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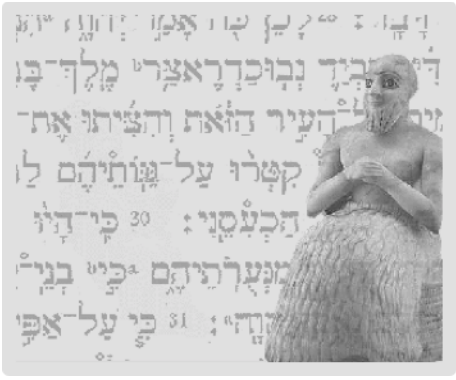

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ZECHARIAH 9–14 AND THE CONTINUATION OF ZECHARIAH DURING THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

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INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to identify the sociohistorical factors that led to the addition of chs. 9–14 to the book of Zechariah.[1] It accepts the classical scholarly hypothesis that Zech 1–8 and Zech 9–14 are of different origins and Zech 9–14 is the latest section of the book.[2] Despite a significant consensus on this

[1] The article presents the preliminary results of a larger work currently underway at the University of Lausanne regarding war in Zech 9–14. I am grateful to my colleagues Julia Rhyder and Jan Rückl for their helpful comments on previous versions of this article.

[2] Scholars usually assume that Zech 1–8 was complete when chs. 9–14 were added to the book of Zechariah, and I will assume the same; see for instance E. Bosshard and R. G. Kratz, "Maleachi im Zwölfprophetenbuch," *BN* 52 (1990), 27–46 (41–45); O. H. Steck, *Der Abschluß der Prophetie im Alten Testament: Ein Versuch zur Frage der Vorgeschichte des Kanons* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien, 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), esp. 30–60; J. Nogalski, *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW, 218; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1993), 213–247; I. Willi-Plein, *Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi* (ZBK.AT, 24/4; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2007), 151–152; see also the more cautious remarks of A. Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs* (BZAW, 260; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1998), 257, 317. This is all the more probable if, together with the great majority of commentators, we consider Zech 1–8 to have been written during the Persian period, whereas, as I will argue, Zech 9–14 is most probably from the Hellenistic period. Nonetheless, the question of what state chs. 1–8 were in at the moment of the insertion(s) of Zech 9–14 is rarely addressed in detail, and I do not want to exclude the possibility that some short passages of Zech 1–8 could have been added to the book around the same time as passages of Zech 9–14 (in that direction, see K. R. Schaefer, "Zechariah 14 and the Composition of the Book of Zechariah," *RB* 100 [1993], 368–398). This scenario is not completely improbable, especially if we accept that some passages from Zech 1–8 could stem from the Hellenistic period. For instance, according to J. Wöhrle, isolated passages in Zech 1–8 (Zech 2:15–16 and 8:20–23), which he considers as early Hellenistic, are later than the bulk of Zech 9–14 and inserted in the book with Zech 14:16–19 (*Der Abschluss des Zwölfprophetenbuches: Buchübergreifende Redaktionsprozesse in den späten*

hypothesis, past research has, until recently, largely overlooked the *reasons* for the extension of Zechariah with chs. 9–14, and thus failed to explain the significance of these chapters within a larger prophetic corpus. As recently observed by H. Wenzel, scholars have emphasized the differences between the two sections of the book, but few have explored the relationship between the two sections.[3] As a matter of fact, many commentaries treat Zech 1–8 and Zech 9–14 separately, with distinct introductions, as if they were two discrete books. Such an approach does not explain convincingly why Zech 9–14 now forms part of Zechariah at all.[4] Answering this question is crucial for understanding the book of Zechariah as it now stands, as well as the formation of biblical prophetic literature more broadly.

Sammlungen [BZAW, 389; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2008], 67–191, 264–287, 335–361 [esp. 335]). M. Hallaschka (*Haggai und Sacharja 1–8. Eine Redaktiongeschichtliche Untersuchung* [BZAW, 411; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2011], esp. 322–323) sets Zech 1:1–6, 11a, 12, 13; 3:1a, 4b, 8; 6:9–15*; 7:7–14*; 8:14–17, 19b in the late Persian or Hellenistic period and Zech 2:15–16; 6:15a; 8:20–23 in the Hellenistic period. However, Hallaschka does not relate his diachronic analysis of Zech 1–8 to Zech 9–14 (p. 1 n. 2). This is not the place to settle this question in detail. In any case, the existence of at least the bulk of Zech 1–8 before the addition(s) of Zech 9–14 seems to be a fairly safe hypothesis, supported by the significant differences between the two sections of the book (see below).

[3] H. Wenzel, *Reading Zechariah with Zechariah 1:1–6 as the Introduction of the Entire Book* (CBET, 59; Leuven/Paris/Walpole: Peeters, 2011), 178–204. Although H. Wenzel, on the basis of a Bakhtinian dialogical reading, brings interesting insights for the interpretation of the book of Zechariah as a whole, his solution to the question—attributing all of the book to the prophet Zechariah—overlooks diachronic issues (see in particular 201–204), especially given the evidences that ancient texts, prophetic texts in particular, were often modified and amplified during their scribal transmission (e.g., the differences between the ancient versions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; see footnote no. 66). The use of the literary theory developed by M. Bakhtin for the study of modern texts, such as novels, can indeed be relevant for the study of prophetic literature, but the differences between modern and ancient texts, especially the way they are produced, should not be overlooked.

[4] As M. H. Floyd indicates, "It is odd that no recent commentaries have attempted to grasp either the ideational concept or the sociohistorical context forming the matrix of the book [of Zechariah] as a whole, particularly in view of the way in which commentators have come to approach 9–14" ("Zechariah and Changing Views of Second Temple Judaism in Recent Commentaries," *RelSRev* 25 [1999], 257–263 [262]). See in particular W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi* (KAT, 13/4; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1976); A. Lacocque, *Zacharie 9–14* (2d ed.; CAT, 11c; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1988); C. L. Meyers and E. M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14* (AB, 25C; New York: Doubleday, 1993); D. L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi. A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1995); Willi-Plein, *Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi*; P. L. Redditt, *Zechariah 9–14* (IECOT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012).

During the last two decades we have witnessed a growing interest in the interpretation of Zechariah as a whole. However, arguments in favor of the book's unity have proven detrimental to the diachronic approach, as they tend to erase any distinction between Zech 1–8 and Zech 9–14's origins.[5] Such a distinction constitutes one of the main results of the diachronic approach concerning the book of Zechariah. While this article examines the internal continuity of Zechariah, it seeks to balance the recent literary studies by adopting a diachronic and historical perspective. Its originality lies in its explanation of why the book of Zechariah was expanded with chs. 9–14, based on a sociohistorical reading of these chapters within the context of the Ptolemaic period. Due to the complexity of the text, few scholars read Zech 9–14 from a sociohistorical perspective, and even fewer with the Ptolemaic period in mind.[6] However, as I will argue, the many particularities of Zech 9–14 vis-à-vis Zech 1–8 and prophetic literature more broadly are best explained in the light of this sociohistorical context.

Since there is no scholarly consensus concerning the interpretation of Zech 9–14, I will use the first part of this article to establish a general framework for reading these chapters. This framework will enable me to provide in the second part reasons for the expansion of the book of Zechariah based on a sociohistorical reading of three main themes in Zech 9–14; namely, the war of Jerusalem against the nations, the judgment of shepherds and the end of YHWH's prophets. This analysis will ultimately point to the transition from Persian to Hellenistic domination as the main historical factor behind the development of these themes within the book of Zechariah. This transition is complex and the material culture does not indicate a rupture between the Persian and the Ptolemaic periods.[7] Nonetheless, I will argue that certain

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[5] See in particular E. H. Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. An Exegetical Commentary* (Biblical Studies Press, 2003), esp. 71–75; B. G. Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road: The Book of Zechariah in Social Location Trajectory Analysis* (Academia Biblica, 25; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), esp. 231–280; A. R. Petterson, *Behold Your King: The Hope for the House of David in the Book of Zechariah* (LHB/OTS, 513; New York/London: T&T Clark, 2009), esp. 2–3; Wenzel, *Reading Zechariah*, esp. 201–204.

[6] For instance, Curtis reads Zech 9–14 in the sociohistorical context of the early Persian period (Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, esp. 231–280), whereas J. Nogalski, who maintains a Hellenistic date for Zech 9–14, explains the expansion of Zech 1–8 with Zech 9–14 only on literary grounds: the function of Zech 9–14 (initially Zech 9–11) is to smooth the transition between Zech 1–8 and Malachi (*Redactional Processes*, 213–247). Floyd is one of few scholars who offers a reading of Zech 9–14 in the social context of the early Hellenistic period (M. H. Floyd, *Minor Prophets. Part 2* [FOTL, 22; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000], 303–317 and 440–558 [esp. 313–317, 452–457, 508–514]).

[7] See in particular, O. Lipschits, "Persian-Period Judah: A New Perspective," in L. Jonker (ed.), *Texts, Contexts and Readings in Postexilic*

sociopolitical developments taking place under Ptolemaic rule best explain the expansion of the book of Zechariah with chs. 9–14. By relating literary observations with sociohistorical realities, I hope to show (at least) that the historical inquiry of Zech 9–14 should not be neglected in favor of literary analyses. Rather, both approaches are complementary for our understanding of these chapters.

1. AN OVERARCHING FRAMEWORK FOR READING ZECHARIAH 9–14

In this section, I will briefly address the main questions surrounding the interpretation of Zech 9–14 in order to pave the way for a sociohistorical reading of these chapters. My remarks will concern 1) the hypothesis of a diachronic distinction between chs. 9–14 and chs. 1–8; 2) the structure and composition of Zech 9–14; 3) the question of the relation of chs. 9–14 to chs. 1–8; and 4) the problem of the historical context of chs. 9–14.[8]

Literature: Explorations into Historiography and Identity Negotiation in Hebrew Bible and Related Texts (FAT II, 53; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 187–211; idem, "Jerusalem between Two Periods of Greatness: The Size and Status of the City in the Babylonian, Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods," in L. L. Grabbe and O. Lipschits (eds.), *Judah between East and West: The Transition from Persian to Greek Rule (ca. 400–200 BCE)* (LSTS, 75; London/New York, T&T Clark, 2011), 163–175. In many respects, changes between the Persian and the Ptolemaic periods were not radical. We should therefore be careful not to overstate the difference between these two historical periods. For instance, Alexander the Great considered continuity with the Persian imperial structure important and so maintained the satrapal system, albeit with some differences introduced (I. Worthington, "Alexander the Great, Nation Building, and the Creation and Maintenance of Empire," in V. D. Hanson [ed.], *Makers of Ancient Strategy: From the Persian Wars to the Fall of Rome* [Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010], 118–137 [125–127]). On the transition between the Persian and Ptolemaic periods, see also, O. Lipschits and O. Tal, "The Settlement Archaeology of the Province of Judah: A Case Study," in O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 33–52; P. Briant and F. Joannés (eds.), *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350–300 av. J.-C.)* (Persika, 9; Paris: Editions de Boccard, 2006), esp. the article of A. Lemaire, "La Transeuphratène en transition (*c.* 350–300)," 405–441 (esp. 414–416); J. K. Aitken, "Judaic National Identity," in L. L. Grabbe and O. Lipschits (eds.), *Judah between East and West*, 31–48.

[8] The question of the thematic and redactional relationship of Zech 9–14 to the rest of the Twelve cannot be addressed in this article. It seems to me that the redactions of Zech 9–14 cannot be identified in other books of the Twelve; on this question, see in particular Bosshard and Kratz, "Maleachi im Zwölfprophetenbuch"; Steck, *Abschluß der Prophetie*; Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 213–247; Wöhrle, *Abschluss des Zwölfprophetenbuches*, esp. 67–189, 264–287, 335–361. Nevertheless, the argument developed here is helpful for

1.1 THE DISTINCT ORIGIN OF ZECHARIAH 9–14

While some scholars have recently defended a Zecharian origin for chs. 9–14,[9] there still remains an important consensus concerning the separate origin of these chapters. This is attested by their usual designation as "Deutero-Zechariah" or "Second Zechariah" since the study of B. Stade (1881–82),[10] and by the fact that various commentaries treat Zech 9–14 separately from Zech 1–8.[11] This consensus is based on the observation that Zech 9–14 differs both in form and content from Zech 1–8.[12] As to the content, it has often been observed that one of the main topics of Zech 1–8, the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple, is totally absent from Zech 9–14. Instead, the reconstruction of the temple is presupposed in Zech 9–14 (Zech 11:13; 14:20–21), an observation that presumably points toward a different historical context. This is corroborated by the fact that the protagonists of Zech 1–8, Joshua and Zerubbabel, are also absent from Zech 9–14; even the name Zechariah is never mentioned in chs 9–14.[13] Additionally, the chronological framework of Zech 1–8, which refers to the reign of the Persian king (Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1), is not maintained in Zech 9–14. Scholars have also pointed to significant differences in language, style and literary genre. In

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understanding the late stages of the Twelve's formation, because it aims to explain why the book of Zechariah specifically, rather than another prophetic book, has been supplemented with such a text as Zech 9–14.

[9] See footnote 5.

[10] See the tripartite article of B. Stade, "Deuterozacharja: Eine kritische Studie," *ZAW* 1 (1881), 1–96 (1 n. 2) and *ZAW* 2 (1882), 151–172 and 275–309. Zechariah 12–14 is also sometimes called "Trito-Zechariah" (see for instance, O. Plöger, *Theokratie and Eschatologie* [WMANT, 2; Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Neukirchener Verlag, 1959], 97; K. Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments. Eine Einführung* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008], 198); Rudolph once even envisaged the appellation *Tetartosacharja* for Zech 14 but eventually renounced such an appellation (Rudolph, *Sacharja*, 162). I do not use the designations Second, Deutero- or Trito-Zechariah because they tend to suggest that these chapters come from one or two actual prophet(s) or scribe(s) (see for instance Stade, "Deuterozacharja," esp. part 1, 96 and part 3, 307). I rather think they are scribal prophecies that developed gradually (see below).

[11] See footnote no. 4.

[12] See for instance H. G. Mitchell, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai and Zechariah* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 232–259; Rudolph, *Sacharja*, 159–161; R. F. Person, *Second Zechariah and the Deuteronomic School* (JSOTSup, 167; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 14–16; A. Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten III. Zefanja, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi* (NEchtB Altes Testament; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1988), 266–267.

[13] The absence of the name Zechariah in Zech 9–14 does not mean that these chapters are not to be read as Zechariah's prophecies. Yet, it may hint at the secondary nature of these chapters (see for instance the absence of the name Isaiah in Isa 40–66).

particular, not only is the chief structuring marker of Zech 1–8, namely, the chronological notes referring to the reign of the Persian ruler (Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1), absent from Zech 9–14, but also these chapters are organized by other headings in Zech 9:1 and 12:1 (see below) based on the term משא (often translated as "oracle" or "utterance"), which do not appear in Zech 1–8. Also noteworthy is the linguistic dissimilarity between Zech 1–8 and Zech 9–14, which is supported by statistical analysis.[14] For instance, the prophetic-word formulas כה אמר יהוה and ויהי דבר יהוה (with or without צבאות), both of which are prominent in Zech 1–8, disappear in Zech 9–14 (with the exception of Zech 11:4). They are replaced by expressions such as ביום ההוא (found sixteen times in Zech 12–14 versus three times in Zech 1–8). Poetic style appears suddenly in Zech 9–10, with no antecedent in Zech 1–8.[15] Further, no report of prophetic vision is present in Zech 9–14, whereas it is the main literary genre of Zech 1–6. Meaningfully, even scholars defending a Zecharian origin for the whole book treat Zech 9–14 separately and set it in a different sociohistorical context than the first eight chapters in order to make sense of these differences in both form and content.[16]

In addition, I consider one of the main divergences between the two sections of the book of Zechariah to be the

[14] See Y. T. Radday and D. Wickman, "The Unity of Zechariah Examined in the Light of Statistical Linguistics," *ZAW* 87 (1975), 30–55 (differentiating chs. 12–14 from the rest of the book); Y. T. Radday and M. A. Pollatschek, "Vocabulary Richness in Post-Exilic Prophetic Books," *ZAW* 92 (1980), 333–346 (separating chs. 9–11 and 12–14 from chs. 1–8); S. L. Portnoy and D. L. Petersen, "Biblical Texts and Statistical Analysis: Zechariah and Beyond," *JBL* 103 (1984), 11–21 (separating chs. 9–14 from chs. 1–8, and chs. 9–11 from chs. 12–14). As it is made clear by these articles, the use of statistical analysis in the study of the Hebrew Bible raises several methodological questions and requires great caution in the interpretation of results. But in this case, statistical analysis shows at least the significant linguistic dissimilarity between Zech 9–14 and Zech 1–8, as well as between chs. 9–11 and chs. 12–14.

[15] Concerning the poetic style of Zech 9:1–11:3, see in particular the analyses in P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic. The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 292–337; Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 164–230 (esp. the charts about prose particle density).

[16] For instance, Curtis, who maintains the possibility of a single author for the whole book of Zechariah, hypothesizes a radical change in the social location of the prophet in order to explain the differences between the two sections of the book without assigning them to different authors (or at least to different prophetic groups). I am not convinced, though, that this is the easiest way to make sense of these differences; see Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, esp. 231–280; idem, "The *Mas'ot* Triptych and the Date of Zechariah 9–14: Issues in the Latter Formation of the Book of the Twelve," in R. Albertz, J. D. Nogalski, and J. Wöhrle (eds.), *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve. Methodological Foundations – Redactional Processes – Historical Insights* (BZAW, 433; Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2012), 191–206.

discrete ideologies they develop. Zechariah 9–14 presents a more negative worldview and a more dramatic conception of history than does Zech 1–8, to the extent that Zech 9–14 has been treated as apocalyptic literature.[17] As a matter of fact, a major change takes place in ch. 9 whereby Jerusalem's relations with the nations take on a warlike dimension.[18] Whereas the nations converge on Jerusalem in order to worship YHWH at the end of ch. 8, in ch. 9 Jerusalem is attacked by the Greeks, and in chs. 12 and 14 nations converge on Jerusalem in order to attack the holy city. Only then is the worship of YHWH by the nations in Jerusalem (Zech 14:16–21) envisioned anew. Moreover, the depiction of the Judean community, its leadership and its destiny is clearly more negative in Zech 9–14 than in Zech 1–8. Indeed, despite the presence of positive images in Zech 9–14 (e.g., in 9:16–17; 10:10–12; 12:8; 14:20–23), the community and its leadership (often referred to as a flock, צאן, and its shepherd[s], רעה) are the object of severe divine judgments announcing devastation (see esp. Zech 10:1–3a; 11:1–3, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15–16, 17; 13:7–8; 14:1–2). In particular, Zech 11 presents a sharp criticism of the community and its leadership. This criticism occurs in a chapter that occupies a pivotal position within Zech 9–14.[19] No similar criticism is found in Zech 1–8. On the contrary, chs. 1–8 present a positive view of the community and its destiny: it is guided by esteemed leaders such as Zerubbabel and Joshua (Zech 3; 4:6b–10a; 6:9–15; 8), and it is mainly the object of divine blessings (see ch. 8 in particular).[20] The categories of utopia and dystopia have

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[17] See in particular Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 280–401. For a reevaluation of the relation between Zech 9–14 and apocalyptic literature, see E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End. Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic* (OTS, 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996), esp. 89–133, 214–265. Zechariah 9–14 is often described as a "proto-apocalyptic" text or as displaying a "proto-apocalyptic" eschatology; see in particular S. L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism. The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), esp. 34–35; recently L.-S. Tiemeyer, "Will the Prophetic Texts from the Hellenistic Period Stand Up, Please!," in Grabbe and Lipschits (eds.), *Judah between East and West*, 255–279 (261–263). Even if Zech 9–14 has similarities to apocalyptic literature, I will not use this category because it is fuzzy and poorly defined (for instance, Tiemeyer ["Will the Prophetic Texts," 262] use it "for texts falling in between 'prophetic eschatology' and 'apocalyptic eschatology' "). Although this topic relates to my interpretation of Zech 9–14, limitations of space prevent me from addressing precisely the relationship between this text and apocalyptic literature.

[18] Despite the fact that it contains some oracles against nations (e.g., in Zech 1:15; 2:3–4, 12–13), Zech 1–8 does not envisage any armed conflict between Jerusalem and other nations. On the contrary, Zech 1–8 acknowledges the authority of the Persian Empire, as suggested by the references to the reign of the Persian king structuring these chapters (1:1, 7; 7:1).

[19] See for instance Redditt, *Zechariah 9–14*, 19 and 25.

[20] Zech 5:1–4 contains the sole judgment of Zech 1–8 that directly affects the Judean community. Note that it is only directed

been aptly employed by S. J. Schweitzer to describe the general perspective of Zech 9–14.[21] Indeed, these chapters alternate utopian depictions and dystopian ones, as is most clear in the last chapter where the plundering of Jerusalem is followed by a divine intervention against the nations and the installation of the city as the cultic center of the world. Although both sections of the book contain utopian depictions related to the restoration of Jerusalem and Judah, Zech 9–14 also manifests a clear dystopian outlook that is absent from Zech 1–8. This specific aspect of Zech 9–14 reflects an important conceptual divergence regarding the restoration of Jerusalem and Judah. Whereas Zech 1–8 relates the restoration to the reconstruction of the temple and announces it in the near future, Zech 9–14 develops the conception that the glorious restoration of Jerusalem and Judah will only take place after a period of great troubles. Such a conceptual difference strongly pleads in favor of a diachronic distinction between the two sections of the book.

1.2 THE STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF ZECHARIAH 9–14

A diachronic separation does not always imply a synchronic separation, and so the latter must be established independently. Against the major view that sees Zech 9–14 as a section in itself, some scholars consider chs. 9–14 to be part of a larger section that begins with the oracular introduction of Zech 7:1.[22] The key question concerns the structuring function of the term משא in Zech 9:1 and 12:1, which serves to introduce the two subsections of Zech 9–14 (chs. 9–11 and chs. 12–14). For instance, S. Frolov argues that this term does not seem to indicate a change of time, venue and/or speaker, and therefore chs. 9–14 can be understood as the continuation of the section introduced by the chronological notice of Zech 7:1.[23]

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against those who steal and swear, whereas in Zech 9–14 judgments strike the community more generally.

[21] S. J. Schweitzer, "Visions of the Future as Critique of the Present: Utopian and Dystopian Images of the Future in Second Zechariah," in E. Ben Zvi (ed.), *Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic Literature* (Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society, 92; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 249–267; see also, in the same volume, S. J. Schweitzer, "Utopia and Utopian Literary Theory: Some Preliminary Observations," 13–26.

[22] See in particular M. G. Kline, "The Structure of the Book of Zechariah," *JETS* 34 (1991), 179–193; E. W. Conrad, *Zechariah* (Readings: A New Biblical Commentary; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 131; S. Frolov, "Is the Narrator also among the Prophets? Reading Zechariah without Presuppositions," *BibInt* 13 (2005), 13–40 (28–29).

[23] Ibid., 28–29. Zechariah 7:1 sets the chronological framework of the following oracles during the fourth year of Darius, and more precisely on the fourth day of the ninth month. If, as Frolov and other scholars argue, this is to be considered an introduction to the

Nonetheless, Frolov admits that "9:1 and 12:1 provide the audience with the option of reading ch. 9–11 and 12–14 as compositions in their own right and therefore should not be totally overlooked."[24] Despite this concession, Frolov, along with other scholars, downplays the structuring role of the term משא.[25] However, this role is well attested in Isaiah's oracles against the nations (cf. Isa 13:1; 15:1; 17:1; 19:1; 21:1, 11, 13; 22:1; 23:1) and by the fact that in the Twelve, משא serves as an introduction for whole books (Nah 1:1; Hab 1:1; Mal 1:1).[26] Furthermore, the introductory sequence משא דבר יהוה is attested in the Hebrew Bible only in Zech 9:1; 12:1 and the superscription of Mal 1:1. This sequence brings Zech 9–14 closer to the book of Malachi and consequently tends to distinguish Zech 9–14 from Zech 1–8, where the term משא is not even present.[27] That משא does not explicitly introduce a change of time, venue, and/or speaker (as opposed to the superscriptions in Zech 1–8; cf. Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1) is not decisive,

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remainder of the book (Zech 7–14), it would mean that the prophet is presented as, *on the same day* answering a question on fasting with more than ten oracles (chs. 7–8), making a massive proclamation concerning the international political situation (chs. 9–10), accomplishing several symbolic acts that focus more particularly on local social conditions (chs. 11), and finally making another significant proclamation concerning relations between Jerusalem and the nations (chs. 12–14). This reading does not seem to be the easiest one. Perhaps some scholars tend to project the length and productivity of their own working days onto the activity of ancient prophets (if so, it would be to their credit [unless they have children]).

[24] Ibid., 29.

[25] When we do not treat משא as a major structural marker in Zechariah, this creates a disproportion in the structure of the book, and more specifically, downplays the importance of Zech 9–14 given its length (constituting more than one third of the book). This is a striking aspect of the formal and conceptual structures presented by Frolov (38–40). For instance, in his formal structure, the unique verse Zech 8:23 is presented as a subsection at the same level as chs. 9–11 and chs. 12–14 (respectively the third, the fourth and the fifth subsection of what he calls the fifth development of the third episode); in his conceptual structure, the whole of chs. 9–14 is considered as a sub-sub-subsection of the third episode of the book (at the same level as the short passage of Zech 8:20–23)!

[26] Some scholars even suggested that the term משא designates a specific literary genre; see R. D. Weis, "Oracle," *ABD* 5, 28–29; M. H. Floyd, "The מַשָּׂא (MAŚŚĀʾ) as a Type of Prophetic Book," *JBL* 121 (2002), 401–422; but see M. J. Boda, "Freeing the Burden of Prophecy: Maśśāʾ and the Legitimacy of Prophecy in Zech 9–14," *Bib* 87 (2006), 338–357; see also I. Willi-Plein, "Wort, Last oder Auftrag? Zur Bedeutung von משא in Überschriften prophetischer Texteinheiten," in I. Willi-Plein, *Davidshaus und Prophetie. Studien zu den Nebiim* (Biblisch-theologische Studien, 127; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Theologie, 2012), 173–182.

[27] This does not mean that Zech 9–14 should be conceived as a work independent from Zech 1–8 since, unlike Mal 1:1, the sequence משא דבר יהוה in Zech 9:1 and 12:1 does not serve to introduce a specific figure; see Floyd, "מַשָּׂא (MAŚŚĀʾ)," 408–422.

since prophetic books are in general not consistent in their use of structural markers. For instance, the three main sections of the book of Isaiah are not introduced in the same way, and dated introductions appear only in the first section (similar to the book of Zechariah). In addition to the change of oracular introduction in Zech 9–14, the above-mentioned differences on formal and thematic grounds between Zech 1–8 and Zech 9–14 also support a synchronic separation between chs. 8 and 9. Thus, the headings using the term משא in Zech 9:1 and 12:1 most probably indicate a synchronic separation from Zech 7–8. Moreover, their similarity suggests Zech 9–11 and 12–14 are closely related and together form another section of the book.

As to its internal structure,[28] Zech 9–14 mainly displays three dominant scenarios of the future, each depicting a warlike conflict in which Jerusalem is under enemy attack (Zech 9–10; 12:1–13:6; 14):[29] the first attack is carried out by Greeks (9:13) and the other two by a coalition of nations (12:2–3; 14:2). Although these war scenarios all lead to the restoration of Jerusalem and Judah, they are all quite different, with specific accents that sometimes contrast and create significant tensions. For instance, whereas in the first scenario Israel's victory over its enemies is total, the end of the second scenario is associated with a mysterious pierced figure and a great lamentation (12:10–14), and the third scenario even describes the sack of Jerusalem by the nations (14:1–2). Indeed, the further we read on in the text, the more dramatic the war scenarios become. The war scenarios are interspersed with passages focusing on the community and its ill fate, namely, Zech 11 and 13:7–9 (see also 10:1–3a). Both passages correct the triumphalism of the preceding war scenario(s) with harsh criticism and devastating divine judgments over the community and some of its leaders, the latter referred to as shepherds (רעה). At the same time, they prepare for the more dramatic war scenario(s) that are to follow. Hence, the general structure of Zech 9–14 indicates that Jerusalem's war against its enemies and the judgment of

[28] On the structure of Zech 9–14, see in particular M. Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah* (JSOTSup, 130; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992); Floyd, *Minor Prophets*, esp. 440–444 and 493–499; Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 161–164.

[29] Cf. D. Ellul, "Variations sur le theme de la guerre sainte dans le Deutero-Zacharie," *ETR* 56 (1981), 55–71; she distinguishes five battle scenes in Zech 9–14: 9:1–10; 9:11–17; 10:3b–11:3; 12:1–13:9; 14:1–21. I group the first three scenes distinguished by Ellul together because the second and the third each presuppose the preceding scene(s), while the fourth and the fifth do not. Although some links between subdivisions can be difficult to define precisely, the idea of war scenarios is helpful in connecting the different motifs displayed by Zech 9–14, taking into consideration the particular development of the war theme in these chapters. See also Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 280–401 (and idem, "Zechariah 9 and the Recapitulation of an Ancient Ritual Pattern," *JBL* 92 [1973], 37–59), who stresses the importance of the conflict myth and the divine warrior imagery in Zech 9–14.

the shepherds are two structuring topics in Zech 9–14. Another important theme in Zech 9–14 is that of the end of YHWH's prophets,[30] a theme that is explicitly addressed at the end of the second scenario in Zech 13:2–6. However, this theme is not restricted to this passage alone but rather is anticipated by the criticism of some forms of divination and cult in Zech 10:1–3a, namely, *teraphim*, diviners, and dreams, whose relation to prophecy is easily made (cf. Jer 23:25–32; 27:9–10; 29:8–9). Moreover, as I will argue, other motifs such as the shepherd's resignation from his mission in Zech 11 (vv. 8–9) and the reference to the pierced figure in Zech 12:10 can be related to the question of the end of YHWH's prophets. Due to their centrality in Zech 9–14, the themes of war, the judgment of the shepherds and the end of YHWH's prophets will be the focus of this article.[31]

Although I do not aim to provide a redactional analysis of Zech 9–14, these synchronic observations allow me to offer some brief diachronic insights that are significant for my argument. The composition of Zech 9–14 is complex and disputed. However, many scholars believe that this section is not homogeneous but was formed by the addition or compilation of several substantial passages or "blocks."[32] The fact that, as noted above, the text includes three war scenarios, which are quite different and often in tension with one another, supports this view by suggesting that these scenarios probably came from different hands.[33] Furthermore, the passages connecting the war scenarios and also correcting them with a

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[30] I prefer to call the third theme "the end of YHWH's prophets" and not "the end of prophecy" because, contrary to the latter appellation, it does not imply the end of every kind of prophetic activity (for instance, cultic prophecy, non-Yahwist prophecy or Yahwist prophecy perceived as illegitimate).

[31] Schweitzer ("Visions of the Future") also emphasizes three main themes in Zech 9–14 but the last one is somewhat different: "militarism and peace," "condemnation of the past and present leadership," and "transformations: geography, ecology, and religion."

[32] See in particular K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II. Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi* (ATD, 25; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1951), 133–135; Rudolph, *Sacharja*, 161–162; Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 280–401; P. L. Redditt, "Israel's Shepherds: Hope and Pessimism in Zechariah 9–14," *CBQ* 51 (1989), 631–642; Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 213–247; Steck, *Abschluß der Prophetie*, esp. 25–60. Uniquely, Wöhrle identifies layers (rather than blocks) that span the whole of chs. 9–14 and beyond in the Twelve (Wöhrle, *Abschluss des Zwölfprophetenbuches*, 67–138). Generally, it seems to me that the layers identified by Wöhrle break the inner coherence of the war scenarios of Zech 9–14.

[33] This does not mean that each war scenario is necessarily homogeneous. The case is probably more complex. At the very lest, these scenarios underwent minor additions (e.g., 12:2b; 14:13–14). In particular, the composition of Zech 9–10 could be the result of several substantial additions; see for instance A. Kunz, *Ablehnung des Krieges. Untersuchungen zu Sacharja 9–10* (Herders Biblische Studien, 17; Freiburg: Herder, 1998), esp. 371.

negative view of the community (Zech 11; 13:7–9) probably came from another hand. The precise delimitation and the chronology of these blocks are a matter of debate that I will not address. It can nonetheless be said that ch. 14 is usually seen as one of the latest texts of Zech 9–14, and ch. 9 one of the earliest.[34] These brief diachronic remarks reveal a significant point: the composition of Zech 9–14 does not stem from one specific historical event, but is rather the outcome of larger historical developments taking place over the span of a certain time period (perhaps more than one or two generations). I will return to this point when I address the question of the historical context of Zech 9–14.

1.3 ZECHARIAH 9–14 AS THE CONTINUATION OF ZECHARIAH 1–8

Classically, since Stade,[35] Zech 9–14 has been attributed to an anonymous prophet or author whom scholars call Deutero-Zechariah. According to this model, Zech 9–14 was originally independent from Zech 1–8 and both texts were later united, for obscure reasons.[36] Other scholars saw in Zech 9–14 a compilation of various anonymous and independent sayings or collections of sayings organized by means of redaction.[37] In this case also, it remains unclear why at a certain point these anonymous sayings were attributed to the prophet Zechariah. In fact, despite the particular superscriptions based on the term משא in Zech 9:1 and 12:1 and their similarities with Malachi's superscription, the absence of any mention of a new figure (contrary to Mal 1:1) indicates that chs. 9–14 are to be read as Zechariah's prophecy.[38] In particular, the first-person singular

[34] See for instance the relative chronology of the texts of Zech 9–14 in Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 134–135; Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 280–401; Steck, *Abschluß der Prophetie*, 30–46. On the late character of Zech 14, see in particular J. Gärtner, *Jesaja 66 und Sacharja 14 als Summe der Prophetie: Eine traditions- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Abschluss des Jesaja- und des Zwölfprophetenbuches* (WMANT, 114; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2006), esp. 12–16; Kunz (*Ablehnung des Krieges* [esp. 371]) dates Zech 9–10 to the second century B.C.E., but he does not set these chapters into a clear relative chronology with the other passages of Zech 9–14.

[35] Stade, "Deuterozacharja," esp. part 1, 1 n. 2.

[36] In particular, Stade does not explain why Zech 9–14 (a section originally independent according to him) has been inserted in the book of Zechariah. He only mentions very briefly that this is related to the completion of the Twelve (ibid., part 3, 307–309).

[37] Cf. M. Saebø, *Sacharja 9–14. Untersuchung von Text und Form* (WMANT, 34; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969); I. Willi-Plein, *Prophetie am Ende. Untersuchung zu Sacharja 9–14* (BBB, 42; Köln: Peter Hanstein, 1974), esp. 62–63; Redditt, "Israel's Shepherds," 631–642; idem, *Zechariah 9–14*, 20–26; idem, "Redactional Connectors in Zechariah 9–14," in Albertz, Nogalski and Wöhrle (eds.), *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 207–222 (208–212).

[38] Based mainly on the similarities of the superscriptions (Zech

in ch. 11 must be interpreted as referring to the prophet Zechariah (as is the case in Zech 1–8) since no specific indication is given for another identification. Given the wider context of this text within the book of Zechariah, this interpretation seems by far the most fitting.

With other scholars like E. Bosshard, R. G. Kratz, and O. H. Steck,[39] I think that the best explanation for the attribution of chs. 9–14 to the prophet Zechariah is that these chapters are scribal prophecies composed from the outset to complete the book of Zechariah (that is *Fortschreibungen*). It is indeed well established that Judean scribes not only copied authoritative texts but also edited, updated, and expanded them in order to bring them closer to their present situation.[40] Zechariah 9–14 is probably the fruit of such scribal interventions within the book of Zechariah, as evidenced by the text's extensive intertextuality.[41] During the last decades, this notable intertextuality has been the object of several studies,[42] which

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9:1; 12:1; Mal 1:1), some scholars hypothesize an original transmission of Zech 9–14 together with Malachi and separated from Zech 1–8 (see in particular Stade, "Deuterozacharja," part 3, 307–309; Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, esp. 275–276; idem, "The *Mas'ot* Triptych and the Date of Zechariah 9–14"). This hypothesis, though, hardly explains why Zech 9–14 has been joined to Zech 1–8 at some point. In order to solve this problem, Curtis postulates that there was a tradition attributing Zech 9–11 and Zech 12–14 to the prophet Zechariah (Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 275–276). Such an explanation is quite complex because it implies that Zech 9–14 was separated from Zech 1–8 and transmitted anonymously despite the fact that it was already attributed to Zechariah.

[39] Cf. Bosshard and Kratz, "Maleachi im Zwölfprophetenbuch," 41–45; Steck, *Abschluß der Prophetie*, esp. 30–60; see also somewhat different, Nogalski, *Redactional Processes*, 213–247 (who does not exclude the use of some pre-existing material, especially in the case of Zech 9–11), and Person, *Second Zechariah*, esp. 140–142 (who considers Zech 9–14 as stemming from a Deuteronomistic redaction of the book of Zechariah based on a poetic source, Zech 9).

[40] See for instance, P. R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Library of Ancient Israel; Louisville: Westminster J. Knox Press, 1998), esp. 115–120; K. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2007), esp. 109–141, 173–204; C. Nihan, "Phénomènes de réécriture et autorité des recueils prophétiques," in C. Clivaz et al. (eds.), *Écritures et réécritures. La reprise interprétative des traditions fondatrices par la littérature biblique et extra-biblique* (BETL, 248; Leuven/Paris/Walpole: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2012), 105–122; idem, " 'The Prophets' as Scriptural Collection and Scriptural Prophecy during the Second Temple Period," in P. Davies and T. Römer (eds.), *Writing the Bible: Scribes, Scribalism and Script* (BibleWorld; Durham: Acumen, 2013), 67–85; K. Schmid, "L'auto-compréhension des livres prophétiques comme littérature de réécriture," in C. Clivaz et al. (eds.), *Écritures et réécritures*, 123–136.

[41] The probable late date of the text also points in that direction (see below).

[42] See already Stade, "Deuterozacharja," part 1, 41–96; M. Delcor, "Les sources du deutéro-Zacharie et ses procédés d'emprunt," *RB* 59

show that Zech 9–14 frequently alludes to other prophetic traditions, especially Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Hosea, as well as to the Torah and the Psalms, so much so that some scholars use the term *anthology* to define this text.[43] This particular feature of Zech 9–14 is not without relation to the numerous references to biblical texts displayed in later Qumranian compositions and supports a reading of these chapters as scribal prophecies, most probably of a late date.[44]

The dependence of Zech 9–14 upon Zech 1–8 is suggested by some literary connections between the two parts of the book.[45] For instance, the theme of the restoration of

(1952), 385–411; Willi-Plein, *Prophetie am Ende*, 65–94; R. F. Person, *Second Zechariah*, esp. 84–144; K. R. Schaefer, "Zechariah 14: A Study in Allusion," *CBQ* 57 (1995), 66–91; N. H. F. Tai, *Prophetie als Schriftauslegung in Sacharja 9–14. Traditions- und kompositionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Calwer Theologische Monographien, 17; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1996); K. Larkin, *The Eschatology of Second Zechariah* (CBET, 6; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994); R. Nurmela, *Prophets in Dialogue: Inner-Biblical Allusions in Zech 1–8 and 9–14* (Åbo: Åbo Akademis Förlag, 1996); R. Mason, "Why is Second Zechariah so Full of Quotations?," in C. Tuckett (ed.), *The Book of Zechariah and its Influence* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003), 21–28; M. J. Boda and M. H. Floyd (eds.), *Bringing Out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion in Zechariah 9–14* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004), esp. R. Mason, "The Use of Earlier Biblical Material in Zechariah 9–14. A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1973), 1–208; M. J. Boda and S. E. Porter, "Intertextuality to the Third Degree: Prophecy in Zech 9–14 and the Passion of Christ," in R. David and M. M. Jinbashian (eds.), *Traduire la Bible Hébraïque: De la Septante à la Nouvelle Bible Segond* (Montréal: Mediaspaul, 2005), 215–254 (215–234).

[43] See in particular Larkin, *Eschatology of Second Zechariah*; Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 161. Although it can be said that Zech 9–14 displays some anthological traits, I am reluctant to treat Zech 9–14 only as a mere anthology of sayings.

[44] See C. Edenburg, "Intertextuality, Literary Competence and the Question of Readership: Some Preliminary Observations," *JSOT* 35 (2010), 131–148, who argues that a text filled with specific literary allusions is more likely to have emerged from a limited group of highly literate scribes.

[45] See in particular Mason, "Relation of Zechariah 9–14," 227–239. Mason speaks about "continuing lines of traditions" (227; cf. 238) between both sections of the book. He emphasizes five such lines: the prominence of the Zion tradition, the cleansing of the community, universalism, the appeal to the earlier prophets and the provision of leadership as a sign of the new age. However, not all the connections he points out are compelling arguments for the dependence of chs. 9–14 upon chs. 1–8. Even if Zech 9–14 most probably relies on Zech 1–8, as some elements of the text indicate, it must be noted that Zech 9–14 does not borrow much from Zech 1–8 but rather refers more to other prophetic traditions, such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel. This explains Mason's broad formulation, "continuing lines of traditions." Floyd overstates the case when he writes about "the considerable extent to which chapters 1–8 provide the phraseological and thematic stuff of chapters 9–12"; see M. H. Floyd, "Was Prophetic Hope Born of Disappointment?: The Case of Zechariah," in E. Ben Zvi (ed.), *Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic*

Jerusalem appears as an overarching theme for the whole book, and both sections end with a scenario of the nations' pilgrimage to Jerusalem to worship YHWH. Or, more precisely, the call to rejoice in Zech 9:9–10 is probably an echo of the call to rejoice in Zech 2:14–16: both texts exhort the daughter of Zion (בת ציון) to rejoice (the verbs are not the same but are synonymous) because of a special arrival in Jerusalem (particle הנה + verb בוא), namely, YHWH in Zech 2 and a humble king in Zech 9.[46] A. Schart has rightly pointed out that the connections between Zech 9–14 and Zech 1–8 are few compared to the former's connections to the Jeremiah and Ezekiel traditions. On this basis, he doubts that Zech 9–14 was originally written in the context of the book of Zechariah.[47] However, as I argue below, the prominent use of prophetic traditions other than Zech 1–8 in Zech 9–14 can well be explained in the context of the book of Zechariah. Zechariah 9–14 relies heavily on older prophetic traditions in a way that is consistent with Zech 1–8's depiction of the prophet recalling the words of the "prophets of old" (הנביאים הראשנים; Zech 1:4; 7:7, 12) in language inspired by other prophetic traditions, Jeremiah in particular (Zech 1:1–6; 7:4–14).[48] This conceptual and linguistic congruity hints that Zech 9–14 was written as the continuation of Zech 1–8.

1.4 THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF ZECHARIAH 9–14

The dating of Zech 9–14 has been a matter of great disagreement among scholars. Based mainly on the identification of historical allusions, numerous dates have been proposed, from the monarchic period down to the Maccabean times.[49] Hence, as several scholars point out, establishing a direct relationship between details of the text and specific historical events has mostly been unsuccessful as a method for dating Zech 9–14.[50] Given the past proliferation of historical interpretations, some scholars even abandoned reading Zech 9–14 in a precise historical context (albeit often still implying a Persian setting).[51] The difficulty in interpreting historical

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Literature, 268–296 (287).

[46] Cf. Floyd, "Was Prophetic Hope Born of Disappointment?," 286–290; M. R. Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8* (LHB/OTS, 506; New York/London: T&T Clark, 2009), 263–264.

[47] Schart, *Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs*, 275.

[48] Stead, *Intertextuality*, 75–86, 231–236.

[49] Scholars have abandoned a pre-exilic date for the composition of Zech 9–14, though some still think that certain sayings may be pre-exilic (and later reworked in postexilic times); see for instance H. G. Reventlow, *Die Propheten Haggai, Sacharja und Maleachi* (ATD, 25/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 87–88.

[50] See for instance Tiemeyer, "Will the Prophetic Texts," esp. 263–265, 273–275. The three shepherds of Zech 11:8 in particular have been the object of countless historical identifications; cf. P. L. Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 95–100.

[51] See for instance, symptomatically, R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*

allusions is a result of the chapters' utopian/dystopian perspective:[52] Zech 9–14 seeks not to describe a historical reality but rather to transform it and create a new reality. This perspective makes the text elusive as regards historical reality.[53] As I observed above, the alternating dystopian and utopian motifs serve to construct a scenario in which the restoration of Jerusalem and Judah is preceded by great troubles. More than merely a utopian depiction, Zech 9–14 also portrays a disappointing situation and envisages the dramatic way in which utopia will become reality. As Schweitzer points out, one of the main functions of such literature is to criticize an actual situation by picturing it negatively and contrasting it with a much better one.[54] These theoretical observations indicate that rather than looking for particular events in specific passages, it is safer to try to find a larger social context that fits the main conceptions and particularities of the text. This is all the more necessary given that Zech 9–14 is probably not the work of a single author but rather the product of several substantial additions to the book of Zechariah, possibly spanning several decades (see above). As such, Zech 9–14 reflects the developments of a historical period, rather than punctual events. Together with several scholars, I argue that the sociohistorical context that best explains the production of Zech 9–14 is, more or less, the period of Ptolemaic rule over Judea (see below).[55]

(WBC, 32; Waco: Word Books, 1984), 249: "That these materials originally had a specific historical setting should not be denied. But it is no longer possible to identify such a situation"; more recently, see Petterson, *Behold Your King*, 2–3.

[52] Schweitzer, "Visions of the Future," esp. 265.

[53] This elusiveness is at some points comparable to the elusive character of apocalyptic literature; compare in particular the shepherd motif in Zech 11 and in the Animal Vision in 1 Enoch 85–90.

[54] S. J. Schweitzer, "Utopia and Utopian Literary Theory," 13–26; idem, "Visions of the Future". On the theory of utopia/utopianism, see for instance, Sargent, "The Three faces of Utopianism Revisited," *Utopian Studies* 5 (1994), 1–37; R. Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (Syracuse/New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), esp. 179–200; idem, "Introduction: The Elusive Idea of Utopia," *History of the Human Sciences* 16 (2003), 1–10; B. Goodwin and K. Taylor, *The Politics of Utopia: A Study in Theory and Practice* (1st ed. 1982; Ralahine Classics; Ralahine Utopian Studies, 5; Bern: P. Lang, 2009), esp. 31–68; F. Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (Londres/New York: Verso, 2005) esp. 1–9; R. Vieira, "The concept of Utopia," in G. Claeys (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3–27; J.-L. Nancy, "In Place of Utopia," in P. Vieira and M. Marder (eds.), *Existential Utopia: New Perspectives on Utopian Thought* (New York/London: Continuum, 2012), 3–11.

[55] See for instance Stade, "Deuterozacharja," part 3; K. Elliger, "Ein Zeugnis aus der jüdischen Gemeinde im Alexanderjahr 332 v. Chr.: Eine territorialgeschichtliche Studie zu Zech 9:1–8," *ZAW* 62 (1950), 63–115; Mitchell, *Zechariah*, esp. 232–259; W. Rudolph, *Sacharja*, 162–164; Nogalski, *Redactional Preceses*, 216; Steck, *Abschluß der*

As to the *terminus ad quem*, although A. Kunz recently defended a Maccabean setting for part of Zech 9–10,[56] such a date is not easily compatible with the oldest attestation of Zech 9–14 found in 4QXII[a]. This manuscript includes a passage from Zech 14 (Zech 14:18), one of the latest texts of Zech 9–14.[57] It could have been written already by the mid-second century.[58] Yet, the composition of Zech 9–14 presumably took place at least some years or decades before the redaction of 4QXII[a].[59] Furthermore, the Greek translation of the Twelve, which could have taken place during the first half of the second century B.C.E.,[60] attests to a version of Zechariah that is in general comparable to the Masoretic text.[61] This observation indicates that the text of Zechariah had already reached a high level of stability early in the second century B.C.E.[62] It thus seems reasonable to place the *terminus ad quem* for the development of Zech 9–14 at the beginning of the second century B.C.E. Thus, even if the latest redaction(s) of Zech 9–

Prophetie, esp. 73–106; R. Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period. Vol. 2: From the Exile to the Maccabees* (London: SCM Press, 1994), 566–570; Floyd, *Minor Prophets*, esp. 452–457, 508–511; Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, 198.

[56] Kunz, *Ablehnung des Krieges*, esp. 371. The passage he considers to be Maccabean is Zech 10:3–11:3. According to him, Zech 9 has been written between 200 and 168 B.C.E. See also, earlier, M. Treves, "Conjectures Concerning the Date and Authorship of Zechariah IX–XIV," *VT* 13 (1963), 196–207.

[57] See note 34.

[58] R. E. Fuller dates 4QXII[a] between 150 and 125 B.C.E. (E. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X. The Prophets* [DJD, XV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997], 221–223). See also the date of the manuscript 4QXII[b] around 150–125 B.C.E. (ibid., 233); however, none of its recovered fragments display passages from Zech 9–14.

[59] It is surprising that, despite the proximity of his date for Zech 9–10 to the date of 4QXII[a], Kunz (*Ablehnung des Krieges*) does not discuss this Qumran manuscript at all.

[60] Cf. M. Harl, G. Dorival, and O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante. Du Judaïsme hellénistique au Christianisme ancien* (Paris: Cerf/ Editions du C.N.R.S., 1988), 83–111.

[61] Of course, there are differences between the MT and LXX of Zechariah but the general content and structure are parallel, contrary to other books of the Hebrew Bible such as Jeremiah, Esther or Daniel. This closeness makes it difficult to speak of a different literary edition that would be reflected in the LXX of Zechariah; cf. M. Casevitz, C. Dogniez, and M. Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie. Les douze prophètes (10–11): Aggée, Zacharie* (Paris: Cerf, 2007), 115–116.

[62] See also van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, esp. 252 and 255, who argues that the scroll of the Twelve was published by the end of the third century. One could also add that the reference to the twelve prophets in Sir 49:10 implies the existence of a corpus of the Twelve and hints that this corpus has already reached its last stages of development in the beginning of the second century B.C.E. This is also suggested by Sir 48:10, which quotes the epilogue to Malachi (Mal 3:24), one of the latest texts of the prophetic corpus (see Steck, *Abschluß der Prophetie*, 127–144; van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 253–255).

14 could have taken place early in the Seleucid period,[63] it is safe to consider Zech 9–14 as mainly written before this period.

It should be emphasized that the specific and extensive intertextual relations of Zech 9–14 with other prophetic books, the Torah, and the Psalms imply a setting for Zech 9–14 late in the relative chronology of the Hebrew Bible. If, as many scholars think, a great part of these texts developed during the Persian period or somewhat later,[64] a Hellenistic date for Zech 9–14 is far from inappropriate. The fact that comparable allusive literature was produced in great number during the Hellenistic period (for instance at Qumran) also supports such a date. Recently, L.-S. Tiemeyer argued that there is no indisputable evidence that prophetic texts like Zech 9–14 were written during the Hellenistic period.[65] She maintains that the historical allusions can be interpreted in several ways, the language cannot be dated precisely, and specific features that bring some prophetic texts closer to apocalyptic literature are not necessarily Hellenistic. On this basis, she concludes that all prophetic texts were written during the Persian period. This argument is problematic, though, since it completely overlooks the textual evidence, which offers the clearest indication that prophetic books, Jeremiah and Ezekiel in particular, were still developing well into the Hellenistic period.[66] Methodologically,

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[63] This is not to be excluded in the case of Zech 14, one of the latest texts of Zech 9–14 (see footnote no. 34).

[64] See for instance Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, 140–200.

[65] In addition to Zech 9–14, Tiemeyer ("Will the Prophetic Texts") also treats Isa 18–23; 24–27; 56–66; Ezek 7 and 28.

[66] See in particular E. Tov, "L'incidence de la critique textuelle sur la critique littéraire dans le livre de Jérémie," *RB* 79 (1972), 189–199; P.-M. Bogaert, "Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina dans l'étude de la tradition des Septante. Ezéchiel et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967," *Bib* 59 (1978), 384–395; P.-M. Bogaert, "Le livre de Jérémie en perspective: les deux rédactions antiques selon les travaux en cours," *RB* 101 (1994), 363–406; A. Schenker, "La rédaction longue du livre de Jérémie doit-elle être datéee au temps des premiers Hasmonéens?," *ETL* 70 (1994), 281–293; P. Piovanelli, "JrB 33,14–26 ou la continuité des institutions à l'époque maccabéenne," in T. Römer and A. H. W. Curtis (eds.), *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception. Le livre de Jérémie et sa réception* (BETL, 128; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 255–276; A. S. Crane, *Israel's Restauration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 36–39* (VTSup, 122; Leiden/Boston, 2008; C. Nihan, "De la fin du jugement sur Jérusalem au jugement final des nations en Ézéchiel. Ézéchiel 33–39 et l'eschatologie du recueil," in J. Vermeylen (ed.), *Les prophètes de la Bible et la fin des temps. XXIII^e congrès de l'Association catholique française pour l'étude de la Bible (Lille, 24-27 août 2009)* (Lectio Divina, 240; Paris: Cerf, 2010), 99–146 (106–107, 119–120, 141–143). A. Lange, "The Covenant with the Levites (Jer 33:21) in the Proto-Masoretic Text of Jeremiah in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in A. M. Maeir, J. Magness, and L. H. Schiffman (eds.), *'Go Out and Study the Land' (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of*

textual criticism should be the basis for general reflection on the Hellenistic dating of some texts of the Hebrew Bible. During the last decades, several studies have shown that the traditional separation between textual and literary criticism (or "lower" and "higher" criticism) is problematic since both approaches should go hand in hand, informing each other.[67] Not only does Tiemeyer overlook this methodological point, she invalidates absolute criteria for the dating of prophetic texts without adducing any positive arguments in favor of a Persian period date for Zech 9–14. Therefore, unless we presuppose that all prophetic texts were already written at the end of the Persian period (as Tiemeyer does),[68] there is no a priori reason to exclude a Hellenistic setting.

A similar comment may be made about the approach of B. G. Curtis, on which Tiemeyer relies in her treatment of Zech 9–14. Curtis seeks to make a "plausible, perhaps even probable"[69] case for single authorship of the whole book of Zechariah, attributed to the historical prophet Zechariah himself. Such a methodology is incomplete, since the task of exegetes and historians is not only to build plausible or probable reconstructions but also to evaluate these reconstructions and discern the *most* probable one. When it comes to the reference to the Greeks in Zech 9:13,[70] Curtis devotes four pages to surveying the Persian-Greek conflict of the late sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. in order to defend the idea that a depiction of the Greeks as enemies is plausible in Judea during the early Persian period.[71] However, Curtis does not explain why such a historical setting would be more probable than a later one, especially a Hellenistic one, where Zech 9:13 fits very well. Indeed, not only are the Greeks presented as enemies, but they also are the *chief* enemies, the only ones mentioned in Zech 9:11–17. In addition, the text

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Hanan Eshel (JSJSup, 148; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 95–116.

[67] See for instance Tov, "L'incidence de la critique textuelle"; J. Lust (ed.), *Ezekiel and his Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation* (BETL, 74; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Leuven: Peeters, 1986); I. E. Lilly, *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the Masoretic Text as Variant Literary Editions* (VTSup, 150; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 314–317.

[68] Tiemeyer, "Will the Prophetic Texts," 255–256.

[69] Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 275; see also in the introduction, p. 1: "I shall not attempt so much to disprove multiple authorship as to make single authorship a plausible, perhaps probable, conclusion."

[70] On the basis of metrical arguments, some scholars have suggested that the end of v. 13, referring to the sons of Javan (על בניך יון), is a later interpolation. However, arguments on metrical grounds are weak, since the poetry of Zech 9 is not metrically regular. Furthermore, the meaning of chs. 9 and 10 requires the end of v. 13 be present; otherwise, no enemy at all would be mentioned in the fight described in Zech 9:11–10:7; *contra* Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 297–298; Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, 96–97.

[71] Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 174–177; see also idem, "The *Mas'ot* Triptych and the Date of Zechariah 9–14," 196–201.

describes the Greeks as representing a *direct* threat to the city of Jerusalem,[72] an observation overlooked by Curtis,[73] and which again supports a Hellenistic setting over a Persian one.[74] This conclusion is all the more evident in light of the particular political instability of the Hellenistic period (see below).

Tiemeyer may be correct that no one criteria alone can establish a Hellenistic dating of Zech 9–14. But several indicators, when considered together suggest that these chapters fit much better in a Ptolemaic setting than in a Persian one. The reference to the Greeks as the main enemies of Jerusalem—found in one of the oldest passages of Zech 9–14 no less—is one of these indicators. Other potential indicators will be described below. In methodological terms, it is the *cumulative* impact of multiple indicators that is decisive in determining sociohistorical context. Historical allusions cannot be used as the sole basis for dating Zech 9–14. However, they can assist in identifying a potential social setting when taken in light of other kinds of evidence. Below, I will offer a reading of the aforementioned main themes of Zech 9–14 that shows that their specific development fits best within the context of Ptolemaic rule. As Zech 9–14 is implicitly presented as coming from the prophet Zechariah, I will also interpret these themes in the context of the whole book of Zechariah, so as to explain

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[72] The fact that the Greeks are opposed to the "sons of Zion" points to a battle scenario taking place at Jerusalem. This is confirmed by the introduction of the battle in Zech 9:12, which exhorts the Judeans to return to the fortress that is in all likelihood Jerusalem (see Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 171 n. 13). The previous passage, Zech 9:9–10, also helps to establish the geographical setting in Jerusalem. Furthermore, the other battle scenes in Zech 9–14 are also located in Jerusalem (see Zech 12 and 14).

[73] Although he seems to agree that the battle scene in Zech 9 takes place at Jerusalem (*Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 178), Curtis interprets Zech 9:13 as referring to a significant world power *outside* Judea. The significant events to which Curtis refers—in order to point out the political importance of the Greeks during the early Persian period—take place outside Palestine (above all in the Aegean world and Asia Minor); see Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 173–181; idem, "The *Mas'ot* Triptych and the Date of Zechariah 9–14," 198–201.

[74] A similar remark can be made about the probable allusion to the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms in Zech 10:10–11. These verses refer to Egypt and Assyria as the two places from which the exiles will return and as the two great powers that will be punished by YHWH. Such a depiction makes more sense when read in a Hellenistic context than in a Persian one. At the very least, it can be said that the Judean scribes reading this passage during the Hellenistic period most probably interpreted these references as designations for the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms; cf. Stade, "Deuterozacharja," part 3, 290–296; Steck, *Abschluß der Prophetie*, 76–80; A. C. Hagedorn, "Diaspora or no Diaspora?: Some Remarks on the Role of Egypt and Babylon in the Book of the Twelve," in Albertz, Nogalski and Wöhrle [eds.], *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 319–336 (329).

why the prophecies of Zechariah have been expanded during the Ptolemaic period.

2. SOCIOHISTORICAL REASONS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF ZECHARIAH

2.1 THE WAR OF JERUSALEM AGAINST THE NATIONS

Zechariah 1–8 focuses on the restoration of Jerusalem and of the cosmic order in general, which includes the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple and culminates with the city of Jerusalem as the cultic center of the world (Zech 8:20–23). The restoration process is associated with the time of Persian domination, as indicated by the chronological organization of the oracles and visions of Zech 1–8 according to the regnal year of the Persian monarch (Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1). In this way, Zech 1–8 represents Persia as a world power established by YHWH to initiate the restoration. This picture is quite consistent with the positive images of Persian rule found in other texts of the Hebrew Bible (Isa 40–55, 2 Chr 36:22–23, Ezra, and Nehemiah in particular). Furthermore, although Zech 1–8 announces divine intervention against the nations (see esp. Zech 2:1–4), the text does not envisage any confrontation of Jerusalem or Judah against the nations. On the contrary, the concluding oracle (Zech 8:20–23) presents a peaceful and beneficial relationship between Jerusalem and the nations in which the latter worship YHWH at Jerusalem.

Zechariah 9–14 introduces a radical change in the book. No further (explicit) references are made to Persian rule, and the relationship between Jerusalem and the nations is now bellicose. Dramatic events in the Levant (Zech 9:1–8) are foretold, as are conflicts that will pit Jerusalem—along with Judah and, only in the first war scenario, Ephraim—against the Greeks in particular (Zech 9:11–10:12), and then against all the nations (Zech 12–14). Thus, the book of Zechariah as a whole contrasts two visions of Jerusalem: the first a favorable situation under Persian rule, which allows the restoration to begin, and the second a disturbed and belligerent one associated especially with the Greeks and preceding the complete fulfillment of the restoration. Hence, the book as a whole makes good sense when it is read as a depiction of the shift from Persian to Hellenistic domination.[75] This reading is supported by a probable historical allusion to Alexander's conquest of the Levant in the introduction of Zech 9–14, which has been noted by several scholars.[76] In fact, the divine

[75] See in that sense Floyd, *Minor Prophets*, esp. 313–317

[76] See in particular Elliger, "Zeugnis aus der jüdischen Gemeinde," *ZAW* 62 (1950), 63–115; M. Delcor, "Les allusions à Alexandre le Grand dans Zach. IX.1–8," *VT* 1 (1951), 110–124; H.-P. Mathys, "Chrönikbücher und Hellenistischer Zeitgeist," in H.-P. Mathys, *Vom Anfang und vom Ende: Fünf alttestamentliche Studien* (BEATAJ, 47; Frankfurt a. M. et al.: P. Lang, 2000), 41–155 (52–54); M. Saur, *Das Tyroszyklus des Ezechielbuches* (BZAW, 386; Berlin/New

conquest depicted in Zech 9:1–8 corresponds closely with Alexander's conquest in the Levant.[77] Places in west Syria are mentioned first, then Phoenician cities, and most significantly, special attention is given to the fall of Tyre as a decisive event (cf. vv. 3–5). Finally, Philistine cities are devastated, Ashkelon and Gaza in particular (cf. v. 5). In this way, Zech 9–14 starts by recalling the decisive events that mark the beginning of Hellenistic domination over the Levant, and the whole of chs. 9–14 interprets this shift as the passage from a quite stable situation to a politically tumultuous one. Thus, the period of Greek domination is depicted as a time of trouble, that is, a counterrestoration, which will precede a massive divine

York: de Gruyter, 2008), 295–299; I. Willi-Plein, "Prophetie und Weltgeschichte: Zur Einbettung von Sach 9,1-8 in die Geschichte Israels," in Willi-Plein (ed.), *Davidshaus und Prophetie*, 243–262.

[77] *Contra* Curtis in particular ("The *Mas'ot* Triptych and the Date of Zechariah 9–14," 197), the fact that the list of Levantine cities in Zech 9:1–8 does not correspond exactly to the itinerary of Alexander during his conquest of the Levant does not mean that this text cannot allude to that event. Firstly, the scribes of Jerusalem did not necessarily have precise data about Alexander's conquest at their disposal. Secondly, as is common in the ancient Near East, they could select and organize the information at their disposal (consciously or not) according to their own conceptions, especially if their primary goal was not to describe historical reality. For instance, Curtis suggests that the mention of Damascus at the beginning of the list in Zech 9:1–8 (v. 1) does not fit with the historical picture because Alexander went to Damascus only after the subjugation of Egypt. Such an argument wrongly implies that the scribe(s) writing Zech 9:1–8 wished to describe the *exact* historical events of the conquest of Alexander. In fact, as Curtis mentions, although Alexander probably did not go to Damascus before his passage through Egypt (331 B.C.E.), Damascus was already in his control from the beginning of his conquest of the Levant, since his general Parmenion took it in 333 B.C.E. before the siege of Tyre. It seems clear, then, that the Jerusalem scribes are not interested in emphasizing such a slight historical nuance in a text like Zech 9. It is much more significant for them that the great city of Syria had been rapidly subdued at the beginning of Alexander's passage through the Levant. Methodologically, just as a literary allusion is not a citation and does not need to correspond tightly with its intertext, neither must a historical allusion be a precise and exact report of historical events. Hence, the fact that Zech 9:2 mentions Tyre before Sidon, whereas Alexander conquered Sidon first, cannot count as a strong argument against the presence of an allusion to Alexander's conquest in Zech 9:1–8. This inversion may be a way to stress the significance of the fall of Tyre, as it is further emphasized in the two following verses (v. 3–4), or to underline the preeminence of Tyre over Sidon. It may also simply be idiomatic, since every mention of both cities together in the Hebrew Bible uses the same order (Jer 25:22; 27:23; 47:4; Joel 4:4). In any case, the conquest of west Syrian sites, followed by Phoenician cities, Tyre in particular, and ending with calamities on Philistine cities such as Ashkelon and Gaza corresponds strikingly with Alexander's conquest of the Levant. The least that can be said is that a Jerusalem scribe reading this text during the Ptolemaic period most probably had this event in mind.

intervention that will bring the restoration of Jerusalem and the cosmic order to its completion (see Zech 14 in particular). This structure of the book of Zechariah according to the succession of empires is a particular feature that brings Zechariah closer to apocalyptic literature. The book of Daniel, for instance, manifests a similar structure to the book of Zechariah. It is composed of two sections (chs. 1–6 and chs. 7–12) contrasting Babylonian and Persian domination on the one hand and Hellenistic domination on the other. The second section also displays much more complex and dramatic scenes than the first. It is not surprising that no Greek ruler is explicitly mentioned in Zech 9–14 (contrary to the Persian ruler in Zech 1–8), as apocalyptic literature tends not to explicitly name Hellenistic kings. This decision not to explicitly name a Hellenistic king keeps with the fictive setting of the book, whose supposed author lived long before Hellenistic domination (but see the explicit mention of the Persian king Cyrus in Isa 44:28 and 45:1). It also probably ensures that too much legitimacy is not bestowed on any Hellenistic king.

Although Zech 9–14 does not describe literal historical events, the utopian/dystopian scenes it depicts draw from historical realities. As such, an understanding of the social context of the Ptolemaic period sheds light on these scenes. Alexander's conquest marked the beginning of a large number of conflicts in the ancient Near East that had a significant impact on Judea and Jerusalem. Of course, the Persian period was also a time of political instability. There were conflicts not very far from Yehud, especially in Egypt, which affected the sociopolitical landscape of Yehud.[78] However, the warlike conflicts starting with the arrival of Alexander in the Levant had a much more direct impact on Palestine than those that occurred during the Persian period.[79] The region of Coele-Syria to which Judea belonged became an area of contention, and thus a theatre for several military conflicts. Indeed, the campaigns of Alexander provoked the destruction of important neighboring cities, such as Tyre, Gaza, and Samaria. These campaigns were followed ten years later by the incessant Diadochi wars, spanning some forty years. Some of these campaigns took place inside Coele-Syria, and possibly affected Jerusalem directly (see in particular the capture of Jerusalem by

[78] See for instance O. Lipschits and D. Vanderhooft, "Yehud Stamp Impressions of the Fourth Century BCE: A Time of Administrative Consolidation?," in O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, 75–94.

[79] For an historical description of the period, see in particular G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (trans. T. Saavedra; London/New York, 2001), 9–152; V. Huβ, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit. 332–30 v. Chr* (München: C. H. Beck, 2001), 79–536; L. L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period. Vol. 2: The Early Hellenistic Period (335–175 BCE)* (LSTS, 68; London/New York: T&T Clark, 2008).

Ptolemy I mentioned by Josephus in *Ant.* 12.1–10).[80] These conflicts in turn led to the Syrian wars of the third and the second centuries B.C.E., in which the control of Coele-Syria was violently contested.[81] In addition to the concrete armed conflicts, there were other factors that shaped the social and economic landscape of the region. Presumably, the military presence in the region was persistently important, with garrisons positioned at several places, and a significant number of Judean mercenaries were in all likelihood mobilized.[82] Fortifications were also built to defend Palestine, a strategic region for the protection of Egypt.[83] In order to support their wars, the Ptolemies intensified production and agriculture. These events also provoked a significant change in the way the world order was conceived: from the death of Alexander, the Near East was mainly ruled not by one great centralized power (supposedly divinely authorized) but rather by several kings regularly fighting against each other. The significance of this conceptual change is also attested in other texts, especially apocalyptic literature. The second section of the book of Daniel (chs. 7–12), for example, depicts a chaotic time after Alexander (see ch. 11 in particular).[84] These changes explain well the construction of a disruptive period linked to Greek power in Zech 9–14.[85]

Since Zech 1–8 recognizes Persian authority by associating the beginning of the restoration of Jerusalem with Persian domination, the eventual collapse of the empire and the political instability that followed created a significant theological problem. With the shift to Hellenistic domination not only was a specific power—previously legitimized by YHWH—brought to an end, but so too was centralized power over the ancient Near East itself, allegedly established by YHWH to maintain order on earth. Instead of ushering in the restoration of Jerusalem, the end of the Persian Empire brought even greater political insecurity. Such dissonance with the ideology of Zech 1–8 likely generated a need for theological explanation. This is perhaps one of the main catalysts for the

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[80] The use of Josephus for the reconstruction of the Judean history requires great caution and, due to the lack of evidence, it is impossible to ascertain whether or not Ptolemy I captured Jerusalem.

[81] On the strategic significance of the control of the Levant during the Diadochi and Syrian wars, see C. Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition: Hasmonean Relations with the Roman Republic and Evolution of the High Priesthood* (American University Studies, Series VII: Theology and Religion, 325; New York et al.: Peter Lang, 2013), 13–25.

[82] Hölbl, *History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, 189. The Judean military tradition in Egypt is attested in particular by the Elephantine papyri.

[83] See O. Tal, " 'Hellenistic Foundations' in Palestine," in Grabbe and Lipschits (eds.), *Judah between East and West*, 242–254 (251).

[84] Steck, *Abschluß der Prophetie*, 106–107.

[85] In particular, a passage like Zech 11:6 that announces disorder on earth and conflicts involving kings, probably refers to the wars of the Diadochi and/or their successors (see Stade, "Deuterozacharja," part 3, 305–306).

updating of the book of Zechariah through the use of warlike scenarios. These scenarios serve to integrate and make sense of the political (and military) changes of the early Hellenistic period. In certain places, the military vocabulary probably refers to the concrete realities of that period. For instance, specific war constructions as well as the significant military presence seem to be reflected in the use of terms such as בצרון (Zech 9:12a), a *hapax legomenon* in the HB meaning "stronghold," and מצבה (Zech 9:8), a rare term in the HB designating a (military) post or a garrison.[86] By supplementing Zech 1–8 with Zech 9–14, the scribes of the book of Zechariah affirmed that YHWH had long before revealed that the Persian Empire would come to an end and that this end would not yet be the time of the great restoration but would instead be a time of political instability, associated with the Greeks in particular. The dystopian dimension of the war scenarios serves to depict the period of Hellenistic domination as a disordered and hostile time, whereas the utopian images serve to contrast it with the glorious restoration that is supposed to follow. In this way, the rise of Hellenistic power in the ANE is made part of the divine plan for the restoration of Jerusalem and of the cosmic order.

Nonetheless, the warlike scenes of Zech 9–14 do not clearly explain why the glorious restoration of Jerusalem and Judah is delayed and why there must be such a troubled period. Furthermore, while the addition of these scenes makes good sense in the context of the book of Zechariah, we may still ask why such developments were not added to a book such as Isaiah, which also focuses on the restoration of Jerusalem and envisages the reestablishment of the cosmic order with special attention to Persian power (cf. Isa 44:24–45:13). These are the questions to which we will now attend.

2.2 THE JUDGMENT OF THE SHEPHERDS

Zechariah 1–8 announces the restoration not only of Jerusalem and of the cosmic order in general but also, from a more internal perspective, of the Judean community and its leadership. This dimension of the restoration also begins in the Persian era under the leadership of distinguished figures such as Zerubbabel and Joshua (as well as other elite members of the *golah* mentioned in 6:9–15). The prophet announces its completion by means of several promises (see Zech 8 in particular) and along with the coming of צמח, an ideal leader (3:8; 6:12). The means to achieve complete restoration is also emphasized. In the introduction, the prophet Zechariah is presented as advocating the "return" (שוב) to YHWH (Zech 1:2–6). The community is to turn away from wrongful deeds (1:4–6), more specifically by telling the truth, protecting the

[86] One may add that, if Josephus's reference to Ptolemy I bringing many Judean captives to Egypt and the liberation of many Judeans by Ptolemy II (*Ant.* 12.1–50) has a historical basis, it may be reflected in a passage such as Zech 9:11–12, which announces the liberation of prisoners and exhorts them to come back to Jerusalem.

weak, defending peace and judging rightfully (7:8–14; 8:14–17, 19), in addition to sustaining the temple (as is implicit in Zech 6:9–15 especially).

Although the community described in Zech 1–8 is not always ideal,[87] the image of the Judean community and its leaders in Zech 9–14 is strikingly more negative.[88] This is principally due to the presence of several passages, strategically placed between the battle scenes, that address the dystopian judgment of leaders called "shepherds" (רעה). The shepherds are presented as the targets of divine punishment (Zech 10:1–3a) and are doomed to woes (Zech 11:1–3, 17; 13:7) because they mistreat the community described as a "flock" (צאן; cf. 11:4–16). This negative presentation marks a significant difference between the two sections of the book of Zechariah. In Zech 1–8, not only are the community and its leaders depicted in a generally positively way but also the shepherd-flock imagery is completely absent.[89] As scholars have long noticed, the use of this imagery in Zech 9–14 interacts instead with other prophetic texts, such as Jer 23 and Ezek 34 and 37,[90] so much so that one may wonder why these passages were introduced into the book of Zechariah and not into Jeremiah or Ezekiel.

A historical interpretation of the shepherds in Zech 9–14 is not an easy task, and up until now no consensus has been reached concerning the identity of the shepherds.[91] Nonetheless, many commentators agree that the shepherd

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[87] See Zech 5:1–4 and the exhortations in 1:1–6; 7:4–14; 8:14–19.

[88] This is true despite the presence of utopian images of the community and its leaders in Zech 9–14; see Zech 9:9–10 especially, Zech 12:8 or, in a peculiar way, Zech 12:10–13:1. I cannot address these texts in detail in this article. Some scholars detect a shared hope in both Zech 1–8 and Zech 9–14 for a restored monarchy (see in particular Petterson, *Behold Your King*; Floyd, "Was Prophetic Hope Born of Disappointment?") but this hope is often overstated (see for instance Petterson, *Behold Your King*, 243–245, who interprets Zech 14 as maintaining hope for a future Davidic king, which is strange given the complete absence of a human king in this chapter and the emphasis on YHWH as king in v. 9). It seems to me that the restoration of the monarchy is undeniably a question raised by the book of Zechariah, but it is not a central concern. Moreover, the book does not provide a unified response to this question.

[89] In particular, the root רעה, "to shepherd," and the word צאן, "flock," are totally absent from Zech 1–8.

[90] See for instance Willi-Plein, *Prophetie am Ende*, 80–81; Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 251; Tai, *Prophetie als Schriftauslegung*, 132–155; M. J. Boda, "Reading between the Lines: Zechariah 11:4–16 in Its Literary Contexts," in M. J. Boda and M. H. Floyd (eds.), *Bringing Out the Treasure*, 277–291 (284–287); Wenzel, *Reading Zechariah*, 225–242.

[91] For recent interpretations, see Petersen *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi*, 86–101; Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 195–202; Boda, "Reading Between the Lines"; R. L. Foster, "Shepherds, Sticks, and Social Destabilization: A Fresh Look at Zechariah 11:4–17," *JBL* 126 (2007), 735–753; Redditt, *Zechariah 9–14*, 75–92.

image refers to a kind of political power (king, governor, or administrator…), as is usually the case in the ancient Near Eastern sources.[92] Here, too, the sociopolitical context of the Ptolemaic period sheds light on the use of this motif in Zech 9–14. It allows us to go further—without identifying specific individual figures—in our interpretation of Zech 11:4–14 especially, where the motif of the shepherd is most developed. This text occupies a turning point within Zech 9–14.[93] It criticizes the shepherds in a way which sheds light on other passages that deal with the judgment of the shepherds only briefly (Zech 10:1–3a; 11:1–3, 15–16, 17; 13:7–9).[94] I will thus focus on the depiction of the shepherds in Zech 11:4–14. This text presents symbolic actions associated with the shepherding of a flock.[95] These actions are reported in the prophetic first-person, which in the context of the book most probably refers to the prophet Zechariah (see above).

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[92] See in particular L. V. Meyer, "An Allegory Concerning the Monarchy: Zech 11:4–17; 13:7–9," in A. L. Merrill and T. W. Overholt (eds.), *Scripture in History and Theology: Essays in Honor of J. Coert Rylaarsdam* (Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1977), 225–240 (228–230); Floyd, *Minor Prophets*, 487–488; Foster, "Shepherds, Sticks, and Social Destabilization," 736–743; Boda, "Reading between the Lines," esp. 287–288. Even Hanson (*Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 348–350), who holds that the text is mainly directed against the priests controlling the Jerusalem temple, interprets the term "shepherd" in Zech 11:15–16 as referring to a political and nonsacerdotal figure, the Davidic governor. Other scholars identify the shepherds of Zech 11 with priests. For instance, Redditt defends the view that they are priests in collusion with administrators of the Persian Empire (the latter designated as "merchants" and including some Yehudites); Redditt, *Zechariah 9–14*, 82–84, 91–92.

[93] Cf. Redditt, *Zechariah 9–14*, 77; see also the major role of Zech 11 in the structure of the book of Zechariah proposed by M. G. Kline ("Structure of the Book of Zechariah," esp. 179–180, 183).

[94] This does not mean that the shepherds are always precisely the same people in Zech 9–14. In particular, some passages seem to refer to different individual figures (Zech 11:8, 15–17; 13:7). However, it is safe to assume that all the passages dealing with shepherds in Zech 9–14 are connected and inform each other, especially given their strategic placement. More precisely, it seems to me that Zech 10:1–3a and 11:1–3, though less developed, present a compatible view with Zech 11:4–14 as regards the shepherd motif.

[95] As is often noted, v. 8 is particularly obscure and therefore I will not focus on it. I will also leave aside the interpretation of the breaking of the two staves because it is not central to my argument. However, it should be mentioned that the breaking of the covenant (made most probably by YHWH) with all the nations in Zech 11:10 is best understood as an allusion to the political instability of the early Hellenistic period. The breaking of the brotherhood between Judah and Israel in Zech 11:14 is probably a reflection of the growing tensions between Jerusalem and Samaria during the Hellenistic period (see for instance the territorial disputes between Judea and Samaria, cf. M. Mor, "The Samaritans in Transition from the Persian to the Greek Period," in Grabbe and Lipschits [eds.], *Judah between East and West*, 178–198 [191–198]).

Commentators regularly note the strong connections between Zech 11:4–14 and Jer 23 and Ezek 34 and 37,[96] but it seems to me that they do not highlight sufficiently the specificities of the shepherd motif in Zech 11:4–14.[97] As a matter of fact, this passage differs in several ways from its intertexts in Jeremiah and Ezekiel and more generally from shepherd imagery elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Firstly, the shepherds here are not the only group of people responsible for the flock. They are mentioned alongside the purchasers (**קני**) and the sellers (**מכרי**) of the flock (11:5),[98] with both groups referred to as "merchants" (**כנעניי**) in v. 7 and v. 11.[99] Secondly, the shepherds share an economic relationship with the "merchants," in which they are subordinated. This is made clear when the merchants are described as supervising the protagonist shepherd (v. 11b) and giving him his salary (v. 12). This subordinated position makes the classical identification of the shepherd with the king hardly compatible with Zech 11:4–14.[100] Such an identification also jars with the depiction of the "sellers" as blessing the name of YHWH for their wealth in v. 5. This depiction suggests that the sellers, and most probably also the hired shepherds, are Judeans and therefore, if we read this text in a postexilic context, not kings. Thirdly, the way in which the economic dimension is underlined in this text is also original, an observation that is often overlooked.[101] Verses 4–5 describe the exploitation of the flock by those in charge of it.

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[96] See footnote no. 90.

[97] That the breaking of the staves in Zech 11 is in contrast to the union of the sticks in Ezek 37 is often pointed out, but this is only one particularity of Zech 11 among others.

[98] See also the mention of the shepherds along with the cedars, the juniper, the oaks of Bashan and the young lions in Zech 11:1–3, which also suggests different categories of people.

[99] Together with many commentators, I follow the LXX, which presupposes **כנעניי** (instead of the MT's reading **כן עניי**), an expression which can be translated "merchants" (cf. Isa 23:8; Job 40:30; Prov 31:24; Ezek 17:4; Zeph 1:11; Zech 14:21). This reading is supported by the mention of purchasers and sellers in Zech 11:5; see for instance P. L. Redditt, "The Two Shepherds in Zechariah 11:4–17," *CBQ* 55 (1993), 676–686 (684); Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi*, 87; Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 261–262, 271.

[100] Verse 6 does not really help in identifying the shepherds. It speaks about kings, but their relation to the shepherds of v. 5 is unclear. Some scholars change the vocalization of the MT in order to read *rō'ēhû*, "his shepherd," instead of *rē'ēhû*, "his companion" in v. 6 (for instance, Peterson, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi*, 87). However, this is a harmonizing reading of vv. 5–6. In any case, if this reading were correct, the shepherds could hardly be identified as kings since they would be mentioned alongside kings in v. 6.

[101] See for instance Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 296–303; Boda, "Reading Between the Lines"; but see Foster, "Shepherds, Sticks, and Social Destabilization," 744–746. The economic dimension is already established by Zech 11:3, which refers to the shepherds' "splendor" (**אדרת**, most probably with an economic connotation) in order to announce their loss of glory.

The flock is doomed to slaughter (צאן ההרגה, vv. 4, 7, cf. 5a), mistreated by its owners and its shepherds, and used as a means of enrichment (v. 5). The economic dimension is further emphasized in vv. 12–13. Having resigned from his shepherd role, the prophet asks the merchants for his salary, upon the condition that they consider his remuneration a good thing (אם טוב בעיניכם הבו שכרי ואם לא חדלו; v. 12). This condition creates a contrast between the attitude of the prophet and that of the merchants toward wealth, since unlike the sellers in v. 5 the prophet is presented as detached from his earnings. This is also suggested in v. 13, where the prophet is depicted as bringing his salary to the temple, more precisely to its founder (יוצר),[102] according to the will of YHWH. The prophet's detachment from his wealth is further emphasized by the very positive evaluation of his salary (thirty units of silver) in v. 13a (see אדר היקר).[103]

This original critique of shepherds as a supervised elite workforce gaining wealth at the expense of the community fits well with the specific socioeconomic developments taking

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[102] Several commentators follow the Peshitta, presupposing *hā'ôṣār* ("the treasure") instead of MT's *hayyôṣēr* (e.g., Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi*, 87), but this is not necessary. Zechariah 11:13 could refer to a smelter at the temple, setting also the stage for Zech 13:7–9, a text announcing that one third of the people will be refined like gold and silver (note that the number thirty is easily divisible into thirds); on the temple smelter, see C. Torrey, "The Foundry of the Second Temple at Jerusalem," *JBL* 55 (1936), 247–260; M. Delcor, "Le trésor de la maison de Yahweh des origines à l'exil," *VT* 12 (1962), 353–377 (372–377); J. Schaper, "The Jerusalem Temple as an Instrument of the Achaemenid Fiscal Administration," *VT* 45 (1995), 528–539.

[103] Some commentators follow E. Reiner, who points to an idiomatic sense of the expression "thirty shekels" used in Sumerian to describe worthless things. She suggests that this meaning also existed in ancient Hebrew and that it is reflected in Zech 11:12–13. However, this passage does not literally speak about "thirty shekels" but rather about "thirty of silver" (שלשים [ה]כסף). This expression brings Zech 11:12–13 closer to Exod 21:32 (cf. כסף שלשים שקלים), a text which refers to a concrete amount to be paid in compensation for the death of a slave. Furthermore, in referring to Exod 21:32 Reiner argues that this idiomatic sense was lost at some point in ancient Hebrew. Despite this conclusion, the only arguments Reiner brings in favor of her interpretation of Zech 11:12–13 are based on very late interpretative traditions related to other biblical passages, such as Matt 27:9–10 and Gen 37:28. Such an argumentation is not strong enough to warrant an ironic reading of the salary's positive evaluation in v. 13a; E. Reiner, "Thirty Pieces of Silver," *JAOS* 88 (1968), 186–190; see also for instance Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi*, 96–97. Rather, thirty units of silver represents a valuable amount, since in Exod 21:32 it is the price to be paid in compensation of the death of a slave, and in Lev 27:4 it is the price to be paid for a woman's vow at the temple (the price for a young girl's vow being ten times lower and still required [Lev 27:6]); for a similar position, see Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 275–276.

place under the Ptolemaic administration.[104] Indeed, to increase tax revenue from all sectors of society (agriculture, trade, industry, etc.) was a key Ptolemaic policy.[105] This administrative policy provoked several social and economic changes, including the intensification of agriculture and trade, and the development of a tax-farming system.[106] It caused an increased number of personnel to work in different areas and levels of tax collection (tax farmers, collectors, controllers, accountants, etc.). These personnel could be either foreign or indigenous. As a result, an affluent elite developed that benefited from the collaboration with the royal administration, especially on tax collection. In parallel, the economic gap between the wealthier class and the lower class increased, and the slave trade intensified.[107] Another effect of these administrative changes was the weakening influence of the temples, which likely lost economic importance and were faced with a progressively emerging opposing force.[108] The extent of these developments in Palestine is hard to evaluate. Nonetheless, it seems safe to assume that they indeed took place, as such a policy appears to have been applied outside of Egypt, albeit with local variations

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[104] On the Ptolemaic administration of Palestine, see in particular M. I. Rostovtseff, *Histoire économique et sociale du monde hellénistique* (Bouquins; Paris: R. Lafont, 1989 [1st ed. 1941; trans. O. Demange]), 275–296; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (London: SCM, 1991 [1st ed. 1969; trans. J. Bowden]), esp. 23–29; R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), esp. 11–24; L. L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian, Vol. 1: The Persian and Greek Periods* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 189–220; M. Hengel, "The Political and Social History of Palestine from Alexander to Antiochus III (333–187 B.C.E)," in W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2: The Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 35–78; Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion*, esp. 536–540; J. Pastor, *Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine* (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), 21–40; C. Marquaille, "The Foreign Policy of Ptolemy II," in P. McKechnie and P. Guillaume (eds.), *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World* (Mnemosyne Sup., History and Archaeology of Classical Antiquity, 300; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), 39–64; L. L. Grabbe, "Hyparchs, Oikonomoi and Mafiosi: The Governance of Judah in the Ptolemaic period," in L. L. Grabbe and O. Lipschits (eds.), *Judah between East and West*, 70–90.

[105] See for instance, Rostovtseff, *Histoire économique et sociale*, 185–248; Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 202–203.

[106] See for instance Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion*, 536–537.

[107] Cf. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 203, 215; Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion*, 537. On the slave trade, see in particular the decrees of Ptolemy II in the Rainer papyri (see for instance Grabbe, "Hyparchs, Oikonomoi and Mafiosi," 80–81).

[108] The tension between sacerdotal and non-sacerdotal powers as regards Ptolemaic taxation is reflected in Josephus's tale of the Tobiads, which relates how Joseph Tobiad was granted the farming of the taxes after the high priest Onias refused to pay a tax to Ptolemy (see *Ant.* 12.154–185).

in its application.[109] In particular, the Zenon papyri attest to the economic significance of Palestine for the Egyptian ruling class, and Josephus's tale of the Tobiads witnesses to the development of the royal tax-farming system in this region.[110]

The specificity of the criticism of the shepherds in Zech 11:4–14 is probably a reflection of these socioeconomic changes and can be read as a criticism of them.[111] In particular, the passage seeks to characterize the elites working for various levels of the Ptolemaic administration as greedy and enriching themselves at the expense of the population and the temple. The depiction of the exploitation of a flock could also be directed against the slave trade, which intensified during the Ptolemaic period.[112] The prophet's act of bringing his salary to the temple's founder can be understood as a defense of the financial interests of the temple vis-à-vis this rising elite. It can be read as an affirmation of the temple's economic role, arguably as regards tax collection specifically.[113] The peculiar mention of the temple's founder seems to point in that direction, since it was probably there that precious metals were smelted and prepared for purposes that included the payment of the royal tribute.

To summarize, Zech 1–8 associates the beginning of the restoration of the Judean community and its leadership with Persian rule. However, the end of the Persian Empire did not lead to the fulfillment of this restoration but, on the contrary, brought changes to the social structure to the detriment of a great part of the Judean population, and possibly also of the Jerusalem temple. This dissonance between the Zecharian tradition and the socioeconomic changes of the Ptolemaic period is probably the main reason for the expansion of the book of Zechariah with the theme of the shepherds' judgment in Zech 9–14. The concern was to affirm that the prophet of the early Persian period, who announced the restoration of the community and its leadership, also foretold the socioeconomic problems of the Hellenistic period. The use of dystopian motifs to describe these social changes serves to characterize them as

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[109] Rostovtseff, *Histoire économique et sociale*, 233–248; Bagnall, *Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions*, esp. 11–24 and 213–251; Grabbe, "Hyparchs, Oikonomoi and Mafiosi," esp. 86–90.

[110] Cf. Grabbe, "Hyparchs, *Oikonomoi* and Mafiosi," 77–80.

[111] See also Mitchell, *Zechariah*, 303–304; Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion*, 568–570.

[112] Cf. S. K. Eddy, *The King Is Dead. Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism 334–31 B.C.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 189, 196.

[113] This suggests the group of scribes behind Zech 9–14 is close to the authorities of the Jerusalem temple, contrary to what is sometimes maintained (see in particular Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 280–401; Redditt, *Zechariah 9–14*, esp. 83–84, 91–92 and 149). In Zech 12:12–13, the mention of the unimportant Levitical clan of Shimei beside the clans of the houses of David, Nathan, and Levi is probably an indication that it is precisely this Levitical group that developed Zech 9–14.

provoking social disorder and creating a dramatic crisis among the Judean community, especially its leadership. Again, the Hellenistic period is described as a chaotic time.

In addition, this negative depiction of members of the Judean community in Zech 9–14 provides an explanation for the delay in the fulfillment of the glorious restoration. Certain elites are accused of abusing the rest of the population and of failing to provide the right support for the Jerusalem temple. This implies that they did not follow the prophetic guidelines recalled by Zechariah as a means to achieve the restoration: to tell the truth, to defend peace and justice and to support the Jerusalem temple (cf. Zech 6:9–15; 7:8–14; 8:16–17, 19b).

Still, we may wonder why such a depiction of the Judean leadership in Zech 9–14 depends on the language of Jeremiah and Ezekiel rather than Zech 1–8 and also why similar developments are not attested in these other prophetic books. The analysis of a third significant theme in Zech 9–14 is particularly illuminating as regards these problems.

2.3 THE END OF YHWH'S PROPHETS

In Zech 1–8, the oracles that frame the prophetic visions (Zech 1:1–6 and chs. 7–8) describe Zechariah recalling the message of the prophets of old (הנביאים הראשנים, Zech 1:4; 7:7, 12), the prophets associated with the monarchic period (see Zech 7:7 in particular, which alludes to the comfortable situation of Jerusalem in the past).[114] In this way, Zechariah is placed in direct continuity with them, and his activity is presented as an extension of theirs. This claimed conformity with the words of the preexilic prophets serves to legitimize the postexilic prophet. It draws on a conception of "classical" prophecy that is associated with the monarchic period and ends with the exile. Postexilic prophecy is construed as an extension of classical prophecy, whose role is to recall the preexilic prophetic message. The question of Zech 1:5b, which can be translated as "and the prophets, will they live forever?" והנבאים הלעולם יחיו, even suggests that this extension is limited in time.[115]

This conception is further advanced in Zech 9–14, where the question of the future of prophecy is explicitly developed. In particular, Zech 13:2–6 announces the eradication of the prophets by the time of the restoration of Jerusalem and Judah.[116] This text depicts the prophets in the future as liars (v.

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[114] In these passages, the words of the prophets of old are also recalled by intertextual reference to other prophetic traditions, especially Jeremiah and Ezekiel; see Stead, *Intertextuality*, 75–86; 231–236.

[115] Cf. D. Rudmam, "A Note on Zechariah 1:5," *JNSL* 29 (2003), 33–39.

[116] See in particular A. Lange, *Vom prophetischer Wort zur prophetischen Tradition: Studien zur Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte innerprophetischer Konflikte in der Hebräischen Bibel* (FAT, 34; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 291–307; S. L. Cook, *On the Question of the "Cessation of Prophecy" in Ancient Judaism* (TSAJ, 145; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 58–63; Biberger, *Endgültiges Heil*, 289–296. For a

3) associated with false cultic practices (vv. 2a, 6)[117] and with a spirit of impurity (v. 2b, רוח הטמאה).[118] The possibility of a true prophecy is even not envisaged. Such a negative depiction of future prophecy in general implies that at a certain time, YHWH stops sending prophets, and instead, false and idolatrous prophecy develops. More details on false mantic practices are given in Zech 10:1–3a, a passage that prepares for Zech 13:2–6 by introducing the problem of false divination and blaming the *teraphim* (תרפים, probably [small] statues linked with the cult for the ancestors),[119] diviners (קסם) and dreams (חלום) more specifically.

In addition, Zech 11 may allow us to go further, for it seems to indicate more precisely the moment when the time of YHWH's prophets comes to an end. Indeed, in this chapter the prophet takes on the role of a shepherd of a flock, but he is then described as resigning from this role, having been exhausted and rejected by the flock (vv. 8b–9). This resignation is associated with a chaotic situation within the flock. In v. 9b, the prophet announces that part of the flock will die, another part will be lost and the rest will consume itself. In all likelihood, this emphasis on the resignation of the prophet not only serves to introduce the motif of the rupture of the two staves but also has its own symbolic meaning. It probably refers to the end of the prophetic activity of Zechariah. If this is so, the function of such a description could be to mark more generally the end of the activity of YHWH's prophets and to relate this significant episode to the people's woes.[120] Zechariah

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review of past research on Zech 13:2–6 as well as a different interpretation, see M. Kartveit, "Sach 13,2–6: Das Ende der Prophetie – Aber Welcher," in A. Tångberg (ed.), *Text and Theology. Studies in Honour of Professor Dr. Theol. Magne Saebø, Presented on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Oslo: Verbum, 1994), 143–156.

[117] The expression בית האהבי in v. 6 is probably a reference to cults for gods other than YHWH; cf. Hos 2:7–15.

[118] The LXX explicitly affirms that the prophets in Zech 13:2–6 are "false prophets" (see ψευδοπροφήτης in 13:2). One may wonder whether this reading implies that not every prophet is judged in Zech 13:2–6 but only the false ones. In any case, the LXX is most probably an interpretation of a Hebrew text that was similar to the MT, as is attested by the parallel changes made to the designation of prophets in the LXX of Jeremiah (see LXX Jer 6:13; 33:7, 8, 11, 16; 34:9; 35:1; 36:1, 8).

[119] About the תרפים, see in particular T. J. Lewis, "Teraphim," in *DDD* (2d rev. ed.), 844–850.

[120] This interpretation makes sense of the text's emphasis on the prophet's resignation, which is often overlooked by commentators (e.g., Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi*, 94–95). Note that the other passages dealing with the shepherd motif in Zech 9–14 seem also to have connections with the issues of divination and prophecy; see in particular the *teraphim*, the diviners and the dreams in Zech 10:1–3a (v. 2); the term אדרת in 11:1–3 (v. 3), which seems to prepare for 13:4; and the fact that Zech 13:7–9 follows Zech 13:2–6 and recalls the pierced prophet of 13:3 by calling forth the sword against the shepherd (v. 7).

13:2–6 supports this interpretation of Zech 11:8–9 by confirming that there will be no more true prophets of YHWH after Zechariah's activity. Additionally, if, as has been proposed, the pierced person in Zech 12:10 refers to a prophetic figure,[121] this passage could also serve to mark the end of YHWH's prophets after the activity of Zechariah by emphasizing the death of a prophet of YHWH, presumably Zechariah himself.[122] Thus, Zech 9–14 appears to portray the prophet Zechariah as the last prophet of YHWH, an observation which has been overlooked in past research. Moreover, the dystopian depiction of the flock in Zech 11:9 and the emphasis on the false and idolatrous character of prophecy in Zech 13:2–6 (in relation to Zech 10:1–3a) present the time following the end of YHWH's prophets as a period of chaos and confusion, especially as regards the cult. Nonetheless, this period is described as a provisional one, preceding the great restoration.

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[121] Mason, *The Use of Earlier Biblical Material*, 160–165; Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 333–342.

[122] Zech 12:10 is a complex passage which has been the subject of multiple interpretations (see for instance Petterson, *Behold Your King*, 225–231; Redditt, *Zechariah 9–14*, 109–111). The pierced one has been identified with many historical figures, such as Gedaliah, Zerubbabel, Onias III and Simon the Maccabee, as well as with less defined figures such as a (future) Davidic king, a priest and a prophet, or with YHWH himself. This is not the place to analyze this passage in detail. Briefly though, it seems to me that the possible identification of the pierced one with YHWH (see אלי) and the mention of the outpouring of a spirit of favor and supplication (רוח חן ותחנונים) are most easily understood if Zech 12:10 refers to a pierced prophetic figure. This interpretation is supported by the observation that in Zech 13:2–6 prophets are also both pierced (with the same verb דקר in v. 3) and related to a spirit (there an impure one, רוח הטמאה, v. 2). In addition, Joel 3 confirms the connection between the motif of the outpouring of the spirit by YHWH (also with שפך and רוח, v. 1) and the question of the future of prophecy. In Zech 12:10, the prophetic figure could be Zechariah himself, since it is assumed that he is the one pronouncing the oracle (see אלי). Note that the shift between the words of YHWH and the words of the prophet (supposedly Zechariah) is not rare in Zech 9–14 (cf. Zech 10:5–6, 7–8; 12:6–9; see with a different view M. Delcor, "Un problème de critique textuelle et d'exégèse. Zach., XII, 10: *Et aspicient ad me quem confixerunt*," *RB* 58 [1951], 189–199 [193]). According to this interpretation, Zech 9–14 not only presents the rejection of Zechariah by his contemporaries and his resignation from his prophetic role (Zech 11:8–9) but also his death by murder. If this is correct, one the functions of Zech 12:10 is probably to mark the end of the period of YHWH's prophets, emphasizing their rejection by Israel. This tradition of the persecuted prophets appears to develop during the late-Persian and Hellenistic periods, probably as a means to explain (or maintain) the cessation of YHWH's prophets. See for instance 2 Chr 24:19–21, a text which seems to be closely related to Zech 12:10, since it presents a figure called Zechariah, having a prophetic role, and eventually being murdered.

In regard to this conception, it is worth mentioning that the presence of the book of Malachi after the book of Zechariah does not necessarily contradict the idea that Zechariah was the last prophet of YHWH.[123] Indeed, Malachi is presented as a special figure, different from the other prophets. His book does not give him the title of "prophet" (נביא). Instead, his identity is unclear and as the meaning of his name implies ("my messenger"), he is portrayed as a heavenly messenger having specific priestly concerns (see Mal 1:6–2:9; 2:17–3:5 in particular).[124] This is also suggested by the translation of the name Malachi with ἄγγελος in LXX Mal 1:1. Furthermore, the similar headings in Mal 1:1, Zech 9:1 and Zech 12:1 (with the sequence משא דבר יהוה found nowhere else in the HB) have the effect of placing the message of Malachi in the continuation of the last prophecies associated with Zechariah. In this way, the book of Malachi is presented as a supplement consolidating the words of Zechariah. What is more, the final words of the book of Malachi (Mal 3:22–24) are consistent with the conception of prophecy developed in Zech 9–14. They even seem to presuppose it, since the brief announcement of the future return of Elijah, one of the prophets of old, implies that the time of YHWH's prophets has provisionally ceased.[125]

The development of the idea of the end of YHWH's prophets gives great value to past prophetic activity because it presents YHWH's prophecy as a kind of revelation that has a special quality and is limited in time. Such a conception has the effect of accentuating the importance of the preservation, transmission and study of the words of the prophets.[126] It implicitly brings to the fore the value of writing for the conservation of prophetic revelation and therefore also the significance of the role of the scribes in prophetic transmission. Thus, the conception of an end to the time of YHWH's prophets also has literary implications. It conceptually creates a corpus of prophetic texts with a certain chronological limit. In

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[123] On the conception of prophecy in the end of the Twelve, see E. W. Conrad, "The End of Prophecy and the Appearance of Angels/Messengers in the Book of the Twelve," *JSOT* 73 (1997), 65–79.

[124] Due to the ambiguity of the text, the identity of Malachi is disputed among scholars. Based on the LXX, some scholars even reconstruct an earlier form of Mal 1:1 displaying מלאכו, "his messenger," instead of מלאכי, see Lacocque, *Zacharie,* 223–224; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi*, 165–166. For a different view, see for instance R. Kessler, *Maleachi* (HKAT; Freiburg et al.: Herder, 2001), 94–102.

[125] K. Schmid, "La formation des 'Nebiim': Quelques observations sur la genèse rédactionnelle et les profils théologiques de Josué-Malachie," in J.-D. Macchi et al. (eds.), *Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible. Origines, milieux et contexte proche-oriental* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2012), 115–142 (132–133).

[126] Cf. Lange, *Vom prophetischen Wort zur prophetischen Tradition*, 306–308.

fact, no text attributed to a prophet who would be later than Zechariah is supposed to be included in this corpus (as noted, Malachi is a special case).[127] This limit underlines the particular status and the great authority of the writings attributed to the prophetic figures of the past, and it also gives the prophet Zechariah a special place in the chain of prophetic revelation.

Such an emphasis on the end of a time of authoritative figures, pointing as it does to the value of a literary corpus, is best understood in the context of the cultural developments of the Ptolemaic period.[128] At that time, the study of ancient literature increased significantly throughout the Hellenistic world. The Ptolemies sought not only political dominion over the Hellenistic world, but also cultural supremacy as a symbol of their power.[129] They gave considerable weight to literary activity and sponsored great scholarly institutions such as the prestigious Musaeum at Alexandria, with its outstanding associated library. There, the systematic collection and evaluation of writings was one of the main scholarly activities. Greek writings attributed to such esteemed authors as Homer were especially significant objects of study. Critical editions and commentaries, catalogues as well as lexicons were produced, giving birth to an extended secondary literature treating texts attributed to prestigious ancient authors (see in particular the works of scholars like Zenodotus, Callimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus of Samothrace).[130]

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[127] This does not necessarily mean that the prophetic corpus is fixed and even less that the text of the prophetic books is stable (see for instance the late editions of the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, probably from the third or second century B.C.E., reflected in the variants in the ancient manuscripts, cf. footnote no. 66); cf. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 252–263; Nihan, " 'The Prophets' as Scriptural Collection."

[128] Contacts between Greece and Palestine existed long before the Hellenistic era (see for instance D. Auscher, "Les relations entre la Grèce et la Palestine avant la conquête d'Alexandre," *VT* 17 [1967], 8–30; and E. Ambar-Armon and A. Kloner, "Archaeological Evidence of Links between the Aegean World and the Land of Israel in the Persian Period," in Y. Levin [ed.], *A Time of Change. Judah and Its Neighbours in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods* [New York: T&T Clark, 2007], 1–22). My main point here is not only that these contacts intensified significantly during the Ptolemaic period, but also that specific cultural developments took place in the Hellenistic world at that time that are reflected in some prophetic texts, Zech 9–14 especially.

[129] See in particular A. Erskine, "Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria," *Greece & Rome* 42 (1995), 38–48.

[130] This intellectual context has been identified by R. Pfeiffer as the cradle of classical scholarship; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship. From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), esp. 3 and 87–279. See also for instance W. Rösler, "Books and Literacy," in G. Boys-Stones, B. Graziosi, and P. Vasunia (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenistic Studies* (Oxford:

Such significant cultural developments taking place in the Hellenistic world, and especially at Alexandria, most probably had an impact on the literary production in Judea. It is likely, indeed, that the Judean scribes were aware of Alexandrian scholarly developments, given the special relationship of the Diaspora (particularly in Egypt) to the Jerusalem temple,[131] and also the contacts of the Judean elite with the Ptolemaic administration, especially as the Ptolemies had an expanded administrative apparatus.[132] In particular, the Greek translation of the Pentateuch is one of the results of these scholarly developments taking place during the third century B.C.E. As S. Honigman convincingly argued, this translation was probably sponsored by the king for the supplementation of the library of Alexandria.[133] Such an initiative was certainly not unknown to the Jerusalem scribes, as the popularity of this translation suggests.[134] In addition, some Judean elites were probably also attracted by Greek education,[135] since it was one of the main markers of the ruling class;[136] the book of Qoheleth attests to such an interest.[137]

In Zech 9–14, the scribal construction of the end of YHWH's prophets is most probably a reflection of the scholarly culture that developed in the Hellenistic world during the

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Oxford University Press, 2009), 433–444.

[131] The relationship between the Judean elite and the Egyptian diaspora is well attested already during the Persian period by the Elephantine papyri in particular. This relationship continued during the Hellenistic period as evidenced, for instance, by the prologue to Greek Ben Sirach.

[132] Cf. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 202–203.

[133] S. Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria. A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London/New York: Routledge, 2003), 93–118; see also Harl, Dorival, and Munnich, *Bible grecque*, 66–78.

[134] Some scholars have even argued that the Jerusalem elite was included in this project; see for instance B. S. J. Isserlin, "The Name of the 72 Translators of the LXX (Aristeas, 47–50)," *JANES* 5 (1973), 191–197.

[135] On Greek education, see D. M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablets of the Heart. Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 91–109. Among other aspects, Carr stresses the great value of literacy in Greek culture. The study of literary classics such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* was highly prized, and textual competence was accessible to the aristocratic sphere, rather than being restricted to professional scribes (108–109).

[136] See Carr, *Writing on the Tablets of the Heart*, 177–199.

[137] See for instance R. Bohlen, "Kohelet im Kontext hellenistischer Kultur," in L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger (ed.), *Das Buch Kohelet. Studien zur Struktur, Geschichte, Rezeption und Theologie* (BZAW, 254; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1997), 249–273; L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, "Via Media: Koh. 7,15–18 und die griechisch-hellenistische Philosophie," in A. Schoors (ed.), *Qoheleth in the Context of Wisdom* (BETL, 136; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 181–203; A. Buhlman, "The Difficulty of Thinking in Greek and Speaking in Hebrew (Qoheleth 3.18; 4.13–16; 5.8)," *JSOT* 90 (2000), 101–108.

Ptolemaic period. Like Alexandrian scholars, Judean scribes sought to emphasize the value of their traditions and ancient writings. They did so by presenting the prophetic revelation as a special one no longer available, except through the study of the prophetic writings. Although the text of the prophetic corpus was probably not fixed during the third century B.C.E.,[138] the delineation of an authoritative prophetic corpus, achieved by setting a chronological limit to true prophecy after Zechariah's activity, can be understood as a means of competing with the prestigious Greek texts and traditions whose influence among both Diaspora and Palestinian Jews was growing during the Ptolemaic period. As D. M. Carr has argued, the emphasis on the authority of ancient native literary traditions, including delineating them more precisely, was not an isolated phenomenon in the Hellenistic world.[139] It seems to have been a strategy used by other native elites to resist the growing importance of Greek traditions, as some indigenous book catalogues inscribed on Egyptian temples suggest.[140]

In Zech 9–14, this cultural competition is also reflected in the association of the end of YHWH's prophets with the development of false and idolatrous prophecy or divination (Zech 13:2–6 and 10:1–3a). This association affirms the superiority of the Judean prophetic tradition over foreign traditions (see in particular the suppression of the "names of the idols," שמות העצבים, in Zech 13:2). This polemic is probably more specifically directed against Greek religious practices, which were attracting some Jews in the Diaspora and also in Palestine. This is quite clear in the Greek version of Zech 10:1–3a, which may preserve an older reading than the MT, and where mantic practices such as oneiromancy especially[141] are associated with the absence of healing (ἴασις, at the end of v. 2, instead of רעה, "shepherd," in the MT).[142]

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[138] See footnote no. 127.

[139] Carr, *Writing on the Tablets of the Heart*, 193–199.

[140] See the inscribed lists at the temples of Ed-Tod and Edfu; A. Grimm, "Altägyptische Tempelliteratur: Zur Gliederung un Funktion der Bücherkataloge von Edfu und et-Tod," *Studien zur altägyptische Kulture* 3 (1988), 159–169; Carr, *Writing on the Tablets of the Heart*, 196–198.

[141] The mention of the dreams (חלום) in Zech 10:2 ends a small list of three false practices after the mention of the *teraphim* (תרפים) and the diviners (קסם). It introduces two negative evaluations (השוא ידברו חבל ינחמון) instead of one for the *teraphim* (דברו און) and the diviners (חזו שקר).

[142] Since, in general, the Greek translation of Zechariah can be considered as faithful to its Hebrew *Vorlage* (see for instance C. Dogniez, "L'arrivée du roi selon la LXX de Zacharie 9,9–17," in W. Kraus and O. Munnich [eds.], *La Septante en Allemagne et en France. Textes de la Septante à traduction double ou à traduction très littérale* [OBO, 238; Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009], 217–237 [218, 236]), it is well possible that, behind the word ἴασις, the LXX's *Vorlage* had the letters רפא, corresponding to the Hebrew verbal root "to heal," instead of רעה in the MT. In this case, an ancient Hebrew text displayed v. 2 as being built on a

Indeed, the search for healing through dreams is a trait of Greek religion which significantly spread in the Hellenistic world.[143] Greeks affected by illness could spend the night in a temple in order to receive instructions for a cure or to be immediately healed by a deity during a dream. This practice of therapeutic incubation oracles is well known in relation to the cult of Asclepius at Epidaurus and it is also attested in Ptolemaic Egypt, where it was more specifically associated with the god Serapis, the patron deity of the royal dynasty.[144] LXX Zech 10:1–3a appears to polemicize against this Greek practice, and perhaps this polemic was more specially directed against the Ptolemaic dynastic deity.[145] In association with the idea of

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wordplay between תרפים at the beginning of the verse and רפא at the end. This possible worldplay in Hebrew hints at the existence of such an ancient text. The MT's reading רעה, "shepherd," is well explained as having been provoked by the influence of the preceding reference to a flock (צאן) and/or the subsequent mention of the word רעה in v. 3a. Note that even in the MT, the problem of healing may still be implied by the term תרפים and the verb ענה, "to be wretched, emaciated."

[143] J.-M. Husser, "Songe," in *DBSup* 12 (1996), 1439–1543 (1444, 1474); P. Bonnechere, "Divination," in D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World; Malden, Mass./Oxford/Victoria: Blackwell, 2007), 145–159 (153–154); S. I. Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (Blackwell Ancient Religions; West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 90–95, 136; R. Stoneman, *The Ancient Oracles: Making the Gods Speak* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2011), 104–131 (114–115); concerning the relations between divination and healing in ancient Greece, see Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 119–125; M. A. Flower, *The Seer in Ancient Greece* (The Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature; Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2008), 27–28, 212, 241.

[144] Husser, "Songe," 1474; "L. Bricault, "Serapide, dio guaritore," in E. dal Covolo and G. Sfameni Gasparro (eds.), *Cristo e Asclepio: Culti terapeutici e taumaturgici nel mondo mediterraneo antico fra cristiani e pagani. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Accademia di Studi Mediterranei, Agrigento 20–21 novembre 2006* (Rome: Las, 2008), 55–71; Stoneman, *Ancient Oracles*, 126–131. On Serapis as the patron deity of the Ptolemies, see for instance J. E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, 25; Leiden: Brill, 1972), esp. 6–13 and 88–102; J. D. Mikalson, *Ancient Greek Religion* (2d ed.; Blackwell Ancient Religion; West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 197; Hölbl, *History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, 99–101. According to J.-M. Husser, it is possible that the practice of therapeutic incubation already existed in Egypt before the Hellenistic period (Husser, "Songe," 1474). In any case, this practice developed significantly during the Ptolemaic period under the influence of Greek religion.

[145] If the Vorlage of the LXX had רפא instead of רעה at the end of v. 2 (see footnote no. 142), this specific polemic could be suggested by the wordplay between תרפים at the beginning of the same verse and רפא at the end. This wordplay not only underlines the problem of healing but also recalls the name of Serapis, the dynastic deity supposed to bring healing at Alexandria.

the end of YHWH's prophets developed in Zech 9–14, this criticism of Greek religion serves to advance the preeminence of Judean traditions over Greek ones. It asserts that the only true divine revelation is YHWH's prophecy preserved in the prophetic books of Jerusalem scribes.

Such a development is not surprising in the context of the book of Zechariah, since Zech 1–8 already accentuates the particular place of Zechariah in the stream of prophetic revelation, that is, at the margin of "classical" prophecy. Zechariah 9–14 builds on this conception by developing the idea of the end of YHWH's prophecy occurring just after the activity of Zechariah. In Zech 1–8, the depiction of the prophet Zechariah recalling the message of the prophets of old in a language inspired from other prophetic traditions (Zech 1:2–6; 7:4–14) is already a means of emphasizing the importance of preserving and studying the prophetic texts, as well as a way of legitimizing the scribes preserving these texts. As several scholars have pointed out, this depiction is probably late in the redactional development of Zech 1–8, and some have even suggested that it could stem from the Hellenistic period.[146] In any case, the process of accentuating the authority of specific written traditions attributed to eminent ancient figures intensified in Judea during the Ptolemaic period. The development of the end of YHWH's prophets in Zech 9–14 is most probably a result of this increasing emphasis on written traditions.[147]

The fact that Zech 9–14 borrows heavily from other prophetic traditions (such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel), more than from Zech 1–8, is understandable in the context of the construction of Zechariah as the last prophet of YHWH. This specific location in the (constructed) history of prophecy gives him the role of bringing prophetic revelation to its completion by offering a synthesis of the words of the preceding prophets. Such a significant role has the double function of conferring legitimacy on the postexilic prophet and of underlining the significance of the words of the previous prophets. Eventually, it is the value and the authority of the whole prophetic corpus (and more broadly of Judean written traditions) that is enhanced. Thus, the conception of the end of YHWH's prophets can be seen as a means employed by Jerusalem scribes to advocate the study of their local traditions vis-à-vis Greek

[146] For instance, Hallaschka (*Haggai und Sacharja 1–8*) dates the parenetical frame of Zech 1–8 either from the late Persian period or the Hellenistic period (esp. 311–312, 322–323). This is not the place to date texts such as Zech 1:1–6 or Zech 7:7–14. Note that some scholars place Zech 1:1–6 very late in the relative chronology of the prophetic texts, insomuch that it could be even later than (part of) Zech 9–14 (see for instance Schmidt, "La formation des 'Nebiim,' " 137–139).

[147] We cannot exclude the possibility that the idea of the end of YHWH's prophets after the activity of Zechariah could be older than the Ptolemaic period (see Zech 1:5b) but in any case, this conception was attributed a special significance during the Hellenistic period.

traditions in particular. Interestingly, the production of texts based on native traditions in order to oppose Hellenistic (political as well as cultural) domination appears to have parallels in other regions of the Near East under Hellenistic rule, as the Demotic Chronicle or the Potter's Oracle seem to attest in Egypt.[148] By endorsing this ethnocentric position, the Judean scribes seek to secure their own legitimacy and assert their authority in a context of cultural competition. In Zech 9–14, the opposition to Greek culture is expressed through the medium of dystopian images, which are associated with the period following the activity of the prophets of YHWH (see in particular Zech 11:9), and also via criticism of foreign mantic practices, especially related to Greek religion in the textual tradition preserved by the LXX. These negative images depict a time of troubles and confusion that will eventually come to an end with the achievement of the great restoration.

CONCLUSION

Reading these three major themes in Zech 9–14 sociohistorically, and in the context of the book as a whole, I have offered three principal reasons for the expansion of the book of Zechariah with chs. 9–14. Crucially, these reasons are related to the rise of Hellenistic domination over Judea. Firstly, the collapse of Persian power, the end of centralized imperial authority over the ancient Near East, and the greater political instability it brought, led to the revision of the restoration scenarios of Zech 1–8 through the addition of dramatic war scenarios involving the Greeks in particular (Zech 9:13). Secondly, socioeconomic changes in Judea brought about by Ptolemaic administrative policies, especially in tax collection, caused the modification of the positive image of the Judean community and its leaders in Zech 1–8 via the motifs of the bad shepherds and the mistreated flock. Thirdly, the emphasis on the study of literary "classics" in the Hellenistic world and the growing influence of Greek culture pushed Judean scribes to advocate the special status and authority of prophetic texts by advancing the conception of classical preexilic prophecy present in Zech 1–8; this was achieved by emphasizing the idea that the time of YHWH's prophets ended after the activity of Zechariah, an idea developed in association with a polemic

[148] Cf. J. J. Collins, "Jewish Apocalyptic against Its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment," *BASOR* 220 (1975), 27–36; J. Podemann Sørensen, "Native Reactions to Foreign Rule and Culture in Religious Literature," in T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad, and J. Zahle (eds.), *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization, 3; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1992), 164–181. Nevertheless, the interpretation of these texts remains a matter of debate; see A.-E. Veisse, "Les discours sur les violences dans l'Egypte hellénistique: Le clergé face aux révoltes," in J.-M. Bertrand (ed.), *La violence dans les mondes grec et romain* (Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, 2005), 213–223.

against foreign cultic and mantic practices that can be connected to Greek religion in particular.

By attributing chs. 9–14 to the prophet Zechariah, the Judean scribes of the Ptolemaic period integrated within their local traditions the impact of the rise of Hellenistic domination, so as to make sense of their new situation. They reshaped the memory of Zechariah as the last of YHWH's prophets, who during the early Persian period not only announced the restoration of Jerusalem and Judah through the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple but also forecast the major changes of the period of Hellenistic rule. The use of several dystopian motifs in Zech 9–14, which are absent from Zech 1–8, serves to construct this period as a time of turmoil. At the same time, utopian images of restoration were employed in order to interpret this period as a provisional one, immediately preceding the great intervention of YHWH that will bring the restoration of Jerusalem and Judah to its completion. The contrast between dystopian and utopian depictions creates a radical break between the representations associated with the Hellenistic period and those of the restoration. As such, Zech 9–14 is to be understood mainly as an expression of opposition and criticism by the Jerusalem scribes toward the sociopolitical and cultural transformations taking place in Judea during the early Hellenistic period. This text also functions as a comfort to discontented Judeans by inviting them to live in the expectation of a better reality in the future.

Furthermore, the construction of the figure of Zechariah as the last of YHWH's prophets explains well why it is precisely his book that was expanded with oracles concerning changes in the Hellenistic period. The idea at stake was that the last of YHWH's prophets would foretell the final dramatic events immediately preceding the glorious restoration. Thus, by adapting the oracles of the last prophet of YHWH to the Hellenistic context, the whole prophetic corpus was thus brought up to date. This updating of a large prophetic corpus is probably one of the main reasons why Zech 9–14 borrows more from other prophetic traditions than from Zech 1–8.

This analysis increases our understanding of the history of Second Temple Judaism. It shows that tensions with Hellenistic power—at the very least on the ideological level—are not specific to the second century but have their roots in the Ptolemaic period.[149] This can also be seen in other texts, for instance the Enochic Book of the Watchers.[150] In addition, it brings to the fore the importance of the sociohistorical developments of the Hellenistic period for understanding the

[149] In particular, V. Tcherikover has made a similar suggestion on the basis of a historical reading of Josephus' tale of the Tobiads (*Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 126–134).

[150] See G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), esp. 62–63, 170; A. T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits* (WUNT, 198; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 23–50.

last stages in the formation of the Hebrew Bible. At the methodological level, this study points to the relevance of associating a sociohistorical inquiry with literary approaches in the study of prophetic literature, especially difficult texts such as Zech 9–14.