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The Visions of Zechariah

PAUL HAUPT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

THE Book of Zechariah consists of two different parts: the first, comprising cc. 1-8, was written about the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis; the second, including cc. 9-14, is Maccabean. The Visions of Zechariah extend from 1 7 to 6 15. The first six verses of the Book represent a secondary theological introduction. Nor can the appendix to the Visions in cc. 7 and 8 be ascribed to Zechariah, except Zech. 8 4-8 which must be appended to 2 5-9, whereas 8 1-3 is a variant to 1 14-16; the two sections 8 9-17 as well as 7 1-3 + 8 18 19^a + 7 4-6 + 8 19^b contain poems of Haggai, and 7 7-14 is the sequel to the theological introduction in 1 1-6; the final section 8 20-23 is a later addition to 8 4-8.

After the assassination of Pseudo-Smerdis on September 29, 522,¹ there were rebellions in Susiana, Babylonia, Persia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, and other provinces of the Persian empire. Darius had to fight for nearly a year and a half before his authority was established throughout his kingdom. Some prov-

¹ See F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (Leipzig, 1911) p. 19 and p. LXXII; contrast Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. iii, p. 194 (Oct. 16, 521). Cf. also Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 33, l. 17, and ZDMG 64, p. 705, l. 22. According to Riessler (see n. 13) p. 225, Zechariah began to prophesy in November, 537. Riessler (p. 213) thinks that Darius is Cambyses, and that Zerubbabel is identical with Nehemiah; Zerubbabel-Nehemiah was the first Persian governor of Judca; the date of Zechariah's visions is February, 536 (p. 226). The statement that the earth was quiet and peaceful (Zech. 1 11) refers, according to Riessler, to the peaceful period in the Persian empire after the accession of Cyrus.—For the abbreviations, ZDMG, OLZ, EB, &c, see vol. 31 of this JOURNAL, p. 115, n. 2.

inces revolted two or three times.² The Jewish patriots hoped that fresh outbreaks would give them a chance to restore their national independence, and make the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel,³ king of Judah. But their expectations were not realized: there was no sign of any fresh uprising. Zechariah expresses this in the form of a vision.⁴ He says he saw by night a man among the myrtles in the bottom of the valley,⁵ and before him were sorrel, black, white, and gray horses⁶ which reported

² Cf. § 49 of the Behistûn Inscription (Weissbach, *op. cit.* p. 55).

³ Zerubbabel, it may be supposed, was born in Babylonia about 538; see n. 1 on my paper *Dauids und Christi Geburtsort* in OLZ 12, 67. The name Zerubbabel seems to mean *Grief for Babel*; cf. Assy. *zurub libbi* = Syr. ܙܪܘܒܝܠܝܐ. The Syriac Bible has ܙܪܘܒܝܠܝܐ, with *u* after the initial *z*. This name may have meant originally *Sorrow over Babel*; afterwards it may have been interpreted to mean *He who will inflict distress upon Babel*, who will cause Babel to suffer.

⁴ This is merely a literary device; cf. my remarks in the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 177, l. 37. Geo. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii (London, 1898) p. 274 says, In Zech. 17—6 15 we have not the narrative of actual dreams, but a series of conscious and artistic allegories. On the other hand, E. Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus* (Leipzig, 1912) p. 88 says that we have no reason for assuming that Zechariah did not actually see his visions.

⁵ This, it may be supposed, is the deep depression of the Kidron Valley which separates the rocky plateau of Jerusalem from the ridge of Mount Olivet. Cheyne (EB 2662) says that opposite St. Stephen's Gate, N of the Temple area, the depth is fully 100 feet, and the breadth not more than 400 feet. The olive-trees in the bottom are so thickly clustered as to form a shady grove. This spot is shut out from the city, from the view of public roads, and from the notice and interruption of wayfarers.—There may have been a similar myrtle grove. The myrtle grows wild in many of the glens about Jerusalem. It is found on bare hillsides and by watercourses in beautiful green clumps. The myrtle is an evergreen shrub which is usually from 3 to 4 feet high, but occasionally, in moist soil, it attains a height of 8 feet. In ancient times a brook flowed down the Kidron Valley; but now the bed of the streamlet is dry except when heavy rains are falling on the mountains around Jerusalem. Cf. EB 2662, 3247; DB 3, 465^a.

⁶ The fiery *sorrel* (representing the meridian blaze of the sun) corresponds to the south, *black* to the north, *white* to the east, and *gray* to the west (the gray of the evening). For *white* = east, cf. French *aube* and Lat. *albente caelo*, *albescente die*. We must read שָׂרָקִים שְׁחֵרִים לְבָנִים (שָׂרָקִים; cf. 6 2 3. In 1 9 אֲרָמִים is a prefixed gloss to שָׂרָקִים; in 6 2 this

that they had traversed the earth, and had found it quiet and peaceful. JHVH, however, assures the prophet that He has not forgotten Jerusalem; the Temple will be rebuilt, and the plumb-line suspended⁷ over Jerusalem: everything that is out of plumb will be straightened.

Here we must append the statement which is now combined with another misplaced prediction concerning Zerubbabel in c. 4. Zechariah concluded his first patriotic address with the assurance: Zerubbabel's hands have laid the foundation of this Temple, his hands will also finish it. Whoever has despised the day of small things will rejoice and see the plummet⁸ in the hands of Zerubbabel. He will rebuild the Temple and the City, and straighten everything that is out of plumb.

The power of the Persians in all four quarters of the earth will be broken. Angels are appointed by JHVH, who will lead the rebellions against the Persian king in the east, west, north, and south. The prophet says he saw four horns which had shattered Judah and Jerusalem; but four smiths came to lop off⁹ the four horns. One of them was the guardian angel of Judah,¹⁰ who would help Zerubbabel in his attempt to free the Chosen People from the Persian dominion.

Some of the Jewish patriots, however, were afraid they would be unable to resist the Persians, since Jerusalem was a city

gloss has displaced the original reading שָׁרָקִים (cf. JBL 26, 25, *ad* 1 11). Similarly אֲשָׁרִים is a gloss to בָּרָדִים in 6 a. According to Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja* (Leipzig, 1910) pp. 37, 49, 52, the colors אֲדָמִים שָׁרָקִים וְלִבְנִים all refer to the rising light of the morning, and point to the dawn of Messianic salvation; similarly the myrtles point to the vernal sun. Cf. below, n. 47.

⁷ Lit. *stretched*. When the plummet is suspended, the line is stretched. Heb. פָּ denotes here a *plumb-line*, not a *tape-line*. The *measuring line* is called חֵבֶל הַמֶּדָּה in 2 b. In the present passage the Vulgate renders correctly, *perpendicularum extendetur super Jerusalem*.

⁸ האבן before הַבַּיִת in 4 10 is a gloss as is also האבן before הָרֵאשִׁית in 4 7.

⁹ We must read לִנְרַע instead of לִידוֹת, and לְהַחְרִיר instead of לְהַחְרִיר; this, however, is merely a prefixed gloss to לִנְרַע; הַחְרִיר for הַחְרִית is a phonetic corruption; see JBL 31, 135, l. 8.

¹⁰ See Dan. 10 13 21 12 1; cf. Wellhausen's notes on the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 176, l. 36.

with no walls and but few inhabitants, therefore insignificant. The prophet, however, assures them, Jerusalem need not be a frowning citadel to inspire respect; JHVH's presence will give it sufficient importance; He will be like a wall of fire around it, and the population will increase so rapidly that the space within the city walls would be too small. Therefore Jerusalem is to be inhabited as a large open village. The prophet presents this again in the form of a vision: he saw a young man who was going to measure Jerusalem, but an angel told him to desist from this unnecessary undertaking.

In this connection we find two poetic quotations illustrating the increase of Jerusalem's population. In the first a poet bids the Jews, scattered all over the world, to return to Zion:

2, 10	Ho, ho, flee ye	from the land of the north!
	Though I spread you abroad	in all four quarters;
11	To Zion escape	ye who dwell in Babel!

The second poetic quotation, separated from the first by 2 12 13, which should be appended to the First Vision, 1 7-17, reads:

2, 14	Sing out, and rejoice, maid Zion!
	lo, I come to dwell within thee.
15	Many nations will join themselves,
	and thus become people of JHVH.
16	He will claim, as His portion, Judah,
	and choose again Jerusalem.

The first quotation is a triplet with 2 + 2 beats in each line; the second, a triplet with 3 + 3 beats. Both, it may be supposed, were originally added in the margin to 6 15 at the end of the First Vision (1 7-17 + 4 9 10 + 6 15 + 2 12 13).

The Jewish patriots hoped that, with the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the national independence of Judah, the moral character of the community would be elevated. The prophet says he saw an enormous flying scroll containing curses which would strike every one who stole or swore falsely. This moral regeneration will be helped by the elimination of all foreign elements, especially Babylonian idolatries. Let them go back to Babylonia whence they came! The prophet says

he saw a bushel enclosing a woman¹¹ representing Wickedness, *i. e.* departure from the Mosaic Law.¹² Two winged female creatures lifted up the bushel, and carried it to Babylonia.¹³

The general uprising against Persia is at hand. Soon the angels,¹⁰ who are to lead the rebellions in the east, and west, and north, and south,¹⁴ will start on their chariots from a central place in Cœlesyria, between Lebanon and Antilebanon,¹⁵ to place

¹¹ This may have been an image of Astarte; cf. p. 110 of the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, also Jer. 7 18 44 17. The bushel may have been suggested by a shrine of the goddess; see the illustration facing p. 78 of the translation of *Isaiah* in the Polychrome Bible. *Bushel* is connected with *box*, and German *Scheffel* is related to *Schaff*, perhaps also to *Schiff*.

¹² See my remarks on the meaning of רשעים in Ps. 1 1, AJSL 19, 138, n. 32. In the Maccabean period רשעים denoted the Hellenizers; at the time of Zechariah it was used of the Babylonizers. The Seleucid kingdom was the *Daughter of Babylon*; see my explanation of Ps. 137 in OLZ 10, 66, n. 13. Luther renders, *Das ist die gottlose Lehre*. Doederlein said in Grotius' *Annotationes in VT* (Halle, 1776): רשע *sacpe idolatriam significat . . . post exilium cultus idolorum penitus rejectus e Paestina et quasi in exilium perpetuum missus*.

¹³ Professor Riessler, of Tübingen, in his book *Die kleinen Propheten* (Rottenburg, 1911) p. 237 translates Zech. 5 7 8: *Siehe, da war ein Nest für Gazellenjunge aufgebaut, und siehe, da saß ein Weibchen inmitten von Mißgeburten da. Da sprach er: Das ist eine schlimme Mutter, und er streckte sie inmitten der Mißgeburten nieder*. This remarkable production has received the sanction of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Württemberg. Riessler, however, has one emendation which is at least partially correct *inmitten der Mißgeburten*: he reads in 2 13: אל תהא רב כבוד שלחני: *um große Herrlichkeit zu verkünden sandte er mich*; he considers אחר an abbreviation for אל תהא רב. We must read לתהא כבודו שלחני, *to proclaim His glory has He sent me*, and this is a tertiary gloss to 2 15^b. I made this emendation before I was aware of the fact that Professor Riessler read לתהא, and I adhere to it despite this alarming coincidence.

¹⁴ We must read in 6 6: הוסים השחרים יצאים אל ארץ הצפון והלבנים יצאים; אל ארץ הקדם והבדרים יצאים אל ארץ המערב והשרקים יצאים אל ארץ התימן; יצאים after הברדים appears in the received text after האמצים at the beginning of v. 7; והאמצים is a misplaced erroneous gloss to הברדים. According to Duhm, *Die Zwölf Propheten* (Tübingen, 1910) p. 92, the black horses go to the north, the white ones to the west, the spotted ones to the south, and the sorrels do not start at all.

¹⁵ In the Babylonian Nimrod epic (cf. ZDMG 64, p. 712, n. 2) this region is called the mountain of *Mâš* (cf. מַשׁ, Gen. 10 25). There, at the

themselves at the head of the armies attacking the Persians. The prophet says that he saw four chariots, with sorrel, black, white, and gray horses,⁶ between the two mountains,¹⁵ going forth to¹⁶ the four winds of heaven to make a stand against¹⁷ the lord of the whole earth, *i. e.* the Persian king.¹⁸ The fight will begin in the north. JHVH will satisfy His fury¹⁹ on the north country.

The crown²⁰ for the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel, is ready. The prophet says, he was ordered by JHVH to take silver and gold,

and of the world, is the gate through which the sun passes at his rising and setting. It is guarded by a terrific scorpion-man and his wife; see the cut in the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, on the plate facing p. 1, fig. 6. Cf. KAT³, 573, n. 5; Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Straßburg, 1906) p. 24; Ungnad and Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911) pp. 40, 136. The two mountains cannot be Mount Zion and Mount Olivet; they are *mountains of brass*. There are still traces of ancient copper mines in the Lebanon.—If the clause *the mountains are mountains of brass* is a gloss, the two mountains, between which Zechariah saw the four chariots, may be Mount Zion and Mount Olivet; but the glossator referred *the two mountains* to Lebanon and Antilebanon.

¹⁵ The omission of the preposition *אל* after *אלה* *אל* is due to haplography; cf. Assy. *ana erbiti šârê*, *e. g.* in l. 156 of the Flood Tablet.

¹⁷ The phrase *העפרים על ארון כל הארץ*, at the end of c. 4, must be interpreted in the same way; cf. Dan. 8²⁵ 11 14. For *החיצב על* cf. Jer. 46 4, Job 33 5. In Ps. 2 2 it is better to read *יתעצו* instead of *יתיצבו*; see JHUC, No. 163, p. 90^b. For *מהחיצב* in the present passage we must read *להחיצב*; in Cant. 6 3, on the other hand, we must read *מיולדתה—טאמה* instead of *ליולדתה—לאמה*; cf. AJSL 19, 7; Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 48, n. 12.

¹⁸ Darius calls himself *king of the vast earth*; see Weissbach (cf. n. 1) p. 83, § 1; p. 87, § 2; p. 101, § 2; p. 103, § 2; p. 105, § 2; cf. ראש רבה על ארץ, Ps. 110 6 (AJSL 23, 232). Cf. also Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. iii, § 13.

¹⁹ For *רית*, *wrath*, cf. Jud. 8 3, Prov. 29 11 (read *בחרינו ישבח* cf. החמת, *thou hast broken it*, Is. 9 3, and the *باء السجاز*, WdG 2, 160, A). For *הניחו* (or rather *הניחו*) cf. Ezek. 16 42 24 13. Perles' emendation *הניחו* is gratuitous. Duhm (cf. n. 14) p. 92 renders, *Sie haben meinen Geist im Nordlande niedergelassen*. Grotius (cf. n. 12) has correctly, *ibi iram meam contra Chaldaeos susceptam abunde satiarunt*.

²⁰ The *ו* in *עטרות* is dittography of the *ר*; cf. my explanation of *מצור* = *מצר*, *Miççaru* in ZDMG 64, 710, n. 2, l. 11.

which had been brought by some Jewish exiles from Babylon to Jerusalem, and make a crown. He was to tell them:

6, 12 Behold a man named Scion,
 13 royal majesty will he assume,
 And sit and rule on his throne,
 he will also be priest at my right.²¹

There was no reference to the high-priest Joshua. Zerubbabel was to be king and high-priest after the manner of Melchizedek, as we read in Psalm 110 4 which was composed at that time. An enthusiastic follower of Zerubbabel says there:

He swore and will not revoke: Thy throne is for ever,
 And for ever shalt thou be priest like unto Melchizedek.

In the received text the hemistich *Thy throne is for ever* has been suppressed. The priests were not interested in the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the national independence of Judah; they were satisfied to continue as a religious sect.²² Therefore they have suppressed all allusions to Zerubbabel's coronation as much as possible. In the line *royal majesty will he assume* the word *royal* has been eliminated,²³ and

²¹ The Hebrew text must be restored as follows:

והוא־ישא הוד מלכות 6, 13. 12^b והנה־איש צמח שמו
 וישב ומשל על־כסאו והיה כהן לימיני:

The Greek Bible (*ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ*) read לימינו. The gloss ומתחתיו יצמח means, *There will be scions from him*; he will be the founder of a new dynasty.

²² See W. Robertson Smith, *The OT in the Jewish Church* (London, 1892) p. 45; cf. EB 2257, 62.

²³ The text of Is. 9 5 was originally

ותהי על־ראשו עקרת המשרה

See my remarks cited above, in n. 3. In Is. 9 s, on the other hand, we must read:

כִּי־אֲתֵּן עָלָיְךָ סִבְלוֹ וְאֲתֵּן עַל־סִבְלוֹ
 שִׁבְטֵי הַנְּגִשׁ בְּיַד הַחֲתָתִים:

Both סבְלוֹ, *they were forced to carry*, and הַשִּׁבְטֵי, *they were forced to shoulder* (Ethiop. ስጦራ): are relative clauses. Cf. above, n. 19 and Haupt, *Micah*, p. 51, n. 30 (AJSL 27, 51). At the end of Zech. 6 a statement such as יהוה אלהים על כל גוי הארץ (cf. Deut. 28 1) has been suppressed. The last paragraph of the Book of Haggai (Hag. 2 20-23) stood originally at the end of the first chapter; there it was suppressed by the priests, and subsequently appended at the end of the Book.

throughout this section the name of the high-priest, *Joshua*, has been substituted for the name of the Davidic scion, *Zerubbabel*.

This is well known to all Old Testament critics, but no one has perceived that the same change has been made in c. 3. In the received text we read that the prophet saw Joshua arraigned before the messenger of JHVH; but it was not the high-priest Joshua, but the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel, and he was not arraigned before the messenger of JHVH, but before the envoy of the king.

We know that soon after Zechariah had announced the coronation of Zerubbabel,²⁴ the satrap of Babylonia and Syria, Vištana,²⁵ came to Jerusalem to investigate the charges that had been preferred against Judah in connection with the building of the Temple and the proposed coronation of Zerubbabel. In the received text of the Book of Ezra (cc. 4-6) the references to the coronation of Zerubbabel are suppressed; we read only of the charges in connection with the rebuilding of the Temple; but the chief object of the visit of the satrap was no doubt the proposed coronation of the Davidic scion. The enemies of the Jews had certainly not failed to apprise the satrap of the impending rebellion. Many Jewish patriots no doubt looked forward to the coming of the satrap with grave apprehensions;²⁶ but the prophet says he had a vision in which the envoy of the king²⁷ rebuked the public prosecutor who preferred the charges against Zerubbabel. He orders his attendants to invest the Davidic scion with royal robes, and place a diadem on his head.²⁸ He quashes the indictment of the country on the first

²⁴ Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums* (Halle, 1896) p. 87, n. 3; *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. iii (Stuttgart, 1901) p. 196, below.

²⁵ The name תרני (Ezr. 5 3 6 6 6 13) is a corruption of וְשַׁתָּנִי; see Haupt, *Esther* (Chicago, 1908) p. 9 (AJSL 24, 105).

²⁶ J. D. Michaelis says in his *Deutsche Übersetzung des AT*, part 11 (Göttingen, 1782) p. 186: *Dies Machen der Kronen ist wirklich etwas dreist, denn es hätte können als Anfang einer Rebellion gegen den persischen Staat ausgelegt werden.*

²⁷ We must read in 6 1: מֵלֶאךָ יְהוָה instead of מֵלֶאךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ, and in v. 2: בְּיַד יְהוָה אֱרֹנִי instead of בְּיַד יְהוָה בְּךָ. In v. 6 the reading מֵלֶאךָ יְהוָה is correct.

²⁸ We must read at the end of v. 4: וְהִלְבְּשׁוּ אֹתוֹ מַלְכוּת; cf. Esth. 5 1 (Haupt, *Esther*, p. 43 = AJSL 24, 139). The investment with royal robes

day²⁹ of the trial for high treason, handing to Zerubbabel a tablet pronouncing his acquittal.

Then the angel of JHVH steps forward, and assures Zerubbabel that, if he will observe the religion of JHVH, He will give him royal rank;³⁰ Zerubbabel will rule over the nations,³¹ but his victory will not be gained by force, but by the spirit of JHVH. The great mountain of the Persian empire will be leveled before him.³² He concludes with the acclamation All hail to him³³ and abundant grace!

In the received text this vision of Zerubbabel being arraigned before the envoy of the Persian king is mixed up with the vision of the seven-branched candelabrum. According to the received text, two olive-trees stood at the right and left of the candelabrum,³⁴ and these two olive-trees are supposed to represent the two *sons of oil*, or anointed ones, who stand before the lord of the whole earth. But this phrase means again *who make a stand against the lord of the whole earth*, i. e. the Persian king.¹⁷ The two anointed ones are not Zerubbabel and Joshua—Zechariah did not refer to Joshua—but two angels¹⁰ who are to lead the rebellion of Judah against the Persians. I believe the original reading was not *Sons of Oil*, but Sons of JHVH; in the Hebrew name for angels, *Sons of God*, God is probably a later substitute for JHVH. In the Maccabean period these two angels would have been called Michael and Gabriel who, according to the Targum on 2 Chron. 31²¹, annihilated the host of Sennacherib before Jerusalem.³⁵ Michael is supposed to

and a royal diadem did not necessarily imply that the person so honored was to be an independent king; see Esth. 6 7-9 8 15, 1 Macc. 10 20 62; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 6, l. 43; p. 7, l. 7; *Esther*, p. 48 = AJSL 24, 144.

²⁹ Heb. יום אחר, at the end of v. 9, means *first day*, as in Gen. 1 5; cf. Assyr. *ištēn ūmu* (Delitzsch, AG², § 172).

³⁰ We must read מלכה instead of מהלכים in 6 7.

³¹ After תרין we must read בנרים, as in Ps. 110 6; cf. above, n. 18.

³² Cf. my explanation of Ps. 68 17 in AJSL 23, 229, n. 22.

³³ Read תשקות instead of תשאות, and לו for לה.

³⁴ See the cut on p. 84 of C. H. H. Wright's *Zechariah* (London, 1879).

³⁵ The Targum (ed. Lagarde, p. 354) says, ושר מירא דיהוה מיכאל, נבריא מלאכא ושיצ' בליליא דפסחא באשא מנתכא ואוקד נשמתהון בניהון.

stand at the right hand of God, Gabriel at the left; they are the kings of angels.

The two angels flanking the seven-branched candelabrum remind us of the winged genii touching the sacred tree, which we find on the Assyrian sculptures. One of the Assyrian names of those genii was *šēdu*, and we must evidently substitute *šēdim*, genii,³⁶ for *zētīm*, olive-trees. I have shown in the notes on the translation of *Ezekiel*,³⁷ in the Polychrome Bible, that these winged genii on the Assyrian sculptures are the prototypes of our angels, but originally they represent the winds carrying the pollen of the male palm-inflorescences to the female date-palm. The cone-shaped object with which they touch the branches of the sacred tree is, as was pointed out by Dr. Edward B. Tylor, a male palm-inflorescence stripped of its spathe.³⁸

In the vision of Zechariah this male palm-inflorescence is called *šibbōleth*. The cuneiform equivalent of *šibbōleth*, Assyr. *šubultu*, is a synonym of *sissinnu*³⁹ which corresponds to *sinninnim* in the Biblical Love-songs and denotes the spadix of a

³⁶ The passage in the Song of Moses, Deut. 32 17, is later than the Visions of Zechariah; cf. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium* (Göttingen, 1898) p. 117. Ps. 106 is Maccabean. Assyr. *šēdu* is used, not only of cacodemons, but also of agathodemons; cf. *e. g.* ASKT 99, 44: *šēdi dumqi lamassi dumqi ina zumrišu lû-ka'an* (KAT³, 455, n. 6). The Sumerian equivalent of *šēdu* is *alat*; the synonym of *šēdu*, Assyr. *lamassu* is a Sumerian loanword. In Hos. 12 19 we must read: בגלגל לשורים ובוהו, not בגלגל לשורים ובוהו (Hitzig, Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti). The Jews, of course, may afterwards have regarded Babylonian agathodemons as cacodemons. Sanskrit *deva* means *god*, but Avestan *daēva* denotes an *evil spirit*. Cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 10, l. 33.

³⁷ See *op. cit.* p. 183, l. 20.

³⁸ The spathe of the male palm-inflorescence is called in Arabic: شرفان, in Aramaic: שרפאן; the name for the pollen is حروق. The cross-fertilization of the date-palm is termed طلق, or لتقم, or ابر, or اصدع. Cf. Pes. 56^a: רב אחא בריה דרבא אמר מנחי כופרא דיכרא לנוקבתא: (כופרא = كافور). In Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization* (London, 1896) p. 555 there is a cylinder representing the gathering of the spathes of male palm-trees.

³⁹ See ASKT 10, 31-33; cf. Syr. شتھیل, ܫܬܗܝܠ.

date-palm.⁴⁰ Heb. *šibbōleth*, ear, cannot refer to the branch of an olive-tree; olive-trees have no ears, but male palm-in-florescences resemble ears.⁴¹ We must translate Zech. 4 12: *What are the two ears (spikes, flower-clusters) in the hands of the two genii at the golden spouts?⁴² (Are they pouring out seed over them?)⁴³* This last clause is a gloss, and the whole

⁴⁰ *Sissinnu* means *spike*, then especially *spadix* of a date-palm; cf. ZDMG 63, 508, l. 4.

⁴¹ See the cuts in PSBA, June, 1890, plate ii, figures 5 and 7.

⁴² Or nozzles. *Nozzle* is a diminutive of *nose*. Luther has correctly *Schneuzen*. The LXX has $\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\rho\eta\kappa = \mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho$; the Vulgate, *rostra*; the Peshita, ܡܫܒܠܐ . All these words denote the *spout* or *nozzle* of a lamp in which the wick is burned. The German term is *Tülle* (French *douille*) or *Dochtrohr*. Cf. Fleischer's remarks in Levy's Chaldee dictionary, vol. i, p. 418^a, below. The Targum has in the present passage ܐܦܩܪܝܩܘܢ which is the Greek $\epsilon\sigma\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$, *pan*, *basin*. Nor does ܥܢܬܪܝܢ mean *pipe* in the Second Targum to Esther; see *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, ed. Lagarde, p. 228, l. 15; cf. the translation on p. 247 of Paulus Cassel, *Das Buch Esther* (Berlin, 1891). For the insertion of the *t* cf. modern Arabic $\text{شكارة} = \text{شكارة}$, *soot*. König compares this *t* to the δ in $\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, but the infixed *t* in ܥܢܬܪ was separated from the *n* by a vowel. Heb. ܥܢܬܪ is, of course, connected with ܥܢܘܪ , which means *spout*, *socket* of a door in which the pivot turns, also (in the Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer, cxvi) *pudendum mulieris*, just as ܦܬܐ denotes both *door-socket* (Lat. *cardo femina*) and *pudendum mulieris*. This word must be restored in Am. 4 2:

וּנְשָׂא פִתְכֵן בְּצִנּוֹת וְאֶחְרִיתְכֵן בְּסִרּוֹת
וּמְרָצִים מְרָצִים תִּצְאָנָה וְהִשְׁלַכְתֶּנָּה חֲרֻבּוֹנָה;

Your lap will be lifted with hooks,
your rump with grapnels;
In scraps will ye be dragged out
to rot in the sun.

Lit. *ye will be cast into the heat*; cf. Ps. 32 4. Houtsma's emendation בַּחֶרֶף וּבִקֵּץ (ZAT 27, 58) is gratuitous. We use *socket* (or *nozzle*) also for the small hollow tube or depression in a candlestick which holds the candle. Aram. ܒܘܥܝܢܐ , *lamp*, denotes also the funnel-shaped hole of the upper millstone (Pes. 94^b; cf. BT 2, 667). Heb. ܥܢܘܪ means also *hook*; cf. ܥܢܘܪܝܬ . Syr. ܢܗܠܝܢ denotes a *fish-hook* or *fishing line*. In modern Arabic we have صنارة with the same meaning. In German, *Angel* means both *fish-hook* and *hinge*. Shakespeare uses *angle* in the sense of *fish-hook*. The name *England* is derived from the *Angles*, and the Angles were anglers.

⁴³ The prefixed ה in הַמְרָצִים is interrogative. The מ in מַעֲלֵיהֶם is due

verse is a variant to the question in the preceding verse, *What are these two genii on the right and left of the candelabrum?*

On some of the Assyrian sculptures the sacred tree has but seven branches⁴⁴ so that it resembles a seven-branched lamp-stand, just as the sacred candelabrum figured on the Arch of Titus⁴⁵ has seven branches. We find a seven-branched palm also upon a coin of the Maccabees.⁴⁶ Robertson Smith remarked in his *Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894) p. 488: In most of the Assyrian examples it is not easy to draw the line between the candelabrum and the sacred tree crowned with a star or crescent moon, and Stanley E. Cooke says (EB 647): It is not impossible that the candelabrum was originally a representation of the sacred seven-branched tree, possibly indeed the tree of life. Some of the representations of the sacred tree on the Assyrian monuments are so conventionalized that they look more like a lamp-stand than like a date-palm. The Jewish exiles could not fail to be influenced by the rich imagery of Babylonian art by which they were surrounded.⁴⁷

Chapters 3 and 4 of the Visions of Zechariah may be translated as follows:

Zerubbabel before the Envoy of the King.

- 8, 1 Then He showed me Zerubbabel^a standing before the envoy⁴⁸
of the king^β with the prosecutor⁴⁹ at his right to prosecute
2 him. The envoy^γ said to the prosecutor,⁴⁹ My lord^δ will
to dittography. For הורע read הורב; the Heb. term for *pollen* is said to be סין, but this is doubtful. For the confusion of הורב and הורע in the two clauses cf. JBL 31, 130, l. 1.

⁴⁴ See *e. g.* PSBA, June, 1890, plate iii, fig. 14.

⁴⁵ See the cut on p. 218 of the translation of the *Psalms* in the Polychrome Bible.

⁴⁶ See EB 646, below.

⁴⁷ See Geo. A. Smith (cf. n. 4) p. 276. Rothstein (cf. n. 6) p. 189 emphasizes the point that it is irrelevant for his purpose whether or not Babylonian ideas underly the Visions of Zechariah. If he had considered this question, he would probably have given a better interpretation.

⁴⁸ Vištana, the satrap of Syria; cf. above, n. 25.

⁴⁹ The public prosecutor (crown prosecutor, district attorney) of the Persian government. The modern Heb. term is קְטִינִיּוֹר = קַטְרָאָרְס = קַטְרָאָרְס.

rebuke thee, O prosecutor;^ε is not this a brand plucked from
 3 the fire?⁵⁰ Zerubbabel^ζ was clad in soiled garments when he
 4 stood before the envoy. Then the envoy began to speak and
 said to those who stood before him as follows, Take away his
 5^a soiled garments, () and invest him with royalty,⁷ ⁹ placing a
 9 'diadem on his head. The stone tablet which I shall give
 to⁵¹ Zerubbabel^κ—^λI am inscribing its inscription thereon,^μ
 quashing the indictment against that country(^ν) on the first day.^ξ
 5^b Thereupon they set the ^οdiadem upon his head, and invested
 him with royal garments.[^π]
 6 Then the angel of JHVH stepped forward, and^ρ solemnly
 7 addressed Zerubbabel^σ as follows, Thus JHVH Sabaoth has
 said, If thou wilt walk in my ways and observe my cult,⁵² then

- (α) §, 1 the high-priest Joshua (β) JHVH (γ) 2 JHVH (δ) JHVH
 (ε) 2 JHVH will rebuke thee, who has chosen Jerusalem (ζ) 3 Joshua
 (η) 4 festival dresses (θ) 5^a I said (ι) clean (κ) 9 Joshua
 (λ) 9 on one stone there are seven eyes⁵³ (μ) says JHVH Sabaoth
 (ν) 4 he said to him, See, I have removed thy guilt from thee

⁵⁰ The king will consider it ridiculous that this stripling (cf. n. 3) should be accused of attempting to overthrow the Persian empire. *Gebrannte Kinder scheuen das Feuer*. The lesson which the Jews received in 586 will suffice for some time to come. The phrase *a brand plucked from the fire* is, of course, not borrowed from Amos (4 11). It is a proverbial expression.

⁵¹ Lit. *which I have set before Zerubbabel*, i. e. *which I shall place at the disposal of Z.* For ⁵¹ see Haupt, *Esther*, p. 26 = AJSL 24, 122, and for the perfect instead of the future cf. G-K²³, § 106, n.

⁵² Lit. *my observance*, my ceremonial.

⁵³ Some of the official documents in Babylonia have seven eyes (or rosettes) representing the seven planets, i. e. Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. We find these symbols e. g. on a black stone tablet recording the investiture of a priest of Nebo at Borsippa. This explanation was suggested to Sellin by Friedrich Delitzsch; cf. H. G. Mitchell in *The International Critical Commentary* on Haggai and Zechariah (New York, 1912) p. 158. Josephus (*Ant.* iii, 6, 7) says that the lights of the golden candelabrum in the Temple correspond to the number of the seven planets; cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 130; Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 163. Vištana was satrap of Syria and Babylonia. Zechariah hoped that he would hand Zerubbabel a cuneiform Babylonian tablet acquitting him of all charges of high treason and creating him King of Judea under Persian suzerainty.

thou shalt also rule τ over the nations,³¹ and I shall give thee
 8 royal rank ν among {those who sit before thee.} Hear, O ϕ Zerub-
 4, 6 babel, thou and thy companions! { } [] \times Not by force, nor by
 power, but by my spirit wilt thou win, has JHVH Sabaoth said.
 7 What art thou, O great mountain?³² before Zerubbabel thou
 wilt become a plain. He will gain the ψ principality. All hail
 to him³³ and abundant grace!

-
- (ξ) 10 on that day, says JHVH Sabaoth, ye will invite one another
 under vines and fig-trees (o) 5^b clean
 (π) 7, 8 those who stand are foreshadowing men $\omega\omega$ ⁵⁴
 (ρ) 6 the angel of JHVH (o) Joshua
 (τ) 7 my Temple and guard my forecourts (v) access
 (ϕ) 8 high-priest Joshua
 (χ) 4, 6 this is JHVH's word to Zerubbabel as follows (ψ) 7 the stone
-

($\omega\omega$) 3, 8 for 10, I bring my servant called Scion.

The Seven-branched Candelabrum.

4, 1 Then the angel who talked with me came again, and roused
 2 me like a man roused out of his sleep. He said to me, What
 seest thou? I said, I see a candelabrum of α gold with a
 3 fountain⁵⁵ on the top and seven lamps ^{β} thereon, γ and seven
 tubes for the lamps thereon; ^{δ} and two genii over it, one on
 4 the right, ^{ϵ} and the other on the left. Then I began to speak
 5 to the angel, ^{ζ} saying, What are these, my lord? He ^{η} answered
 and said to me, Knowest thou not what these are? I said, No,
 6^a my lord. Then he began to speak and said to me as follows,
 10^b These seven lamps are the eyes of JHVH that wander over the
 11 whole earth.⁵⁶ Then I began to speak and said to him, What
 are these two genii on the right of the candelabrum and on
 13 the left? ^{θ} He said to me, Knowest thou not what these are?
 14 I said, No, my lord. Then he said to me, These are the two

⁵⁴ Lit. *men of portent*. They foreshadow what is to be done with Zerubbabel. We can hardly suppose that this is a misplaced gloss to 4 14.

⁵⁵ Reservoir.

⁵⁶ Cf. 2 Chron. 16 9. The seven lamps represent the seven planets; cf. above, n. 53.

angels who will make a stand against the lord of the whole earth.¹⁷

- (a) 4, 2 solid (β) of it (γ) seven (δ) on the top (ε) 3 of the fountain
 (ζ) 4 who talked with me (η) 5 the angel who talked with me
 (θ) 12 then I began to speak " and said to him, What are these two
 spikes⁴⁰ in the hands of the two genii on the golden spouts?"⁴²

(11) 4, 12 a second time

(xx) are they pouring out the seed over them?⁴³

The Hebrew text must be restored as follows:

8, 1 ויראני את־ זרַבְבַּל עֶמֶד לִפְנֵי מֶלֶאךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ β הַשָּׁמַן עֶמֶד עַל
 2 יְמִינוֹ לְשִׁמְנוֹ: וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶאךְ γ אֵל הַשָּׁמַן יַנְעֵר אֲדֹנָיִךְ δ בְּךָ הַשָּׁמַן:
 3 הֲלֹא זֶה אֵדִי מִצֵּל מֵאִשׁ: וְזַרְבַּבְלֵז הִיָּה לְבֶשׂ בְּנָדִים צֹאִים וְעֶמֶד
 4 לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶאךְ: וַיַּעַן הַמֶּלֶאךְ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵל הָעֹמְדִים לִפְנֵי לֵאמֹר הֲסִירוּ
 5 אֶת הַבְּנָדִים הַצֹּאִים מֵעַלְיוֹ () וְהִלְבִּשׂוּ אֹתוֹ מַלְכוּת־: וַיֹּשִׁימוּ צַנִּיף־ עַל
 9 רֵאשׁוֹ וְ כִי הִגֵּה הָאֶבֶן אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לִפְנֵי α זַרְבַּבְלֵג הַנְּגִי מִפְתַּח
 5 ב פֶּתַח־ וַיִּמְשָׁתִּי אֶת עֵינֵי הָאָרֶץ הִיא בְּיוֹם אֶחָד(ϑ): ε וַיֹּשִׁימוּ הַצַּנִּיף־
 עַל רֵאשׁוֹ וַיִּלְבְּשׂוּהוּ בְנָדֵי מַלְכוּת־: [π]
 7. 6 וּמֶלֶאךְ יִהְיֶה עֶמֶד וַיַּעֲדֵם בּוֹרְבַבְל־ לֵאמֹר: כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת
 אִם בְּדַרְכֵי תֵלֶךְ וְאִם אֶת מִשְׁמַרְתִּי תִשְׁמַר וְגַם אֶתָּה תִדְוֶן בְּנוֹיִם
 8, 8 וְנָתַתִּי לְךָ מַמְלָכָה בֵּין {הַיֹּשְׁבִים לִפְנֵיךְ}: שָׁמַע נָא φ זַרְבַבְל אֶתָּה
 4. 6 וְרַעֲדֶךָ { } []: α לֹא בַחִיל וְלֹא בַכֹּחַ כִּי אִם בְּרוּחִי תִצְלִיחַ אָמַר יְהוָה
 7 צְבָאוֹת: מִי אֶתָּה הַהֵר הַנְּדוּל לִפְנֵי זַרְבַבְל לְמִישׁוֹר תִּהְיֶה וְהוֹצִיא
 אֶת ψ הָרֵאשָׁה תִשְׁעוֹת חֵן חֵן לּוֹ:

8, 1 (α)	יהושע הכהן הגדול	(β) יהוה	(γ) 2 יהוה	(δ) יהוה
2 (ε)	ינער יהוה בן הבחר בירושלם	(ζ) 3 ויהושע	(η) 4 מחלצות	
5 ^a (θ)	ואמר	(ι) 9 יהושע	(λ) על אבן אחת שבעה עינים	
9 (μ)	נאם יהוה צבאות	(ρ) 4 ויאמר אליו ראה העברתי מעליך עונך		
10 (ξ)	ביום ההוא נאם יהוה צבאות תקראו איש לרעהו אל תחת נפן ואל תחת תאנה:			
5 ^b (ο)	סדור	(π) 8. 7 העומדים האלה ו אנשי מופת המה שט	(ρ) 6 מלאך יהוה	
6 (σ)	ביהושע	(τ) 7 את ביתי וגם תשמר את חצרי	(υ) מהלכים	
8 (φ)	יהושע הכהן הגדול	(χ) 4, 6 זה דבר יהוה אל זרבלל לאמר	(ψ) 4, 7 האבן	

(ωω) 3, 8 כִּי הֲנִי טֹבֵיא אִתְּ עֲבָדֵי צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ



4.21 וישב המלאך הדבר בי ועירני כאיש אשר יעזר משנתו: ויאמר
 אלי מה אתה ראה ואמר ראיתי והנה מנורת זהב ונלה על ראשה
 3 ושבעה נרות עליה ושבעה מוצקות לגרות אשר עליה: ושנים
 4 שידים עליה אחד מימינה ואחד על שמאלה: ואען ואמר אל המלאך:
 5 לאמר מה אלה אדני: וען ויאמר אלי הלוא ידעת מה המה אלה
 10 ואמר לא אדני: וען ויאמר אלי לאמר: שבעה הנרות האלה עיני
 11 יהוה הנה משוטטות בכל הארץ: ואען ואמר אליו מה שני השידים
 13 האלה על ימין המנורה ועל שמאלה: ויאמר אלי לאמר הלוא
 14 ידעת מה אלה ואמר לא אדני: ויאמר אלה שני בני יהוה העמדים
 על אדון כל הארץ:

כלה	(α)	4, 2	ייה	(β)	שבעה	(γ)	ראשה	(δ)	הנלה	(ε)	8
הדבר בי	(ζ)	4	אשר בירי שני	{ השידים }	אמר אליו	מה שתי שבלים	אשר בירי שני	{ השידים }	המלאך הדבר בי	(η)	5
צנתרות הזהב	(θ)	12	ואען	ואמר אליו	מה שתי שבלים	אשר בירי שני	{ השידים }	אמר אליו	מה שתי שבלים	{ השידים }	אמר אליו

(α) המריקים עליהם הזרע

(α) 4, 12 שנית