THE Book of Zechariah consists of two different parts: the first, comprising cc. 1-8, was written about the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis; the second, including cc. 9-14, is Maccabean. The Visions of Zechariah extend from 1 7 to 6 15. The first six verses of the Book represent a secondary theological introduction. Nor can the appendix to the Visions in cc. 7 and 8 be ascribed to Zechariah, except Zech. 8 4-8 which must be appended to 2 5-9, whereas 8 1-3 is a variant to 1 14-16; the two sections 8 9-17 as well as 7 1-3 + 8 18 19a + 7 4-6 + 8 19b contain poems of Haggai, and 7 7-14 is the sequel to the theological introduction in 1 1-6; the final section 8 29-23 is a later addition to 8 4-8.

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

¹ See F. H. Weissbach, Die Keilschriften der Achämeniden (Leipzig, 1911) p. 19 and p. LXXII; contrast Eduard Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, vol. iii, p. 194 (Oct. 16, 521). Cf. also Haupt, Purim (Leipzig, 1906) p. 33, l. 17, and ZDMG 64, p. 705, l. 22. According to Riessler (see n. 13) p. 225, Zechariah began to prophesy in November, 537. Riessler (p. 213) thinks that Darius is Cambyses, and that Zerubbabel is identical with Nehemiah; Zerubbabel-Nehemiah was the first Persian governor of Judea; the date of Zechariah’s visions is February, 536 (p. 226). The statement that the earth was quiet and peaceful (Zech. 1 1) refers, according to Riessler, to the peaceful period in the Persian empire after the accession of Cyrus.—For the abbreviations, ZDMG, OLZ, EB, &c, see vol. 31 of this Journal, p. 115, n. 2.
inces revolted two or three times. The Jewish patriots hoped that fresh outbreaks would give them a chance to restore their national independence, and make the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel, king of Judah. But their expectations were not realized: there was no sign of any fresh uprising. Zechariah expresses this in the form of a vision.

He says he saw by night a man among the myrtles in the bottom of the valley, and before him were sorrel, black, white, and gray horses which reported

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

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

4 This is merely a literary device; cf. my remarks in the translation of Ezekiel, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 177, l. 37. Geo. A. Smith, The Twelve Prophets, vol. ii (London, 1898) p. 274 says, In Zech. 1:7-6:16 we have not the narrative of actual dreams, but a series of conscious and artistic allegories. On the other hand, E. Sellin, Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus (Leipzig, 1912) p. 88 says that we have no reason for assuming that Zechariah did not actually see his visions.

5 This, it may be supposed, is the deep depression of the Kidron Valley which separates the rocky plateau of Jerusalem from the ridge of Mount Olivet. Cheyne (EB 2662) says that opposite St. Stephen's Gate, N of the Temple area, the depth is fully 100 feet, and the breadth not more than 400 feet. The olive-trees in the bottom are so thickly clustered as to form a shady grove. This spot is shut out from the city, from the view of public roads, and from the notice and interruption of wayfarers.—There may have been a similar myrtle grove. The myrtle grows wild in many of the glens about Jerusalem. It is found on bare hillsides and by watercourses in beautiful green clumps. The myrtle is an evergreen shrub which is usually from 3 to 4 feet high, but occasionally, in moist soil, it attains a height of 8 feet. In ancient times a brook flowed down the Kidron Valley; but now the bed of the streamlet is dry except when heavy rains are falling on the mountains around Jerusalem. Cf. EB 2662, 3247; DB 3, 4656.

6 The fiery sorrel (representing the meridian blaze of the sun) corresponds to the south, black to the north, white to the east, and gray to the west (the gray of the evening). For white = east, cf. French aube and Lat. albe ante caelo, albescens die. We must read משערים על בחינה; cf. 623. In 19 אפרים is a prefixed gloss to שֵׁרֶף; in 62 this
that they had traversed the earth, and had found it quiet and peaceful. JHVH, however, assures the prophet that He has not forgotten Jerusalem; the Temple will be rebuilt, and the plumb-line suspended 7 over Jerusalem: everything that is out of plumb will be straightened.

Here we must append the statement which is now combined with another misplaced prediction concerning Zerubbabel in c. 4. Zechariah concluded his first patriotic address with the assurance: Zerubbabel's hands have laid the foundation of this Temple, his hands will also finish it. Whoever has despised the day of small things will rejoice and see the plummet 8 in the hands of Zerubbabel. He will rebuild the Temple and the City, and straighten everything that is out of plumb.

The power of the Persians in all four quarters of the earth will be broken. Angels are appointed by JHVH, who will lead the rebellions against the Persian king in the east, west, north, and south. The prophet says he saw four horns which had shattered Judah and Jerusalem; but four smiths came to lop off 9 the four horns. One of them was the guardian angel of Judah, 10 who would help Zerubbabel in his attempt to free the Chosen People from the Persian dominion.

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

gloss has displaced the original reading שִׁפְרוּס (cf. JBL 26, 25, ad 11). Similarly מַעֲשֵׂה is a gloss to מַעֲשֶׂה in 6:3. According to Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja* (Leipzig, 1910) pp. 37, 49, 52, the colors אַעֲרִים שְׁרֵיקָם לַעֲבוֹר all refer to the rising light of the morning, and point to the dawn of Messianic salvation; similarly the myrtles point to the vernal sun. Cf. below, n. 47.

7 Lit. stretched. When the plummet is suspended, the line is stretched. Heb. הֵא denotes here a plumb-line, not a tape-line. The measuring line is called הֵא in 2:5. In the present passage the Vulgate renders correctly, *perpendiculum extenditur super Jerusalem.*

8 מִצְמָנֵי before מִצְמַנְיָה in 4:10 is a gloss as is also מִצְמַנְיָה before מִצְמָנֵי in 4:7.

9 We must read מִצְמַנְיָה instead of מִצְמָנֵי לָעָן instead of לָעָן, and מִצְמַנְיָה instead of מִצְמַנְיָה לָעָן; this, however, is merely a prefixed gloss to מִצְמַנְיָה לָעָן; מִצְמַנְיָה for מִצְמַנְיָה is a phonetic corruption; see JBL 31, 135, 1. 8.

10 See Dan. 10:13 21 12:1; cf. Wellhausen's notes on the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 176, 1. 36.
with no walls and but few inhabitants, therefore insignificant. The prophet, however, assures them, Jerusalem need not be a frowning citadel to inspire respect; JHVH’s presence will give it sufficient importance; He will be like a wall of fire around it, and the population will increase so rapidly that the space within the city walls would be too small. Therefore Jerusalem is to be inhabited as a large open village. The prophet presents this again in the form of a vision: he saw a young man who was going to measure Jerusalem, but an angel told him to desist from this unnecessary undertaking.

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

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

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

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

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

The Jewish patriots hoped that, with the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the national independence of Judah, the moral character of the community would be elevated. The prophet says he saw an enormous flying scroll containing curses which would strike every one who stole or swore falsely. This moral regeneration will be helped by the elimination of all foreign elements, especially Babylonian idolatries. Let them go back to Babylonia whence they came! The prophet says
he saw a bushel enclosing a woman representing Wickedness, i.e. departure from the Mosaic Law. Two winged female creatures lifted up the bushel, and carried it to Babylonia.

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

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

12 See my remarks on the meaning of שור in Ps. 11, AJSL 19, 138, n.93. In the Maccabean period שור denoted the Hellenizers; at the time of Zechariah it was used of the Babylonizers. The Seleucidan kingdom was the Daughter of Babylon; see my explanation of Ps. 137 in OLZ 10,66, n.13. Luther renders, Das ist die gottlose Lehre. Doederlein said in Grotius’ Annotationes in VT (Halle, 1776): יְשַׁוֵּר idolatriam significat ... post exilium cultus idolorum penitus rejectus e Palæstina et quasi in exilium perpetuum missus.

13 Professor Rießler, of Tübingen, in his book Die kleinen Propheten (Rottenburg, 1911) p. 237 translates Zech. 5:7,8: Siehe, da war ein Nest für Gazellenjunge aufgebaut, und siehe, da saß ein Weibchen inmitten von Mißgeburten da. Da sprach er: Das ist eine schlimme Mutter, und er streckte sie inmitten der Mißgeburten nieder. This remarkable production has received the sanction of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Würtemberg. Rießler, however, has one emendation which is at least partially correct inmitten der Mißgeburten: he reads in 2:13, um große Herrlichkeit zu verkünden sandte er mich; he considers זה der abbreviation for בון, to proclaim His glory has He sent me, and this is a tertiary gloss to 2:16b. I made this emendation before I was aware of the fact that Professor Rießler read מְשִׁלְתָה, and I adhere to it despite this alarming coincidence.

14 We must read in 6:6: מֵסְמִים שלחיוֹם עֵזָּא אֶל אֲרֵי הָעָרֶה הָאוֹתִים צֵיאָה, and not: מֵסְמִים שלחיוֹם עֵזָּא אֶל אֲרֵי הָעָרֶה, and also: מֵסְמִים שלחיוֹם עֵזָּא אֶל אֲרֵי הָעָרֶה. According to Duhm, Die Zwölf Propheten (Tübingen, 1910) p. 93, the black horses go to the north, the white ones to the west, the spotted ones to the south, and the sorrels do not start at all.

15 In the Babylonian Nimrod epic (cf. ZDMG 64, p. 712, n. 2) this region is called the mountain of Mal (cf. מָל, Gen. 10:25). There, at the
themselves at the head of the armies attacking the Persians. The prophet says that he saw four chariots, with sorrel, black, white, and gray horses, between the two mountains, going forth to the four winds of heaven to make a stand against the lord of the whole earth, i.e. the Persian king. The fight will begin in the north. JHVH will satisfy His fury on the north country.

The crown for the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel, is ready. The prophet says, he was ordered by JHVH to take silver and gold, end of the world, is the gate through which the sun passes at his rising and setting. It is guarded by a terrific scorpion-man and his wife; see the cut in the translation of Ezekiel, in the Polychrome Bible, on the plate facing p. 1, fig. 6. Cf. CAT, 573, n. 5; Jansen, Das Gilgamesch-Epos (Straßburg, 1906) p. 24; Unnagd and Grossmann, Das Gilgamesch-Epos (Göttingen, 1911) pp. 40, 196. The two mountains cannot be Mount Zion and Mount Olivet; they are mountains of brass. There are still traces of ancient copper mines in the Lebanon.—If the clause the mountains are mountains of brass is a gloss, the two mountains, between which Zechariah saw the four chariots, may be Mount Zion and Mount Olivet; but the glossator referred the two mountains to Lebanon and Antilebanon.

The omission of the proposition ה in after רָעַבָּם is due to haplography; cf. Assyr. ʾaːn erbiti šārē, e.g. in l. 156 of the Flood Tablet.

The phrase מַעֲרֹ֣ו וְעָרָ֖ן, at the end of c. 4, must be interpreted in the same way; cf. Dan. 8:5, 11:14. For ברי עֲשַׂר cf. Jer. 46:4, Job 33:5. In Ps. 2:1 it is better to read בְּרֵי רַעַב instead of בְּרֵי רַעַב; see JHUC, No. 163, p. 90. For מַעֲרֹ֣ו וְעָרָ֖ן in the present passage we must read מַעֲרֹ֣ו וְעָרָ֖ן instead of מַעֲרֹ֣ו וְעָרָ֖ן; cf. AJSL 19, 7; Haupt, Biblische Liebeslieder (Leipzig, 1907) p. 48, n. 12.

Darius calls himself king of the vast earth; see Weissbach (cf. u. 1) p. 83, § 1; p. 87, § 2; p. 101, § 2; p. 103, § 2; p. 105, § 2; cf. הָזִּיר הָרַעַב, Ps. 110:8 (AJSL 23, 232). Cf. also Eduard Moyer, Geschichte des Altertums, vol. iii, § 13.


The ז in is dittography of the ז; cf. my explanation of ז in ZDMG 64, 710, n. 2, l. 11.
which had been brought by some Jewish exiles from Babylon to Jerusalem, and make a crown. He was to tell them:

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{21} The Hebrew text must be restored as follows:

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

\textsuperscript{22} The text of Is. 9 5 was originally

Both they were forced to carry, and they were forced to shoulder (Ethiop. מיסיח) are relative clauses. Cf. above, n. 19 and Haupt, *Micah*, p. 51, n. 30 (AJSL 27, 51). At the end of Zech. 6 a statement such as *will not be borne up by any living thing* (cf. Deut. 28 1) has been suppressed. The last paragraph of the Book of Haggai (Hag. 2 20-22) stood originally at the end of the first chapter; there it was suppressed by the priests, and subsequently appended at the end of the Book.
throughout this section the name of the high-priest, Joshua, has been substituted for the name of the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel.

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

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

25 The name יְשֹעָה (Ezr. 5:3 6 6:13) is a corruption of יְשֹעָה; see Haupt, Esther (Chicago, 1908) p. 9 (AJSL 24, 105).
27 We must read in 6:1: מַלְאָךְ מָלָכָה instead of מַלְאָךְ מָלָכָה, and in v. 2: נָשָׁה instead of נָשָׁה. In v. 6 the reading מַלְאָךְ מָלָכָה is correct.
28 We must read at the end of v. 4: נַעֲשֶׂה מַלְאָךְ instead of נַעֲשֶׂה מַלְאָךְ, cf. Esth. 5:1 (Haupt, Esther, p. 43 = AJSL 24, 139). The investment with royal robes
day\textsuperscript{29} of the trial for high treason, handing to Zerubbabel a tablet pronouncing his acquittal.

Then the angel of \textit{JHVH} steps forward, and assures Zerubbabel that, if he will observe the religion of \textit{JHVH}, He will give him royal rank;\textsuperscript{30} Zerubbabel will rule over the nations,\textsuperscript{31} but his victory will not be gained by force, but by the spirit of \textit{JHVH}. The great mountain of the Persian empire will be leveled before him.\textsuperscript{32} He concludes with the acclamation All hail to him\textsuperscript{33} and abundant grace!

In the received text this vision of Zerubbabel being arraigned before the envoy of the Persian king is mixed up with the vision of the seven-branched candelabrum. According to the received text, two olive-trees stood at the right and left of the candelabrum,\textsuperscript{34} and these two olive-trees are supposed to represent the two \textit{sons of oil}, or anointed ones, who stand before the lord of the whole earth. But this phrase means again \textit{who make a stand against the lord of the whole earth}, i.e. the Persian king.\textsuperscript{17} The two anointed ones are not Zerubbabel and Joshua—Zechariah did not refer to Joshua—but two angels\textsuperscript{10} who are to lead the rebellion of Judah against the Persians. I believe the original reading was not \textit{Sons of Oil}, but \textit{Sons of JHVH}; in the Hebrew name for angels, \textit{Sons of God}, God is probably a later substitute for \textit{JHVH}. In the Maccabean period these two angels would have been called Michael and Gabriel who, according to the Targum on 2 Chron. 31:21, annihilated the host of Sennacherib before Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{35} Michael is supposed to

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

\textsuperscript{29} Heb. הָלַבָּן, at the end of v. 9, means \textit{first day}, as in Gen. 1:5; cf. Assyr. \textit{ištēn ūmu} (Delitzsch, AG\textsuperscript{2}, § 172).

\textsuperscript{30} We must read \textit{מֵאֲלָתְיו} instead of \textit{מִאֲלָהֶם} in 6:7.

\textsuperscript{31} After \textit{כִּי} we must read \textit{בְּנֵי}, as in Ps. 110:4; cf. above, n. 18.

\textsuperscript{32} Cf. my explanation of Ps. 68:17 in AJSr 23, 229, n. 22.

\textsuperscript{33} Read \textit{תקינת} instead of \textit{תָּקֵינָת}, and \textit{לְ} for \textit{ךָל}.

\textsuperscript{34} See the cut on p. 84 of C. H. H. Wright's \textit{Zechariah} (London, 1879).

\textsuperscript{35} The Targum (ed. Lagarde, p. 354) says, \textit{וְהָרָה מַסִּירָא רְדָיו מִרְכָּא}, and \textit{בְּנֵי לְאָסָא מַסִּירָא} פְּסִמֵהוֹן וְאָסְדָּד נְשָׁמַּהוֹן בְּנוֹתָן.\footnote{The Hebrew has \textit{תַּלְמִידִים} instead of \textit{תַּלְמֵי} מַסִּירָא (Lagrange, ed. Lagarde, p. 354).}
stand at the right hand of God, Gabriel at the left; they are the kings of angels.

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

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

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

37 See op. cit. p. 183, l. 20.

38 The spathe of the male palm-inflorescence is called in Arabic: شراعي, in Aramaic: גירה; the name for the pollen is transporte, or תיל, or קפר, or קפר. Cf. Pos. 569; see L. Goldschmidt, Der babyl. Talmud, vol. ii (Berlin, 1901) p. 520 ( iov אóry קפר). In Maspero, The Dawn of Civilization (London, 1896) p. 555 there is a cylinder representing the gathering of the spathes of male palm-trees.

39 See ASKT 10, 31-33; cf. Syr. קפר.
date-palm.\(^{40}\) Heb. *śibbōleth*, ear, cannot refer to the branch of an olive-tree; olive-trees have no ears, but male palm-in­florescences resemble ears.\(^{41}\) We must translate Zech. 4:12: What are the two ears (spikes, flower-clusters) in the hands of the two genii at the golden spouts?\(^{42}\) (Are they pouring out seed over them?)\(^{43}\) This last clause is a gloss, and the whole

\(^{40}\) *Sissinnu* means spike, then especially *spadix* of a date-palm; cf. ZDMG 63, 508, l. 4.

\(^{41}\) See the cuts in PSBA, June, 1890, plate ii, figures 5 and 7.

\(^{42}\) Or nozzles. *Nozzle* is a diminutive of *nose*. Luther has correctly Schneuze11. The LXX has μυκαρθ = μυκαρθ; the Vulgate, rostra; the Peshitta, "םומם. All these words denote the *spout* or *nozzle* of a lamp in which the wick is burned. The German term is *Tülle* (French *douille*) or *Dochtrohr*. Cf. Fleischer's remarks in Levy's Chaldee dictionary, vol. i, p. 418, below. The Targum has in the present passage מַשְׁמָרָת which is the Greek *eργας*; *pan*, basin. Nor does מְעֶרֶת mean *pipe* in the Second Targum to Esther; see Hugiographa Chaldaice, ed. Lagarde, p. 228, l. 15; cf. the translation on p. 247 of Paulus Cassel, Das Buch Esther (Berlin, 1891). For the insertion of the t cf. modern Arabic שַׁעַן = שַׁעַן, soot. König compares this t to the t in *שַׁעַן*, but the infixed t in *unken* was separated from the n by a vowel. Heb. כֹּן is, of course, connected with כּוֹן, which means *spout*, *socket* of a door in which the pivot turns, also (in the Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer, cxvi) *pudendum mulieris*, just as כּוֹן denotes both *door-socket* (Lat. *cardo femina*) and *pudendum mulieris*. This word must be restored in Am. 4:2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>וָנָשֶׁת יִפְקָדֵךְ אֶצְפָּה</th>
<th>מִגְּדָה מִעָרָהָתָהּ</th>
<th>תַּעְנִיָּת הַתֹּקְשִׁרְתָּהּ</th>
<th>מִן הַשִּׁפְחָהּ תַּקְרָבֵךְ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your lap will be lifted with hooks,</td>
<td>your rump with grapnels;</td>
<td>In scraps will ye be dragged out</td>
<td>to rot in the sun.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lit. *ye will be cast into the heat*; cf. Ps. 32:4. Houtsma's emendation נָשָׁה הַבֵּיתֵי (ZAT 27, 58) is gratuitous. We use *socket* (or *nozzle*) also for the small hollow tube or depression in a candlestick which holds the candle. Aram. גַּגְלָג, lamp, denotes also the funnel-shaped hole of the upper millstone (Psa. 94:15; cf. HH 2, 667). Heb. כּוֹן means also *hook*; cf. כּוֹן. Syr. כּוֹן denotes a *fish-hook* or *fishing line*. In modern Arabic we have صَنَّار with the same meaning. In German, *Angel* means both *fish-hook* and *hinge*. Shakespeare uses *angle* in the sense of *fish-hook*. The name *England* is derived from the *Angles*, and the Angles were anglers.

\(^{43}\) The prefixed "י in יִפְקָדֵךְ is interrogative. The ה in יִפְקָדֵךְ is due
verse is a variant to the question in the preceding verse, *What are these two genii on the right and left of the candelabrum?*

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

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

*Zerubbabel before the Envoy of the King.*

3, 1 Then He showed me Zerubbabel standing before the envoy of the king with the prosecutor at his right to prosecute him. The envoy said to the prosecutor, My lord will to dictography. For read ; the Heb. term for *pollen* is said to be , but this is doubtful. For the confusion of and in the two clauses cf. JBL 31, 130, l. 1.

44 See *c. g.* PSBA, June, 1890, plate iii, fig. 14.
45 See the cut on p. 218 of the translation of the *Psalms* in the Polychrome Bible.
46 See EB 646, below.
47 See Geo. A. Smith (cf. n. 4) p. 276. Rothstein (cf. n. 6) p. 189 emphasizes the point that it is irrelevant for his purpose whether or not Babylonian ideas underly the Visions of Zechariah. If he had considered this question, he would probably have given a better interpretation.
48 Vistana, the satrap of Syria; cf. above, n. 25.
49 The public prosecutor (crown prosecutor, district attorney) of the Persian government. The modern Heb. term is , but this is doubtful.
rebuke thee, O prosecutor; is not this a brand plucked from the fire? Zerubbabel was clad in soiled garments when he stood before the envoy. Then the envoy began to speak and said to those who stood before him as follows, Take away his soiled garments; and invest him with royalty, placing a 'diadem on his head. The stone tablet which I shall give to Zerubbabel—IAm inscribing its inscription thereon, quashing the indictment against that country on the first day.

Thereupon they set the diadem upon his head, and invested him with royal garments.

Then the angel of JHVH stepped forward, and solemnly addressed Zerubbabel as follows, Thus JHVH Sabaoth has said, If thou wilt walk in my ways and observe my cult, then

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(a) 3, 1 the high-priest Joshua (β) JHVH (γ) 2 JHVH (δ) JHVH
(b) 2 JHVH will rebuke thee, who has chosen Jerusalem (f) 3 Joshua
(γ) 4 festival dresses (δ) I am inscribing its inscription thereon, quashing the indictment against that country on the first day.
(x) Thereupon they set the diadem upon his head, and invested him with royal garments.[*]

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

Lit. which I have set before Zerubbabel, i.e. which I shall place at the disposal of Z. For see Haupt, Esther, p. 26 = AJSL 24, 122, and for the perfect instead of the future cf. G-K 28, § 106, m.

Lit. my observance, my ceremonial.

Some of the official documents in Babylonia have seven eyes (or rosettes) representing the seven planets, i.e. Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. We find these symbols e.g. on a black stone tablet recording the investiture of a priest of Nebo at Borsippa. This explanation was suggested to Sellin by Friedrich Delitzsch; cf. H. G. Mitchell in The International Critical Commentary on Haggai and Zechariah (New York, 1912) p. 158. Josephus (Ant. iii, 6, 7) says that the lights of the golden candelabrum in the Temple correspond to the number of the seven planets; cf. Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, p. 130; Mitchell, op. cit. p. 163. Vistana was satrap of Syria and Babylonia. Zechariah hoped that he would hand Zerubbabel a cuneiform Babylonian tablet acquitting him of all charges of high treason and creating him King of Judea under Persian suzerainty.
thou shalt also rule over the nations, and I shall give thee royal rank among {those who sit before thee.} Hear, O Zerubbabel, thou and thy companions! Not by force, nor by power, but by my spirit wilt thou win, has JHVH Sabaoth said.

What art thou, O great mountain before Zerubbabel thou wilt become a plain. He will gain the principality. All hail to him and abundant grace!

(5) 10 on that day, says JHVH Sabaoth, ye will invite one another under vines and fig-trees

(6) 7, 8 those who stand are foreshadowing men

(7) 6 the angel of JHVH

(8) 7 my Temple and guard my forecourts

(9) 8 high-priest Joshua

(10) 4, 6 this is JHVH's word to Zerubbabel as follows

The Seven-branched Candelabrum.

4, 1 Then the angel who talked with me came again, and roused me like a man roused out of his sleep. He said to me, What seest thou? I said, I see a candelabrum of gold with a fountain on the top and seven lamps thereon, and seven tubes for the lamps thereon; and two genii over it, one on the right, and the other on the left. Then I began to speak to the angel, saying, What are these, my lord? He answered and said to me, Knowest thou not what these are? I said, No, my lord. Then he began to speak and said to me as follows.

10 These seven lamps are the eyes of JHVH that wander over the whole earth. Then I began to speak and said to him, What are these two genii on the right of the candelabrum and on the left? He said to me, Knowest thou not what these are? I said, No, my lord. Then he said to me, These are the two

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

55 Reservoir.

56 Cf. 2 Chron. 16:9. The seven lamps represent the seven planets; cf. above, n. 53.
angels who will make a stand against the lord of the whole earth. 17

(a) 4, 2 solid (b) of it (γ) seven (γ) on the top (γ) 3 of the fountain
(f) 4 who talked with me (γ) 5 the angel who talked with me
(s) 12 then I began to speak and said to him, What are these two spikes in the hands of the two genii on the golden spouts? **4 12

4, 12 a second time (xx) are they pouring out the seed over them?

The Hebrew text must be restored as follows:

8, 1
ימין כן: ינמר המלאך הוא השם יזהר שמו.

2
הלא זה אח לך: ינמר המלאך הוא השם יזהר שמו.

3
לפי המלאך ינמר המלאך הוא השם יזהר שמו.

4
הברית הנפשות עליה (ל) הוה את המלאך אשר נתן את המלך ועלו נתון צנטי.

5
ארשי אני אתה吲 אתה אשר נתן את המלך ינמר המלך.

5b
 Oilers ind אשתי את שם הארון היה בו הוא אורתו: ועלו נתון צנטי.

7, 6
ומלאך יהוה ע建设用地 ינמר המלך: أي אם הוא עבדנו:

8, 8
אם בארך תפל ואש משמורת תשמור ואש תזרו, בינאש.

8, 8
ונתנו למלכים, ב椹 הרשימו ינמר: את נא ינמר המלך.

8, 6
ונעך ארצה לא בחרל אי כן אם בחרת затלה אמור היה.

7
זכאות הוא אנה היה תדודי כי בחרל מבשרו התיב חבריה והמשיח.

4, 12
והאש את הלבהו בו ביבונמה:

3,8 (מש)
ישבע המלך העב באיתור בצירифי אשר ישורע מתנחת: יאמר
בלא סימא את אﷺר א(SK)רikt ראיין ההגה מגדער bụות. ינ VOL על האשות
דיבעה ברה עליה דיבעה מהוות ברות אסקר עליי:ombo.
שידים עלים הוה מרים: יאמר על סמואלה: אלון אפור אל מלאך.
לאמר מראה אהל א proximité רץ, יאמר אל הלה ידעת ממה האני
ולא אמר לא אנס: י麒 יאמר אל לאאמר: דיבעה מהוות הלאה עניין
ודיעה הנה מ ساعة בכל הארץ: אשר אפור אלו מחי משיחים
הלאה עיון מהוות על סמואלה: יאמר אל לאמר הלאה
ידיעה מראת אהל אמר לא אנס: יאמר אל הלאה שבי נון הלאה הלומדים
על אחד כל הארץ:

לך 8 (א) לכל 4, 2 (א)
דיבעה 3 (א) דיבעה 4 (א)
רשע 5 (א) התואר
תפרא 12 (א)
ה GetCurrent 4, 12 (א)

ף פרק 1 (א)}

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