falls into two distinct pieces, 8:2–8 and 8:9–13, which would make 8:14 the continuation of the speech*

[1] Based on my original publication, Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 469–74. Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume.

[2] See Mark J. Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 390–407 = chapter 2 in this present volume; Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

which is broken off in 7:14. In this chapter I will look more carefully at the material found in 8:1–13[3] *and evidence for the early development of a Haggai–Zech 1–8 corpus*[4] *prior to the formation of a Haggai–Malachi corpus.*[5]

Dissimilarities between 8:1–8 and 8:9–13

Using the prophetic formula "thus has said Yahweh of Hosts" as a discourse marker,[6] highlights Zech 8:9–13 as a distinct pericope from the previous seven verses (8:2–8). Zechariah 8:14, the suggested return of the discourse to the original discussion of chapter 7 (see above, Zech 7:1–8:23), also begins with "thus has said Yahweh of Hosts." A close look at the content of 8:9–13 reveals that it has literary integrity. It is bracketed by the phrase "Let your hands be strong" (8:9, 13) and presents a message strikingly similar to that found in Hag 2:15–19, which is set in the context mentioned in Zech 8:9 (the day of the foundation of the house of Yahweh of Hosts).

In contrast to the developed presentation of 8:9–13, 8:1–8 is comprised of a series of short prophetic messages introduced by the prophetic formula "thus has said Yahweh of Hosts" (8:2, 3, 4–5, 6, 7). It is also bound by an inclusion, with the use of the return of a figure or figures to dwell in the midst of Jerusalem (בתוך שׁכן ירושׁלם) in 8:3, 8.

Besides having two different literary styles (8:1–8 with its staccato prophetic declarations using "thus has said Yahweh of Hosts," and 8:9–13 with its sermonic prose), the two sections also emphasize different themes, with 8:1–8 focused on the hoped-for mutual dwelling of God and people in Jerusalem, and 8:9–13 focused on a shift in the prosperity of the community due to the reconstruction of the temple.

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[3] In this I am developing further my nascent thoughts in Boda, "Fasts to Feasts," 400–401; see chapter 2 above.

[4] In my earlier work, Boda, "Master Mason," I sought to drive a wedge between Haggai and Zech 1–8 due to the dominant trend within scholarship of imposing the limited agenda of Haggai on Zech 1–8. Having established the unique contribution of Zech 1–8 and the way especially that it transcends the agenda of Haggai by expanding the notion of restoration to include ethical renewal, infrastructural and economic renewal of city and province, and political renewal of the community, it is possible to consider the relationship between Haggai and Zech 1–8 once again.

[5] Mark J. Boda, "Messengers of Hope in Haggai–Malachi," *JSOT* 32 (2007): 113–31 = chapter 5 in this present volume.

[6] See David J. Clark, "Discourse Structure in Zechariah 7:1–8:23," *BT* 36 (1985): 328–35.

Similarities between 8:1–8 and 8:9–13

At the same time, the fact that both use inclusion as a rhetorical strategy is the first evidence that the two have been shaped in their final form in similar ways. Near the center of both sections one finds the identical phrase "the remnant of this people" (שארית העם הזה) alongside a temporal statement using the word ימים, one looking forward in time, and the other backwards (בימים ההם, in 8:6; כימים הראשנים, in 8:11). Similar vocabulary and themes also occur at the end of each section, both referring to God's salvific action (ישע *hiphil*; 8:7, 13) which will shift his people's status among the nations (8:7, 13).

It appears, then, that the material found here has been shaped with a common rhetorical design and agenda. It focuses on the remnant of the community and God's salvific purposes. In their own unique ways, both present a picture of future prosperity, the one focused on the return of people to the city of Jerusalem, and the other on the return of prosperity to the land. The first links this prosperity to the return of Yahweh with his priorities of truth and righteousness, while the second links this prosperity to the construction of the temple.

Connections to Earlier Materials in Haggai–Zechariah

There are striking similarities between the material found in 8:2–13 and material in other parts of Zechariah,[7] in particular 1:8–17; 2:10–17 (Eng. vv. 6–13); 4:6b–10a, as well as Haggai.

[7] See also Rex A. Mason, "Prophets of the Restoration," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter Ackroyd*, ed. Richard Coggins, Anthony Phillips, and Michael Knibb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 137–54 (148–49); Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25B (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), lxi–lxii; Mike Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, JSOTSup130 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 255; Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 2:646; Jakob Wöhrle, "The Formation and Intention of the Haggai–Zechariah Corpus," *JHS* 6 (2006): Article 10; Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006); Michael R. Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, LHBOTS 506 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 226–27; Elie Assis, "Zechariah 8 as Revision and Digest of Zechariah 1–7," *JHS* 10 (2010): Article 15; Martin Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja 1–8: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, BZAW 411 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011).

CONNECTIONS TO ZECHARIAH 1:8–17

It has long been noted that 8:2–3a echoes the language found in the initial vision report in Zech 1:8–17. Both 8:2 and 1:14 contain the identical introductory formula followed by divine declaration: "Thus has said Yahweh of hosts, I am jealous … for Zion with exceeding jealousy" (כה אמר יהוה צבאות קנאתי לציון קנאה גדולה), the only difference being the addition of "for Jerusalem" (לירושלם) alongside "for Zion" in 1:14. So also 8:3 and 1:16 contain the identical formula and declaration: "Thus has said Yahweh, I will return" (כה אמר יהוה שבתי). That this entails direct literary reliance is confirmed by the fact that, while throughout Zech 7–8 the prophetic formula used is "thus has said Yahweh of hosts" (כה אמר יהוה צבאות), only in 8:3 is this shortened to "thus has said Yahweh," replicating the phrase used in 1:16 which continues as in 8:3 with the word שבתי.

CONNECTIONS TO ZECHARIAH 2:10–17

Connections can be seen also between 8:2–8 and the major oracular unit that brings the first section of the vision reports to a close in 2:10–17 (Eng. vv. 6–13). Zechariah 8:3b speaks of Yahweh dwelling in the midst of (ושכנתי בתוך) Jerusalem, identical to Yahweh's speech to Zion in 2:14–15 (Eng. vv. 10–11) where twice he promises to dwell in her midst (ושכנתי בתוכך). In light of these connections, the reference to Jerusalem as the "holy mountain" in 8:3 echoes the language of holiness in 2:16–17 (Eng. vv. 12–13): "holy land" (אדמת הקדש) and "his holy habitation" (מעון קדשו). In both 2:10–17 (Eng. vv. 6–13) and 8:3–5, 8 the renewed dwelling of Yahweh in Jerusalem is directly related to the renewed dwelling in Jerusalem of a multitude of people who come from many nations. In 8:2–8 the vocabulary of God's renewed dwelling (שכן, 8:3) is used also in God's promise of the people's renewed dwelling (שכן, 8:8). Interestingly, the same two verbs and preposition used to express God's renewed dwelling in 2:14 (Eng. v. 10), "Behold I am coming (בוא), and I will dwell (שכן) in your midst (בתוך)," are used in God's promise to the people in 8:8, "I will bring them back (בוא *hiphil*), and they will live (שכן) in the midst of (בתוך) Jerusalem." In both sections explicit reference is made to the release of exiles from distant lands using universal language like the land of the north/the four winds of heaven or the land of the east and the land of the west (2:6–7 [Eng. vv. 2–5]; 8:7). Also, the same covenant terminology is used in both 2:15 (Eng. v. 11) and 8:8 ("they will be my people," והיו־לי לעם).

Summary on Connections to Zechariah 1–2

This evidence reveals multiple resonances between 8:2–8 and the Zecharian oracular material in the first vision report-oracle (1:14–17) and the first major independent oracle (2:10–17 [Eng. vv. 6–13]). The oddity of the truncated prophetic formula "thus has said Yahweh" (כה אמר יהוה) followed immediately by the promise "I will return" (שבתי) in both 1:16 and 8:3, suggests that these connections are the result of deliberate literary dependence and not just common tradition.

Connections to Haggai and Zechariah 4:6b–10a

While the material in 8:2–8 reveals links to the earlier Zecharian oracles in 1:7–17 and 2:10–17 (Eng. vv. 6–13), it is clear that the prose sermon which constitutes 8:9–13 shares with Hag 2:15–19 and Zech 4:6b–10a the similar original setting of rituals connected with the foundation laying of the second temple.[8] Zechariah 8:9–13 appears to be the latest of these three texts, differentiating between the present speech "in these days" (בימים האלה; 8:9) from the mouth of prophets who spoke on the day of the foundation laying which occurred in "those days" (הימים ההם; 8:10). The heavy emphasis in this sermon on the shift from conditions of curse to that of blessing linked to the reconstruction and especially the refounding of the temple theme resonates most with Hag 1:2–11 and 2:15–19.[9] While in these earlier passages Haggai speaks alone, the sermon in Zech 8:9–13 refers to "prophets" who were involved on that day, a fact not lost on the one(s) responsible for Ezra 1–6 (see Ezra 5:1; 6:14). Interestingly, the phrase "remnant of the people" (שארית העם), which binds 8:2–8 together with 8:9–13, also appears three times in the book of Haggai (1:12, 14; 2:2) as the key designation for the community in line with God's purposes.[10]

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[8] See Mark J. Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia: Utopian (Re)Visions in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8," in *Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic Literature*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 92 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 211–49.

[9] Stead, *Intertextuality*, 238–40.

[10] Notice the shift from העם הזה ("this people") in Hag 1:2 to שארית העם ("remnant of the people") in 1:12, 14. Sara Japhet, "The Concept of the 'Remnant' in the Restoration Period: On the Vocabulary of Self-Definition," in *Das Manna fällt auch heute noch: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Alten, Ersten Testaments. Festschrift für Erich Zenger*, ed. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger, HBS 44 (Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 340–61 (345–46), argues for close similarity between Haggai and Zechariah on the remnant: "the 'Remnant' means those who survived and lived in the land, and whether they remained in the land all along or went into captivity and returned, is of no

SUMMARY ON CONNECTIONS TO HAGGAI 1–ZECHARIAH 6

This evidence thus reveals close resonances between the material in 8:2–13 and earlier material in Hag 1–Zech 6. This suggests that, at this point in the larger prose sermon complex of Zech 7–8, the one responsible for the final shaping of Zech 7–8 has placed a series of prophetic materials which resonate with earlier material in the Haggai–Zechariah collection.[11] Connections between 8:2–13 and the first vision report (1:8–17) and first major independent oracle (2:10–17 [Eng. vv. 6–13]),[12] and connections between 8:2–13 and the book of Haggai suggest that the inclusion of 8:2–13 was done in tandem with a larger editorial process that saw Haggai and Zech 1–8 become a single literary complex.

In terms of the final form of Zech 7–8, 8:2–13 follows the initial confrontation of the people of the land and implicit link between the earlier rebellious generation and the present generation (7:5–14), and immediately precedes the transition in 8:14 which will announce God's new intentions for a community which will respond obediently. At this precise point in the rhetorical flow of Zech 7–8 the audience is given a reminder of key earlier messages of the prophets to "the remnant of this people." The prophetic promises remain valid, even if such promises are contingent on obedience.

Thus, these prophetic pieces in 8:2–13 serve to bring back to the consciousness of the audience those recent past ideal visions from God.[13] Just as the words of the earlier (preexilic) prophets endure, so those of the "later" prophets (Persian period) have enduring relevance. The problems introduced in 7:5–14 which gave rise to the exile and which are enduring in the present generation, however, are what threaten the fulfillment of this ideal.

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consequence." However, Zech 8 places greater emphasis on those returning from captivity, and thus represents a perspective between Haggai and Ezra–Nehemiah.

[11] This rehearsal of earlier material may explain the abridged prophetic formula which introduces this section in 8:1 ("Then the word of Yahweh of hosts came"), which lacks the specificity of a recipient since it is a review of earlier emphases; cf. Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:646.

[12] Two passages that show other signs of being shaped by those responsible for bringing the prose sermons in Zech 1:1–6 and chs. 7–8 together with the vision report–oracles.

[13] See Rex A. Mason, *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 213. His comment about the majority of Zech 7–8 describes best 8:1–13: "the arrangement has resulted in the question and answer being separated by some paraenetic sermonic material together with some general eschatological development of notes already heard in Zechariah's (and Haggai's) prophecy."

Connections to Immediate Context in Zechariah 7–8

Zechariah 8:2–8 and Zechariah 7–8

That these present problems which threaten this ideal have influenced the shaping of 8:2–13 is evident from a few pieces of evidence. The word אמת appears twice in 8:2–8, first in reference to Jerusalem as the "city of truth" (עיר־האמת) in 8:3, and then in 8:8 in reference to the covenant which will be renewed (באמת). This term is important to the development of the motif of justice in 7:1–14 and 8:14–23, appearing in 7:9; 8:16, 19. Furthermore, the images of old men alongside old women and with them young boys and girls happily playing in the streets contrasts with the widows and orphans, oppression of whom typifies the past and present crises. Zechariah 8:2–8 thus reminds the people that justice is a key component of the city renewed by the return of Yahweh and his people. It is interesting that these pieces which emphasize justice comprise most of the material in 8:2–8 that did not echo the earlier Zecharian material from 1:7–17 and 2:10–17 (Eng. vv. 6–13).

Zechariah 8:9–13 and Zechariah 7–8

Similarly, the sermon in 8:9–13 focuses on the theme of the material blessing promised to the community which had laid the foundation of the temple. This is an important theme in Hag 1–2 as well as in the first vision report of Zech 1:7–17 (esp. 1:17). However, while the presentation in 8:9–13 does focus on the need for renewal of creational processes (v. 12) as in Hag 1–2, the initial focus is on the need for renewal in interhuman economic processes: "there were no wages for humanity, and there no wages for animals, and for the one involved in regular activity there was no prosperity because of the adversary. And I was sending all humanity each against his neighbor" (v. 10). The message of the prophets at the foundation laying was that there would be plenty for everyone as God blesses the land, granting the remnant the inheritance he had promised (v. 12). The present injustice which has a strong economic dimension and involves seeking prosperity through abuse puts in jeopardy the promised prosperity. As with 8:2–8, so with 8:9–13, the elements that extend beyond the earlier prophetic materials relate to the present problems being confronted. Together these two prophetic collections play off of the two fundamental disciplines introduced at the end of chapter 7 as the people are scattered and the land destroyed (7:14). Zechariah 8:2–8 looks to the return of the people, while 8:9–13 looks to the transformation of the land.

Conclusion

Zechariah 8:1–13 is thus important to the message of chapters 7–8 in particular and to Hag 1–Zech 8 as a whole.[14] It looks to the full salvation of the remnant of this people (8:8, 11–13) which involves the return of people (8:8) and prosperity (8:12–13) to the land. The return of the people is precipitated by Yahweh's return to Jerusalem (8:2–3) and the return of prosperity by Yahweh's renewal of creation (8:12). This ideal future will be typified by the establishment of true justice so that the vulnerable (aged, young) will prosper (8:4–5) and by the eradication of injustice and economic strife (8:10).

This is an important correction.[15] Earlier prophecies focused much attention on the prosperity that would accompany the renewal of the temple, city, and province. But at least in Zech 5 it became clear that there were ethical problems arising alongside this physical renewal. Zechariah 1:1–6 revealed the importance of repentance to the physical renewal, and Zech 7:1–8:23 is evidence that this agenda was of enduring concern for Zechariah. The final verse in Zech 1:7–6:15 made clear that the success of the temple rebuilding project was dependent upon the obedience of the people (cf. Zech 6:15), and the precise character of this obedience is made clear in Zech 7–8. In this way Zech 7–8 plays a key role within the final shape of Zech 1–8 (and Hag 1–Zech 8) as a whole,[16] and succeeds in granting Haggai and Zechariah the status of "earlier prophets" whose words would continue to speak to ever new literary audiences for millennia to come.

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[14] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 410.
[15] Boda, "Master Mason."
[16] Boda, "Fasts to Feasts."

4
Figuring the Future: Haggai–Malachi and the Messiah[1]

Having investigated evidence in Zech 7–8 for the development of Zech 1–8 (and possibly Zech 9–14) as well as a broader Haggai–Zech 1–8 collection, I now shift attention to the possibility of a broader Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi corpus by analyzing the presentation of royal, priestly, and prophetic figures within these three final books within the Twelve. This will lay the foundation for the following chapters which will cull the presentation of these various socio-functionaries for evidence of development of a Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi collection.

No Old Testament tradition is more closely associated with messianic expectation in popular Jewish and Christian consciousness than the prophets. Such a consciousness is the result of a long history of reflection on the large corpus of prophetic literature. To deal adequately with this literature would require (and has required!) a monograph of its own, and so this chapter will be more focused. In light of my definition of "Messiah,"[2] I will investigate the broader phenomenon

[1] Based on a portion of my original publication, Mark J. Boda, "Figuring the Future: The Prophets and the Messiah," in *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, McMaster New Testament Studies (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 35–74 (45–74). Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume.

[2] My broader view of messianism is based on the fact that the verbal root משׁח and the adjective משׁיח are used in relation to royal (e.g., 1 Sam 16:3; Ps 2:2), priestly (e.g., Exod 28:41; Lev 4:3), and prophetic (1 Kgs 19:16; Ps 105:15) figures in the Old Testament. It is not then surprising that the Old Testament testifies to a future expectation for future figures related to these socio-functionaries as well as other ideal figures, an expectation that is clearly evident in the Second Temple period. See Boda, "Figuring," 35–45.

of "messianism," that is, present description and future expectation of socio-religious functionaries,[3] but will limit this exploration to the final phase of the prophetic corpus, that is, to Haggai–Malachi.

The reason I have chosen this focus is not only due to the limited space of this chapter, my own expertise, and the appearance of recent surveys on the Messiah in the Old Testament and the Prophets,[4] but more so because of the role that the Haggai–Malachi corpus plays within Hebrew and Christian tradition.

First of all, in historical perspective these books provide records of those who prophesied after the exile to a Jewish community in the midst of the reformulation of faith, religion, and society without the advantage of independent nationhood. These books then offer us a window into the ways the Jewish community's view of leadership was being shaped after the exile. Key trajectories are set in this era that will have a great impact on the faith of Second Temple Judaism, which would in turn provide a context for Christianity. It is well known that these books played a major role in shaping messianic expectation within Second Temple Judaism, nascent Christianity, and beyond, and so it is appropriate to investigate the perspective of these books.[5]

Second, in redactional perspective, recent research on the Book of the Twelve as well as Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi has advocated that these three books at one time formed an independent corpus that was incorporated into the Book of the Twelve in the final stages of its development.[6] Thus, there is some justification for dealing with this sub-group within prophetism.

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[3] I use this terminology to avoid the problem of denoting prophets as filling an "office"; cf. David L. Petersen, *The Roles of Israel's Prophets*, JSOTSup 14 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981).

[4] See especially J. J. M. Roberts, "The Old Testament's Contribution to Messianic Expectations," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1987), 31–51; Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham, eds., *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, Tyndale House Studies (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995); John Day, ed., *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998); and Daniel I. Block, "My Servant David: Ancient Israel's Vision of the Messiah," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 17–56.

[5] For the impact on Judaism and Christianity see Mark J. Boda, *Haggai and Zechariah Research: A Bibliographic Survey*, Tools for Biblical Study 5 (Leiden: Deo, 2003); Mark J. Boda, *Haggai/Zechariah*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004).

[6] Some include Zech 9–14 in this Haggai–Malachi corpus, e.g., Aaron Schart, "Putting the Eschatological Visions of Zechariah in Their Place: Malachi as a Hermeneutical Guide for the Last Section of the Book of the Twelve," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical*

Third, in tradition perspective, these books portray self-awareness of their place in the history of prophetism in particular and revelation in general.[7] Haggai draws on earlier traditions and language from the former and latter prophets as well as the Torah, not only to summon the people to rebuild the temple, but also to paint a picture of a glorious future.[8] Zechariah sums up this Persian period phase well when he introduces his summary of the message of prophetism by referring to the "earlier prophets" (1:4; 7:7) and describes the Torah as the authoritative covenant document (Zech 5:1–4).[9] Zechariah 9–14 is universally recognized as a pastiche of quotations, allusions, and echoes drawn from the Torah and the Former and Latter Prophets.[10] Malachi mines earlier Torah and Prophetic tradition to confront dysfunction and announce a new age, concluding with a call to remember Torah and expect Elijah.[11]

Finally, while many Christian scholars assume that the longer prophetic books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and especially Isaiah were formative for New Testament Christology, there is an odd absence of influence from these books on the key Gospel passion accounts. For instance, one would expect to see the influence of Isa 52–53, one of the key "Suffering Servant" passages (cf. Acts 8:33), but it

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Allusion and Zechariah 9–14, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 333–43, while others do not, e.g., Paul L. Redditt, "Zechariah 9–14: The Capstone of the Book of the Twelve," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 305–32, treating it as the final insertion after the number of books had reached twelve. For a full review of this stream of research see Paul L. Redditt, "Recent Research on the Book of the Twelve as One Book," *CurBS* 9 (2001): 47–80; Paul L. Redditt, "The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 1–26; Mark J. Boda, "Majoring on the Minors: Recent Research on Haggai and Zechariah," *CurBR* 2 (2003): 33–68.

[7] See a similar approach to this issue of messianism in John H. Sailhamer, "The Messiah and the Hebrew Bible," *JETS* 44 (2001): 5–23, who mines the later stages of the formation of the Hebrew Bible for messianic hope.

[8] John Kessler, *The Book of Haggai: Prophecy and Society in Early Persian Yehud*, VTSup 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[9] Janet E. Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, JSOTSup 150 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993).

[10] Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, eds, *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003).

[11] Eric M. Meyers, "Priestly Language in the Book of Malachi," *HAR* 10 (1986): 225–37; Robert Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*, EJL 9 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1996), 18–21; Julia M. O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi*, SBLDS 121 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 87–106.

appears that Luke is the only Gospel that cites Isa 52–53 in connection with the crucifixion (Luke 22:37 // Isa 53:12). Instead, formative for the suffering of the Messiah are passages from the Psalms (Ps 22 // Matt 27:46; Mark 14:34; John 19:25; Ps 41:9 // John 13:18; Ps 118 // Matt 21:42; Mark 12:10–11) and Zechariah (Zech 11 // Matt 27:10; Zech 12 // John 19:37; Zech 13 // Matt 26:31; Mark 14:27), a fact that encourages a closer study of Zechariah within the prophetic corpus.

Our focus, then, will be on the way in which Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi treat socio-religious figures in their own day and then create expectation for such figures in the future.[12]

HAGGAI–MALACHI

RECENT RESEARCH

Alberto Ferreiro's recent publication of the Ancient Christian Commentary on the Twelve Prophets reveals the fixation of the early church on the books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi as a source for their understanding of Jesus Christ.[13] Such an interest in these books within the Christian community is not surprising, considering the attention afforded these books within the New Testament witness.[14] This in turn is also not exceptional, for one can discern an equal fascination with the eschatological and messianic in Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi within Second Temple Judaism. Such fascination, however, demands careful assessment. What relationship is there between the later Jewish and Christian appropriation of these books and the original message of the books themselves? In what way can they be sources for messianic and/or eschatological theology?

Reflection over the past decade on these books has offered a range of viewpoints on this issue.[15] For example, in treating Haggai and Zech 1–8, Janet Tollington concluded that these prophets affirmed Zerubbabel as the inheritor and representative of the enduring Davidic legacy, even if the latter prophet equally affirmed a diarchic rule of sacral and secular leadership until the reinstitution of independent rule.[16] In contrast, Kenneth Pomykala denies any Davidic royalist or

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[12] For a full review of research, see Boda, *Research*; Boda, *Haggai/Zechariah*.

[13] Alberto Ferreiro, *The Twelve Prophets*, ACCS 14 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 219–313.

[14] Cf. Boda, *Research*, 31–34, 124, 174–78, 241–47; and the introduction to Boda, *Haggai/Zechariah*.

[15] See fuller review in Boda, *Research*, 20–31.

[16] Tollington, *Tradition*.

messianic expectation to Haggai or Zechariah (1–8), whether connected to Zerubbabel or the mysterious צמח,[17] even if these prophets provided the foundation for later messianic reflection.[18] Antti Laato intertwines evidence from ancient Near Eastern temple rebuilding ceremonies with the Davidic royal traditions to show that Zerubbabel was considered a royal messianic figure in both Haggai and Zechariah. In the latter, however, there is a closer relationship between priestly and royal figures, as can be seen in the "Branch" prophecies (Zech 3; 6) and the two olive trees in Zech 4, and in its final form there is "a distinction between the ideal figures of the future (the Branch and the Priest) and the figures of the historical present (Zerubbabel and Joshua)."[19] Rex A. Mason, while cautiously affirming evidence of a hope for a Davidic royal renewal in Haggai, suggests that Zechariah's original vision of a priestly-royal diarchy was modified to embrace the emerging theocracy under the priests.[20] Rose rejects a royalist/messianic reading of Hag 2:20–23, but does affirm such for Zech 1–8, but only in connection with the "Zemah" figure, who is not equated with Zerubbabel.[21] Thomas Pola interprets Zech 1–6 as a document that highlights how the cult, temple, and priesthood is given responsibility for preserving the messianic and eschatological hope.[22] Zerubbabel symbolically affirms this by his involvement in the temple building, and Zechariah trumpets it with his declaration that the priesthood was a sign that

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[17] This term (which is transliterated by some scholars as *Zemah*) will be used throughout this paper to transliterate the Hebrew term which has traditionally been translated as "Branch" in Jer 23:5; 33:15; Zech 3:9; 6:12. The term denotes vegetation or growth, rather than the branch of a tree; cf. Wolter H. Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel: Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period*, JSOTSup 304 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000).

[18] Kenneth E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*, EJL 7 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 45–60.

[19] Antti Laato, *A Star Is Rising: The Historical Development of the Old Testament Royal Ideology and the Rise of the Jewish Messianic Expectations*, USFISFCJ 5 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 202.

[20] Rex A. Mason, "The Messiah in the Postexilic Old Testament Literature," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 338–64.

[21] Rose, *Zemah*; Wolter H. Rose, "Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 168–85.

[22] Thomas Pola, *Das Priestertum bei Sacharja: Historische und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur frühnachexilischen Herrschererwartung*, FAT 34 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002); Thomas Pola, "Form and Meaning in Zechariah 3," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 156–67.

a future Messiah would one day emerge (Zech 3:8), a hope preserved by the memorial crown in the temple (Zech 6:14). John Kessler restricts his focus to the book of Haggai, but emphasizes that this book affirms the prophetic stream by highlighting the role and success of the prophetic institution in the early Persian period.[23] In terms of all three functionary streams, Kessler demonstrates that Haggai affirms the enduring validity of all three streams in the Persian period, even if this involved a "hermeneutic of equivalents" which achieved continuity with preexilic patterns through "functional equivalents often involving theological compromises."[24] He finds some space between an outright rejection of a royalist reading of Hag 2:20–23 and the opposite messianic reading of the same passage. Thus the royal stream is affirmed, even if for now this would involve a provisional partnership with Persian imperialism.

Similar diversity of opinion is evidenced in the study of royal/messianic tradition in Zech 9–14. Some argue for an enduring Davidic royal tradition centered on leadership figures;[25] others see a trend of democratization in which this same tradition is now connected to the entire community;[26] while still others see an abandonment of such traditions in favor of hope in a Divine Warrior enacting salvation alone.[27] In relation to the enduring role of the prophet in Zech 9–14, some scholars have concluded that this corpus hails the end of prophecy.[28] In response, others have highlighted the fact that Zech 9–14 contains a polemic against

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[23] Kessler, *Prophecy and Society*.

[24] Ibid., 27.

[25] E.g., Stephen L. Cook, "The Metamorphosis of a Shepherd: The Tradition History of Zechariah 11:17 + 13:7–9," *CBQ* 55 (1993): 453–66; Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, "The Future Fortunes of the House of David: The Evidence of Second Zechariah," in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Astrid Beck (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 207–22; Iain Duguid, "Messianic Themes in Zechariah 9–14," in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 265–80; Werner H. Schmidt, "Hoffnung auf einen armen König. Sach 9,9f. als letzte messianische Weissagung des Alten Testaments," in *Jesus Christus als die Mitte der Schrift: Studien zur Hermeneutik des Evangeliums*, ed. Christof Landmesser, Hans-Joachim Eckstein, and Hermann Lichtenberger, Beihefte zur ZNW 86 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 689–709; Laato, *A Star Is Rising*, 208–18.

[26] E.g., Adrian Leske, "Context and Meaning of Zechariah 9:9," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 663–78; cf. Mason, "Messiah," 351–57, who retains a role for the Davidides but with far greater communal emphasis.

[27] E.g., Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty*, 112–26.

[28] E.g., David L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles*, SBLMS 23 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977).

false prophecy attached to idolatrous leadership.[29] While there appears to be little explicit focus on the priestly stream in Zech 9–14, in an earlier age this was linked to the fact that this was a polemic against the hierocratic hegemony in Jerusalem by apocalyptic visionaries.[30] This view has been challenged of late with the suggestion that Zech 9–14 arose from the priestly stream as well.[31]

Malachi has also been a key contributor to the messianic debate over the past decade, especially in relationship to exegesis on 3:1 and 3:23–24 [Eng. 4:4–5]. The debate has centered on the identity of the messengers and "lord" in 3:1, and suggestions have ranged from royal to priestly to prophetic figures (see further below).

In the context of this extensive debate, we embark then on an auspicious mission: to identify messianic (whether royal, priestly or prophetic) themes within Haggai–Malachi. This will involve an evaluation of the stance of the writers towards these various streams in the present as well as any expectations for their future.

HAGGAI

1. Treatment of the Present

Unquestionably, the focus of the book of Haggai is the construction of the Second Temple. The prophet challenges a lethargic community to begin restoration anew (1:1–11) and then encourages them at three key junctures: at the start of the work (1:12–15), after a month of preparation (2:1–9), and finally in two phases on the day of the foundation laying (2:10–19, 20–23). Although all themes in this book are subservient to the larger concern of structural renewal, the prophet does affirm sociological rejuvenation in these prophetic messages. Three key socio-religious

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[29] E.g., Eric M. Meyers, "The Crisis of the Mid-Fifth Century BCE: Second Zechariah and the 'End' of Prophecy," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 713–23; Eric M. Meyers, "Messianism in First and Second Zechariah and the End of Biblical Prophecy," in *'Go to the Land I Will Show You': Studies in Honor of Dwight W. Young*, ed. Joseph E. Coleson and Victor H. Matthews, Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients 4 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 127–42.

[30] Otto Plöger, *Theocratie und Eschatologie*, 3rd ed., WMANT 2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968); Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979).

[31] Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

functionaries, familiar to the reader from depictions of pre-exilic Israel and Judah, are affirmed in each of the prophetic speeches. The royal stream is represented by Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel and grandson of the Davidic royal Jehoiachin, the second-to-last king of Judah. The priestly stream is evident in Joshua, son of Jehozadak and grandson of Seraiah, the last Zadokite priest, who served in the first temple (2 Kgs 25:18; cf. 1 Chr 5:40 [Eng. 6:14]). The prophetic message is directed to these two figures in terminology intended to echo the Davidic first temple building tradition. The responsive "remnant" gathers around these figures and embraces this building project. The prophetic stream is represented by Haggai himself, whose message is equated with the voice of Yahweh, even as the prophet is identified as the מלְאַך יהוה ("messenger of Yahweh"; 1:12–13). Haggai thus legitimates the three key pre-exilic covenant figures for the present restoration era.

2. Expectation for the Future

At two points in the book, however, a future orientation takes shape. In both cases, present faithfulness forms the foundation for future promises. First, after encouraging the people in the early stages of the rubble clearing, the prophet promises a future shaking of the cosmos that will result in the filling of the temple with material glory from foreign nations (2:6–9). Although the early church did find in this pericope a reference to a future messianic figure ("the Desired One"), identified as Jesus, this view has no foundation in the original text.[32] Second, after affirming the people for their faithfulness in laying the foundation of the temple (2:10–19), the prophet promises again a future shaking of the cosmos, but this time the speech is addressed exclusively to Zerubbabel ("governor of Judah") and the result is the catastrophic shattering of the political and military hegemony of foreign nations and the installation of Zerubbabel ("son of Shealtiel") as Davidic vice regent of Yahweh on earth (2:20–23).[33] Some interpreters have challenged

[32] The Vulgate reads: *et veniet disderatus cunctis gentibus*, echoed in the famous hymn: "Come thou long expected Jesus, dear desire of every nation." For a proponent of this view (slightly modified), cf. Herbert Wolf, "'The Desire of All Nations' in Haggai 2:7: Messianic or Not?" *JETS* 19 (1976): 97–102.

[33] Some have wrongly seen in this Haggai (and also Zechariah) fomenting rebellion against Persia in light of present upheavals in Mesopotamia, so Leroy Waterman, "The Camouflaged Purge of Three Messianic Conspirators," *JNES* 13 (1954): 73–78; cf. critique in Peter R. Ackroyd, "Two Old Testament Historical Problems of the Early Persian Period," *JNES* 17 (1958): 13–27; John Kessler, "The Second Year of Darius and the Prophet Haggai," *Transeu* 5 (1992): 63–84; Kessler, *Prophecy and Society*, based on chronological data.

the argument that the words used in this oracle are drawn from vocabulary of Davidic royal appointment[34] because the various lexemes are used in other contexts as well.[35] However, the only context in which all of this vocabulary intersects is that associated with Davidic appointment; and, furthermore, it is difficult to deny the echo of Jeremiah's prophetic judgment of Jehoiachin's line in Jer 22.

While Haggai's two descriptions (2:6–9, 20–23) share similar lexical stock in describing cosmic upheaval,[36] they possess slightly different temporal markers. Haggai 2:6–9 expects this upheaval "in a little while" (2:6), while 2:20–23 expects it "on that day" (2:23).[37] The day that is spoken of here is the period of activity referred to in verses 21b–22, that is, the day of God's overthrowing of the world.[38] The close connection in terms of vocabulary between verses 6–9 and verses 20–23, suggests that these events are coterminous. Here, in contrast to the other prophetic literature, "on that day" appears to refer to "in a little while," a conclusion supported by the naming of the historically present Zerubbabel in verse 23.[39]

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[34] E.g., "take" (לקח): 2 Sam 7:8; 2 Kgs 14:21; 23:30; "my servant": 2 Sam 3:18; 7:5, 8; 1 Kgs 11:32, 34, 36; 1 Chr 17:4; 2 Chr 32:16; Pss 78:70; 89:3; 132:10; "chosen" (בחר): 1 Sam 16:8–10; 2 Sam 6:21; Ps 78:70.

[35] See especially Rose, *Zemah*; Rose, "Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period," 168–85; but also Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty*, 45–53; contrast Meyers, "Messianism," 128.

[36] Nogalski's comments that 2:21–22 cannot be connected to 2:6–9 because 2:21–22 envisions the nations's annihilation in contrast to the nations's contribution to the temple in 2:6–9 represent a misunderstanding of the imagery; James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 231. Haggai 2:21–22 is not speaking of the annihilation of the nations, but rather of the subjugation of their military power; cf. Hans Walter Wolff, *Haggai: A Commentary*, trans. Margaret Kohl, CC (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 103: "What Yahweh is going to annihilate is not the nations themselves but their militant nature."

[37] Some scholars treat v. 23 separately from vv. 20–22, either on form critical or thematic grounds, suggesting that the phrase "on that day" is a "typical redactional device" to unite originally disparate oracles; Wolff, *Haggai*, 102; Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 229–31; Simon J. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995). Although it is possible that we have here a redactional seam, I follow Petersen who identifies it as a transition from general to specific events; David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1984), 102; cf. Mark J. Boda, "Haggai: Master Rhetorician," *TynBul* 51 (2000): 295–304.

[38] Contra Bauer who sees here the final day of the Feast of Tabernacles; Lutz Bauer, *Zeit des zweiten Tempels—Zeit der Gerechtigkeit: Zur sozio-ökonomischen Konzeption im Haggai–Sacharja–Maleachi–Korpus*, BEATAJ 31 (New York: Lang, 1992).

[39] So Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25B (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 69: "Haggai's expectations emerged from the historical present, which involved the building

3. Summary

Haggai's treatment of leadership figures is firmly rooted in the historic realities of the early Persian period. He affirms the traditional prophetic, royal, and priestly streams and identifies each of them with figures active within his community. There is, however, a slight orientation to the future with the hope of cosmic upheaval that results in material glory for the temple and material prosperity for the community, but also in a renewal of national independence and international rule. He centers this hope on the figure of Zerubbabel, and, although it is possible that this could be referring to Zerubbabel as the founder of a new dynasty, in light of the close association between 2:6–9 and 2:20–23, it appears that the original expectation was focused on his lifetime.

ZECHARIAH 1–8

1. Vision-Oracle Complex (Zech 1:7–6:15)

At the core of Zech 1–8 lies the vision-oracle complex in 1:7–6:15.[40] Most of the pericopes offer promises of renewal for the community as a whole. In the main, these hopes are placed in the presently unfolding circumstances, verified by the fact that they are the response of God to the impassioned cry of the Angel of Yahweh who voices the pain of the seventy-year wait for divine mercy (1:12).[41] However, at one point, in one of the oracle expansions to the night visions (2:14–17 [Eng. 2:10–13]), there is a more remote temporal perspective. This is in connection with the expansion of Jerusalem to include "many nations" who will enter into covenant with Yahweh when he takes up residence "in that day."

While the communal vision is dominant in Zech 1:7–6:15, at a few points the prophetic message focuses on socio-religious figures in the restoration community. Most interpreters turn immediately to the two central visions in the night vision series for this focus, and probably the most common point of discussion is

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of the temple and the immediate potential for a monarchic state under the rule of a Davidide who in all likelihood would be Zerubbabel." Similarly, Kessler, *Prophecy and Society*, 270: "Zerubbabel is therefore the guarantor for that which had not yet been fulfilled, but which soon will be"; contra Benjamin Uffenheimer, "Zerubabbel: The Messianic Hope of the Returnees," *JBQ* 24 (1996): 221–28 (224).

[40] For fuller argumentation on the issues dealt with here see Mark J. Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones: Prophet, Priest and King in Zechariah 1:7–6:15," *JHS* 3 (2001): Article 10 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4.

[41] Mark J. Boda, "Terrifying the Horns: Persia and Babylon in Zechariah 1:7–6:15," *CBQ* 67 (2005): 22–41 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 2.

the enigmatic fifth vision, with its scene of a lamp stand fueled by two olive trees (4:1–6a, 10b–14). These olive trees are identified in the final phase of the interpretation as שני בני־היצהר ("the two sons of fresh oil") who are "standing beside the Lord of all the earth" (4:14). Often this phrase is translated as "the two anointed ones" and linked to the two key leadership figures associated with the early Persian period: Joshua, the Zadokite high priest, and, of course, Zerubbabel, the Davidic governor of Yehud. For most interpreters this vision is expressing the political realities of Yehud in the Persian period, highlighting the elevated role of the priest in this new era and preparing the way for hierocratic hegemony in later centuries.[42] However, as I have argued elsewhere in detail, these olive trees are not the recipients of oil, but rather the sources, suggesting that, if anything, these oil trees signify the source of anointing in Israel, which was often the prophet, sometimes the priest, but never the king.[43] This helps us understand the presence of the two prophetic speeches in the center of Zech 4 (vv. 6b–10a) which offer encouragement and credibility to Zerubbabel, truly a source of oil for the project. It is not by might or power, but by God's spirit through his prophets that this project will be accomplished.

These two short prophetic speeches in the center of Zech 4 assuredly find their *Sitz im Leben* in ceremonies connected with clearing and founding activity at the temple site. As is typical of such refounding ceremonies in the ancient Near East, the participation of the monarch was essential and it appears that Zerubbabel is acting the royal part, officially on behalf of the Persian emperor, but unofficially as Davidic scion. In this way, then, the prophetic voice affirms the enduring role of the royal house in the life of the community.[44]

Whereas Zech 4 highlights the present role of royal and prophetic figures, two other passages focus (at least initially) on the priestly figure of Joshua. In Zech 3 and 6:9–15 both Joshua and his attendants are affirmed as legitimate priestly functionaries. In each case, however, the text alludes to the imminent appearance of one called צמח.[45] This intertwining of priestly and royal figures is drawn assuredly from the description of the restoration in Jer 33 (cf. chapter 23),

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[42] Tollington, *Tradition*, 176–81, 247, modifies this by seeing here indications that Zechariah championed diarchic rule, which would sustain the community until the arrival of a Davidic royal.

[43] Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4; cf. Deborah W. Rooke, "Kingship as Priesthood: The Relationship between the High Priesthood and the Monarchy," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 187–208; Rose, *Zemah*.

[44] Antti Laato, "Zachariah 4,6b–10a and the Akkadian Royal Building Inscriptions," *ZAW* 106 (1994): 53–69; Laato, *A Star Is Rising*, 197–200; and Boda, *Research*, 210–48.

[45] Often inappropriately translated as "Branch"; cf. Rose, *Zemah*.

where the futures of the royal and priestly lines are intertwined and assured by the rhythms of the cosmos.[46] In both Zech 3 and 6, the realization of priestly hope is centered on the present figure of Joshua. However, the royal צמח figure belongs to the imminent future when he will come and usher in a new day of cleansing and prosperity (3:9–10) as well as rebuilding of the temple (6:12–13, 15).[47] Although he is never identified by name in the immediate prophetic pericopes, the two prophetic speeches inserted into the center of Zech 4 (vv. 6b–10a) make it clear that Zerubbabel was the one who not only prepared the temple site for construction (vv. 6b–7) but also laid the foundation (v. 9a) and would bring the construction to completion (v. 9b). Furthermore, the phrase "you will know that Yahweh Almighty has sent me to you" appears after the rebuilding prophecy of both צמח (6:15) and Zerubbabel (4:9). This showcases Zerubbabel as the figure who did indeed appear with others from "far away" to help build the temple.[48]

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[46] As with his denial of Davidic connections to Zerubbabel in Hag 2:20–23, so in his denial of connections between Zechariah's צמח, Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty*, 53–56, cannot be followed.

[47] Rose, *Zemah*, has argued that this is an allusion to a messianic future figure, but not to Zerubbabel. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood (Zech. 3)," in *The Book of Zechariah and Its Influence*, ed. Christopher Tuckett (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 1–20 is not willing to accept that Joshua was present in Judah before Zerubbabel nor that Zechariah could have received this vision/oracle prior to the arrival of either, so she has recently argued that the reference to צמח in 3:8b must be an addition to the text, which places her in company with Wilhelm Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, KAT 13 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976), 2, who says this gives the removal of sin of the land an "eschatological character and turns it into a description of the general removal of all sin in the day when the Messiah comes."

[48] Four sections in Zech 1:7–6:15 share various commonalities in vocabulary and style: Zech 2:10–17 (Eng. 6–10); 3:1–10; 4:6b–10a; and 6:9–15: (1) 4:6b–10a and 6:9–15 both contain the formula, "the word of Yahweh to" (דבר־יהוה אל: 4:6, 8; 6:9); (2) 2:10–17; 4:6b–10a; and 6:9–15 all contain the prophetic formula, "then you will know that Yahweh Almighty has sent me" (וידעתם כי־יהוה צבאות שלחני: 2:13, 15 [Eng. 9, 11]; 4:9; 6:15); (3) 3:1–10 and 6:9–15 both refer to the צמח figure in connection with an address to the priestly figure Joshua; (4) 4:6b–10a and 6:9–15 both refer to the building of the temple. These commonalities suggest that they all belong to a common redactional level within this corpus, forging an even closer relationship between Zerubbabel and the צמח figure.

2. Prose Sermon Inclusio (Zech 1:1–6; 7:1–8:23)

The hope of this vision-oracle core, however, is ultimately tempered by the prose sermon inclusio that now brackets the entire complex.[49] While 1:1–6 engenders hope through the sensitive response of the people to the penitential cry of Zechariah, 7:1–8:23 reveals that the conditions are not yet ripe for the realization of the restoration in its fullness. The prophet highlights rebellious patterns in the present that echo pre-exilic patterns. This leads to the verdict of enduring exilic conditions for this community coupled with the call to a repentance, which will transform their mournful fasts into joyous feasts that evidence the realization of the hopes for the community in Zech 2:14–17 (Eng. 10–13): the presence of God and the expansion of Jerusalem "in those days" with people from "all languages and nations" (8:20–23). Strikingly absent, however, from 7:1–8:23 is reference to a future hope for socio-religious functionaries, as Uffenheimer has ably summarized:

> Significantly, he omits the political aspects of the prophetic "days to come"; neither does he mention, by word or even allusion, the Shoot, or the re-establishment of the Davidic kingdom. Redemption now is entirely disconnected from political implementation. This, then, is the last step taken in the process of "sobering" the dangerous aspirations awakened with the appearance of Zerubbabel.[50]

3. Summary

The core vision-oracle complex in 1:7–6:15 has a similar sociological and temporal perspective on the renewal to that evidenced in Haggai. Sociologically, there is great focus on the revitalization of the community as a whole, but not at the expense of a renewal of the traditional socio-religious functionaries of pre-exilic Judah, that is, royal, priestly, and prophetic figures.[51] These three functionaries

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[49] Cf. Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6; Mark J. Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 390–407 = chapter 2 in this present volume.

[50] Uffenheimer, "Zerubbabel," 227.

[51] The evidence above clearly contradicts the denial of Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty*, 60, that "Zechariah 1–8 sets forth hope for a davidic messiah," even though when he does entertain the possibility of the royal stream of thought, his conclusions are similar to mine, especially in the contrast between Zech 1–8 and Haggai. This evidence also contradicts Adam S. van der Woude, "Serubbabel und die messianischen Erwartungen des Propheten Sacharja," *ZAW* 100 Supplement (1988): 138–56, who denies that the צמח figure and the

are presented in ways that establish their interconnectedness. Priest and king are linked in Zech 3 and 6, prophet and priest in Zech 3, and prophet and king in Zech 4. Each is essential to the other; the appearance and function of one secures hope for the appearance of another. This tripartite balance, however, does highlight a slight shift from the book of Haggai and the pre-exilic situation. First, the priestly role is on the ascendancy, evidenced by exclusive control over temple affairs and the granting of both crown and throne next to the future royal in court. In Haggai the focus is clearly on the royal stream. Second, the role of the royal stream is distanced from military or political control and focused on the rebuilding project, as is evident in the declaration "not by might, nor by power" in 4:6b–10a, a contrast to the close association with military power in Haggai.[52]

Temporally, the hopes expressed in 1:7–6:15 are considered realized in the present age, something that is true for both community and leadership. However, there are hints of a more remote future, signaled by the use of the phrase "in that day," one linked to the appearance of God and the other with the appearance of the royal צמח figure. The prophetic oracles in Zech 4:6b–10a, however, identify Zerubbabel as the fulfillment of the prophecy of this royal figure and thus, as with Haggai, suggest a fulfillment in the near future. However, this expectation that future hope has been realized in the present restoration community is tempered in the prose sermon inclusio which transfers hopes of restoration to a later era (1:1–6; 7:1–8:23) and makes no mention of socio-religious functionaries. This temporal perspective, at least, will only be accentuated in the sections that follow in Zech 9–14 and Malachi.

ZECHARIAH 9–14

The latter half of the book of Zechariah is clearly distinguished from the first half by the presence of the superscription משׂא דבר־יהוה ("oracle, the word of Yahweh"; 9:1; 12:1) and the vastly different prophetic genre that is employed.[53] As has been the trend in Haggai and Zech 1–8, the focus of the prophetic voice is on

figures in 4:14 relate to present figures, asserting that they belong only to the future high priest and prince.

[52] Meyers and Meyers, "Future Fortunes," 209.

[53] For details on the structure of Zech 9–14 and its relationship to Zech 1–8, see Mark J. Boda, "Reading between the Lines: Zechariah 11:4–16 in Its Literary Contexts," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9; Boda, "Fasts to Feasts" = chapter 2 in this present volume.

the community as a whole, but one cannot ignore key texts that reflect on the past, present, and future of leadership figures.

1. Structure

Zechariah 9–14 can be divided into two sections, separated not only by the superscription משׂא in 9:1 and 12:1, but also by the form, style, and mood of the prophecies contained therein. The two oracles in chapters 9–10 are focused on both Israel and Judah, exhibit a positive mood, and convey hope of return from exile, triumph over enemies, and renewal of prosperity in what appears to be the near future. The two oracles in chapters 12–14 do not mention Israel, focusing rather on Jerusalem and Judah, exhibit a much darker mood, and envision a future attack on and cleansing of God's people as well as a victory through God in a more remote future ("on that day": 12:3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13:1, 4; 14:4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21).

2. Leadership Figures

This transformation in form, style, and mood is showcased by highlighting a key contrast between chapters 9–10 and 12–14 over the issue of kingship, a contrast that reveals a change in treatment of the traditional preexilic leadership functionaries. After describing the march of the divine warrior Yahweh in 9:1–7 and his taking up residence in 9:8, the prophet announces the arrival of a royal figure in Zion (9:9–10) who will proclaim peace and exercise global rule. Reference to kingship also appears in chapter 14, the concluding chapter of this literary complex. However, in this case that king is clearly identified as Yahweh alone, with no reference to the Davidic line (14:9). This contrast identifies for us an important development that takes place in the course of Zech 9–14, which represents a considerable departure from the approach to community and leadership functionaries evidenced in Haggai and Zech 1:7–6:15.

Indications of this development are foreshadowed in the opening section of Zech 9–14. The focus is clearly on Yahweh as divine warrior in 9:1–8 as he marches down the Levant and takes up residence on his throne in Zion. It is only then that he presents Zion with her king.[54] This sequence is essential to the proper

[54] Some have suggested that this king is Yahweh himself or the remnant of Judah (cf. Leske, "Zechariah 9:9," 663–78), but these options cannot be accepted because (1) this is a speech of Yahweh to the personified city of Zion about a "king"; (2) Yahweh calls him "your king" (your = Zion); (3) the speech contains significant allusions to Ps 72; cf. Meyers, "Messianism," 127–42; Meyers and Meyers, "Future Fortunes," 207–22; Frans Laubscher, "The Kings's Humbleness in Zechariah 9:9. A Paradox?" *JNSL* 18 (1992): 125–34.

definition of kingship in Judah. In Hebrew tradition the human king was considered a vice-regent of Yahweh on earth, not the sovereign king himself (Ps 2). The key to the identification of the sovereign king appears to be linked to the exercise of military power, a connection that is made explicit in the Song of the Sea, which begins by lauding Yahweh as a great warrior (Exod 15:1–3) and ends by declaring his sovereign authority over Israel and the nations (15:18).[55] Similarly, the crisis over kingship in the early part of the book of Samuel is linked to Israel's request for a human ruler in the midst of a military crisis (1 Sam 8:20; 12:12), a request that ends with a king of military stature (9:2). In the former prophets it is the insignificant boy named David who comes in the name of Yahweh of hosts to take on the giant and is qualified for kingship in Israel (1 Sam 17). Therefore, the human king encountered in Zech 9:9–10 meets Yahweh's requirements for kingship. He is צדיק, that is, one who judges righteously; נושׁע, one who is saved, referring to his dependency on Yahweh for deliverance; עני, humble or afflicted, as he rides on a lowly donkey. Iain Duguid has noted the close connection between Zech 9:10 and the traditions from which it draws. In contrast to Ps 72:13, where the king "saves" the needy, this king is saved and is afflicted (the latter often paralleled with "needy" and found in Ps 72).[56] This description of a royal figure is carefully nuanced to avoid triumphalism, a rhetorical tactic that not only draws on the tradition of kingship in Israel but also is essential in the wake of the failure of the royal house which precipitated the exile.

This opening revelation of the relationship between divine and human kingship thus prepares the way for the exclusive focus on the divine in chapter 14, but it does not explain the absence of human kingship in chapter 14. Key to this development is the complex sign-act depicted in the core passage that lies at the seam in Zech 9–14 between chapters 9–10 and 12–14, that is, Zech 11:4–16. As I have argued elsewhere in detail, these sign acts depicting the failure of a good shepherd and appointment of a bad one, play off of two prophecies within Ezekiel (chapters 34 and 37) that are concerned with the state of present leadership and the hope for future faithful Davidic leadership.[57] Underlying the sign-act in Zech

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[55] This interlacing of royal and military imagery is recognized also by Meyers and Meyers, "Future Fortunes," 220.

[56] Duguid, "Messianic Themes," 265–80. Duguid also notes a contrast to the military triumphalism of Gen 49:8–11, the imagery of which has been transferred to Yahweh himself. Terence Collins, "The Literary Contexts of Zechariah 9:9," in *The Book of Zechariah and Its Influence*, ed. Christopher Tuckett (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 29–40, shows how 9:9–10 uses the genre of the proclamation of the arrival of a king and also is closely allied with Ps 72.

[57] Boda, "Reading between the Lines," 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9.

11, however, is a crisis in Davidic leadership that most likely occurred at the end of Zerubbabel's rule and led to the appointment of his son-in-law to the governorship and, following him, non-Davidides. Any hope of a unified province under Davidic rule appears to have died with the demise of Zerubbabel's leadership. This helps us to understand the transition from a focus in chapters 9–10 on Israel and Judah to the focus in chapters 12–14 on Judah and Jerusalem.

Further evidence of leadership crisis can be discerned in what are often identified as the Shepherd seams in Zech 9–14: 10:1–3a; 11:1–3, 17; 13:7–9.[58] These all lie at transitions between major oracular units in Zech 9–14 and share in common shepherd imagery and prophetic condemnation. Reading them from beginning to end reveals an increasing severity in the situation parallel to an increasing severity in the punishment of the shepherds. This series reaches a climax in 13:7 as Yahweh awakens his sword against the irresponsible shepherd he had appointed over the people in punishment for their rebellion against his good shepherd.[59] The death of this shepherd actually represents a crucial turning point in the drama created by the shepherd pieces, for after the resultant scattering a refined remnant returns in covenant fidelity to Yahweh. The precise identity of these shepherds is difficult to determine, but in light of the identification of the bad shepherd in 11:4–16 as one who followed the demise of a Davidic shepherd, that is, Zerubbabel, it is possible that these shepherds are images of provincial leadership that followed Zerubbabel, possibly including even his own son-in-law.[60] Whether it also involved members of the Zadokite leadership is difficult to tell, even though one can discern a development in the Zecharian tradition from early affirmation to later careful delimitation to even outright criticism of priests within Judah (cf. Zech 3; 6:9–15; 7:5), and it appears from the book of Malachi that even the Zadokites could be tempted into idolatrous relationships (cf. Mal 2:10–16;

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[58] Both Karl Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten 2: Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi.*, 7th ed., ATD 25.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 143–44, and Paul L. Redditt, "Israel's Shepherds: Hope and Pessimism in Zechariah 9–14," *CBQ* 51 (1989): 631–42, do a superb job of identifying these redactional seams in Zech 9–14; Johannes Tromp, "Bad Divination in Zechariah 10:1–2," in *Zechariah and Its Influence*, ed. Christopher Tuckett (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 41–52, has recently has encouraged us to read at least 10:1–2 apart from chapters 9–10.

[59] Cook, "Metamorphosis," 453–66, notes that although the shepherd at the end of chapter 11 and the shepherd in 13:7 are connected, a cleansing has occurred in 12:10–13:1.

[60] See Meyers, "Messianism," 131, who does note that there were two Davidic sons who could have succeeded Zerubbabel (Meshullam and Hananiah), but that rather their brother-in-law and sister were chosen instead: "in all probability to keep the Davidic name in the public eye but at the same time making it quite clear that in the Persian Empire there was no turning back to the old monarchist pattern and that royalty played a more symbolic role than anything else."

3:5).[61] As for the prophets, it appears that at least some of the problems can be linked to false prophetic activity that is in turn connected to idolatrous practices (Zech 10:2; 13:2–6).

But what does this then say about the stance of those responsible for Zech 9–14 towards the traditional socio-religious figures? While some have suggested that the strong criticism against prophecy in 13:2–6 indicates that the end of prophecy is near, this is hardly likely in light of the fact that Zech 9–14 identifies itself as a prophetic writing and draws heavily on the prophetic tradition for its imagery and message (9:1; 12:1). Rather, what is attacked here is false prophecy, a fact that is made clear by the consistent linkage between prophecy and idolatry.[62] The contrast between the vision of the Davidic king in 9:9 and that of Yahweh in 14:9 has suggested to others that hope of a renewed Davidic kingship is no longer operative. However, this does not take into account consistent echoes of key Davidic prophecies from Jeremiah and Ezekiel throughout the Shepherd units and sign-acts, echoes that remind the people of God's enduring hope for the Davidic line while at the same time reminding them of God's willingness to discipline the line.[63] It especially does not take account of explicit references to the Davidic clan in chapters 12 and 13.

These chapters clearly identify the Davidic clan as in need of renewal, along with Jerusalem and the rest of Judah. The "house of David" will mourn for their treatment of God (12:10, 12)[64] and receive cleansing from God's fountain (13:1). There is concern on the part of the prophet that the "honor of the house of David and of Jerusalem's inhabitants" not exceed that of Judah, but such honor is still available to David (12:7). Similarly, in a shocking comparative, the weakest of

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[61] Boda, "Fasts to Feasts," 405 = chapter 2 in this present volume.

[62] Thomas W. Overholt, "The End of Prophecy: No Players without a Program," *JSOT* 42 (1988): 103–15.

[63] Mark J. Boda and Stanley E. Porter, "Literature to the Third Degree: Prophecy in Zechariah 9–14 and the Passion of Christ," in *Traduire la Bible hébraïque: De la Septante à la Nouvelle Bible Segond = Translating the Hebrew Bible: From the Septuagint to the Nouvelle Bible Segond*, ed. Robert David and Manuel Jinbachian, Sciences Bibliques 15 (Montreal: Médiaspaul, 2005), 215–54 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 10.

[64] Zechariah 12:10 is often treated as a messianic prophecy (since it is cited in the New Testament at John 19:37), but Zech 12:10 appears to be speaking about the metaphorical piercing of God, rather than an allusion to Josiah (it is not surprising that Zech 12:10 appears only in John 19:37, considering one focus in John is to intertwine Jesus and Yahweh); see Boda, *Haggai/Zechariah*; contra Roy A. Rosenberg, "The Slain Messiah in the Old Testament," *ZAW* 99 (1987): 259–61; Duguid, "Messianic Themes," 276; Antti Laato, *Josiah and David Redivivus: The Historical Josiah and the Messianic Expectations of Exilic and Postexilic Times*, ConBOT 33 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1992), 290–91; cf. Laato, *A Star Is Rising*.

Judah will be "like David" and the house of David "like God, like the מלאך יהוה [angel of Yahweh] going before them" (12:8).[65] Although carefully nuancing David's role within Judah, the prophet does not appear to be sidelining the Davidic house. Does this then mean that this prophet is merely maintaining the orientation towards the Davidic house that was discerned in Haggai and Zech 1:7–6:15? Maybe so, but there is a fascinating line of evidence that may reveal that the prophet in Zech 9–14 is suggesting a new way forward that does offers continuity with past prophetic hopes for leadership and yet, simultaneously, considerable discontinuity.

The renewal among God's people that follows God's triumph over the nations begins with thorough corporate mourning for their treatment of Yahweh. It is the description of this mourning that may offer the prophet's way forward. Zechariah 12:12 begins with the summary statement that the entire land will mourn within their clans, separated by gender. This summary statement is then broken down into its constituent parts with reference to the clans of David, Nathan, Levi, and Shimei, ending with a general reference to the remaining clans. The singling out of these four clans is striking and begs the question of its significance. Some have seen this list as a summary of the entire leadership caste of the community (royal: David; prophetic: Nathan; priestly: Levi; sapiential: Shimei),[66] but one could also take this list as identifying clans within clans—that is, the clans of David are to mourn, but in particular the clan of Nathan achieves special status within the Davidic house.[67] So also the clans of Levi are to mourn, but in particular the clan of Shimei achieves special status within the Levitical house. Biblical tradition identifies Nathan as one of David's many sons (2 Sam 5:14), even though Solomon's line is the one that is chosen to lead the nation both for good and ill. Biblical tradition also indicates that there was a Shimei in the Levitical line, the son of Levi's son Gershom (1 Chr 6:17; cf. Exod 6:16–17; Num 3:17–18), even though the leading family of the Levites was usually identified as that of Levi's other son Kohath, whose descendants included not only Aaron, but also the great

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[65] The second part of this phrase appears to be an addition which seeks to soften the original connection to divinity, as also the ancient versions do; cf. Mason, "Messiah," 357.

[66] Ralph L. Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, WBC 32 (Waco, TX: Word, 1984), 277; Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Rebuilding with Hope. A Commentary on the Books of Haggai and Zechariah*, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 149.

[67] So also Meyers, "Messianism," 138; for other proponents see Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty*, 122 n. 232. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, new updated ed., ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1993), with M. D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus*, SNTSMS 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 59 n. 3, 240–42, on the significance of Nathan in Luke's genealogy of Jesus.

Zadokite line that served the Davidic kings and were represented in Haggai and Zech 1–8 by the high priest Joshua (1 Chr 6:1–15; cf. Hag 1:1–12; Zech 3). A further twist to this priestly genealogy must be mentioned. Zechariah, the prophet, is linked to a descendant named "Iddo" (Zech. 1:1, 7), and, interestingly, a man named Zechariah was a leader in the priestly family of Iddo according to Neh 12:16. This name Iddo is associated with a family of Levites that also is linked to the line of Gershom (1 Chr 6:21), the same family as that of Shimei in Zech 12:13. In light of the crisis in leadership identified in the Shepherd seams of Zech 9–14, this evidence may suggest that Zech 9–14 offers enduring hope for the royal and priestly lines, retaining affirmation of the Davidic and Levitical lines while looking to different clans within those traditional lines to carry the agenda forward.

3. Summary

No matter what we do with this evidence for a modification of royal and priestly hopes, it is certain that Zech 9–14 seriously tempers the idyllic portrait offered in Haggai and Zech 1:7–6:15, furthering the trend seen already in Zech 7–8. There is enduring hope for socio-religious functionaries within Israel, but in the wake of the leadership crisis in late-sixth-century Yehud greater weight has been shifted onto Yahweh. The priestly house is largely ignored; the prophetic stream is suspect, though not disqualified.[68] The royal stream is carefully nuanced at the outset: Yahweh is the sovereign, and the king is dependent upon him. As the text progresses there is clearly a crisis in the royal stream, and even if it is not sidelined, there are suggestions of its secondary character.[69] Accompanying this has been an increasing transfer of hope to the remote future: "on that day." Thus, in the face of a tightening Persian stranglehold on Yehud, Zech 9–14 reflects "the collapse of any hope for political independence," which transferred "Israel's dreams of a restored and independent kingdom … increasingly to the eschatological realm."[70]

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[68] Contra Petersen, *Prophecy*, 45: "classical Israelite prophecy was a thing of the past and claims for contemporary manifestations of prophecy were to be denied."

[69] As W. J. Dumbrell, "Kingship and Temple in the Post–Exilic Period," *RTR* 37 (1978): 33–42 (40), says, agreeing with Hanson: "a greatly diminished Davidic interest in these chapters"; and Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty*, 125, asserts, probably too strongly, yet in agreement with Mason, "there is no evidence of a hope for a davidic king or messiah"; cf. Rex A. Mason, "The Relation of Zech 9–14 to Proto–Zechariah," *ZAW* 88 (1976): 227–39 (237).

[70] Meyers and Meyers, "Future Fortunes," 210; for the impact of dissonance between early Persian expectations and reality, especially as related to Zerubbabel see (guardedly): Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Cognitive Dissonance in the Prophetic Traditions of the Old Testament* (New York: Seabury, 1979), 157–68.

MALACHI

Following Zech 8, the two "oracle" (משׂא) superscriptions in 9:1 and 12:1 signal key seams in what appears to be a unified corpus stretching from chapters 9 to 14 (especially seen in the Shepherd units that draw the entire corpus together). However, a third משׂא (oracle) superscription appears immediately following Zech 14:21, introducing what we know today as the book of Malachi. What follows, however, does not display literary links with the previous משׂא (oracle) material and thus should be distinguished from it on one level, even if it is related by its shared identity in the Book of the Twelve (Hosea–Malachi) and possibly in an original Haggai–Malachi corpus.[71]

One significant contrast between Zech 9–14 and the book of Malachi is that the latter is far more rooted in the historical circumstances of a community operating in what appears to be Persian-period Yehud. As Smith writes: "Malachi was not primarily concerned with the future. His primary interest was the 'here and now.'"[72] The prophet confronts dysfunctional patterns within this community, ranging from inappropriate sacrifices to insufficient tithes and offerings, from idolatry to injustice. In addition, the prophet employs the vocative voice, confronting his audience in personal and direct ways (1:6; 2:1; 3:6).

Clearly this prophet views the life of the community through the lens of the temple and its services, as Robert Kugler has so aptly written: "the book was mainly concerned with the cult and the priestly abuse of it."[73] This is obvious in the prophet's attack on defiled sacrifices (1:6–14), unrighteous priests (3:2–5), and insufficient tithes and offerings (3:6–12), but it is also evident in attacks on foreign marriages (2:10–12) which have "desecrated the sanctuary" and attacks on divorces (2:13–16) for which God rejects their offerings so that they must

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[71] See Michael H. Floyd, "The Maśśā' as a Type of Prophetic Book," *JBL* 121 (2002): 401–22; for the redaction of this book, see Paul L. Redditt, "The Book of Malachi in Its Social Setting," *CBQ* 56 (1994): 240–55.

[72] Ralph L. Smith, "The Shape of Theology in the Book of Malachi," *SJT* 30 (1987): 22–23 (26).

[73] Robert Kugler, "The Levi-Priestly Tradition: From Malachi to 'Testament of Levi'" (PhD diss, University of Notre Dame, 1994), 49. (Unfortunately Kugler's excellent and extensive chapter on Malachi was excised when the dissertation was published as Kugler, *Patriarch*. On the social background to this book and various views, see John W. Rogerson, "The Social Background of the Book of Malachi," in *New Heaven and New Earth—Prophecy and the Millennium*, ed. Robert Hayward and P. J. Harland, VTSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 171–79; Redditt, "Book of Malachi," 240–55; Jon L. Berquist, "The Social Setting of Malachi," *BTB* 19 (1989): 121–26. This book appears to express concern over the present group functioning as priests in the temple and looks to a future that includes purification of the Levites for service in the temple.

"flood Yahweh's altar with tears" (2:13). This prophetic voice is positive and passionate for the temple and its services and concerned with the present state of the community and its sacral leadership.

What is interesting is that Malachi makes no mention of the royal stream of leadership that has been so important in the prophetic corpora we have considered so far.[74] Reference is made to a "governor" (Mal 1:8), but there is not even an implicit link to the Davidic or royal tradition in the book. Rather, Malachi is fixated on the priestly and prophetic streams.

1. Malachi 2:1–9

Malachi's concern over the priesthood that comes to the fore in 2:1–9, a passage addressed directly to the "priests" (2:1). In this attack the prophet calls down curse on those who were to bring blessing to the community and threatens to spread defiled matter on their faces and thus disqualify them from their office. The concern of the prophet is clearly for what he calls the "covenant with Levi," which is presently under threat by the priestly administration in the temple (2:8).[75] The core concern seems to be related to the integrity of both priestly instruction and practice. In this passage we are told that the priest was nothing less than מלאך יהוה ("the messenger of Yahweh"; 2:7). While some have seen this as indicative of an agenda for priestly replacement of prophetic functions, Andrew E. Hill has rightly treated this as merely a "clarification of the ideal of priest as teacher of Yahweh's law."[76] The term "messenger" cannot be seen as the exclusive possession of the

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[74] Even if A. Bentzen, "Priesterschaft und Laien in Der jüdischen Gemeinde des fünften Jahrhunderts," *AfO* 6 (1930–31): 280–86, did try to link the messenger in 3:1 to a royal figure, albeit with emendation; cf. Dumbrell, "Kingship," 33–42; and esp. Mason, "Messiah," 338–64.

[75] On this covenant with Levi and the Levi tradition in Malachi and the Old Testament, see Russell Fuller, "The Blessing of Levi in Dtn 33, Mal 2, and Qumran," in *Konsequente Traditionsgeschichte*, ed. Rüdiger Bartelmus, Thomas Krüger, and Helmut Utzschneider, OBO 126 (Fribourg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 31–44; O'Brien, *Malachi*; Meyers, "Priestly Language," 225–37; Kugler, "Levi-Priestly Tradition," 41–70; Beth Glazier-McDonald, "Mal'ak habberit: The Messenger of the Covenant in Mal 3:1," *HAR* 11 (1987): 93–104.

[76] Andrew E. Hill, *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25D (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 212; cf. Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 258; Fuller, "Blessing," 31–44. The replacement view was espoused in an earlier era by John Merlin Powis Smith, "Malachi," in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah*, ed. Hinckley Gilbert T. Mitchell, John Merlin Powis Smith, and J. A. Brewer, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 40, and more recently by Meyers, "Priestly Language," 231. David L.

prophets in Israel, considering that it is used outside of Malachi only five other times in reference to a prophet (Isa 42:19; 44:26; 2 Chr 36:15, 16; Hag 1:13), and the vast majority of uses of this term in the Hebrew Bible are connected to a heavenly being, that is, an angel. While it does not appear to be a denigration of the prophetic function, neither is there a rejection of the priestly office, even though Malachi vehemently attacks the priestly administration of his day. The covenant with Levi is secure, even if the present representatives must be disciplined and even removed.[77]

2. Malachi 3:1–2

The bulk of the book of Malachi is focused on the present, but at a couple of points a future orientation breaks in, signaled by such vocabulary as "the day of his coming" (3:2), the "coming day" (3:19 [Eng. 4:1]) or "that coming great and dreadful day of Yahweh" (3:23 [Eng. 4:5]). The first of these occurs in the much-debated verse 3:1, where in answer to the people's disillusionment with divine justice the prophet promises the sudden appearance of one called "lord," whose appearance will be prepared for by one called "my messenger" and whose appearance is either

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Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 192 n. 52, likens this aspect of Malachi to the Chronicler who sought to "invest Levites with prophet-like authority." On the priestly role in Torah ruling see Hag 2:10–14; cf. Joachim Begrich, "Die priestliche Thora," in *Weiden und Wesen Des Alten Testament*, ed. P. Volz, F. Stummels, and J. Hempel, BZAW 66 (Berlin: Topelman, 1936), 63–88; H. Huffmon, "Priestly Divination in Israel," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, IN; Eisenbrauns; Philadelphia: ASOR, 1983), 355–59; Eric M. Meyers, "The Use of Tôrâ in Haggai 2:11 and the Role of the Prophet in the Restoration Community," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns; Philadelphia: ASOR, 1983), 69–76.

[77] There is a long history of research on the social context lying behind the book of Malachi. See recently, Berquist, "Malachi," 121–26; O'Brien, *Malachi*; Redditt, "Book of Malachi," 240–55; Kugler, "Levi-Priestly Tradition," 41–70; Rogerson, "Social Background," 171–79.

equated with or parallel to one called "the messenger of the covenant."[78] The key issue under debate is the identity of these three individuals in 3:1.[79]

Clearly the text defines one of the three as a figure who prepares the way. That is, the one called "my messenger" prepares the way for the appearance of at least the "lord" (**אדון**). Commentators universally agree that this **אדון** is a reference to Yahweh because (1) this one "whom they seek" appears to be responding to their question: "Where is the God of justice?" (2:17); (2) Yahweh has just said that the messenger will prepare the way before him (3:1); and (3) it is claimed that this one has ownership over the temple.[80] David L. Petersen, among others, has suggested that "my messenger" is the same as the "messenger of the covenant" who appears with the "lord."[81] Beth Glazier-McDonald, however, deems this unlikely because it fuses a figure who prepares the way with one who accompanies the **אדון** who emerges "suddenly." In this view the arrangement of the language, the use of "suddenly," and the parallel language between the line with "lord" and that with "messenger of the covenant" disqualifies any equation between the "messenger of the covenant" and "my messenger." In light of this, however, how

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[78] Conrad studies the various "messengers" in the Twelve and sees the shift from the designation "prophet" to that of "messenger" as significant, suggesting that this indicates a replacement of prophecy with a restored messenger or angelic presence. See Edgar W. Conrad, "Messengers in Isaiah and the Twelve: Implications for Reading Prophetic Books," *JSOT* 91 (2000): 83–97. It appears that the term "messenger" does carry with it considerable weight rhetorically; it is used to bolster the prophetic figures in Haggai and Malachi, as can be seen in Hag 1:12 in which the "voice of Yahweh their God" is equated with the "message of the prophet Haggai," a phrase that is then linked to Haggai's status as "messenger of Yahweh" in 1:13. There is clearly a crisis in prophetic credibility in Haggai–Malachi, and the "messenger" nomenclature is one of many strategies to bolster the credibility of this new era of prophecy; cf. Boda, "Haggai."

[79] Some have tried to avoid the issue by excising vv. 1b–4 as a later expansion due to its use of third-person speech, e.g., Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 207; Rex A. Mason, *The Books of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 152. But even if this could be sustained, it still does not explain why the one responsible for this expansion would place the lord and the messenger of the covenant alongside each other. The switch to third-person speech is common in prophetic speech, making this redactional solution unnecessary; cf. Beth Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi, the Divine Messenger*, SBLDS 98 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987), 129 n. 16.

[80] See Hill, *Malachi*, although it is possible that **אדון** here is merely a reference to a human lord/master, and thus a priest, or that the "temple" here is a reference to a king coming to his palace (as in 1 Kgs 21:1; 2 Kgs 20:18 // Isa 39:7 // 2 Chr 36:7; Dan 1:4; Isa 13:22; Nah 2:7; Ps 45:9, 16; Hos 8:14; Amos 8:3; Joel 4:5; Prov 30:28; Ps 144:12).

[81] Petersen, *Prophecy*, 42–43; cf. Eugene H. Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Exegetical Commentary* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1994), 429–30.

does Glazier-McDonald explain the relationship between Yahweh and this "messenger of the covenant"?

Glazier-McDonald contends that the language of messenger in 3:1 is drawn from the book of Exodus, in particular Exod 23:20, which speaks of Yahweh sending a "messenger" who would go before God's people to guard them on the journey.[82] This she links to the first messenger in Mal 3:1, that is, "my messenger." However, she then returns to this same passage to explain the parallel relationship between Yahweh and the "messenger of the covenant" in 3:1: "This corresponds well with the Exodus passage where the roles of Yahweh and his messenger seem to merge (22:21f) [sic],"[83] concluding that "the messenger … is Yahweh's mode of self revelation."[84] Through this line of argumentation Glazier-McDonald was seeking to undermine Petersen's claim for an equation of "my messenger" and the "messenger of the covenant" and in the process has actually bolstered his case."[85]

First Petersen and later O'Brien have emphasized the role of the messenger in Exod 23:20–22 as "covenant enforcer."[86] As covenant enforcer the "messenger" is called upon to deliver prophetic covenant lawsuits against the people. Such a role is filled in the Old Testament by both heavenly (Judg 2:1–5)[87] and human beings (1 Sam 2:27–36; 2 Sam 12:7–12; 1 Kgs 21:17–24).

If this messenger figure then both prepares for and accompanies Yahweh in Mal 3:1, what kind of figure is this? Bruce Malchow has argued that the messenger here is a priestly figure, in particular because of the identification of Levi as the "messenger of Yahweh" in Mal 2:7.[88] The evidence of O'Brien above, however, suggests that this is either a heavenly (angel) or human (prophet) figure who

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[82] Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 129–32; so also Donald K. Berry, "Malachi's Dual Design: The Close of the Canon and What Comes Afterward," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 269–302 (281).

[83] This should read 23:21f.

[84] Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 131.

[85] O'Brien notes this fusion of figures and links it to the fact that messengers in the Old Testament (whether angelic or human) function as "the 'alter-ego' of the sovereign"; O'Brien, *Malachi*, 75.

[86] Petersen, *Prophecy*, 43–44; O'Brien, *Malachi*, 74–75.

[87] The "messenger/angel of Yahweh" in Judg 2:1–5 appears to be a spiritual being, especially in light of other uses of this phrase in Judges (6:11; 13:2–23).

[88] Bruce Malchow, "The Messenger of the Covenant in Malachi 3:1," *JBL* 103 (1984): 252–55; see Elizabeth Rice Achtemeier, *Nahum–Malachi*, IBC (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986), 171–73, who identifies Malachi as a lawsuit of a Levitical priest who acts as a messenger of the covenant in the temple; cf. David G. Clark, "Elijah as Eschatological High Priest: An Examination of the Elijah Tradition in Mal. 3:22–24" (PhD diss, University of Notre Dame, 1975).

will not arise from the Levites but rather be involved in the refining of the Levites. It is difficult to ignore the fact that the description of this messenger as "my messenger" is identical to the name in the superscription to this book, suggesting possibly that the redactor viewed the prophet himself as this messenger.

The timing of his appearance is conditioned by the central event of Yahweh coming to his temple (3:1), which is then called "the day of his coming" (3:2). This kind of language does not appear to carry the eschatological weight that is often placed upon it. Hill, for example, identifies it as "pregnant with eschatological implications associated with the Day of Yahweh," but then likens it to similar phrases which denote the presence of Yahweh in the Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi corpus, few of which (if any) are eschatological in scope.[89] It is probably this evidence that led R. Smith to highlight the lack of eschatology in Malachi: "He did not speak of 'the day of the Lord.' He made no reference to 'The Messiah.' He has no 'full-blown' system of eschatology. Yet he knows he is living in the 'not yet' era."[90] By this Smith appears to be referring to the oral level in Malachi, rather than to what are considered two additional appendices attached after Mal 3:21 (Eng. 4:3). The reference to "day of his coming" in 3:2 does not appear to be in any more than a reference to the arrival of Yahweh in his temple (3:1).

Thus, Mal 3:1 denotes some kind of messenger, whether heavenly or human, who will come and deliver a prophetic message to prepare for the arrival of Yahweh. The actual character of this preparation is never spelled out.[91] Then Yahweh with this messenger at his side will refine the Levites to qualify them for temple service. The timing of this arrival of Yahweh is not specified, but it is related to his return to fill the Second Temple.

3. Malachi 3:23–24 (Eng. 4:5–6)

For many scholars, however, the ambiguous features in Mal 3:1 are filled out in 3:23–24 (Eng. 4:5–6), a pericope that is treated as a later addition to the book of Malachi, functioning either as an early interpretation of the book itself or as a pericope inserted by canonical scribes who were seeking to forge together either the more limited Book of the Twelve (cf. Hos 14 and Mal 3:22–24) or the broader Torah and Prophets.[92] However, it is difficult to deny lexical connections between

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[89] Hill, *Malachi*, 272.

[90] Smith, "Shape," 26.

[91] See Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 136–39 for the significance of this language in preparations for the arrival of royalty.

[92] See Gerald L. Keown, "Messianism in the Book of Malachi," *RevExp* 84 (1987): 443–51 (445); Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 232–33; Paul L. Redditt, "Zechariah 9–14, Malachi, and the Redaction of the Book of the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature. Essays on*

3:23–24 and 3:1, evidence that leads Petersen, who is sympathetic to these canonical views, to admit that the "individual who wrote it seems interested in identifying the messenger."[93]

Malachi 3:23–24 thus appears to be clarifying 3:1, and it does so in three ways. First, it identifies the "messenger" as "Elijah the prophet." This choice is interesting in light of our discussion of 3:1, for there we showed that the two figures who come as messengers for Yahweh with a prophetic tone are angels and prophets. It is well known that the Hebrew prophetic stream was regularly associated with the divine council—that is, the angelic host (1 Kgs 22; Isa 6; Jer 23:18, 22)—but Elijah's association is even more pronounced, for he did not die and was taken up in a chariot of fire accompanied by horsemen. Here we see a fusion of the two "messenger" traditions: a heavenly-human prophetic figure.[94] Second, this passage identifies the timing of this preparation as "before the coming of the great and terrible day of Yahweh." What was originally a reference to God's return to the temple, now has taken on an eschatological dimension (Joel 3:4 [Eng. 2:31b]; cf. Joel 2:11; Jer 30:7; Zeph 1:14).[95] Third, the activity of preparation is now spelled out as the prophet is called to a ministry of either repentance or reconciliation.[96] Whether 3:22–24 was an original part of the book of Malachi[97] or a later addition to the book,[98] this passage plays a significant role in our interpretation of the book, for it functions to clarify what was at one point nebulous.

4. Summary

The book of Malachi, therefore, is silent on the royal stream of leadership. Its focus is on the priestly and prophetic streams instead. The present priestly leadership is corrupt, but this does not disqualify this stream from a role in the community. A refined priestly group will be created through the actions of a prophetic figure, which at first appears to be the prophet himself (Malachi), but in the end

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Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Academic, 1996), 245–68 (266–67); Hill, *Malachi*, 363–66.

[93] Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 230.

[94] Slightly different is Berry, "Dual Design," 290, who sees the messenger as combining the roles of priest, prophet, and divine emissary (angel). The Elijah pericope, however, he does admit "involves the introduction or identification of the messenger who acts in more of a divine than human role" (291).

[95] See Hill, *Malachi*, 377; Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 264–65.

[96] For this debate and its basis in the ancient versions, see Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 255–57; Hill, *Malachi*, 378–81.

[97] Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 243–70; O'Brien, *Malachi*, 79.

[98] As Hill, *Malachi*, 363–66; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 227–33.

is identified as Elijah, who is both heavenly and human messenger, and who will return and usher in the appearance of the refining God. The timing of this appearance may have originally been in the near future, if 3:1 referred to the role of the prophetic voice of the book of Malachi (1:1), but it was interpreted in 3:22–24 (Eng. 4:4–6) as a future event that possessed a far more severe and cataclysmic tone.

Conclusion

The books of Haggai–Malachi offer us a perspective on messianic expectation in the final phase of prophetic tradition in the Old Testament. They reveal an initial burst of renewal of the messianic streams of pre-exilic Judah as royal, priestly and prophetic figures ascend to places of influence. The temporal focus of Haggai and Zech 1:7–6:15 is assuredly in the imminent future. This hope, however, is carefully nuanced beginning in Zech 7–8, which reveals that fulfillment awaits the covenant obedience of the people and leadership. Although the hope is kept alive by the introduction of the royal figure in Zech 9:9–10, chapters 9–14 represents a serious threat to royal hopes as the royal figure resigns, ceding rule to an inappropriate shepherd. The only way forward will be a future punishment of this shepherd leadership. Although the focus clearly shifts to Yahweh by chapter 14, all hope for the royal and priestly houses is not lost, even if it means penitential cleansing and possibly a genealogical shift to a different royal and priestly clan. Concerns over the validity of the priestly stream are voiced in the book of Malachi. The way forward is linked to the appearance of a heavenly-human messenger who is identified as the prophet Elijah in the closing pericope of this corpus. Thus, in the end, hope for the reemergence of king and priest is carried forward by the prophetic stream, which looks to a distant future day for the hoped-for renewal.

The interrelationship between these three functionary types is highlighted by a common phrase shared by all three in this final phase of prophetic witness. In Haggai–Malachi, royal, priestly, and prophetic streams are all called מלאך יהוה: Hag 1:13 (prophet), Zech 12:8 (king), and Mal 2:7 (priest). Outside of these three references מלאך יהוה (which is used fifty-four times in the Old Testament) is never used for a human figure; elsewhere in the Old Testament it is always used for a heavenly being.[99] Zechariah 1–8 stands apart from the rest of the Haggai–Malachi corpus as the one section that uses מלאך יהוה to refer to a heavenly being. There a מלאך יהוה appears at the outset of the vision series and then at

[99] Cf. Edgar W. Conrad, "The End of Prophecy and the Appearance of Angels/Messengers in the Book of the Twelve," *JSOT* 73 (1997): 65–79; Conrad, "Messengers." Conrad links this to the waning of prophecy, whereas it appears to be related to the heightening of all three functionary streams.

the heart of the vision series in Zech 3, where he addresses the role that all three functionaries will play in a future kingdom.[100] In this same section the מלאך יהוה addresses each of these three functionaries, showing their heightened role within the divine council. It may be that one of the key uniting features of the Haggai–Malachi corpus is the identification of all "messianic" streams as מלאך יהוה, confirming their close identification with Yahweh, by whom they are truly "anointed," and suggesting heavenly access if not also origin for these figures who are represented in the present by the traditional royal, priestly, and prophetic lines.[101]

[100] Interestingly, this vision is often seen as an addition to the original series of seven, a view bolstered by commonalities between it and other later pieces in the 1:7–6:15; see preceding footnote.

[101] On this heavenly figure coming in human form in Malachi, see N. G. Cohen, "From *Nabi* to *Mal'ak* to 'Ancient Figure'," *JJS* 26 (1985): 12–24.

5
Messengers of Hope in Haggai–Malachi[1]

Having provided an overview of the presentation of royal, priestly, and prophetic figures within Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, I build on my concluding observations on the identification of all three of these socio-functionaries as מלאך יהוה*, providing further evidence and drawing out the implications for the development of a Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi corpus.*

There is general consensus among those working on the redaction of the Book of the Twelve that Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi are related to the later phases of the compilation of this prophetic corpus. Nearly all have assumed that at least Haggai and Zech 1–8 comprised a pre-existent collection that then entered into the Book of the Twelve. This position is often based on the work of Eric and Carol Meyers in their Anchor Bible Commentary, in which they argued that that Haggai and Zech 1–8 were composed prior to and possibly for the dedication of the temple.[2] Their argument is based upon striking similarities on literary (especially superscriptions) and thematic (especially temple rebuilding) grounds between Haggai and Zech 1–8 along with the absence of any mention of the completion of the temple in these books.

Positions have diverged over the issue of what followed Zech 8, either in the pre-Book of the Twelve phase or in later redactional activity on the Book of the

[1] Based on my original publication, Mark J. Boda, "Messengers of Hope in Haggai–Malachi," *JSOT* 32 (2007): 113–31. Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume.

[2] Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25B (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), xliv–xlv.

Twelve. For many, some form of Malachi followed immediately after Zech 8, evidence for which is provided in, for example, Nogalski's list of catchwords (*Stichwortverkettung)* linking Zech 8 and Mal 1 as well as Bosshard and Kratz's list of connections between the Haggai/Zech 1–8 corpus and Malachi.[3] In a later phase, Zech 9–14 was inserted between Zech 8 and Mal 1 and, according to Redditt, with its ubiquitous intertextual allusions to earlier prophetic literature, Zech 9–14 represented a reflection on the Book of the Twelve as a whole and was intended to shape one's reading of the book of Malachi.[4] One possible reason it was

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[3] For catchwords (e.g., "love"/"hate" in Zech 8:17 and Mal 1:2–3; "entreat the face of Yahweh" in Zech 8:22 and Mal 1:9), see especially James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 53–56; James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 187 n. 21, where he lists twelve words or phrases common to Zech 8:9–23 and Mal 1:1–14. For Nogalski, Haggai/Zech 1–8 entered the Book first, then came Malachi and finally Zech 9–14. For the connections between Malachi and the larger corpus of Haggai–Zech 1–8 see E. Bosshard and R. G. Kratz, "Maleachi Im Zwölfprophetenbuch," *BN* 52 (1990): 27–46, who see Malachi as originally the continuation of Zech 7–8, although later expanded in two phases. See criticism of using the catchword phenomenon for redaction theory in Barry Alan Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon*, SBLDS 149 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 175–91; Ehud Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'the Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 126–56.

[4] See especially Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*; Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*; Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books*, BibSem 20 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 80–81; Paul L. Redditt, "Zechariah 9–14, Malachi, and the Redaction of the Book of the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature. Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 245–68; Paul L. Redditt, "Zechariah 9–14: The Capstone of the Book of the Twelve," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 305–32. Nogalski argued that Zech 9–11 was added first to smooth the transition between Zech 8 and Malachi, Zech 12:1–13:2 (3–6) was added to correct chapters 9–11 with a more positive attitude toward Jerusalem; and then 14:1–21 was added, relocating at the same time 13:7–9 to function as a transition to the remnant motif in Zech 14:2 and adding superscriptions in 9:1 and 12:1. Since Zech 13:9 echoes Hos 1:9; 2:25 and Mal 3:2–3, which open and close the Book of the Twelve, when Zech 13:9 was added it assumed a Book of the Twelve that began with Hosea and ended with Malachi; Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 234–36, 45–46; James D. Nogalski, "Zechariah 13.7–9 as a Transitional Text: An Appreciation and Reevaluation of the Work of Rex Mason," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and*

inserted prior to the end of Malachi was that the editors did not want to exceed the number twelve for the corpus.

The scholarly consensus, however, has not been unanimous on this issue, and so for others a substantial portion of Zech 9–14 was already in place after Zech 8, before Malachi was added to the collection. Schart, for instance, questions Nogalski's claims for catchwords linking Zech 8 and Mal 1 and finds evidence of catchwords and themes which link Zech 14 to Mal 1.[5] For Schart, the addition of Malachi occurred after Zech 9–14 had been incorporated into the Book of the Twelve[6] and helped put the eschatological visions of Zech 9–14 in proper perspective.[7] Curtis, on the other hand, has argued that Zech 9–14 and Malachi

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Zechariah 9–14, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 292–305. Collins, *Mantle*, 63–64, 80–81, has Haggai/Zech 1–8 entering near the time of the temple reconstruction, and in the mid–fifth century BCE Malachi (with Joel, Habakkuk, Malachi and additions to Zephaniah), and finally Zech 9–14 and Mal 4:4–6. Steck argues that the foundational layer of Malachi was added to Zech 8, after which then there was a slow accretion of parts of Zech 9–14 until finally Malachi was distinguished from Zechariah in the Greek period; O. Steck, *Der Abschluss der Prophetie im Alten Testament: Ein Versuch zur Frage der Vorgeschichte des Kanons*, BTS 17 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991), 196–98; cf. the table in Redditt, "Capstone."

[5] Schart's catchwords and themes include the superscription משׂא, the emphasis on the holiness of the house of Yahweh in Zech 14:20–21 and the emphasis on temple and priesthood in Mal 1, and the catchword "king" in Zech 14:9 and Mal 1:14. This evidence is cited by Redditt, "Capstone," 317, and expanded to include the connection to "one" in Mal 2:10, 15, but it is turned around to mean that Zech 14 "drew upon Malachi's thought."

[6] For Schart it was a preexistent corpus of Hag 1–Zech 1–8 (possibly with Zech 9–13) that first joined the book that became the Book of the Twelve. First, Zech 14 (and Zech 9–13 if not already there) and subsequently Malachi were added in later redactional phases; see Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998); ibid., 252–60, 297–303; Aaron Schart, "Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets: Problems and Models," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 34–48 (42).

[7] Aaron Schart, "Putting the Eschatological Visions of Zechariah in Their Place: Malachi as a Hermeneutical Guide for the Last Section of the Book of the Twelve," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 333–43 (339), notes: "I do not think that Zechariah and Malachi formed a literary stratum from the very beginning. The evidence is too weak."

(which had undergone "a composite unifying redaction"[8]) were fused to an original Haggai–Zech 1–8 corpus, prior to incorporation into the Book of the Twelve.[9]

The concern of the work at hand is to highlight any evidence within Haggai–Malachi that would suggest that at some point it formed a unified corpus with its own integrity apart from the Book of the Twelve. If so, who was responsible for the corpus and what was its significance?

Redactional conclusions

My own work has challenged the Meyers's consensus that Haggai and Zech 1–8 were composed for the dedication of the temple. On the one hand, Haggai as a book shows strong connections to the structure of temple rebuilding ceremonies and texts.[10] Its abrupt ending is related to the fact that it represents a copy of a text that was created not for the dedication of the temple, but rather for its foundation

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[8] Byron G. Curtis, "Social Location and Redaction History in the Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi Corpus" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Washington, DC, November 1993), with thanks to the presenter for a written copy of the paper.

[9] Curtis, "Social Location"; Byron G. Curtis, "The Daughter of Zion Oracles and the Appendices to Malachi: Evidence on the Later Redactors and Redaction of the Book of the Twelve," in *SBLSP* 37/2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 872–92; Byron G. Curtis, "The Zion-Daughter Oracles: Evidence on the Identity and Ideology of the Late Redactors of the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 166–84; see now Byron G. Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road: The Book of Zechariah in Social Location Trajectory Analysis*, AcBib 25 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2006). Curtis argues for commonality between Haggai and Zech 1–8 on the one side and Zech 9–14 and Malachi on the other, but provides little argumentation for how these two were fused together. Curtis's focus on the Daughter-Zion oracles is important, but what I question is the lack of focus on the oracle in Zech 2 which has far more in common with Zeph 3:14–20 than with Zech 9:1–10. See also the earlier view of R. E. Wolfe, "Editing of the Book of the Twelve," *ZAW* 53 (1935): 90–129 (esp. 117–25), who saw Haggai, Zechariah (including chs. 9–14), and Malachi entering in the last phase of the Book, and D. A. Schneider, "The Unity of the Book of the Twelve" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1979), esp. 115–52, who suggests the inclusion of Haggai–Malachi in the fifth century.

[10] Mark J. Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia: Utopian (Re)Visions in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8," in *Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic Literature*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 92 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 211–49.

laying. On the other hand, the superscriptions in Haggai/Zech 1–8 are not as common in character as one would expect in a unified corpus (such as Ezekiel).[11] More importantly, Zech 1–8 represents an expansion of the vision of restoration far beyond the rebuilding of the temple. Even if Halpern's evidence for the temple restoration character of every pericope in the night visions sequence can be accepted (and at times it seems to be a stretch),[12] the vision of restoration clearly exceeds the temple focus to include the restoration of the entire city and province on a physical and economic level (Zech 1–2), the punishment of the nations who have abused the people (*passim*),[13] the return of the exilic community (Zech 2), the renewal of the leadership of the community (Zech 3–4), and the cleansing of the community from impure religious practices (Zech 5). Moving beyond the night visions and investigating the prose-sermon sections that now bracket the entire collection (Zech 1:1–6; 7:1–8:23), one finds emphasis on penitential renewal rather than temple reconstruction.[14] The influential role that this penitential *inclusio* plays in the final shape of Zech 1–8 leads one to conclude, in contrast to the Meyers, that those responsible were suggesting that the completion of the temple was not the sign of the much-anticipated restoration. The reason for this is linked explicitly to the way in which the early Persian period community was replicating the behavioral patterns that had brought about the exile in the first place. Rather than being evidence for the setting for which Haggai/Zech 1–8 was compiled, the missing reference to the temple's completion is evidence of a sober evaluation of the significance of this project for the community. Thus, the theory of a pre-existing Haggai/Zech 1–8 collection is difficult to sustain.

Zechariah 9–14 itself is clearly comprised of disparate oracular materials, but these have been drawn together into a whole, unified by redactional pieces containing the *Leitmotif* of sheep and shepherd.[15] At the center of this sequence is the

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[11] Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6; *contra*, for instance, Schart, "Eschatological Visions," 334 n. 2, who claims that the "narrative framework" (a term he prefers to "superscription") in Haggai and Zech 1–8 "seamlessly combines the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah."

[12] Baruch Halpern, "The Ritual Background of Zechariah's Temple Song," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 167–90.

[13] Mark J. Boda, "Terrifying the Horns: Persia and Babylon in Zechariah 1:7–6:15," *CBQ* 67 (2005): 22–41 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 2.

[14] Mark J. Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 390–407 = chapter 2 in this present volume.

[15] Mark J. Boda, "Reading between the Lines: Zechariah 11:4–16 in Its Literary Contexts," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9; Mark J. Boda and Stanley E. Porter,

prophetic sign-act of Zech 11:4–16, the content of which helps transition the reader from the positive Judah-Ephraim vision of the oracles in Zech 9–10 to the negative Judah-Jerusalem vision of the oracles in Zech 12–14. The redactional shepherd pieces represent a subtle trajectory that results ultimately in the destruction of the shepherd in chapter 13 and its attendant ramifications for his flock. The two references to משׂא at the beginning of chapters 9 and 12 appear at the beginning of these two disparate oracular sections (chs. 9–10 vs. chs. 12–14) and may indeed have functioned to mark the beginning of two originally separate collections. Zechariah 9–14 in its present form, however, represents a unified literary complex.

With Malachi one enters a different literary world. Indeed, its superscription contains vocabulary encountered in Zech 9–14, that is, the phrase: משׂא דברי־יהוה, followed by a preposition (Mal 1:1). However, to this is added the phrase "through (ביד) Malachi," a feature missing in the previous two superscriptions. Beyond this is a radically different literary style (with its question-answer), and gone are the carefully designed redactional shepherd pieces.

This evidence suggests that the Book of the Twelve ends with four collections each of which displays its own integrity: Hag 1–2, Zech 1–8, Zech 9–14, and Mal 1–3. I have argued elsewhere that Zech 7–8 appears to prepare the reader for the more negative tone of Zech 9–14,[16] challenging that earlier dominant position of Hanson and Plöger that Zech 9–14 arose from a completely different tradition group than Zech 1–8. Recent work by Curtis has bolstered my position on this, demonstrating on a sociological level that prophetic groups can move from center to periphery or *vice versa* within one generation.[17] However, this evidence only makes the theory that Zech 9–14 was part of a larger complex called Zech 1–14 conceivable, rather than necessary. In light of the negative tone of Mal 1, Malachi could just as easily have followed Zech 8 at the outset.

Although the traditional units in Haggai–Malachi each betray internal evidence of integrity as independent units (Haggai, Zech 1–8, Zech 9–14, Malachi), is there any evidence of unity in the Haggai–Malachi corpus as a whole?

"Literature to the Third Degree: Prophecy in Zechariah 9–14 and the Passion of Christ," in *Traduire la Bible hébraïque: De la Septante à la Nouvelle Bible Segond = Translating the Hebrew Bible: From the Septuagint to the Nouvelle Bible Segond*, ed. Robert David and Manuel Jinbachian, Sciences Bibliques 15 (Montreal: Médiaspaul, 2005), 215–54 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 10; cf. the superb work of Paul L. Redditt, "Israel's Shepherds: Hope and Pessimism in Zechariah 9–14," *CBQ* 51 (1989): 631–42.

[16] Boda, "Fasts to Feasts."

[17] Curtis, "Social Location"; Curtis, *Steep and Stony Road*.

UNITY IN HAGGAI–MALACHI?

A key early attempt to argue for unity in Haggai–Malachi was that of Pierce who highlighted a series of literary styles as evidence of a unified corpus.[18] Pierce notes that (1) Haggai and Zech 1–8 are linked through a common historical framework communicated through the superscriptions; (2) Zech 1–8 and 9–14 are linked through mutual literary dependency on the pre-exilic prophets, a unified message of salvation, and a sobering charge to covenant fidelity; and (3) Zech 9–14 and Malachi are linked through the common superscription משׂא. Further evidence of unity is culled from the regular use of interrogatives throughout the corpus and the employment of narrative units.[19]

The weakness of his argument, however, is the diverse character of each of the supposed strategies of linkage, highlighting more the disunity than the unity. In addition, the arguments for commonality between Zech 1–8 and 9–14 are too general (prophetic material often does speak of salvation and warning), and the differences in the superscriptions are ignored in favor of the similarities. While it is true that there is an increased use of interrogatives in Haggai–Malachi, Pierce's presentation focuses on the lowest common denominator with little sensitivity to the uniqueness of each corpus in its respective use of interrogatives.[20] It is difficult enough to compare the rhetorical and priestly torah questions of Haggai with the question-answer format in Malachi, let alone try to compare these with the visionary dialogues of the night visions of Zech 1–8. Of course, interrogatives do not appear in Zech 9–14, but Pierce uses this evidence that Zech 11 is the focal point of the corpus. Others may explain the anomaly differently, arguing that Zech 9–14 was never related to this collection apart from the Book of the Twelve. Finally, Pierce's examples of narrative can be affirmed in comparing Haggai and Zech 1–8, but beyond that there is little similarity in narrative use. Pierce must reduce his

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[18] See how much of Pierce's work was embraced by Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 201–4, even though Nogalski shows that Zech 9–14 stands apart.

[19] Ronald W. Pierce, "Literary Connectors and a Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi Corpus," *JETS* 27 (1984): 277–89; Ronald W. Pierce, "A Thematic Development of the Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi Corpus," *JETS* 27 (1984): 401–11; see also Kenneth M. Craig, "Interrogatives in Haggai–Zechariah: A Literary Thread?," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 224–44, who argues more precisely for different types of questions in Haggai and Zech 1–8 that for him indicate unity for Haggai/Zech 1–8. Some of the categories he uses are not convincing, and even if they were accepted, one wonders whether this would lead us to argue for the unity of Haggai/Zech 1–8 with many books in the Hebrew Bible.

[20] See Mark J. Boda, "Haggai: Master Rhetorician," *TynBul* 51 (2000): 295–304.

definition of narrative to "third-party objectivity,"[21] in order to classify Hag 1:12–15 with Mal 3:1.

A second attempt to establish rhetorical unity in Haggai–Malachi is displayed in Bauer's approach, which highlights a key theme and rhetorical structure.[22] Bauer concluded that Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi were drawn together in the Ptolemaic period in a collection with a chiastic design emanating from the central pericope in Zech 7–8, pairing Zech 1–6 and 9–14 and then Haggai and Malachi. The themes that unified these books are all socio-economic, identifying obedience to social justice as key to prosperity for the Jewish community. However, his rhetorical design runs roughshod over the superscriptions of Zech 1–8 and the bracketing character of the prose sermon *inclusio* (Zech 1:1–6; 7:1–8:23), and the theme of social justice is present but certainly not dominant in these books.

House's reading of the Book of the Twelve represents a third attempt at unity for Haggai–Malachi. He offers synchronic reflection on the character of Haggai–Malachi within the Book of the Twelve, with Haggai–Malachi developing the theme of "restoration" as the resolution to a plot that began in Hosea–Micah as "sin" and developed into "punishment" in Nahum–Zephaniah.[23] The difficulty with this approach has already become obvious in my reading of the various sections of Haggai–Malachi. Although the collection begins with great hope, such hope is soon dashed in light of the realities of the Persian-period Yehudite community.

A fourth proposal for unity was provided by Lescow who used the theme of Torah as the unifying principle of his leaner Haggai, Zech 1–8, Malachi corpus.[24] This has been challenged as being too simplistic, especially in view of the light treatment of this theme in Haggai and Zech 1–8.[25]

Finally, although certainly not concerned with redactional history and levels,[26] Conrad capitalizes on the use of "messenger" terminology in Haggai–Malachi and argues for the key role that Haggai–Malachi play in the Book of the

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[21] Pierce, "Literary Connectors," 287–88.

[22] Lutz Bauer, *Zeit des zweiten Tempels—Zeit der Gerechtigkeit: Zur sozio-ökonomischen Konzeption im Haggai–Sacharja–Maleachi–Korpus*, BEATAJ 31 (New York: Lang, 1992).

[23] Paul R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve*, BLS 27 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990).

[24] Theodor Lescow, *Das Buch Malächi: Texttheorie—Auslegung—Kanontheorie*, AzTh 75 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1993), 186–87; cf. Theodor Lescow, "Sacharja 1–8: Verkündigung und Komposition," *BN* (1993): 75–99; cf. Redditt, "Twelve," 247–48.

[25] Cf. Redditt, "Twelve," 247–48.

[26] As seen in Conrad's works: Edgar W. Conrad, *Reading Isaiah*, OBT 27 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 12–20; Edgar W. Conrad, "Prophet, Redactor and Audience: Reforming the Notion of Isaiah's Formation," in *New Visions of Isaiah*, ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and

Twelve and possibly also the Latter Prophets as a whole.[27] The use of messenger terminology is evidence of a clear break between an earlier age of prophetic witness when there was confusion over the identification of prophets and the later age of Haggai–Malachi which clarifies this issue. Statements in Zech 1:1–6 and Zech 7 about the "former prophets" who are now quoted, coupled with Conrad's appropriation of the traditional critical interpretation of Zech 13:2–6, that is, that all prophecy had ceased, leads him to argue that the "prophets are portrayed as being from former times."[28] Conrad claims that in their place now are found messengers, displayed by the reference to Haggai in Hag 1:13. For Conrad, the מלאך יהוה, who appears, for instance, in Zech 3, is Haggai, not some heavenly figure, and that the figure מלאכי ("my messenger") in the book traditionally called Malachi, is Zechariah.[29] Conrad closely associates this focus on מלאכים with the emphasis on the rebuilding of the temple, that sacred space which blurs the distinction between earth and heaven.[30]

The problem with this approach is that it does not comport with the evidence in the book. First, both Haggai and Zechariah are explicitly referred to as הנביא in the superscriptions and are portrayed in roles where they deliver prophetic-like speech (כה אמר יהוה).[31] Secondly, Zechariah is never called a מלאך, discounting the theory that Haggai was a transition figure from prophet to messenger. Thirdly, Conrad's interpretation of Zech 8:9–13, that it is a reference to the reading of prophetic scrolls on the day of foundation laying, is a stretch, especially in light of the fact that we have extant witnesses to the speeches of both Haggai (Hag 2:10–23) and Zechariah (Zech 4:6b–10a) on that day. Fourthly, Zech 13:2–6 does not claim that prophecy has ceased, but rather focuses on the eradication of false

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Roy F. Melugin, JSOTSup 214 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 306–26; Edgar W. Conrad, *Zechariah*, Readings (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 16–18. See my review, Mark J. Boda, "Review of Conrad: Reading the Latter Prophets (2003)," *RBL* (2005), available online at <http://tinyurl.com/SBL2814a>.

[27] Edgar W. Conrad, "Messengers in Isaiah and the Twelve: Implications for Reading Prophetic Books," *JSOT* 91 (2000): 83–97; Edgar W. Conrad, "The End of Prophecy and the Appearance of Angels/Messengers in the Book of the Twelve," *JSOT* 73 (1997): 65–79; Edgar W. Conrad, *Zechariah*, esp. 22–42; Edgar W. Conrad, *Reading the Latter Prophets*, JSOTSup 376 (London: T&T Clark, 2003).

[28] Conrad, *Latter Prophets*, 260; as Conrad says in Conrad, "End of Prophecy," 67: "The Twelve as a collage pictures the rise and fall of a prophetic past and the reinstitution of an angelic/messenger presence. Prophecy in the Twelve is valued as a past institution that is coming to an end."

[29] Conrad, *Latter Prophets*, 261.

[30] For this see especially Conrad, "Messengers," 94–97, where he cites texts like Gen 28:17, 22; Judg 6:24; 2 Sam 24; 1 Chr 21:18; 22:1.

[31] Conrad, "End of Prophecy," 78, weakly tries to anticipate this criticism by claiming that Haggai as both prophet and messenger "represents a transition point in the literature."

prophecy linked to idolatry. Finally, Conrad assumes that Haggai–Malachi is consumed by the theme of temple rebuilding, a point that cannot be sustained for Zech 9–14 and Malachi and the majority of Zech 1–8. In light of this, Conrad's theory on the messenger theme in Haggai–Malachi is insufficient. Nevertheless, even though Conrad's argumentation has been found lacking, the evidence he has culled from the corpus provides a way forward for our discussion.

מלאך יהוה IN HAGGAI–ZECHARIAH–MALACHI

The greatest concentration of the term מלאך in Haggai–Malachi is the Zech 1–8 corpus where, in the night vision sequence, the prophet is taken on a journey to be given insight. There three individuals are called מלאך: המלאך הדבר בי (Zech 1:9, 13, 14; 2:2, 7; 4:1, 4, 5; 5:5, 10; 6:4, 5), מלאך אחר (2:7), and the מלאך יהוה (1:11, 12; 3:1, 3, 6). These passages offer us insights into the heavenly realm and the workings of the heavenly host whom God sends out to patrol the earth (vision 1, see Job 1, 2) and among whom God holds court (vision 4).[32] Outside this section, however, the term מלאך is rarely used. As noted by Conrad, it does appear in Hag 1:13 in the phrase מלאך יהוה in reference to the prophet Haggai. The next appearance is in Zech 12:8 where, in a comparison between בית דויד and יושב ירושלם, the house of David is compared to both deity (אלהים) and מלאך יהוה while the inhabitants of Jerusalem are compared to David.[33] The final appearance is in Mal 2:7 in which the כהן is identified as מלאך יהוה.

This final reference in Mal 2:7 has drawn much attention from scholarship, often identified as evidence that the priests had taken over prophetic prerogatives. This transition, it is claimed, was foreshadowed in the reference in Zech 3:7b to Joshua the high priest being given "a way of access" to the divine council and a

[32] William M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period*, JSOTSup 197 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 62, notes: "The use of angels to mediate the prophetic word then is characteristic of post-exilic prophecy."

[33] For the royal figure to be identified or compared to a מלאך of God is not surprising and can be found at three places in the Former Prophets (1 Sam 29:9; 2 Sam 14:17; 19:27). The comparison also to "God" is also not odd, in light of the fact that the king is described in Ps 2:7 as the adopted son of deity; cf. David L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 119. Petersen's view, however, on Zech 12:8 is rather odd, in that he says the verse gives David divine status and then democratizes David as the people (cf. Isa 55:3), which then affords the people the same semi-divine status as the royal house.

transition necessitated by the crisis in prophecy depicted in Zech 13:2–6.[34] However, besides the fact that the traditional translation of Zech 3:7b and the traditional interpretation of Zech 13:2–6 can no longer be sustained (in my opinion),[35] what has been missed is that the term מלאך is used to refer to prophets in a book as late as Chronicles, and that מלאך יהוה is used in Hag 1:13 to refer to a prophet and in Zech 12:8 to refer to a royal figure.

As מלאך יהוה, the prophetic figure Haggai is seen as one who brings the message of God, which is recognized as authoritative by the community. In similar fashion, the priestly figure in Mal 2:7 is seen as one who is to preserve knowledge as he instructs the people. In contrast, however, the royal figure in Zech 12:8 is linked to the מלאך יהוה in the role of leadership of the people going into battle.[36]

Focusing attention, then, on the phrase מלאך יהוה, one discovers outside of Zech 1–8 one reference to a מלאך יהוה in each of the three corpora, and each reference links this identity with one of the three key socio-functionaries in ancient Israel: prophet (Hag 1:13), king (Zech 12:8), and priest (Mal 2:7). In Zech 1–8 where מלאך יהוה appears to be limited to a heavenly rather than human figure, these three socio-functionaries all enter into the scene at one point or another. Of course, a prophetic figure is evident throughout the night vision sequence and the enduring importance of prophecy is clear from the fact that the prophet is consistently given messages to declare to the people. At two points, however, the

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[34] For the traditional position on this, see Beth Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi, the Divine Messenger*, SBLDS 98 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 71–72; Conrad, "End of Prophecy," 65–79.

[35] See Mark J. Boda, "Freeing the Burden of Prophecy: *Maśśā'* and the Legitimacy of Prophecy in Zech 9–14," *Bib* 87 (2006): 338–57 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 8; see also Mark J. Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones: Prophet, Priest and King in Zechariah 1:7–6:15," *JHS* 3 (2001): Article 10 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4.

[36] Katrina J. Larkin, *The Eschatology of Second Zechariah: A Study of the Formation of a Mantological Wisdom Anthology*, CBET 6 (Kampen: Kok, 1994), 159, links the image here to that of the angelic presence leading the people in the Exodus (Exod 14:19) and to the angel who defended Jerusalem against Sennacherib (2 Kgs 19:35); cf. G. Gaide, *Jérusalem, voici ton roi: Commentaire de Zacharie 9–14*, LD 49 (Paris: Cerf, 1968), 126–27. She also, however, does note that in 2 Sam 14:20 the comparison of David with a מלאך האלהים is related to his wisdom and omniscience, citing then P. A. H. de Boer, "The Counsellor," in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Martin Noth and D. Winton Thomas, VTSup 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 42–71 (57), who "notes that 'security, victory, recovery and salvation are the effects aimed at by counsel,' and that counsel is a decision which determines the future. It may even be considered as synonymous with an oracle, the word of the prophet or of the priest." This final link is inappropriate since in this context, the מלאך יהוה is specifically leading the people, which suggests military leadership, rather than wise counsel.

night visions emphasize the role of the prophet, both to have access into God's presence (Zech 3, in the gift to the priestly caste of prophets who will have access to the divine council) and to serve as a conduit for God's presence into the community (Zech 4). Not only the prophet, but also the priest is emphasized in the night vision sequence, first in the reinstatement and re-clothing of Joshua in Zech 3, but also in the provision of a crown and throne to the priest in Zech 6:9–15. Although the priest is to respect the role of the coming royal figure (צמח), he and his associates are to serve a significant function within the restoration community. Finally, the royal figure is not only prophesied in the night vision sequence as the divine court looks for the expected figure called צמח (Zech 3, 6), but a royal figure is addressed directly and given the promise that he will be responsible for the completion of the temple (Zech 4). Thus, the night vision sequence portrays prophetic, royal, and priestly figures in intimate contact with the realm where מלאכים dwell, that space between earth and heaven (Zech 5).

What is interesting, however, is that the three references to מלאך יהוה outside the night vision series all appear in verses whose "authenticity" has been debated on text-critical and literary grounds.[37] Elsewhere in the book of Haggai, Haggai is called הנביא (1:1, 3, 12; 2:1, 10), but in Hag 1:13, even though reference has just been made to Haggai as the prophet (1:12), he is given another title in this very next verse, namely, מלאך יהוה. There are challenges within 1:13 itself with what appears to be a dittography in the phrases: חגי מלאך יהוה במלאכות יהוה. Not only is the lead word in the second phrase במלאכות יהוה a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Bible, it is not represented in some of the Septuagint textual traditions where one finds only: ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου.[38] Is it possible that the confusion on the text-critical level can be traced to the intrusive character of this phrase in this text, one that was glossed at some point by a phrase which sought to play down the explicit reference to Haggai as a מלאך יהוה?

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[37] See W. Böhme, "Zu Malächi und Haggai," *ZAW* 7 (1887): 210–17; Hinckley Gilbert Mitchell, John Merlin Powis Smith, and J. A. Brewer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 55, 57. Verhoef notes Keil's observation that this interpolation emphasizes Haggai's position as extraordinary messenger, and cites the argument of Theophane Chary, *Aggeé–Zacharie, Malachie* (Paris: Gabalda, 1969), 22, who sees "il conviendrait mieux comme conclusion du v. 14." However, see the vigorous denial of these arguments by Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 83–84; cf. Adam S. van der Woude, "De Mal'ak Jahweh: Een Godsbode," *NTT* 18 (1963–64): 1–13.

[38] The phrase is missing in Alexandrinus and Marchalianus, but present in Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Venetus (cf. C-68; Armenian, Cyril); cf. Joseph Ziegler, *Duodecim Prophetae* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943).

The reference to מלאך יהוה in Zech 12:8 reads as intrusive text. This verse claims that even the feeblest among the inhabitants of Jerusalem will be "like David," and David will be "like God, like the מלאך יהוה before them." While the inhabitants of Jerusalem are compared to only one individual ("David"), it is odd that David is compared to both "God" and "the מלאך יהוה." This extra text has often been attributed to the uncomfortability of later Jewish scribes to grant David even indirect attribution of deity (what Mitchell called "a gloss by some one 'very jealous for Yahweh'"[39]); thus, immediately the word "God" is glossed as מלאך יהוה to lessen the comparison.[40] However, it is interesting that when a similar comparative structure is used to explain the relationship between Moses and Aaron in Exod 4:16 (והיה הוא יהיה־לך לפה ואתה תהיה־לו לאלהים) no gloss is introduced into the text.[41] Again, could the intrusive character of this phrase be traced at least in part to a redactional agenda related to the status of the royal house?

Finally, the reference to מלאך יהוה in Mal 2:7 also has been noted as secondary to its context, as Böhme noted nearly 120 years ago.[42] Malachi 2:1–4 addresses the priests directly ("you"), warning them about the seriousness of action that Yahweh will take against them if they do not heed his word. At the end of that section, Yahweh reveals his desire that the covenant with Levi continue. Malachi 2:5–6 then unpacks the character of this covenant, continuing God's speech

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[39] Mitchell, Smith, and Brewer, *Haggai*, 326; see the list of earlier scholars in Rex A. Mason, "The Use of Earlier Biblical Material in Zechariah 9–14: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 156 n. 22; R. C. Dentan, "Zechariah 9–14," in *IB* 6:1107; Peter R. Ackroyd, "Haggai/Zechariah," in *The New Peake's Bible Commentary*, ed. M. Black and H. H. Rudman (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962), 654.

[40] There is no question that there is great discomfort with this phrase as attested in the ancient versions. The Targum translates "the house of David shall be like princes (כרברבין) and shall flourish like kings"; the LXX reads "the weakest among them in that day as the house of David, and the house of David as the house of God, as the angel of the Lord before them" (καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὡς οἶκος Δαυιδ, ὁ δὲ οἶκος Δαυιδ ὡς οἶκος θεοῦ, ὡς ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν). See Mitchell, Smith, and Brewer, *Haggai*, 329; Mason, "Use," 156; Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25C (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 331–32.

[41] For the link between these two texts see Mason, "Use," 156.

[42] Böhme, "Malächi," 210–17; this, of course, is not accepted by everyone; see the rebuttals by John Merlin Powis Smith, "Malachi," in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah*, ed. Hinckley Gilbert Mitchell, John Merlin Powis Smith, and J. A. Brewer, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 41; Verhoef, *Haggai*, 249.

still in the first person, speaking about God's relationship with Levi, and expressing it in a way that personalizes the covenant as if with an individual. In 2:8–9, the speech then returns to address the priests directly with the "you," while God still speaking in the first person. However, 2:7 stands out in this flow as it speaks of the priesthood in abstract terms and not directly ("a priest," "*his* mouth") and refers to God in the third person ("Yahweh Almighty"). Malachi 2:7 also repeats the same theme already found in 2:6, using similar vocabulary, but recasting it in a style that stands out in the passage. Here again is evidence in a verse containing the phrase מלאך יהוה of intrusion into the text.

Conclusions and Implications

This chapter has argued that although each section in the Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi corpus displays an integrity of its own and thus possesses a unique redaction history, the corpus as a whole is witness to a developing tradition, the resulting literature of which has been unified around the night vision series in Zech 1–8 through the insertion of the phrase מלאך יהוה.

Who, then, would be responsible for this redaction? Who has taken these corpora and drawn them together into a unified whole? If Mal 1:1 and 3:1 were original to the corpus we now find in Malachi, then it is very likely it was the one(s) responsible for the Malachi section who accomplished this work, a conclusion that would mean that Zech 9–14 was part of the corpus from the outset. However, it is also possible that those responsible shaped the final section (the book of Malachi) in a way that matched their agenda to emphasize their מלאך ideals, a view that would leave open the possibility for a later inclusion of Zech 9–14.[43] Nevertheless, there are indications in Malachi that those responsible are seeking to create links not only with Zech 9–14 (משׂא) but also with Haggai and Zech 1–8. The

[43] As I neared the completion of this study I was delighted to find support for this link between מלאך and redaction from the Meyers who suggested that the phrase מלאך יהוה in Zech 12:8 "could well be the mark of a redactor or compiler of the Book of Zechariah. Such a person might also be the one who redacted or influenced the redactor of the Book of Malachi … [who,] in the reference to 'Angel,' places these prophetic words squarely into the mainstream of the Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi corpus," Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 332. Notice also Donald K. Berry, "Malachi's Dual Design: The Close of the Canon and What Comes Afterward," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 269–302 (esp. 282), who notes Zech 12:8 in his discussion of Malachi and the oddity of the connection to the house of David, but remains focused on a coming messenger figure who "mysteriously combines the roles of prophet and angel."

self-identification as "my messenger" (מלאכי), "through" (ביד) whom Yahweh has communicated this משׂא to Israel, creates a nice link with the opening section of the Haggai section of the Haggai–Malachi collection where the word of Yahweh comes "through" (ביד) Haggai, who is called מלאך יהוה. Additionally, the opening (1:2–3) section of Zech 1–8 contains the call "return to me and I will return to you," a phrase that is echoed in Mal 3:7. Through these echoes the ones responsible for this final section in Malachi identify themselves with the earlier Haggai–Zecharian tradition and further strengthen the integrity of the corpus.

What then is the significance of this redaction? The first half of the Haggai–Malachi complex (the sections using the historical superscriptions) offers a positive view of the future of reinstated socio-functionaries in the restored Yehudite community. These figures are identified as real human figures who are linked to pre-exilic traditions. The second half of the Haggai–Malachi complex (the sections using the משׂא superscriptions) offers a more sober vision of the future, expressing concern over the present crisis in royal, priestly, and prophetic streams in the early Persian period. This collection which represents the collation of four very different bodies of literature, but which could come from a common stream of prophetic tradition, has been drawn together through the use of the *Leitmotif* of מלאך יהוה, which elevates roles originally associated with the earthly society of Yehud into the realm described in the night visions which is between "earth and heaven" (Zech 5:9). As the crisis darkens in the later period possibly associated with the texts now found in Zech 9–14 and Malachi, hope shifts increasingly to an inbreaking of מלאכים associated with traditional Israelite socio-functionary roles, yet with heavenly contact if not origins.[44]

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[44] See the work of N. G. Cohen, "From *Nabi* to *Mal'ak* to 'Ancient Figure'," *JJS* 26 (1985): 12–24. The association of these figures with the heavenly realm is not so shocking. The prophet was always associated with the heavenly realms, especially as the one who had access to the divine council, appearing in the divine realm in such passages as Isa 6, Ezek 1–3, and 2 Kgs 20 (cf. Jeremiah's comments about prophets in the council in Jer 23:18–22). The priest's association with the heavenly realms comes through his role in entering the sanctuary and the presence of God, the holy of holies being depicted as an entrance to the divine council if not the location of the divine council. On Yom Kippur the high priest entered once a year. To find the high priest in the divine council in Zech 3 is not surprising, for the high priest was allowed to enter God's presence once a year, but in Zech 3 it does not appear to be on the same level as membership, since he is the one accused. Although the king is never associated with the divine council, he was closely associated with deity, being called the adopted son of deity and functioning as vice-regent of God on earth (Ps 2). Notice also the conclusions of Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic*, OtSt 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 250–52. In his analysis of Zechariah and the Book of Watchers, Tigchelaar notes some of what he calls confusion over the "question of human and angelic roles" (p. 250).

The two roles associated with these מלאכים, messenger figure and military leader, are interestingly the two roles associated with the being called מלאכי in Exod 23:20–33, a passage which Berry has argued lies behind the reference to מלאך in Mal 3:1.[45] Exodus 23:20–21 describes a figure closely associated with deity ("my name is in him") who will not only guard and guide them in the conquest of the land, but whose voice must be carefully heeded.[46] This intertextual link draws in the only other references to מלאכים outside the night vision corpus, and suggests that these figures originally associated with the earthly roles of prophet, king, and priest are possibly being likened to (or even assuming) the ancient role of the מלאך who led Israel into the conquest of the land, now with the purpose of cleansing the people (Mal 3:1).

Although the majority of recent scholars have linked Mal 3:22–24 to redactional processes related to the development of the Book of the Twelve or even the *Nevi'im* as a whole, it is possible that the present redactional theory may explain why Malachi ends with a vision of the return of Elijah.[47] It was Elijah whose earthly ministry ended with his direct transmission to heaven on a fiery chariot pulled by horses; the expected return of a prophetic figure thus is one who literally had hovered between earth and heaven.[48] Additionally, in recent years there has been much debate over the use of angelic motifs or theology for understanding

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[45] Berry, "Dual Design," 281–82.

[46] As ibid., 282 says: "This messenger mysteriously combines the roles of prophet and angel."

[47] The view that dominates scholarship is that Mal 3:22–24 is a conclusion to larger canonical units, such as the Book of the Twelve or even the *Nevi'im* as a whole; cf. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 185; Schart, *Entstehung*, 302–3; Curtis, "Zion-Daughter Oracles," 166–84; Redditt, "Capstone," 323. However, see Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 244–70, who argued that "3:22–24 comprises the climax of the prophecy. In them Malachi brings together elements from his preaching into a sharper focus. Indeed, all the major themes of the prophecy are found in these final verses" (p. 267). Similarly, Julia M. O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi*, SBLDS 121 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 145. Jones, *Formation*, 236–37, sees 3:23–24 as a later addition to explain Mal 3:1; thus "the original literary horizon of Mal 3:22–24 was limited to the Book of Malachi." However, he then notes that the shift of this pericope from its order in the LXX (which was Mal 3:24, 22, 23, which he considers earlier) to its order in MT (3:22, 23, 24, which he considers later) with the change from Elijah the Tishbite (LXX) to Elijah the prophet (MT) suggests that "the prophet may indeed encompass a literary horizon that includes a corpus of Scriptures containing the Torah and a collection of prophetic writings."

[48] So also Conrad, *Zechariah*, 204. Berry, "Dual Design," 291, notes that "The role of the prophet Elijah also involves the introduction or identification of the messenger who acts in more of a divine than human role." Such chariots and horses also appear in Zech 1–6, as they enter this space between earth and heaven to fulfill God's will on earth.

Christology in the New Testament.[49] It may be that the genesis of this development can be traced to the redactor responsible for the Haggai–Malachi corpus or even to the Book of the Twelve as a whole.[50]

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[49] See especially James H. Charlesworth, "The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*, ed. John Joseph Collins and George W. E. Nickelsburg, SCS 12 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 135–51 (esp. 145), who, speaking of documents in Judaism and Christianity in the first few centuries CE, says that they "point to a concept that seems to have been developing within Judaism prior to the second century CE. Figures in Israel's past, especially Adam and Jacob, could be portrayed as angels; others, notably the Rechabites, could be thought of as having been transformed into angels. Some Jews conceived of the possibility for the faithful—probably only a very select few—to transcend humanity and become angels"; see Christopher C. Rowland, "The Vision of the Risen Christ in Rev. I.13ff: The Debt of an Early Christology to an Aspect of Jewish Angelology," *JTS* (1980): 1–11; Christopher C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (London: SPCK, 1982); Christopher C. Rowland, "A Man Clothed in Linen: Daniel 10.6ff and Jewish Angelology," *JSNT* 24 (1985): 99–110. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, WUNT 70 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 271–72, speaking of the book of Revelation, notes "That there *is* an analogy between Christology and angelology is apparent from 1:12–20, from attributes shared with some of the angels (e.g., 10:1 and 15:6), and especially from 14:14–20. At the same time, this association seems to be severed emphatically in the vision of the Lamb in chapter 5." See now Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'God': Exploring the Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism," in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. Sproston North, JSNTSup 263 (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 45–70. Peter R. Carrell, *Jesus and the Angels: Angelology and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 226, draws Zech 1–6 and even 12:8 into the discussion, concluding: "Angelology has influenced the christology of the Apocalypse in such a way that one of its important strands is an angelomorphic Christology which upholds monotheism while providing a means for Jesus to be presented in visible, glorious form to his church." Also see Norman R. Petersen, "Elijah, the Son of God, and Jesus: Some Issues in the Anthropology of Characterization in Mark," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. Randal A. Argall, Beverly Bow, and Rodney A. Werline (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 232–40, who argues for angelic possession of John and Jesus. Finally, see Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 32, who, highlighting the three figures of king, Moses, and priest, writes: "The characterization of humans in such angelic terms has its roots in the biblical text, but it is clearly being developed in material from the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C." Cf. Margaret Barker, *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel's Second God* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992); Kevin P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament*, AGAJU 55 (Leiden: Brill, 2004). I thank Loren Stuckenbruck for our helpful conversation on this issue.

In the wake of the exile and the failed restoration, those responsible for the redaction of the Haggai–Malachi corpus do not lose hope in the promised renewal of prophet, priest, and king, but now look for these as "messengers of hope" with heavenly origins. If this "messenger" redaction can be linked to the final redaction of the book of the Twelve, it would suggest that greater attention needs to be given to the theme of future leadership hope in our reading of the Book of the Twelve.[51]

[50] See further Mark J. Boda, "Figuring the Future: The Prophets and the Messiah," in *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, McMaster New Testament Studies (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 35–74 = chapter 4 in this present volume.

[51] See Paul L. Redditt, "The King in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 and the Book of the Twelve," in *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, LHBOTS 475 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 56–82. Those responsible for this messenger redaction and its inclusion into the Book of the Twelve may be playing off of or even be responsible for the inclusion of sections of Hos 12, with its reference to the struggle between Jacob and the "messenger" who is closely associated with "God" ("Yahweh God Almighty, Yahweh is his name"), see vv. 3–5. Interestingly, in Hos 12 there is also reference to God's use of prophets to speak to the people (v. 10) as well as to lead the people (v. 13). This may be further evidence of the role Hosea and Malachi play in the Book of the Twelve, this time leveraging the Torah's theology of "messengers"; cf. Conrad, *Latter Prophets*; John D. W. Watts, "A Frame for the Book of the Twelve: Hosea 1–3 and Malachi," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 209–17.

6
Perspectives on Priests in Haggai–Malachi[1]

Having investigated the role that the three socio-functionaries (royal, priestly, and prophetic figures) play within Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi and evidence that the presentation of these socio-functionaries was used for redactional purposes, I now focus attention on one of these socio-functionaries, the priests, to analyze first in this chapter the presentation of this socio-functionary within the Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi before turning in the following chapter to evidence of development from close attention to the presentation of the priestly as well as royal streams within the corpus.

In her commentary on Malachi in the *New Interpreter's Bible*, Eileen Schuller showcases the fruit of patient and careful exegesis of the biblical text. Her focus in that work is on the inner rhetorical logic of the book in its final form with sensitivity to its general historical context. However, in dealing with the opening and closing verses of the book, she does provide her perspective on the relationship of the book to its broader canonical contexts. First, for her the opening verse of the book (Mal 1:1) "stands outside the regular structure of the discourse" and because of similarities to superscriptions in other books among the Twelve "is probably

[1] Based on my original publication, Mark J. Boda, "Perspectives on Priests in Haggai–Malachi," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy S. Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 13–33, in honor of Eileen Schuller. Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume.

the work of the redactor of the entire collection."[2] Although admitting that the "formation of the book cannot be separated from the question of how the Book of the Twelve (the 'Minor Prophets') was put together," she avoids more detailed reflection on this because "so little is known about the whole process of the formation of the Book of the Twelve," which makes "elaborate reconstructions about how this larger context shaped the book of Malachi" for her "highly speculative and abstract."[3] Concerning the final verses of the book, however, she is more adventurous, suggesting that 3:22–24 (4:4–6) "may have been appended considerably later than the time of Malachi as a conclusion, not just to Malachi, but to the entire Book of the Twelve, or even to the whole prophetic corpus."[4] These two observations stand as fitting bookends around a superb commentary and reveal her openness to a role for Malachi beyond its own literary boundaries.

As Professor Schuller notes so judiciously, few question that Mal 1:1 and only some question that Mal 3:22–24 (4:4–6) reflect broader processes in the development of the prophets as a canonical collection, with the former most closely related to the creation of the Book of the Twelve and the latter to the creation of the *Nebi'im*. As she acknowledges there are those who have advocated for more elaborate processes at work within Malachi and especially the Book of the Twelve. In particular some, including the present scholar, have advocated a relationship between Malachi and the books of Haggai and Zechariah which precede it, even going so far as to talk about a pre-existing collection which encompassed the books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.[5] While Professor Schuller restricts her connection to these earlier books to the presence of a prophetic superscription in Mal 1:1 that is strikingly similar to those found in Zech 9:1 and 12:1, others have noted other similarities between the books. One key problem, however, in arguing for a relationship between these three books is dealing with what is considered to be contrasting treatments of the priests and temple cult in these books. While those responsible for Haggai and Zech 1–8 have often been depicted as

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[2] Eileen M. Schuller, "The Book of Malachi," in *NIB* 7:843–77 (852).

[3] Ibid., 849.

[4] Ibid., 875.

[5] Mark J. Boda, "Messengers of Hope in Haggai–Malachi," *JSOT* 32 (2007): 113–31 = chapter 5 in this present volume; Mark J. Boda, "*Hoy, Hoy*: The Prophetic Origins of the Babylonian Tradition in Zechariah 2:10–17," in *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, LHBOTS 475 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 171–90 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 3; Mark J. Boda, "Penitential Innovations in the Book of the Twelve," in *On Stone and Scroll: A Festschrift for Graham Davies*, ed. Brian A. Mastin, Katharine J. Dell, and James K. Aitken, BZAW 420 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 291–308 = chapter 9 in this present volume.

champions of the hierocracy centered around the temple in Jerusalem,[6] those responsible for Malachi and Zech 9–14 have been interpreted as opponents of this hierocracy who advocate an eschatological vision which rejects the status quo and longs for a breaking in of Yahweh's rule. While Haggai and Zech 1–8 express their encouragement for and pleasure in the present temple project and its functioning cult, Zech 9–14 and especially Malachi ask serious questions about its validity and look for a divine purification of the priestly personnel as well as the community as a whole.

The present chapter will review key addresses to priestly figures throughout Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi in order to identify both points of continuity and discontinuity. This will provide important data for considering any integration of these books into a collection and possible signs of development in the relationship between the priests gathered around the Jerusalem temple and the prophetic movement(s) associated with the books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Even if one does not embrace the view that Haggai–Malachi was at one point a smaller collection later to be incorporated into the Book of the Twelve, this study will hopefully provide important perspectives on developments in the relationship between priestly and prophetic groups in the early Persian period and possibly beyond.

Malachi and the Priests

The longest disputation in Malachi is the one directed towards the priests in 1:6–2:9 (O priests; 1:6; 2:1) and which focuses on the lack of respect and honor from priests who are offering defiled food on the altar (1:7)[7] including stolen or blemished (blind, lame, sick) animals (1:8, 13, 14).[8] Underlying such offerings is a lack of respect for the altar itself, expressed with such sayings as "the table of Yahweh

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[6] See especially Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 209–79; Paul D. Hanson, *The People Called: The Growth of Community in the Bible* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986), 259–68; cf. Julius Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt und erklärt*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1893); Otto Plöger, *Theocratie und Eschatologie*, 3rd ed., WMANT 2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968).

[7] Although the term "table" (שלחן) is used for the table of showbread at the tabernacle (e.g., Exod 25:27–30) and temple (1 Kgs 7:48), here in Mal 1:7, the reference to מזבחי ("my altar") indicates it is most likely a reference to a table used for slaughtering sacrificial victims (Ezek 40:39–43) or better the altar of burnt offering (41:22; 44:16); cf. Andrew E. Hill, *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25D (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 178–79.

[8] While there is evidence that the priests are addressed in a considerable portion of Malachi, see Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage: Post-Exilic Prophetic Critique of the Priesthood*, FAT 2/19 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 17–27, in light of limitations of space the present work will focus on 1:6—2:9.

is to be despised" (1:7), "the table of Yahweh is defiled, and as for its fruit, its food is to be despised" (1:12), and "behold, how tiresome it is!" (1:13), as well as actions like "disdainfully sniffing" at the food (1:13). Rather than inclining Yahweh towards a gracious response (1:9), this attitude towards and activity of sacrifice only make Yahweh want to close the temple gates since he categorically rejects such sacrifice (1:10). Instead, in a surprising announcement he declares that he will rely on offerings from all other nations on earth (1:11, 14).[9]

While 1:6–14 is addressed to the priests, it also speaks of the people's participation with them in this illicit activity. God's rejection of the people's sacrifice is evident in 1:6–14, but the main focus of the divine response is directed at the priests whose judgment is signaled by the phrase "and now" (ועתה) in 2:1 followed by the vocative "O priests."[10] Yahweh warns of severe judgment: one that involves spreading the "undigested contents of the stomach" of sacrificial victims on the priests's faces,[11] rendering them worthy of removal from the community (2:3; נשׂא אל),[12] and dishonoring them before all the people (2:9). There is still an opportunity for change, however, as the conditional clauses in 2:2 indicate, suggesting that responding to this confrontation and taking to heart this call to honor Yahweh's name is key to avoiding Yahweh's judgment. However, the negative casting of the conditional ("if you do not listen … if you do not take to heart") along with the threat of curse reveal a skeptical expectation for change.

The positive presentation of God's covenant with Levi (2:4–6) highlights the core values for priestly service: focused on reverence for Yahweh and Yahweh's

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[9] There is controversy in scholarship as to whether this refers to Jewish worship throughout the world, or worship of Yahweh by non-Jews; cf. Schuller, "Malachi," 860; Elie Assis, "Structure and Meaning in the Book of Malachi," in *Prophecy and Prophets in Ancient Israel*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 531 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 354–69 (362). However, Mal 3:12 seems to suggest a more universal group, not unlike Zech 8:23; cf. Hill, *Malachi*, 219.

[10] For the connectivity between 1:6–14 and 2:1–9 see especially the superb list of links in Schuller, "Malachi," 859. She wisely notes the heightened rhetorical impact of 2:1–9 in which "no questions or comments are allowed to interrupt what is the most extended word from the Lord in the whole book"; cf. David L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 177.

[11] Whether such material rendered someone unclean is not entirely clear. Dung is not identified as unclean in Levitical law, even though Ezek 4:12–15 and Deut 23:11–15 (10–14) seem to suggest it; cf. Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 242; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 189. At the least, according to Levitical law פרשׁ was to be removed from the camp (Lev 4:11–12; 8:17; 16:27).

[12] See Hill, *Malachi*, 202–3, for the difficulty of interpreting this phrase. Most likely it is equivalent to יצא אל *hiphil* in Lev 4:12 which refers to the removal of the unwanted sacrificial portions to a place outside the camp (cf. Lev 16:27).

name and instruction (that is, torah rulings) which promotes righteousness. It shows Yahweh's enduring commitment to the tribe in which the priests arose and lays out a normative pattern which contrasts with the present practices of the priests. The reference to Levi and especially to the foundational covenant with this ancestor of the priestly and levitical clans in the context of such severe attacks on the priests, suggests that the legitimacy of at least the present ruling priestly families is in jeopardy.[13]

Malachi 2:1–9 ends by returning from the ideal model of the Levi-priest to the problems of the present day and these problems are related to a type of instruction which shows favoritism (נשׂא פנים).[14] This phrase is one that is used elsewhere to refer to partiality in legal cases (Job 13:10; Lev 19:15; Ps 82:2; Deut 17:10). Other words used throughout 2:1–9 also are connected with the issue of justice, including עולה related to speech (2:6; cf. Isa 59:3; Job 5:16; 6:29–30; 13:7–8; Zeph 3:13)[15] and מישׁור (2:6; cf. Isa 11:4; Pss 45:7; 67:5). The role of the priest was to provide just rulings for those who sought justice at the temple.[16]

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[13] This issue is extremely controversial. Earlier scholarship identified evidence here of a Priest/Levite rift; cf. Rex A. Mason, *The Books of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 147; Rex A. Mason, *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 244. But most today would not see Malachi as advocating rejection of the priestly line in favor of Levites; cf. Julia M. O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi*, SBLDS 121 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), esp. 111–12; Schuller, "Malachi," 859. Joachim Schaper, "Priests in the Book of Malachi and Their Opponents," in *The Priests in the Prophets: The Portrayal of Priests, Prophets, and Other Religious Specialists in the Latter Prophets*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Alice Ogden Bellis, JSOTSup 408 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 177–88, has argued that the opponents represented by Malachi are dissident priests; cf. Hanson, *The People Called*, 271–72, 82, 90. However, considering the fact that the presentation places the origins of the priestly covenant prior to the Aaronide foundation (especially under Phinehas, Num 25:10–13; 40:15; cf. Exod 29:29), to the original founder of the tribe Levi (Deut 33:8–11), is at least suggestive that others who share Levitical lineage may have an opportunity to take over what was originally Aaronide/Zadokite privilege. There may be signs in Zech 9–14 that the Zecharian traditionists at least envisioned a shift in both Davidic and Levitical clans, which may lie behind the tension of Malachi; see Mark J. Boda, *Haggai/Zechariah*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 34, 488–89.

[14] On this idiom see M. Gruber, "The Many Faces of Hebrew נשׂא פנים 'Lift up the Face,'" *ZAW* 95 (1983): 252–60 (esp. 258); Verhoef, *Haggai*, 253; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 192–93; contra Hill, *Malachi*, 217–18; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 135.

[15] On the judicial nuance here, see Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 191.

[16] See Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 191, who notes: "They were supposed to offer judicial decisions and to instruct Israelites regarding their covenant responsibilities." Contra Michael H. Floyd, *Minor Prophets, Part 2*, FOTL 22 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 601, who links the instruction throughout 2:1–9 to inappropriate ritual guidance related to

Malachi 1:6–2:9 thus is directed against the priests, attacking the mishandling of their two key responsibilities: offering sacrifice for worship (1:6–14) and instructing the people for justice (2:1–9).[17] Faithfulness to these responsibilities was seen as an expression of truly fearing Yahweh (Mal 1:6; 2:5). In both cases their inappropriate behavior is contrasted with positive examples; surprisingly in the first it is the nations who display normativity (1:11) while in the second it is their ancestor Levi (2:5–6). They are depicted as compromising in both activities and are at risk of losing their status and responsibility, even though priestly activities will continue because of the covenant with Levi.

The sheer length of this section in Mal 1:6–2:9 identifies the priests as the greatest failures within the book of Malachi. The depiction of and attack on the priests reveals a major fissure in the community between the prophetic group responsible for Malachi and the priests. Repentance is clearly encouraged within Mal 1:6–2:9 as well as more generally within Mal 3:1–7, but the message of the book appears to shift towards the emergence of a faithful group within the community which will await and then survive a future severe punishment from Yahweh in the coming day (3:16–21 [Eng. 4:3]).

Haggai and the Priests

While most scholars have recognized Malachi's strong rebuke of the priestly caste, most have seen in Haggai one who just as strongly champions the temple project and by extension then the priests who serve in its courts. Signs of Haggai as hierocratic promoter are evident especially in the book's presentation of Joshua as high priest alongside Zerubbabel the governor at key points in the book (1:1, 12–14; 2:1, 4). In the first chapter Joshua (and Zerubbabel) do not appear to be identified with the offending "this people" (העם הזה) whom Haggai upbraids for lack of effort on the temple project.[18] Instead, Joshua along with Zerubbabel lead the group called the "remnant of the people" (שארית העם) in obedient response (1:12) and Joshua, along with Zerubbabel and the remnant, is stirred up in his spirit to accomplish the task (1:14) and is later encouraged to complete the work (2:4).

1:6–14. The language here, however, suggests the issue of injustice, foreshadowed already in 1:13 with the reference to robbery.

[17] Schuller, "Malachi," 861, wisely notes the work of Michael Fishbane, "Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 115–21, who traces the negation of the priestly blessing of Num 6:24–26 throughout Mal 1:6–2:9; cf. Schaper, "Priests in the Book of Malachi," 185–86. This may be further evidence of a priestly, possibly Aaronide-Zadokite rejection.

[18] Contra Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 223.

However, while Joshua is highlighted in the first two major sections of Haggai (1:1–15; 2:1–9), he is noticeably absent from the final major section (2:10–23). Here one finds Zerubbabel explicitly (2:20–23) and the people implicitly (2:15–19) addressed, but in the place of Joshua the high priest is a group called "the priests" who are addressed in 2:10–14.[19] This contrast, along with a slight difference in the prophetic formulae found in 2:10, 20 from those occurring at 1:1; 21,[20] suggests a different editorial process for the latter half of Haggai. What is fascinating about 2:10–14 is not only that it is addressed to "priests" instead of "Joshua, the high priest," but that within 2:10–23 it is the only section which is entirely negative in tone.

The prophetic word here is cast as a Torah ruling where the priests are asked to perform their core task, that is, distinguishing between holy and common, clean and unclean (Lev 10:10, 11),[21] here specifically to discern whether first holiness (Hag 2:12) and second uncleanness (2:13) are communicable to the third degree.[22]

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[19] There is no question that the priests are addressed in 2:10–14 and Zerubbabel in 2:20–23. Haggai 2:15–19 does represent a significant shift in vocabulary and perspective, thus suggesting it has a broader audience in mind. However, the use of ועתה in 2:15 reveals that 2:15–19 is treated at least in the final form of 2:10–19 as an integral part of the former since ועתה does not appear at the outset of speeches in the Hebrew Bible, but rather at a key transition midway through a speech; cf. Mark J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, BZAW 277 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 29–30. The shift in vocabulary and style may reveal that it has distinct oral roots from 2:10–14, the two being combined only on the literary level, or that the prophet turns in 2:15 to the people as a whole.

[20] The difference is the use of ביד versus אל for the preposition expressing the means by which the word of Yahweh came to the prophet.

[21] Cf. Eric M. Meyers, "The Use of Tôrâ in Haggai 2:11 and the Role of the Prophet in the Restoration Community," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 69–76; Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 297.

[22] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 297; cf. David R. Hildebrand, "Temple Ritual: A Paradigm for Moral Holiness in Haggai ii 10–19," *VT* 39 (1989): 154–68 (160). There is some debate over the accuracy of the priests's response. In his extensive study of the temple and its services, Haran argues that people or objects which come in contact with the altar or tabernacle furniture contract holiness and thus become consecrated (see Exod 29:37; 30:29); Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into Biblical Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 175–88. This view, however, has been revised by Petersen who demonstrates that such a transfer of holiness is only available to a limited group within Israel: the priests. Anyone else would be dead if they touched these items (see 2 Sam 6:7), thus showing that the "contagious character of the holy is radically limited." David L.

Haggai applies the second case (uncleanness) to the present situation (2:14), focusing on "this people … this nation" (העם־הזה … הגוי הזה), a reference to the inhabitants of Yehud,[23] whose defilement has been transferred to "all the works of their hands" (כל־מעשׂה ידיהם) and finally transferred to "that which they offer there" (אשׁר יקריבו שׁם).[24] The particle שׁם ("there") must have an antecedent, and the closest is the preceding phrase "all the works of their hands."[25] The only humanly manufactured item where one can offer (קרב *hiphil*) something is the altar[26] and this altar is described as being rebuilt by the people in Ezra 3:1–

Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1984), 78; cf. Ronald J. Sim, "Notes on Haggai 2:10–21," *JTT* 5 (1992): 25–36 (27–28).

[23] In the past "this people" and "this nation" were identified as the enemies of the Jews; cf. J. W. Rothstein, *Juden und Samaritaner: Die grundlegende Scheidung von Judentum und Heidentum: Eine kritische Studie zum Buche Haggai und zur jüdischen Geschichte im ersten nachexilischen Jahrhundert*, BWA(N)T 3 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908); and recently Elie Assis, "Haggai: Structure and Meaning," *Bib* 87 (2006): 531–41 (532); cf. Rüdiger Pfeil, "When Is a Gôy a 'Goy'? The Interpretation of Haggai 2:10–19," in *A Tribute to Gleason Archer*, ed. Jr. Walter C. Kaiser Jr. and Ronald F. Youngblood (Chicago: Moody Press, 1986), 261–78. This view, however, has been largely rejected today since these words can be used for Israelites (Exod 33:12–13; Jer 5:9, 29; 7:28; 9:9), cf. Aelred Cody, "When Is the Chosen People Called a *Gôy*?," *VT* 14 (1964): 1–6; Klaus Koch, "Haggais unreines Volk," *ZAW* 79 (1967): 52–66; H. G. May, "'This People' and 'This Nation' in Haggai," *VT* 18 (1968): 190–97; R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1975), 46–52; Hildebrand, "Temple Ritual," 154–68.

[24] Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 234, helpfully points out evidence from Exod 4:12; Num 22:6 that supports this translation (which treats this phrase as functioning as an accusative) against her own (which treats this phrase as functioning as a nominative, and thus referring to priestly personnel).

[25] Rudolph struggles with the lack of an antecedent for "there" and translates this phrase as: "where they offer is defiled." This is an awkward translation of the Hebrew phrase and should be rejected; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, KAT 13 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976), 45.

[26] Thus it is more focused than the temple site as a whole, as per Wim A. M. Beuken, *Haggai–Sacharja 1–8: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der frühnachexilischen Prophetie*, SSN 10 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967), 73; Rex A. Mason, "Prophets of the Restoration," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter Ackroyd*, ed. Richard Coggins, Anthony Phillips, and Michael Knibb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 137–54 (144); Verhoef, *Haggai*, 120, and not the agricultural produce of the community, as per Paul L. Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, NCB (London: Marshall Pickering, 1995), 28; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 83. The verb קרב *hiphil* is associated with offerings (whether animal or grain) at the altar (cf. Lev

6.[27] This prophetic critique is not saying that there was anything unclean about the altar or its original construction, only that the uncleanness of "this people … this nation" has been transferred to this altar due to contact.

The source of the people's uncleanness is never specified. The LXX translators provided a moral reason: "on account of their early gains, they will suffer because of their toils. And you used to hate those who reprove in the gates" (NETS).[28] Petersen suggested that there is a failure in ritual matters.[29] Sim sees a symbolic connection so that the temple ruin is treated as a corpse.[30] However, in light of the broader message of Haggai, the source of the uncleanness is most likely related to the community's lack of attention to temple construction.[31] The lack of a legal basis for uncleanness contracted through disobedience of this sort does not disqualify this connection to the building project. While the prophet may be merely using the torah ruling illustratively in this context, he may also be showing that uncleanness can also arise from disobedience to any of God's commands.[32] In either case, the fact should not be missed that in this final section of

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1:13; 2:8). The critique of Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 230–31, against the altar view is predicated on the view that those responsible for Ezra 3 and Hag 2:10–14 have to agree on the status of the altar, and on the view that the uncleanness is related to the lack of dedication of the altar, rather than failure to construct the temple (the latter of which is key to Petersen's view which she critiques).

[27] See H. G. M. Williamson, "The Composition of Ezra i–vi," *JTS* 34 (1983): 1–30 (17, 23–24); Mark J. Boda, "Flashforward: Future Glimpses in the Past of Ezra 1–6," in *Let Us Go up to Zion: Essays in Honour of H. G. M. Williamson on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Iain Provan, VTSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 247–60, for the historical context of the episode in Ezra 3:1–6, which predates the material in Haggai.

[28] Cf. Peter R. Ackroyd, "Some Interpretive Glosses in the Book of Haggai," *JJS* 7 (1956): 163–67 (165–66), who interprets this translation as an attempt to show that "The rebuilding must be accompanied by moral reformation."

[29] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 84. Cf. Exod 29:36–37; Ezek 43:18–25.

[30] Sim, "Notes," 33.

[31] Verhoef, *Haggai*, 120; May, "This People," 190–97.

[32] This extension of priestly purity law beyond typical priestly rituals is evident in the integration of the Holiness Code and Priestly Torah, so that "the concept of holiness also encompasses the realm of social justice" and so there is a "fusing of the realms of cult and morality," Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 180, 76. See Samuel E. Balentine, *Leviticus*, IBC (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 13; Philip Peter Jenson, "Holiness in the Priestly Writings," in *Holiness: Past and Present*, ed. Stephen C. Barton (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 93–121 (112). This extension of priestly jurisdiction to non-ritual areas is seen also in Deut 17:8–13; 19:14–21.

Haggai, which focuses on the positive opportunity afforded by the day of foundation laying which will mean agricultural prosperity (2:15–19) and ultimately political hegemony over the nations (2:20–23), priests are addressed in a section dominated by the failure of the past. While that failure is attributed to the people's uncleanness, it is still clear that the priests who, as this pericope makes clear were responsible for distinguishing holiness and uncleanness, presided over a sacrificial altar and cult which was being defiled by the disobedience of the people.[33] Thus, although the book of Haggai begins with a positive perspective on the priestly stream in Judah, especially as represented by Joshua the high priest, by its end a slight shadow has been cast over this priestly order due to illicit sacrifices on the altar at the temple in Jerusalem.[34]

ZECHARIAH 1–8 AND THE PRIESTS

Zechariah 1–8 displays a similar trend to that observed in Haggai. While Joshua and Zerubbabel are singled out by name earlier in the collection (Zech 3, 4; cf. Zech 6:9–15), the concluding section in Zech 7–8 does not mention Joshua but rather twice speaks about "the priests," first, as those who were addressed by the envoy dispatched from Bethel with an enquiry (7:3) and, second, as those who were singled out by the prophet Zechariah in his response to the Bethel group (7:5). In the first case these priests are identified as those "at the house of Yahweh of hosts" (7:3).[35] They are linked with a group called "the prophets," but interestingly this reference to prophets is tacked on to the end of the clause after the phrase

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[33] Wendland wrongly argues that the call to enquire of the priests creates a "literary expectation" in the reader that the prophet is going to confront the priests; Ernst R. Wendland, "Temple Site or Cemetery?—A Question of Perspective," *JTT* 5 (1992): 37–85 (42–43). He adds that this thesis is bolstered by the "curt" answers which come from the priests in reply. This thesis is built on the assumption that when prophets interact with priests in the prophets it is usually in confrontation, that the technique of asking questions is used to force the guilty to condemn themselves. It also ignores the genre of torah ruling which is based on binary options, which are typically short in content (yes/no, clean/unclean).

[34] See similarly the conclusions of Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 238, although she interprets this critique as much more negative and direct.

[35] The "house of Yahweh" here is not located at Bethel, contra Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Judean Priesthood during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods: A Hypothetical Reconstruction," *CBQ* 60 (1998): 25–43; cf. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 34. Tiemeyer's division of various parts of Zech 7–8 and the two references to priests in 7:2, 4 is unjustified. Both priests and sanctuary are located in Jerusalem. See further Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 206–9; Mark J. Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 390–407 = chapter 2 in this present volume.

"at the house of Yahweh of hosts," possibly indicating that the prophets are not as closely associated with the temple as the priests, or that "the prophets" were added at a later point into this text.[36]

The question asked by the group from Bethel in 7:3 concerns liturgical practice and its answer is binary, requiring either the answer "yes" or "no" which is best suited to priestly rather than prophetic revelatory practices.[37] Thus, as in Hag 2:10–14 a priestly ruling is sought. The priests's response, however, is not recorded in Zech 7 as the prophet delivers a word from Yahweh. This word is directed not only at "all the people of the land," showing that the group from Bethel is representative of the broader community within Yehud, but also at "the priests" (7:5). The following message questions the validity of their various liturgical practices during the past seventy years since the destruction of Jerusalem, mentioning not only the fasting practices which were the concern of the Bethel entourage, but also feasting practices (7:5–6). The validity of these practices is related to two issues in the final form of Zech 7.[38] The fasting and feasting is rendered invalid because they have been practiced for human rather than divine ends (7:5–6). The second issue, indicated by the call to justice in 7:9–10, is that these have been practiced while the vulnerable have experienced injustice. The prophetic message continues by depicting the disobedience and discipline of the former generation which had been linked to the present generation in 7:7. While the prophetic message shifts to hope in chapter 8, it is clear that the present generation should continue to fast until they have displayed the kind of repentance indicative of the true restoration community (8:14–19). Leadership of this community is specifically identified as "the priests" in 7:5, thus as in Hag 2:10–14, the priests have been facilitating worship activities that are deemed inappropriate by the prophet. While in Hag 2:10–14 most likely the problem lay with the lack of progress on the temple project, here the issue of justice comes to the surface.[39]

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[36] So Hinckley Gilbert Mitchell, John Merlin Powis Smith, and J. A. Brewer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 198.

[37] See H. Huffmon, "Priestly Divination in Israel," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns; Philadelphia: ASOR, 1983), 355–59; Cornelis Van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997).

[38] On the development of Zech 7–8 and its role in the book of Zechariah see Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6; Boda, "Fasts to Feasts" = chapter 2 in this present volume.

[39] See also Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 96, 126.

This priestly censure in Zech 7–8 contrasts with the traditional interpretation of the earlier speeches related to Joshua in Zech 1–6. Both Zech 3:1–10 and 6:9–15 reveal the important role that Joshua the high priest would play within the restoration community, the first focusing on his role in the temple precincts, and the second on his role in the political realm.[40] It is clear that on the surface both of these pieces in Zech 1:7–6:15 display a positive stance towards Joshua and his potential contribution to the community. Zechariah 3:1–10 announces Yahweh's defense of Joshua (3:1–2) and shows how the restoration of his line provides hope for the removal of guilt from the nation as a whole (3:9). Zechariah 6:9–15 even places a crown on Joshua's head and grants him a throne alongside the royal figure Zemah whom he will serve as a key counselor.[41] However, there are subtle clues in both of these texts that the prophet has concerns about the priestly role.

First, in both Zech 3:1–10 and 6:9–15 the dressing rituals performed on Joshua the high priest are identified not only as symbolic of the restoration of the high priestly office. In both cases the dressing ritual is linked to the figure Zemah, so that the reinstatement of the high priestly office foreshadows the imminent arrival of Zemah.[42] This reference to Zemah relies on the logic of Jer 33:14–26, that is, that the covenants with the royal and priestly lines are interlinked and enduring and so the reinstatement of the one means the reinstatement of the other. Thus, rather than giving Joshua free reign in leadership of the restoration community, these two pericope are actually reminding the high priest that Zemah is about to appear in order to sit on his own throne and not only bear royal honor, and rule on his throne (6:13), but also be responsible for the building of the temple (6:12, 13, 15).[43] One should not make too much of the granting of a throne and crown to Joshua in 6:9–15 since both terms are associated elsewhere with lesser figures

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[40] See Mark J. Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones: Prophet, Priest and King in Zechariah 1:7–6:15," *JHS* 3 (2001): Article 10 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4. Both pericopae also most likely depict Joshua alongside other priestly figures, most likely who assist him. This is clear in 3:8 in the phrase ורעיך הישבים לפניך which most certainly refers to those who are under his authority vocationally (see 2 Kgs 4:38; 6:1). The group of returnees which arrive and supply resources for the two crowns in 6:9–15 are most likely priests; see extended discussion in Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25B (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 339–46.

[41] See Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 278, who notes 2 Sam 15:31, 34 where the phrase עצת שלום refers to "counsel received by a king."

[42] See further Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4.

[43] See especially Deborah W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood in Ancient Israel*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 125–51.

within royal courts (Jer 23:18; Esth 8:15; 1 Kgs 2:19; cf. 1 Kgs 22:10), most likely related to receiving counsel as indicated in 6:9–15. Just as the royal line had a role to play in the sacred realm (Zech 4:6b–10a), so the priestly line had a role to play in the political realm.

Second, the prophetic message in 6:9–15 is addressed to figures (6:10, 14) who appear to be linked to the priestly realm, if not by name, at least by their function as those who transport gifts from the exilic community for the temple project (cf. Ezra 8:24–34) and by their association with Joshua in this passage. However, the message ends on a negative note, with the condition that the rebuilding of the temple and renewal of the kingdom will only happen "if you completely obey Yahweh your God." This assumes that there is a concern over the present level of obedience, a suspicion that is confirmed in the sermonic material addressed to priests in chapters 7–8.

Third, while Zech 3:1–7 begins with Yahweh's passionate defense of Joshua before the accuser (3:2), it is interesting that the defense of Joshua is based on Yahweh's election of Jerusalem, rather than his election of the Zadokite line ("Yahweh who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you"). This matches the focus from the beginning of the night vision reports which is on the condition of Jerusalem (1:12), more than on the exiles. Here in chapter 3 the attack on Joshua is somehow related to Yahweh's treatment of Jerusalem, from whose ashes Joshua as Zadokite heir has been plucked.[44]

Fourth, the dressing ritual in Zech 3:3–5 uses language which casts a shadow over the priestly investiture event. High priestly dressing rituals are associated with two events in priestly traditions of the Torah. One is the ritual associated with the investiture of the high priest for his normal cult activities in Exod 28–29, 39, and Lev 8. These dressing rituals were part of a larger complex of rituals that qualified the high priest and his sons to minister in the presence of Yahweh on behalf of the people. Another is the dressing ritual associated with the Day of Atonement recorded in Lev 16. Both of these dressing rituals are related to the removal of עון (Exod 28:38; Lev 16:21), as was the case for Joshua in Zech 3:4. The reference to the removal of this עון in one day in Zech 3:9 suggests that the Day of Atonement ritual is in view, while the setting of the reinstatement of the priest complete with commissioning in Zech 3:7, suggests that the priestly investiture ritual is in view. Both dressing rituals are probably in view here as together they were key to the reinstitution of worship at the sanctuary. The investiture provided a mediatorial figure who would minister on Israel's behalf (Exod 29:44–

[44] Typically the plucking of Joshua as a firebrand from a fire (Zech 3:2) is understood as a reference to the exile, e.g., Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 218, but the image of fire together with the focus on the election of Jerusalem suggests that the emphasis lies in the survival of the Zadokite leadership from the destruction of Jerusalem.

46) and the Day of Atonement provided the mediatorial space where the relationship between deity and people could be facilitated (Lev 16:16, 18).[45] Also whereas the investiture garments were worn for the many festal activities in Israel's religious calendar, the Day of Atonement garments seem to be related to the events on this more solemn day concerned with the removal of the sin of the nation from the sanctuary.[46]

The one problem, however, with the connections to these Torah dressing rituals is that there is a paucity of specific lexical connections between the description of the clothing in Zech 3:3–5 and the description in the Torah texts. Instead one finds connections to an earlier prophetic passage. For instance, while the clothing given to the high priest in the Torah dressing rituals is called בגדי־קדשׁ ("holy garments"; Exod 28:2, 4, 29; 31:10; 35:19; 39:1, 41; 40:13; Lev 16:4, 32), the clothing that the messenger of Yahweh offers to the high priest in 3:4 is called מחלצות, often translated as "festival dress." This term is only mentioned elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible in Isa 3:22 where it is part of a long list of fine clothing and jewelry which Yahweh will strip from the elite of Zion (Isa 3:18–23).[47] Furthermore, while the headpiece which is placed on the high priest in the Torah dressing rituals is called a מצנפת (Exod 29:6; 39:31; Lev 8:9; cf. Num 20:26–28), the headpiece which the prophetic observer prompts the heavenly attendants to place on Joshua's head is called a צניף. This latter term is only used three other times in the Hebrew Bible and on no other occasion does it refer to a priestly figure (Job 29:14; Isa 3:23; 62:3). Isaiah 62:3 mentions the word alongside others associated with the monarchy (מלוכה, kingship, kingdom; עטרת, crown), which has prompted some to see here evidence for priestly assumption of royal prerogatives.[48] However, the two other uses of this word (Job 29:14; Isa 3:23) have no

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[45] See especially Roy Gane, *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005).

[46] For the contrast between the two sets of garments see Baruch A. Levine, *Leviticus*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 101; Balentine, *Leviticus*, 127.

[47] That these garments are related to both men and women is argued by E. E. Platt, "Jewelry of Bible Times and the Catalog of Isa. 3:18–23," *AUSS* 17 (1979): 71–84, 189–201 (83): "Isa. 3 gives a collection of oracles that denounce *both* men and women *aristocrats.*"

[48] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 198; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 192; although see James C. VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest and the Interpretation of Zechariah 3," *CBQ* 53 (1991): 553–70 (557), who argues that both terms for headpiece have royal connotations (Ezek 21:31 [Eng. 26]). This evidence actually shows the opposite, that one cannot identify "royal" with either of these headpieces. Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 598, suggests that צניף may be a generic term, and מצנפת a technical term.

royal connotation.[49] Interestingly, again one finds a piece of clothing from the list of clothing which Yahweh will strip from the elite of Zion in Isa 3:18–23. This then associates the entire priestly outfit, body garments and headpiece, with these elite in Isa 3. A further distinction between the headpiece in Zech 3 and the one described in the Torah rituals is the lack of a metal component in the headpiece. This is described in Exod 29:6; 39:30; Lev 8:9 as a golden medallion or rosette (**ציץ הזהב**) as well as a holy crown (**נזר הקדשׁ**)[50] on which was written "Holy to Yahweh" (Exod 39:30). It was fastened to the headpiece with blue cord (39:31). Zechariah 3 not only fails to mention this component in the headpiece, but calls the headpiece placed on Joshua's head **צניף טהור**, identifying it as "clean."[51] This not only contrasts with the description of the clothing as "holy" (Exod 28:2, 4, 29; 31:10; 35:19; 39:1, 41; 40:13; Lev 16:4, 32) throughout the Torah, but it specifically contrasts with the name of the crown (**נזר הקדשׁ**), as well as the phrase engraved on it: "holy to Yahweh" (Exod 39:30). While "clean" is a priestly state essential to qualify someone or something for "holy" status, it falls short of this required state.[52]

The link to the prophetic tradition in Isa 3 prompts a closer investigation of this earlier prophetic passage and any other links to as well as potential impact on the presentation of Zech 3. The daughters of Zion are identified in Isa 3 with the cause of Yahweh's judgment against the people, one that begins with what appear to be their husbands in 3:13–15 and their abuse of the poor. The rich clothing and jewelry worn by this elite group is thus representative of the riches gained at the poor's expense (3:16–25) and Yahweh's judgment is exemplified by the loss of these precious items. This image of the women of Jerusalem lays the foundation for 3:25–26 where a single woman is addressed and depicted, one whose men will die in battle (3:25) and whose "gates" will lament and mourn as she sits deserted on the ground (3:26). This final reference to "gates" and allusion to the book of

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[49] Cf. Janet E. Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, JSOTSup 150 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 157.

[50] The word **נזר** (crown) is also used in connection with kings in the Old Testament (2 Sam 1:10; 2 Kgs 11:12; 2 Chr 23:11; Pss 89:40; 132:18).

[51] Some have suggested a different gloss meaning "pure," but more likely because of its dissonance with the Torah accounts. In a priestly context "ceremonially clean" is more likely.

[52] On gradations in priestly legislation see Philip Peter Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World*, JSOTSup 106 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 43–55; Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Jay Sklar, *Sin, Impurity, Sacrifice, Atonement: The Priestly Conceptions*, Hebrew Bible Monographs 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005), 105–36; Mark J. Boda, *A Severe Mercy: Sin and Its Remedy in the Old Testament*, Siphrut 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 50–52. Only once are holy and pure associated (Exod 30:35), in this case in relation to the incense.

Lamentations reveals that the daughters of Zion laid the foundation for the appearance of "Daughter Zion." Interestingly, this figure of Daughter Zion features strongly in the prophetic oracle that sets up Zech 3 (2:10–17 [Eng. 2:6–13]),[53] as a female inhabitant called Zion is exhorted to flee Babylon (2:11 [Eng. 2:7]) and then Daughter Zion is exhorted to rejoice in Yahweh's expected return (2:14 [Eng. 2:10]).

The image of the "daughters of Zion" reemerges in Isa 4:1 as seven women take hold of one man in the wake of the destruction, but then the prophetic pericope shifts to a picture of restoration. This restoration is linked immediately to something called "Zemah of Yahweh" (4:2), a term that appears to refer more generally to the reemergence of lush vegetation, but which in Zech 3:8 is read in light of Jer 23 and 33 as referring to the Davidic figure who will now emerge once the priestly line has been reinstated. In Isa 4 inhabitants of Zion and Jerusalem are identified as "holy," suggesting a broader vision of "holiness" than that encountered in priestly texts which includes "everyone who is recorded for life in Jerusalem" (4:3). This emphasis on "holiness" contrasts with the offering of merely "ceremonially clean" priestly clothing in Zech 3:5. This "holiness" encompassing the entire city is made possible by the washing away of the "filth" (צאה) of the "daughters of Zion." While this mention of the daughters of Zion reveals the integrity of this section of Isaiah (Isa 3:13–4:6),[54] it also provides another link between Zech 3 and Isa 3:13–4:6, since the word צאה in Isa 4:4 is strikingly similar to the *hapax legomenon* צאי in Zech 3:3, used to describe the garments on Joshua the high priest. Finally, Isa 4:5–6 speaks of Yahweh's presence as the Exodus pillar of cloud and fire with glory over Mount Zion which appears to have a protective role. As "Daughter Zion" this description of Yahweh is strikingly similar to that encountered in the previous night vision report in 2:5–9 (1–5) where Yahweh promises his presence as protective fire and glory (2:9 [Eng. 2:5]).

These many connections between Zech 3:1–5 (as well as 2:10–17 [Eng. 2:6–13]) and Isa 3:13–4:6, especially in contrast to the priestly dressing rituals in the Torah,[55] reveal a subtle undermining of the priestly investiture. Like reminding a

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[53] Zechariah 2:17 (Eng. 2:13) signals the appearance of Yahweh from his holy habitation and Zech 3:1 places the reader in the divine court where the voice of Yahweh speaks.

[54] This integrity extends probably to all of 3:1–4:6 and possibly even 2:6–4:6; see Bertil Wiklander, *Prophecy as Literature: A Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to Isaiah 2–4*, ConBOT 22 (Lund: Gleerup, 1984); Walter Brueggemann, *Isaiah*, Westminster Bible Companion (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 25; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 34–35.

[55] To some these links to Isa 3–4 in Zech 3 would be taken as evidence that the Torah traditions were not in existence when Zech 3 was created. However, connections to the

groom or bride of past dalliances on the day of their wedding, so here the language takes the audience back to the faults of the community which caused the exile. Not only does Zech 3 play down the holy status of the high priestly clothing by alluding to Isa 3:13–4:6, but the allusion suggests a broader category of holiness which extends to the entire city (cf. Zech 14:20–21).

The fifth clue that Zech 3 evidences concern over the role of the priests in the early restoration period is seen in the commissioning which follows this dressing ritual. The commission is expressed in more negative terms than may be expected at such an event. From the beginning the tone of the commissioning is dark as the messenger of Yahweh is described as "warning" (עוד *hiphil*) Joshua. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible when this verb appears in a collocation with the preposition ב it introduces a strong warning given to a human being, whether that is Joseph's warning that his brothers would not see his face without Benjamin in tow (Gen 43:3) or Yahweh's and his prophets's insistent cry to a stubborn people (1 Sam 8:9; 2 Kgs 17:13, 15; Jer 6:10; 11:7; 42:19; Ps 81:9 [Eng. 8]; Neh 9:26, 29–30, 34; 2 Chr 24:19). It is regularly employed when someone is warning another of dire consequences, whether that is Yahweh warning the people from touching the mountain (Exod 19:21, 23), Solomon warning Shimei of what will happen if he disobeys his order (1 Kgs 2:42), or Nehemiah warning those who would dare break Sabbath regulations (Neh 13:15; cf. Deut 8:19; 32:46; Amos 3:13). While it may be suggested that this merely expresses the more serious tone associated with a commissioning address, the use of this term elsewhere suggests impending doom. Such a tone also appears to be indicated by the commissioning itself which follows in Zech 3:7. The messenger of Yahweh delivers a series of four conditions in his commissioning followed by one result clause.[56] This is one of the longest conditional protases in the Hebrew Bible, indicating the high demands being placed on the high priest. While the conditions begin with the more general calls to covenant obedience and priestly responsibility, they end by focusing on the dispensing of justice, the same issue that is raised as a key problem for the people of the land and the priests in Zech 7–8.[57]

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removal of guilt (עון) in the clothing rituals, especially the reference to "one day," strongly suggest that the priestly clothing traditions are in view, if not actual texts.

[56] There is no question that the first two clauses are part of the protasis and that the final clause is part of the apodosis. Debate has raged over the role of the third and fourth clauses in this conditional, both of which begin with וגם. While וגם can occur in either the protasis (Judg 9:16, 19; Mal 2:2) or the apodosis (Exod 18:23; 21:29; 1 Sam 12:14; Mal 2:2; cf. Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, SubBi 14 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2000), §167e, it never appears in the initial position of either, which means it must be part of the protasis.

[57] See also Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 143–46, who notes an implicit critique of priestly justice in the flying scroll night vision report of Zech 5:1–4.

The final evidence of prophetic concern over priestly roles lies in the apodosis of the conditional clause in 3:7. This apodosis identifies the one privilege that the high priest will enjoy if he fulfils this long list of responsibilities, and that privilege is the gift of "those who will have access among those standing here." I have argued elsewhere that this is not giving the high priest his own access into the heavenly court, but rather granting him prophetic figures who have such access.[58]

This evidence reveals that even the depiction of the investiture of the high priest in Zech 3, often considered the centerpiece of Zechariah's affirmation of hierocratic rule, casts a shadow over the potential of the high priest. That shadow is seen both in the links to the past unfaithfulness of the preexilic inhabitants of Zion as well as the link to the future appearance of the Zemah figure. This link of a priestly figure with preexilic unfaithfulness is echoed in the address of Zechariah to the priests as a whole in Zech 7–8. While the address to Joshua in Zech 3 and 6:9–15 is more subtle in its critical stance towards the priests, the address to the priests in Zech 7–8 is more explicitly combative.

Comparison and Contrast

This review of Haggai and Zechariah has provided a more negative reading of the priestly passages than has been traditionally the case. If one focuses first on the three passages Hag 2:10–14, Zech 3, and Mal 2, there are striking similarities. Each contains a direct address to priestly figures with presentations that have a negative nuance. Each is concerned over the categories of holy and unclean. References to unclean or holy clothing is found in Hag 2:10–14 as well as Zech 3. Unclean human or animal body fluids are associated with priestly figures in both Zech 3 and Mal 2, although it is more serious in Mal 2 with the material spread on the priest's face rather than just his clothing. Uncleanness related to sacrifices on the altar is mentioned in both Hag 2:10–14 and Mal 1:6–14. Both Hag 2:10 and Mal 2:6–9 refer to the priestly role of providing torah rulings for the people, something suggested by the call to enact justice in the temple courts in Zech 3:7. Haggai 2, Zech 3 and Mal 1–2 all speak about blessing and cursing. Haggai 2:10–14 and Zech 3 make connections to royal figures (Zerubbabel, Zemah), while Mal 1–2 does refer to a governor. Haggai 2:10–14, Zech 3, and Mal 1–2 are both connected to contexts that speak about the importance of a particular day to the future transformation which will change the negative conditions presented in relation to the priests. Both Zech 3 (vv. 4, 9) and Mal 2 (v. 6) depict the priests as key to

[58] Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 4; so also Wolter H. Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel: Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period*, JSOTSup 304 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000); contra, e.g., Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 132.

dealing with the guilt (עון) of the community. While Hag 2:10–14 is ambiguous on the precise disobedience of the people (although larger context suggests lack of rebuilding), the priests are implicated in facilitating unclean sacrifices. In contrast Zech 3 encourages priestly justice and alludes to injustice unresolved from past generations. Malachi 1:6–2:9 interestingly intertwines the issues of social injustice (1:13; 2:4–9) and inappropriate sacrificial ritual (1:6–14).[59]

Many of these elements can also be discerned in the address to the priests in Zech 7–8. It also contains a direct address to priests with a negative nuance. As the other texts Zech 7–8 focuses on the appropriateness of worship activities (fasting, feasting) alongside the issue of social injustice (7:3–10; 8:16–19). As in Hag 2, Zech 3, and Mal 1–2 there is a focus on the importance of a particular day (8:9–13) and reference to turning curse into blessing (8:9–13). Zechariah 7–8 showcases an opportunity the priests had to provide proper legal instruction for the people, something exemplified in Hag 2:10–14, commissioned in Zech 3, and attacked in Mal 1:6–2:9.[60]

Conclusion

While past scholarship has treated Haggai and Zechariah as hierocratic promoters, the present work has revealed some distance between these Persian period prophets and the priestly caste.[61] This perspective prompts a reconsideration of the re-

[59] See Schuller, "Malachi," 846, who concludes: "The passion for justice, the concern for the widow and orphan and laborer of the eighth-century prophets is combined with a focus on Temple, cult, and priesthood that both reflects and addresses the centrality of these institutions for the post-exilic community."

[60] More controversial is whether this priestly/prophetic tension can be discerned in Zech 9–14, mostly because it is difficult to discern precisely the antagonists within Zech 9–14. The fact that in Zech 11 the good Shepherd throws his payment into the treasury of the temple, suggests that his antagonist is somehow connected with the temple, the priests being the most likely candidates; cf. Rex A. Mason, "The Use of Earlier Biblical Material in Zechariah 9–14: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 204–5; Hanson, *Dawn*, 280–401. Cf. Mark J. Boda, "Reading between the Lines: Zechariah 11:4–16 in Its Literary Contexts," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9.

[61] In common with Cook I have sought to undermine the simplistic connections made by Wellhausen, Plöger, and Hanson between certain texts in the postexilic period and certain hierocratic and eschatological groups; Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism:*

lationship between these prophetic voices and the one found in Malachi, suggesting that the negative stance towards priests is not unique to Malachi. Nevertheless, one does not hear a mere echo of priestly critique throughout Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Instead, there is a discernible development in these books, from slight critique due to facilitation of inappropriate behavior of the people in Hag 2:10–14, to creatively allusive undermining and strongly worded warning to Joshua in Zech 3, to explicit confrontation of the priests alongside the people of the land in Zech 7–8 expressed with much hope for future renewal, to finally the biting negative attack on the priests with threat of rejection by Yahweh in Mal 1:6–2:9. On the one side, this evidence shows that Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi share in common a concern over priestly practices of their time. On the other side, it reveals a slowly emerging response to the priests, most likely highlighting the development of these books over a period of time which saw increasing hostility between the priests and the prophetic group(s) represented by Haggai–Malachi.[62]

The Postexilic Social Setting (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995). He accentuates priestly elements throughout "eschatological" texts (like Ezek 38–39; Zech 9–14; Joel) to make these texts appear hierocratic and highlights certain "eschatological" (that is, apocalyptic) elements throughout the clearly priestly text of Zech 1–8. I strongly disagree with his analysis of Zech 1:7–6:15 as apocalyptic/eschatological and instead have sought here to accentuate protest elements within Haggai and Zech 1–8 to show how they display signs of critique from the beginning which continued to increase as time progressed and the collection grew.

[62] See Byron G. Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road: The Book of Zechariah in Social Location Trajectory Analysis*, AcBib 25 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2006), for a convincing argument that a single sociological group could be responsible for such a shift in literary shape and outlook, as such groups move from center to periphery or the reverse in a single generation; cf. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 214.

7
Priestly Expansions within Haggai–Malachi[1]

Having discovered evidence of a growing critique of priests within Haggai–Malachi in the previous chapter, I now extend this research to treatment of the royal house and draw out implications for the development of the Haggai–Malachi corpus.

In his early commentary on Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, Paul Redditt clearly identified the common redactional agenda of Haggai and Zech 1–8.[2] He treated Zech 9–14 as a later addition to Haggai–Zech 1–8 and Malachi as a separate book drawn together from two separate written collections: one castigating the priesthood and the other addressing the laity.[3] He concluded that Mal 4:4–6 was added later as part of activity which had the broader canonical sections of the Torah and Prophets in view.[4]

Of course, since that time many have noted a close connection between Haggai and Zech 1–8, almost universally identifying it as one of two foundational

[1] Based on the original publication, Mark J. Boda, "Priestly Expansions within Haggai–Malachi and the Twelve," *PRSt* 43 (2016): 1–9, in honor of Paul Redditt. Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume.

[2] Paul L. Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, NCB (London: Marshall Pickering, 1995), 38–43.

[3] Ibid., 155

[4] Ibid., 185; more clearly in Paul L. Redditt, "Zechariah 9–14, Malachi, and the Redaction of the Book of the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature. Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 245–68.

collections which underlie the Book of the Twelve, the other being the earlier Deuteronomistic Book of the Four (Amos, Hosea, Micah, Zephaniah).[5] In the meantime, however, several have noted connecting points between Haggai/Zech 1–8 and those collections which follow in Zech 9–14 and Malachi.[6] In an earlier work I noted the common employment of מלאך יהוה (messenger of YHWH) in each of the four sections of the Haggai–Malachi corpus (Haggai, Zech 1–8, Zech 9–14, Malachi), suggesting an editorial agenda sparked by those tradents responsible for creating or preserving Zech 1–8 where מלאך יהוה (messenger of YHWH) dominates the literary tradition.[7] Unlike Redditt, I have treated the introductory use of משׂא דבר־יהוה (an oracle, the word of YHWH) at the outset of Zech 9, 12 and Mal 1 as evidence of a common redactional agenda within Zech 9–Mal 3 even if Zech 9–14 evinces distinct origins from Malachi.[8] The same may be said for Haggai versus Zech 1–8 even though the prophetic introductions throughout draw these two corpora together into a unity. Thus, my argument has sought to show the close connections on a macrostructure level between Haggai and Zech 1–8 on the one hand and the close connections between Zech 9–14 and Malachi on the other, and then the connections between these two smaller collections through the editorial strategy of references to מלאך יהוה (messenger of YHWH).

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[5] See the superb reviews by Paul Redditt of this research history: Paul L. Redditt, "Recent Research on the Book of the Twelve as One Book," *CurBS* 9 (2001): 47–80; Paul L. Redditt, "The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 1–26.

[6] Contrast James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993); James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993); with Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998); Aaron Schart, "Putting the Eschatological Visions of Zechariah in Their Place: Malachi as a Hermeneutical Guide for the Last Section of the Book of the Twelve," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 333–43.

[7] Mark J. Boda, "Messengers of Hope in Haggai–Malachi," *JSOT* 32 (2007): 113–31 = chapter 5 in this present volume.

[8] Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 30–31; so also Byron G. Curtis, "The *Mas'ot* Triptych and the Date of Zechariah 9–14: Issues in the Latter Formation of the Book of the Twelve," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 191–206.

In the following contribution I want to continue reflection on signs of development in the Haggai–Malachi corpus. My starting point is the book of Haggai.[9]

Many have noted throughout the history of research on the book of Haggai that Hag 2:11–14 stands out within the text. Haggai 1:1–2:9 and 2:15–23 refer to a specific leadership figure identified by his ancestor's name and socio-functionary title (whether Joshua son of Jehozadaq, the high priest, or Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel, the governor) and to the people as a communal group. In contrast, Hag 2:11–14 refers in general to the כהנים. At the same time the introductory dating and prophetic formula which appears in Hag 2:10 (and 20) stands apart from those found in Hag 1:1–2:9 with ביד ("through") appearing in 1:1–2:9 and אל ("to") in 2:10 (and 20).

Redditt is aware of the unique character of 2:11–14, but discusses this in terms of its distinction from 2:15–19, since "vv. 10–14 speak of 'this people' in the third person, while vv. 15–19 address them in the second."[10] In the end Redditt makes little of the distinction between 2:11–14 and 2:15–19 as well as of the distinction between the prophetic formula in 1:1–2:9 and 2:10–23.

Two recent works on Haggai, however, have sought to deal with these distinctions. For Wöhrle 2:11–14 is not closely related to his *Grundschrift* (Core, Hag 1:2, 4–11, 12b, 13; 2:3, 4*, 5aβ, b, 9, 15–16, 18abβ, 19, 23), but rather is part of a series of later *Einzelzusätse* (isolated additions: Hag 2:5aα, 11–14, 17, 18bα) which occurred after the *Haggaichronik* (1:1, 3, 12a, 14–15; 2:1–2, 4*, 10, 20, 21a) and the *Fremdvölker-Korpus I* (Hag 2:6–8, 21b, 22) had developed.[11] Leuenberger identifies 2:11–14 as *Die frühe Einschreibung* (early insertion) distinguishing it from *Die Grundschicht* (primary layer) of Haggai with its focus on the community (1:2, 4–11, 12b–13; 2:3–4aα, aγ–b, 5b, 9a, 15–16, 18a, 19) as well as *Die chronologisch-narrative Redaktion* (chronological narrative redaction; 1:1, 3, 12a, 14–15; 2:1–2, 4aβ, 10, 18b, 20–21a, 23aβ–bβ) with its focus on the figures of Zerubbabel and Joshua. It is also distinguished from *Die universal-eschatologischen Fortschreibungen* (the universal-eschatological update; 2:6–8, 9b, 21b–23aα), and *Die späten Einzelzusätze* (late isolated additions; 2:5a, 17).[12]

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[9] With thanks to the Book of the Twelve Group at the Society of Biblical Literature (a group in which Paul Redditt was closely associated) and to Martin Leuenberger, whose new commentary (and the review session in which I participated at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Atlanta, 2015) prompted for me further reflection on the book of Haggai and eventually these priestly texts in the Book of the Twelve; cf. Martin Leuenberger, *Haggai*, HThKAT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2015).

[10] Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, 26.

[11] Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 285–385.

[12] Leuenberger, *Haggai*, 49–58. It must be admitted that Leuenberger also appears open to 2:11–14 as part of *Die Grundschicht* (primary layer) when he states in an earlier article:

As for the distinctions between the prophetic formulae in 2:10–23 and 1:1–2:9, both Wöhrle and Leuenberger see the shift in prophetic formula as evidence of a redactional agenda which brought together Haggai with Zech 1–8. While Redditt forged a close connection between Haggai and Zech 1–8 based on the fact that the formulae used in Zech 1–8 are "characteristic of the style of the redactor of the Book of Haggai,"[13] Wöhrle and Leuenberger (among others) draw on these connections to speak of the redactional agenda in the use of the common formula and dating sequence in Hag 2:10 and Zech 1:1. For them the redactor(s) used Dtr penitential theology to explain the sequence which led to the reconstruction of the temple and return of God's favor showcased in the first vision report in Zech 1. Thus, the call to and response of repentance in Zech 1:1–6 is placed at a date prior to the temple foundation ceremony of Hag 2:10–23. It is the people's repentance from moral failure that opens the way for the refoundation and its attendant shift from curse to blessing.

While the distinction between 2:11–14 and the rest of Haggai is acknowledged in this recent research by its identification as an instance of later *Einzelzusätse* (Wöhrle) or an early *Einschreibung* (Leuenberger), little attention has been given to whether this is part of larger developments within an early form of the Haggai–Malachi corpus or of what would become the Book of the Twelve. The same can be said for the distinction between the formula used in 1:1–2:9 and 2:10–23 which have been identified with the same redactional level, whether Wöhrle's *Haggaichronik* or Leuenberger's *Die chronologisch-narrative Redaktion*.

Thus, 2:10–14 stands out from what precedes it in the book of Haggai. The dating and prophetic formula in 2:10 as well as the more generic address to a plural group of priests in 2:11–14 represent a key shift in the rhetoric that may be suggestive of redactional activity. The connection between 2:10 and redactional formulae in Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1 suggests that this redactional activity is at least related

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"Less compulsory seems to me excluding Hag 2:11–14 from the basic layer, especially if one assumes a historic prophet who then is expected to be heavily shaped by priestly categories on the one hand"; Martin Leuenberger, "Time and Situational Reference in the Book of Haggai: On Religious- and Theological-Historical Contextualizations of Redactional Processes," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 157–69 (159). Leuenberger notes in his commentary that he finds the literary history of 2:11–14: "extremely difficult to classify" (*äußerst schwierig einzuordnen*); Leuenberger, *Haggai*, 51.

[13] Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, 38.

to the development of Zech 1–8 and this evidence prompts investigation of this corpus.[14]

The shift in focus from the Zadokite high priest to "the priests" (כהנים) as seen in Haggai, can also be discerned in Zech 1–8. At the heart of the vision report sequence lies Zech 3 which showcases the installation of Joshua the high priest. An apparent counterpart to this vision report is the sign act report in Zech 6:9–15 which begins with a reference to Joshua son of Jehozadak the high priest and affords him a throne and crown next to the royal Sprout figure. These two passages are often considered clear evidence that Zechariah was a promoter of the hierocracy with the Zadokite high priest at its helm. However, as we move into Zech 7–8 no reference is made to a singular priestly figure let alone Joshua, but rather to a plural group of priests (כהנים) at the temple in Jerusalem (Zech 7:3, 5). In light of the presence of the Zadokite tradition in Zech 1:7–6:15, Zech 7–8 is strikingly similar to the final form of Hag 2:10–14, bringing to completion a section that had spoken about the Zadokite priestly tradition by speaking more generally of the priestly tradition. An additional connection is seen in the fact that in both Hag 2:10–14 and Zech 7–8 priests are censured for their lack of attention to purity of worship. Haggai 2:11–14 focused on improper sacrificial activity facilitated by priests and Zech 7–8 focused on social injustice in spite of priestly supervised penitential fasting.[15]

This more generalizing agenda is not restricted to Zech 7–8 within Zech 1–8, it can also be discerned within those passages in Zech 1:7–6:15 which refer to the Zadokite tradition, that is Zech 3 and 6:9–15. Both of these passages intertwine the fate of the Sprout (צמח) with that of the Zadokite priestly figure Joshua leveraging the Jeremianic Sprout (צמח) tradition especially as expressed in Jer 33 with its reference to the enduring nature of the covenant with both the Davidic צמח and the וְלַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם (vv. 14–26). Thus, even when a Zadokite is featured

[14] For my past work on the Haggai–Malachi corpus, see Mark J. Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 390–407 = chapter 2 in this present volume; Boda, "Messengers of Hope," 113–31 = chapter 5 in this present volume; Mark J. Boda, "Perspectives on Priests in Haggai–Malachi," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy S. Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 13–33 = chapter 6 in this present volume; Mark J. Boda, "Babylon in the Book of the Twelve," *HBAI* 3 (2014): 225–48 = chapter 8 in this present volume; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*. Also see Curtis, "The *Mas'ot* Triptych," 193–206.

[15] See further for Hag 2:11–14: Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 18–22; and for Zech 7–8: Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

in Zech 1:7–6:15, a more general כהנים tradition is referenced, contrasting the particularistic Zadokite tradition.

There are indications that Zech 7–8 is related to the redactional activity represented by Hag 2:10–23 since it uses similar prophetic formulae to that found in Hag 2:10, 20; Zech 1:1; 1:7 and distinct from Hag 1:1–2:9. In this way, I think it is important to distinguish between the development of 1:1–2:9, or at least the chronological narrative elements found in 1:1–2:9 and those found in Hag 2:10–Zech 8:23. Zechariah 7–8 also shows evidence of being part of a redactional process which drew together Haggai with Zech 1–6.[16] Zechariah 6:15b reopens the conditionality question related to repentance, once thought to be closed by the response of the people in Zech 1:6. Zechariah 8:2–8 reflects a rehearsing and recasting of the promises found in the night visions, especially the first and third. Zechariah 8:9–13 reflects a rehearsal and recasting of the promises found in Haggai. Furthermore, as already noted one can see similarity of language shared between the oracular material in the night visions and the prose sermon in Zech 7–8.

Thus, we see striking similarities between the role of 2:11–14 within the book of Haggai and the role of references to כהנים (whether explicit or implicit) in Zech 1–8. This evidence points to a common agenda shared by both Haggai and Zech 1–8, indicating that 2:11–14 is not merely part of the inner development of the book of Haggai, but is related to broader developments in Haggai–Zech 1–8.

But can this agenda be discerned elsewhere in the Haggai–Malachi? In Malachi one cannot deny the broader priestly emphasis with the reference to כהנים in Mal 1:6; 2:1.[17] In Malachi, however, there is no reference to the Zadokite High Priest tradition. In its place we find development of the Levi tradition (Mal 2:4, 8; 3:3) which provides the foundation for the priestly office. It is certainly interesting that the basis for the כהנים tradition in Zech 1–8 is linked to a Levi tradition drawn from Jeremiah. It is not surprising that the shift to the plural priests references is accompanied by this link to the more general Levi tradition, possibly due to its claim for greater antiquity that antedates Zadokite claims. One concern

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[16] See Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 420, 469–74.

[17] See Hallaschka's key observation as to whether 2:11–14 "reflects problems similar to those in Malachi (cf. ep. Mal 1:6–14; 2:1–9; 3:6–12)." Martin Hallaschka, "From Cores to Corpus: Considering the Formation of Haggai and Zechariah 1–8," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 171–89 (179); contra Leuenberger (*Haggai,* 190) who challenges Hallaschka's approach: Martin Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja 1–8: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, BZAW 411 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 83, 93–94.

over the priests' behavior in Malachi is related to their superintendence of the sacrifice (Mal 1:7–14), similar to the concern expressed in Hag 2:11–14. In both cases sacrifices are considered ritually inappropriate. In Malachi, however, concern is also expressed over social injustice in priestly decisions (Mal 2:9),[18] similar to the concern expressed in the prose sermon of Zech 7–8 (7:9–10; 8:16–17) as well as the admonishment of the Messenger of YHWH to Joshua in Zech 3:6–7: "render justice at my house" (תדין את־ביתי). Malachi, therefore, intertwines the concerns over the priests expressed in both Haggai and Zech 1–8.

Zechariah 9–14 also may reflect this shift from Zadokite to broader priestly tradition. Of course, Zech 9–14 does not employ the words כהן or כהנים at all. Reference is made to "the house of YHWH" at the centre of the Zech 9–14 complex in Zech 11:13, suggesting a disconnection between the shepherd figure and those superintending the temple, possibly the priests, but the vocabulary is absent.[19] The only reference to the priestly tradition in the entire corpus is found in 12:10–14 with the reference to the family of Levi alongside the family of David, suggesting priestly and royal lines. The reference to the family of Nathan may indicate a shift in the hope related to the Davidic line and in light of the fact that a Shimei is identified as the grandson of Levi through Gershon(m), a family stream within Levi distinct from the Zadokites (Kohath), it is possible that we have here further indications of a rejection of the Zadokite line.[20] Whether this approach can be embraced, the reference to the more general Levi tradition connects this passage with Malachi and with the allusions to the Jeremianic priestly/levites tradition found in Zech 3 and 6.[21]

Thus, analyzing the four major sections of the Haggai–Malachi corpus in terms of references to priestly traditions (the Zadokite priestly tradition [הכהן הגדול], the general priests tradition [כהנים], and the Levi priestly tradition) produces the following results:

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[18] Note the use of the collocation: נשׂא פנים in Lev 19:15; Deut 10:17; Job 13:10; Ps 82:2, for showing partiality in justice.

[19] Mark J. Boda, "Reading between the Lines: Zechariah 11:4–16 in Its Literary Contexts," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9.

[20] Shimei was the second son of Gershon the son of Levi (Exod 6:17; Num 3:18, 21; 1 Chr 6:2 [Eng. 17]; 23:7, 10). Aaron was from Levi's son Kohath through Amram, and following to Zadok and then Jehoazadak father of Joshua (as per 1 Chr 6:1–15). Notice the Gershom line in 1 Chr 6:20–21 includes "Iddo" (v. 21), but it appears to be through Libni rather than Shimei; cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 36, 719–20.

[21] One also cannot ignore the broadening of the sacrificial system at the conclusion of Zech 14 (vv. 20–21), possibly indicating the need for greater numbers of priests if priests at all.

	Haggai	Zech 1–8	Zech 9–14	Malachi
Zadokite priest	1:1–2:9	3:1–10; 6:9–15		
General priests	2:11–14	(3:1–10; 6:9–15) 7:1–14		1:6; 2:1, 7
Levi priests		(3:1–10; 6:9–15)	12:10–14	2:4, 8; 3:3

This evidence highlights a shift in the reference to priests as one moves through the Haggai–Malachi corpus. The only purely positive Zadokite references are those found in Hag 1:1–2:9, where Joshua the high priest is pictured (with Zerubbabel) as one who played a leading role in the temple reconstruction. The Zadokite priest Joshua is also featured in Zech 1–8, but the warning to Joshua related to justice in the courts in 3:7 and the reminder of his role alongside Sprout (צמח) in 3:8 and 6:10–14 represent a slight shift as we move beyond the book of Haggai. Both Zech 3 and 6 refer to a plural priestly tradition in Jeremiah. This subtle reference to a plural priestly tradition is made explicit in Zech 7–8 which aligns with the shift to the plural priestly tradition in Hag 2:11–14. In Malachi the plural priestly tradition eclipses that of the Zadokite priestly tradition and this shift is founded on explicit reference to the Levi priestly tradition. This Levi priestly tradition was already discerned in the subtle allusions to Jeremiah 33 in Zech 3:1–10 and 6:9–15. This same Levi priestly tradition is brought to the fore in Zech 9–14 in Zech 12:10–14, possibly suggesting a shift in priestly legitimacy: whether a different line or broader appropriation of priestly lines.

This evidence suggests that some form of Haggai–Malachi was drawn together in a priestly redaction which saw the joining of Haggai, Zech 1–8 and Malachi, and possibly also Zech 9–14. What is apparent from this evidence is that the only section of Haggai–Malachi which is purely pro-Zadokite is in Haggai, although in what is considered by many the Haggai-Chronicle section. Joshua the Zadokite priest appears in Zech 1–8 in sections (Zech 3; 6:9–15) which are considered by many to be additions and when he appears he is reminded of the coming Davidic Sprout (צמח) figure with reference to Jeremianic tradition which is not strongly Zadokite in its orientation.[22]

While the investigation so far has focused on the presentation of the priestly tradition in Haggai–Malachi and the shift from the more singular Zadokite priestly tradition to the more general Levi priestly tradition, one can also discern shifts in the presentation of the Davidic royal tradition occurring alongside this priestly tradition shift. The Davidic royal tradition is evident throughout the book of Haggai, first as the Zadokite Joshua is presented alongside the Davidic Zerubbabel in

[22] See Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, 38–43, on the redactional character of Zech 3 and 6:9–15.

1:1–2:9 and then as the plural priests are presented with the Davidic Zerubbabel in 2:10–23. The juxtaposition of the priests (2:11–14), people (2:15–19) and royal figure (2:20–23) is most likely a redactional construction based on values related to temple refoundation rituals in the ancient Near East.[23] As already noted above the Zadokite and Davidic traditions are linked in Zech 1–6, not only in the careful reference to the Davidic צמח traditions in the two passages in which the Zadokite Joshua appears (ch. 3, 6:9–15) but also in the appearance of Zerubbabel in the central oracular section of ch. 4 (4:6b–10a). There is, however, no reference to a Davidic royal figure in Zech 7–8 where the plural priests stand alone. The same is true for the book of Malachi. There reference is made at one point to a governor (פחה, Mal 1:8), echoing the title used of Zerubbabel in the book of Haggai (1:1, 14; 2:2, 21), but without any explicit mention of Davidic credentials.

Zechariah 9–14 again may provide an explanation for this shift in the presentation of the royal tradition alongside the priestly. Zechariah 9–14 contains an initial reference to the Davidic royal tradition in 9:9–10, pointing to a return to the Davidic royal ideal. The Shepherd sign–act of Zech 11:4–16, however, suggests through allusion to Ezek 34 and 37 a crisis in the Davidic royal tradition through the Josianic line.[24] Zechariah 12:10–13:1 holds out hope for the Davidic royal tradition even if through a different line (Nathan; see above). In the end Zech 14 makes no mention of the Davidic royal line with YHWH as royal figure (14:9, 16–17). This shift from an initial hope for the Davidic line to its absence in the final chapter would explain the lack of reference to a Davidic royal figure in Malachi.

This reflection on the development of the Davidic tradition within Haggai–Malachi, therefore, supports developments seen in the priestly tradition within Haggai–Malachi, and once again Zech 9–14 does appear to play a role in this development, transitioning the reader from Haggai–Zech 1–8 to Malachi. This is

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[23] See Mark J. Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia: Utopian (Re)Visions in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8," in *Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic Literature*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 92 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 211–49. See Klaus Koch, "Haggais unreines Volk," *ZAW* 79 (1967): 52–66, for an early defense of the integrity of 2:10–19 on form critical grounds. The presence of ועתה in 2:15 necessitates preceding material, but this could have been added in the redaction that combined 2:11–14 with 2:15–19. Of course, there has been much debate over the relationship between 2:11–14/15–19 and the super/subscriptions in Hag 1:15–2:1; cf. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 221–37.

[24] Boda, "Reading between the Lines," 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9.

further evidence to support the view that some form of Zech 9–14 played an early role in the development of the Haggai–Malachi corpus.[25]

This evidence thus provides some insight into the development of the Book of the Twelve and in particular the Haggai–Malachi corpus.[26] It is not that this editorial stream is any kinder to priests than what can be found in those passages which reflect the Zadokite stream within Haggai–Malachi and in many ways the Zadokite stream, while at times circumscribing the high priest's role, does not directly attack the Zadokites. In the end, it appears that the shift to the general priestly tradition reflects an uncomfortability in this redactional tradition with limiting priestly participation to the Zadokites, by appealing to plural priests and the general Levi tradition. Even so there is concern over the need for renewal among all priestly groups. One can also discern in Zech 9–14 the dissolution of the Royal Davidic tradition which was so important to Hag 1–Zech 6 and which through the impatience of Zerubbabel in Zech 11:4–16, led to first a shift in the royal tradition in Zech 12:10–14 and then dissolution in Zech 14. This may explain the non-Davidic reference to a governor in Malachi. It may be then that the royal hope was first extinguished, even as the priestly line continued, even though in need of serious renewal.

Such reflection on the development of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi reminds us that what we find in the Hebrew Bible is evidence of a dynamic tradition, more a moving picture than a still photograph, or at least still photographs that when combined provide a moving picture. Such dynamism points to the fact that the prophetic tradition continues to speak into ever shifting sociological realities.

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[25] This evidence stands alongside the presence of references to מלאך יהוה in Haggai (Prophetic figure, Hag 1:13), Zech 1–8 (Heavenly figure, passim), Zech 9–14 (Royal figure, 12:8), and Malachi (Priestly figure, Mal 2:7); cf. Boda, "Messengers of Hope," 113–31 = chapter 5 in this present volume. Of course, in this I depart from Paul Redditt who argued for Zech 9–14 as the "capstone" of the Twelve; cf. Redditt, "Twelve," 245–68; Paul L. Redditt, "Zechariah 9–14: The Capstone of the Book of the Twelve," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 305–32.

[26] On connections between these developments in Haggai–Malachi and the development of the book of Joel and its role in the Twelve, see Mark J. Boda, "Penitential Priests in the Twelve," in *Priests and Cult in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, ANEM 14 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 51–64 = chapter 10 in this present volume.

8
Babylon in the Book of the Twelve[1]

In previous chapters I have focused attention on signs of development of a Haggai–Zech 1–8 collection and then a Haggai–Malachi corpus. With this chapter I now shift attention to evidence within the Haggai–Malachi corpus that suggests connections to the development of the collection of Twelve prophets (Hosea–Malachi). This looks to the intersection of the Babylon, Zion, and royal traditions within this corpus as they are developed in Micah, Zephaniah, and Zechariah.

This chapter examines the role of the Babylonian tradition within the Book of the Twelve, focusing on the Babylonian tradition in Mic 4:10 and Zech 2:11 and the attendant Jerusalem and kingship traditions within their respective contexts (Mic 4–5 for Mic 4:10 and Zeph 3; Zech 2, 9 for Zech 2:11). Babylon is cast more positively in the Book of the Twelve, as a place of preservation key to the reemergence of Jerusalem as royal seat of King Yahweh.

In the publication, *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, two writers in particular focus attention on the treatment of Babylon within the Book of the Twelve as a whole. First, Walter Dietrich notes how in Nahum–Habakkuk–Zephaniah the Babylon tradition has been fused into a more general tradition of "the great northern empire" that is dominated by Assyria, seen especially in the odd order of Nahum (Assyria), Habakkuk (Babylon), Zephaniah (Assyria).[2]

[1] Based on my original publication, Mark J. Boda, "Babylon in the Book of the Twelve," *HBAI* 3 (2014): 225–48. Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume.

[2] Walter Dietrich, "Three Minor Prophets and the Major Empires: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives on Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Pro-*

Interestingly, even the mention of Babylon in Habakkuk relates to the role of the "Chaldeans" as punishers of the present evildoers, who may be either Assyrians or Judeans. That which is broached by Dietrich dominates the presentation of Anselm Hagedorn in his treatment of Babylon and Egypt in the Book of the Twelve. Hagedorn finds that "the reluctance to mention or to address Babylon is particularly surprising," especially since Assyria, which "has long vanished from the scene," appears regularly.[3] Furthermore, he notices that "within the internal chronology of the prophetic corpus, the Babylonian period is gapped and the books seem to jump from the end of the Assyrian period (Zephaniah) directly to Persian times (Haggai)."[4] Hagedorn concludes that the reason Babylon (and Egypt) is left out of the Book of the Twelve is because it was a known location for the exilic community.

What then do we find concerning the shift from the Babylonian to the Persian periods in the Book of the Twelve? Laying aside common typologies related to chronology in the prophets and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, what explicit evidence for a chronological typology can be culled from these books? What particular motifs are associated with the depiction of the shift from Babylonian to Persian periods in the Book of the Twelve? How does the shift from Babylonian to Persian periods function within the Book of the Twelve and especially how is it used by those responsible to speak to a later audience?

The chapter will begin by identifying two passages within the Book of the Twelve which make explicit reference to Babylon. These two passages will then be analyzed within their respective redactional contexts. This analysis will highlight striking similarities between these two contexts, suggesting that they are part of a common redactional strategy or phases of redaction that produced the Book of the Twelve. Motifs common to this redactional activity will be highlighted and provide a foundation for concluding comments on the presentation of Babylon, the shift from the Babylonian to Persian periods in the Book of the Twelve, and

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cesses, Historical Insights, ed. Rainer Albertz, James Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 147–56 (149).

[3] Anselm C. Hagedorn, "Diaspora or No Diaspora? Some Remarks on the Role of Egypt and Babylon in the Book of the Twelve," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 319–36 (esp. 331).

[4] Ibid., 331. See Aaron Schart, "Redactional Models: Comparisons, Contrasts, Agreements, Disagreements," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers Part Two*, SBLSPS 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 893–908, who notes: "The deepest break is located between Zeph and Hag: At this point the Babylonian exile is presupposed, but not mentioned."

the rhetorical strategy of those responsible for the Book of the Twelve for life in the post-Babylonian context.

Babylon in the Book of the Twelve (Mic 4:10; Zech 2:11, 14–15 [Eng. 2:7, 10–11])

A search for the word Babylon in the Book of the Twelve identifies three occurrences of this word: Mic 4:10; Zech 2:11 (Eng. 2:7); 6:10. A cursory look at these three verses and their respective contexts reveals striking similarities between the first two of these appearances: Mic 4:10 and Zech 2:11 (2:7). Zechariah 2:11 (2:7) is part of a redactional layer within 2:10–17 (2:6–13) addressed to Zion that also includes verses 14–15 (vv. 10–11).[5]

The references to Babylon in Mic 4 and Zech 2 both occur in contexts addressing a figure named Daughter of Zion (Zech 2:14 [2:10], see 2:11 [2:7]) and both speak of God's action to rescue this Daughter of Zion from Babylon (2:11 [2:7], see 2:10 [2:6]). In both cases the Daughter of Zion is exhorted using two verbs (Mic 4:10; Zech 2:14 [2:10]). There are, however, also important contrasts. The two imperatives directed at the Daughter of Zion in Mic 4:10 are negative in tone (חולי וגחי) while those in Zech 2:14[10] are positive (רני ושׂמחי). While Mic 4:10 refers to the Daughter of Zion leaving a city, then dwelling in a field, and finally entering Babylon where she awaits rescue from Yahweh, Zech 2:11[7] calls the Daughter of Zion to escape Babylon. These striking similarities and contrasts between Zech 2:11, 14–15[7, 10–11] and Mic 4:10 are the first evidence of some form of relationship between these verses as well as of the main emphases of the Babylon tradition within the Book of the Twelve. According to these verses Babylon is inextricably linked with Zion. When Babylon is introduced the focus is on Zion and its fate. Babylon is the location of Yahweh's rescue.

While these two particular sections appear to be connected in some way they are part of larger complexes which affect their meaning significantly. Our focus will now shift to these broader complexes, focusing first on Mic 4:10 and then Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11), before returning to consider the relationship between these passages and their respective contexts.

[5] See further below on the redactional character of 2:11, 14–15 (7, 10–11).

Micah 4:10 within Micah 4–5

Micah 4:10 is part of a complicated series of prophetic pericopae in Mic 4–5 that fill out further the ramifications of the prophecy of judgment concluding Mic 3, in which the prophet looked to the destruction of Zion, Jerusalem, and the temple mount (3:12).[6]

Overview of Micah 4–5

Micah 4:1–5 (introduced by the phrase והיה באחרית הימים) looks to the future restoration of Zion, Jerusalem, and the temple mount to which peoples and nations are drawn and from which God's teaching and word go forth to the nations. Micah 4:6–7 (introduced by the phrase ביום ההוא) describes Yahweh's assembling (אסף) and gathering (קבץ) of the lame, outcasts, and afflicted as a remnant (שׁארית) at Mount Zion where Yahweh will reign (מלך). These two verses are strikingly similar to the conclusion to Mic 2, where, in verses 12–13, Yahweh promises to assemble (אסף) and gather (קבץ) a remnant (שׁארית), depicted as a flock (עדר) penned up in a sheepfold from which they break out through the gate led by Yahweh as their king (מלך).[7]

With 4:8 (introduced by the phrase ואתה) Zion herself is addressed directly with the epithets Daughter of Zion and Daughter of Jerusalem. Zion is identified as "tower of a flock (עדר)," possibly picking up on the earlier flock imagery related to the remnant of 2:12–13. Interestingly, while in 2:12–13 and 4:6–7 dominion over the community (מלך, מלך) is related to Yahweh, here dominion is related to Daughter of Zion and Daughter of Jerusalem using the terms ממשׁלה and

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[6] With the vast majority of scholars I consider Mic 4–5 as a rhetorical unit which builds off Mic 1–3. See Mignon R. Jacobs, *The Conceptual Coherence of the Book of Micah*, JSOTSup 322 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 89–91, 141, contra Charles S. Shaw, *The Speeches of Micah: A Rhetorical-Historical Analysis*, JSOTSup 145 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 97–160, who identifies the units as 3:1–4:8, 4:9–5:14.

[7] On the redactional character of Mic 2:12–13 see Hans Walter Wolff, *Micah: A Commentary*, trans. Gary Stansell, CC (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1990), 19, 76; William McKane, *The Book of Micah: Introduction and Commentary* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 3; Jacobs, *Conceptual Coherence*, 116–17. Bernard Renaud, *Structure et attaches littéraires de Michée IV-V*, CahRB (Paris: Gabalda, 1964), 20–25, recognizes the close relation between 2:12–13 and chapters 4–5 by placing it between 4:7 and 8. Cf. David Gerald Hagstrom, *The Coherence of the Book of Micah: A Literary Analysis*, SBLDS 89 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 85–86; Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 2:382. Contra Adam S. van der Woude, "Micah in Dispute with Pseudo-Prophets," *VT* 19 (1969): 244–60, who linked 4:1–5 and 2:12–13 to Micah's opponents.

ממלכה.[8] After declaring this promise to Daughter of Zion/Jerusalem in 4:8, the prophetic text addresses in 4:9 (introduced by עתה) what appears to be the present state of Daughter of Zion/Jerusalem who is crying out passionately, gripped with agony like a woman in childbirth (כיולדה). The source of this agonizing cry appears to be her belief that she lacks a king and counselor. It is this concern that the key verse 4:10 (introduced by the double imperative spoken to a city, חולי וגחי) addresses. Daughter of Zion will indeed cry in agony (חולי וגחי) like a woman in childbirth (ילד), as she leaves the city (Jerusalem) and travels to Babylon (notice how this is identified with the present through the phrase כי־עתה), but in a surprising twist there she will be rescued from her enemies by Yahweh who is her king. What follows in 4:11–12 (introduced by ועתה) returns to the present predicament assumed in 4:9–10a (and reflecting the predicament described in 3:12) depicting nations assembled against Zion with evil intent. Micah 4:12 reveals that Yahweh has a greater purpose in mind which will result ultimately in the destruction of these nations. Micah 4:13 (introduced by a double imperative spoken to a city, קומי ודושי) picks up with the image world introduced at the end of 4:12. While Yahweh had gathered the nations around Zion like sheaves gathered to a threshing floor, Yahweh's design ultimately was to use the Daughter of Zion to thresh them as grain in order to devote their wealth to Yahweh.

Utilizing the particle עתה, Mic 4:14 (5:1) returns again to the present predicament already mentioned in 4:9–10a and 4:11–12, and continues the trend seen in previous verses of vocative address to a "daughter" figure (as 4:8, 10, 13),[9] this time utilizing what appears to be the imagery of a siege that results in the shaming of the judge of Israel (striking on the cheek, see 1 Kgs 22:24; Ps 3:8 [3:7]; Job 16:10; Lam 3:30). As in the earlier depictions of the present predicament, no explicit reference is made to a "king."

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[8] On the connection between dominion and the city see Mark E. Biddle, "Dominion Comes to Jerusalem: An Examination of Developments in the Kingship and Zion Traditions as Reflected in the Book of the Twelve with Particular Attention to Micah 4–5," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 253–67. While there appears to be some connection to the Davidic king introduced in 5:1 (5:2), Wolff, *Micah*, 125, is incorrect to define this reference to dominion exclusively in terms of human kingship.

[9] There has been considerable debate over the meaning of the phrase תתגדדי בת־גדוד, but the reference to "daughter" along with the feminine singular verb connects it with the earlier allusions to Jerusalem. See the superb review of issue and solutions in Sweeney, *Twelve*, 386–87, and esp. Philip Peter Jenson, *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah: A Theological Commentary*, LHBOTS 496 (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 155–56.

Micah 5:1 (5:2) begins with an echo of the style at the outset of 4:8, employing ואתה followed by an address to a city, here בית־לחם אפרת. Whereas in 4:8 the dominion and kingdom (ממשלה, ממלכה) come to (בוא עד) the city (Jerusalem), in 5:1 (5:2) from the city (Bethlehem) will go forth (יצא מן) one who will rule (משל) over Israel. Micah 5:2 (5:3) links the raising up of this ruler to Zion, now revealing that the rise of this Bethlehemite ruler coincides with the time of a woman who has given birth (ילד), that is, a reference to the labor pains of Zion which have resulted in a remnant (now using יתר) returning to Israel (cf. 2:12; 4:6–7).[10] This remnant is described using flock imagery in 5:3 (5:4), echoing the earlier imagery of 2:12–13 and 4:6–8, but now it is the Bethlehemite ruler who functions as leader of the flock, accomplishing this "in the strength of Yahweh, in the majesty of the name of Yahweh." This Bethlehemite ruler is identified in 5:4a, 5b (5:5a, 6b) as one who will establish peace for Israel through delivering the people from Assyrian assault.[11] Intermixed with this focus on the Bethlehemite ruler, however, are references to multiple shepherds/leaders who will control the land of Assyria itself (5:4b, 5a[5b, 6a]).[12] Possibly these multiple figures are a foreshadowing of Mic 5:6–8 (5:7–9) that focuses on "the remnant of Jacob" (שארית יעקב) living triumphantly among many peoples and nations. The language of peoples and nations in 5:6–8 (5:7–9) echoes the language of the opening section in 4:1–3.[13] The language of remnant in 5:6–8 (5:7–9) returns to the vocabulary found in 4:7 (and 2:12)[14] and identifies this remnant with those who will ultimately return to the land under Yahweh's and possibly human kingship.

Micah 4–5 ends with Mic 5:9–14 (5:10–15) in which Yahweh warns of his coming judgment. The addressee is not clear. In the previous verse (5:8 [5:9]) the one addressed appeared to be the remnant of Jacob (although it could be the royal figure in 5:1–5 [5:2–6]). One might suggest that the switch to the negative tone in 5:9–14 (5:10–15) indicates that it is the enemy, possibly Assyria, referred to in

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[10] As Delbert R. Hillers, *Micah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Micah*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 66.

[11] See how הציל is 3ms, contrasting the 3mp רעו at the outset of v. 5 (6) and matching the ms זה at the beginning of v. 4 (5). The Bethlehemite ruler is thus in view in v. 4a (5a) and v. 5b (6b), a view bolstered by the common vocabulary in both sections of כי־, וכי ידרך ב and יבוא בארצנו and אשור.

[12] On 5:4b–5a (5:5b–6a) as interpolation see Wolff, *Micah*, 135.

[13] Hillers, *Micah*, 70.

[14] See Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Micah*, AB 24E (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 483, for the development of the "remnant" motif in Micah (2:12; 4:6–7; 5:6–7 [5:7–8]; 7:18). Of these 2:12 and 5:6–7 (5:7–8) are closest with the former using "remnant of Israel" and the latter "remnant of Jacob," the two names for the patriarchal source of the community.

5:1–5 (5:2–6).[15] However, the issues raised seem to be more suited to an Israelite context, especially the concern over connections to Canaanite deities (אֲשֵׁירִיךָ, 5:13 [5:14]). The final verse (5:14 [5:15]) expands the purview to the broader nations and in this way Mic 5:9–14 (5:10–15) represents the opposite of the introductory pericope of 4:1–5, showing the disciplinary divine work on both Israel and the nations that must precede the glorious outcome of 4:1–5.[16]

Cohesion of Micah 4–5

Many have noted contrasts between these various sections found in Mic 4–5.[17] Indeed there is much diversity in the presentation, jolting shifts in imagery and rhetoric[18] as well as diversity of theme throughout that is suggestive of redactional activity.[19] However, one can discern signs of rhetorical cohesion,[20] created by those responsible for the final redaction.[21]

This cohesion is not only evident in the echoes of vocabulary noted above, but also in rhetorical links that can be discerned throughout the section. One finds similar rhetorical introductions that include the following: the double imperative addressed to a city entity (4:10, 13); the introductory second masculine singular

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[15] Jenson, *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah*, 163, notes that the Targum makes explicit the link to the foreigners by adding "of the peoples" in vv. 10, 11, 13, 14, but the reference to the Canaanite religious context suggests Israel is in view.

[16] See Renaud, *Structure*, 18–19; Bernard Renaud, *La formation du livre de Michée: Tradition et actualisation*, EBib (Paris: Gabalda, 1977), 281; Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 491; Jenson, *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah*, 163. Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:377, argues that while Mic 4:1–5 draws from Isa 2:1–5, Mic 5:9–14 (5:10–15) draws from Isa 2:6–21; cf. Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 491.

[17] See recently Biddle, "Dominion," 253–67.

[18] McKane, *Book of Micah*, 11, aptly describes chapter 4 as "a picture show" with "a variety of pictures" as "it moves swiftly from one slide to another."

[19] See esp. Wolff, *Micah*, 20–22; Rex A. Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah*, OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 27–42; and the superb review of redaction theories of Micah in Jan A. Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation: The Composition and Redaction of Micah 2–5*, VTSup 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2001); but note the caution of Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 10–11, for this section which they entitle "The Book of Visions."

[20] Cf. Hagstrom, *Coherence*, 59–84; Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 494; Ehud Ben Zvi, *Micah*, FOTL 21B (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 89–92; recently Matthieu Richelle, "Un triptyque au coeur du livre de Michée (Mi 4-5)," *VT* 62 (2012): 232–47. See the superb review of recent scholarship in Mignon R. Jacobs, "Bridging the Times: Trends in Micah Studies since 1985," *CurBR* 4 (2006): 293–329.

[21] See further Jacobs, *Conceptual Coherence*, , 89–91, 141–56, on the structure of Mic 4–5. For a synchronic analysis of Mic 4–5, cf. Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:376–93; Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 392–95.

pronoun prefixed by *waw* (ואתה) and addressed to a city entity (4:8; 5:1 [5:2]); the introductory use of עתה (4:9, 11, 14 [5:1]); and the thrice repeated והיה in 5:4, 6, 7, 9 (5:5, 7, 8, 10).[22] One can also discern repetition at the end of one section and beginning of another to bind together sections, such as the use of the catchword חול/חיל ביולדה between 4:9 and 10 and the common imagery of sheaves at a threshing floor (בעמיר גרנה) in 4:12 followed by the call for Zion to thresh (דוש) in 4:13.

One of the strongest reasons for past postulation of various redactional levels in Mic 4–5 has been what appears to be a diversity of perspectives on royal rule.[23] Dominion is related to three different figures within these chapters: Yahweh (4:7; cf. 2:13), Daughter of Zion/Jerusalem (4:8), and the Bethlehemite ruler (5:1 [5:2], 3 [5:4]). These, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts. Cities in the ancient Near East commonly possess dominion, a quality that identifies a city as a place where divine and/or human rulers could exercise their rule.[24] That Yahweh and the Bethlehemite ruler could both exercise dominion is not odd either. This is well known from the broader Judahite tradition (see Ps 2) and is suggested by the reference to the Bethlehemite ruler functioning "in the strength of Yahweh and in the majesty of the name of Yahweh his God" in 5:4. This duality of rulership may be suggested by the terminology used for dominion in the address to the Daughter of Zion/Jerusalem in 4:8 where she is promised both ממשלה and ממלכה. Yahweh's dominion is described using the root מלך (4:7; cf. 2:13), while the Bethlehemite ruler's dominion is described using the root משל (5:1 [5:2]). It may be that the Daughter of Zion/Jerusalem dominion motif in 4:8–10 reflects a redactional strategy to bind together the presentation of divine and human rule, both of which would emanate from this location.

Therefore, Mic 4–5 is a literary complex which brings considerable focus on Zion, addresses the city as Daughter of Zion and Daughter of Jerusalem, expresses hope for this city as a royal capital from which Yahweh will reign and alludes to a Bethlehemite figure who will rule over the nations. The renewal associated with these themes is necessitated by the discipline of Yahweh which consists of the destruction of Zion, Jerusalem, and the temple mount, and the exile of the Daughter of Zion to Babylon from where she will be rescued along with a remnant. It should not be missed, however, that this pericope follows an announcement of

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[22] See Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:381.

[23] The intersection of Zion and Kingship is the focus of the article by Biddle, "Dominion." Although using a redactional approach, he does show in his conclusion (p. 265) how the various approaches to kingship seen in this redactional "debate" produce a final coherent viewpoint that intertwines divine, urban, and human dominion.

[24] Ibid., 253–67.

destruction for Jerusalem (Mic 3:12) within a book linked to kings who reigned during the Assyrian period (Mic 1:1).

Zechariah 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) and the Daughter of Zion Units in Zephaniah–Malachi

Having reviewed the dominant themes within the literary complex in which the Babylon/Zion tradition of Mic 4:10 lies, our attention now turns to the Babylon/Zion tradition of Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) and its redactional context.

Byron Curtis has suggested that the Daughter of Zion oracles in Zeph 3 and Zech 9 played a role in the composition of the Book of the Twelve. For Curtis, the fact that Zeph 3:14 and Zech 9:9 both appear within passages at recognized seams within their respective books (Zeph 3:14–20; Zech 9:9–10) suggests that these passages point to a redactional strategy used to incorporate the Haggai–Malachi corpus into the Book of the Twelve, with Zeph 3:14–20 bridging "the gap from the preexilic prophets to the restorationist prophets" and Zech 9:9–10 bridging "the gap from the early restorationists, Haggai and Zechariah, to the later restorationist prophets represented in Zech 9–14 and Malachi."[25] Curtis, however, did not mention Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11), which shares much in common with these other two Daughter of Zion oracles in Zeph 3 and Zech 9. The employment of vocatives as well as feminine singular verbs and suffixes in Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) distinguishes it from a masculine plural layer in Zech 2:10, 12–13 (2:6, 8–9). That masculine plural layer in 2:10, 12–13 (2:6, 8–9) is related to a redactional phase which saw the majority of Zech 1–8 drawn together.[26]

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[25] Byron G. Curtis, "The Zion-Daughter Oracles: Evidence on the Identity and Ideology of the Late Redactors of the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 166–84 (182). For Curtis, Zeph 3:14–18 represents "an early oracle pointing to the restorationist hope" that "concluded the body of the Twelve in its exilic and early postexilic form" (p. 181), while 3:19–20 is "the late, editorial addition *created specifically by the promulgators of the restorationist prophecy now located in the concluding trilogy of the Twelve*" (pp. 181–182; italics his). On the redactional character of Zeph 3:14–20 see also Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Biblische Enzykopaedie 7 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 296–301; Paul L. Redditt, "The King in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 and the Book of the Twelve," in *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, LHBOTS 475 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 56–82 (74–75).

[26] Notice the many links between Zech 2:10–17 (2:6–13) minus 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) and Zech 3, 4:6b–10a, 6:9–15, especially the second masculine plural referent used in the prophetic formula: "then you will know that Yahweh of Hosts has sent me to you" (וידעתם כי־יהוה צבאות שלחני אליכם; cf. 2:13 [2:9]; 4:9; 6:14), which contrasts with the second feminine singular referent used in 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11). See Mark J. Boda, "'Varied

Zechariah 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) thus should be considered along with Zeph 3:14–20 and Zech 9:9–10 as part of a redactional strategy which incorporated the Haggai–Malachi corpus into what became the Book of the Twelve.[27] To justify this demands a comparison between these three Daughter of Zion passages,[28] and such a comparison reveals key similarities on the level of form, vocabulary, and theme.[29] Once the relationship between Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) and Zeph 3:14–20 and Zech 9:9–10 is established, we will look at any connections between these three redactional units and Mic 4–5.

Formal connections

All three of these Daughter of Zion units employ the *Aufruf zur Freude* ("Call to Joy") form which, according to Frank Crüsemann, has three basic elements: (a) imperative address to an audience (city, land) personified as a woman; (b) vocabulary drawn from the semantic range of celebratory shouts (גיל רנן רוע); and (c) a clause which delineates the reason for rejoicing (following the style of oracle of salvation rather than psalms). Outside of Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14 (2:10) and 9:9: this form is found in Isa 12:4–6; Isa 54:1; Hos 9:1; Joel 2:21–24; and Lam 4:21.[30]

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and Resplendid Riches': Exploring the Breadth and Depth of Worship in the Psalter," in *Rediscovering Worship: Past, Present, Future*, ed. Wendy Porter, McMaster New Testament Series (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015), 61–82.

[27] See James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 219–36 for evidence that this redactional unit may have included Zech 9:9–13, inserted into the midst of an original 9:1–8, 14–17, which is united in speaking of the remnant of Israel using third masculine plural in contrast to Zion in 9:9–13. Interestingly, this same trend can be discerned in Zech 2:10–17 [6–13]. Nogalski, however, argues that Zech 9–13 + 14 was inserted into a collection which already had Haggai, Zech 1–8 and Malachi.

[28] The connection between Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14; 9:9 is also noted by Gerlinde Baumann, "Die prophetische Ehemetaphorik und die Bewertung der Prophetie im Zwölfprophetenbuch," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 214–31 (222); Ehud Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, BZAW 198 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 239–40.

[29] See recently Julia M. O'Brien, "Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah: Reading the 'Former Prophets' in the Persian Period," *Int* 61 (2007): 168–83. Although this article is a synchronic study of the Book of the Twelve, she notes the striking similarities between these three texts.

[30] Frank Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel*, WMANT 32 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1969), 55–65; see more fully Mark J. Boda, "The Daughter's Joy," in *Daughter Zion: Her Portrait, Her Response*, ed. Mark J.

LEXICAL CONNECTIONS

Although one may conclude that the three prophetic units in Zephaniah and Zechariah merely draw on the general form tradition of *Aufruf zur Freude*, there are elements unique to these three verses that suggest a connection beyond form tradition. First, although Isa 12:6 addresses a female inhabitant of Zion (יושבת ציון) and Lam 4:21 addresses "daughter of Edom" (בת־אדום), no other example of this form refers to either "daughter of Zion" (בת־ציון) or "daughter of Jerusalem" (בת ירושלם), while "daughter of Zion" is used in all three of these passages and "daughter of Jerusalem" in two (Zeph 3:14; Zech 9:9). Secondly, both Zeph 3:14 and Zech 9:9 refer to a "king" in the reason clause, with Zeph 3:14 identifying Yahweh as that king and Zech 9:9 identifying a human Jerusalemite king, most likely with Davidic roots. Thirdly, both Zech 2:14 and 9:9 begin the reason clause with the particle הנה followed by the root בוא, linking the rejoicing to the arrival of a future figure who is identified in 2:14 as Yahweh and in 9:9 as a human Davidic king.[31]

Boda, Carol Dempsey, and LeAnn Snow Flesher, AIL 13 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 321–42.

[31] For this see Katrina J. Larkin, *The Eschatology of Second Zechariah: A Study of the Formation of a Mantological Wisdom Anthology*, CBET 6 (Kampen: Kok, 1994), 73. Hanson saw this as evidence that Zech 9:9 is referring to Yahweh as king, not to a human king; Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 320; cf. Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, "The Future Fortunes of the House of David: The Evidence of Second Zechariah," in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Astrid Beck (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 207–22; Adrian Leske, "Context and Meaning of Zechariah 9:9," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 663–78. However, Zech 9:9–10 contains clear allusions to the Judahite/Davidic tradition of kingship found in Gen 49:10 and Ps 72; cf. Iain Duguid, "Messianic Themes in Zechariah 9–14," in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995), 265–80; Eric M. Meyers, "Messianism in First and Second Zechariah and the End of Biblical Prophecy," in *'Go to the Land I Will Show You': Studies in Honor of Dwight W. Young*, ed. Joseph E. Coleson and Victor H. Matthews, Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients 4 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 127–42 (134–36, 42); Magne Sæbø, "From Empire to World Rule: Some Remarks on Psalms 72.8; 89.26; Zechariah 9.10b," in *On the Way to Canon: Creative Tradition History in the Old Testament*, ed. Magne Sæbø, JSOTSup 191 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 122–30.

Thematic connections

Beyond form and vocabulary, it is important to notice also that the contexts in which these three examples of the *Aufruf zur Freude* form are found share four emphases in common. First, each describes the judgment of God against the nations as God defeats Israel's enemies (Zeph 3:8, 15, 19; Zech 2:12–13 [2:8–9]; 9:1–8, 13). Secondly, each surprisingly anticipates the incorporation of the nations into Israel (Zeph 3:9–10; Zech 2:11; 9:7, 10). Thirdly, each passage expects the return of Israel to the land from exile (Zeph 3:19–20; Zech 2:10–11 [2:6–7]; 9:11–12). And fourthly each looks to the return of Yahweh's presence among the people (Zeph 3:15, 17; Zech 2:14–15, 17 [2:10–11, 13]; 9:8).

Explanation of Connections Between the Three Passages

It is for these reasons that many have noted some kind of relationship between these passages beyond the form critical tradition of *Aufruf zur Freude.* This relationship has been usually identified as traditio-historical, with each passage drawing on a common pool of Zion tradition. However, the intersection of form, vocabulary, and theme as well as the employment of these similar pericopae within sections associated with redactional development strongly suggests a direct literary relationship between these passages.

There is reason to believe that this redactional tradition was at least initiated, if not carried out, by those editors responsible for the Zecharian tradition. The *Aufruf zur Freude* of Zech 2:14 addresses the imperative only to "daughter of Zion," and links the imperative to the arrival of Yahweh (הנני־בא) to dwell among the people. This arrival is followed in what is often considered a secondary expansion in Zech 3 by the promise by Yahweh of the arrival of yet another figure in 3:8: the royal figure Zemah (הנני מביא את־עבדי צמח), an arrival echoed also in the secondary 6:12 (הנה־איש צמח שמו).

This connection between the arrival of Yahweh and the arrival of a royal figure in Zech 1–8 may be that which gave rise to the opening section of Zech 9–14. Zechariah 9:1–13 depicts the victory of Yahweh over the nations in which the victorious divine warrior secures the temple site with his protective presence before presenting to Jerusalem her restored Davidic king. This link between Divine Conqueror, Human King, and the Rebuilt Temple is closely associated with the return, restoration, and prosperity of the people in both Zech 1–6 and in Zech 9.

Nevertheless the overall structure of Zech 9–14 reveals that the hopes presented at the outset of the collection (Zech 9:1–17; 10:3b–12) would soon be dashed by the presence of competing shepherds among the people (10:1–3a; 11:1–

3, 4–16, 17; 13:7–9).[32] These shepherds would eventually frustrate the Davidic shepherd, leading to his resignation and replacement by an evil shepherd (Zech 11). Although Davidic hope is not extinguished in the latter section of Zech 9–14 (see Zech 12:7–13:1), by the end of the collection (Zech 14:9, 16, 17; cf. Mal 1:14) Yahweh stands alone as king.[33] This development in the Zecharian corpus as a whole suggests that Zeph 3:14, with its exclusive focus on the kingship of Yahweh, is more likely the *latest* example, taking its lead from the tradition of *Aufruf zur Freude* found in Zechariah.[34] This view is strengthened by the fact that Zeph 3:14 is the most developed example of this late tradition of *Aufruf zur Freude*, incorporating elements unique to either Zech 2:14 or 9:9 and possibly drawing also on Isa 12:6,[35] dropping the particle כי which usually introduces the motivation, and even transforming the *Aufruf zur Freude* form into an action not only commanded of the one saved, but also describing the one (Yahweh) who does the saving (3:16–17).[36]

If one can discern a tradition development among these three Daughter of Zion *Aufruf zur Freude* passages, and if the Haggai–Malachi corpus was completed prior to its incorporation into the Book of the Twelve, then the following scenarios are possible. First, the ones responsible for the secondary level in Zech 1–8 were those also responsible for the final form of the Haggai–Malachi corpus, binding the collection together through the *Aufruf zur Freude* pericopae and, in light of one of my other pieces, through references in Haggai, Zech 9–14, and Malachi to מלאך figures.[37] This מלאך redaction is linked to all three key figures in Persian period Yehud (prophet, priest, king) and traces how the ideal of each is associated with the heavenly realm in Zech 1–8, preparing the way for the focus

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[32] Mark J. Boda, "Reading between the Lines: Zechariah 11:4–16 in Its Literary Contexts," in *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion and Zechariah 9–14*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9.

[33] The Davidic hope is now transferred to the heavenly realm. See Mark J. Boda, "Messengers of Hope in Haggai–Malachi," *JSOT* 32 (2007): 113–31 = chapter 5 in this present volume.

[34] In this I depart from Redditt, "King," 75, who concludes that "the redactor of the pro-Davidic recension [of the Book of the Twelve] is a possible candidate as the author of Zeph 3:14–20, even though the passage does not mention the king." His final phrase reveals that there is no evidence that this passage is "pro-David." Rather the exclusive focus on Yahweh's kingship suggests a shift to Yahweh as king, much as can be discerned in Zech 14 and Malachi.

[35] As argued by Risto Nurmela, *Prophets in Dialogue: Inner-Biblical Allusions in Zechariah 1–8 and 9–14* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University, 1996), 214–16.

[36] Ibid. also argues that Zeph 3:14 betrays reliance on Isa 12:6 and Zech 9:9.

[37] Boda, "Messengers of Hope" = chapter 5 in this present volume.

on the divine kingship of Yahweh.[38] The ones responsible for this secondary level in Zech 1–8 and the Haggai–Malachi corpus may have then been responsible for linking this corpus through the *Aufruf zur Freude* form to a prophetic collection that included a substantial portion of the Book of the Twelve.

A second scenario arises from the anticipated doubt of some over whether it is plausible that those responsible for the secondary level in Zech 1–8 with its fixation on the royal figures of Zemah and Zerubbabel, and/or those responsible for Zech 9:1–13, with its announcement of the arrival of Jerusalem's Davidic king, could be responsible for the exclusive focus on Yahweh's kingship in Zeph 3. Although there is a way of explaining this,[39] it may be that those responsible for the redactional link in Zeph 3 are the ones who incorporated Zech 14 and Malachi into the Haggai–Malachi corpus and at the same time the various מלאך redactional notes.[40]

Reading Zephaniah as Prelude to Haggai–Malachi

In light of this conclusion, how has this redaction changed the shape of Zephaniah and its role within the Book of the Twelve?

The superscription of Zephaniah directs the reader to consider these prophecies in light of the period of Josiah, a period when Assyria was losing its grip on the ancient Near East and the Babylonians were on the ascendancy.[41] The prophecy looks to an approaching judgment called "the great day of Yahweh" which

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[38] Possibly the association of these figures with the מלאכים in Zech 1–6 identifies these as the final exemplars of those traditions on the human level.

[39] The rhetorical structure of Zech 9–14 reveals a clear shift from the depiction of celebration of Davidic kingship at the outset (chapter 9) to the depiction of crisis in Davidic kingship at the center (chapter 11) to depiction of Yahweh's kingship alone at the end (chapter 14). Thus those responsible for assembling the materials in Zech 9–14 were able to present in a single corpus the renewal and demise of Davidic kingship. That those responsible for the final form of Zech 9–14 may have been responsible for the final form of Zech 1–8 is suggested by the common use of a redactional autobiographical account which contains reminisces of the prophetic sign-act form (as in 11:4–16: cp. 3:1–5; 6:9–14). In addition, there is a focus on "leadership" in the redactional structure of Zech 9–14 (employing the shepherd motif), and so also in the secondary levels in Zech 1–8.

[40] See further below.

[41] See the work of Ben Zvi, *Zephaniah*, 298–306, who suggests "an early post-monarchic date for the composition of the OAN section of the Book of Zephaniah" (p. 306). The reference to Cush, however, suggests a time soon enough after Cush's loss of power in the African orbit (664 BCE) for the name to be used for an African power, but long enough after that it could be easily linked to the reigning power Egypt (664 BCE). The period of Josiah's rule would seem to be appropriate. See also Marvin A. Sweeney, *Zephaniah: A*

would have harsh consequences for the nations of Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Cush, and Assyria (2:4–15). These prophecies against the foreign nations are enveloped by a prophetic inclusio directed against Judah with a focus on Jerusalem (1:4–2:3; 3:1–8). Jerusalem, "the city of oppressors," will meet the fate of the nations who are gathered together to experience God's wrath (3:8). The posture of the faithful is simply to "wait" (3:8). The instrument of God's wrath is never mentioned in the book, but the focus on the punishment of Assyria and Jerusalem and the absence of Babylon suggests that Babylon is in view.

The redactional addition in 3:9–20 provides a positive ending to the book, looking to a new day, one filled with restoration and hope. Surprisingly, the initial verse describing this restoration (Zeph 3:9) has the nations in view, and most likely it is this which makes possible the gathering of the remnant in the verses that follow.[42] The former "city of oppressors" (3:1) is now called "Daughter of Zion," and she is commissioned to shout with joy (3:14) in an era when the judgments will be removed from Jerusalem (3:15a), God "has cleared away your enemies" (3:15b), and the king (Yahweh) as mighty warrior is "in your midst" (3:15c, 17). The finale to the book (3:18–20) speaks about those who grieve over the appointed feasts (3:18) before highlighting the defeat of the enemy (3:19) and the return of both people and prosperity (3:20).

This conclusion to Zephaniah with its focus on the punishment of the enemy, the presence of God, the operation of the temple (through renewed offerings), the purification and inclusion of the Gentiles, the return and refinement of the exiles, and the holy dwelling of God (cf. Zeph 3:11: הר קדשׁי with Zech 2:17: מעון קדשׁו), prepares the way for the Haggai–Malachi corpus. Those responsible for drawing Haggai–Malachi into the Book of the Twelve saw how the book of Zephaniah dealt honestly with the deserved punishment of Judah and Jerusalem (Zeph 1:1–3:8), but by appending a concluding pericope revealed how this punishment became the foundation for the renewal expected in the wake of the fall of the enemy.

It may be noted that although the book of Zephaniah appears to be largely connected with the *rise* of Babylon (to punish), it now ends with a vision suggestive of the *fall* of Babylon (since the defeat of the enemy leads to restoration) which precedes the return of the presence of God. However, the main enemy in view never shifts from Assyria to Babylon. As a result, the fall of Babylon is played down and the focus remains on Assyria. What we consider the Babylonian

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Commentary, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 18: "Zephaniah, therefore, would have served as an early voice calling for support at the outset of Josiah's reform program."

[42] O. Palmer Robertson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 327 writes: "This restored remnant shall consist not only of a purged and forgiven group from Israel (cf. 3:11–13). The converted from the nations shall join with his people in the worship and service of the one true God (3:9–10)."

period is not emphasized and there appears to be a view of history that associates punishment with the Assyrian period after which there will be restoration.[43]

Babylon and the Daughter of Zion in the Book of the Twelve: Reading Zeph 3:9–20; Zech 2:10–17 (2:6–13); 9:9–10 with Micah 4–5

By this point we have noted a close connection between the Babylon/Zion tradition used in Mic 4:10 and Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) and investigated the meaning of the broader context of both passages: Mic 4:10 within the Mic 4–5 redactional complex and Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) within the Daughter of Zion redactional series in Zeph 3, Zech 2 and 9. The final step is to highlight connections between the redactional complex in Mic 4–5 and the redactional series in Zephaniah and Zechariah.[44]

While Mic 4–5 usually refers to Daughter of Zion alone (Mic 4:10, 13), in one place it refers to both Daughter of Zion and Daughter of Jerusalem together (Mic 4:8). While Zech 2:14 (2:10) refers only to Daughter of Zion, both Zeph 3:14 and Zech 9:9 refer to Daughter of Zion and Daughter of Jerusalem in subsequent lines. Both Mic 4:6–7 (and the closely related Mic 2:12) and Zeph 3:18–19 describe Yahweh assembling (אסף) and gathering (קבץ) and refer to the lame and the outcast (הצלעה והנדחה).[45] Both Mic 4:4 and Zeph 3:3 employ the identical phrase: "and there is not one who incites fear" (ואין מחריד). Micah 4:7 refers to the remnant (שארית) and so also does the closely related verse Mic 2:12 which uses the expanded version: "remnant of Israel" (שארית ישראל), identical to the phrase found in Zeph 3:13. In an address to the Daughter of Zion, the verb רוע (Hiphil) is used in Mic 4:9; Zeph 3:14; and Zech 9:9. Micah 4:1–2 and Zeph 3:11 both refer to the place of God's presence as "the mountain." There are also significant connections between Mic 5:1–14 (5:2–15) and Zech 9:10, with their common vision of the rise of a Davidic ruler whose reign is typified by peace (שלום; Mic 5:4 [5:5]) through a reign that extends "unto the ends of the earth" (עד־אפסי־ארץ; Mic 5:3 [5:4]). Yahweh will remove military prowess from the domain of this ruler, typified by the cutting off (נכה) of both horse (סוס) and chariot

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[43] Notice how in the book of Isaiah a judgment related to Babylon is linked to the Assyrian period (Isa 39). This also appears in the book of Kings, not only by linking the Babylonian exile to Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:12–19) as in Isaiah, but also to Manasseh (21:12–16; cf. 23:26–27; 24:3–4), who is also a figure from the Assyrian period.

[44] See also Redditt, "King," 56–82.

[45] See James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 209–11. However, it is uncertain that one can determine direction of usage as does Nogalski.

(רכב/מרכבה; Mic 5:9 [5:10]).[46] Finally, the phrase "many nations" (גוים רבים) in Zech 2:15 (2:11) is also used in Mic 4–5 (4:2, 11; cf. עמים רבים alongside גוים in 4:1–3 and 5:6–7 [5:7–8]). These numerous connections lead us to a tentative conclusion that not only is Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) related to Mic 4–5, but so also are the other Daughter of Zion pericopae in Zeph 3 and Zech 9.

To this list of connections between Mic 4–5, Zeph 3, Zech 2 and 9, we must finally add the common element of rulership.[47] Micah 4:7 refers to Yahweh reigning over the community in Mount Zion. Zephaniah 3:15 identifies Yahweh as the King of Israel who is "in your (feminine singular, Zion) midst" (בקרבך; cf. 3:17). Zechariah 2:14, 15 (2:10, 11) does not refer to rulership explicitly but does depict Yahweh twice declaring "I will dwell in your (feminine singular, thus, Zion) midst," echoing King Yahweh's statement in Zeph 3:15. Rulership is also depicted in Zech 9:9–10, but there it appears to be a human king reigning over Jerusalem and Zion.[48] This connects with the expectation of the rise of a Davidic ruler in Mic 5:1–3. The closely related Mic 2:13 refers to both a king going before those rescued from exile and Yahweh at their head. This may indicate that the referenced king and Yahweh are the same. However, we cannot be certain of the relationship between the two poetic lines which may indicate a human king as well as Yahweh, functioning in concert.

What this evidence reveals is that, in both Mic 4–5 (and the related 2:12–13) as well as in the Daughter of Zion pericopae in Zephaniah and Zechariah, one finds a common amalgamation of royal traditions which refer to both human and divine kingship related to Jerusalem. Such evidence prompted Julia M. O'Brien to conclude that "Zephaniah's concluding promise of salvation to Daughter of Zion is significant, in that it builds upon the image of Mic 4:8–13 in ways that prepare for its later use in Zech 2:14 and Zech 9:9."[49] Since many of the same features appear in both Mic 4–5 as well as the Zephaniah/Zechariah Daughter of Zion pericopae, it is most likely that Mic 4–5 reflects the same redactional activity found in Zeph 3, Zech 2 and 9, whether in a complex series of revisions based on

[46] See Hillers, *Micah*, 72–73; Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 223 n. 43; Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 493–94.

[47] See further Redditt, "King," 56–82.

[48] This is a point of great debate. See further Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 563–5; and contrast Leske, "Zechariah 9:9," 663–78 with Meyers and Meyers, "Future Fortunes," 207–22.

[49] O'Brien, "Reading the 'Former Prophets'," 178.

shifting conceptions of kingship[50] or in a simple editorial strategy that sought to integrate divine and human royal dominion.[51]

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[50] Of course, much has been written on the redaction of the Book of the Twelve, with figures like Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*; Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*; Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998); and Jakob Wöhrle, *Der Abschluss des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Buchübergreifende Redaktionsprozesse in den späten Sammlungen*, BZAW 389 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 439–46, dominating the field. Wöhrle, for instance, sees a much more layered process that envisions a role for the passages discussed here over a longer period of time, especially as they played a role in his early 5th century Joel-Korpus, his early 4th century Fremdvölker-Korpus I, his 4th-century Davids-vereheißungen layer, his 3rd-century Heil-für-die-Völker-Korpus. In his more focused study, Burkard M. Zapff, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Michabuch im Kontext des Dodekapropheton*, BZAW 256 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997) links the connection of Mic 2:12–13; 4:4–7; 5:6–7; 7:1–20 to processes related to the inclusion of Jonah and Nahum into the Twelve. While not wanting to ignore these key works, I have put forward a proposal that begins from the perspective of a Haggai–Malachi corpus and looks for redactional hooks into the Book of the Twelve. Note especially Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 209, for the role of Zeph 3:18–20 as connector to Haggai and link back to Mic 4.

[51] Other passages in Zechariah may also be connected with this redactional strategy, including Zech 8, which contains connections to Zeph 3:9–20 ("holy hill" [Zech 8:3: הר הקדשׁ; cp. Zeph 3:11: הר קדשׁ]; remnant [שׁארית, Zech 8:6, 11, 12; cf. Hag 1:12, 14; 2:2 cp. Zeph 3:13]; concern over lack of feasts [מועד, Zech 8:19; cp. Zeph 3:18; Zech 8:19]), as well as Mic 4 (see Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 97; Dominic Rudman, "Zechariah 8:20–22 and Isaiah 2:2–4//Micah 4:2–3: A Study in Intertextuality," *BN* 107–108 [2001]: 50–54 [50–54]); Zech 14, which contains connections to Zeph 3:9–20 (see Schart, *Entstehung*; cited in Paul L. Redditt, "The Production and Reading of the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000], 11–33 [15]; Judith Gärtner, "Jerusalem—City of God for Israel and for the Nations in Zeph 3:8, 9–10, 11–13," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012], 269–83 [281]), as well as to Mic 4–5; see Judith Gärtner, "Jerusalem und die Völker in Mi 4/5 und Sach 14," in *Die Stadt im Zwölfprophetenbuch*, ed. Aaron Schart and Jutta Krispenz, BZAW 428 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 339–58. Also see Konrad R. Schaefer, "Zechariah 14 and the Composition of the Book of Zechariah," *RB* 100 (1993): 368–98, who highlights links between Zech 14 and Zech 8 with many from the section in 8:1–8 (cp. 8:4–5 with 14:12; 8:3 with 14:10–11; 8:3 with 14:20–21; p. 382), concluding: "Chapter 8, if composed in large measure under the influence of chap. 14, would provide a suitable conclusion for the first half of the book by introducing an abbreviated summary of the message of hope which culminates in the second half" (p. 382). So also in terms of style: "the style of chap. 8 corresponds with that of the ending more than other portions of Zechariah" (p. 387). Other connections between

BABYLON IN THE BOOK OF THE TWELVE

While our investigation of the Babylon tradition within the Book of the Twelve began by noting connections between Mic 4:10 and Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11), it has unearthed a redactional process which was at least part of a development that resulted in the incorporation of the Haggai–Malachi corpus into the Book of the Twelve.[52] While the Babylon tradition did not appear at first sight to be that influential on the Book of the Twelve, reflection over the main themes and traditions emphasized in these redactional units highlights the key role that the Babylon tradition played in the development of the Book of the Twelve.

A comparison of the mention of Babylon in Mic 4:10 and Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11) revealed the common appearance of a female Zion figure addressed by the divine voice or messenger. This feature highlights the interlinking of the fates of Babylon and Zion. As Babylon's rise led to Zion's demise, so Babylon's demise would lead to Zion's rise. The focus, however, is not particularly on Babylon as an enemy or as a city doomed. Such enemies and their fate are mentioned in the broader contexts of Mic 4–5 and Zech 2, and Babylon cannot escape identification with these enemies, but Babylon is not singled out alone as this enemy. This lack of explicit reference to Babylon's destruction prompts a return to the issue raised at the outset of this chapter by the recent contributions of Dietrich and Hagedorn who noted the odd gapping of the Babylonian period within the Book of the Twelve as a whole.

Elsewhere I have argued that one can discern an anti-Babylonian rhetoric throughout the key vision-oracle section in Zech 1:7–6:15.[53] In one piece I argued that these vision-oracle units fit the historical context of the introduction provided in Zech 1:7, that is, in the dynastic shift in royal rule from Cambyses to Darius

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Zech 14 and Zech 1–8 are those in 2:10–17 (p. 378). He concludes: "The concluding chapter [Zech 14] raised the prophecies to an eschatological plane, and further additions to other parts of Zechariah corroborated this, particularly those in the interpretative oracle of chap. 2; the substance of chap. 8; and, to a lesser degree, 1:15–17; 3:9–10; 4:6–10, and chap. 9" (p. 391).

[52] Evidence that Mic 4–5 was drawn together cognizant of the Haggai–Malachi collection has been unearthed by Redditt, "King," 72–73, who has noted the use of Zech 3:10 in Mic 4:4, the latter verse comprising the key difference between Isa 2 and Mic 4:1–5 and also containing a connection to Zeph 3:3. Of course, it may be that Mic 4 has drawn these elements from elsewhere (as Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:380, who points to Isaiah, cf. Isa 36:16 and 17:2), with Mic 4:4 the source for Zeph 3:3 and Zech 3:10. For the relationship between Isa 2 and Mic 4:1–5 see Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 413–26, who argue for Mican priority, against the dominant view in scholarship.

[53] See now also John Kessler, "Prophecy at the Turning of the Ages: Imminent Crisis and Future Hope in Hag. 2:6–9; 20–23; and Zech. 2:10–17 [ET 6–13]," *Transeu* 40 (2011): 97–133.

which resulted in severe punishment of the Babylonians due to repeated rebellions.[54] In the other piece I argued that Zech 2:10–17 (2:6–13) contains inner biblical allusions to several key earlier prophetic texts consistently communicating anti-Babylonian rhetoric (Isa 12–14; Jer 25, 50–51; Ezek 38–39; Hab 2).[55] The evidence identified in the present contribution may seem at odds with these earlier conclusions.

While I remain convinced of my earlier arguments related to the historical and literary origins of this material, the evidence in the present chapter prompts me to revisit carefully the evidence presented in those earlier arguments. First of all, I do admit that the references to Babylon in Zech 1:7–6:15 are nearly all allusive and generic, leaving room for the material to be connected to other or more general foreign entities.[56] I did note in that piece that while the second night vision report (2:1–4 [1:18–21]) focuses in the end on the foreign entities which had scattered Judah (2:4 [1:21]) and that would include Babylon (similar to the referent in 1:14–15), at first reference is made to those foreign entities which had scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem (2:2 [1:19]) and that would comprise both Assyria and Babylon and explain the use of four horns, signifying two animals. While reference to the Shinar tradition appears to limit the referent to Babylon in Zech 5:11,[57] it does so in cryptic fashion. Furthermore, the use of the phrase "land of the north" in 2:10 (2:6) and 6:6, 8 is a more general reference to foreign entities in the Mesopotamian region and even points further afield (Babylon: Jer 1:13–16; 6:22–23; 10:22; 25:9; Assyria and Babylon: Jer 3:18; Media/Persia: Jer 50:3, 9, 41–42, 48). Among the vision-oracle complex in Zech 1:7–6:15, only Zech 2:11 (2:7) and 6:10 contain explicit references to Babylon, in both cases identified as the place where the exilic community lives. These two explicit references, however, need not be taken in as negative light as has been the case in past interpretation. The Babylon of Zech 6:10 is not explicitly linked to the punished "land of the north" in 6:1–8. The "Daughter of Babylon" in 2:11 (2:7) is merely the location in which exilic Zion dwells, and the use of the moniker "Daughter" may actually suggest safety, a place in the midst of Babylon where Zion has been safely

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[54] See Mark J. Boda, "Terrifying the Horns: Persia and Babylon in Zechariah 1:7–6:15," *CBQ* 67 (2005): 22–41 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 2.

[55] See Mark J. Boda, "*Hoy, Hoy*: The Prophetic Origins of the Babylonian Tradition in Zechariah 2:10–17," in *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, LHBOTS 475 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 171–90 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 3.

[56] Thus, Christopher J. Thomson, "The Removal of Sin in the Book of Zechariah" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2012), 85–87.

[57] See James R. Davila, "Shinar," *ABD* 5:1220; cf. Gen 10:10 (cf. Dan 1:2). Notice how in Gen 1:11–12 Assyria is distinguished from those entities related to Shinar.

preserved so that Daughter of Zion could emerge rejoicing in 2:14–15 (2:10–11). Thus, on the one hand, Persian punishment of the Babylonians at the outset of Darius's reign may have been identified by those responsible for the material in Zech 1:7–6:15 as the fulfillment of the long hoped for punishment of the Mesopotamian powers which had exceeded their role as disciplinary agents against the northern and southern kingdoms (cf. Zech 1:15). But on the other hand, the explicit reference to Babylon is played down with emphasis instead on the broader Mesopotamian tradition (Assyria/Babylon) as the object of God's wrath and identification of Babylon as a location of preservation from which emerges a joyful Zion.

Secondly, the passages identified as inner biblical allusions in Zech 2:10–17 (2:6–13) (Isa 12–14; Jer 25, 50–51; Ezek 38–39; Hab 2) do display an interesting trend in the presentation of the Babylonian tradition.[58] While Babylon dominates the rhetoric of Jer 25/50–51, it is important not to miss the way the relationship between Babylon and Assyria is described in this Jeremianic tradition.[59] A link between the two powers can be discerned in the analogy established in Jer 50:18: "I am going to punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I punished the king of Assyria. The previous verse, however, entails more than mere analogy, linking the two powers as part of a continuous activity that began with the king of Assyria devouring the flesh and the king of Babylon gnawing on the leftover bones (50:17). Assyria thus is identified as the one who did the greatest damage and initiated a process that was completed by the Babylonians. This fusing of the Assyrian-Babylonian eras makes sense of the concern for both Israel and Judah in 50:4, 33; 51:5. Similarly, Isa 12–14 amalgamates the Assyrian and Babylonian traditions, subsuming material originally associated with the Assyrians into a section now focused on Babylon.[60] Thus, Childs speaks not only of a typological relationship between Assyria and Babylon, but notes that "the intertwining of Assyria and Babylon editorially highlights that within the divine purpose both foreign powers are joined and represent within the stages of human history the selfsame reality of arrogance."[61] Sweeney concludes that these chapters present "the

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[58] I noted this fusing of the Assyrian and Babylonian traditions earlier; cf. Boda, "Horns," 26 n. 17 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 2.

[59] See, for example, David J. Reimer, *The Oracles against Babylon in Jeremiah 50–51: A Horror among the Nations* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1993), 282; David S. Vanderhooft, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Latter Prophets*, HSM 59 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2000), 122, 207.

[60] See, for example, Christopher R. Seitz, *Isaiah 1–39*, IBC (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 128–31; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39 with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, FOTL 16 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 212, 229, 232, 236, 238; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 116, 123–24, 127–28.

[61] Ibid., 127.

fall of Babylon and the Babylonian ruling dynasty as the fulfillment of YHWH's promise to destroy Assyria."[62] A similar trend of intertwining Assyria and Babylon is key to the book of Habakkuk, which looks to the judgment of Assyria through Babylon and then judgment on Babylon. Ezekiel 38–39 is the one passage of the four which does not mention Babylon explicitly, but only cryptically. It is interesting that within the broader historiography of the Ezekielian tradition one can discern connections between the Assyrian and Babylonian traditions, especially in the two allegories of Ezek 16 (vv. 28–29) and 23 (vv. 11–18).

This evidence reveals that while Zech 1:7–6:15 has arisen in reference to the demise of Babylon, and especially 2:10–17 (2:6–13) draws on anti-Babylonian rhetoric in earlier prophetic collections, there are indications that the focus has shifted to a broader Mesopotamian tradition both temporally and geographically, one that amalgamates Assyria and Babylon into a single entity.

The historical perspective of those responsible for Zech 1:7–6:15 as well as the Book of the Twelve thus is different from that which dominates modern biblical historiography.[63] Whereas modern historiographers often speak of a historical progression that entails Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian periods with the latter beginning in 539 BCE, the perspective of those responsible for Zech 1:7–6:15 is rather a Mesopotamian (Assyrian-Babylonian) period which was brought to an end by the Persians in 520 BCE. Micah 3:12 and the pericopae which follow in Mic 4–5 are key to developing this perspective in the Book of the Twelve, linking the demise of Jerusalem with the Assyrian period while subtly associating it with Babylon, and preparing for the vision of restoration that will emerge in Haggai–Malachi, introduced by Zeph 3.[64]

It is also important to highlight key motifs associated with the Babylonian tradition in the Book of the Twelve. According to Mic 4:10 and Zech 2:11, 14–15 (2:7, 10–11), the significance of Babylon lies in its identity as "the dwelling place of the exiled population of Judah," a place of refuge from which they, identified as Zion, will return to their land. Another key motif is that of rulership. Micah 4–5; Zeph 3; and Zech 2 and 9 focus considerable attention on the hope of the renewed status of Zion as a royal city in which a king (whether divine or human) will rule. This may be related to the fact that Babylon was used to punish a Zion whose human royal family had offended the divine king. Depending on how one views the redactional development of both Mic 4–5 and the Daughter of Zion

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[62] Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 236.

[63] This perspective is also evident in Zech 9–10 which does not mention Babylon and focuses in 10:10–11 on entities from the Assyrian period (Assyria, Egypt).

[64] See Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books*, BibSem 20 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 72, for the key role played by Mic 3:12 in the Book of the Twelve.

pericopae in Zephaniah and Zechariah, these passages may either look to the ultimate exclusive reign of the divine king or an ideal collaboration between human and divine sovereigns. In either case, this reign will emanate from Zion and extend to all nations on earth.

Implications

How do these observations shape our understanding of the rhetorical strategy of those responsible for the Book of the Twelve for life in the post-Babylonian context and how does this rhetorical strategy relate to the present identity and future expectations of the later audience of the collection? It is difficult to deny that the transition from Babylonian to Persian rule in the late 6th century would have raised considerable expectations among those groups associated with the former kingdom of Judah. Post-Babylonian Jewish traditions attached to the early Persian period emperors (Cyrus, Darius) highlight positive developments related to the return of groups from the Mesopotamian heartland, the renewal of political and religious sociological structures, and the reconstruction of the temple. The appointment of Zerubbabel as governor in the nascent province of Yehud appears to have engendered considerable hope (e.g., Hag 2:20–23; Zech 4:6b–10a; 9:9–10). However, the hope associated with these developments in the late 6th century would have been dashed as the Davidic house lost control of the political reins of Yehud, whether through the resignation or removal of Zerubbabel or the loss of influence after Zerubbabel's daughter Shelomith served as consort to governor Elnathan. As the Persian empire endured, the hope of a new world order run by Yahweh and a Davidic ruler from Jerusalem would have faded.[65]

However, those responsible for the form of the Book of the Twelve which saw the inclusion of Mic 4–5, Zeph 3, and the Haggai–Malachi corpus sought to work through this disappointment and did so through a rearticulation of the Babylonian tradition. This reshaping of the Babylonian tradition made the Babylonian period and the city of Babylon key to the hope for renewal. Rather than being the force that threatened the survival of the Jewish community, Babylon was a place of refuge and rescue to preserve Zion and return her to her rightful place of royal capital of the entire world. The renewal of Davidic rulership in Zion would be a key component of this plan (Mic 5:1–3; Zech 9:9–10), but such rulership would only be the initial phase of a larger strategy of the restoration of Yahweh's rulership over the entire world, and this appears to be the ultimate vision of kingship in the Book of the Twelve (Mic 4:1–8; Zeph 3:15; Zech 14:9, 16–17; Mal 1:14).

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[65] See further Boda, "Reading between the Lines," 277–91 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 9.

Those responsible for the phase of the Book of the Twelve traced in this chapter look back to the Babylonian tradition as a way to remind their readers that the restoration of the remnant from Babylon and the renewal of the Davidic line were key signs of hope for living in the enduring post-Babylonian imperial reality. Thus, in an ironic twist while the punishment of the Babylonians by the Persians under Darius originally prompted the articulation of hope seen in Zech 1:7–6:15, for those responsible for the Book of the Twelve the positive Babylonian tradition now becomes a source of hope for the readers losing hope in the enduring post-Babylonian (whether Persian or Greek) imperial rule. The writers use this tradition to provide hope, not necessarily to raise expectations for a future Davidic ruler, but to show that the rise of a Davidic figure in the immediate post-Babylonian period in conjunction with the safe return of a remnant was a sure sign that the ultimate goal of Yahweh's rulership would be realized.

Babylon thus does play a key role in the Book of the Twelve, but not in the way usually envisioned. Its demise is played down and its identity fused with that of the Assyrians which preceded it.[66] Its role is transformed into one which had the potential to make Zion into the kind of city envisioned in Zech 8:3: "the City of Truth … the mountain of Yahweh of hosts, the Holy Mountain," where the exilic community as well as Yahweh as king could return and dwell.

[66] The dominance of the Assyrian tradition within the imagination of the exilic and post-exilic communities may be indicated by the enduring reference to Assyria as the name for oppressive powers: cf. Ezra 6:22; Neh 9:32; Zech 10:10–11.

9
Penitential Innovations within the Twelve[1]

My investigation of evidence for the role of Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi within the development of the Twelve leads in this chapter to the theme of repentance, focusing attention on its presentation in Joel and Jonah and then highlighting resonances with the penitential agenda of Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi.

TRADITION ECHOES IN JOEL AND JONAH

It has long been noted that, although radically different books in terms of genre, Joel and Jonah share common themes and key phraseology related to these themes.[2] The connections are largely confined to parts of each book: Joel 2:12–14 and Jonah 3:9–4:2. The shared theme is the call to repentance with the depiction of God's gracious response. At the heart of this is the call for the people to return (שׁוב, Joel 2:12–13; Jonah 3:8, 10) which, it is hoped, will prompt God to turn and relent (שׁוב, נחם, Joel 2:14; Jonah 3:9–10). In the broader context the people's return in both cases is accompanied by fasting (צום, Joel 1:14; 2:12; Jonah 3:5, 7) and the wearing of sackcloth (שׂק, שׂקים, Joel 1:8, 13; Jonah 3:5, 6,

[1] Based on my original publication, Mark J. Boda, "Penitential Innovations in the Book of the Twelve," in *On Stone and Scroll: A Festschrift for Graham Davies*, ed. Brian A. Mastin, Katharine J. Dell, and James K. Aitken, BZAW 420 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 291–308, in honor of G. I. Davies. Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume.

[2] Jack M. Sasson, *Jonah*, AB 24B (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 263; Thomas M. Bolin, *Freedom Beyond Forgiveness: The Book of Jonah Re-Examined*, JSOTSup 236 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 169–72; Hyun Chul Paul Kim, "Jonah Read Intertextually," *JBL* 126 (2007): 497–528 (513–15).

8) and involves their animals (Joel 1:20; Jonah 3:7–8).[3] In both books the hope for God to turn and relent is rooted in the identical declaration of the gracious character of Yahweh, unique in the Hebrew Bible (חנון ורחום … ארך אפים ורב־חסד ונחם על־הרעה, Joel 2:13b; Jonah 4:2). In the broader context both books also focus attention on God's compassionate acts (חוס, Joel 2:17; Jonah 4:10–11).[4] Furthermore, the hope for God to turn and relent is expressed in a phrase headed by the same rhetorical question (מי־יודע ישוב ונחם, Joel 2:14a; Jonah 3:9a).[5] Finally, both books provide a narrative description of God's response to the penitential act (Joel 2:18–27;[6] Jonah 3:10).[7]

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[3] For this latter connection see Katharine J. Dell, "Reinventing the Wheel: The Shaping of the Book of Jonah," in *After the Exile: Essays in Honour of Rex Mason*, ed. John Barton and David J. Reimer (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996), 85–101 (88); Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books*, BibSem 20 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 72.

[4] James L. Crenshaw, *Joel*, AB 24C (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 137.

[5] On the use of this expression in the Hebrew Bible see James L. Crenshaw, "The Expression *mî yôdēa'* in the Hebrew Bible," *VT* 36 (1986): 274–88.

[6] Joel 2:18–19 contain a series of *wāw*-consecutives with imperfects, the foundation of Hebrew narrative. See the translation of Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos*, trans. S. Dean McBride, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 54; trans. of Hans Walter Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 2, Joel und Amos*, 2nd ed., BKAT 14/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1975).

[7] Some have tried to create disjunction between the repentance of the people and God's response, especially in Jonah: e.g., Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 346–47; James L. Crenshaw, "Who Knows What Yhwh Will Do?: The Character of God in the Book of Joel," in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Astrid Beck (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 185–96; Alan Cooper, "In Praise of Divine Caprice: The Significance of the Book of Jonah," in *Among the Prophets: Language, Image and Structure in the Prophetic Writings*, ed. Philip R. Davies and David J. A. Clines, JSOTSup 269 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 144–63. But although the penitential expression is carefully nuanced (מי־יודע) to preserve God's sovereign freedom to forgive (as per Exod 33:19), the explicit statement of 3:10, the underlying allusion to the Jeremianic tradition (see below), and the play on words between the penitential expression (שוב … רעה, Jonah 3:8, 10) and God's response (נחם/שוב … רעה, Jonah 3:8, 10) clearly connect these acts (for this play see, e.g., Graham I. Davies, "Uses of *r''* Qal and the Meaning of Jonah iv 1," *VT* 27 (1977): 105–10. Some have argued that since Joel does not name specific violations by the people Joel 2:12–14 should not be treated as a call to repentance, but as a call to general trust: e.g., G. S. Ogden, "Joel 4 and Prophetic Responses to National Laments," *JSOT* 26 (1983): 97–106; as a treatise on innocent suffering: for example, ibid., 97–106; Crenshaw, "Who Knows," 186–89, 96; or a call to restore Yahweh's honor: e.g., Ronald A. Simkins, "'Return to Yahweh': Honor and Shame in Joel," *Semeia* 68 (1994):

There are points of discontinuity too. The message of repentance in Joel is directed at Judah and Jerusalem, while in Jonah at Nineveh. Joel is a poetic book dominated by prophetic speech with one brief narrative piece (Joel 2:18–19a), while Jonah is a narrative book with some poetry (chapter 2) and a brief prophetic speech (Jonah 3:4). And yet, at what many would consider to be the rhetorical turning point in each book, there appears common diction that forges the two books together.

The many theories over the direction of dependence[8] are based on the assumption that these two books represent discrete literary units with distinct composition histories. It may also be considered that both books were shaped by the same people. The evidence above, however, suggests that to extract these sections from either of these books would be to remove their respective rhetorical hearts.[9]

External evidence may also suggest that Joel and Jonah are part of a common literary effort, since there is diversity in the placement of both books within the canonical traditions of the Book of the Twelve.[10] Thus, in the LXX Joel and Jonah are placed with Obadiah after the three prophets with explicit historical superscriptions in the eighth century BCE (Hosea, Amos, Micah), while in the MT Joel, Jonah, and Obadiah are interspersed among Hosea, Amos, and Micah. In 4QXII[a] it appears that Jonah is placed in the final position of the collection. The uncertain placement of these three books within the Twelve may indicate that they are part of the latest phase of the development of the Book as a whole.

41–54. However, references to the people as "drunkards" in Joel 1:5, a negative term in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., 1 Sam 1:13; Isa 19:14; Jer 23:9), and the regular use of שׁוּב in reference to repentance in the prophetic literature suggests otherwise.

[8] See R. B. Salters, *Jonah and Lamentations*, OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 26, 55.

[9] John Barton, *Joel and Obadiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 35, calls Joel 2:12–14: "the book's heart," while Duane A. Garrett, "The Structure of Joel," *JETS* 28 (1985): 289–97, calls it the rhetorical hinge.

[10] Aaron Schart, "Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets: Problems and Models," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 34–48 (36–38).

EXODUS 32–34 IN JOEL AND JONAH

JOEL/JONAH AND EXODUS 32–34

Whatever the relationship between Joel and Jonah, the core of the common material most likely has been drawn from a source outside Joel and Jonah. It has often been argued that this material originated in ancient Israelite liturgical practices,[11] when the rites (sackcloth, fasting) and oral declarations regularly employed on days of fasting and penitence were incorporated. However, the appearance of lengthy material commonly only to these two passages suggests otherwise (esp. Joel 2:13b and Jonah 4:2b; Joel 2:14a and Jonah 3:9a). For instance, the list of divine attributes found in both Joel 2:13b and Jonah 4:2b is clearly indicative of the long tradition of citing the formula from Exod 34:6–7, which is found many times throughout the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Num 14:18; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Nah 1:2–3; Pss 86:5, 15; 103:8; 111:4; 112:4; 145:8; Neh 1:5; 9:17, 19, 27, 28, 31).[12] However, no other citation uses the same form found in Joel and Jonah.

The first four attributes (חנון ורחום ארך אפים ורב־חסד) are basically the same as the formula which appears elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.[13] At the end of these four, however, Joel and Jonah both add a unique descriptor: ונחם על־הרעה, a phrase absent from Exod 34:6–7 or any of the other passages which employ the character creed. However, this collocation does occur in Exod 32:12 (והנחם על־הרעה) and 32:14 (וינחם יהוה על־הרעה), the first in Moses's request for Yahweh to change his mind concerning judgment of the people, and the second in the narrator's description of Yahweh's response.[14] In addition, in Moses's request to Yahweh in 32:12 he employs both שׁוב and נחם, similar to Joel 2:14; Jonah 3:9.[15] The verbs נחם (*niphal*) and שׁוב appear together in a few places in the Hebrew Bible. In three cases the people are the subject of both verbs (Exod 13:17; Jer 8:6; 31:19), in two cases God is the subject of נחם (*niphal*) while

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[11] E.g., André Lacocque and Pierre-Emmanuel Lacocque, *The Jonah Complex* (Atlanta: Westminster John Knox, 1981), 11; Crenshaw, "Who Knows," 192–93; Barton, *Joel and Obadiah*, 25–26.

[12] See Gordon R. Clark, *The Word Hesed in the Hebrew Bible*, JSOTSup 157 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 247–52, on the distribution of components from Exod 34:6–7 in the Hebrew Bible.

[13] For diversity in the order of the first two attributes, see below. Crenshaw, "Who Knows," 191 n. 32, suggests Exod 33:19 as the source of this switch in order.

[14] Uriel Simon, *Jonah*, trans. Lenn J. Schramm, JPS Bible Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1999), xxxvii; trans. of Uriel Simon, *Jona: Ein jüdischer Kommentar*, SBS 157 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1994).

[15] Crenshaw, *Joel*, 137.

humans are the subject of שׁוב (Jer 18:8; 26:3); and in five cases God is the subject of both verbs (Ps 90:13; Jer 4:28; Exod 32:12; Joel 2:13–14; Jonah 3:9–10). However, in all the passages in which these verbs appear together only in Exod 32:12; Joel 2:13–14; and Jonah 3:9–10 are both verbs used in succession with God as subject, with the verb נחם (*niphal*) followed by על־הרעה (Exod 32:12; Joel 2:13) and the verb שׁוב followed by מחרון אפך (Exod 32:12; Jonah 3:9).

This strongly suggests that the source for this material in Joel and Jonah should not be restricted to Exod 34:6–7, but the broader context of Exod 32–34.[16] Elements lying at the heart of these rhetorical turns in Joel and Jonah bracket this key narrative section in Exodus. It may also be that the employment of "who knows?" prior to the hopeful statement that God may turn and relent (Joel 2:14; Jonah 3:9) reflects the functionally similar אולי (perhaps) of Exod 32:30[17] as well as Yahweh's sovereign assertion in Exod 33:19b. Like intertextual bookends, the material in Joel and Jonah brings into the background the entire literary complex of Exod 32–34.[18] It is that context to which we now turn.

Exodus 32–34 as Tradition

The latter half of the book of Exodus has been shaped in line with the programmatic statement found in 25:8:

> Let them make for me a sanctuary, that I may reside in the midst of them (ושׁכנתי בתוכם). According to all which I am about to show you, that is, the model of the tabernacle and the model of all its appurtenances, in the same manner you must construct it.

Chapters 25–31 provide the revelation (ככל אשׁר אני מראה אותך) of this "model of the tabernacle," while chapters 35–40 the account of its construction (וכן תעשׂו). Its completion in chapter 40 (40:33b, ויכל משׁה את־המלאכה) prompts the fulfillment of the original purpose (ושׁכנתי בתוכם) expressed in 25:8: "Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting and the glory of Yahweh filled

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[16] See esp. Thomas B. Dozeman, "Inner-Biblical Interpretation of Yahweh's Gracious and Compassionate Character," *JBL* 108 (1989): 207–23.

[17] Cf. Crenshaw, "The Expression *mî yôdēa'*," 274–88.

[18] Other inner biblical connections: cf. Joel 2:17 with Exod 32:12; Joel 2:11; 3:4 with Exod 34:10; Joel 2:14 with Exod 32:12, 14, 29; Joel 4:20 [Eng. 3:20] with Exod 34:7; Jonah 3:7 with Exod 34:3; Jonah 3:4; 4:5 with Exod 34:28 (cf. Deut 9:18, 25); Jonah 4:2 with Exod 33:13; cf. Leslie C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 222; Hans Walter Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary*, trans. Margaret Kohl, CC (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 149; Crenshaw, "Who Knows," 192, 94, 95; Bolin, *Freedom*, 165 n. 63; Simon, *Jonah*, xxxvii.

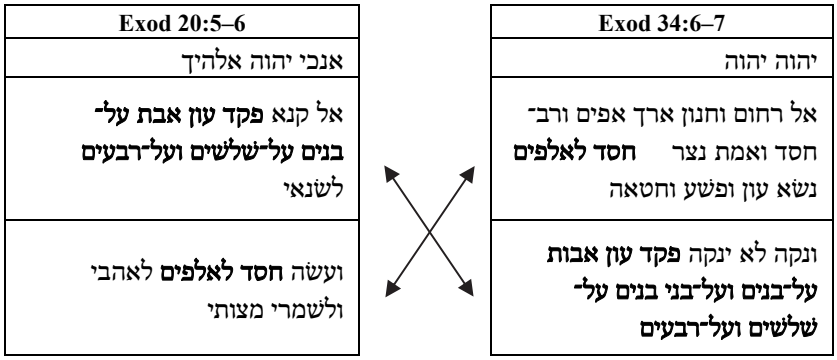
the tabernacle" (40:34). Not explicitly anticipated at the outset of this new stage of revelation, however, are the events in Exod 32–34 which are placed between these two literary complexes. And yet this intervening narrative highlights the necessity of the tabernacle structure isolating the holy deity from a people prone to sin.

According to Exod 32 it is Yahweh who alerts Moses to the problems in the camp at the foot of Sinai (32:8–9). In what follows, Moses refuses God's offer to begin the nation anew through Israel's leader (32:10) and initiates a series of four mediatorial interventions (32:11–13, 31–32; 33:12–23; 34:9) to save the nation.

The first mediation is key for it is the one which successfully dissuades Yahweh from rejecting the nation as a whole (cf. 32:10 with 32:14). Leveraging Yahweh's concern for his fame among the nations (32:12a) and his promises to the patriarchs (32:13), Moses pleads with Yahweh to "turn (שׁוב) from your fierce anger and change your mind (נחם *niphal*) concerning the harm (על־הרעה) intended for your people." The narrative report of Moses's success echoes the vocabulary in 32:14: "Yahweh changed his mind concerning the harm" (וינחם יהוה על־הרעה). It is this depiction of the initial mediation that most likely underlies not only the hope for mercy in the wake of sin expressed in both Joel 2:14 and Jonah 3:9 (מי יודע ישוב ונחם),[19] but also the expansion of the recitation of the classic character creed found in Joel 2:13 and Jonah 4:2 (ונחם על־הרעה).

At the narrative climax of the mediation process in chapters 32–34, prior to the renewal of covenant in 34:10–28, lies the self-revelation of Yahweh's name (Exod 34:6–7). While the second half of this self-revelation (34:7b) explains Yahweh's violent response to Israel's violation of the first commandment, the first half of the self-revelation (34:6b–7a) explains his willingness to renew covenant. A comparison with the form of this creedal recitation in Exod 20:5–6 (related there to the sin committed by Israel in Exod 32), reveals the importance of the first half of this self-revelation at this juncture in the relationship between Yahweh and the people (see table 1).

[19] Compare also Jonah 3:10 and Exod 32:14.



Exod 20:5–6	Exod 34:6–7
אנכי יהוה אלהיך	יהוה יהוה
אל קנא **פקד עון אבת על־בנים על־שלשים ועל־רבעים** לשנאי	אל רחום וחנון ארך אפים ורב־חסד ואמת נצר **חסד לאלפים** נשא עון ופשע וחטאה
ועשה **חסד לאלפים** לאהבי ולשמרי מצותי	ונקה לא ינקה **פקד עון אבות על־בנים ועל־בני בנים על־שלשים ועל־רבעים**

Table 1

Two differences highlight the shift from a context focused on warning (Exod 20:5–6) to one focused on forgiveness (Exod 34:6–7).[20] First, the phrase **לאהבי ולשמרי מצותי** which followed **חסד לאלפים** in Exod 20:6 is absent, taking the "emphasis off of Israel's ability to respond to God's covenant demands."[21] Second, the order in which Yahweh's attributes are presented is switched. In this, Widmer sees "a radical shift from an emphasis on divine jealousy to an emphasis on divine mercy, grace, and loyalty without denying justice."[22] This self-revelation at the end of the narrative complex of Exod 32–34 explains Yahweh's response to the initial intercession of Moses in Exod 32.

Contrasts between Exodus 32–34 and Joel/Jonah

The potential of the section on mercy in the character creed was not lost on those responsible for many other contributions to the Hebrew canon as it is this section that is nearly always recited at the expense of the rest of the self-revelation in Exod 34:6–7 (Pss 86:5, 15; 103:8; 145:8; Neh 9:17; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2). For those responsible for Joel and Jonah the employment of this part of the character creed is understandable since the contexts of each book reveal a community facing impending or present severe judgment for sin.[23]

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[20] See further Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 343–44.

[21] See Walter Moberly, *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32–34*, JSOTSup 22 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 88.

[22] Michael Widmer, *Moses, God, and the Dynamics of Intercessory Prayer: A Study of Exodus 32–34 and Numbers 13–14*, FAT 2/8 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 185.

[23] The people's sin delineated clearly in Joel or Jonah. In Jonah it is identified in general terms as **דרכו הרעה** and **החמס אשר בכפיהם** (3:8, 10). For the sin in Joel see above n. 7.

There are significant disjunctions, however, between the two contexts (Exodus, the Twelve) into which this character creed has been incorporated. While Joel and Jonah incorporate the creedal statements from Exod 32–34 into a context demanding a human penitential response as prerequisite for divine forgiveness, this is not true of Exod 32–34. Human response is irrelevant to this forgiveness;[24] the focus is entirely on God's covenantal attributes and responsibilities,[25] and the mediatorial efforts of Moses both to enact justice (32:25–28) and seek mercy (32:11–13, 30–32; 33:12–23; 34:8–9).[26] There also is a careful nuancing of God's character through Yahweh's declaration in 33:19 that the proclamation is still subject to his sovereign will.

A second disjunction is seen in the narrative description of the treatment of the nation in the wake of the sin and forgiveness. While in Joel and Jonah the response is restricted to grace and mercy, Exod 32–34 highlights serious consequences (capital punishment) for those at the core of the rebellion (see Exod 32:25–28, 33–35), even after the promise of forgiveness (32:32).

These two characteristics of Exod 32–34 (absence of repentance and depiction of forgiveness with punishment) can be discerned in the narrative description of Israel's refusal to enter the land in Num 14. There Yahweh threatens again to destroy the nation and fulfil his promises through Moses (14:12). As in Exod 32 Moses appeals to Yahweh's international fame (Num 14:13–16) and patriarchal promises (14:16). Echoing Exod 34 Moses recites elements from the character creed, before requesting forgiveness (cf. Num 14:19, סלח, נשׂא with Exod 32:32, נשׂא; 34:9, סלח). As in Exod 32–34 Yahweh grants forgiveness (Num 14:20, סלח) based on Moses's intercession (כדברך), but then announces capital punishment on that entire generation (Num 14:22–23). Again the people "mourn" (אבל *hithpael*) over their predicament, admit their sin (חטאנו), and even seek now to demonstrate a change in behavior (14:39–40). However, this is declared useless and is clearly ineffectual (14:41–45).

Although it appears that Joel and Jonah rely on the Torah (Exod 32–34) for their theological foundation for the anticipated divine response, their agenda for

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[24] There is one reference to the people's response (33:4–6), but this comes as a result of God's revelation that he will not personally accompany them. The term used here is אבל *hithpael*, one that is not used for mourning over sin, but rather mourning over tragedy. See further Mark J. Boda, *A Severe Mercy: Sin and Its Remedy in the Old Testament*, Siphrut 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 42 n. 24.

[25] Identified by Widmer, *Moses, God*, 189, as Yahweh's *Wesenseigenschaften* and *Handlungsweisen*.

[26] Contra *b. Yoma* 61a which assumes that penitence lies behind God's forgiveness here; cf. Nahum M. Sarna, *Exodus-Shemot*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 216.

dealing with sin and their response is different. In both Joel and Jonah the agenda is repentance, an issue absent from Exod 32–34 and Num 14. This shift suggests a development of tradition, and it is to the sources of this development to which we now turn.

FROM EXODUS 32–34 TO JOEL/JONAH

EXODUS 32–34 AND JEREMIAH

The disjunction between Exodus and the Twelve prompts us to look to the book of Jeremiah as the catalyst for these innovations in Joel and Jonah. Jeremiah regularly argues for a reciprocal relationship between human repentance (שׁוב) and divine change (נחם), setting up what Wolff has called a threefold theological progression: from proclamation of judgment to repentance to retraction (Jer 18:7–8; 26:2–3; 36:2–3).[27] Identical collocations to those found in Jonah and Joel are found in Jeremiah.

As seen in Table 2, Jeremiah shares with Jonah and Joel the collocation נחם על־הרעה, with Joel the collocation (ב)בְּכָל־לֵב … שׁוב, and with Jonah שׁוב (איש) מדרכו הרעה). Not only is the style and theology of Jeremiah apparent in the penitential idiom of Jonah and Joel, but Jer 36 appears to function as an "anti-model" for depicting the Ninevite repentance in chapter 3. Both include divine threat (Jer 36:7b; Jonah 3:4), publication of a fast using the unique phrase קרה צום (Jer 36:9; Jonah 3:5), and awareness of king and court (Jer 36:12–20; Jonah 3:6).[28]

It appears then that the Jeremianic tradition if not corpus has influenced the reuse of the Exod 32–34 tradition in Joel and Jonah.[29] While in Exod 32–34 the shift in divine orientation towards the nation is based on the character of Yahweh and the intercession of Moses rather than repentance, the Jeremianic tradition reveals another perspective on the divine relenting tradition that emphasizes human repentance.

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[27] Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah*, 154.

[28] Lacocque and Lacocque, *Jonah Complex*, 76–77; A. Feuillet, "Les sources du livre de Jonas," *RB* 54 (1947): 161–86; A. Feuillet, *Études d'exégèse et de théologie biblique: Ancien Testament* (Paris: Gabalda, 1975), 422; Simon, *Jonah*, xxxviii;

[29] See the long list of connections between Jonah and Jeremiah in Feuillet, "Les sources," 153–54; Feuillet, *Études*, 421–23; Lacocque and Lacocque, *Jonah Complex*, 10–11, 75; Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah*, 153; Salters, *Jonah and Lamentations*, 60; Dell, "Reinventing the Wheel," 91; R. W. L. Moberly, "Preaching for a Response? Jonah's Message to the Ninevites Reconsidered," *VT* 53 (2003): 156–68 (158).

Jeremianic Connections to Joel 2:13–14; Jonah 3:8–10, 4:2			
Jonah 3:10	שׁבו מדרכם הרעה	וישׁבו איש מדרכו הרעה	Jonah 3:8
Jer 35:15	שׁבו־נא אישׁמדרכו הרעה	שׁובו נא איש מדרכו הרעה	Jer 18:11
Jer 36:3	ישׁובו איש מרכו הרעה	וישׁבום מדרכם הרע	Jer 23:22
Jer 36:7	וישׁבו איש מדרכו הרעה	שׁובו־נא איש מדרכו הרעה	Jer 25:5
		וישׁבו איש מדרכו הרעה	Jer 26:3
Joel 2:13	ושׁובו אל־יהוה אלהיכם	שׁבו עדי בכל־לבבכם	Joel 2:12
Jer 3:10	לא־שׁבה אלי … בכל־לבה	ישׁבו אלי בכל־לבם	Jer 24:7
Jonah 3:10	וינחם האלהים על־הרעה אשׁר־דבר לעשׂות־להם	ונחם האלהים ונחם על־הרעה	Jonah 3:9 Jonah 4:2
Joel 2:13	ונחם על־הרעה	ונחם	Joel 2:14
Jer 26:19	וינחם יהוה אל־הרעה אשׁר־דבר עליהם	ונחמתי על־הרעה אשׁר חשׁבתי לעשׂות לו	Jer 18:8
Jer 36:3	כל־הרעה אשׁר אנכי חשׁב לעשׂות להם	ונחמתי אל־הרעה אשׁר אנכי חשׁב לעשׂות להם	Jer 26:3
Jer 42:10	נחמתי אל־הרעה אשׁר עשׂיתי לכם	וינחם יהוה אל־הרעה אשׁר דבר עליכם	Jer 26:13

Table 2

While some may see this as eliminating the need for Exod 32 as a source for Joel/Jonah, these passages in Jeremiah, which focus on the impact of human repentance on the shift in divine orientation, only express the divine shift with the term נחם, while reserving the term שׁוב for human activity. In Exod 32, as in Joel and Jonah, נחם and שׁוב are paired in the description of the divine shift.[30] This suggests that for those responsible for Joel and Jonah the Exod 32–34 tradition "is mediated through the theological 'extension'" of Jeremiah.[31]

[30] In one case in Jeremiah (4:28) these two verbs refer to a shift in God, but in that one case it is an absence of such a shift and it is not used in connection with human repentance. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible only Ps 90:13 employs these two verbs together (although the gloss may be "comfort" rather than "change the mind").

[31] Jonathan Magonet, *Form and Meaning: Studies in Literary Techniques in the Book of Jonah*, 2nd ed., BLS 8 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983), 74; cf. Walter Moberly, "Jonah, God's Objectionable Mercy, and the Way of Wisdom," in *Reading Texts, Seeking Wisdom: Scripture and Theology*, ed. Graham Stanton and David F. Ford (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 154–68 (158), who sees, in both Jonah and Joel, Exod 34:6–7 "conjoined" with an "axiom" reflected in Jer 18:7–10.

EXODUS 32–34 AND PENITENTIAL PRAYER

While it appears that those responsible for Joel and Jonah have read Exod 32–34 through the lens of the Jeremianic tradition, this latter tradition gives little attention to the character creed expressed in Exod 34:6–7.[32] Since the character creed is being used to encourage repentance in Joel and Jonah, what tradition justified such a reading of Exod 34:6–7? The first clue can be culled from close attention to the form of the character creed as it appears elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible:[33]

As can be seen in Table 3, one slight difference between the formula in Exod 34:6 and that found in Joel and Jonah is the reversal of the two initial adjectives רחום and חנון.[34] This version of the formula (חנון ורחום ארך אפים ורב־חסד) is only found at one other place in the Hebrew Bible, in Neh 9:17 (cf. Neh 9:31). This penitential prayer also explicitly leverages Yahweh's gracious response to Israel during their rebellions in the wilderness, with specific focus on the Golden Calf rebellion (Neh 9:16–19), and uses this formula as the foundation for a penitential expression. The rhetorical flow of this prayer first depicts Yahweh's earlier gracious orientation towards Israel before the conquest (Neh 9:7–23), then depicts Yahweh's later disciplinary orientation towards Israel while in the land (9:24–28), then, after intertwining the two (9:29–31), declares a communal penitential expression (9:32–37).[35]

Character Creed in the Hebrew Bible
Exod 34:6–7
יהוה יהוה אל **רחום וחנון ארך אפים ורב־חסד** ואמת נצר חסד לאלפים נשׂא עון ופשׁע וחטאה ונקה לא ינקה פקד עון אבות על־בנים ועל־בני בנים על־שׁלשׁים ועל־רבעים

[32] The only exception to this statement is the passing reference in Jer 32:18 to Exod 34:7 in a way that is typical of the Dtr tradition: Deut 5:9–10; 7:9–10; cf. Exod 20:6.

[33] See the superb chart in Sasson, *Jonah*, 281–82. On the character creed see further Mark J. Boda, *The Heartbeat of the Old Testament: Three Creedal Expressions*, Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017).

[34] See footnote 13 for how this switch may be related to the influence of Exod 32–34.

[35] For this argument see Mark J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, BZAW 277 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999).

חנון ורחום[36]		רחום וחנון	
אתה אל־חנון ורחום ארך אפים ורב־חסד ונחם על־הרעה	Jonah 4:2	רחום וחנון ארך אפים ורב־חסד ואמת	Ps 86:15
חנון ורחום הוא ארך אפים ורב־חסד ונחם על־הרעה	Joel 2:13	רחום וחנון יהוה ארך אפים ורב־חסד	Ps 103:8
חנון ורחום ארך אפים ורב־חסד וברחמיך הרבים	Neh 9:17		
		ארך אפים … ונקה לא ינקה	
חנון ורחום יהוה ארך אפים וגדל־חסד	Ps 145:8	יהוה ארך אפים ורב־חסד נשׂא עון ופשׁע ונקה לא ינקה פקד עון אבות על־בנים על־שׁלשׁים ועל־רבעים	Num 14:18
		יהוה ארך אפים וגדול־כח[37] ונקה לא ינקה יהוה	Nah 1:3

Table 3

This penitential prayer provides a snapshot of the traditioning process by which the non-penitential tradition of Exod 32–34 (and Num 14) could be leveraged to encourage repentance. This utilization of the character creed is not unique to Neh 9, but characteristic of this entire tradition of penitential prayer.[38] Further connections between Joel/Jonah and this tradition of prayer are the ritual acts of contrition that accompany penitential prayers, including assembling (אסף; Joel 1:14; 2:10, 16; Neh 9:1; Ezra 9:4); fasting (צום; Joel 1:14; 2:12, 15; Jonah 3:5; Neh 9:1; Dan 9:3), and sackcloth (שׂק, שׂקים; Joel 1:8, 13; Jonah 3:5, 6, 8; Neh 9:1; Dan

[36] Cf. Pss 111:4; 112:4; 2 Chr 30:9; Neh 9:31, which all shorten the creedal statement to merely חנון ורחום. Nehemiah 9:31 echoes Neh 9:17. Of these only the later 2 Chr 30:9 connects this creedal form to the penitential, probably a reflection of the influence of the Penitential Prayer tradition.

[37] Cf. Num 14:17: יגדל־נא כח.

[38] Mark J. Boda, "Confession as Theological Expression: Ideological Origins of Penitential Prayer," in *Seeking the Favor of God: Volume 1—The Origin of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline, EJL 21 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 21–50.

9:3).[39] The penitential prayer tradition that arises in the Babylonian and Persian periods showcases an innovative use of the Exod 32–34 tradition as a theological foundation for repentance in and after the exile.

Summary

It has been argued that there is substantial evidence that those responsible for Joel and Jonah are drawing on the traditions related to God's forgiveness of the nation found in Exod 32–34. These traditions, however, have been mediated through the theological lens of both the Jeremianic and Penitential Prayer traditions of the Babylonian and Persian periods. Through this chain a tradition originally rooted in a non-penitential context is transformed into one that forms the foundation for repentance.

The Penitential Tradition of Joel and Jonah within the Book of the Twelve

It was noted at the outset that the origins of the books of Joel and Jonah as well as the book of Obadiah are often placed in a much later period than the other three books in the first half of the Book of the Twelve. While Joel, Jonah, and Obadiah have consistently been dated to the exilic and post-exilic periods, Hosea, Amos, and Micah explicitly link themselves to the pre-exilic eighth century BCE. Why have these three later books been intertwined with these three earlier books, either in between them as in the MT or at the end of them in the LXX? What role does the shared penitential tradition of Joel and Jonah play within the development and rhetoric of the Book of the Twelve?[40]

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[39] See Crenshaw, *Joel*, 134. See Henning Graf Reventlow, *Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1963), 115–16, 54–55; G. W. Ahlström, *Joel and the Temple Cult of Jerusalem*, VTSup 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 136 for the use of Joel within a prophetic liturgy similar to Jer 14:1–15:9. This latter passage represents an early development in the Penitential Prayer tradition; cf. Mark J. Boda, "From Complaint to Contrition: Peering through the Liturgical Window of Jer 14,1–15,4," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 186–97.

[40] For literature on this topic see Paul L. Redditt, "The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 1–26.

HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI, AND REPENTANCE

Evidence that the penitential traditions represented in Jeremiah and Penitential Prayer (esp. Neh 9) influenced the presentation of repentance in Joel and Jonah lays the foundation for reflection on the development of the Book of the Twelve. Elsewhere I have argued for the influence of the Jeremianic tradition and Penitential Prayer on what I have come to call the Haggai–Malachi corpus which concludes the Book of the Twelve. This is seen in the prose sermon inclusio of Zech 1:1–6 and 7:1–8:23 which forms the core of the Haggai–Malachi corpus. There collocations unique to Penitential Prayer (again, esp. Neh 9) and the Jeremianic corpus are found.[41] While there is more to the Haggai–Malachi corpus than the theme of repentance,[42] each section of the corpus provides exposure to the topic: from the call to and depiction of a change in behavior (in relation to the temple) at the outset of Haggai (1:1–15), to the depiction of the future penitential scene in Zech 12:10–14, the echo in Mal 3:7 of the call to repentance in Zech 1:3, and expectation of a future penitential response at the close of the Haggai–Malachi corpus (Mal 3:24 [Eng. 4:6]).[43]

The fact that Jonah and Joel share common sources to the Haggai–Malachi corpus for their penitential theology has implications for understanding the development of the Book of the Twelve. While many have seen Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah as related to a different stage in the development of the Book of the Twelve from that represented by Haggai–Malachi, those responsible for the Haggai–Malachi corpus may have been responsible for the inclusion and even creation of the

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[41] See Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

[42] Mark J. Boda, "Messengers of Hope in Haggai–Malachi," *JSOT* 32 (2007): 113–31; Mark J. Boda, "Perspectives on Priests in Haggai–Malachi," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy S. Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 13–33; Mark J. Boda, "Priestly Expansions within Haggai–Malachi and the Twelve," *PRSt* 43 (2016): 1–9 = chapters 5–7 in this present volume.

[43] On this concluding emphasis on repentance, see Boda, *Severe Mercy*, 351–52; and on these verses as a canonical "seam" to the "Prophets," "Latter Prophets," or "Book of the Twelve" as a whole, see Boda, "Messengers of Hope" = chapter 5 in this present volume (n. 47).

books of Joel and Jonah (and possibly also Obadiah, if it is related to this stage as is most likely).[44] All of these books also share in common later provenance.[45]

This shared concern for the recovery of repentance in this latter phase of the development of the Book of the Twelve suggests that the Book of the Twelve was drawn together for the express purpose of promoting repentance in line with the vision of the book of Jeremiah and the Penitential Prayer tradition.[46] But why was this important?

HOSEA, AMOS, MICAH, AND REPENTANCE

The issue of the role of repentance within the three eighth-century prophets Hosea, Amos, and Micah has been controversial. Although references to and calls for repentance appear regularly throughout the books (Hos 2:2–4, 7; 5:4; 6:1–3; 7:10, 16; 11:5; 12:6; 14:1, 2; Amos 4:6–11; 5:4–6, 14–15; Mic 6:6–8) most of these merely highlight the nation's inability to respond or insincerity in responding to

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[44] E.g., Crenshaw, *Joel*, 148–49 (highlighting the similarity between Joel 2:18 and Zech 1:14; 8:2); cf. Boda, "Master Mason" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6. Rex A. Mason, *Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Joel*, OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 120 (Joel 2:19 and Hag 1:11); Nicholas Ho Fai Tai, "The End of the Book of the Twelve: Reading with Zechariah 12–14 and Joel 3," in *Schriftprophetie: Festschrift für Jörg Jeremias zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Friedhelm Hartenstein, Jutta Krispenz, and Aaron Schart (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2004), 341–50; Barton, *Joel and Obadiah*, 26–27; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 48–49 (Mal 3:23 [Eng. 4:5] and Joel 3:4; Mal 3:2 and Joel 2:11; Mal 3:10 and Joel 2:14). Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah*, 18, 42–43, identifies Obadiah as a cult prophet within a setting akin to the fasts of Zech 7:3, 5; 8:19. This Jeremianic connection reveals another link to Joel, Jonah, and the Haggai–Malachi corpus, all of which have been influenced by Jeremiah.

[45] Contrast those who see evidence of a "grace" redaction in those passages alluding to Exod 34:6–7 (Joel 2:12–14; Jonah 3:8–4:2; Mic 7:18–20; Nah 1:2–3a; Mal 1:9a): for example, Christopher R. Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics: Toward a New Introduction to the Prophets*, STI (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 216; and Jakob Wöhrle, "A Prophetic Reflection on Divine Forgiveness: The Integration of the Book of Jonah into the Book of the Twelve," *JHS* 9 (2009): Article 7. Such allusions are far too general; cf. Klaas Spronk, "Jonah, Nahum, and the Book of the Twelve: A Response to Jakob Wöhrle," *JHS* 9 (2009): Article 8.

[46] For the importance of repentance to the Book of the Twelve see Collins, *Mantle*, 65; James D. Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor' for the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 91–109; Paul R. House, "Endings as New Beginnings: Returning to the Lord, the Day of the Lord, and Renewal in the Book of the Twelve," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 313–38; Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 234–38.

such calls (Hos 2:7–8; 5:4; 6:1–4; 7:10, 14, 16; 8:1–3; 11:5, 7; 12:1–13:16; Amos 4:6–13; Mic 6:1–16). Alongside these are vivid descriptions of what appears to be certain judgment (Hos 2:9–13; 5:8–14; 11:5–6; 12:14; 13:16; Amos 1–2; 8:1–9:10; Mic 1–3; 7:1–10) and/or a future hope of God's unilateral initiative to restore his people (Hos 2:14–23; 3:1–3; 14:4–7; Amos 9:11–15; Mic 2:12–13; 4–5; 7:11–13), both of which at times are depicted as prompting repentance and confession (Hos 3:4–5; 5:15; 6:1–3; 14:1–7; Mic 7:16–20).

The diversity in the function of repentance in these books connected to eighth-century prophetic figures is what has prompted the diversity of conclusions over the role of repentance in these books. Regarding Hosea, Stuart treats repentance "as eschatological, not immediate," similar to the Deuteronomic expectations of Deut 4:30 and 30:6, 8.[47] In contrast, Davies considers the message of repentance as one of "two central demands of Hosea's message," while Sweeney sees the entire book (including chapter 14) as a penitential treatise with the hope that the community would avert judgment prior to its destruction.[48] Between these two views lies Wolff who distinguishes between exhortations having as their purpose the aversion of judgment (2:4–5; 4:15; 8:5a; cf. 10:12; 12:7) and those seen as realizable only after judgment (chapter 14).[49] Similar diversity of opinion can be seen for the interpretation of Amos. For example, Wolff does not take seriously the call for repentance in Amos because of the reigning mood of judgment, treating such penitential exhortations as only "a faint reminiscence of something nearly forgotten or otherwise hard to place" which are "swallowed up by the dark threats."[50] In contrast Paul argues that for the prophets "the decision of God is very often subject to change, but the change is dependent and contingent upon the people's return."[51] When interpreting Mic 1–5, Waltke speaks of Micah's "implicit call for repentance" and concludes that "all judicial sentences are in effect threats."[52] While Ben Zvi entertains the possibility that Micah's announcements of doom (in chapter 3) "might have carried an implicit call for repentance," he is clear that "this perspective is not advanced in the text."[53] For Wolff "dedication

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[47] Douglas K. Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah*, WBC 31 (Waco, TX: Word, 1987), 7, 8, 19, 107, 92, 212.

[48] Graham I. Davies, *Hosea*, NCB (London: Marshall Pickering, 1992), 150, cf. 299; Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2000), 2:26–27, 136–38.

[49] Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea*, trans. Gary Stansell, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 234–35.

[50] Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 251.

[51] Shalom M. Paul, *Amos*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 162.

[52] Bruce K. Waltke, *A Commentary on Micah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 91, 186.

[53] Ehud Ben Zvi, *Micah*, FOTL 21B (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 87.

to a new life" (repentance) is not in view in the present for Micah, but is the intended outcome of the divine judgment.[54]

In all of these books one finds prophetic messages declaring what appears to be certain judgment, and yet also prophetic messages encouraging a penitential response. In the end all three books depict the frustration of these prophetic figures as the call for repentance is paid no attention and the warned judgment becomes a reality. While possibly fulfilling the purpose of theodicy, such a witness within the Book of the Twelve subtly undermines the efficacy of repentance as a solution for the sin of the community.

Such a trend can be discerned elsewhere in the prophetic corpus.[55] This is clear in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel which, although identifying the importance of repentance within the apparently normative prophetic process rehearsed in passages like Jer 18, 25; Ezek 2–3, 20, 33, bear witness to the failure of the process, due to the unresponsiveness of the people, and announce judgment followed by a divine gracious and transformative initiative (Jer 24:6–7; 31:33–34; 32:37–40, 41–44; Ezek 11:19; 36:27–27; 37:14; 39:26). Additionally, this failure of the process is linked to the judgment of God in the prophetic commission of Isaiah in Isa 6, with the hope shifted to the creation of a holy seed through severe judgment.

The presentation of the eighth-century prophets in the first half of the Book of the Twelve (Hosea, Amos, Micah) as well as the literary works of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel (and the Deuteronomistic History) witness to the lack of efficacy in the penitential agenda. This lack would have challenged any attempt to return to the penitential agenda associated by those tradents of the earlier prophets with the pre-exilic age.

However, the inclusion of the later books Joel and Jonah among (or following as in LXX) these eighth-century BCE prophets would have addressed any attempt to undermine the value of the prophetic penitential call as an appropriate solution

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[54] Hans Walter Wolff, *Micah: A Commentary*, trans. Gary Stansell, CC (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1990), 222; see Wolff's struggle with the explicit call to repentance in Mic 6:6–8 (pp. 180, 183).

[55] See Boda, *Severe Mercy*, 254–55.

for dealing with sin.[56] These two books provided two positive examples where repentance was effective.[57]

Conclusion

This paper has argued that those responsible for the literary units Joel and Jonah have drawn on the forgiveness traditions found in Exod 32–34 through the dual penitential lenses of the Jeremianic and Penitential Prayer traditions of the Babylonian and Persian periods. This enabled those responsible for Joel and Jonah to employ a non-penitential forgiveness tradition for encouraging repentance. In this Joel and Jonah reflect a similar agenda to that found in the Haggai–Malachi corpus, especially its core section Zech 1:1–6; 7:1–8:23. One then could speak of a "penitential" redactional phase in the Book of the Twelve, one seeking to affirm the role of the penitential in the new restoration era. This phase involved the final shaping of the books of Joel and Jonah (and most likely Obadiah) and their placement into the Book of the Twelve along with the closely related Haggai–Malachi corpus. This suggests that the Book of the Twelve as a whole was designed, possibly among other things, to encourage repentance for a post-exilic audience who were to see themselves as that ideal community longed for by the eighth-century prophets.

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[56] Another option is to follow James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 1–57; Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor'," who sees this redaction as highlighting the qualities of the penitential community envisioned in such passages as Hos 14; although see critique of R. J. Coggins, "Innerbiblical Quotations in Joel," in *After the Exile: Essays in Honour of Rex Mason*, ed. John Barton and David J. Reimer (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996), 75–84.

[57] See similarly Ronald E. Clements, "The Purpose of the Book of Jonah," in *Congress Volume: Edinburgh, 1974*, ed. J. A. Emerton, VTSup 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 16–28, who saw the agenda of the book of Jonah bringing repentance to the forefront as typical of literature in the late sixth century BCE; cf. Sandor Goodhart, "Prophecy, Sacrifice and Repentance in the Story of Jonah," *Semeia* 33 (1985): 43–63; Salters, *Jonah and Lamentations*, 60; and now Wöhrle, "Prophetic Reflection," contra John Day, "Problems in the Interpretation of the Book of Jonah," in *In Quest of the Past: Studies on Israelite Religion, Literature and Prophetism*, ed. Adam S. van der Woude, OtSt 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 32–47.

10
Penitential Priests in the Twelve[1]

This chapter builds on and brings together evidence already encountered in earlier chapters but in isolation: the dual focus on repentance and priests in Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi. While repentance was linked in the previous chapter to broader interests within the Twelve, now the priestly emphasis is traced, showing how both Joel and Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi contain similar penitential agendas for priests.

Considerable debate has revolved around the structure and integrity of the book of Joel. Many have noted the contrast between the first part of the book which is dominated by language concerning a contemporary agricultural crisis (1:2–2:27) and the second half of the book which is dominated by language concerning a future cosmic and international crisis (3:1–4:21 [Eng. 2:28–3:21]).[2] However, lit-

[1] Based on my original publication Mark J. Boda, "Penitential Priests in the Twelve," in *Priests and Cult in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, ANEM 14 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 51–64. Slightly revised for inclusion in this volume.

[2] See Duane A. Garrett, "The Structure of Joel," *JETS* 28 (1985): 289–97, for a possible dual role for 2:18–27. For structural approaches to Joel (Wolff, Prinsloo, Garrett, Barton, Sweeney, Bauer and Traina, and Nogalski) see the superb review by Thomas Lyons, "Interpretation and Structure in Joel," *Journal of Inductive Biblical Studies* 1 (2014): 80–104 (who also provides his own approach), but also note the more recent works of Elie Assis, *The Book of Joel: A Prophet between Calamity and Hope*, T&T Clark Library of Biblical Studies, LHBOTS 581 (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013) and Joel Barker, *From the*

erary integrity can be discerned at least in the references to "the day" and employment of agricultural and cosmic/international language in both halves of the book.[3]

Other books among the Twelve share the structural diversity evidenced in the book of Joel, in particular, those books which bring the collection to a close.[4] Haggai begins with a focus on an agricultural crisis much like Joel and provides promises in terms of historically rooted prosperity (Hag 2:19) in the Persian period before shifting to more cosmic/international language in "that day" (Hag 2:20–23). Malachi is also initially focused on issues within the Persian period community (Mal 1–2, 3:7–15), but in the end shifts into cosmic/international language with reference to the coming "Day" (Mal 3:1–6, 16–24 [Eng. 3:16–4:6]). Zechariah is also similar to Joel, emphasizing repentance at the outset within the Persian period community, but in its second half then shifting to cosmic/international language with an emphasis on the coming "Day," especially in chapters 12–14.[5]

These similarities between Joel and Haggai–Malachi prompt further reflection on the relationship between the two sections of the Twelve. Another element that they share in common is that both Joel and Haggai–Malachi relate the prophetic message to priestly figures. In this contribution we will investigate penitential messages addressed to priestly figures with particular focus on striking similarities yet contrasts between Joel 1–2 and Zech 7–8. In Joel the priests are afforded a leading role in the call to repentance and while there is some question over the relationship between the penitential cry of the prophet and the priestly response which it prompts, it is clear that Yahweh responds in the section following the call for priestly led repentance and prayer. Zechariah also contains a call to penitential liturgy, but highlights the failure of priests among the people of the land to truly repent. These contrasting portraits of priests in relation to repentance

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Depths of Despair to the Promise of Presence: A Rhetorical Reading of the Book of Joel, Siphrut 11 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014).

[3] See further connectivity in Assis, *Book of Joel*, 24–54.

[4] On the intertwining of penitential and eschatological in the Twelve and the key role played by Joel, see Jason LeCureux, *The Thematic Unity of the Book of the Twelve: The Call to Return and the Nature of the Minor Prophets*, Hebrew Bible Monographs 41 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012), 111, 236.

[5] But there are also striking similarities between Joel and Zech 9–10 in the reference to the Phoenicians and Greeks. Zephaniah, which is closely related to the Haggai–Malachi collection in the redaction which saw Haggai–Malachi incorporated into the Twelve, is more integrated than these books, intertwining the cosmic/international with the historically rooted language throughout (see especially chapter 1). See Mark J. Boda, "Babylon in the Book of the Twelve," *HBAI* 3 (2014): 225–48 = chapter 8 in this present volume.

in the Book of the Twelve is key to the overall shape of the Twelve, setting a penitential agenda for the collection which is addressed not only to the community as a whole but especially to temple leadership.

JOEL 1–2, FASTING, PENITENCE, AND PRIESTS

Joel 1:2–2:27 is punctuated by a series of imperatives addressed to a variety of audiences: 1:2, 8, 11, 13–14; 2:1, 15–17, 21–23 as well as a series of interrogatives that prompt reflection by the literary audience (1:2b; 2:11b, 14, 17).[6]

Ref	Imptv	Aud
1:2a	שמעו	הזקנים
	והאזינו	יושבי הארץ
1:2b	ההיתה זאת	
1:5	הקיצו	שכורים
	ובכו	כל־שתי יין
	והיללו	
1:8	אלי	
1:11	הבישו	אכרים
	הילילו	כרמים
1:13	חגרו	הכהנים
	וספדו	משרתי מזבח
	הילילו	
	באו	
	לינו	משרתי אלהי
1:14	קדשו	
	קראו	
	אספו	

Ref	Imptv	Aud
2:1	תקעו	
	והריעו	
2:11	ומי יכילנו	
2:12	שבו	
2:13	וקרעו	
	ושובו	
2:14	מי יודע	
2:15	תקעו	
	קדשו	
	קראו	
2:16	אספו	
	קדשו	
	קבצו	
	אספו	
2:17a	יצא	חתן ... וכלה
	יבכו	הכהנים משרתי יהוה
	ויאמרו	

Ref	Imptv	Aud
2:17b	איה אלהיהם	
2:18a	Waw / Relative Transition	ויקנא
2:18b		ויחמל
2:19a		ויען
2:19b		ויאמר
2:21	אל־תיראי	אדמה
2:21	גילי	
2:21	ושמחי	
2:22	אל־תיראו	בהמות
2:23	גילו	בני ציון
2:23	וְשִׂמְחוּ	

Imperatives, Interrogatives, and Waw-Relative Transition as Structural Markers in Joel 1:2–2:27

[6] See Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Place and Function of Joel in the Book of the Twelve," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 133–54. For the overall structure of Joel, see Assis, *Book of Joel*. I follow Assis's identification of 1:2–2:17 as the first major unit, even though I differ on the breakdown of the sub units.

The opening imperatives in Joel 1:2–3 address the community as a whole with references to the leadership (זקנים) and the general populace (יושבי הארץ), calling them to attend to the prophetic words and then relay a report of the severity of the present agricultural crisis to future generations. At the outset an interrogative (1:2b) is used to prompt reflection by the audience. Two other imperative sections (1:5, 11) address this same community in terms of those who consume (שִׁכּוֹרִים, כָּל־שֹׁתֵי יָיִן; 1:5) and produce agricultural products (אִכָּרִים, כַּרְמִים; 1:11).[7] Between these two imperative sections, however, we find a distinct imperatival address to a feminine singular audience who is likened to "a virgin girded with sackcloth for the bridegroom of her youth" (1:8). While some have suggested that this feminine singular audience is Zion,[8] more likely it is אדמה ("land") the only other feminine singular addressee in the book (2:21).[9] Interestingly, while the motivation for the imperatives directed to those who produce and consume agricultural harvest is restricted to the devastation caused by the natural disaster (locusts, drought), the motivation for the imperative directed to the land is not only the natural disaster (1:10), but its impact on the offerings destined for the temple and the priests who facilitate these offerings (1:9). Thus, while this first subsection of 1:2–2:27 (1:2–12) is dominated by exhortations to the general populace, here at its center lies address to the entity most directly affected (אדמה) and here we find emphasis on priestly activity at the temple.[10] Joel 1:8–9 foreshadows the emphasis on address to priests in the second sub-section of 1:2–2:27 (1:13–2:17).

At the outset of 1:13–2:17 we find echoes of the vocabulary already encountered in 1:8–9 with the repetition of the words: priests (הכהנים), ministers (משׁרתי), grain offering (מנחה), drink offering (נסך), and house (בית, as temple). The priests who were described as mourning in the address to the land in 1:8–9 are now the addressees of the prophet. They are called first to mourn due to

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[7] See Assis, *Book of Joel*, 96, for a superb comparison between 1:5 and 1:11.

[8] Cf. Barker, *From the Depths of Despair*, 84.

[9] Note how אדמה is identified as mourning (אבלה) in 1:10. For options, see the short review by Assis, *Book of Joel*, 83–84, who concludes that it is addressed to the people personified as a woman longing for the husband of her youth.

[10] On the cultic orientation of the first section of Joel, see Barker, *From the Depths of Despair*, 70–73. See Assis, *Book of Joel*, 90–91, for how reference to grain and drink offerings suggests an exilic setting (cf. Jer 41:5); contra John Barton, *Joel and Obadiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 53, who notes that elsewhere the combination of מנחה and נסך only appears in what he considers postexilic texts (Exod 29:38–42; Lev 23:13, 18; Num 6:15; 15:24; 28:3–9; 29:11, 16–39) and always in connection with animal offerings. The fact that no animal offerings are mentioned in Joel highlights the uniqueness of Joel and possibility of exilic origins.

the agricultural crisis (1:13), but then they are exhorted to arrange a day of fasting at the temple (1:14) with specific reference to the designations for the populace which opened the book in 1:2 (זקנים, כל ישבי הארץ).[11] Similar exhortations are repeated in 2:1 and 2:15–17. This evidence, along with that already noted in 1:8–9, bolsters our contention that the rhetorical force of 1:2–2:27 is directed towards this priestly audience who are being commissioned to lead the community in a day of fasting. What begins as a call to the general populace subtly shifts into a commissioning of the priestly caste. For this reason Joel is a key resource for studying priests in the Book of the Twelve.

This creative subtlety is not limited to the shift in addressees in the first half of the book. The motif of the "day" is introduced in 1:15 (אהה ליום כי קרוב יום יהוה) and along with it allusion to an intensity of destruction that appears to transcend a more limited agricultural crisis (וכשד משדי יבוא). This only increases as the reader continues into chapter 2 and the day is referred to as גדול … נורא מאד ("great and very awesome") which prompts the question: מי יכילנו ("who may endure it?" 2:11b). The impact on creation is far more cosmological ("day of darkness and gloom … clouds and thick darkness … the earth quakes, the heavens tremble, the sun and the moon grow dark, and the stars lose their brightness," 2:2a, 10) and the imagery increasingly martial (2:4–9). This shift from agricultural crisis to cosmological and military crisis foreshadows the second half of the book, suggesting that the overall rhetoric of the book is designed to move the reader to treat a present agricultural crisis as a sign of something much bigger, possibly an approaching punishment not unlike the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah in the early sixth century BCE.[12]

But there is one further subtle rhetorical shift in the first half of the book of Joel and this shift is found in the exhortations to the priests in 1:13–2:17. The first exhortations in 1:13–14 end with the provision of the words which the priests are to "cry out" to Yahweh. These words, expressed in first person in 1:15–20, focus attention on the agricultural crisis as would be typical of the lament tradition of ancient Israel.[13] Such laments, as Gunkel noted long ago, were expressed on days

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[11] Barker, *From the Depths of Despair*, 68, identifies Joel 1:14 as the "emotive peak" of 1:1–14.

[12] See further Assis, *Book of Joel*, 39–50, 122–23, and Barker, *From the Depths of Despair*, 116–17, on these two levels. Note a similar intertwining of agricultural and martial levels in Jer 14:1–15:4; see Mark J. Boda, "From Complaint to Contrition: Peering through the Liturgical Window of Jer 14,1–15,4," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 186–97.

[13] See Mark J. Boda, "A Deafening Call to Silence: The Rhetorical 'End' of Human Address to the Deity in the Book of the Twelve," in *The Book of the Twelve and the New Form Criticism*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Michael H. Floyd, and Colin M. Toffelmire, ANEM 10 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 164–85 = chapter 11 in this present volume. Barker, *From the Depths of Despair*, 93–106, distinguishes 1:15–20 from 1:1–14, but I see the speech in

of fasting.[14] But as the reader enters into chapter 2 there is a subtle shift in language. The exhortation is to blow a trumpet and to sound an alarm, language associated with both religious assembly as well as military muster.[15] The shift to more severe cosmological and martial imagery in chapter 2 then follows, ending with the desperate question regarding the great and very awesome day of Yahweh: "who can endure it?" in 2:11b. It is then that the prophetic voice reveals that the solemn assembly to which the priests are to gather the people is to be one that transcends the language of lament first voiced in 1:15–20 and instead is to feature the actions, attitudes, and words of penitence according to 1:12–13. Balancing the question "who can endure it?" in 2:11b is now the question "Who knows whether He will not turn and relent and leave a blessing behind him, even a grain offering and a drink offering for Yahweh your God?" in 2:14, alluding by reference to the grain and drink offerings to the focus on the temple service and personnel at the heart of chapter 1 (1:8–9). The first question (2:11b) focuses on the possibility of the survival of members of the community, the second (2:14) on the possibility that Yahweh will allow their survival. What lies between the two questions is a series of exhortations related to repentance based on the gracious character of Yahweh; clearly the only hopeful path is linked to a penitential community (2:12–13a) and the sovereign grace of Yahweh (2:13b).[16]

1:15–20 as embedded within the final call to the priests; cf. Assis, *Book of Joel*, 99 (even though Assis refers to 1:13–15 as a "call to the people").

[14] Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen: Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933), 117–21; cf. E. Lipinski, *La Liturgie pénitentielle dans la Bible*, LD 52 (Paris: Cerf, 1969), 27–35.

[15] רוע: religious assembly—e.g., 1 Sam 4:5; Ezra 3:11, 13; martial—e.g., Num 10:9; Josh 6:5, 10, 16, 20; Judg 7:21; 15:14; 1 Sam 10:24; 17:52; Isa 42:13; Hos 5:8; see Num 10:1–10 for the close relationship between these two uses. שׁופר (תקע): religious assembly—e.g., Exod 20:18; Lev 25:9; Ps 81:4 [Eng. 81:3]; 2 Sam 6:15; martial—e.g., Judg 3:27; 6:34; 7:18, 20; Neh 4:12; Jer 6:1; see Josh 6:4–20 for the close relationship between these two uses.

[16] There has been considerable debate over the meaning of שׁוב in Joel 2:12–13, whether it refers to repentance from sin or a return to God in faith or prayer; see Mark J. Boda, *A Severe Mercy: Sin and Its Remedy in the Old Testament*, Siphrut 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 304–9, for the former, and Assis, *Book of Joel*, and Ronald A. Simkins, "`Return to Yahweh': Honor and Shame in Joel," *Semeia* 68 (1994): 41–54, for the latter. While it is true that no reference is made to sin in Joel, the placement of Joel within the Book of the Twelve, especially after Hos 14:1–3, and before Amos 4, shapes the reader's (and rereader's) understanding of שׁוב; see Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 176, 266; James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 19–22; James D. Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor' for the Book of the

As the earlier exhortations in 1:13–14 ended with the provision of words for the priests to cry in lament (1:15–20), so the final exhortations to the priests in 2:15–16 provide a priestly prayer in 2:17, a prayer that cries for God's mercy and motivates this request by appeal not to the severe predicament of the people but to the honor of Yahweh's name among the nations. The use of a question in the prayer echoes the earlier questions in 2:11b and 2:14 (cf. 1:2b).[17] The prayer for mercy, however, is uttered now in light of the call for repentance in 1:12–13. We see then a shift between 1:13–20 and 2:1–17, the first section calling the priests to organize a day of fasting to lament the deplorable situation and the second section calling the priests to organize a day of fasting to return to God.[18]

What follows in 2:18–27 is Yahweh's response or expected response to the penitential liturgy outlined in 2:1–17. Yahweh's zeal is aroused to show pity upon his people and his answer entails the promise of agricultural renewal in 1:19–20, 23b–27. At the center of this divine answer to the people are three exhortations, reminiscent of the exhortations which punctuate 1:2–2:17, replacing the negative language of weeping, wailing, mourning, shaming, lamenting and calls to days of national emergency with the positive language of rejoicing and not fearing in 2:21–23a. In verses 21–23a the land (2:21; cf. 1:8), the beasts of the field (2:22; cf. 1:18), and the community (2:23) are all exhorted to respond to Yahweh's gracious act. Interestingly, the people are described as **בני ציון** ("children of Zion"), focusing their identity on Zion, the place of Yahweh's temple and worship of his name facilitated by the priests.

The evidence above highlights the key role that the priests play in the rhetoric of the book of Joel. While the agricultural disaster does prompt the lament of both producer and consumer alike, the land's concern is for its inability to supply the temple cult (1:8–10). This is why the priests are the dominant recipients of the

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Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 91–109 (92–99); Jörg Jeremias, "The Function of the Book of Joel for Reading the Twelve," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes, Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 21–34 (84); Paul R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve*, BLS 27 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990), 130, and LeCureux, *Thematic Unity*, 120–28. Connections to Haggai–Malachi in the present article provide further evidence for this understanding of Joel's use of **שוב**.

[17] See especially Lyons, "Interpretation and Structure," 101, who notes how the three questions in 2:11, 14, 17 signal the climax of the rhetorical unit. Assis, *Book of Joel*, 65, sees a progression in the rhetoric of 1:2–2:17, climaxing for him in his fourth oracle in 2:15–17. Assis focuses on the prayer dimension of 2:17. The present article, while not losing sight of the prayer, seeks to highlight the role of the priests and demand of repentance.

[18] As ibid., 17, has noted, 2:16–17 is not a prayer but a command to pray and so 2:18–27 simulates how God would respond to this kind of prayer (and, I would add, repentance).

exhortative text and why their leadership, not in a liturgy of lament but in a liturgy of repentance, is what leads to the resolution of the predicament. If this is true for an agricultural crisis, it is certainly true for the military crisis veiled here through imagery and probably bringing into view the importance of repentance to the restoration of the community after the destruction of Zion. Certainly, the concern for God's name endangered by severe disaster of his nation is reminiscent of passages like Ps 79 (cf. v. 19; cf. Deut 29:24–26; 1 Kgs 9:6–9; Jer 22:8–9).

The book of Joel then calls priests to play a key role within the community when they faced national crises.[19] Allusions to a "day" far more significant than an agricultural disaster suggests a role that the priests could play during the exilic period, and the passage which immediately follows 1:2–2:27, that is, 3:1–5 (Eng. 2:28–32), shows that beyond agricultural restoration is a vision for national restoration as "those who escape" and "the survivors" are delivered safely to Mount Zion/Jerusalem (3:5 [Eng. 2:32]). Allusions to exile and restoration can also be discerned in chapter 4 (4:1, 2 [Eng. 3:1, 2]).[20]

Zechariah 7–8, Fasting, Penitence, and Priests

With this overview of the rhetorical structure of Joel in mind we now turn to the book of Zechariah in order to highlight similarities and differences.

Even on a cursory reading of the book of Zechariah one discerns significant contrasts between sections of the book. Most have noted the contrast between chapters 1–8 and chapters 9–14, but there are distinctions also within these sections with 1:1–6 and 7:1–8:23 standing apart from 1:7–6:15 within chapters 1–8 and chapters 9–10 standing apart from chapters 12–14 as well as chapter 11 within chapters 9–14.[21] At the same time there are rhetorical connections which integrate the materials found in chapters 1–8 (e.g., "the word of Yahweh came to me," 4:8; 7:4; 8:18) on the one side and chapters 9–14 on the other (e.g., the shepherd units). The greatest disjunction within the book lies in the transition between chapters 8 and 9. This disjunction has been played down in the recent work of Marvin

[19] Thus, slightly different from Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 167–209, who sees Joel as prompting support for the Zadokite priestly programs. See Sweeney, "Place and Function of Joel," 138, who considers Joel as "designed to have an impact on the perspective of its audience that will prompt it to some sort of decision or action." For a rhetorical approach to Joel, see Barker, *From the Depths of Despair*.

[20] For the exilic context for the genesis of the Joel tradition, see Assis, *Book of Joel*.

[21] For more detail on these issues, see Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016).

Sweeney.[22] Taking the historical introductions at 1:1, 7; and 7:1 as discourse markers for the literary structure of the book, he identifies 7:1–14:21 as a single literary unit. While most scholars have focused on 7:1–8:23 as the concluding unit of chapters 1–8, Sweeney identifies it as the introductory unit to chapters 7–14. In the past I have identified chapters 7–8 as a rhetorical transition within the book, moving the reader from restoration realized to restoration frustrated.[23] It may be better to reframe this as two visions of restoration: one realized through repentance and the other through refinement.[24]

Zechariah 7:1–8:23 surprises the reader who has progressed from Zech 1–6. The opening scene depicts the community embracing the penitential message of the prophet, repenting and confessing Yahweh's justice and their culpability in line with the penitential prayer tradition.[25] Zechariah 1:8–17, the opening unit of the next major section of Zechariah (1:7–6:15), echoes the call to repentance in 1:1–6 employing similar vocabulary (e.g., קרא, קצף, שוב) to show Yahweh's fulfillment of his promise to return to the people when they had returned to him.[26] The visions and oracles throughout Zech 1:7–6:15 emphasize the implications of Yahweh's return to the people including the reconstruction of city and temple, renewal of prosperity to the land, vengeance upon past enemies, return of a vibrant community, restoration of human leadership, and removal of sin from the land. This final element is the focus of the two vision-oracle reports in chapter 5 and calls into question the authenticity or comprehensiveness of the initial penitential response of the community in 1:6b.[27] Concern over the penitential response and

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[22] Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 2:634–36.

[23] See Mark J. Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 390–407 = chapter 2 in this present volume.

[24] One finds the same two agendas for renewal for Zion at the outset of the book of Isaiah with repentance the focus of Isa 1:1–20 (esp. 1:19) and refinement the focus of 1:21–31 (foreshadowed in 1:20); see Boda, *Severe Mercy*, 191–93.

[25] See Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

[26] Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 375–80, and Mike Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, JSOTSup 130 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 80–94, 241.

[27] See Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage: Post-Exilic Prophetic Critique of the Priesthood*, Fat 2/19 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 143–46, for the possible connection between Zech 5:1–4 and priests. See ibid., 248–55; Mark J. Boda, "Perspectives on Priests in Haggai–Malachi," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th*

thus the fulfillment of the divine promises throughout Zech 1:7–6:15 increases in the final clause of this section of Zechariah in 6:15b: והיה אם־שׁמוע תשׁמעון בקול יהוה אלהיכם ("and it will take place if you completely obey Yahweh your God").[28] In the immediate context of the report of a prophetic sign-act in 6:9–15, this calls into question whether the temple of Yahweh will be rebuilt which in 1:16 is the first sign that Yahweh had reciprocated by returning to Jerusalem.[29] The condition placed on fulfillment of the hopes of Zech 1–6 in 6:15b is then made clearer in what follows in chapters 7–8. The vague obedience in 6:15b now is linked to social justice in chapters 7–8. Thus, chapters 7–8 do represent an important juncture in the book of Zechariah. What was thought to be resolved at the outset of the book is now called into question, linked to a lack of repentance by the people in relation to social justice. Interestingly the priests at the temple of Yahweh are implicated in the prophetic speech in 7:5 as the people are called to move from commemorative to penitential fasts.[30] Thus, the rhetorical focus of the first half of the book of Zechariah is placed on the anticipated response articulated in 6:15b–8:23.

Joel and Zechariah

Zechariah 7–8 bears striking similarities to Joel 1–2. Both texts begin with a focus on the entire community before drawing in priestly leadership. Both express concern over the devastation of the land. Both consider the role that mourning, fasting, and penitential rituals play in reversing this devastation. There are, of course, differences. In Joel the rhetoric is directed by the prophet towards the people and priests, calling them to mourn and fast over their predicament, while in Zech 7 the people of the land approach the prophet and priests with an enquiry related to their practice of mourning and fasting over their predicament. While in Joel the priests

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Birthday, ed. Jeremy S. Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 13–33 = chapter 6 in this present volume, on Zech 3 and critique of priestly justice.

[28] That 6:15b was probably added at a later point can be seen in the fact that it follows the phrase: "then you will know that Yahweh of hosts has sent me to you." While the phrase "those coming from far off to build the temple" is first linked to the authenticity of the prophet, lack of fulfillment is secondly linked to inactivity of the people.

[29] I make a distinction between Yahweh returning and Yahweh taking up residence in a rebuilt temple/Jerusalem. The first is a covenantal response in line with the people's return to Yahweh in 1:6b and is considered completed according to 1:16 (שׁבתי, suffix conjugation), while the second is still future according to 1:16 (יבנה, ינטה, prefix conjugation) and 2:14–15 [Eng. 2:10–11] (ושׁכנתי, waw-relative suffix conjugation). See further Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*.

[30] Cf. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*, 94–97.

are given a key role to play in organizing the mourning, fasting, and penitential rituals, in Zech 7 the people have been eagerly pursuing mourning and fasting, apparently under the supervision of the priests (since they are seeking advice from them), but have not been embracing the penitential dimension that is so key to Joel 1–2. Not surprisingly, then, Zech 7–8 emphasizes a lack of response from the deity to the community's cries (7:13) although maintaining hope for future resolution of the predicament once penitence was expressed (8:16–19). Thus, while the priests play a key role in promoting the prophetic penitential message in Joel 1–2, the priests are accused along with the people of inappropriate fasting (unaccompanied by repentance) in Zech 7–8 (e.g., 7:5–6).

In both Joel and Zechariah the address to the priests related to fasting and repentance lies at a key juncture in the book, showing the potential for a significant transformation if the penitential cry is heeded.[31] This transformation will entail a transformation of the land and city in both cases as well as a return of the community and Yahweh, and judgment of and hegemony over the nations.

Thus, in the overall flow of the Book of the Twelve, Joel provides a template for repentance, along with Jonah inserting a vision of hope for repentance into the first half of the Book of the Twelve where there is little optimism expressed by the prophets over human ability to repent.[32] Joel focuses particularly on the role that priests should play in promoting penitence, but it is clear from Zech 7–8 that while the priests seem to be in charge of promoting lament, they are not promoting repentance, so that God will not answer them and they will not move from fasts to feasts. Thus, we see in Joel the agenda for repentance and in Zech 7–8 a confrontation of the priests over their lack of fulfillment of this agenda.[33]

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[31] If one places Joel in the exilic period with Assis, *Book of Joel*, then this brings Joel and Zechariah together with the Babylonian/early Persian period penitential prayer tradition; cf. Mark J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, BZAW 277 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 189–95, and Boda, "Master Mason" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

[32] See Mark J. Boda, "Penitential Innovations in the Book of the Twelve," in *On Stone and Scroll: A Festschrift for Graham Davies*, ed. Brian A. Mastin, Katharine J. Dell, and James K. Aitken, BZAW 420 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 291–308 = chapter 9 in this present volume.

[33] Cf. LeCureux, *Thematic Unity*, 126, who sees Joel 2:12–14 as "a kind of intermediate step" between the call to return in Hos 14 and the calls in Zech 1:3; Mal 3:7. LeCureux does not focus on the call to repentance in Zech 7–8 because his study is limited to the root שוב rather than the concept of repentance; cf. Mark J. Boda, *"Return to Me": A Biblical Theology of Repentance*, NSBT (Leicester: Apollos; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2015), 24–32.

JOEL AND THE HAGGAI–MALACHI CORPUS

This similarity between the books of Joel and Zechariah is also apparent in the other two books of Haggai–Malachi corpus.[34] Haggai also emphasizes the need for repentance, related to a major agricultural crisis and to priests who are sacrificing for a people who are not penitent.[35] As with Joel there is an expansion from an initial transformation on the historical level (Hag 2:19b) to a more cosmic and eschatological level (2:20–23). Similarly Malachi emphasizes the theme of repentance related to priests and community, with some connections to Joel in terms of inappropriate sacrifices and weeping/mourning over the altar with a lack of repentance and priestly involvement. As with the other books there is a shift to the eschatological and cosmic level in Mal 3 (Eng. chapters 3–4).

Joel and the Haggai–Malachi corpus are closely related in emphasizing priestly leadership in penitential response[36] and placing this penitential response at the transition between curse and blessing, a blessing with historical and local as well as eschatological and cosmic implications.[37]

JOEL, THE HAGGAI–MALACHI CORPUS, AND THE BOOK OF THE TWELVE

Nogalski has highlighted the role that Joel played in the development of the Book of the Twelve. For him Joel was key to bringing together the older Deuteronomistic Corpus (originally Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah) with an original Haggai–Zech 1–8 corpus.[38] Wöhrle also emphasizes the role of Joel in the redaction

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[34] For the Haggai–Malachi corpus, see Mark J. Boda, "Messengers of Hope in Haggai–Malachi," *JSOT* 32 (2007): 113–31 = chapter 5 in this present volume. Another point of connection is one observed by Lyons based on Barton's assertion that besides Joel 2:18–19a, "the only other parallel of narrative breaking into prophetic material" is Mal 3:16–17. See Lyons, "Interpretation and Structure," 101; cf. Barton, *Joel and Obadiah*, 87. This feature of narratival description of response within the Twelve is also evident in Hag 1:12–15 and Zech 1:1–6. This may also explain the connections between Joel, Haggai–Malachi, and the book of Jonah which his dominated by narrative description. Cf. Boda, "Penitential Innovations."

[35] See Boda, "Perspectives on Priests" = chapter 6 in this present volume.

[36] By this I am not suggesting "anticultic" prophecy, since the rhetorical hope is for priestly leadership. See especially Barton, *Joel and Obadiah*, 80. There appears to be hope throughout the collection for transformation of the priestly caste.

[37] See LeCureux, *Thematic Unity*, 118, on the interlinking of the Day of Yahweh and return motifs in the Twelve and Joel's role in this development.

[38] E.g., Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 275–78. Of course, Nogalski's "Joel layer" included also Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, and Malachi. Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary

of the Twelve. For him the book of Joel replaced Hosea at the head of the growing corpus which became the Book of the Twelve and so was influential on "all further redactional levels of the Book of the Twelve."[39] Not surprisingly then several have noted the key role that Joel plays in reading the Book of the Twelve. For example, Sweeney argues that Joel establishes "the paradigm for Jerusalem's punishment and restoration."[40] For Nogalski Joel is the "literary anchor" which unifies major literary threads in the Twelve.[41] Nogalski focuses on the way Joel relates to the call to repentance at the end of the book of Hosea. Jeremias calls Joel "a kind of hermeneutical key to the Twelve" which, due to its literary placement among the Twelve, shapes the reader of the material which follows in the collection.[42]

The works of Nogalski, Sweeney, and Jeremias focus most attention on the placement of Joel among the earlier books in the Twelve.[43] In the present work we have noted striking similarities between Joel and the Haggai–Malachi corpus suggesting a connection between Joel and the literary efforts of those responsible for the Haggai–Malachi corpus. More importantly, these similarities highlight a key rhetorical purpose of this literary activity and as a result of the Book of the

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Anchor,'" 92, notes three ways Joel unifies major literary threads in the Twelve: "dovetailing genres, recurring vocabulary, and the presumption of a 'historical paradigm' that 'transcends' the chronological framework of the dated superscriptions."

[39] Schart, *Entstehung*, 316–17, sees Joel (along with Obadiah and Zech 9–14) as a later addition after the Haggai–Zech 1–8 corpus had been combined with an earlier collection that included the Deuteronomistic corpus and Nahum and Habakkuk.

[40] Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:149; cf. Sweeney, "Place and Function of Joel." Note, however, that Sweeney, "Place and Function of Joel," 152, thinks that Joel's placement in the OG sequence (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel) "provides for a far more logically consistent progression among the individual books" than the MT sequence. The OG order focuses on the use of the experience of northern Israel (Hosea, Amos, Micah) as "a model or paradigm for that of Jerusalem" (Joel), while the MT focuses on Jerusalem throughout and "provides a typological portrayal of Jerusalem's experience in relation to the nations." The OG order was relevant to the Babylonian and early Persian periods, while the MT to the late-Persian, Hellenistic, Hasmonean, or Roman periods. Cf. LeCureux, *Thematic Unity*, 117.

[41] Nogalski, "Joel as 'Literary Anchor,'" 105. This has been affirmed by Paul L. Redditt, "The Production and Reading of the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, SymS 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 11–33 (17), who thinks that Joel is either the work of a key redactor of the Twelve (with Nogalski) or "the book exerted strong influence on the redactors of the Twelve."

[42] Jeremias, "Function of the Book of Joel," 21–34.

[43] See also Jason LeCureux, "Joel, the Cult, and the Book of the Twelve," in *Priests and Cult in the Book of the Twelve,* ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, ANEM 14 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 65–79.

Twelve as a whole. This prophetic collection is designed at least in part to prompt a penitential response from the priestly caste, both in terms of turning from sinful patterns which were probably linked to injustice in the temple courts, but also in terms of taking up their role as penitential catalysts within the community that had survived the catastrophes of the sixth century BCE.

11
A Deafening Call to Silence: The Rhetorical "End" of Human Address to the Deity in the Book of the Twelve[1]

In this final chapter I provide an overview of the approach of the Twelve to human address to the deity, providing evidence that the various books display uniqueness in their presentation of this theme. However, two broader refrains can be discerned that suggest a common hand with a rhetorical purpose. One refrain would be the three Calls to Silence in Hab 2, Zeph 1, and Zech 2, and the other the Calls to Joy in Zeph 3, Zech 2, and Zech 9. The fact that these two series intersect in Zechariah highlight once again the role that the Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi corpus played within the development of the Twelve as a whole.

During the past two decades we have witnessed a veritable explosion of research on the Book of the Twelve, not only on the individual books, but also on the corpus as a whole. This present article builds on the foundation of recent scholarship investigating the shape of the Twelve as a literary unit. Scholarship on the Twelve was dominated in an earlier phase by developmental interest (especially redaction

[1] Based on my original publication, Mark J. Boda, "A Deafening Call to Silence: The Rhetorical 'End' of Human Address to the Deity in the Book of the Twelve," in *The Book of the Twelve and the New Form Criticism*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Michael H. Floyd, and Colin M. Toffelmire, ANEM 10 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 164–85. Slightly revised and expanded for inclusion in this volume. With thanks to the rich conversation at the Barton College's Center for Religious Studies, Colloquy 2012 hosted by Rodney Werline, where the ideas for this paper were first presented. An earlier version of this paper served as my Presidential Address to the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies (2014).

critical approaches),[2] but there has always been interest in literary design or at least emphases of the final literary form of the corpus.[3]

The present chapter investigates those instances in the Book of the Twelve where human voices address Yahweh. The analysis will first look at how these voices function within the individual prophetic books within the Twelve before looking at patterns that can be discerned in the various types of voices and shifts in the overall shape of the Book of the Twelve.

While the main focus will be on those instances in the Twelve where direct human address to the deity is employed, indirect human address to the deity will also be considered. Recent study of the Psalter has revealed the regular appearance of indirect human address alongside direct human address in compositions which appear to be functioning as prayer within the life of the biblical community.[4] In this way God not only hears but overhears human address and in both cases these function as address to the deity.

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[2] E.g., James D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993); James D. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993); Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998); Jakob Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Entstehung und Komposition*, BZAW 360 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006); Jakob Wöhrle, *Der Abschluss des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Buchübergreifende Redaktionsprozesse in den späten Sammlungen*, BZAW 389 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008).

[3] E.g., Paul R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve*, BLS 27 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990); Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books*, BibSem 20 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); James Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, eds. *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); Jason LeCureux, *The Thematic Unity of the Book of the Twelve: The Call to Return and the Nature of the Minor Prophets*, Hebrew Bible Monographs 41 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012).

[4] See Mark J. Boda, "'Varied and Resplendid Riches': Exploring the Breadth and Depth of Worship in the Psalter," in *Rediscovering Worship: Past, Present, Future*, ed. Wendy Porter, McMaster New Testament Series (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015), 61–82; cf. Gerald T. Sheppard, "'Enemies' and the Politics of Prayer in the Book of Psalms," in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Norman K. Gottwald on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. David Jobling, Peggy L. Day, and Gerald T. Sheppard (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim, 1991), 61–82; W. Derek Suderman, "Prayers Heard and Overheard: Shifting Address and Methodological Matrices in Psalms Scholarship" (PhD diss., University of St. Michael's College, 2007); W. Derek Suderman, "Are Individual Complaint Psalms Really Prayers? Recognizing Social Address as Characteristic of Individual Complaints," in *The Bible as a Human Witness to Divine Revelation: Hearing the Word of God through Historically Dissimilar Traditions*, ed. Randall Heskett and Brian Irwin, LHBOTS 469 (New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 153–70.

Past research has consistently noted that when these voices appear in the text they reflect an oral form-critical setting that predates the literary form of the prophetic book, placing the accent on a setting apart from the book.[5] When related to the book in which they are found, they have often been used as evidence for redactional development of the book.[6] Without dismissing such reflection as irrelevant, the present article focuses on the role of these forms within the rhetoric of the prophetic book in which they are found. Thus instead of *Sitz im Leben*, the focus will be on *Sitz im Buch* or *Sitz in der Literatur*. This setting will be considered for each of the "books" of the Twelve as found in the Hebrew Masoretic tradition before considering a general trend in the rhetorical shape of the Masoretic Twelve in relation to the phenomenon of human address to the deity.

HOSEA

The book of Hosea contains four instances where a human voice addresses the deity.[7] We first hear such a voice in 2:25 (Eng. 2:23) in Yahweh's depiction of the ideal future when people and God experience normative relationship.[8] In this verse Yahweh cites the future covenantal declarations of both deity ("you are my

[5] See my earlier Mark J. Boda, "From Complaint to Contrition: Peering through the Liturgical Window of Jer 14,1–15,4," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 186–97. In the Twelve this has been one key focus of research on the doxologies in Amos, see F. Horst, "Die Doxologien im Amosbuch," *ZAW* 47 (1929): 45–54; James L. Crenshaw, *Hymnic Affirmation of Divine Justice: The Doxologies of Amos and Related Texts in the Old Testament* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975).

[6] Again using the example of the doxologies in Amos, see Klaus Koch, "Die Rolle der hymnische Abschnitte in der Komposition des Amos-Buches," *ZAW* 86 (1974): 504–37; Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Amos*, ATD 24.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 57–58; Jörg Jeremias, *The Book of Amos: A Commentary*, trans. Douglas W. Stott, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 78.

[7] See Graham I. Davies, *Hosea*, OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 71–75, who notes the way Hosea takes up "the language of public worship" even in formulating his oracles, especially noting the close association between Hosea and Pss 80–81. Hosea 6:1–3 contains an echo of public liturgy; cf. Graham I. Davies, *Hosea*, NCB (London: Marshall Pickering, 1992), 150–52.

[8] On this collection of sayings in 2:18–25 (Eng. 2:16–23), their cohesion as a unit and relationship to the surrounding prophetic material, see Hans Walter Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 1, Hosea*, BKAT 14/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1961), 57; Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea*, trans. Gary Stansell, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 47. The unit functions "to elucidate the era of salvation" noted in 2:9, 17 (Eng. 2:7, 15).

people") and people ("my God").[9] In contrast, later in the book at 8:2 Yahweh again cites the voice of the people,[10] but this time it is the words of the present generation who are described in 8:1, 3 as having "transgressed my covenant and rebelled against my law ... rejected the good" (8:1, 3) and thus were inappropriately crying out to Yahweh with the claims: "My God" and "we, Israel, know you."[11] The climactic and most hopeful moment in the book comes in the final chapter, as the prophet calls the community to return to Yahweh by declaring the words cited in 14:3b–4 (Eng. 14:2b–3):

> Bear away all iniquity.
> Take goodness
> that we may present bulls (sacrifice),[12] that is, our lips.
> Assyria will not save us;
> we will not ride on horses;
> nor will we say again: "Our God," to the work of our hands,
> for in you the orphan finds mercy.

The initial three lines (14:3b [Eng. 14:2b]) are foundational for the penitential expression in the final four (14:4 [Eng. 14:3]).[13] The people are to request God's

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[9] Notice how prior to 2:25 (Eng. 2:23) in 2:22 (Eng. 2:20) the vocabulary of "knowing" (ידע) is used in connection with the coming day of covenant renewal (cf. 2:20 [Eng. 2:18]; and note the repeated phrase "in that day" [ביום ההוא] in 2:18, 20, 23 [Eng. 2:16, 18, 21]).

[10] Davies, *Hosea*, 23, links this to "the public prayers of Hosea's day" (p. 23), noting that it is "probably citing phrases from two separate compositions" (p. 70, noting Wolff, *Hosea*), in particular because of the juxtaposition of the first common singular suffix on "my God" and the first common plural pronoun in "we Israel know thee" (Davies, *Hosea*, 198).

[11] The juxtaposition of "my God" and "we, Israel, know you" in 8:2 may be suggestive of the amalgamation of two originally separate compositions according to ibid., 198, noting Wolff, *Hosea*, or the role of representative speakers in such declarations. See Duane A. Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, NAC 19A (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1997), 181, for the view that "Israel" constitutes a third statement. On the meaning of "knowing" (ידע) in Hosea see Mark J. Boda, *A Severe Mercy: Sin and Its Remedy in the Old Testament*, Siphrut 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 298.

[12] OG and Peshiṭta suggest an original פרי (fruit), thus, "that we may present the fruit of our lips." L is the more difficult reading.

[13] See James M. Trotter, *Reading Hosea in Achaemenid Yehud*, JSOTSup 328 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 214–15, who divides 14:2–8 (Eng. 14:1–7) into three sections: Call to Repentance (14:2–3a [Eng. 14:1–2a]), Confession of Guilt (14:3b–4 [Eng. 14:2b–3]), Promise of Reconciliation (14:5–8 [Eng. 14:4–7]). Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 269, refers to this as "a liturgy of repentance."

grace that will enable them to present their words in verse 4 (Eng. 14:3) as a sacrifice to God. In their repentance they eschew reliance on imperial (Assyria, horses) and idolatrous resources, as well as abuse of the vulnerable (orphan). Reference to "our God" echoes the earlier references to "my God" in the expressions found in 2:25 (Eng. 2:23) and 8:2.[14] Yahweh's response to prayer is expressed immediately as he promises to "heal their apostasy" and "love them freely," through blessing them (14:5–8 [Eng. 14:4–7]), finally addressing them directly in verse 8 by emphasizing that he is source of their harvest.[15] Hosea 14:2–8 (Eng. 14:1–7) clarifies the role for human response in the future scenario of covenant relationship depicted in 2:25 (Eng. 2:23).[16]

One other voice addresses Yahweh in the book of Hosea and this occurs in 9:14a ("O Yahweh, what will you give?"). It appears to be the voice of the prophet, expressing his concern over God's severe judgment of Ephraim.

Yahweh's citation of human address to the deity in the book of Hosea thus highlights the deep contrast between the hypocrisy of the present generation (8:2) and the intimacy of the future ideal generation (2:25 [Eng. 2:23]). In both cases it is Yahweh who cites the words of these contrastive generations. The prophet, however, provides two other forms of voicing. The first is related to the judgment of the present generation, as the prophet registers his protest in the midst of the severe punishment articulated by Yahweh throughout chapter 9 (9:14). In the end the prophet projects a way forward, whether before or after the judgment, as he provides words for the community to express their penitence and thus open the way for Yahweh's healing love and blessing (14:3–4 [Eng. 14:2–3]).[17] In both cases the prophet functions mediatorially, challenging both covenant partners, whether Yahweh (9:14) or the people (14:3b–4 [Eng. 14:2b–3]). At regular intervals throughout the book of Hosea readers encounter short articulations of human address to the deity. These articulations are carefully mediated through the divine

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[14] Notice, however, the use of the first common singular and first common plural in the two sayings of 8:2; see n. 3 above.

[15] Contra Trotter, *Reading Hosea in Achaemenid Yehud*, 215, who argues that the experience of reading Hosea leads the reader to not merely expect "a simplistic direct correspondence … between repentance and salvation" but to rather merely look to "the complete, sovereign freedom of God." The flow of this passage encourages correspondence between penitential expression and salvation, as Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 270, notes: "repentance is essential to Hosea's theology … no restoration is possible without repentance."

[16] Cf. Davies, *Hosea*, 299. The basis for the penitential agenda can be discerned in the call to repentance in 6:1–3, which appears to have failed in the present, but will be successful for a future community; see Boda, *Severe Mercy*, 300, 303.

[17] See Gerald Morris, *Prophecy, Poetry and Hosea*, JSOTSup 219 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 115, who notes the close relationship between the resolution of Hosea in 14:2–9 and motifs in the first three chapters. Thus, 2:25 (Eng. 2:23) foreshadows the climactic guidance of 14:3–4 (Eng. 14:2–3).

or prophetic voice and shape the religious response of the reader, focusing attention on covenant relationship (my/our God).[18] Verbal response to the deity appears to play a key role in the restoration of the covenant relationship (2:25 [Eng. 2:23]; 14:3b–4 [Eng. 14:2b–3]), but 8:2 shows how verbal response must be expressed within a broader constellation of penitential response.[19]

JOEL

At four places in the book of Joel one encounters a human voice addressing the deity.[20] The first voice is found in 1:15a in the phrase "Alas for the day!" This is the cry which is to be voiced by the priests at the solemn assembly on the day of fasting (1:13–14).[21]

The opening word of 1:15 (אהה, Alas) is one that occurs at the outset of cries directed to a deity or heavenly figure (Josh 7:7; Judg 6:22; Jer 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; 32:17; Ezek 4:14; 9:8; 11:13; 21:5), but in those cases the term is followed immediately by the name of the person addressed in the vocative.[22] Second Kings 3:10 is similar to the use of this term in Joel 1:15, cases where אהה is followed by the causal particle כי, even though in Joel 1:15 the phrase ליום is found immediately following אהה. It is this presence of ליום after אהה that leads us to conclude that this is part of some form of liturgical response to the exhortation to cry for help from Yahweh. The nearly identical collocation is found in Ezek 30:2–3 where the shortened form (הה, Alas) is used and followed by ליום and then by כי־קרוב יום as here in Joel 1:15.[23] The short phrase הה ליום in Ezek 30:2–3 appears to be the content of the lament commanded by the preceding imperative הילילו (wail), and the כי clause which then follows provides the reason for the exhortation, as is the

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[18] For the covenantal character of this relationship see Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 1, Hosea*, 68–69; Wolff, *Hosea*, 55.

[19] Note also 6:1–3 which encourages a penitential response from the people in a liturgical-like piece; cf. Boda, *Severe Mercy*, 299–300.

[20] See David Allan Hubbard, *Joel and Amos: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1989), 28–29; G. S. Ogden, "Joel 4 and Prophetic Responses to National Laments," *JSOT* 26 (1983): 97–106, for the close connection between Joel and Judah's liturgical literature.

[21] See the superb discussion of the function of the words found in 1:15–18 in Elie Assis, *The Book of Joel: A Prophet between Calamity and Hope*, T&T Clark Library of Biblical Studies, LHBOTS 581 (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 106–11.

[22] Cf. Judg 11:35; 2 Kgs 6:5, 15 where addressed to a human.

[23] See Hans Walter Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 2, Joel und Amos*, BKAT 14/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1969), 25; Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos*, trans. S. Dean McBride, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 23.

case in Isa 13:6; Zeph 1:7; Obad 12–15; cf. Jer 30:7. Thus, we at least have a short piece of material that was to be used by the priests on the day of fasting ("Alas for the day").[24]

There is some debate over whether what follows in 1:16–20 is also all part of the prayer response or whether some of it (particularly 1:16–18) is a continuation of the reason for the prayer introduced by כי in 1:15.[25] On analogy with Jer 14:2–6 it is possible that 1:16–18 is part of a prophetic liturgy which represents an initial description of the present predicament which lays the foundation for the direct address to the deity in 1:19–20:[26]

> To you, O Yahweh, I cry out
> because fire has consumed grazing places of the wilderness
> and a flame has scorched all the trees of the field.
> In addition animals of the field pant for you
> because the stream beds of water have dried up
> and fire consumes the grazing places of the wilderness.

There is no question that 1:19–20 represents human address to the deity, and the use of the first person for the first time in the book increases the rhetorical effect.[27] However, the identity of the one who did or was to speak these words in first person is not clear. Although Jer 14 may suggest the prophet is interceding for the people in first person speech since a message is delivered (presumably through the prophet) to the people in what follows in Jer 14:10–12, it is also possible that the intercessory speech which follows the description of the present predicament was delivered by another leadership figure in the liturgy, possibly a priestly figure. Thus, the voice is either that of a prophetic figure interceding for the community, or the voice represents words being given to the priests to cry out to Yahweh.

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[24] See also Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 55, although v. 15b cannot be part of this cry. For the use of a short particle to typify mourning see Amos 5:16.

[25] See Assis, *Book of Joel*, 111, and various views cited there. For the view that 1:15–20 contains fragments of laments see e.g., R. J. Coggins, *Joel and Amos*, NCB (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 33; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 24; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 22; Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 327–28. Coggins sees in the "jerky style" evidence either of oral fragments or a "deliberate literary device to express the incoherence of the lamenters" (p. 33).

[26] See Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 53, for vv. 15–16 as communal lament. The direct prayer to the deity comes in Jer 14:7–9 in the 1cp. Cf. Boda, "Complaint."

[27] Coggins, *Joel and Amos*, 3.

As with the short phrase in 1:15a ("Alas, for the day!"), 1:19–20 focuses on highlighting for the deity the deplorable circumstances and not expressing any particular request.[28]

The second instance of human address to the deity comes in Joel 2:17. This address also follows a series of imperatives which appear to be delivered (at least predominantly) to the priests, those who would be responsible for consecrating a fast, proclaiming a solemn assembly, as well as gathering, sanctifying, and assembling the community (2:15–16). The priests are clearly identified at the outset of 2:17 as they are called to weep in the temple precincts and are given the words to cry to Yahweh:[29]

> Look compassionately, O Yahweh, on your people,
> and do not make your inheritance into a reproach,
> for nations to rule over them.[30]
> Why should they say among the peoples:
> 'Where is their God?'

This prayer does contain a clear request (formulated both positively and negatively) and is addressed to the deity directly. The request and vocative is followed by a reason clause which focuses on Yahweh's fame among the nations.

Here then the priests are given the human address to direct towards Yahweh, and it is a cry for God's mercy. This section that outlines the priestly call for a solemn assembly and provides the priests's prayer on behalf of the people is preceded by a clear call to a deep repentance by the people (2:12–14).[31] No record of this repentance is provided, but then neither is there any record that the priests uttered their prayer for God's grace which follows. What does follow in 2:18–19 is a record of Yahweh's response, suggesting that in the literary gap between 2:17

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[28] The lack of a request leads Assis to reject this as human address to the deity and instead see it as "the words of the prophet, who turns to God and seeks to justify his appeal in the eyes of the people," Assis, *Book of Joel*, 115, note also 16. However, there is no claim that this is all that would be declared on a fasting day, and certainly a key component of such a day is the articulation of the difficult circumstances; see John Barton, *Joel and Obadiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 58–63. For a lament in the face of a predicament that begins with אהה and is lacking a request, see Josh 7:7–9.

[29] See Ezek 8:16 for the vestibule (אולם) as a place for addressing the deity; cf. Assis, *Book of Joel*, 151. On the contrast between the actions in Ezek 8:16 and Joel 2:17 see Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 61; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 51.

[30] See Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 61; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 37–38, 52; Garrett, *Hosea, Joel*, 349–50, for this translation; cf. מֹשֵׁל ב in Gen 1:18; 3:16; 4:7; 24:2; 45:8, 26; Isa 3:12.

[31] On the contentious issue of whether repentance in Joel refers to a turning from moral failure see Boda, *Severe Mercy*, 306–7; contra recently Assis, *Book of Joel*, 140–41.

and 2:18 something has occurred that has prompted this divine shift. Since the prophetic voice calls for both penitence from the people in 2:12–14 and a cry for mercy from the priests in 2:17, there is no reason to suggest that the prayer of the priests is somehow an inappropriate response to the call to repentance. Taking the call for repentance in the traditional sense, this prayer constitutes a cry for mercy from the priests that would follow a penitential expression from the people. The reason for this priestly cry for mercy can be discerned even in the call to repentance in 2:14 which reminds the reader of the deity's sovereign freedom in relation to forgiveness: "Who knows whether he may turn and relent and leave a blessing behind him?" As one can see in texts like Exod 33:19, repentance is not a guarantor of a shift in the predicament.[32]

The final instance in Joel where a human addresses the deity comes in 3:11b in a short prayer in which the prophet calls God to bring down his mighty ones to do battle against the nations in the Valley of Jehoshaphat in the future.

The two main instances where humans address Yahweh in the book of Joel come at major junctures within the first half of the book and are thus in climactic points in the development of its structure. The first appears at the end of the initial phase of the book, one that calls the various entities to a day of fasting and prayer in relation to a great plague afflicting the land (ch. 1). The second appears at the end of the second phase of the book (2:1–17), one that reveals how the plague that afflicts the land is indicative of a much larger affliction that is approaching on the day of Yahweh.[33] This larger concern demands not only a cry to God for help, but also a deep repentance. The human address to Yahweh is a cry for grace in the midst of the predicament and the second of these appears to be accepted by Yahweh who transforms the people's situation.

The human address in 1:15a and 19–20 cries directly to Yahweh and focuses attention on the magnitude of the distress, but makes no precise demands on Yahweh to act. The human address in 2:17 also cries directly to Yahweh, but now makes specific requests (look compassionately, do not make a reproach) and focuses on the threat to the honor of Yahweh among the nations.

As with Hosea, Joel provides normative human address to be used by members of the community to address the deity. For the readers of this prophetic book these words are reminders that the deity is open to hearing the verbal response of the community. This is first seen in the words which articulate the terrible conditions of a natural disaster (1:15–20), but then in the words articulated in the midst

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[32] See Mark J. Boda, "Penitential Innovations in the Book of the Twelve," in *On Stone and Scroll: A Festschrift for Graham Davies*, ed. Brian A. Mastin, Katharine J. Dell, and James K. Aitken, BZAW 420 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 291–308 = chapter 9 in this present volume.

[33] See Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 64, who sees 2:17 as the "climax" of 1:1–2:17 and the "turning point" in the book. Cf. Assis, *Book of Joel*, 65, 70.

of a much more severe national crisis which prompts seeking the mercy of the deity for a penitent community. As Assis has noted, "the prophet simulates both a prayer and God's response, thereby seeking to convince the people that this course of action would be beneficial."[34]

Amos

Direct human address to the deity occurs on only two occasions in the book of Amos, in two successive vision reports in chapter 7. In both cases Yahweh presents to the prophet a vision of an approaching divine judgment in the form of a natural disaster: the first a plague of locusts (7:1) and the second a mighty fire (7:4).[35] In both cases (7:3, 5) Yahweh responds to the prayer by "relenting" (נחם *niphal*) and announcing לא תהיה ("it will not come to pass"). The intercessory prayer of the prophet is nearly identical, both employing the same reason for God to not follow through with the discipline envisioned, while utilizing a different imperative: forgive (v. 3) and stop (v. 5).[36]

3 אדני יהוה סלח־נא מי יקום יעקב כי קטן הוא
3. O Lord Yahweh, forgive, how can Jacob stand because he is small.
5 אדני יהוה חדל־נא מי יקום יעקב כי קטן הוא
5. O Lord Yahweh, stop, how can Jacob stand because he is small.

There is, however, one final vision report in Amos 7 (vv. 7–9). In this case, however, the vision of total destruction does not prompt an intercessory prayer by the prophet. In contrast to the visions of discipline against what appears to be the agricultural territory of Israel in 7:1–6 after which Amos protests (possibly related to Amos's background as a farmer, cf. Amos 1:1; 7:14–15), the final vision focusing on urban destruction is accepted by the prophet. The reason for the lack of prophetic protest may be related to the fact that the discipline envisioned is directed at what are considered illicit cult centers in the northern kingdom ("high

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[34] Ibid., 164.

[35] On the vision report form see Mark J. Boda, "Writing the Vision: Zechariah within the Visionary Traditions of the Hebrew Bible," in *'I Lifted My Eyes and Saw': Reading Dream and Vision Reports in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Elizabeth R. Hayes and Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, LHBOTS 584 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 101–18 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 5.

[36] Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 222, attributes the difference in wording to the fact that the reemergence of divine punishment in the second vision revealed that his intercession did not result in forgiveness but only a stay of execution and so he capitulates to Yahweh and merely asks for him to stay again. If this is true then one can discern a rhetorical shift in the series of visions from request for forgiveness to request for cessation to no request.

places of Isaac … sanctuaries of Israel") and the royal patron of these cult sites ("the house of Jeroboam"). But it also may be because Yahweh makes clear that there is no longer room for forgiving or stopping when he declares: לא־אוסיף עוד עבור לו ("I will no longer pass over him," see Amos 8:2; cf. Mic 7:18; Prov 19:11).[37] This acceptance of divine discipline against the urban royal cult centers is then furthered in the interchange which follows immediately in Amos 7:10–17 between the priest Amaziah at Bethel and Amos the prophet, an interchange which ends with Amos's prediction of the demise of the family of Amaziah.[38] The vision reports which follow in chapters 8 and 9 also do not prompt any prophetic protest.

The two prophetic protests at the outset of chapter 7 represent a stream of theodicy within the book of Amos, one that challenges God's justice in bringing destruction on the land by appeal to the vulnerability of Israel. Here we see a key role played by the prophetic figure, one with access to the deity who can challenge the actions of the deity. At the same time the silencing of the prophetic protest signals for the reader the basis for Yahweh's action and thus subtly justifies the deity's actions.

This stream of theodicy within Amos needs to be set against the backdrop of another stream that can be discerned,[39] which is formulated in indirect human address to the deity, reflective of Israelite liturgical traditions.[40] Fragments of praise punctuate the text of Amos at three junctures within the book: 4:13; 5:8–9; and 9:5–6.

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[37] See Coggins, *Joel and Amos*, 141, who suggests "pass by" in "the sense of overlooking wrong doing." Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 339; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 294, notes that the use of לא־אוסיף עוד assumes a connection with the first two vision reports of ch. 7, and thus is explicitly rejecting prophetic intervention. Contra Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, 215, who attributes the lack of prophetic intercession to "the undeniable evidence of a plumb-line against a crooked wall" which "has convinced the prophet that the time of mercy had passed."

[38] Also note the use of measuring device language in both the vision of 7:7–9 (אנך) and the prophetic word of 7:17 (חבל, חלק). See Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, 339–40; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 294–95, for the original connection between 7:1–8 and 8:1–2 (possibly also 9:1–4) and the distinction of 7:10–17. Nevertheless, he shows that 7:10–17 was inserted between 7:7–8 and 8:1–2 because "these texts interpret each other." The present form of chs. 7–8, however, does weave these units together as a rhetorical unit.

[39] For review of recent scholarship on the doxologies in Amos see Graham R. Hamborg, *Still Selling the Righteous: A Redaction-Critical Investigation of Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2:6–16*, LHBOTS 555 (New York: T&T Clark, 2012), 79–81. Some see Amos 1:2 as another fragment connected with these doxologies; cf. Koch, "Die Rolle," 504–37.

[40] See e.g., Tchavdar S. Hadjiev, *The Composition and Redaction of the Book of Amos*, BZAW 393 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 136, for connection to the cultic use of the book of Amos, but also for the role of the doxologies as a "hymnic superstructure" for the book.

All share a common focus on the creational activities of Yahweh and contain the phrase "Yahweh … is his name." The doxology in 4:13 follows a prophetic message which rehearses Yahweh's failed attempts to prompt repentance from the people through disciplinary actions ending with the climactic warning: "Prepare to meet your God, O Israel." It is followed by the declaration of a dirge over fallen virgin Israel in 5:1–2. The doxology in Amos 9:5–6 follows the first phase of the severe declaration of judgment in chapter 9, and immediately after the divine declaration: "I will set my eyes against them for calamity and not for prosperity," thus at a key juncture in the flow of the chapter. The placement of 5:8–9 appears to be in the middle of a description of those purveyors of injustice (5:7, 10–13) who are related to Bethel (5:6) and will experience the brunt of Yahweh's destruction of this illicit sanctuary city.[41] In each case where the doxological fragments appear in Amos there is reference in the context to a divine disciplinary destruction related to the sanctuary at Bethel (see 4:4–5; 5:5–6; 9:1). The doxologies represent a stream of theodicy within Amos, one that focuses on God's right as creator to bring judgment upon the land due to illicit worship and unjust actions. Using a form of praise in the third person contrasts with the employment of lament in the first person. There is also irony in the use of praise in relation to the destruction of a sanctuary like Bethel which was created to foster worship. The doxologies not only justify God but reveal his ability to accomplish what he has warned.

While explanations have been suggested for the original role of such doxologies in the liturgical use of prophetic messages or even books, the present article is concerned with their *Sitz im Buch*, that is, their role within the book of Amos. While it is not clear that the doxologies are each at key structural transitions within the book,[42] Möller has noted how they are rhetorically important within their respective contexts and Marks has highlighted their role within the book "at mo-

[41] 5:8–9 is the most awkwardly placed, coming as it does in the middle of a section with integrity in 5:7, 10–13; see Coggins, *Joel and Amos*, 125. However, see Jan de Waard, "Chiastic Structure of Amos 5:1–17," *VT* 27 (1977): 170–77, for the view that Amos 5:8–9 is placed at the center of a chiastic structure; cf. M. Daniel Carroll R., *Amos—the Prophet and His Oracles: Research on the Book of Amos* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 222.

[42] Cf. Koch, "Die Rolle."

ments of exceptional severity, as though to solemnize the words of divine judgment."[43] Auld notes how the doxologies "reinforce the message of their contexts."[44] What may be overlooked in this discussion of the role of the doxologies within the book and their respective sections is careful attention to their relationship to the protest prayers of the prophet in the vision reports of chapter 7. Here we see how praise and prayer, hymn and lament, are intertwined in a prophetic section to justify God's actions, revealing God's power, grace, and justice, as such human address to or about the deity is declared or withheld.

JONAH

The book of Jonah contains three instances where humans address the deity directly. The first comes in Jonah 1:14 as the gentile sailors cry out to Yahweh as they are about to throw Jonah into the sea:

> Please, Yahweh,
> do not let us perish on account of this man's life
> and do not place upon us innocent blood;
> for You, O Lord, have done as You have pleased.

This prayer is addressed directly to Yahweh using the covenant name of Israel's God, passionately requesting release from any bloodguilt related to the potential drowning of Jonah.[45] The prayer ends with a declaration of the justice of Yahweh's actions towards his prophet Jonah. One should not miss the irony of the gentile sailors crying (קרא) to the Israelite God Yahweh when Jonah had failed to do so earlier (see Jonah 1:6).[46] The immediately following verse in 1:15 reveals God's answer to their prayer in the report that the sea calmed. This answer prompts the response of the gentile sailors depicted in 1:16: they feared Yahweh,

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[43] Karl Möller, *A Prophet in Debate: The Rhetoric of Persuasion in the Book of Amos*, JSOTSup 372 (New York: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 62–64; H. Marks, "The Twelve Prophets," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 207–33 (218). Also see the work of Thomas Edward McComiskey, "The Hymnic Elements of the Prophecy of Amos: A Study of Form-Critical Methodology," *JETS* 30 (1987): 139–57.

[44] A. Graeme Auld, *Amos*, OTG (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 76.

[45] See the use of אנה at the opening of a prayerful cry for help: 2 Kgs 20:3//Isa 38:3; Ps 116:4, 16; Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5, 11; cf. Hans Walter Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 3, Obadja und Jona*, BKAT 14/3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1977), 96; Hans Walter Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary*, trans. Margaret Kohl, CC (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 119.

[46] James Limburg, *Jonah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 55.

but then offered a sacrifice (זבח זבח) to Yahweh and made vows (נדר נדר). The prayer, the deity's answer, and the sailors's response in 1:14–16 signal the closure of the first major episode of the book of Jonah (1:1–16), just prior to the transitional verse in 2:1 (Eng. 1:17) which will shift Jonah from the danger of the deep to the safety of the fish.

This short prayer and response of thanks by the gentile sailors is paralleled by the extensive prayer found on the lips of Jonah in 2:3–10 (Eng. 2:2–9). This prayer reflects an individual thanksgiving psalm,[47] depicting not only the prayer of Jonah in his distress (2:3, 5, 8 [Eng. 2:2, 4, 7]), but also expressing thanksgiving and the intention to sacrifice (זבח) and pay (שׁלם *piel*) a vow (נדר), utilizing language which parallels the actions of the gentiles after their prayer in 1:16.[48] By introducing this prayer of thanksgiving with the verb פלל *hithpael* the one(s) responsible for the book of Jonah signal that here thanksgiving functions as a request for full restoration from the sea to dry land.[49] The psalm in Jonah 2 is a mixture of direct and indirect human address to the deity, matching patterns found in the Psalter.[50] The psalm brings closure to the second major episode of the book of Jonah, just prior to the transitional verse in 2:11 (Eng. 2:10) which will shift Jonah from the safety of the fish to the new opportunity for obedience on dry land.

No direct address to the deity is found in Jonah 3. However, the king of Nineveh calls his citizens to "call (קרא) on God earnestly" even as they repent from

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[47] See ibid., 63, who identifies the phrases of the psalm in Jonah 2 which are also found in the Psalter, and shows the similarity in form between Jonah 2 and Ps 30. Psalms of thanksgiving include Pss 18; 30; 32; 34; 40:1–10; 66:13–20; 92; 116; 118; 138.

[48] Ibid., 58. While Wolff is correct that the reference to the temple suggests a psalm that would find its home originally on dry land ("the formal language of the temple"), the fact that the psalm speaks of his deliverance is entirely appropriate for one who has been rescued from death in the water to the safety of the fish's belly; Wolff, *Obadja und Jona*, 104; Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah*, 129. Contra Wolff, *Obadja und Jona*, 108–9; Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah*, 133, who argues that the belly of the fish is the distress. Differences that Wolff, *Obadja und Jona*, 104–5; Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah*, 129, notes between the psalm and the rest of the book of Jonah are not surprising and indicate that the psalm may have been drawn from the liturgical collection of the temple, but this does not mean that the psalm was not chosen purposefully for this very spot in the narrative.

[49] Elsewhere פלל *hithpael* followed by אל is always used for a prayer of request.

[50] See Limburg, *Jonah*, 65–66. Limburg sees the use of third person speech as an indication of liturgy with third person addressed to the congregation, and he concludes that Jonah 2 assumes "the presence of a living congregation and thus point[s] to the use of the psalms and of the entire book of Jonah in the context of a gathered community" (p. 66). However, third person speech may also be understood as indirect speech to the deity, even though the use of prayer forms invite religious affection towards Yahweh by those who read or hear the book of Jonah.

their evil and violence (3:8). The response of the Ninevites prompts God to relent. There is though a deep contrast between Jonah 2 and Jonah 3. Jonah 2 gives much voice to the human address to God, filling the majority of the chapter, while Jonah 3 only makes reference to the human address to God of the Ninevites with no actual words spoken directly to God. Jonah 2 does depict the fact that Jonah prayed to Yahweh for help, but never cites his prayer directly, emphasizing instead the thanksgiving and intention to fulfill a vow to Yahweh. In Jonah 3 the prayer of the Ninevites is not recited and there is no confident expectation that the penitential rites would have an effect on the deity, only a hope (3:9): "Who knows, God may turn and relent and withdraw his burning anger so that we will not perish?"

It is the prayer and response of the Ninevites in chapter 3 which prompt the final series of human address to the deity in the closing chapter (4:2–3, 8–9). In his prayer to Yahweh Jonah now questions God's justice even though he knows it is based on the character credo which lies at the core of Israelite faith. The irony is thick as the angry prophet asks Yahweh to take his life, a fate that was all but sealed in the opening chapter and from which Yahweh had saved him. Furthermore, while the gentile sailors cried to Yahweh to save their lives and not hold them accountable for Jonah's death in 1:14, now Jonah, who sees himself as accountable for the gentile Ninevites's lives, cries to Yahweh to take his life.[51] The book closes then with theodicy as the prophet inappropriately challenges Yahweh's justice. The other prayers in the book are used at key transitions and serve to intertwine the fates of Jonah and the gentiles he encounters and to set up the climactic interchange between God and prophet at the end of the book.

MICAH

Human address to the deity only occurs at one point in the book of Micah in the final pericope of the book (7:14–20) which contains direct address in 7:14, 17b–20, a response from the deity in 7:15, and possibly indirect address in 7:16–17a.[52]

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[51] The opening words of Jonah's prayer in 4:2 (אנה יהוה) are the same as those of the sailors in 1:14; Limburg, *Jonah*, 89.

[52] Prior to this closing prayer, one finds a testimony not unlike many found in the book of Psalms (7:7–13). Some see 7:7 as the closing verse of 7:1–7 with 7:8–10 as the speech of Lady Zion to Lady Nineveh followed by a prophetic address to Zion in 7:11–13; cf. James D. Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea–Jonah*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2011), 585. Sweeney sees 7:7 as the introduction to 7:7–20, Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols., Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 2:408. Waltke sees 7:7 as playing a Janus function in both 7:1–7 and 7:7–20, Bruce K. Waltke, *A Commentary on Micah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 430; cf. Philip Peter Jenson, *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah: A Theological Commentary*, LHBOTS 496 (New York:

This human address to the deity begins by calling upon God to take up his role as royal shepherd of the people and instill fear once again in the nations of the earth (7:14, 16–17). The supplicant expresses wonder over God's forgiving character which will ensure compassion, truth, and covenant faithfulness for the people (7:18–20).

These are the final words of the book of Micah, those that are left ringing in the ears of the readers, providing hope for a community experiencing life under imperial hegemony. It is testimony of faith in Yahweh, cry for Yahweh's leadership, and expression of sincere repentance based firmly in the gracious character of Yahweh that brings the book to a close. In 7:18–20 Sweeney finds "the rhetorical goal of the book."[53] Nogalski notes how these words represent "a lengthy pause in the meta-narrative of the Book of the Twelve" and function "as a liturgical response from the prophet and the people, whose hope lies in YHWH's character as a God of compassion and forgiveness."[54] For the readers of the Book of the Twelve they represent but another milestone along the literary journey which prompts religious response through verbal expression.

HABAKKUK

The book of Habakkuk is dominated by direct address to the deity.[55] The book is divided into two major sections, chapters 1–2 and chapter 3, the first focusing according to Nogalski on "theodicy" and the second on "theophany."[56] The two sections employ different forms of direct address to the deity.[57] The book begins

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T&T Clark, 2008), 179, who calls 7:7 a transition verse. The speech of Lady Zion broaches the subject of theodicy, admitting sin and accepting the disciplinary action of Yahweh against the supplicant while expecting that eventually Yahweh would exercise justice on her behalf and release her from the crucible of judgment (7:9–10). Uncertain is the precise relationship between this testimony and the human address to the deity in 7:14–20, although Jenson argues that all the elements in 7:8–20 can be found in psalms of lament, Jenson, *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah*, 183, and Hillers treats 7:8–20 as a liturgy, Delbert R. Hillers, *Micah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Micah*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 85.

[53] Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:413.

[54] Nogalski, *Micah–Malachi*, 592–94.

[55] See Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:456, and Nogalski, *Micah–Malachi*, 645–46, for discussion over and defense of Habakkuk as cultic prophet; cf. Jörg Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels*, WMANT 35 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1970), 55–127.

[56] Nogalski, *Micah–Malachi*, 654.

[57] See Marvin A. Sweeney, "Structure, Genre, and Intent in the Book of Habakkuk," *VT* 41 (1991): 63–83, for the structure of Habakkuk.

in 1:2–4 with a cry of lament, utilizing the classic questions of lament ("how long … why?"), articulating the predicament of the distress, but all along challenging Yahweh for his lack of action in the midst of serious injustice.[58] A second challenge to God comes in 1:12–17, again employing the questions of lament ("why" in 1:13), but raising the issue of theodicy, whether God is justified in utilizing wicked entities to exact judgment.[59] The book ends in chapter 3 with a lengthy composition echoing the psalms and containing material which speaks about Yahweh in the third person (3:3–8a, 16–19a) alongside material which speaks directly to Yahweh in second person (3:2, 8b–15).[60] Although one can discern elements of the genre of theophany report in the composition, the passage represents prayer as the psalmist expresses trust in Yahweh (3:16–19a), but also calls upon Yahweh to act mercifully (3:2).[61] The two sections of theodicy and theophany express different modes of human address to the deity. Akin to the book of Job, in 2:1–4 the prophet stands ready for reproof from the deity and is told by the deity to prepare to record a vision even as he is given a message for the righteous to live faithfully through the devastation that is about to come. The call to silence then at the end of chapter 2 and prior to the visionary prayer of chapter 3 stands at a key transition in the book.[62] The prayer in chapter 3 thus reflects a shift from prophetic theodicy to trust in response to divine theophany which concludes the book.

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[58] See Nogalski, *Micah–Malachi*, 659, for connections to the lament tradition of the Psalter and to the prophetic confrontation traditions of Job and Jeremiah.

[59] On the original unity of the two complaint sections in ch. 1 and their original connection to the vision report in 2:4–5, see ibid., 650–51, who sees the complaints/vision report as focused on theodicy regarding the prosperity of the wicked which was then applied by editors to the Babylonian issue. For a more unified view of composition see Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:457–58, 79.

[60] Nogalski, *Micah–Malachi*, 687, sees in the shift from second to third person a shift from prayer to the deity to recounting to those listening, but this does not take into account the role of third person address within prayer forms throughout the Psalter.

[61] See Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:480, 82. Nogalski, *Micah–Malachi*, 679, refers to this as "a theophany report put into the framework of a prayer and a prophetic affirmation of trust." He thus sees it as functioning as "both a vision and a prayer" in which "the prophet 'sees' what YHWH will do in the future and petitions for mercy" (p. 689). See further John E. Anderson, "Awaiting an Answered Prayer: The Development and Reinterpretation of Habakkuk 3 in Its Contexts," *ZAW* 123 (2011): 57–71.

[62] See Nogalski, *Micah–Malachi*, 659: "After the initial cry in 1:2, the prophet's complaint changes to expressions of concern over the enemy attack until he is effectively silenced by YHWH's response to be quiet (2:20). Much like Job, when the prophet speaks in Habakkuk 3, he does not confront YHWH with the same bravado as at the beginning." Nogalski though does note that 2:20 relates first to the contrast between Yahweh and the powerless idols of 2:18–19, before noting that "The demand for silence marks a significant juncture in the book, recounting YHWH's temple presence that deserves obeisance from all the

Human address to the deity is thus key to the book of Habakkuk which brings together two streams of human address seen in previous books: the prophetic protest of lament seen in Hosea and especially Amos and Jonah as well as a concluding testimony declaring trust in Yahweh mixed with a direct address to Yahweh for help seen at the conclusion of Micah. The flow of Habakkuk, and especially the placement of 2:20 and its call to silence, suggests a key shift in the role of human address to the deity not only in the book of Habakkuk, but as we will soon see in the Book of the Twelve as a whole.

Zephaniah–Malachi

With the close of Habakkuk there is a paucity of direct human address to the deity in the remainder of the Book of the Twelve.[63] Human address to the deity is absent from Zephaniah and Haggai completely. Zechariah 1:6b probably reflects the idiom of the exilic penitential prayer tradition,[64] but is cast in third person as a declaration of Yahweh's justice in bringing discipline upon the people. Throughout the vision-oracle section of 1:7–6:15 the autobiographical prophetic figure does interact with heavenly figures, but in nearly every case this interaction entails the prophetic figure seeking to understand the details or significance of the visions. In one of the vision reports the prophet interacts with the deity (2:4 [Eng. 1:21]), but this is only to seek an interpretation of elements in the vision. This stands in stark contrast to the role of the prophet in the earlier vision reports of Amos where the prophet personally challenges the deity's intended disciplinary action (see above). Such a challenge does occur at one point in the vision reports of Zechariah in 1:12, but it is a heavenly messenger of Yahweh rather than the prophet who laments the enduring predicament of Jerusalem, employing the classic question of Hebrew disorientation psalms: "how long?" An opportunity for direct human address to the deity arises in Zech 7 as the contingent from Bethel approaches the temple site to "entreat the favor of God" (7:1), but 7:2 makes clear that they do this by "speaking to the priests and prophets." There is an indirect human address to the deity in Zech 11:5b: "Blessed be Yahweh, for I have become rich!", but this

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world and admonishing anyone who would challenge him—a subtle warning to the prophetic character—that the time for questioning has ended" (ibid., 674).

[63] As noted by Daniel F. O'Kennedy, "Prayer in the Post-Exilic Prophetic Books of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi," *Scriptura* 113.1 (2014): 1–13.

[64] Mark J. Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Bob Becking and Rainer Albertz, Studies in Theology and Religion 5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 49–69 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 6.

inappropriate declaration by the abusive owners of the sheep in 11:4–16 is certainly not regarded as normative speech. In Malachi direct human address to the deity returns, in every case cited by the deity (1:2, 5, 6, 7; 2:14, 17; 3:7, 8, 13). In nearly every case these words of the people represent a challenge to the deity which is then refuted by Yahweh. Questions of theodicy are undermined consistently. The only time normative human address is employed is in 1:5 which cites indirect human address about Yahweh ("Yahweh be magnified beyond the border of Israel"), words which Yahweh says will be the response of those who see him accomplish what he has promised in relation to Edom. Interestingly, near the end of Malachi the depiction of those who respond appropriately to the message of the prophet ("those who feared Yahweh"), do speak words, but do so to one another (3:16). Yahweh is depicted as overhearing this speech and responding ("Yahweh gave attention and heard").

Thus beginning with Zephaniah and continuing through to the end of the Twelve there is a paucity of direct human address to the deity, and when human address is cited in all cases except one it reflects the words of the people and is clearly identified as inappropriate.

Why does human address to the deity drop off significantly after Habakkuk? The reason for this can be traced to a repeated form which appears in the second half of the book of the Twelve. Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Zechariah all contain calls for people to be silent before Yahweh (see chart: Calls to Silence).[65]

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[65] For reflection on the role of the call to silence within the Twelve and its respective books see especially Nogalski, *Micah–Malachi*, 653, 75; Sweeney, *Twelve*, 2:477; Rüdiger Lux, "'Still alles Fleisch vor Jhwh …': Das Schweigegebot im Dodekapropheton und sein besonderer Ort im Zyklus der Nachtgesichte des Sacharja," *Leqach* 6 (2005): 99–113; Aaron Schart, "Deathly Silence and Apocalyptic Noise: Observations on the Soundscape of the Book of the Twelve," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 31 (2010): Article 383, http://www.ve.org.za/index.php/VE/article/view/383; Aaron Schart, "Totenstille und Endknall: Ein Beitrag zur Analyse der Soundscape des Zwölfprophetenbuchs," in *Sprachen–Bilder–Klänge: Dimensionen der Theologie im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld. Festschrift für Rüdiger Bartelmus zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Christiane Karrer-Grube et al., AOAT 30 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2009), 257–74. The call to silence is also found in Amos 6:10; 8:3, but this refers to its use within the funeral cult rather than temple cult; cf. Lux, "Still alles Fleisch," 110. Also see Schart who distinguishes between the Amos references and those in Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, noting especially the similar elements: placement of the interjection in first position, common reference to "the location, 'before (the face of) YHWH,'" and inclusion of an explanation of the manner in which Yahweh is present. Schart highlights the use of these calls to silence as "a very fitting frame around the deepest cut in the narrative structure of the Book of the Twelve," reflective of "redactional activity." He sees this silence before Yahweh as "the appropriate attitude for coping with the painful punishment that YHWH has imposed on God's people" and in this draws in not only the three uses in Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Zechariah (which

Calls to Silence	
ויהוה בהיכל קדשׁו הס מפניו כל־הארץ	**Hab 2:20**
הס מפני אדני יהוה כי קרוב יום יהוה כי־הכין יהוה זבח הקדישׁ קראיו	**Zeph 1:7**
הס כל־בשׂר מפני יהוה כי נעור ממעון קדשׁו	**Zech 2:17**

The call in Hab 2:20 comes at the end of a section that most likely has in view the injustice of an imperial entity, while the call in Zeph 1:7 comes in the midst of a chapter focused on offenders among the people of Judah, even though more universal entities may also be in view. Zechariah 2:17 (Eng. 2:13) comes at the end of a section celebrating God's punishment of the foreign nations and the return of people and God to Jerusalem. With Hab 2:20 there is a call for silence among the nations, allowing for one final and climactic expression of direct and indirect human address to Yahweh in Hab 3 from the prophet. Zephaniah 1:7, however, brings all human address, now even the people of God due to their disobedience, to a stop. What is interesting is that even with the announcement of the punishment of the imperial agent(s) in Zech 2, all humanity, whether within or outside the people of God, are told to remain silent.

Thus, the final direct human speech to the deity which challenges the deity appears in Hab 1–2 and, following this, there are three calls to silence. After this point we do hear a final declaration of praise related to the appearance of God (Hab 3), but the focus is now on trust in Yahweh rather than challenge (cf. Hab 2:1–4; Zeph 3:8). When a challenge is allowed in Zech 1 it is on the lips of a heavenly messenger who is authorized to speak in such a way.

The rationale for the silencing of human agents beginning with Hab 2:20 can be discerned at two key intervals in the Book of the Twelve. It is first encountered in Mic 3:7, as the prophet looks to a time when the evil deeds of the leaders of Israel will result in God no longer answering (ענה) their cry (זעק). Micah 3:12 associates this day with the destruction of Zion.[66] The second key passage is Zech 7:13–14a. Embedded within 7:11–14, it is a prophetic sermon which reviews the history of Judah's stubborn refusal to respond to Yahweh's prophetic calls to repentance which led to the destruction of land and exile of the people.

> And just as he called [קרא suffix conjugation] and they would not listen [שׁמע suffix conjugation], so they are calling [קרא prefix conjugation] and I will not listen [שׁמע

suggest the downfall of Babylon and Judah), but also Amos 6:9 and 8:3 which refer to the downfall of the northern kingdom.

[66] See Mark J. Boda, "Babylon in the Book of the Twelve," *HBAI* 3 (2014): 225–48 = chapter 8 in this present volume.

> prefix conjugation], and I am scattering them with a storm wind [סער prefix conjugation] among all the nations which they do not know.

The use of the prefix conjugations is a powerful rhetorical technique which enables the present hearers of Zechariah's sermon to relive the message of the earlier prophets.[67] The reason for the silencing of human address is the enduring sin of the people and their lack of response to Yahweh's message to the people. This disqualifies both cries for help as well as theodicy.[68]

One might expect that with the restoration this silencing of human address may have been removed.[69] The Book of the Twelve does create an expectation that a key ideal of the restoration will be that God will answer the call of his people (even as he answered the prayer of the heavenly messenger in Zech 1:12–13):

Joel 3:5 (Eng. 2:32)	whoever calls [קרא] on the name of Yahweh will be delivered
Mic 7:7	as for me I will watch expectantly for Yahweh, I will wait for the God of my salvation, my God will hear [שׁמע] me
Zeph 3:9	for then I will give to the peoples purified lips, that all of them may call [קרא] on the name of Yahweh to serve him shoulder to shoulder
Zech 10:6	for I am Yahweh their God and I will answer [ענה] them
Zech 13:9	they will call [קרא] on my name and I will answer [ענה] them[70]

[67] See Mark J. Boda, "When God's Voice Breaks Through: Shifts in Revelatory Rhetoric in Zechariah 1–8," in *History, Memory, Hebrew Scriptures: A Festschrift for Ehud Ben Zvi*, ed. Diana Edelman and Ian Wilson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 169–86 = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 7.

[68] Note the contrast between Zeph 1:7 and Joel 1:14–15, both of which provide a reason clause related to the nearness of the day of Yahweh. But yet Joel 1:14–15 calls for a verbal response seeking God's intervention and Zeph 1:7 calls for silence. Note also Zech 2:17 and Joel 3:1–5 (Eng. 2:28–32): both refer to "all flesh" and yet Joel refers to calling on the name of Yahweh while Zech 2:17 refers to silence.

[69] Nogalski has noted how the Calls to Silence appear at the beginning (Hab 2:20) and end (or better potential end, Zech 2:17) of the destruction of Jerusalem; Nogalski, *Micah–Malachi*, 635, 75. But the call to silence remains in Zech 2:17, and in light of the disappointing ending to Zechariah (chs. 7–14), the mode of silence remains.

[70] Zechariah 10–14 does encourage a request to Yahweh for help (10:1), but this request assumes a turning from reliance upon idols and diviners. Zechariah 12:10–13:1 looks to a day when penitential mourning is prompted by a divine gift of "the spirit of grace and supplication" (12:10).

But this expectation of a renewal of human address to deity for help lies in the future and this future lies beyond the time of the "restoration" vision of Zechariah. Zechariah 1–8 reveals that there are enduring problems with social injustice within the community of Yehud which has delayed the restoration and with this any hoped for restoration of human address to the deity.[71] Only a true penitential response (Zech 7–8) will make possible a renewal of the human address (זעק/קרא) that will prompt divine response (שׁמע/ענה).

Habakkuk–Zephaniah link the calls to silence prayers for help and theodicy to the discipline associated with the destruction of Jerusalem and exile, and Zechariah links the calls to silence prayers for help even in the hoped for initial restoration. Malachi makes clear that theodicy is also deemed inappropriate in the initial restoration and possibly always. Yahweh consistently refutes any attempts to question God's actions, motives, or character. But the lack of actual human address to the deity for help in the final section of the Book of the Twelve suggests that even prayer for help is deemed inappropriate until penitential response is forthcoming.

The recognition of three Calls to Silence in the latter section of the Book of the Twelve, prompts reflection on another threefold pattern that was highlighted earlier in this volume (chapter 8).[72] An investigation of the Babylon tradition in the Book of the Twelve highlighted redactional activity related to the incorporation of the Haggai–Malachi collection into the Book of the Twelve, evidenced in the employment of the common Daughter of Zion, Call to Joy in Zeph 3, Zech 2 and 9. Interestingly these three calls to joy intersect with the three calls for silence in the same passage in Zech 2 (see chart below). However, while Zech 2 contains the final Call to Silence in the threefold sequence in the Book of the Twelve, the Call to Joy in Zech 2 is only the second of the three in sequence. This suggests that those responsible for a late stage in the formation of the Book of the Twelve were encouraging readers to replace prayers and protests not only with repentance but also with joy and rejoicing, prompted by the restoration related to the renewal of Zion in the wake of the exile.

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[71] Seen especially in the shift from suffix conjugation in v. 13 to prefix conjugation and from third person description of the past generation to first person speech with its immediacy of message to the present generation; cf. Boda, "When God's Voice Breaks Through" = *Exploring Zechariah*, volume 2, chapter 7.

[72] See also Mark J. Boda, "The Daughter's Joy," in *Daughter Zion: Her Portrait, Her Response*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Carol Dempsey, and LeAnn Snow Flesher, AIL 13 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 321–42, for form-critical analysis of these Calls for Joy.

Calls for Joy		Calls to Silence	
		ויהוה בהיכל קדשׁו הס מפניו כל־הארץ	**Hab 2:20**
Zeph 3:14	רני בת־ציון הריעו ישׂראל שׂמחי ועלזי בכל־לב בת ירושלם	הס מפני אדני יהוה כי קרוב יום יהוה כי־הכין יהוה זבח הקדישׁ קראיו	**Zeph 1:7**
Zech 2:14	רני ושׂמחי בת־ציון כי הנני־ בא ושׁכנתי בתוכך נאם־ יהוה	הס כל־בשׂר מפני יהוה כי נעור ממעון קדשׁו	**Zech 2:17**
Zech 9:9	גילי מאד בת־ציון הריעי בת ירושׁלם הנה מלכך יבוא לך צדיק ונושׁע הוא עני ורכב על־חמור ועל־עיר בן־אתנות		

It must be noted, however, that these rhetorical goals for those responsible for this final phase of the development of the Twelve, that is, silencing protest, encouraging penitential cries for help, and prompting joyful response from Zion, are hardly realized in the closing texts of the Twelve. Protest is acknowledged in pericope after pericope in the closing section (Malachi), even a protest against the call to repentance (Mal 3:7). And there is no evidence of a joyful response from Zion. The Deafening Call to Silence is thus ultimately a silence of appropriate response, explaining why the closing moments of the Twelve look to that future "day" rather than that of the present.

Conclusion

All books in the Twelve from Hosea to Habakkuk which are addressed on the surface to Israelite audiences (thus not Obadiah and Nahum) contain prayers directed to Yahweh either directly or indirectly. They have various functions ranging from prophets providing normative speech for the people to address Yahweh (repentance, relational renewal, cry for salvation) to prophets challenging God through theodicy. Prayer seems to play a key function in each of the books, being placed at key junctures in the rhetorical flow of the books. One can discern certain general trends, but hardly trends that would suggest common origins for the prayer

traditions within these books. These trends do, however, highlight for the reader the importance of human address to the deity in the reading of prophetic books and shape an expectation that human address is normative for the readers, whether in the form of repentance, relational renewal, or cry for salvation. Prophetic figures are regularly depicted challenging God through theodicy.

However, human address to the deity ceases as the reader crosses into the section of the Twelve most often associated with the punishment of Israel and Judah, that is, Habakkuk and Zephaniah. In these two books we find exhortations to human silence before the deity, beginning near the end of Habakkuk, then in Zephaniah, and these exhortations coincide with the silencing of human address to the deity, whether prayers for help or theodicy. One might expect that human address to the deity would reemerge in the books often associated with "restoration" (Haggai–Malachi), but this is not the case. Not only is there a lack of human address to the deity, but there is an additional exhortation to human silence in the midst of Zechariah 1–8. It appears that this series of exhortations share a common origin and redactional strategy related to the latter portion of the Book of the Twelve.

The expectation of a restored community calling upon God and being answered by him reveals the enduring significance of human address to the deity found throughout the first half of the Book of the Twelve. Such human address to the deity in the first half of the Twelve provides examples of the potential forms of address that will be used by the restoration community. Not surprisingly strewn throughout the first half of the Book of the Twelve are not only prayer forms, but references to a people who either call upon Yahweh or who are answered by Yahweh (Joel 2:19; cf. 2:13–14, 17; Jonah 1:6, 14; 2:2; 3:8). But the final form of the Book of the Twelve reminds the audience that human address to the deity for help is disallowed until there is a penitential response, and most likely theodicy is deemed completely inappropriate.[73] In the end the silence is deafening as the Twelve awaits the penitential response of its audience (Zech 7–8) accompanied by a divine work (Zech 12:10–14).

Additional insight gained from research on the Daughter of Zion tradition in the Book of the Twelve revealed that one entity's voice is encouraged even as the voice of protest is silenced. It is the voice of Daughter of Zion, an entity with an exilic identity, exhorted to express joy over Yahweh's restoration acts towards the city and its people in the wake of the Babylonian exile.

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[73] See similar trends in Isaiah and Jeremiah; cf. Mark J. Boda, "'Uttering Precious Rather Than Worthless Words': Divine Patience and Impatience with Lament in Isaiah and Jeremiah," in *Why? How Long? Studies on Voice(s) of Lamentation Rooted in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, ed. LeAnn Snow Flesher, Carol Dempsey, and Mark J. Boda, T&T Clark Library of Biblical Studies, LHBOTS 552 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 83–99.

While these observations provide insight into the intention of those responsible for this late form of the Twelve. However, by shifting perspective to the intended audience it was admitted that it is the enduring evidence of protest refuted throughout Malachi, even protest against penitential response, as well as the absence of a joyful response from Zion that reveals the outstanding challenges for the community that received this text.[74] The deafening silence of repentance and joy highlights the enduring need of the restoration community and the shift to a future "great and terrible day of Yahweh" (Mal 3:19, 23[Eng. 4:1, 5], which will ensure climactic expressions of joy (Mal 3:20[Eng. 4:2]) and repentance (Mal 3:24[Eng. 4:6]) for which these custodians of the prophetic traditions longed.

[74] See Boda, "Daughter's Joy," 340.

12
Afterword

In this volume I have provided the results of my reflection on the development of the book of Zechariah. While this work began on the book of Zechariah in particular, I have highlighted evidence that this development is intricately linked with the development of the literature closely associated with this book. Zechariah is closely related to Haggai and Malachi and together as a distinct collection (Haggai–Malachi) is intricately linked with the development of the collection of prophecy known in Jewish tradition as the Book of the Twelve. Evidence culled from Joel, Jonah, Micah, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah provide the foundation for the claim that those responsible for Zechariah played some role in the later development of the Book of the Twelve as a collection. While many past studies of the Book of the Twelve have focused their attention on earlier phases in the development of this collection of prophets, my focus has been on the final stages and hopefully provides new insights into connections between passages within the Twelve both for understanding the diachronic development of the Book of the Twelve but also for grasping the message of the collection in its final form. Key to this message are the themes of repentance, future hope, messianism, priests, Babylon, prayer, theodicy, and joy.

As I look ahead I envision an opportunity for future studies of this character which will provide focused attention on a particular section of the Book of the Twelve in order to identify larger strategies at work within the Book of the Twelve that have not been noticed before. My work on the cohesion of the Haggai–Malachi corpus highlights the enduring impact of earlier collections on the meaning of the material in the Book of the Twelve, and future reflection should continue

to prioritize evidence of cohesion within earlier collections for interpreting individual books and prophecies. In addition, the programmatic statements in Zech 1:4–6 and 7:7–14 and the allusions throughout Zechariah shape us as rereaders of the Book of the Twelve, reminding us to read this collection as a common tradition of prophetic witness that reaches its climax in the concluding expression of the Haggai–Malachi corpus. Those who undertake research and commentary on the Book of the Twelve need to take into account the interaction between these prophets, and hopefully my work will provide the impetus for new studies of the Book of the Twelve as a collection.

I also envision further work on the key theological themes which have come to the fore in my studies. These themes, along with others which have been and will be highlighted, need to be understood within the historical context of the post-Babylonian period community in Yehud as we seek to better understand the driving impulses that sustained faith and shaped community. These driving impulses within the Book of the Twelve sensitize us to the dynamics that gave rise to the Judaisms of late antiquity whose influence continues until today.

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