ZECHARIAH 9 AND THE RECAPITULATION OF AN ANCIENT RITUAL PATTERN

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LIVELY discussion currently is being carried on over the question of the sources of Jewish apocalyptic. Zechariah 9 should be introduced into that discussion as a composition betraying one sphere of influence which was of vast significance in the emergence of apocalyptic eschatology from its roots in classical prophecy, viz., the sphere of archaic ritual forms. Tracing ultimately to the ritual of ancient Near Eastern myth, these forms were mediated by the league and especially the royal cult of Jerusalem, being absorbed into the complex stream which we call apocalyptic from the sixth century on. Nevertheless, this chapter has been denied its important message by a phenomenon not uncommon in biblical research, the repeated application of a method of interpretation which, while yielding satisfactory results elsewhere, simply does not apply to the material at hand. For over a century biblical scholars have persisted in dating and interpreting Zechariah 9 on the basis of alleged historical allusions, especially the military campaign in vss. 1-7 and reference to the sons of Yawan in vs. 13. For hundreds of pages arguments have been advanced, with equal persuasiveness, for an historical setting during the reign of Hezekiah, Josiah, Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, Alexander, or the Maccabees.[1] The flaw in this line of interpretation is methodological: the genre of the composition has been perceived incorrectly, and thus an inappropriate method of interpretation has been applied; in short, a Di-

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[1] In most of the commentaries one is truly amazed to see how the text is forced to serve one historical hypothesis or the other (the "interpolations" removed in some cases add up to three-fourths of the received text), and how Assyrian and Persian sources are hastily used as support. We mention here only a few of the most influential treatments, beginning with that of J. Eichhorn (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament* [4th ed.; Göttingen: Rosenbusch, 1824] 445ff.), who concluded that Zechariah 9 stemmed from the period after Alexander's conquest. This solution was supported by Bernhard Stade ("Deuterozacharja, Eine kritische Studie," *ZAW* 1 [1881] 1-96; 2 [1882] 151-72, 275-309), who recognized in the mention of the Sons of Yawan in vs. 13 and in the pattern of the campaign in vss. 1-8 reflections following in the wake of Alexander's conquests. So influential was Stade's interpretation that it remained the most popular solution for decades, continuing to find many supporters today. Treatments subsequent to Stade have built upon his work; adopting his method, one author after another has sought to relate the allusions to some historical personage. For example, E. G. H. Kraeling ("The Historical Situation in Zech 9:1-10," *AJSL* 14 [1924-25] 24-33) placed the passage in the era of Hezekiah; B. Otzen (*Studien über Deuterosacharja* [Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1964] 11-34) in the reign of Josiah;

vine Warrior Hymn[2] has been mistaken for a poetic report of an historical event, that is to say, cosmic war has become confused with mundane war. A new investigation, therefore, must begin with a clarification of the genre and must utilize a method which is sensitive to the unique position of late prophecy and early apocalyptic in the prophetic tradition.

It is this sensitivity which is lacking in the historicizing method. All prophecy, classical and late, is treated alike. In the case of classical prophecy, the method brings satisfactory results, a reasonable fact since it was in application to the pre-exilic prophets that the method was developed. Isaiah, for example, was recognized — and properly so — as a statesman deeply involved in the political events of his time. The cosmic vision which he witnessed he related to those events, interpreting divine activity in the terms of human instrumentality. Having broken myth's concentration on the cosmic realm as the only genuine arena of religious significance, the classical prophets, motivated by the political nature

T. H. Robinson and F. Horst (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten* [HAT 14; 2d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1964]) in the first campaign of Tiglath-pileser; A. Malamat ("The Historical Setting of Two Biblical Prophecies on the Nations," *IEJ* 1 [1950] 149-59) in the attack of Sargon against the West in 720; K. Marti (*Das Dodekaprophetenbuch erklärt* [KH-CAT 13; Tübingen: Mohr, 1904]) in the Maccabean period. If any one solution were to be singled out as representing the majority opinion today, it would remain Stade's connecting vss. 1-8 with Alexander's conquest (e.g., K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten* [ATD 24/5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949-51]; J. M. P. Smith, *Zechariah* [ICC 25; Edinburg: Clark, 1912]; M. Delcor, "Les allusions à Alexandre le Grande dans Zach 9, 1-8," *VT* 1 [1951] 110-24). One final line of criticism attempts to do justice both to the verses apparently reflecting a pre-exilic situation and to those seemingly stemming from a later period by uncovering behind Zechariah 9-11 a document from ca. 720 which was reworked in the post-exilic era (S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* [New York: Scribner, 1913]; W. W. Baudissin, *Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testamentes* [Leipzig: Hirzel, 1901]). Neither this solution nor a similar one by A. Jepsen ("Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch II," *ZAW* 57 [1939] 242-55) have proven to be very persuasive, for they too resort to a very mechanical way of eliminating difficulties. The manner in which all of these theories disintegrate when subjected to the scrutiny of the historian is illustrated by H. Tadmor's observations in "Azriyau of Yaudi," *Studies in the Bible* (Scripta hierosolymitana 8; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961) 269, n. 91.

[2] Our designation of Zechariah 9 as a Divine Warrior Hymn requires a note of explanation. The dominant tone of the composition is hymnic, being a celebration of the anticipated future act of Yahweh the Warrior. The function of the eschatological hymn in the apocalyptic literature is, however, a specialized one: the hymn, besides being a paean of praise, serves as an announcement of restoration to the faithful, thereby becoming a source of comfort in times of frustrated hopes and oppression. Although these compositions do not yield specific information regarding their setting, we should note that the usual tendency in recent form criticism to construe *Sitz im Leben* almost exclusively in cultic terms — contrary to the original intention of Gunkel's broadly sociological term — proves inadequate in dealing with such compositions. The setting of the Divine Warrior Hymns of early apocalyptic must be construed broadly, for it moves far beyond the cult in encompassing all aspects of the tension-filled life of the post-exilic community.

of their office, translated the cosmic into the categories of the mundane. When modern scholars sought historical connections in this material, they were therefore quite successful in relating the particular prophetic corpora to historical events. This success was not matched when the historicizing method was applied to late prophecy and apocalyptic, for the late prophets and their visionary successors grew much more indifferent to historical contingencies. Divine activity they left increasingly on the the cosmic level without relating it to political events. This shift away from the integration of cosmic and mundane, sacral and profane, undercuts the principle upon which the standard method of interpretation is based. The "historical" allusion is no longer a safe handle for dating prophetic material in the late period; such allusions are used indiscriminately alongside mythic materials to announce Yahweh's victory in the climatic events of the near future, events which are related but tenuously to an historical matrix.

The early stages of this shift away from integration of cosmic and mundane can be perceived in Second Isaiah. To be sure, the prophetic role of statesman is upheld in this great figure, thus accounting for the fact that the traditional method of interpretation meets with a degree of success in this material. Yet in Second Isaiah the classical position is maintained as an archaism rather than as a natural outgrowth of his situation: he is a statesman without a state, and his "messiah" (Cyrus) is a surrogate borrowed from the Persians. The prophetic translation of the cosmic into the mundane thus lingers in his prophecy as an afterglow. Moreover, alongside the historical interpretation of divine activity, motifs drawn from cosmogonic myth assume an imposing position in Second Isaiah. Though he was able to hold myth and history in tension without compromising the historical orientation of prophetic Yahwism,[3] he nevertheless introduced into the prophetic tradition an ingredient which was fraught with destiny. The political matrix within which the pre-exilic prophets were active disintegrated during the time of the followers of Second Isaiah; not only was nationhood lost, but the very notion of the community was vitiated by a rending schism.[4] For the inheritors of the prophetic tradition in Isaiah 56-66, Zechariah 9-14, Ezekiel 38-39 and the Isaiah Apocalypse the realities of the historico-political order no longer confirmed but called into question the saving activity of Yahweh on behalf of his oppressed people. While Second Isaiah could utilize myth to add a cosmic dimension to his message of salvation without undercutting its mooring in the historical, the oppressed post-exilic followers of Second Isaiah began to elevate myth to a new status, finding within it a realm within which their restoration-hope could be upheld, unsullied by historical setbacks. Myth began to offer an avenue of escape from the contradictions of this world. With the growing tendency to abdicate the prophetic task of relating the vision of Yahweh's cosmic activity to the political realm came the dawn of apocalyptic eschatology, and with it a vision of a day of Yahweh which was no longer tied to historical agents and events. A genre

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[3] Note, e.g., how Isa 51:9-11 moves from the primordial, to the past-historical, to the future hope.

[4] See P. D. Hanson, "Old Testament Apocalyptic Reexamined," *Int* 25 (1971) 454-79.

developing out of this new situation was the Divine Warrior Hymn, recapitulating an old form which is traced ultimately to ancient Near Eastern myth. It is a genre with which the historicizing method simply is unable to deal.

If the Divine Warrior Hymn, with its new cosmic orientation, is not amenable to interpretation by the usual method, can a method be applied which is sensitive to the unique nature of this and related genres? Recognizing the lack of the ready handle of the direct historical allusion, we propose a method for interpreting apocalyptic literature which we designate "contextual-typological." It first utilizes the tools of form criticism to determine the genre of a unit of tradition and to illuminate its function and setting. The "typological" aspect of the method focuses on the difficult question of dating material which by nature has at best a tenuous connection to the historical by seeking on four levels to establish a unit within a relative chronology: (1) history of genres, (2) development of Hebrew prosody and prose style, (3) history of ideas, (4) development of the sociological setting.

In arguing that Zechariah 9:1-17 constitutes a unified composition, we are not stating the obvious. For example, in a recent study of the chapter, Magne Saebø sets out to divide the chapter into its original units of tradition, of which he finds no less than thirteen![5] The argument most frequently encountered in the literature for the division of the chapter is based on vss. 9-10. For example, Kraeling, followed by Dentan,[6] holds that the original oracle comprised only the first ten verses, since "the resumption of war after the coming of the king of peace is unbearable."[7] Sellin maintains that the oracle extends through vs. 17, but only after deleting vss. 9-10.[8] Elliger combines the argument of the incompatibility of the war and peace motifs with a metric argument, viz., that three-foot tricola are found in vss. 1-8, whereas in vss. 9-10 the bicolon is used.[9] As the Ugaritic corpus and archaic Hebrew poetry both indicate, the argument that a poem must utilize a single metric scheme throughout is simplistic. In Zechariah 9 the following considerations argue for the originality of vss. 9-10: (1) the stepped-up tempo in vss. 9-10 accords well with the mood of excitement permeating the hymn at this point; (2) vss. 9-10 may comprise an old traditional poem from the royal cult, a poem drawn into this hymn without altering a meter which was established by tradition; (3) bicola also appear in vss. 1-2. Ultimately, however,

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[5] *Sacharja 9-14* (WMANT 34; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969) 135-207. The vast methodological gulf separating Saebø's study from ours becomes apparent when one realizes that Saebø does not even treat the problem of unity of Zechariah 9 in the present work, but defers that question in favor of dividing and subdividing the chapter into its smallest form-units, whereas the starting point of our study is tied to the recognition of a ritual pattern underlying the entire chapter which makes separation of the question of what holds the present chapter together from the question of genre artificial and indefensible.

[6] *Zechariah* (IB 6; New York: Abingdon, 1956) 1092.

[7] E. G. H. Kraeling, "The Historical Situation," 24.

[8] *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch* (KAT 12; 2d ed.; Leipzig: Deichert, 1929) 496.

[9] *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 139.

these reasons for rejecting the various divisions of the chapter proposed by the exegetes are a minor ingredient in the total argument, for once the chapter is projected against the background of the ritual conquest and royal procession tradition upon which the early apocalyptic literature drew so heavily, a beautifully developed poem is recognized which tolerates no divisions. In this poem the variation in the metric scheme accentuates the dramatic movement within the ritual pattern; in this pattern the theme of war stands beside the theme of peace as inevitably as Yahweh's battle leads to victory.[10]

9:1[11]   משא דבר יהוה   6   The oracle of Yahweh's word:

[יהוה] [12]באָרץ חדרך   6   Yahweh is against Hadrach,

ודמשק מנחתו[13]   7   Damascus is his throne dais;

[10] At the heart of the ritual pattern of conflict is the re-enactment of the warrior-god's battle against the enemy, by means of which peace is re-established (see, e.g., the *Enūma eliš* and the Ugaritic Baal Cycle; cf. Isa 52:7-12). In contrast to the usual attempt of restoring the "original purity" of the poem by deleting the theme of peace, Douglas R. Jones ("A Fresh Interpretation of Zechariah IX-XI," *VT* 12 [1962] 241-59) takes the opposite tack of purging the poem of all war imagery. The exercise is heavy-handed, at times even painful (e.g., in connection with vs. 13: "The difficulty lies in *wᶜwrrty . . . ᶜl.* This so commonly means to brandish a weapon *against* . . . that it is difficult to imagine anyone reading the sentence otherwise . . . ;" then *he* proceeds to read it otherwise! According to Jones, "vs. 14 is of course not the language of warfare but of theophany," (p. 249), as if the theophany of the divine warrior was not precisely an entry into the field of battle; the picture is too close to Marduk's march against Tiamat or Baal's against Yamm to be assigned to any setting other than a martial one. Here too the interpretation is misguided from the start by the failure to recognize the genre of the composition; war cannot be eliminated from a Divine Warrior Hymn, except in the manner described by the author himself when he refers to "the military image which we have been at pains to expel" (p. 249).

[11] Textual emendations merely involving the dropping of the conjunction, the definite article, the direct-object marker and the like (all common late additions to poetic texts), and also those involving the changing of converted perfects to imperfects (late editing of the texts betrays a preference for converted forms), will not be noted in the text. The number of syllables in each colon is indicated between the text and the translation.

A double line under one of the syllable-count numbers marks a strophic division, whereas single lines are used to designate the division of the poem into prosodic units. (Prosodic units are the basic building blocks of Hebrew poetry and are normally constructed through the juxtaposition of parallel cola or, at least, of cola with closely related meaning. In early Yahwistic poetry and in carefully archaizing poetry the dominant prosodic units are bicola and tricola, which rarely betray enjambement. One of the features of late biblical poetry is the breakdown of the earlier prosodic canons, with a tendency toward longer prosodic units, irregular meter, enjambement and other prosaizing tendencies, all of which appear in Zechariah 9, although not in an advanced stage.)

[12] In agreement with the LXX, Vg and Tg, we read *mśᵓ dbr yhwh* as a construct chain. The conjunctive accent *mehuppak* under *mśᵓ* in the MT indicates the Masoretes also understood the construction thus. The oracle would then begin after this superscription, and if a second *yhwh* is restored (lost by haplography), the metric structure of the first bicolon is regained.

[13] The common meaning of *mᵉnûḥāh is* "resting place," especially in reference to a land dwelling peaceably, and in contrast to a state of wandering without a home (e.g., Deut

	Hebrew		English
	ליהוה ע[ם] א[ר]ם[¹⁴]	6	to Yahweh belong the people of Aram,
	וכל שבטי ישראל	7	and all the tribes of Israel,
2	גם חמת תגבל בה	6	even Hamath, which borders thereon,
	[ ]¹⁵[צידון חכמה מאד	7	Sidon, which is so wise.
3	תבן צר מצור לה	6	Tyre has built herself a rampart,
	ותצבר כסף כעפר	7	has heaped up silver like dust,
	חרוץ כטיט חוצות	6	gold like the dirt of the streets.
4	אדני יורשנה	7	The Lord will capture her,
	והכה בים חילה	7	he will hurl her wealth into the sea,
	והיא באש תאכל	7	she will be consumed by fire.
5	תרא אשקלון ותירא	8	Seeing this, Ashkelon will be terrified,
	ועזה תחיל מאד	7	Gaza will be struck by anguish,
	עקרון הביש מבטה	7	Ekron's plans will be shattered.
	ואבד מלך מעזה	7	The king will perish from Gaza,
	אשקלון לא תשב	6	Ashkelon will be depopulated.
6	ישב ממזר¹⁶ באשדוד	7	a usurper will sit (enthroned) in Ashdod.
	אכרת גאון פלשתים	7	I will destroy the arrogance of Philistia.
7	אסר דמיו מפיו	6	I will remove the blood from its mouth,
	שקציו מבין שניו	7	and the abominations from between its teeth.

12:9); it can also mean the condition of "rest" (Jer 45:3). A less commonly recognized meaning is found here: "throne dais," as the place where the king rests. To it can be compared *nḫt* in Ugaritic texts, especially 4.1.34 (51; Ugaritic references are to Herdner, *CTCA*, with Gordon's designation following in parenthesis) where Hayyin-Khasis is seen casting *il nḫt* in response to Baal's complaint to El that he has no temple like the gods (cf. 22.A.18 [123] and 16.6.24 [127]). Besides this verse, it is used in this sense in 1 Chr 28:2 (*byt mnḫḫ* = a shelter for Yahweh's throne dais, as indicated by the parallel *lhdm rgly ʾlhynw*); Isa 66:1 (note the parallels *ksʾy, hdm rgly, byt, mqwm mnwhty*); Ps 132:7 (again parallel to *hdm rglyw*); Ps 132:8 and 14; and Isa 11:10.

[14] A conjectural emendation for the difficult *ʿyn ʾdm*. M. Dahood (*CBQ* 25 [1963] 123-24) proposes a masc. *ʾādam* with the same meaning as *ʾădāmâ*. Thus the phrase would be equivalent to *ʿēn hāʾāreṣ*, "the surface of the earth." But this vague phrase ill suits the context, where every other colon refers to a very specific city or people. Moreover, the claim in the preceding colon that Damascus is Yahweh's throne dais leads naturally to the conclusion, "to Yahweh belong the people of Aram."

[15] As the singular verb and the meter suggest, one of the city names is secondary (the plural verb in LXX and Vg is a later correction). Since *ṣōr* forms the heart of the next verse (the recurrent *ṣādê* and *rēš* in vs. 3 are obviously playing on *ṣōr*), the redundancy can be removed only by regarding *ṣōr* as a secondary intrusion into vs. 2b. Such intrusion is not surprising in the light of the frequent mention in prophetic literature of Sidon and Tyre as comprising an inseparable unit.

[16] The meaning of *mamzēr* is less than clear. It occurs in one other passage in the Bible, in Deut 23:3. The basic meaning of the root appears to involve "mixing" (cf. Arabic). The biblical meaning is usually derived from the sense the word has in the Mishnah, "bastard," i.e., offspring of a union with forbidden classes of people. In the

	ישאר [ ] לאלהינו	8	He will be a remnant for our God,
	יהיה כאלף ביהודה	8	He will be like a clan in Judah,
	ועקרון כיבוסי	7	and Ekron will be like the Jebusite.
8	[18][ ] [17]אחנה לביתי מצבה	8	I will stand guard near my house,
	לא יעבר עליהם עוד נגש	9	the oppressor will not overrun them again;
	כי עתה ראיתי בעיני	9	for now I see with my own eyes.
9	גילי מאד בת ציון	7	Rejoice heartily, daughter of Zion!
	הריעי בת ירושלם	8	shout gladly, daughter of Jerusalem!
	הנה מלכך יבוא לך	7	Your king now comes to you,
	צדיק ונושע הוא[ה]	7	triumphant and victorious is he,
	עני ורכב [ ]חמור	7	humble and riding on an ass,
	ועל עיר בן אתנות[19]	7	on a colt, the foal of an ass.

passage in Deuteronomy the *mamzēr* appears in a group of laws forbidding various classes from entering the assembly of Yahweh; they are (1) the mutilated, (2) the *mamzēr*, (3) the Ammonite and the Moabite. The form of the *mamzēr* prohibition is closely parallel to that applying to the Ammonite and the Moabite. In our passage it comes in the third member of a tricolon. One question is whether we are dealing with a singular or a collective, i.e., will a *mamzēr*-people live in Ashdod, or will a *mamzēr*-king? The latter is suggested by the resulting progression within the tricolon and the parallel relation between the third and first cola of the tricolon (the resulting structure would be that of a small *inclusio*): "The king will perish from Gaza, Ashkelon will be depopulated, a usurper will sit (enthroned) in Ashdod." Although this is the sense we favor, it is not impossible that a foreign people is the intended collective meaning of the word. In either case we regard the *mamzēr* as Israelite, i.e., an Israelite king or people of Israel would replace the legitimate heir(s) of Ashdod, which agrees with the interpretation given to the passage by the Targum Jonathan.

[17] Vocalizing *mṣbh* from the root, *nṣb* supported by the LXX and Peš.

[18] The meter supports our deletion of *mᶜrb wmšb* as an explanatory gloss. Vs. 8 is difficult, and our conjectures must be regarded as tentative.

[19] The key words and phrases of vs. 9 are best understood when one recognizes here a reflection of the royal ritual of the Jerusalem cult. What king is *ṣaddîq, nôšaᶜ, ᶜānî* and riding upon an ass? It is the king in the royal procession celebrating Yahweh's renewed reign and the re-established reign of his anointed. The inimical powers of the cosmos have again been defeated; thus the king is triumphant, victorious, and yet humble as the one bearing the marks of the earlier conflict. The great significance often attached to the lowliness of the ass here in contrast to the horse is based on estimations foreign to the ancient Near East. The ass was in no way unworthy of the noble (Judg 10:4; 12:13 and 2 Sam 16:1-2). Indeed Asherah rides on an ass, an ass decked in splendor and fit for a queen of heaven (4.4.1ff. [51]). Likely Baal too was pictured as riding upon an ass in the procession to his temple. If the ass was not a lowly creature, what is the significance of the contrast between the *ass* upon which the king rides, and the *horse* and *chariotry* which he will banish from the land? We would suggest that underlying the passage is a kingship ideal wherein the ass, rather than the horse and chariot, was the bearer of the king in the royal procession. We can only speculate that the locus of this ideal was in the Canaanite realm prior to the introduction of the horse and chariot by the Hyksos. We move to ground firmer than speculation, however, when we note within the OT a distinct bias against the horse and chariot as royal symbols. Samuel, at the point of the rise of

kingship in Israel, warned the people of the practices of the alien type of ruler which they were demanding: "He will take your sons and appoint them to his chariots and to be his horsemen, and to run before his chariots (1 Sam 8:11; cf. Deut 17:16). The beginning of Absalom's plotting to become king is signalled by the note: "After this Absalom got himself a chariot and horses, and fifty men to run before him" (2 Sam 15:1). No sooner has David failed the ordeal in 1 Kgs 1:1-4 than we hear of a new court intrigue in which Adonijah sets out to become king: "Now Adonijah the son of Hagith exalted himself, saying, 'I will be king;' and he prepared for himself chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run before him" (1 Kgs 1:5). At the point where the Deuteronomist turns to narrate the causes of the fall of Solomon, we read: "And Solomon gathered together chariots and horsemen; he had fourteen hundred chariots and twelve thousand horsemen, whom he stationed in the chariot cities and with the king in Jerusalem" (1 Kgs 10:26). We are led to ask, what is it about horses and chariots which run counter to the kingship ideal underlying these narratives? We would suggest that it is a conviction stemming from the archaic league ideal of holy war, whereby Yahweh is ultimately the only king of Israel, meaning that too great a military force detracts from the basic fact that in battle the victory is attributable to one source of power alone, Yahweh (e.g., the Gideon story in Judges 7). This ideal finds expression in Psalm 20:

> Now I know that Yahweh will help his anointed;
> he will answer him from his holy heaven
> with mighty victories by his right hand.
> Some boast of chariots, and some of horses;
> but we boast of the name of Yahweh our God.
> They will collapse and fall;
> but we shall rise and stand upright.
> Give victory to the king, Yahweh;
> answer us when we call (LXX).

The contrast in Zech 9:9-10 accordingly is not between a royal image and an unroyal one, but between two royal images stemming from rival ideologies: the image in keeping with Israel's archaic institution of Holy War — which institution stands at the base of the hymn in Zechariah 9 — is the image of the ass as the bearer of the king, whereas the image of kingship inimical to this ideal is that symbolized by horse and chariot (such contrasting symbolism is not uncommon, another example being the tent as the dwelling of El in contrast to Baal's temple; similarly the Mushite and Aaronid priesthoods seem to have embraced rival symbols, the bull on the one hand, the cherub on the other. Such symbols as these have not been adequately studied. At present a Harvard B. D. thesis is being written by Mr. Charles Wilson in which the methods of Austin Farrer are being applied to the study of OT royal images such as the chariot and the king's mantle). It is thus significant that in this Divine Warrior Hymn, growing out of the archaic league institution of holy war and the ritual of the royal cult, and stemming ultimately from a mythopoeic context where the ass was apparently the symbol of kingship, the king comes to his people riding on an ass, banishing the chariot and the horse; in the language of symbolism we are informed that Israel's archaic royal ideal, which was for centuries in conflict with the foreign chariot-ideal, would in the end-time triumph. It is within this realm of ancient ritual material and its supporting symbolism that we witness the rise of messianic thinking. This is seen clearly in the use of Zech 9:9 in Matthew 21; Jesus was hailed the long awaited Davidic king as he entered the royal city, not carried by horse and chariot, but mounted upon an ass. That NT writers utilized such symbolism is illustrated also by the passion narrative of John's Gospel: the soldiers stop short of rending Jesus' tunic to divide among themselves and instead cast lots for it, since it was without seam (19:23-24). A contrast seems intended: in the OT the garment of kingship was repeatedly torn, as indicated, e.g., by the

	Hebrew		English
10	יכרית[20] רכב מאפרים	7	He will banish chariotry from Ephraim
	וסוס מירושלם	7	and horses from Jerusalem;
	תנכרת קשת מלחמה	7	the bow of war will be banished,
	ודבר שלום לגוים	7	and he will proclaim peace for the nations.
	משלו מים עד ים	7	His dominion will stretch from sea to sea,
	מנהר עד אפסי ארץ	7	from the River to the ends of the earth.
11	גם את בדם בריתך	7	As for you, because of the blood of your covenant,
	שלחתי אסיריך מבור[ ][21]	8	I have released your captives from the pit;
12	שובו[ ] בצרון אסירי[ ]תקוה	9	return to the stronghold, prisoners of hope,
	גם היום[ ]משנה אשיב לך[22]	8	for today I will repay you double.
13	אדרך לי יהודה	6	I have bent Judah as my bow,
	קשת מלאתי אפרים	6	I have made Ephraim its arrow.
	עוררתי בניך ציון[ ][23]	7	I wield your sons, Zion,
	שמתיך כחרב גבור	6	I have made you like a warrior's sword.
14	יהוה עליהם יראה	8	Yahweh will appear above them,
	יצא כברק חצו	7	his arrow will flash forth like lightning,
	[24][ ] יהוה בשופר יתקע	7	Yahweh will sound the trumpet,
	יהלך בסערות תימן	7	he will advance on the southern storm-winds.
15	יהוה[24][ ] יגן עליהם	7	Yahweh will protect them,

symbolism of 1 Sam 15:27-28 and 1 Kgs 11:29-33. However, the kingdom inaugurated by Jesus would be a kingdom which would fulfill those long awaited promises of Israel: his was a tunic which could not be torn, for it was without seam. In the language of symbolism the arrival of the eschaton is announced in the paradox of the king who triumphantly entered Jerusalem on an ass, only to be crucified days later, but whose garment was not torn by his executioners.

[20] Correcting the verb to the 3rd pers. sing. on the basis of the Peš, LXX, and the context.

[21] ʾyn mym bw is a gloss, probably stemming from Gen 37:24 and attempting to draw a typological connection between the exile and Joseph's captivity (cf. Jer 38:6).

[22] The sense of the first colon of vs. 12 fits the context well, but as it appears in the MT it is metrically long. There is no evidence in the versions supporting drastic change either. Since šûb can appear without a preposition, the l may be secondary, and the noun may have been pronounced with two syllables. Definite articles are usually later additions in poetry. With these changes the meter is normal. In the second colon, the mgyd is probably intrusive. Given the corrupt nature of the text, our reconstruction of vs. 12 must remain tentative.

[23] l bnyk ywn is shown by meter and parallel structure to be intrusive. It is a clear example of an error stemming from dittography (bnyk ṣywn/bnyk ywn).

[24] As commonly, the divine name has been expanded.

יכבשו [כ]אב[ני קלע   7   they will tread (the enemy) *like sling-
                          stones,*

ישתו [ד]ם[ם] כמו יין   7   they will drink their blood like wine,

ימלאו כמזרק [ ] מזבח[25]   8   they will be filled like an altar bowl.

[25] The meter and the prosodic structure of the poem suggest that the words *kmzrq* and *kzwywt* are variant readings. The LXX supports this judgment as well as our deletion of *kzwywt*. Similarly, one of the verbs in the second colon of vs. 15 is superfluous. *Kbš* gives the appearance of originality by producing a fine image with the adverbial phrase "like slingstones," whereas *ʾkl* could have come into the text under the influence of the common parallel pair, *ʾkl//šth* (note especially Isa 22:13 and Ezek 39:17); an alternative interpretation is that it could be what remains of a variant colon, originally reading *yō(ʾ)kᵉlû bᵉśārām kᵉleḥẹm*, or the like. Once the second verb entered the text, the syntactical force of the adverbial phrase would have been lost, with the *kaph* being lost and "slingstones" becoming the direct object (resulting in a bizarre image!). Added plausibility adheres to our reading on the basis of the syntactical structure of the next four cola with their repetitive comparisons constructed with adverbial phrases. In vs. 15b *dmm* is supported by the Greek uncials A and Q (*to haima autōn*); BS and W have *autous* as object, followed by *hōs oinou*. The Tg also includes the notion of blood. The MT and Vg give the appearance of the suppression of a crude image.

Though our proposed reconstruction, like any other, must remain conjectural due to the corrupt state of the text, the larger image is reasonably clear, as is the position it assumes in the ritual structure of the poem. It is the image of the bloody sacrifice and the banquet which follows the battle of the warrior god and his entry into his temple and which has the effect of restoring the fertility of the languishing natural order. The sacrifice preparatory to the banquet commonly utilizes the image of treading grapes for the vintage, as is seen clearly in Isa 63:1-6. This image is reflected in the colon, "they will tread (the enemy) like slingstones," the slingstones suggesting both the grapes of the harvest and the heads of the warriors. The treading is followed in the next colon by the drinking of the newly pressed wine, but the fact that we are dealing with an image is again indicated by wine being qualified by the comparison; in fact, it is blood which is being imbibed! As is typical for such banquet accounts, reference to the satiety of the guests concludes the scene.

The comparative structure continues in vs. 16, but now in an inverted sense accentuating the positive: Yahweh will save his people "like a flock," and whereas the enemy would be trampled like *slingstones*, Yahweh would establish his people like *precious stones* for a crown. The effect of the sacrifice and the banquet is immediate: the fertility of the land is restored (vs. 17).

This sacrifice and banquet scene are found in parallel texts which throw valuable light upon our text. They are currently being studied by Professor Marvin Pope, and hence we limit our remarks to a few salient matters. Of special interest is the second column of the Ugaritic ʿAnat text (3 [ʿnt]), where the description of ʿAnat's fierce rampage to the east and west betrays close similarities to Zech 9:15 both in syntax and imagery: "Under her are heads like balls, above her hands like locust eggs . . ." (3.2.9-10 [ʿnt]); "like locust eggs" is M. Pope's translation of *kʾirbym* based on an Arabic etymology (private communication, October 31, 1971). Upon her return to her palace, the exultant goddess continues the carnage, until she wades knee-deep in the blood. The column concludes with a bathing scene which calls attention to the restored fertility of the earth: "dew of heaven, fat of earth, rain of the Rider of Clouds." John Gray has studied the significance of this column in the context of the mythology of Ras Shamra ("The Wrath of God in Canaanite and Hebrew Literature," *Bulletin of the Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society*

16	[כ]26 יהוה יושיעם	7	Yahweh will save them like a flock,
	עמו כ[אבני]נזר	6	*his people like stones for a crown,*
	[על]אדמתו27יתנוססון	8	*they will glisten upon his land.*
17	כי מה טובו מה יפיו	8	How great their prosperity and beauty!
	בחורים 28[דשן] דגן	7	Corn *will make fat* the young men,
	תירוש ינובב בתלות	8	wine will make the maidens fruitful.

25 [1947-53] 9-19). The larger context is the struggle involved in the cycle of the seasons. This column fits in at the point where the vital power of Baal is in eclipse. ᶜAnat's victims are those powers inimical to fertility, the allies of Mot. The slaughter is not a "wanton orgy," but "a rite of separation from the phase of sterility involving at the same time a rite of imitative magic to stimulate a liberal outpouring of fresh vitality, the blood being to the ancient Semite the life-essence (Genesis ix.4; Leviticus xvii.14; Deuteronomy xii.23)" (p. 15). As noted, the syntax and specific images of the text are closely parallel to our verse: the comparative structure, the trampling upon heads like round objects ("slingstones," or "balls" and "locust eggs"), the flow of blood. This makes the similarity of position in the larger ritual context very significant. In Zechariah 9, as in the ᶜAnat text, a battle has been fought which is crucial in the struggle against the forces of chaos. But the actual restoration of fertility is tied up with the sacrifice and banquet which follow, where the treading and blood-shedding have the effect of unlocking the fertility of the earth. We thus recognize in the sacrifice and the banquet an example of what has been described as a *rite de passage* (cf. Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* [Chicago: Chicago University, 1960]). As the second column of the ᶜAnat text ends with the goddess bathing in the dew of heaven, the fat of earth, the rain of Baal, Zechariah 9 concludes with a similar celebration of the restored fertility: "How great will be their prosperity and beauty! Corn will make fat the young men, wine will make the maidens fruitful."

Though Gray fails to note Zechariah 9 as a parallel to the ᶜAnat text, he draws attention to several other biblical texts which are of importance here. In Isa 63:1-6 the use of the image of treading grapes during the vintage season is made explicit, although the fertility aspect is subordinated in favor of drawing attention to Yahweh's defeating Israel's historical enemies, here symbolized by Edom. Gray also brings Isaiah 34 into the discussion, a text where Edom is again the prototypal enemy of Israel. However, Gray misses the full significance of this passage by failing to treat it as a part of the larger unity encompassing both chs. 34 and 35. Once again we have a very vivid delineation of the sacrifice with its incredible carnage (vss. 3-4). The point in the mythic cycle which is involved here is critical, where the fertility of the earth has yielded to sterility and to the collapse of the created order (vs. 4). In the language of Canaanite myth, Baal is dead; ᶜAnat must intervene in his absence. Naturally, the ritual pattern has been remodeled by Yahwism, and the death of the created order does not imply the death of Yahweh. Rather than calling for the goddess' intervention, Yahweh himself prepares the sacrifice and the banquet, leading to the land being "soaked with blood," and the soil "made rich with fat." After a further description of the sterility of a natural order reduced to chaos, ch. 35 portrays in glorious terms the effect of the bloody sacrifice and banquet: it is a picture of wastelands blossoming like a crocus, of waters flowing abundantly, of burning and becoming a pool. The background of Isaiah 34-35 is again the *rite de passage* found in the Ugaritic corpus, adapted, to be sure, to Israel's historical faith (besides *CTCA* 3.2 [ᶜnt], see 6.2 and 3 [49]). There are numerous other biblical texts which are of significance here (e.g., Ezek 39:17-20; Jer 46:10; much of the Book of Zephaniah) which cannot be treated here.

[26] Reading *ᵓlhym* as an expansion following LXXᵂ, and *bywm hhwᵓ* as a gloss.

[27] The latter two cola of vs. 16 present many difficulties, and our reconstruction is only a reasonable conjecture.

[28] If it is true that a verb was lost here by haplography (*dgn/dšn*), the metric and syntactic problems of the last two cola of the poem are solved.

The starting point of the hymn is in keeping with a pattern discernible in various reflexes of the conflict myth, within the OT and elsewhere: the warrior-god is enthroned in his northern habitation, when he marches forth to battle the enemy. "Yahweh is in Hadrach, Dasmascus is his throne dais" expresses, in the manner of *parallelismus membrorum*, one essential datum, sketching the geography of the ritual pattern of the conflict myth: the royal habitation of the divine warrior is in the far reaches of the ominous north.[29]

Then follows in vss. 1b-7 the chain of conquered cities which critics have connected with the campaigns of kings from Sargon to the Maccabees. One argument, given the textual emendations demanded by that particular hypothesis, has as much appeal as the others, and for a reason which further undercuts the viability of the historicizing approach: virtually all ancient conquerors, intent on subduing the Syrian littoral, followed basically the same route, beginning in northern Syria, passing through Damascus and advancing southward. Equally abortive have been the attempts to connect descriptions of the conquered cities with particular periods of history, descriptions which are constructed with stereotyped phrases used throughout the history of the prophetic tradition. Damascus,[30] Hamath,[31] Aram,[32] Tyre and Sidon,[33] and the Philistine cities,[34] all were popular targets of prophetic judgment. Even the order in which these cities are mentioned tends to follow a pattern in the prophets.[35] To single out a specific illustration of our point, consider vss. 3 and 4, referring to Tyre's building a rampart, accumulating wealth, losing that wealth and being burned with fire, references repeatedly used to connect the hymn to a particular historical event. But refer-

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[29] Hadrach is mentioned only here in the Bible. It is the Hatarikka of the Assyrian annals (the former Luᶜash). Why this Aramean land north of Hamath should be used in this poem to represent the northern extremity of Yahweh's dominion has been given a convincing answer by H. Tadmor ("Azriyau," 269): only once does Hadrach play a part in biblical history, in the year 739/8 when the Judean army, under Azariah, fought in the vicinity of Hadrach. As we shall demonstrate below, the general boundaries of the ideal kingdom of Israel were set by very ancient tradition being traced ultimately to the mid-second millennium boundaries of Canaan. Specific locations, however, were likely supplied by memories of more recent events. In the case of Hadrach, the Azariah affair was most likely in the mind of the hymn-writer: here was a city, on the extreme northern border of the ideal kingdom of Israel, where a Judean king once fought and was defeated. In the final battle defeat would be transformed into lasting victory, for Yahweh himself would fight for his people, beginning in Hadrach in the far north, then occupying Israel's arch-rival Damascus as his throne dais, and from there marching southward to secure the remainder of the Kingdom, thereby recapitulating the primeval conflict and restoring order out of the pre-existing chaos.

[30] Amos 1:3-5; Isa 17:1-3.
[31] Jer 49:23-25; Ezek 47-48.
[32] Amos 1:5; Isa 7:1-3; 9:11; 17:3.
[33] Isa 23:2-4; Jer 25:22; Ezek 28:20-23; Joel 4:4-8.
[34] Zeph 2:7.
[35] Cf. Zech 9:1-7 with Amos 1:3-9; Jer 47:4-5; Zeph 2:4-5.

ence to Tyre's wealth was as timeless as reference to the stars of the heavens, being found throughout the prophets.[36] That Yahweh would strip her,[37] that she would be hurled into the sea,[38] and that she would be burned by fire[39] were equally conventional themes.

The eschatological orientation of the hymn and its stereotyped language suggest that the significance of the military campaign must be found elsewhere than in one historical figure or another. The new inquiry does well to begin with the observation that the hymn itself makes no mention of a human conqueror: the march is by the divine warrior, who intervenes directly, unmediated by human agents. Which leads to a second observation: the striking feature of the pattern of the campaign is that it circumscribes the *ideal kingdom* of Israel, not Israel in its usual narrow limits, not even the enlarged Israel of David or Solomon, but an idealized Israel remembered by tradition, recalled for example in 1 Kgs 4:24 and Ezek 47:13-20.[40] The contrast to the actual Davidic Kingdom is striking: included are the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon and the Philistine Pentapolis, cities never assimilated into the empire of David or Solomon.[41] That such a tradition of the ideal Israel existed is indicated also by Josh 13:1-6, where Joshua is told that he has not completed the conquest: "You are old and advanced in years, and there remains very much land to be possessed," which land is then described as the Philistine Pentapolis, Phoenicia, and the land northward to Hamath, i.e., precisely the territory included in Zechariah 9. Then comes a remarkable comment on this territory: Yahweh declares, "I will myself drive them out from before the people of Israel," a promise in actuality left unfulfilled during Israel's monarchic period, thus waiting to be picked up by later eschatological circles.[42]

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[36] Amos 1:9-10; Isa 23:8, 13-15; Ezek 27:1-25; 28:5; Joel 4:4.

[37] Isa 23:18; Ezek 26:12, 19; 27:27; Joel 4:5.

[38] Ezek 26:19; 27:32, 34; 28:8.

[39] Amos 1:19; Jer 49:27; Ezek 28:18.

[40] The ultimate origin of the borders of ideal Israel seems to be the ancient boundaries of Canaan during the Late Bronze Age. Cf. the city lists of Tutmoses III (Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962], 143; R. de Vaux, "Le pays de Canaan," *JAOS* 88 [1968] 23-30).

[41] The same tradition of the ideal kingdom seems to underlie other prophetic compositions. In Amos 1:3-9 the list includes Damascus, Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Philistia, and Tyre (cf. G. Ernest Wright, "The Nations in Hebrew Prophecy," *Encounter* 26 [1965] 225-37). In Jer 47:4-5: Philistia, Tyre, Sidon, Gaza, Ashkelon. From another side we again see the futility of reading a particular historical campaign out of such lists; they are stereotyped, based on timeless tradition.

[42] Judg 3:1-6 also addresses the problem of the failure of the conquest to fill out the boundaries of the ideal kingdom. Yahweh has left the nations "to test Israel by them," nations again including the Pentapolis of the Philistines, the Phoenician area, and the territory northward as far as Hamath. The consequences for Israel were dire: "they took their daughters to themselves for wives and their own daughters they gave to their sons; and they served their gods." Israel's entire history — in the period of the Judges, during the united and divided monarchies, and after the restoration — was a history of the tragic consequences of the ideal kingdom never being realized. Repeatedly Israel fell to idolatry away from her

While thus denying that this hymn describes a particular historical event, we discern a connection with the historical realm which is of a different order. The background of the hymn is a very ancient tradition within Israel, the tradition of the ideal kingdom which Yahweh had promised Israel as an inheritance. Historical realities had thus far denied Israel the fulfillment of that kingdom. But now in the sixth century a prophetic circle which had seen historical realities belie its most fervent hopes begins to look with a new literalness at archaic traditions, traditions imbued with the cosmic element of myth. Did not the ancient tradition of the ideal kingdom include Yahweh's promise, "I will myself drive them out from before the people of Israel" (Josh 13:6)?

The interpretation we are suggesting for vss. 1-7 is this: we have before us the first strophe of an eschatological hymn anticipating the victory of Yahweh, a hymn based on the pattern of the conflict myth. Yahweh is portrayed as the divine warrior of myth, coming from the far reaches of the north like the storm and conquering for himself a kingdom. That kingdom is ideal Israel, extending from Hamath, down through Damascus and southward along the coast, including Sidon and Tyre, as well as the Philistine cities. In keeping with this genre, the imagery throughout is that of cosmic war, with the enemy writhing in anguish, confounded and afraid, as Yahweh strips of possessions, devours by fire, causes kings to perish and depopulates cities (cf. this imagery with Exod 15:14-16). The difficulties raised repeatedly for the commentators as they ask when in Israel's history Philistia became a remnant for Israel's God, when Ekron was grafted into Judah and when an Israelite usurper sat enthroned in Ashdod also disappear, for the oracle does not look to Israel's historical past but to the future day of Yahweh when Aram would belong to Yahweh like the tribes of Israel, Philistia would be a remnant of the God of Israel like a clan in Judah; and an Israelite would be king over Ashdod.

Vs. 8 introduces the next episode in the scenario of the ritual pattern; it is the goal toward which the movement of the campaign is directed, the return of the victorious warrior to his temple. This is the point toward which the battle of the divine warrior is aimed throughout this literature, from the mythic cycles of Marduk and Baal (*Enūma eliš* V:117-56; VI:45-68; *CTCA* 4 [51]), into the ritual conquest literature of the league (Exod 15:17; Josh 4:19-20), on to the royal psalms of the monarchy (Psalm 24), and down to the re-application of this ritual pattern in proto-apocalyptic (Isa 51:11; 35:8-10). This goal indicates that the issue at stake in the conflict myth is the warrior-king's rule over his kingdom; the key to protecting the newly conquered territory is maintenance of the

true god because of the influence of the pagan nations remaining within the prescribed boundaries of the ideal kingdom. Against this background it is not difficult to understand how eschatological circles of the post-exilic period would view as a pre-condition of the restored community Yahweh's intervention to complete a conquest which had never been achieved, that of the ideal kingdom promised by ancient tradition.

temple precincts (cf. *Enūma eliš* IV:11-12, V:67-68, 115-116, VII:9-10; *CTCA* 4.7.28-51 [51]).[43]

In vs. 9 the triumphant return of the victor to his temple is heralded with an exultant victory shout in the form of a song reflecting the procession ritual of the royal cult. The fact that it celebrates the triumphant entry of the king underscores the hymn's derivation from the conceptual world of ancient Near Eastern royal ideology: without any sense of contradiction the divine king and his anointed ruler are together celebrated, a fluidity running throughout the royal psalms of the OT. Far from representing mere innovation, the rise of messianic thinking thus can be traced to the re-application and eschatologizing of royal ritual material, the roots of which reach back to ancient myth. The fact that the reader familiar with Ugaritic texts will discern a reflection of Baal's victory in this passage already suggests the ultimate source of the ritual pattern. In the Baal myth, after his battle and victory over Yamm, the storm-god's attention was directed toward his temple, which having been built served as the locus from which he called forth rains possessing the power of revivifying the languishing order. The erroneousness of arguments attempting to establish a form-critical separation between the battle and the ensuing restoration of peace is thus again evident, as it is in the following verse (10), where the newly established *šālôm* is secured through the destruction of the weapons of war used by the enemies, a recurrent motif in this ritual pattern (e.g., *Enūma eliš* IV:111; Pss 46:10; 48:8; 76:4; Ezek 39:3,9). In the ritual literature from which Zechariah 9 stems, peace is established by prior conflict; to remove vss. 9 and 10 as later interpolation is simply to cut the heart from this hymn. Incorporating the standard phrases of the Babylonian and Assyrian royal literature, vs. 10 also describes the universal scope of Yahweh's reign: from sea to sea is from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf; from the river to the ends of the earth is from the Euphrates to the farthest known reaches of the southwest (cf. Ps 72:8; *CTCA* 2.4.9-10 [68]; *Enūma eliš* VI:95ff.).

As Isa 52:7-12 indicates,[44] in the Divine Warrior Hymn proclamation of the warrior's kingship is naturally followed by the release of captives — here to the stronghold guarded by Yahweh, Zion — and then by the theophany demonstrating the glory of the warrior-god. Similarly in *CTCA* 4.7 (51) we find that once the victorious Baal has established his universal reign (4.7.9-12) and has taken up residency in his temple (13-14), he gives forth a demonstration of his power in a mighty, earth-shaking theophany, before which his enemies flee (27-39). Vs 13, however, reminds us of a fact which applies to the entire history of the

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[43] The importance of the warrior-king's control of the temple reflects what Mircea Eliade has identified in mythopoeic thought as "the prestige of the Center." According to mythopoeic thought, the center represented by the temple was the critical *axis mundi* to which was tied the well-being of the entire cosmos. Hence the importance of its control if the warrior-king was to secure the rule of his kingdom (Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* [New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959] 12-17).

[44] Cf. Ps 68:2-7 and Psalm 76.

adoption of mythic forms and motifs in Jewish apocalyptic: never is the historical dimension of classical prophecy discarded completely. In this verse we are reminded of Baal's wielding against Yamm the twin weapons fashioned by Kothar-Khasis, Yagrush and Ayamur, for here Yahweh wields twin weapons against his enemy, but the description of the weapons strains the mythic context: not weapons fashioned by the craftsman god, but the historical entities Judah and Ephraim are in Yahweh's hands. This historical dimension is seen also in contrasting the corresponding lines in the *Enūma eliš*: "He constructed a bow, marked it as his weapon, attached thereto the arrow, fixed its bow-cord" (IV:35-36, E. A. Speiser's translation in *ANET*). Passages almost identical in word usage, and compositions closely parallel in form nevertheless betray an important distinction: the tension between myth and history which the ancient Near Eastern myths resolved never disappears completely in Jewish apocalyptic.

In vs. 14, however, we are once again squarely within the conceptual world of myth: the theophany of the warrior is described in language which is archaic and plastic: arrows go forth like lightning while Yahweh blasts on his horn and marches on the southern storm-wind. This is the cosmic realm of the storm-god, of Marduk going forth to battle Tiamat with his arrows and storm-chariot, of Baal the cloud rider on the march to defeat Yamm (cf. Psalms 29 and 68).[45]

The stage is set for the culminating phase in the ritual pattern of the conflict myth: in celebration of the victory, a bloody sacrifice and banquet is held, an

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[45] The fullest recent study of OT theophany is that of Jörg Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung* (WMANT 10; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965). A serious methodological flaw mars this writer's treatment of the theophany in Zechariah 9, even as it affects his treatment of other biblical texts and ancient Near Eastern texts (e.g., p. 86) in which theophanies are found: In what seems to be an irresistible urge to discover new genres, the theophany — which in the literature in question is in our view one element in the scenario of the ritual pattern of the conflict myth — is isolated with the attempt being made to establish it as an independent genre. Two of the unfortunate results are: (1) unified compositions like Zechariah 9 are fragmented and appreciation of the whole is lost; (2) once a very restrictive description of the form of the theophany "genre" is given (part I), the search for a bona fide instance of the genre results in a highly mechanical process of elimination until one is left with the one primary extant example, Judges 5 (part III).

The value of Jeremias' study is undeniable, in spite of this methodological flaw. For example, he rightly draws attention to Judges 5 and resists the attempts to remove the theophany in vss. 4-5 from the song; for Judges 5 must be studied if one is to understand the significance of the theophany in the OT, since the archaic Divine Warrior Hymns were the earliest biblical carriers of the theophany material. But in these hymns, the theophany cannot be separated from the other aspects of the scenario such as the warrior's conflict against the enemy, his victory, etc.

The search for the *Sitz im Leben* of the theophany "genre," as conceived by Jeremias, also issues in a misleading view of the religious environment of ancient Israel. According to Jeremias, the tumultuous response of nature to the appearance of the deity is an aspect of ancient myth which is adopted by the writer of Judges 5. But that hymn stands alone as an example of a biblical text where the influence is direct and where the theophany

essential element in the mythic pattern with which we are dealing, which betrays its original function in the fertility aspect of the ancient cult.[46]   We are dealing with a *rite de passage* (see the discussion in note 25), where the victory alone does not restore the fertility of the earth; necessary in addition is a bloody sacrifice of the enemy's warriors, whereby the shedding of their blood has the effect of releasing the earth's fertility which had been suppressed during the enemy's reign: "How great will be their prosperity and beauty!   Corn will make fat the young men, wine will make the maidens fruitful."

The overall structure of Zechariah 9 which we have studied is thus the following:

> Conflict-Victory (1-7)
> Temple Secured (8)
> Victory Shout and Procession (9)
> Manifestation of Yahweh's Universal Reign (10)
> Salvation: Captives Released (11-13)
> Theophany of Divine Warrior (14)
> Sacrifice and Banquet (15)
> Fertility of Restored Order (16-17)

"genre" functions in a primary way.   After the beginning of the monarchic period the view of divine intervention portrayed by the victory hymn in Judges 5 is superseded (because of the standing armies which fought the battles of the kings), and the adoption of the theophany into other biblical texts becomes a secondary literary phenomenon.

Recent study of the fresh outpourings of mythical material in the literature of Israel, extending well into the post-exilic period, makes this explanation of the entrance of the theophanic material into the OT too mechanical and too narrow to be plausible. Not only did the mythic world-view — of which the theophany of the warrior-god was a part — remain alive in the ancient Near East during the monarchic period, but that world-view itself was adopted — with modification — into one aspect of Israelite religion, the royal cult of Jerusalem, as indicated by the royal hymnic literature. Especially in the form of the ritual pattern of the conflict myth, the mythopoeic view (including the theophany of the warrior-god) continued to function in a primary way and to exert influence down to the sixth century. While we would not deny that some of the theophanies in the OT result from literary borrowing from other biblical texts, the richness and diversity, in form, style and content, of most of the theophany texts are best explained by the view that the conflict myth continued to influence the hymnic literature of Israel throughout the period of the monarchy. When construed thus, one is not left with the mechanical view of one primary theophany text with all others being derivative, but with a complex picture of a world in which Yahwism, thrust forward by a new experience of Yahweh who acted in history, yet lived in a world dominated by the mythopoeic view of divine action whereby the warrior-god, from his heavenly dwelling, impinged upon the mundane sphere amidst spectacular convulsions of the natural order. Against this background, the vast diversity of forms of theophany becomes intelligible, as does the new influx of almost pure myth in the proto-apocalyptic and early apocalyptic literature of the sixth and fifth centuries, of which Zechariah 9 is one example.

[46] Other biblical reflexes of this motif are found in Isa 25:6-8 and Ezek 39:17-20.

Inasmuch as it is our intention to introduce Zechariah 9 into the discussion of the sources of Jewish apocalyptic as an example of the recapitulation of an archaic mythic pattern in early apocalyptic, we turn now to trace the route by which the ritual pattern involved reached apocalyptic compositions like Zechariah 9. The pattern is a very ancient one, with a history which can be traced back to the third millennium. Therefore, the presence of this genre in apocalyptic represents not an innovation, but rather a return to a view of reality tested by the ages. A fuller appreciation of the contextual-typological method to this passage would indicate that the setting of the hymn is to be found among oppressed visionary circles of about the late sixth century.[47] Desperately trying to keep alive promises which mundane realities harshly denied, they recognized in their ancient epic traditions the promise that Yahweh himself would appear as a warrior to save his people and complete the conquest which hitherto had never been consummated. In the ritual of the conflict myth these circles found a vehicle more suitable to their proclamation than the austere historical view of classical prophecy; Yahweh's saving acts and his earthly messiahs were just not visible in mundane realities, prompting them to look toward the cosmic events of myth.

Turning now to sketch the history of the ritual pattern of the conflict myth, we first note its classical formulation within the Mesopotamian realm in the *Enūma eliš*:

> Threat (I:109–II:91)
> Combat-Victory (IV:33-122)
> Theophany of the Divine Warrior (IV:39-60)
> Salvation of the Gods (IV:123-146; VI:1-44; cf. VI:126-127, 149-51)
> Fertility of the Restored Order (V:1-66; cf. VII:1-2, 59-83)[48]
> Procession and Victory Shout (V:67-89)
> Temple Built for Marduk (V:117-56; VI:45-68)
> Banquet (VI:69-94)
> Manifestation of Marduk's Universal Reign (anticipated: IV:3-18;
>   manifested: VI:95–VII:144)

This ritual pattern in shorter compass is found also in the Apsû-Ea conflict of tablet I:

> Threat (37-58)
> Combat-Victory (59-70)
> Temple Built (71-77)

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[47] P. D. Hanson, "Studies in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1969).

[48] The additional lines to tablet V discovered at Sultantepe indicate that Marduk's ordering of the cosmos was not limited to fixing the heavenly bodies in their stations, but included also the establishing of the waters furnishing the fertilizing powers of nature (B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *JNES* 28 [1961] 154-79). See also *ANET*³, 501-2.

The second millennium mythic cycle of Baal and 'Anat from Ugarit is based upon the same ritual pattern of the conflict myth, which is not surprising in light of Thorkild Jacobsen's convincing argument that the *Enūma eliš* is a reflex of the West Semitic myth of Baal's battle with Yamm.[49] Within the Ugaritic corpus variants of the conflict myth are found, but since both the Yamm and Mot conflicts follow basically the same ritual pattern, the fact that the division of the texts between them remains disputed is of little concern here. We thus follow the most common reconstruction of the Baal-Yamm conflict, recognizing the following ritual structure:

Threat (2.1 [137])
Combat-Victory (2.4 [68])
Temple Built (4 [51])
Banquet (4.6.39ff. [51])
Manifestation of Baal's Universal Reign (anticipated: 2.4.9-10 [68];
      manifested: 4.7.9-12 [51])
Theophany of the Divine Warrior (4.7.27-39 [51])
Fertility of Restored Order (anticipated: 4.5.68-71 [51]; effected:
      4.17.18-30 [51]; cf. 6.3.6-7, 12-13 [49])

The earliest hymnic literature of the Bible betrays intimate acquaintance with this ritual pattern, by means of which Israel first attempted to express those experiences which appeared to be of religious significance.[50] But those experiences were of a different order than the ones described by the mythic pattern in its original setting, where attention was centered on the cosmic activity of the gods, for Yahweh's chief activity was discerned in historical events. Thus the earliest use of myth in the Bible introduced a tension between form and substance which would soon require new vehicles of expression.

Exodus 15 is a fine example of the Divine Warrior Hymn from the league celebrating the ritual conquest.[51] The tension is already high, with the composition being suspended delicately between the cosmic and the mundane. The traces of the primeval battle between the divine warrior and inimical sea are unmistakable. But sea has lost its vitality as an aggressive adversary, having become a passive instrument in Yahweh's battle against an enemy from a different order, the historical figure of the Pharoah. No longer a mere reflection of cosmic events, the historical realm is here viewed as the arena of divine activity. Thus, while the ritual pattern is preserved in its basic features, its original mythic intention has been diluted by a new reality.

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[49] Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Battle between Marduk and Tiamat," *JAOS* 88 (1968) 104-8.

[50] P. D. Hanson, "Jewish Apocalyptic against Its Ancient Near Eastern Environment," *RB* 78 (1971) 31-58.

[51] See F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Song of the Sea and Canaanite Myth," *Journal for Theology and the Church* 5 (1968) 1-25.

Combat-Victory (1-12)
Theophany of the Divine Warrior (8)
Salvation of the Israelites (13-16a)
Building of the Temple and Procession (16b-17)
Manifestation of Yahweh's Universal Reign (18)

In Judges 5, another hymn from the league, one senses that the incongruity between the old form and the new substance has reached the breaking point. The formal features of the conflict myth are vividly present. In vss. 4-5 the divine warrior is depicted marching forth from his holy habitation into battle, accompanied by the theophanic manifestations of the storm-god: the quaking of the earth, the dripping of the heavens, the flooding (or trembling [GTS]) of the mountains before *Yahweh zeh* (= Ugaritic *đu*) *sînay*.[52] The cosmic battle itself is described in vs. 20, where Yahweh's heavenly hosts fight the enemy, which like the Pharoah of Exodus 15 is an historical figure: "From the heavens the stars fought, from their stations they fought with Sisera"; the victory is briefly mentioned in vs. 21. Vs. 31 describes the salvation of Yahweh's people. The ritual structure is thus intact in its essential features:

Combat of the Divine Warrior (4a, 20)
Theophany (4b-5)
Victory (21)
Salvation of Israel (31)

But this ritual pattern has become a mere mold into which is cast a vastly new type of drama: not the drama of a divine warrior and his heavenly hosts, but the deed of a daring woman whose heroism is described in a detailed realism best described as "humanistic." The cosmic war framework serves merely to remind the reader that Yahweh somehow is guiding the course of the battle; but in contrast to Exodus 15, far from being directly involved in the battle, Yahweh relies upon human agents, as indicated by the curse on Meroz: "Curse Meroz . . ., for they came not to the help of Yahweh" (vs. 23). We realize that a powerful new religious experience has rendered inadequate the old vehicle of expression. It is

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[52] Jörg Jeremias (*Theophanie*, 142-44) notes that the theophany in vss. 4-5 betrays less than full integration into the victory song, appearing instead to form a unity in itself. While resisting the attempts of J. Blenkinsopp and W. Richter to remove the theophany from the earliest version of the song, Jeremias fails, in our opinion, to explain adequately the apparent inconcinnity between vss. 4 and 5 and the rest of the song. We find the explanation in the tension between the myth and ritual framework within which the song is set and the historical experience which supplies the new substance of the song. We would further take issue with Jeremias when he argues that the emphasis of the song is exclusively on the victory won by Yahweh (p. 144), for we find that the divine warrior's participation is overshadowed by the adventures of Jael, Deborah, and Barak. Yahweh's overt participation is preserved only in the fragments of the ritual framework which remain untranslated into the categories of the historical experience (vss. 4, 5 and 20).

a mere step from Judges 5 to classical prophecy. That step was taken through a discarding of the ritual pattern itself in favor of a more suitable vehicle of expression. Since Israel's new experience was that Yahweh acted within the events of the historico-political realm, it is no accident that the model which came to supersede the ritual pattern was political in origin and nature. Being patterned after the assembly of elders presided over by the *En* or *Lugal* (or corresponding officials in other cultures), which assembly governed the affairs of the ancient city-state, this model viewed Yahweh as the head of an assembly ruling over the cosmos, an assembly comprised of various divine beings, but also including human messengers commissioned by Yahweh (the *nᵉbîʾîm*).[53] Also having a long history in the thought-world of the ancient Near East, this manner of conceptualizing the divine realm is not absent in the ancient myths.[54] The unique position which it came to assume in Israelite prophecy, however, is due to the following: the manner in which it came to exclude other ways of viewing divine governance, the degree to which all other members of the divine assembly were relegated to the supreme God Yahweh, and the way in which divine politics were persistently translated into the categories of mundane realities through the office of the *nābîʾ*. The major forms of prophetic speech which the prophets utilized in their responsibility of translating the cosmic vision into the idiom of historico-political realities grow out of this political model, which replaced the old mythic model to the point of one's searching in vain in the classical prophets up to the exile for the ritual patterns of conflict.

One institution, however, resisted this "secularization" of religious language, viz., the royal cult. In a theology committed to legitimizing and guaranteeing the perpetuity of the Davidic dynasty, the revolutionary prophetic ideology of change was eschewed in favor of the eternal order of the old ritual pattern of the conflict myth. Thus in the very period when prophecy with its new historical orientation was discarding the thought forms of the conflict myth, the royal cult restored them to a new purity within the religion of Israel, thereby becoming the carrier of the ritual pattern until it was taken over by apocalyptic following the demise of the monarchy.

At least twenty examples of royal psalms based on the ritual pattern of conflict can be cited.[55] We mention three for purposes of illustration. Psalm 29, stemming from an ancient Canaanite hymn,[56] opens with a summons to the *bᵉnê*

[53] F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," *JNES* 12 (1953) 274-77.

[54] Thorkild Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JNES* 2 (1943) 159-72.

[55] The religio-historical background of a number of these psalms is studied in Richard J. Clifford's book, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1972), 131-60.

[56] H. L. Ginsberg, *Kitwê ʾUgarit* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1956) 129-31; and F. M. Cross, Jr., "Notes on a Canaanite Psalm in the Old Testament," *BASOR* 117 (1950) 19-21.

ʾēlîm to glorify Yahweh (vss. 1-2), who appears in the theophany of the storm-god. Accompanied by the flashing of lightning and earthquakes, the divine war-rior defeats his enemies in terrifying combat (vss. 3-9a), including the most inimical enemy of them all, the *mayîm rabbîm* (vs. 3b). The scene then shifts to the temple of the warrior-god, before whom the victory shout rings out (vs. 9b). Yahweh's universal reign is next manifested in a description of his sitting enthroned over the flood as eternal king (vs. 10). Finally, entreaty is made for *šālôm*, the abundance of the restored order established by the divine warrior's victory (vs. 11).

In Psalm 47 the conflict and victory of the warrior-god is recounted, amid a call to praise *Yahweh ʿelyôn* (vss. 2-5). There follows the victory procession: "Elohim has gone up with a shout, Yahweh with the blast of the trumpet" (vs. 6). Vss. 7 and 8 resound with the victory shout, greeting the victorious divine warrior: "Sing forth to Elohim, sing forth, sing to our king, sing! For Elohim is king of the whole earth, sing forth with a *maskil*." Vss. 9-10 manifest Yahweh's universal reign.

In Psalm 48 Zion is identified with the locus of the ritual pattern, becoming the glorious cosmic mountain of the far north (vss. 2-5). The threat is in the form of a coalition of kings assembling against the divine mountain; the storm-god defeats them straightway (vss. 6-9). Vs. 10 shifts to the temple after the conflict; the victory shout goes forth in vss. 11 and 12. This is followed by the royal procession around the city and finally by the announcement of Yahweh's universal reign.

Much has been written concerning the nature of the royal cult of Jerusalem, a good portion of it being hypothetical. The ubiquity of the ritual pattern which we illustrated above with Psalms 29, 47, and 48, however, allows one to recognize that the conflict myth retained a prominent position in the royal theology. For our purposes this conclusion suffices, for it accounts for the carrier of this ritual pattern during the centuries when it was repressed by the prophetic tradition. In part, its absence in the prophetic tradition may be seen as a reaction against what was considered by the pre-exilic prophets to be an excessive use of elements hostile to Yahwism. The deuteronomic history indicates the degree to which circles stemming from the prophetic tradition purged Yahwism of the cosmic ingredient of myth.

The catastrophic events of the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries ended the polarity which at times characterized the relation between classical prophecy and the royal cult. Not only did the royal cult collapse, but doubts arose concerning the efficacy of the God described by the deuteronomic tradition. This crisis of the early sixth century marks an important juncture in the history of prophecy; even as a new type of religious experience had led to the abandonment of the ritual pattern for a more appropriate model in the end of the second millennium, so too a changed situation in the sixth century led to its re-adoption. In an effort to reformulate the Yahwistic faith in the face of historical events which suggested to many that Yahweh was too weak to save his people,

Second Isaiah took over mythic elements from the now defunct royal cult to add a cosmic dimension to Yahweh's power and saving activity.[57] Whereas Second Isaiah nevertheless continued to relate his vision of restoration to the politico-historical realm, the new, harsh situation facing prophetic circles in the post-exilic community made the classical prophetic integration of cosmic and mundane increasingly difficult to uphold. Was Yahweh really active in events which only called into question the election of the faithful? Was not the old gospel of the conflict myth more adequate, that which told of a cosmic victory of the divine warrior and deliverance of the faithful from, rather than through, historical events? In Isaiah 34-35, Ezekiel 38-39, the Isaiah Apocalypse, Isaiah 56-66 and Zechariah 9-14 one can discern the re-mythologizing of Israel's view of divine intervention, a development intertwined with the re-introduction of the ritual pattern of conflict. In the Divine Warrior Hymns of these sixth and fifth century corpora, one witnesses the enormous influence which form and substance have on one another. When the tension between the two grows too large, either the one or the other must yield. In early Yahwism new experience created such tension between the ritual pattern of conflict and the historical message that the ritual pattern of myth finally was abandoned for a new political form. In the sixth and fifth centuries the new tension between form and substance caused by the re-introduction of the ritual pattern into prophecy was gradually resolved in the opposite way: the historical message of prophecy was gradually transformed in the direction of the cosmic message of myth, a transformation abetted by the harsh circumstances of the post-exilic period. Zechariah 9 is a dramatic example of this process: In it the visionary descendents of the prophets express the old prophetic promise of restoration, but now in a form which recapitulates the ritual pattern of the ancient conflict myth. The historical context within which this promise of restoration was expressed by the classical prophets is not entirely abandoned — the object of Yahweh's action is ideal Israel, and the weapons in his hands are Judah and Ephraim. But the influence of the mythic form is strongly in evidence; the mooring to the events of history has grown very weak. Divine action at no point is tied to historical events. Rather, the movement of the hymn is elevated to the cosmic level, i.e., to the original realm of the ritual pattern of the conflict myth. In a movement which is as irresistable as the ritual pattern itself, Yahweh, the storm-deity, intervenes directly, securing universal dominion, and restoring the fertility of the earth. No foe, earthly or cosmic, can impede that movement or frustrate his purposes. The combined forces of the ritual form of the conflict myth and the harsh post-exilic historical situation have brought us to the threshold of fully-developed apocalyptic.

[57] In re-introducing the cosmic element of myth into the Yahwistic tradition, Second Isaiah was not directing the faith of Israel in a direction alien to its spirit. Rather, he was enhancing a dimension of Yahwism with deep roots in Israel's earliest traditions, the future-orientation which can be found at the heart of the exodus, the patriarchal and Davidic traditions alike, a fact demonstrated and well documented by H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung* (BWANT 87; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1968).