THE LITERARY UNITY OF ZECHARIAH

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The book of Zechariah has long been divided into two literary units: Zechariah (Proto-Zechariah), comprising chaps. 1–8, and Deutero-Zechariah, comprising chaps. 9–141 (chaps. 9–14 are often divided into two units consisting of chaps. 9–11 and 12–14). Higher-critical scholars usually assign a different author to each unit,2 usually based upon (1) dissimilar literary style between the two parts, (2) differences in content, (3) the fact that Zechariah’s name is not mentioned in chaps. 9–14 as it is in chaps. 1–8 (Zech 1:1; 1:7; 7:1), (4) the seemingly diverse historical background behind each pericope in Deutero-Zechariah, and (5) the more apocalyptic style of chaps. 9–14, particularly chap. 14. Conservative scholars, however, argue for the unity of Zechariah and conclude that it is the work of one author.3

The disagreement concerning the nature of the literary relationship of Deutero-Zechariah to Proto-Zechariah has resulted in many interpretations of the book as a whole. Critical scholarship in particular has been unable to achieve a unified understanding of Deutero-Zechariah.

In this article we will analyze certain literary characteristics in the book of Zechariah with respect to its literary unity. This will be accomplished by a systematic examination of certain grammatical and literary characteristics that may indicate continuity between Proto- and Deutero-Zechariah. In addition major themes will be traced through Zechariah to determine their development or modification. The objective is to discover underlying factors uniting Proto- to Deutero-Zechariah. Presented here will be only the principal factors that underlie Zechariah’s unity.

I. GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS, GENRE AND SPECIALIZED WORDS

Certain grammatical formulations, word forms, tenses and literary devices characterize the book of Zechariah. These features are part of the author’s unique style and unify the work on the literary level.

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1 Cf. e.g. J. A. Soggin, Introduction to the Old Testament (London: SCM, 1976) 329, 347.
1. **The whole of the Jewish people designated by the names of the parts.** In Proto-Zechariah, the parts are designated as Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem (1:19; 3:2; 8:13), but in Deutero-Zechariah⁴ the northern tribes are variously named Ephraim (9:10, 13; 10:7), the house of Joseph (10:8), Israel (11:14). References to the southern kingdom in Deutero-Zechariah are consistent with Proto-Zechariah, designated Judah (9:13; 10:3, 6; 11:14) and Jerusalem (9:10). The use of this stylistic feature in both parts is a positive unifying factor.

2. **Unusual and repeated expressions.** Two unusual expressions occurring in Proto-Zechariah are repeated in Deutero-Zechariah. The expression meôðôr umûssâb ("from one passing through and from one returning") is rare in the OT. It occurs only in Exod 32:27; Ezek 35:7; Zech 7:14; 9:8. The phrase means essentially the same in each Zechariah passage and applies to the movement of people over the land of Israel.

The other expression, the qal of yâšâb ("it was inhabited"), is used four times in Zechariah (2:8; 7:7; 12:6; 14:10) in an uncommon passive sense but is rarely used in this sense outside of Zechariah.⁵

Two expressions, used in conjunction with oracles of the Lord, are frequently repeated and help tie both parts of Zechariah together. The first expression, YHWH sêbônôsât ("LORD of hosts"), generally introduces an oracle of the Lord and occurs nineteen times in Zechariah.⁶ The second expression, ne'um YHWH ("says the LORD"),⁷ often concludes an oracle of the Lord.

Finally, the expression bayyôm hâhû ("in that day") occurs three times in Proto-Zechariah and nineteen times in Deutero-Zechariah.⁸ In Deutero-Zechariah this expression often replaces "thus says the LORD" as an introductory formula to oracles with the effect of projecting the fulfillment of certain events into an unknown future time. The many future-oriented oracles in Deutero-Zechariah result in a concentration of this phrase there. Its use in Proto-Zechariah links the two parts together and may indicate that what has been initiated or promised there will be concluded by the events portrayed in Deutero-Zechariah.

3. **Genre.** At first glance there seems to be little continuity between Zechariah's parts with respect to genre. Proto-Zechariah is primarily composed of visions interspersed with oracles of the Lord. Deutero-Zechariah is almost entirely oracular. There are, however, two points of continuity between both parts with respect to genre: (1) the use of oracles in both parts, and (2) the symbolic actions in 6:9–15; 11:4–17.⁹ Even though there

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⁴ See Young, *Introduction* 281
⁵ 16, 12, 2 13, 15, 4 9, 6 15, 7 3, 12 (twice), 8 3, 9, 21, 22, 9 15, 10 3, 12 5, 14 16, 17, 21
⁶ 1 3, 4, 16, 2 9, 10 (twice), 14, 3 9, 10, 5 4, 8 6, 11, 17, 10 12, 11 6, 12 1, 4, 13 2, 7, 8
⁷ 2 15, 3 10, 6 10, 9 16, 11 11, 12 3, 4, 6, 8 (twice), 9, 11, 13 1, 2, 4, 14 4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21
⁸ There is little agreement as to the genre of 11 4–17 C F Keil (Commentary on the Minor Prophets in vol 10 of Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes by C F Keil and P D
are vast differences in style between the parts, the use of these literary forms helps link Proto- to Deutero-Zechariah.

4. **Specialized words.** Important words, particularly related to Zechariah’s message, are used in both parts of the book. Intimately linked to Zechariah’s message is the word šûb (“return, turn back”), used both as a description/promise of God’s return to Jerusalem and also as a plea for the Jews to turn back to God. Other important words found in both parts are rûah (“spirit, wind”) and yāša (“he delivered, saved”). There is continuity between Proto- and Deutero-Zechariah as a result of the occurrence of repeated specialized words in both parts.

The literary unity of Zechariah can be demonstrated based upon the grammatical elements discussed above. When this approach, however, is supplemented by thematic elements, a more dramatic picture of unity emerges.

II. **THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT**

In this section we will trace three major themes: (1) the restoration of the covenant relationship, (2) the divine promises, and (3) divine judgment.

1. **Restoration of the covenant relationship.** Zechariah begins with a strong call to return to the Lord and renew the covenant relationship (1:1–6). The present generation faced the same fate as their forefathers if they did not return to the Lord with “a thorough conversion of the heart.” Several aspects of this invitation are noteworthy. (1) God takes the initiative. It is due solely to God’s grace. The invitation is not tied to any previous action or response on the part of the people. (2) The renewal

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10 1 3, 4, 6, 16, 4 1, 5 1, 6 1, 7 14, 8 3, 15, 9 12, 10 9, 10, 13 7
11 2 10, 4 6, 5 9, 6 5, 8, 7 12, 12 1, 10, 13 2
12 8 7, 13, 9 9, 16, 10 6, 12 7

13 Some conservative scholars mention other literary characteristics not covered here as marks of unity. Among them are (1) the use of the parts to express the whole (5 4, 10 4, 10 11–13, cf. E. B. Pusey, The Minor Prophets: A Commentary [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1950] 2 327), (2) dwelling on the same thought or word (2 14, 15, 6 10, 12, 13, 8 4, 5, 23, 11 7, 14 10, 11, cf. ibid 327, Baron, Visions 282, contrast Mitchell, Commentary 243), (3) reference to the former prophets (cf. Wright, Zechariah XXXV—XXXVIII), (4) the providence of God designated by “the eyes of the Lord” (cf. Young, Introduction 228, Archer, Survey 438), (5) an unusual form of fivefold parallelism (6 13, 9 5, 7, 12 4, cf. Pusey, Minor 327), (6) the use of the vocative form of address (2 7, 10, 3 2, 8, 4 7, 9 9, 13, 11 1, cf. R. K. Harrison, Introduction to the Old Testament [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969] 954).

14 Cf. Keil, Commentary 225. There is no indication that they had turned away from God. Rather, their return was not with acceptable perfection.
is conditional. The people must respond with wholehearted conversion in order that the covenant may be renewed. Renewal of the covenant depended neither upon the exiles' return to Jerusalem nor upon the reconstruction of the temple. (3) The return emphasizes a personal relationship. The people were to return to the Lord, not to the law or to its cultic practices. This pictures the OT model of conversion: Past disobedience and rebellion is forgotten, and the relationship is restored.15

The promise of God's return is reiterated in 1:16–17. This reference is specifically to God's return to Jerusalem, but by extension a return to Jerusalem would imply a return to its people. The perfect of šûb ("he returned") in v. 16 may indicate that what God has spoken has already begun to happen and will continue until completed.16

God's promise to return is amplified in 2:10. Here the promise is not only that God will return but that he will also dwell with his people, expressed by wēšākantî ("and I will settle down/abide with"). Thus the personal nature of the renewed covenant relationship is stressed.

The covenant relationship is broadened to include peoples from many nations who appear to willingly "join themselves" (nîlûwa) to the Lord (2:11). They will be accepted as equals with the Jewish people. The covenant's expansion to other peoples and nations is affirmed in 6:15. Here "those afar" or "distant ones" (rēhōqîm) will help build the temple and be included in the people of God.17

Zechariah 8:7–8 is a comprehensive statement on covenant restoration. These verses state that God will (1) "save his people" from all parts of the earth,18 (2) "bring them in" to Jerusalem, and (3) dwell with them in Jerusalem. Verse 8 reaffirms the covenant after the old covenant formula: "They shall be my people, and I will be their God." The nature of the new relationship follows: It will be reciprocal, based on "truth and righteousness" (v. 8). The result of covenant faithfulness will be prosperity in the land (v. 12) and that Israel "shall become a blessing" (v. 13b) to other nations. The climax is that "many peoples and mighty nations" (8:20–23) will seek the Lord in Jerusalem.

Universalism of the covenant relationship, as expressed in 2:15; 6:15, is particularized in 9:7. Israel's enemy, the Philistines, will be included as a remnant for God equal in position to that of the Jews.

The central issue in Zech 12:9–14 is cleansing, but also interwoven into this difficult passage is the theme of restoration. The passage is important to the theme of covenant renewal because it identifies the means neces-

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15 J G Baldwin, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi (Downers Grove InterVarsity, 1972) 90
16 Keil, Commentary 236–237
17 There are two views concerning who "those afar" encompasses One is that they are the Jews of the diaspora, cf e.g R Mason, The Books of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi (CBC, Cambridge Cambridge University, 1982) 63, D R Jones, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi (London SCM, 1982) 93 The other view is that they include both Jews and Gentiles from other nations, cf e.g Baldwin, Haggai 137, Mitchell, Commentary 193, Wright, Zechariah 156–157, P R Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration (London SCM, 1968) 213
18 Most commentators view "his people" as referring only to the Jewish people who are exiled The hiphil participle (mōśâ'a) means "deliver, save," perhaps from captivity
sary to effect the people's return: the Spirit of God. God will pour out "a spirit of favor and supplications for favor" (v. 10). This pure act of grace by God will result in the inhabitants of Jerusalem fully realizing their responsibility for "piercing" God in some way. The effect on the people will be a thoroughgoing repentance, indicated by their requests for favor (v. 10). The individualized mourning that follows (vv. 12–14) emphasizes the personal nature of the renewed covenant relationship.

A clear reference to a new covenant is Zech 13:9. Cleansing of the land (13:2–6) is followed by judgment on the people (13:7–8). A third of them remain and are refined and tested by God. The remnant becomes God's people and will recognize him as their God (v. 9). Four aspects of a renewed covenant are evident here: (1) Only a remnant will be included, perhaps the faithful among the people; (2) it will be purified and tested; (3) God will answer their call with complete restoration (the language used here is similar to that in 8:8); (4) the restoration will take place in the future and is not indicative of current circumstances.

Zechariah 14:16 points again to the universal scope of the new covenant, but at the same time it is limited to those who remain after God's judgment. There is also progression in the nations' relationship to God: They are no longer seeking the favor and instruction of God (8:20–23) but are actively worshiping him (14:16).

In summary, modifications to this theme in Deutero-Zechariah build upon the basic concept of covenant restoration established in Proto-Zechariah. The concepts are not altered in Deutero-Zechariah, but at some points there is progression. The consistency of this theme seems to be a major factor underlying the unity of Zechariah.

2. Promises of God. In the third vision (2:1–13) a measuring line is stretched out over Jerusalem to symbolize its reconstruction. God's promise to rebuild Jerusalem (1:16) is linked to the reconstruction of the temple, indicating that the blessings flowed outward from the temple to Jerusalem and finally to the surrounding countryside. The nature of the rebuilt Jerusalem is specified in 2:4 as a city without walls, like open villages in the countryside. Protection will come from God who will be like a "wall of fire round about it" (2:5).

The promises concerning Jerusalem are reiterated in 8:3–6. Jerusalem will be holy and known as the city of truth (8:3). Peaceful life is restored, resulting in people once again growing old (8:4). The magnitude of

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19 Some commentators emend the text to read "upon him," finding it difficult to view God as being pierced. This does not seem warranted and is unnecessary for a proper understanding of the text. Alternately, Jones (Haggai 162) believes the pierced one is the collective martyrs of Judah who were slain, presumably in the battle described in Zech 12:1–8. He relates the thought of this passage to that of Isaiah 53.


21 Ackroyd, Exile 178.

22 Keil (Commentary 313) points out that old age was not only a promise to those faithful to the covenant but also a blessing of the messianic age to come.
Jerusalem’s blessings will draw other peoples from many nations to her to seek God’s favor (8:22).

No direct references to Jerusalem’s reconstruction occur in Deutero-Zechariah. This may indicate an already rebuilt city. The connection between Jerusalem passages in Proto-Zechariah and Deutero-Zechariah is not explicitly evident. God’s return to his house in 9:8 implies a return to Jerusalem to reside in the midst of his people and is in continuity with God’s return to Jerusalem in Proto-Zechariah. God’s residence in Jerusalem is also in view in 14:16 since all those remaining from the nations travel there to worship him.

It is striking that the same set of themes concerning Jerusalem ends both Proto- and Deutero-Zechariah: (1) fertility in the land resulting from God’s presence (8:4–6, 12; 14:8, 16–19); (2) Jerusalem as the center of worship (8:20–23; 14:16); (3) Jerusalem as a holy city (8:3; 14:20–21).

The lack of continuity between Proto- and Deutero-Zechariah with respect to the reconstruction motif may suggest a time of writing after Jerusalem’s rebuilding. It may also be due to an elevated concept of Jerusalem as the heavenly or messianic Jerusalem. Continuity does exist between both parts at points where Jerusalem is seen as God’s residence and the source of life and blessing for the whole world. This linking of the two parts is particularly evident in chaps. 8 and 14.

The promise to rebuild the temple is intimately tied to God’s return to Jerusalem in 1:16–17. Zechariah stresses that God’s presence will create the conditions necessary to reconstruct the temple rather than requiring the temple’s reconstruction as a precondition for his return. The sequence of events in 1:16–17 is that (1) God returns, (2) the temple is reconstructed, and (3) the blessings of God follow. The priority of God’s presence is affirmed in 4:6–10a. Although Zerubbabel was to oversee the building program, God’s Spirit actively participates and provides the means to overcome all obstacles to reconstruction (vv. 6–7a). Also it is by God’s grace that the temple is reconstructed. The shouts of the people—“Favor, favor to it” (v. 7)—could refer to the favor God has shown to the community by enabling it to restore the temple, which in turn becomes a symbol of that favor.

There is some confusion over the meaning of bêtî in 9:8. Keil (Commentary 332) believes it to be Israel as the kingdom of God. Mitchell (Commentary 269) says “it is the Holy Land.” Jones (Haggai 129) views “my house” as referring to God’s people. P. D. Hanson (The Dawn of Apocalyptic [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975] 320) believes that it is the temple because it is the goal of the conquering king in vv. 1–7. Baldwin (Haggai 161) states that it “may refer to the Temple, but probably has the wider connotation of the land, as in Jeremiah 12:7 and Hosea 8:1 and 9:15.”

Mason (Haggai 55) sees Zerubbabel’s role as governor limited exclusively to the temple rebuilding, to a purely cultic sphere.

The nature of the obstacles is uncertain. Smith (Micah–Malachi 206) suggests several possibilities: (1) those referred to in Ezra 4:1–16 from Judah and Benjamin; (2) the discouragement of the people over the day of small things (Hag 2:3; Zech 4:10); (3) the struggle for control of the cult (as suggested also by Hanson). J. Lindblom (Prophecy in Ancient Israel [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962] 407) sees two groups in the post-exilic community whose views contrasted each other: One favored rebuilding the temple, but the second group insisted it was not necessary.
Another temple is in view in 6:12–13. Its builder is not Zerubbabel but the messianic figure, the Branch. No specific details are given concerning the nature of this temple, but that it is a different temple is evident because the Branch will build it instead of Zerubbabel, who will complete the temple he has already started (4:9). A new element is introduced: Gentiles will be included in the construction of the messianic temple. If all peoples are to be included in the new covenant, then they must have access to the temple.

This theme is not developed further in Deutero-Zechariah, but a completed temple seems to be presupposed. This may reflect reduced importance placed upon the temple by the writer and the community. In addition God’s presence in Jerusalem (14:16) replaces the need for the temple.

Peace and prosperity are blessings of God associated not only with faithfulness and obedience to the covenant relationship but are also promised blessings of the messianic age. The initial promise is in Zech 1:17 where it is linked with the rebuilding of the temple and city (v. 16). The Lord’s cities will again overflow with good things. Peace and prosperity are extended into the messianic age by its association with the Branch (3:8). Peaceful relations will exist between the people, and the land will be fertile and prosperous (v. 10). Prosperity in 3:10 is also tied to the cleansing of the people and the land (3:9). Removal of iniquity becomes a prerequisite before the blessings can be realized. The idyllic picture is continued in 8:4–5, 12. The context is similar to that in 1:17; 3:10: God’s presence and a cleansed community (8:3).

This theme is associated with the same elements in Deutero-Zechariah as in Proto-Zechariah. Two parallel accounts in chap. 9 each result in the blessings of God. The scheme may be laid out as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Judgment</th>
<th>9:1–7a</th>
<th>9:13, 15</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleansing/salvation</td>
<td>9:7b</td>
<td>9:11–12, 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>God’s presence</td>
<td>9:8</td>
<td>9:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace and prosperity</td>
<td>9:9–10</td>
<td>9:17</td>
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</tbody>
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The land is cleansed as a result of God’s judgment against Israel’s enemies. God is present with his people. In addition, the arrival of the king (v. 10) effectively links prosperity with the messianic age. The same pattern is evident in Zechariah 14: The defeat of Israel’s enemies (vv. 2–3, 26–27. Mitchell (Commentary 187) identifies the Branch with Zerubbabel and connects it with 4:7–9. The temple built by the Branch in 6:12–13 then becomes the same temple built by Zerubbabel in 4:7–9.

26 Mitchell (Commentary 187) identifies the Branch with Zerubbabel and connects it with 4:7–9. The temple built by the Branch in 6:12–13 then becomes the same temple built by Zerubbabel in 4:7–9.

27 The phrase ידְּחַשְנָתָא דַּרְיֵי מִיתָב can be translated as “again my cities shall overflow with good things” or, following Jones (Haggai 61), as “while my cities are still scattered from good.” Also see Smith, Micah–Malachi 191.

28 Earlier prophet writers also linked peace and prosperity to the messianic age; see Mic 4:1–3, 4; Isa 2:2–4; 11:1, 10; Ezek 34:23–27; 36:8–11, 29, 30, 34–35; Amos 9:13–14.

Hanson (Dawn 292–324) views 9:1–17 as a complete unit. He calls it a divine warrior hymn based on the ritual pattern of the conflict myth. The actual conquest of the enemies (9:1–8) is followed by a ritual recapitulation of the conquest (9:11–15).
12–15) coupled with God’s presence (vv. 4–5, 9) precede the blessings of fertility and prosperity for the land (vv. 16–19). God will be over all nations, and the recipients of God’s blessings are expanded to include all nations of the earth.

The Lord’s presence is the one condition necessary for peace and prosperity. Both parts of Zechariah link God’s presence to the cleansing or holiness of the people. This in turn results in the realization of peace and prosperity. The pattern is consistent in both Proto- and Deutero-Zechariah.

Joshua’s cleansing in the fourth vision (3:1–10) sets forth the necessity of cleansing in order to establish a right relationship with God. While standing before the angel of the Lord, Joshua’s filthy robes are removed. This act symbolized the removal of Joshua’s iniquity and was a necessary step before he could be clothed with festal robes and reinstated as the high priest. A new promise is then added. Joshua, representative of the high priest, will rule over the Lord’s courts and temple and be entitled to directly approach the presence of God (3:7). These responsibilities will be conditional upon Joshua walking in the ways of the Lord and fulfilling his moral requirements, thus remaining in a right relationship with God.

Several important features are evident in this vision: (1) Joshua did nothing to cleanse himself. Instead, he stood helplessly before the angel of the Lord and was cleansed by a gracious act of God. (2) The cleansing of Joshua, the high priest, represented the cleansing of the whole community. (3) No mention is made of animal sacrifice. Those who repent, as called for in 1:3, will in some unspecified way be forgiven and accepted by God. (4) Joshua’s cleansing was a necessary precondition before he could stand in total acceptance before God. (5) The reinstatement of Joshua and the priesthood anticipates the messianic figure, the Branch (v. 8). (6) The Branch and the stone with seven eyes are in some way connected with the permanent removal of iniquity from the land (v. 9). (7) Sequentially, cleansing of the land precedes the days of messianic peace, bliss and prosperity for Israel (v. 10).

The theme of cleansing continues in 5:1–4. A flying scroll represents a curse, in the form of judgment or punishment, going out over the entire land for the purpose of destroying evil. Judgment appears to be against the totality of evil caused by breaking God’s laws and disregarding his holiness,

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32 Mason, Haggai 132.
33 Ackroyd, Exile 186.
34 Baldwin, Haggai 115.
35 There is confusion over whether the seven ‘enayim are “eyes,” “fountains” or “facets.” The sense of the text would seem to favor fountains because of the association between water and cleansing of the land. A link could also be made with the fountain in 13:1 and the river in 14:8; see Smith, Micah–Malachi 201–202. On the other hand “seven eyes” might represent the providence of God. A connection could also be made between 3:9 and the seven eyes (or fountains) in 4:10. A strong case for this position is made by Keil (Commentary 260–261). Finally, some suggest that the stone is the gemstone for the costume of the high priest and as such is cut with seven “facets”; see Mitchell, Commentary 156–159.
in effect breaking the covenant.36 Evil appears to be totally eradicated. Its destruction is individualized, coming into each house where it exists. As before, it is God who removes the evil by causing the curse to go forth.

The finality of sin's removal is reinforced in the vision of the ephah (5:5–11).37 Here iniquity38 or wickedness, symbolized by a woman sitting inside an ephah, is removed to its final resting place in Shinar. This symbolizes the complete removal of iniquity from Israel so that it no longer exists among the people.

Cleansing, prior to inclusion in the kingdom of God, is extended to the Gentiles in 9:7. The Philistines are first cleansed and then totally integrated into a new covenantal relationship with God. Salvation is universalized to include all nations.

The central thrust of Zech 12:10–14 is the cleansing of the people. Even though Jerusalem was delivered from external enemies (12:1–9) the people still needed internal cleansing and to return to God. A new element in the cleansing process is here introduced: the Spirit of God. Only after God pours out "the spirit of favor and supplications for favor" (v. 10) do the people repent of their past actions, here expressed as piercing God. Through their sorrow for what they have done to God, the people realized it was he who saved them. The individualization of cleansing and repentence is depicted in 12:10–14 where men and women and each family wail by themselves. There is also progression with respect to the mediatorial role of the high priest. Here no mediator is necessary to effect the communities' cleansing. It is brought about solely by the grace of God working through his Spirit.

The cleansing motif is continued in 13:1–6. A flowing fountain will be opened as the means for the continual cleansing of the people from sin and iniquity (13:1). The permanent availability of this cleansing is implied by the use of the niphal participle niptâh ("be opened") coupled with the verb yihyeh ("it will be") to express action continuing into the future.39 The land also will be radically cleansed. Idols will be cut off and no longer remembered, and the prophets and the unclean spirits will be removed from the land (13:2).

Both Proto- and Deutero-Zechariah stress the necessity of removing sin and impurity before a right relationship can be established with God. There is also continuity respecting the concept of individualized cleansing

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36 Baldwin, Haggai 127. The word for "curse" ("alâ) used in v. 3 is the same word used in Deut 29:12, 14, 19 in relation to the covenant with God. Those who broke the covenant would be blotted out by the Lord (vv. 20–21).
37 Keil (Commentary 278) sees this as a continuation of the vision of the flying scroll and not as a separate vision.
38 The word "ënâm ("their eye") in v. 6 is either read as "resemblance" ("eye") or emended by changing the y to a w and reading "iniquity." The sense of the passage seems to favor "iniquity," which would be parallel to "wickedness" in v. 8. Perhaps it could be said that the "resemblance" of the people was that of wickedness because of their iniquity. On this see Baldwin, Haggai 128; Smith, Micah–Malachi 209 n. 6b.
between 5:1–4 and 12:10–14; 13:1. The mediatorial role of the high priest in Proto-Zechariah (3:1–10) is modified in Deutero-Zechariah: The people are cleansed directly by God (12:10–14). In both parts of Zechariah there is a consistent association between cleansing and covenant renewal.

Another aspect of Joshua's cleansing (3:1–10) is the restoration of the position of high priest. As envisioned here the position of high priest, represented by Joshua, encompassed both ritual and judicial leadership. In addition Joshua, as high priest and representative of the people, now had direct access to God (v. 7). In the post-exilic community the high priest became the spiritual leader and the highest ranking human ruler responsible to God, a position held in pre-exilic Israel by the king.40 The promise made to Joshua will be fully realized in an anticipated future ruler, the Branch (v. 8).

The vision of the golden lampstand (4:1–14) concerns the nature of leadership in the post-exilic community. The oracular material (4:9b–10a) interrupts Zechariah's vision and suggests that Zerubbabel was to be the civil ruler. It appears that his only task was to finish the rebuilding of the temple, a task he had already started and would also complete (v. 7). More importantly, the vision indicates that the completed temple can function as a witness to God's presence and provision for the community only through the united efforts of the two anointed leaders (v. 14): the high priest, through whom cleansing is pronounced, and the Davidic prince, through whom the temple was reconstructed.41 The two offices were equal in importance and were to be the channels through whom the Spirit of God flowed to the Jerusalem community (v. 14).

The working relationship between the high priest and the civil ruler envisioned in 4:1–14 will be fulfilled by one person: the Branch. His role, as described in 6:12–13, will be that of both priest and ruler.42

The theme of leadership develops in Deutero-Zechariah along different lines than in Proto-Zechariah. The messianic ruler foreseen in 9:9–10 is viewed as a humble servant rather than as a mighty king. Also in 13:7–9 God's chosen leader is apparently killed, resulting in the scattering of the people. Both of these concepts of leadership are modifications of the model established in Proto-Zechariah.

False or evil leadership is more prominent in Deutero-Zechariah. Both 10:3 and 11:4–17 contain strong attacks against false leaders. False shepherds in 10:3 have turned the people away from God to trust in idols.43 As

41 Baldwin, Haggai 125.
42 Some believe that v. 13 was directed to both Joshua and Zerubbabel. This suggests that each would have a share in the rule of the post-exilic community. Peaceful relations would exist between them. On this see Ackroyd, Exile 198; Jones, Haggai 92. The Qumran community believed there would be two Messiahs—one for the priestly office ("Messiah of Aaron and Israel") and one for the kingly office; see G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975) 49.
43 It is uncertain who these shepherds represent. Some believe they are the governors from the oppressor nations who ruled over Israel; see Keil, Commentary 346; Mitchell, Commentary
a result the people wander aimlessly (v. 2) and the false shepherds are
doomed to God's judgment. God replaces the false leaders and provides his
people with good leaders (11:4–8), but the people reject his choice of lead-
ership. The people are again placed under a foolish shepherd and allowed
to go to their destruction (vv. 15–16).

In chap. 14 leadership progresses from the human model envisioned in
Proto-Zechariah to a final model in which God himself reigns as king over
the whole earth (14:9). Human leadership is not mentioned. Instead, it
has been replaced by divine leadership.

The leadership theme in Proto-Zechariah concerns the spiritual and
civil leadership in the post-exilic community. This leadership model ant-
picipates the future messianic leader. In Deutero-Zechariah the theme is
modified and becomes attacks against false leaders. Finally human leader-
ship is replaced by God, who assumes the position of king over all the
earth.

Four passages in Zechariah (3:8–12; 6:12–15; 9:9–10; 13:7–9) seem
certain to have been understood messianically by the writer and his read-
ers. The two predictions of the Messiah's coming in Proto-Zechariah both
call him the Branch.44 Set within the context of Joshua's cleansing and re-
instatement, the Branch in 3:8 is associated with the priestly function.
There is also a linking of the Branch with the removal of iniquity from the
land (3:9), resulting in peace and prosperity (3:10). In 6:10–15 the Branch
will not only be a priest but will also "rule on his throne" like a king
(v. 13), combining both functions into one office. In addition he will build
the future temple of the Lord.

In Deutero-Zechariah the concept of the messianic figure is modified.
The Messiah arrives in Jerusalem as a victorious king (9:9). He possesses,
however, a righteous and humble character and, by God's grace, is deliv-
ered or vindicated. The portrayal of the Messiah as meek and lowly recalls
the suffering servant of Isaiah 53. His rule over all nations will be peaceful
as well as prosperous (Zech 9:10). Another modification to the messianic
theme is added in 13:7–9: The sword of God strikes his own shepherd in

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288. Feinberg, God Remembers 142, Smith, Micah–Malachi 263 Others view them as Israel’s
own worthless shepherds or leaders, see Baron, Visions 344, Jones, Haggai 142, Mason, Haggai
97–98 Hanson (Dawn 329) believes that 10 1–3 is an attack by the visionary group against the
Davidic governor and his officials The context of the passage seems to favor the view that they
are foreign rulers Verse 2 says "there are no shepherds," perhaps indicating that Israel had no
leaders of its own Thus is reinforced in v 4 where Israel’s future leader(s) will come out of
Judah in contrast to the present foreign rulers It is possible, however, that Israel’s own false
shepherds are in view here In a real sense, the people who have been led astray in v 2 are
without a true shepherd to guide them in God’s ways God will judge the false leaders (v 3)
True shepherds will be raised up from Judah or the faithful people (v 4) If this interpretation
is correct, then this passage points to a division of the people between the faithful and the un-
faithful The unfaithful will be judged by God, but the faithful will enjoy God’s blessings In ad-
dition there seems to be an identification of the faithful with Judah

44 Although not identified in the text, by Zechariah’s time the word semah ("branch") had
obtained messianic significance, J G Baldwin, "Semah as a Techncial Term in the Prophets,"
VT 14/1 (January 1964) 94
order to scatter the sheep. Here the Messiah is termed “my shepherd” with Ezek 34:23–24; 37:24 as the probable background for the designation.

Although Deutero-Zechariah substantially modifies the concept of the Messiah from that introduced in Proto-Zechariah, there is unity between the parts in that both view the Messiah as a future ruler in the Davidic line and proclaim that his anticipated coming will be beneficial both to the people and to the land.

3. Divine judgment. Frequent references in Zechariah imply that God’s judgment precedes the complete realization of the kingdom of God. Divine judgment is usually directed against foreign nations, but Israel’s own worthless and evil leaders are also judged. God’s initial promise of judgment is in 1:15. His anger is directed at those nations used by him to punish the Israelites, but they appear to have exceeded his intentions and were too harsh on Israel. This promise is affirmed in the second vision (1:18–21) where four horns, representing the nations responsible for scattering Israel (1:16), will be cast down by four smiths (1:18).

The third vision concerns the restoration of Judah and Jerusalem but also expresses the imminence of and the means causing God’s judgment. Imminence is expressed by the hiphil participle mĕntp (“shaking”) in v. 13. In the same verse it is God who is shaking his hand in judgment over the nations. God will cause their overthrow. What he promised in 1:15 progresses to completion in 6:8. In the last vision (6:1–8) the chariot that went to the north is said to “have given my Spirit rest in the north” (v. 8). The nations have been judged. What follows in 6:9–15 promises the coming of the messianic age. Thus judgment precedes complete restoration and blessings for Israel.

Divine judgment against the nations is made explicit in Deutero-Zechariah. The nations surrounding Israel are judged and conquered in 9:1–8. A link between 6:1–8 and 9:1–8 is the continuity of the concept of resting. In 6:8 God’s Spirit is caused to rest in the north, while in 9:1 God or his word will rest in Hadrach and Damascus, also in the north. The idea is the same in both verses: God’s rule will be established there, even over all nations. The nations mentioned in 9:1–8 seem to represent more than physical territories or governments. The charges leveled against them are not related to physical oppression of Israel but to idolatry and spiritual rebellion against God. The symbolism in the charges against Tyre and Sidon and the Philistine cities represents pride in their own wisdom, achievements and self-reliance. They found security in their own power and wisdom. Ironically a modification of the judgment theme promises salvation for the Philistine remnant left over from the conquest. As in Proto-Zechariah, judgment and cleansing (v. 7) precede the arrival of the messianic age (v. 9), salvation (v. 16) and the blessings of prosperity in the land (v. 17).

The theme of divine judgment is modified in 11:6–17 and appears to be an expansion of the judgment against foreign nations. Judgment is directed

45 Mason, Haggai 84.
at the overlords or leaders who mistreat Israel (v. 6). Because they reject God's appointed leader, judgment comes upon the corrupted flock. Punishment comes in the form of a broken covenant (v. 10) and the release of the people to their fate according to their deeds (v. 16).

Two final passages focus on God's judgment against unspecified nations who, at some future time, will attack Jerusalem (12:2-8; 14:2-3, 12-15). Each time God himself will intervene to save his people (12:7; 14:3). Victory will be totally God's. In continuity with judgment in Proto-Zechariah, it seems to be implied that cleansing and salvation follow judgment (12:10-13; 14:16-19).

III. CONCLUSION

Definite literary factors seem to underlie the unity of Zechariah. While direct use of Proto-Zechariah by Deutero-Zechariah seems minimal, there is evidence that the former influenced the latter. Grammatical characteristics, particularly unusual expressions, the use of the parts to express the whole of the Jewish people, and specialized words are positive unifying factors. The thematic development of Zechariah, however, is a much stronger unifying factor. Four themes are consistently associated with each other: covenant restoration, divine judgment, cleansing, and the blessings of God. These themes usually occur together with judgment preceding cleansing, followed by restoration resulting in blessings and prosperity. The sequence is not rigid, nor are all elements present in each pericope. But their development in close association with each other acts to bind together each section of Zechariah to form a unified whole.

Another factor underlying Zechariah's unity is the work of the Spirit of God. Zerubbabel is enabled by God's Spirit to complete the temple reconstruction (4:6). God's Spirit rested in the land of the north (6:8). The word of the Lord came to the former prophets by his Spirit (7:12). Finally, repentance is effected by an outpouring of the Spirit of God (12:10). The perception of the Spirit of God as an enabling or causative force continues from Proto- to Deutero-Zechariah.

Finally, why was Deutero-Zechariah attached to Proto-Zechariah in its present canonical form? The conclusions of this study suggest several reasons why this may have occurred: (1) the similar emphasis in both parts regarding certain important themes related to the kingdom of God, (2) the consistency with which these themes develop and relate to each other, and (3) a common Zechariah tradition standing behind the whole book. The writer of Deutero-Zechariah, whether Zechariah or someone who stood firmly within the thematic tradition of Zechariah, readdressed certain themes found in Proto-Zechariah to a new community situation. Regardless of who the writer was, in some real sense it might be said that Zechariah was the author of the whole book. The writer of Deutero-Zechariah built upon the thematic foundation laid by Zechariah in Proto-Zechariah. The whole of the book can in this way be identified with Zechariah the prophet.